

M^R BAYLE's
Historical and Critical
DICTIONARY.

THE SECOND EDITION.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

M^R DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

A — Bi.



*Bælius hic ille est cujus dum scripta vigebunt
Lis erit, oblectent, erudiant ne magis.*

Jam. Smith Sculpsit 1733.

Bayle, Pierre

THE
DICTIONARY
Historical and Critical
OF
M^R PETER BAYLE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

Carefully collated with the several Editions of the Original; in which many Passages are restored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Translation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

BY

M^R DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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L O N D O N :

Printed for J. J. and P. KNAPTON; D. MIDWINTER; J. BROTHERTON; A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH; J. HAZARD; J. TONSON; W. INNYS and R. MANBY; J. OSBORNE and T. LONGMAN; T. WARD and E. WICKSTEED; W. MEADOWS; T. WOODWARD; B. MOTTE; W. HINCHLIFFE; J. WALTHOE, jun. E. SYMON; T. COX; A. WARD; D. BROWNE; S. BIRT; W. BICKERTON; T. ASTLEY; S. AUSTEN; L. GILLIVER; H. LINTOT; H. WHITRIDGE; R. WILLOCK.

M D C C X X X I.

T O

The Right Honourable

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE,

First Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, One of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter.

SIR, .

REAT Writers, who employ themselves for the instruction or entertainment of the World, naturally claim, what they seem naturally to merit, the favour and countenance of Great Men. Whosoever contributes, especially with success, to enlarge the Understandings of Men, and to mend their Hearts, is entitled to the Friendship and Protection of the Governors of Men, I mean of such as would truly answer the noble end of Government; who, if they pursue their duty, and consult the honour and improvement of human nature, will chearfully and generously promote whatever has that good tendency. And they who practise different Politics, by cramping the human Soul, possessing it with false awe, and debasing it through Darknes and Ignorance, do not deserve, but rather disgrace and forfeit, the glorious and endearing title of Magistrates and Protectors.

TRUE and extensive Knowledge never was, never can be, hurtful to the Peace of Society. It is Ignorance, or,
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which is worse than ignorance, false Knowledge, that is chiefly terrible to States. They are the furious, the ill taught, the blind and misguided, that are prone to be seized with groundless Fears, and unprovoked Resentment, to be roused by Incendiaries, and to rush desperately into Sedition and acts of Rage.

SUBJECTS that are most knowing and best informed, are ever most peaceable and loyal. Whereas the Loyalty and obedience of such, whose understandings extend not beyond Names and Sounds, will be always precarious, and can never be thoroughly relied upon, whilst any turbulent or artful men can, by din and clamour, and the continual application of those Sounds, intoxicate, and inflame them even to madness, can make them believe themselves undone though nothing hurts them, think they are oppressed when they are best protected, and can drive them into riots and rebellion, without the excuse of one real grievance. It will always be easy to raise a mist before eyes that are already dark: and it is a true observation, “that it is an easy work to govern Wise Men; but to govern Fools or Madmen, is a continual slavery.”

IT is from the blind zeal and stupidity cleaving to Superstition, 'tis from the Ignorance, Rashness, and Rage attending Faction, that so many, so mad, and so sanguinary evils have afflicted and destroyed Men, dissolved the best Governments, and thinned the greatest Nations. And as a people well instructed will certainly esteem the Blessings which they enjoy, and study public Peace, for their own sake, there is a great merit in instructing the people, and in cultivating their Understandings. They are certainly less credulous in proportion as they are more knowing, and consequently less liable to be the Dupes of Demagogues, and the property of Ambition. They are not then to be surprized with false cries, nor animated by imaginary Danger; and wherever the Understanding is well principled and informed, the Passions will be tame, and the Heart well disposed.

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THEY therefore who communicate true Knowledge to their species, are true Friends to the World, Benefactors to Society, and deserve all encouragement from those, who preside over Society, with the applause and good wishes of all men. Such a public friend and benefactor was MR BAYLE. Truth and Knowledge were his mistress, and the pursuit of his life, and he studied to engage all men in that pursuit. A curious searcher of error he was, a constant champion against falshood, imposture, and all dishonest arts; zealous for public tranquillity, and a foe to all who disturbed it; wonderfully qualified for his great undertaking, by an acuteness and penetration never exceeded by any Writer ancient or modern, and with such an accumulation of various, curious, and solid Learning, as perhaps was never equalled by any Writer whatsoever; a great Philosopher, a great Linguist, an universal Historian and Critic, vastly skilled in Divinity and Controversy, and a nice reasoner upon transactions of States, and the arts of Statesmen.

MANY enemies it is true he had; and what other Great Man ever wanted such? their Greatness only is what often produces them. It was therefore no wonder that the outcry and clamour against him was so loud and many-mouthed, even for his most excellent performances. This comfort however attends his memory, and it is likely he foresaw it and enjoyed it in his lifetime; that all that clamour is now dead, and these excellent performances remain, and are likely for ever to remain. What his own admirable talents and many solid defences could not do, time and the infinite merit of his works, and the force of truth have done, silenced his adversaries, and almost made it forgot that he ever had any. This must be a pleasing reflection to all lovers of Truth and of great Merit greatly traduced, and spitefully used, to see such traducers sunk into oblivion, and such merit covered with lustre.

I could, Sir, with your leave and patience, illustrate the fate of MR BAYLE by similar instances; but
that

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that I would no more offend you with the appearance of Flattery, than I would provoke others to charge me with the imputation of designing, and you of encouraging it. Permit me only to say, that as this great and applauded Work is like to last, Posterity (for Posterity will judge without anger or envy) will not think it unnatural to see the name of SIR ROBERT WALPOLE prefixed to the GRAND DICTIONARY of MR BAYLE; and if by this way (this only way) I can purchase permanence to my own humble name, it is an Ambition which I hope merits pardon. The greatest that I have in the world is to be owned by you, Sir, as what I strictly am, with all Devotion and unbounded Respect,

SIR,

Your most Dutiful,

and most Obedient

Humble Servant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.



ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING

This Second Edition.

IF the repeated Editions of a voluminous book be a proof of the Approbation of the Public, we may affirm that no book has been more generally esteemed than Mr Bayle's Dictionary. Besides the editions of 1697 and 1702, which he published himself, it was printed at Geneva in 1715, at Rotterdam in 1720, at Amsterdam in 1730, and is just now reprinted in France: so that there have been six impressions of it in six and thirty years; an honour which perhaps was never done to any other book of such a bulk. To these editions may be added the English Translation, published in 1710: for the Translation of a book is in reality a new Edition of it in another dress; and does so much the more credit to the work, as it is the effect of the earnest desires of the curious and inquisitive, who do not understand the original.

That Translation was done from the edition of 1702, the most complete then extant: but Mr Bayle having left behind him several Articles, which he designed for a Supplement to his Dictionary, they were inserted in the new edition printed at Rotterdam in 1720. But this edition being full of errors of the press, and interpolated in many places, these defects were corrected in the Amsterdam edition of 1730, in which some learned men were employed. They also improved it in several other respects, of which they give us the following account.

I. " We have, say these Editors, collated it with the Editions of 1697
" and 1702, and particularly with Mr Bayle's own Copy of the edition
" 1702, in which are several additions and corrections written with
VOL. I. [B] " his

Advertisement concerning this second Edition.

“ his own hand. By this means several expressions, and whole phrases
“ have been restored which had been omitted, changed, or adulterated
“ in the preceeding edition.

II. “ The Articles of the Supplement, or posthumous Additions, have
“ been compared with Mr Bayle’s Original Manuscript; by the help of
“ which the text has been restored to its purity, and all spurious infer-
“ tions struck out.

III. “ The several quotations from celebrated Authors, in the Greek,
“ Latin, and other languages, have been carefully revised and corrected.

IV. “ Some passages, or citations, which were wanting in the
“ edition of 1720, and had been only referred to, have been supplied.

V. “ The Articles which were misplaced, or put at the end of the
“ fourth volume, are placed in their proper order.

VI. “ Some Critical Remarks, which had been communicated to the
“ Bookfellers, and printed at the end of the said fourth volume, have
“ been inserted in the Articles they belonged to; but they are distin-
“ guished from Mr Bayle’s text, being preceeded by a Greek letter for
“ a reference and by this mark §, and ending with the words,
“ REM. CRIT.

VII. “ At the end of the fourth volume is added a piece printed at
“ Paris in 1706, intituled *Critical Remarks upon the new edition of Moreri’s*
“ *Historical Dictionary, published in 1704.* Mr Bayle reprinted this piece
“ in Holland, and prefixed to it a long Preface, which contains excel-
“ lent instructions towards perfecting Moreri’s Dictionary. He likewise
“ joined to it several historical and critical Observations, which are to the
“ same purpose, and where he shews the errors in fact, and the false
“ reasonings of the Author of these remarks. But though he saw that
“ this Critic had taken almost all his remarks upon Moreri, from his Hi-
“ storical and Critical Dictionary, without citing it, he never reproaches
“ him with this piece of Plagiarism, but contents himself with vindica-
“ ting some passages which this Cenfor had misunderstood, or had criti-
“ cized without reason. Mr Des Maizeaux has been less indulgent in the
“ Observations which he has added to those of Mr Bayle: he has resto-
“ red to Mr Bayle all the critical remarks which this Critic had borrowed
“ from his Dictionary, and had given as his own. Neither has he
“ spared him for his boldness in advancing certain facts without proofs, as
“ well as for his loose, equivocal, and sophistical manner of arguing.
“ But as the design of that small work is to contribute towards perfecting
“ Moreri’s Dictionary, Mr Des Maizeaux had taken a particular care to
“ point out the corrections that have been made in the late editions, of
“ the passages censured by this Author. Future Editors will see at one

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“ view, what has been already corrected, and what still remains to be
“ rectified with respect to those passages. It does not appear that the
“ late Revisors of Moreri were acquainted with these *Critical Remarks*;
“ at least it is certain that they have not seen Mr Bayle's Preface and
“ Notes. Mr Bayle would not put his name to them, which is the rea-
“ son why this piece has been hitherto so little known.

VIII. “ To this edition is prefixed the *Life of Mr Bayle*, by Mr Des
“ Maizeaux.”

In this new English edition of Mr Bayle's Dictionary, we have follow-
ed the improved edition of the original, last mentioned ; which consequent-
ly contains all his posthumous Additions and Corrections. The Readers
will also find in the last Volume the *Critical Remarks upon Moreri's
Dictionary*, with Mr Bayle's Preface and Notes to it, and Mr Des Mai-
zeaux's Observations : Also, Mr Bayle's *Reflections on a Pamphlet, intitled,
the Judgment of the Public concerning Mr Bayle's Critical Dictionary*, (first
inserted in the edition of 1720) : and an *Historical Discourse concerning
the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden*. Mr Bayle designed to
write a compleat History of that great Prince ; but has left the work un-
finished ; however, as far as it goes, it is an excellent piece of history,
and one may easily see that it comes from a masterly hand. It has been
but lately published, and has not been yet inserted in any edition of Mr
Bayle's Dictionary. We therefore presume the readers will be glad to see
it at the end of the last Volume, where it may, in some measure, sup-
ply the want of the Article of the great GUSTAVUS, which is not to be
found in the Dictionary.

Besides these Pieces, which were not in the first English edition, this
second edition has several other advantages.

I. The Translation is much more exact and correct, and is carefully re-
vised and compared with the original.

II. It has been collated with the original editions of 1697 and 1702,
when any doubt has arisen concerning the genuine reading of a word, a
date, &c.

III. Several errors of the press which had crept into the edition of
1730, especially in the passages of ancient Authors, have been corrected.

IV. The citations from eminent Writers in various languages, are tran-
slated into English, excepting when Mr Bayle himself has fully expressed
the sense of them.

V. The

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V. The *Life of Mr Bayle* has been revised, corrected, and enlarged by the Author; and some of the Corrections and Additions are very considerable. As soon as this work came out, it was translated into High-Dutch by the learned Dr Kohl, and printed at Hamburgh in 1731, in 8vo: and it has been reprinted at Paris in 1733, in two Volumes in 12mo. But Mr Des Maizeaux was not concerned in these Editions, which however shew that the public entertained a very favourable opinion of that work. Some people may possibly imagine that Mr Des Maizeaux, has insisted too long on Mr Bayle's disputes, and could have wished that he had only given the particulars of his life: but indeed what is the History of the life of a Philosopher, but an account of his works, opinions, and disputes? These are the battles and bright actions of such Heroes. Besides, the knowledge of such books and pamphlets as do not seem to concern the English reader, will be found necessary for the better understanding of numberless passages of Mr Bayle's Dictionary, wherein they are mentioned or referred to; so that this part of his Life is, as it were, a key, or an explanatory introduction, to them.



P R E F A C E



P R E F A C E

T O T H E

First French Edition.



HAVE a thousand things to offer in this Preface ; but as I cannot do it without running into an exorbitant length, which would discourage the Readers, I rather chuse to give my self some constraint, than offend their niceness. I shall therefore confine my self to five or six particulars.

I declare first, that this work is not what I promised in the Project I published of a Critical Dictionary in the Year 1692. The objection I had best obviated and answered, is that which was chiefly insisted on, to condemn the plan I designed to pursue ; and perhaps it appeared very strong to a great many readers, for no other reason, but because they observed I very much enlarged on it's confutation. But let the cause be what it will, I did not think it prudent to oppose the general taste; and since it has been universally concluded, that the greatest part of the faults I mentioned in the articles of the Project were of little importance to the public, reason required I should give over my undertaking. My design was to compose a Dictionary of errors: the perfection of such a work consists in observing all mistakes, great or small; for doubtless it would be a perfection in a Geographical Dictionary, and in a Map, to specify every town and village. Seeing therefore the best way of executing my project must be the most exposed to the complaints of the public, as it would have multiplied insignificant observations, there was a necessity for me to alter my design; and I could not but believe, that according to the prevailing taste of the age, there was a real imperfection in the very plan of my enterprize, which could never be cured by the execution. If I contest any thing with those who say, that the greatest part of the errors I have censured in my Project are of no consequence, 'tis their supposing that they are not all of that nature; for I maintain, that none of them is important, and that though, generally speaking, they are like those that have been observed by great Critics (1), yet they can contribute nothing to the public good. The fate of mankind does not depend upon them. A narrative abounding with the grossest ignorance is as proper to move the passions, as historical exactness. Let ten thousand ignorant people hear you preach that Coriolanus's mother obtained of him, what " he refused " the sacred College of Cardinals and the Pope himself, who went to meet " him (2)," you will give them the same idea of the power of the Holy

I.
WHY this work is not formed upon the plan published in 1692. [See that Plan at the end of the last Volume.]

(1) If you consider Scaliger's remarks upon Eusebius's Chronicle, you will find that his corrections consist in shewing, that a time, a place, a man's name, &c. have been mistaken.

(2) 'Tis affirmed in the Recueil des bons contes & des bons mots, printed in the year 1633. p. 123. of the Dutch edition, that this was actually preached.

Virgin, as if this was no blunder. Tell them, " 'Tis strange, Christians, that you should not be moved to see our Saviour JESUS CHRIST hanging upon the cross, all bruised with blows, when the emperor Pompey was moved with compassion, upon seeing Pyrrhus's elephants pierced with arrows (3);" you will produce the same effect, as if what you say of Pompey was true. 'Tis therefore certain, that the discovery of errors (4) is not important or useful to the prosperity of the State, or of private persons. Observe now in what manner I have changed my plan, the better to hit the taste of the public. I have divided my composition into two parts: one is purely historical, and gives a succinct account of matters of fact: the other is a large commentary, a miscellany of proofs and discussions, wherein I have inserted a censure of many faults, and even sometimes a train of philosophical reflections; in a word, there is variety enough, to presume that all sorts of readers will find something or other that will please them.

(3) 'Tis affirmed in the *Eurœtiana*, fig. 127. of the *Brussels* edition that *Furetiere* heard this preached in *Flanders*.

(4) Only mean errors in point of fact, and I except those that concern religion. As to the former, I do not pretend to make any exception.

THIS new œconomy has broke all the measures I had taken; most of the materials I had collected were of no use to me, and I was forced to work upon a new foundation. My principal design was to observe the faults of Moreri, and of all other Dictionaries like his. In searching for proofs necessary to expose those faults, and rectify them, I found, that many authors, both ancient and modern had committed the same mistakes. And as Moreri is much more faulty in what concerns Mythology, and the Roman families than in modern history, I had particularly made collections upon the heathen gods and heroes, and the great men of ancient Rome. The work I proposed to publish, would have contained abundance of articles, like those of ACHILLES, BALBUS, and CRASSUS, in my Project. All these vast collections are become useless, because I was informed that these subjects pleased few people, and that a volume in folio, the greatest part of which should run only upon such things, would be left to grow mouldy in the booksellers ware houses. It will appear that I have had a regard to this information: but few articles of this kind will be found in my two Volumes; nor would they perhaps have been there, had they not been wholly composed before I was fully informed of the taste of the readers.

II.

WHY this work could not be composed in a little time.

This is one of the reasons that have retarded the publication of this work: many others have contributed to it. I resolved at first to say nothing that has been already said in other Dictionaries, or at least to avoid as much as possible the repetition of facts that are to be found in them; whereby I deprived myself of all the materials that were most easy to be collected, and employed. Nothing can be more easy for the authors of an Historical Dictionary, than to talk of Popes, Emperors, Kings, and Cardinals; or of the Fathers of the church, of Councils, and Heretics; or of great lords, cities, provinces, &c. 'Tis therefore a great disadvantage to lay aside those subjects, as one must do every moment, if he proposes to avoid the articles that are in Moreri's Dictionary. If you design to give the same articles, you must confine yourself to the things that he has omitted: the difficulty of separating them from others in the originals you consult is not small; but that of connecting them together, after the chasms occasioned by this separation, is much greater. Notwithstanding all these Difficulties, I resolved to give an account of most of the persons mentioned in the Bible; but I was informed that a particular Dictionary upon these subjects would quickly come out at Lyons (5). What remained to be done, was to collect what has been said by the Rabbis concerning those persons; but understanding that the late Mr d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale* was printing at Paris, I gave over

(5) 'Tis intitled, *Le Dictionnaire de la bible*. 'Tis a Folio book printed, according to the title-page, in 1693, and written by M. Simon, priest, and doctor of divinity.

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(3)

over this design (6). Notwithstanding the same difficulties, I would have composed the articles relating to church-history, had I not considered that Mr du Pin furnished the readers of Dictionaries, with all they could desire. His work is adapted both to the learned and unlearned. The Dutch editions have made it very common, and all the curious buy it and read it. I had not, therefore, been excusable, had I mentioned the same things that are to be found there: must one buy the same histories twice? I rather chose to abstain from so fruitful a subject, and easy to come by, than to repeat what may be more conveniently learned elsewhere.

(6) I had already composed the articles of ADAM, EVE, CAIN, ABEL, ABRAHAM, &c. which I give in this Work.

I found myself streightened in other respects. This work was hardly begun, when I heard an English translation of Moreri's Dictionary was printing at London, with abundance of Additions; and that a large supplement to the same work was preparing in Holland. Hereupon I thought myself obliged not to treat of the illustrious men of Great Britain: I concluded, that out of the English edition, they would be inserted in the said supplement, and that the same thing would be bought twice, unless I prevented it by depriving myself of so copious a matter, and so proper to recommend a Dictionary. For the same reason I laid aside my enquiry after the illustrious men who have flourished in the United Provinces (7); and said very little concerning the history or geography of this State. I did not doubt but the supplement, printed in Holland, would give a large and exact account of all these things, and likewise that it would fully treat of all the transactions of Europe in our days. This prevented my touching upon those modern histories. On the other hand, I heard that a new edition of Moreri's Dictionary was going to be published at Paris, with great additions. This made me resolve to suppress a great many things, and put a stop to my enquiry into many subjects, which I could handle but imperfectly, in comparison of those who were engaged in this new edition: they are upon the spot, and at hand to consult libraries, and learned men. I ought therefore to leave them this task entire, and not give them the displeasure of running lightly over a subject, that will be read more eagerly when set off by them in its full lustre, before others touch upon it.

(7) I have only mentioned some, whose Lives or Funerals Orations I had already by me.

But besides these new editions, and new supplements of Moreri's Dictionary, other things have much streightened me. Mr Chappuzeau has been a long time about an historical Dictionary in which we shall certainly find, amongst abundance of other subjects, what concerns the situation of nations, their manners, religion, government, and what concerns the royal families, and the genealogies of great men (8); and particularly you will find in it at large, all the electors, princes, and counts of the empire; their alliances, interests, and principal actions. And by that means, you will see the northern countries, and the rest of Protestant Europe. I thought, therefore, that I had better be silent upon those great subjects, than expose the reader to the disagreeable necessity of purchasing the same things twice. Nay, I have found myself confined with respect to the learned men of the XVIth century; for I knew that Mr Teissier was printing, with new additions, the commentaries he has so curiously compiled upon the Elogies taken from Thuanus (9). I was afraid, in speaking of those learned men, that the facts mentioned by me, would be the same with Mr Teissier's; and that thought has often determined me to suppress my collections.

(8) See the Plan of his Dictionary, which he published in the Year 1694.

(9) That second edition came out in 1696.

Preface to the first French Edition.

I do not enumerate these particulars, in order to enable my friends to make my apology against those who shall despise my Dictionary, and say, "was so much time to be consumed in the composition of such a Work? the faults of it might be excused, if the author had spent only a few months in making it: but so poor an effect of so long a labour deserves no indulgence. Slowness is never tolerable, but when it

(10) *Diu par-
ruit læna ca-
lulum, sed le-
onem. The
lion's goes
long with
young, but at
length brings
forth a lion.*

(11) *Res ar-
dua vetustis
novitatem da-
re, novis au-
thoritatem, ob-
soletis nito-
rem, obscuris
lucem, fastidi-
tis gratiam,
dubis fidem.
It is a difficult
matter to give
the grace of
novelty to
things old, au-
thority to
things new, e-
legancy to
things obsolete,
light to things
obscure, favour
to things con-
demned, and
credit to things
doubtful. Plin.
in Præf. Nat.
Hist.*

(12) *I began
this work in
July, 1692,
and made an
end of it in
Octob. 1696.*

(13) *I quote
the pages, even
when I refer
to other places
of my Dictio-
nary.*

(14) *Some per-
sons have very
obligingly lent
me some books,
for which I
am very thank-
ful. I would
willingly pub-
lish here the
names and me-
rits of those,
who have done
me that fa-
vour, were I
not afraid of
offending their
modesty.*

"produces a master-piece (10)." My friends might answer, that the most diligent writers would be hard put to it, to make their compilations with greater speed, if they abstained from the most copious and easy subjects, and avoided mentioning what some have compiled, and what they foresee will be compiled by others. But I do not desire that these should be alledged in my favour. What I have said, is only designed to resolve such questions as these; "Why so many great men are wanting in my book? why it contains so many unknown persons, and obscure names? why it is so barren in some respects, and profuse in others? could the author be so mistaken, as to pretend to be able to do what Pliny thought extremely difficult? &c (11)." Let the querist be referred to the account I have given above, and he will find the solution of all these doubts.

I freely own, that laborious and diligent authors will have reason to look upon me as a slow Writer. I have spent above four years in the composition of these two volumes (12). Besides, they are intermixed with long Passages, which cost me no pains; nothing of what I have said of my own, bespeaks an author that revises his work, or corrects his first thoughts, and the first disposition of his words. And therefore, if any one thinks I have been too slow, I shall not wonder at it: I am sensible and ashamed of it, and I should be still more ashamed, were it not that my health frequently interrupted, requires some regard, and does not permit me to perform what strong and laborious men can do. I know, moreover, that the slavery of quoting, which I have submitted to (13), makes me lose much time; and that the prodigious scarcity of books, very necessary to my design, stopped my pen a hundred times a day. Such a work as this requires the most numerous library in the world; whereas I have very few books (14). Shall

I dare to own it? The stile is another cause of my slowness: it is very incorrect, and not free from expressions either improper, or which begin to be obsolete, or even from barbarisms. I confess I am, in these respects, without scruple: but, on the contrary, with regard to other things, which

give more trouble (15), I am scrupulous, even to superstition. The greatest masters, the most illustrious members of the French Academy, dispense with these scruples, and we have but three or four writers, that are not cured of them. It is, therefore, a great mortification to me, not to be able to get above those niceties, which cost much time, and often spoil the lively and natural agreeableness of the expression, when it is corrected by this Rule.

I am so unable to shake off this heavy yoke, that in case this Dictionary be reprinted, it will certainly be my principal care to correct, according to the rigorous rules of our French Grammarians, all the inaccuracies in the language, which still remain in this edition (16). They are not a few; for during the first year I was employed in this Work, I did not so much mind scruples of this sort; so that there are a great many articles which offend the superstitious rules I have now mentioned: they were composed at that time, and I had not the leisure to new-mould them, when I was obliged to send them the press. Such like faults may be found all the work over,

occasioned

(15) *As to a-
void equivocal
expressions,
verbs, the
use of particles
in the same
sentence
which may re-
fer to different
parts of it, &c.*

(16) *Note,
that I found it
impossible to
perform this
promise in the
second edition,
the printers
did not give
me the neces-
sary time to
revise my first
work, and to
prepare the
new, that is,
the additions
which have
been very nu-
merous.*

occasioned either by my being so attentive to other matters, that I have overlooked them in correcting the proofs; or by the printer's not being able to allow me the necessary time to mend what I did not like. The useful advices I have received from Mr DRELINCOURT (17), and his just and elegant corrections, which I have taken care to write in the margin of my copy, will be of infinite use to me in revising that edition.

This is what I had to represent to those who might think it strange that my Dictionary cost me so much time. But I must not neglect those, who might believe I have made too much haste. There are many who will be surprized to see two such great volumes in Folio, finished in less than five years. Many authors do not perfect a little book under a year, whether they look upon those thoughts and expressions as mean, which they produce without a long meditation; or whether their business calls them frequently from their studies; or whether a natural laziness, or too scrupulous an obedience to the precept they have learned at school, *interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis*, engage them often to interrupt their labour. Those gentlemen are easily prejudiced against a work that has not cost much time; and they think it has not, unless a hundred printed sheets have taken up three or four Years. They will apply to me, doubtless, the *canis festinans cæcos edit catulos*, and will be confirmed in their prejudice, by reading the particulars above-mentioned. They will abate from the labour spent upon things, all the time I have bestowed upon avoiding verses (18), and to the unity of relatives. They know it is a long and painful task, and that nothing requires more patience than a good series of citations. They will not allow, that under pretence of having inserted a great deal of foreign matter in this work, I may say I have enlarged it in a little time, without making much haste. For, will they say, a just application of vast numbers of passages is a more laborious work, than a long train of reasonings and reflexions (19). These passages must be sought out, they must be read with attention, they must be pertinently placed, and connected with your own thoughts, and with one another. It is impossible to make a quick progress, and do this perfectly well. I grant them this, but I intreat them not to apply to me the *canis festinans*, &c. before they have read my work. Prejudices are deceitful, and if they would have favourable ones, I will tell them that I remember Cato's Distich as well as they, *interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis*, &c. but that I very seldom make use of it. Diversions, collations, journies into the country, visits, and such other recreations, necessary to a great many studious men, as they say, are not my business: I lose no time in them. Nor do I spend it in domestic cares, making interest for preferments, solicitations, or other affairs. I have been happily delivered from a great many occupations not very suitable to my humour, and I have had the greatest and most charming leisure that a man of letters could desire. By this means an author makes a great progress in a few years; his work may receive considerable additions every day, and that without a negligent performance.

I doubt not but the method I have taken in quoting the passages of authors, will be censured. Many will say, I was resolved to compile a large book with little expence: I have often cited very long passages; sometimes I give the sense of them, and then I set them down in Greek and Latin. Is not this multiplying things without necessity? was it necessary to transcribe a long quotation of a modern book, which is to be had in every bookseller's shop? was it necessary to quote Amyot in his old French?

(17) *Preface of Philosophy at Leyden. See what has been said of his perfect knowledge of the French tongue, in the article DRELINCOURT remark [C]. He has also furnished me with several learned observations. Observe, that for the reason alluded to in the preceding marginal note, I could make very little use of them, no more than of the others which I had marked in the margin.*

(18) *The French prose is full of verses, unless one takes an extraordinary care to avoid that fault.*

(19) *See the remark [D]. of the article EPICURUS.*

III.
SOME Reasons for quoting authors as I have done.

to give a good answer to those critics, I do not think it necessary to deny that their objections are specious. I confess they are plausible, and they kept me in suspense a long while ; but at last more specious reasons determined me to the method I have taken. I considered that such a work as this was to be instead of a library to a great many people. Many, that are lovers of learning, have not wherewithal to purchase books ; others have not leisure to consult the fiftieth part of the volumes they buy. Those who have leisure enough, would be very unwilling to rise every moment, to seek out the information they are referred to. They had rather find in the book they have before them, the very words of the authors, that are brought as evidences. If a man wants the edition cited, he loses a great deal of time ; for it is not always easy to find in one's edition, the page that an author cites in his own. And therefore out of a regard to the readers who have no books, and to the occupations, or laziness of those that have libraries, I have taken care to shew them at once historical facts, and the proofs of them, with many discussions and circumstances, that their curiosity might be fully satisfied. And because many frauds are committed in the citations of authors, and those who honestly abridge a passage, do not always express the whole force of it, it is incredible how much judicious persons are grown mistrustful. I may justly say, that it is a sort of rashness on a thousand occasions, to believe what is attributed to authors when their own words are not quoted. For which reason I was willing to set the reader's mind at rest ; and to prevent his suspecting any fraud in my report, I make every witness speak in his native language ; and instead of imitating Castelvetro, who finished his citations with *& cætera*, even before he had transcribed the necessary passage, I have sometimes lengthened that passage both at the beginning and at the end, that the thing in question might be understood, or something else occasionally learnt. I know this would be absurd in a short moral treatise, in a piece of eloquence, or in an history ; but it is not so in such a compilation as this is, in which I propose to relate facts, and then to illustrate them with commentaries. Such a method would be blameable, if instead of one volume it made two ; or instead of a pocket-book, it produced a book in Folio or in Quarto. But the question being only, whether a volume in Folio shall be longer or shorter by some sheets, it is not worth the while to constrain one's self. Had it but 250 sheets, it would no more have the advantages of a little book, than if it contained 330 sheets ; for it must be well observed, that these large books are not made to be read page by page. They would cost somewhat less, if they contained but 200 sheets, will some say : I answer, that if a bookseller went upon such a rule, he would never print a work consisting of many volumes, though they contained nothing but solid thoughts without a syllable too much ; for they would still be too dear for those that are in low circumstances. The trouble of translating Amyot, or Vigenere, into new French, would have been of no service ; it suffices that my reader can understand the facts they relate.

WHY Brantome and such like authors are often quoted in this Dictionary.

Men of a grave and severe character will particularly blame the citations out of Brantome or Montaigne, that contain actions and reflexions too free and gallant. I must say a word or two to this. Some persons of merit, who were concerned for the interests of the bookseller, concluded, that so large a book as this, stuffed with Greek and Latin quotations in several places, and full of discussions little diverting, would frighten the readers who are not men of letters, and weary the learned ; that therefore it was to be feared the sale would quickly fall, if the curiosity of those who do not understand

Preface to the first French Edition.

(7)

understand Latin was not excited by some other things. I was made sensible, that a work, which is bought only by the learned, seldom pays the printer, and that if any profit is to be made by an impression, 'tis when a book can equally please the learned, and those that have no learning; that it was therefore necessary for the sake of my bookseller, sometimes to relate what authors who take some liberties have published; that the use of such materials is like the liberty a man takes to write his own life; in some persons, 'tis a sign of arrogance (20), in others a just confidence in their virtue (21); and that I might justly place myself in the number of the latter; lastly, that if I was too averse to comply with this advice, I should at least suffer others to furnish the bookseller with such memoirs, and even sometimes with dogmatical reflexions that might excite attention. I promised them to have some regard to those remonstrances, and added, that I had no right to oppose their supplements; that I had left to the bookseller a full authority to insert, even without consulting me, the memoirs his correspondents and friends should send him; and that I could wish they would do with respect to the whole book what they seemed to be willing to do in some places, that is, make such additions, leave out such things, and dispose of my compilations as they should think fit. 'Tis certain I always wished to have no other share in this work, than the care of compiling: I should have been glad if others would have taken the pains to give a form to the materials, and to enlarge and shorten them; and I was well pleased when the persons I speak of assured me they would remember our conversation, which is a thing I desire my readers to take notice of. As for the philosophical reflexions which sometimes have been carried pretty far, I think I need not make an excuse for them; for since they only tend to convince man, that the best use he can make of his reason, is to submit his understanding to the obedience of faith, they seem to deserve the thanks of the faculties of Divinity.

(20) *Plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam arrogantiam arbitrati sunt. M^{ss} people have been of opinion, that for a man to write his own life, is rather a mark of a just confidence in his virtue, than of his vanity. Tacit. in vita Agricolæ. cap. 1.*

(21) *See the remarks of the articles VAYER and VIRGIL.*

I have but two or three words to say upon a thing which seems very important. I have related the errors of a great many persons somewhat freely. Is not this a rash and presumptuous attempt? The answer to this question would be very long, if I did not refer the readers to what I have said upon it in my project (22). I intreat them to have recourse to it. I only add, that without exceeding the bounds of humility, a man may observe some faults in the books of famous men, and yet have a profound admiration for them. When subaltern officers, or even common soldiers, say freely that their generals have committed some faults in the course of a campaign, they are sometimes in the right; but they do not pretend to be better qualified than they to command an army; they acknowledge themselves infinitely inferior in capacity as well as in rank (23). That is my case. I further add, that when the question is concerning a thing that is disadvantageous to the memory of a man, I do not warrant the truth of it; I only relate what others say, and I quote my authors. 'Tis therefore to them, and not to me, that a man's relations ought to address their complaints. A modern historian has declared in a preface, "That those who have prescribed the inviolable laws of history (24), must be applied to, to give an account of those laws, "if any one is dissatisfied with them; and not the historians, who ought "indispensably to obey; all the glory they can hope for consisting in the "execution of their orders." My cause is still more favourable, since I only transcribe the authors already printed. Of the two inviolable laws of history mentioned by that historian, I have religiously observed that which

IV. REMARKS on my being so bold as to criticize many authors.

(22) *Numero 6.*

(23) *Consult this versè of Horace. Quam de se loquitur non ut majore reprehens. Sat. 10. lib. 1. v. 55.*

(24) *Ne quid veri non audeat, ne quid falsi audeat. Cicer. The words of Cicero, in his second book de Oratore, fol. m. 74. A, are Quis nescit primam esse historiz legem, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat? Who does not know that the first law of history is, not to dare say any thing that is false, and to dare say every thing that is true.*

commands to say nothing that is false; as for the other, which bids us venture to say all that is true, I cannot boast that I have always observed it. I believe it sometimes inconsistent, not only with prudence but also with reason.

I would not have it thought that I glory to have said nothing but truth.

I only can warrant my intention, and not my ignorance. I advance nothing as truth, when I am persuaded that it is a falsity (25); but how many things are there which I have not apprehended, or the ideas whereof have been confounded with one another during the composition? How often does it happen that our pen betrays our thoughts? We intend to put down a figure, or a man's name; and sometimes for want of attention, or even by too much attention to other things, we write another? And therefore I make no doubt, that besides my omissions, which are many, I have committed many faults. I shall think myself obliged to those, who will be so kind as to rectify me: and had I not relied upon the good advices of intelligent and equitable readers, I should have kept this work many years in my closet, according to the advice of the ancients (26), in order to correct it, and render it less unworthy of the public view: but considering I had materials left for two other large volumes, I hastened the publication of it. I easily understood that I should be more usefully and seasonably assisted, when the public should know what I want, and wherein I am wanting. I hope that with those helps the continuation of this work will be more perfect than otherwise it would have been. I shall

immediately go about it whilst age will permit me (27). I see nothing wherein I can better and more pleasantly employ the leisure I am blest with, a leisure which seems to me preferable to all things (28), and which has always been earnestly wished for by the true lovers of study and learning; for how many men impatiently long for the time, in which they may say,

Me jam fata meis patiuntur ducere vitam
Auspicis, & sponte mea componere curas (29)?

*At last kind fate has such indulgence shown,
That now my life and labours are my own.*

Besides I think I may reasonably say, that what I am going upon will be more considerable, by the nature itself of the materials, than what I offer at present. Chance and surprize had a greater share in it than a deliberate choice: the thing is this. I put off as long as I could the composition of the articles that seemed the most curious and of the greatest importance. I daily hoped for more materials, and new helps, and in the mean time I was preparing other things; whereby it happened on one hand, that the articles I composed took up a great deal of room; and on the other, that the materials for those I had put off were hugely multiplied. I could not therefore insert them in these two volumes, without prodigiously spoiling the proportion that is to be observed betwixt the letters of the alphabet. This obliged me to keep them till another time; for I cannot prevail with myself to say but little upon a large subject, when I can say a great deal. Therefore I rather chuse to be silent altogether, than to enter upon it. The proportion I have observed betwixt the letters of the alphabet, has been the reason of my referring some articles from one letter to another. The preference was therefore to be given to the articles I had promised; which was the reason why the letter for which they were designed had it's com-

plete

(25) *This ought to be understood of what I advance of my own; and of the great care I have taken faithfully to relate what I think to be the true sense of the authors quoted by me.*

(26) *Nonumq; prematur in annum. Horat. de arte poet. Keep it long by you and improve it still. CREECH.*

(27) *Dum superest Lachesi quod torqueat, & pedibus me Porto meis nullo dextram subeunte bacillo, Juven. sat. 3. ver. 27. While I walk upright, and old age is green, And Lachesis has somewhat left to spin. DRYDEN.*

(28) *Nec otia divitiis Arabum liberima muto. Horat. Epist. 7. lib. 1. Nor would I sell my freedom and my ease, For rich Arabia or the richer seas. CREECH.*

(29) *See Virg. Æneid. lib. 4. ver. 340.*

pleat extent, before those could be made ready, which were to be very long. I wish my Readers may call this to mind, if at any time they should wonder not to find an account of certain persons in this work.

Here I ought to declare what course I have taken, with respect to Moreri's Dictionary. I. There are many subjects that I have passed over in silence, because they are treated at large in his Dictionary. II. When I have given the same articles, I have been determined to it, either because he was short in his account, or because having by me the lives of some eminent persons, I was able to give a compleat narrative, or because out of many separate and curious things, I could make a pretty large Supplement. In each of these three cases, I have industriously avoided the facts he has mentioned: but it was impossible to do it so absolutely in the second, as in the other two; for in abridging an exact narrative of the life of a great man, it is necessary to give a series of his actions in order, and to make articles well connected, and in some sort all of a-piece. Was it possible to do so, if I had absolutely omitted every thing that has been already said of that person? Therefore in a very few articles of this kind, it will be possible to aver that Moreri's Dictionary had related something, that will be found intermixed with many new facts that I relate. But as this seldom happens, and that in inconsiderable points, I needed not have made this observation; and I only do it through a strong habit of avoiding universal propositions, and having a regard in some cases to the smallest exceptions: besides, there are some occasions in which a man can't be too cautious to prevent cavils. III. If I advance any fact that I have only from Moreri's compilation, I very carefully cite it. I mistrust it very much; and therefore I am resolved to run no risk upon such a security; I abandon it to the critics, it must answer for itself. IV. When I don't cite that writer, and yet I relate any thing that is to be found in his work, 'tis a certain proof I have it from another author. I could swear I have not stolen a word or a syllable from him: I quote him as often as I take the least word from him, which very seldom happens; and I never omit citing him, but when I have discovered the things by as painful searches as if he had never mentioned them. V. I refer the reader to him for facts that are in the least considerable. It would be an absurd thing to make references for the day of a birth, the name of a native place, &c. for such references would take up more room in a page than the things referred to, and would justly disgust the readers. VI. I have not pitched upon this method for fear of being accounted a plagiarist. This had been a pannic and a very ridiculous fear; for no one has hitherto carried his extravagance so far, as to accuse of plagiarism such as relate events that another has related, whilst they derive them from the fountain-head, and use neither the turn, nor the order, nor the expressions of another; nor is it likely that it should come into any one's head for the future, to give so absurd a definition of plagiarism; for it would lead us to this utmost point of impertinence, viz. that the most excellent historian, who should undertake to write the life of Charles V, would necessarily be the plagiarist of the most wretched chronicler, that collected rhapsodies upon the actions of this great prince. VII. I have put by themselves, in a Remark, the errors I have imputed to Moreri. VIII. I have not touch'd upon those that are found in the articles given by him, and not by me, though they are not less considerable, nor less frequent in these articles than in those I have given. IX. I have followed the edition of Lyons 1688, which is the fifth and last that was printed in France. I am not ignorant that the Dutch editions are much better;

V.
W H A T
course I have
taken with re-
spect to Mo-
reris Dictio-
nary.

but I thought it necessary to proportion my corrections to that, for the sake of a great many people, who only make use of the editions printed in France, and who still seek and purchase them preferably to the sixth and seventh (30).

(30) *These are violent Papists, who have been told that Moreri's zeal has often been check'd in the Dutch editions.*

From all this it results, that my Dictionary is not designed to lessen the sale of the other; on the contrary it will increase it, and make the reading of it more useful.

For the sake of youth, who want to have their judgment formed, and to be made sensible of the most scrupulous exactness, I have taken notice of the least faults of Moreri in the subjects we both handle: as for the mistakes that are in other places, I don't meddle with them, as I have said before. I don't desire that the contempt this may create for his labour, should lessen the acknowledgment that is due to him. I am of Horace's opinion with respect to those who shew us the way (31): the first writers of Dictionaries have committed many faults, but they have done great services, and deserve a glory, of which they ought not to be deprived by their successors. Moreri took great pains, his performance has been of some use to every body, and afforded sufficient instructions to a great many. It has brought light into several places, where other books would never have done it, and where an exact knowledge of circumstances is not necessary. It continues to disperse it into all parts, and with greater purity since the two Dutch editions. They are infinitely better than those of France; for they have been revised by one of the ablest authors of our age: I mean M. LE CLERC, whose profound learning, supported with a just and penetrating wit, and an exquisite judgment, is admired by all Europe. He has corrected a vast number of faults and has made excellent additions; and no body could be better qualified to perfect this great work, if nobler and more important occupations would allow him to undertake that task. I can't bear the unjust caprices of those who complain of the frequent editions of Moreri, and look upon the Book-sellers that undertake them as public poisoners.

(31) *Hoc erat, experto frustra Varrone Atacino, Atque quibuscum aliis, melius quod scribere possem, Inventore minor: neque ego illi detraxere ausim Hærentem capiti multa cum laude coronam. Horat. sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 46.*

In satyrs I which Varro try'd in vain. And others too may have a bappy strain, Yet then Lucilius left I freely own, I would not strive to blast his just renown. He wears and best deserves to wear the crown. CREECH. VI.

WHY the Author has prefixed his name to this work.

Those, who shall see my name in the title-page of this book, and who know that during the time it was printing, I said on all occasions I would not prefix it, deserve I should say something about it in this Preface. I have not only said this on an hundred occasions, but I have writ the same to several persons; and many people know that all my friends have strongly opposed my resolution, and that the innumerable arguments, which the fruitfulness of their genius, and their generous goodness suggested to them, could gain nothing upon me. I don't blame those who put their names to their works, but I have ever had a secret antipathy against it. There is no reason to be given of antipathies any more than of tastes; and yet I might say that reflection has confirmed this natural disposition. That wise indifference, so much celebrated by the ancient philosophy, has always pleased me. That illustrious man, who laboured more to be a good man than to be thought so (32), who was always concerned how to practise virtue, but never to be praised for it, seemed to me long ago an excellent model; and never any censure appeared more judicious to me, than that which was passed upon some Philosophers who put their names to those pieces in which they condemned the desire of praise (33). In effect, why do you blame those that run after reputation, if you proclaim to the publick that you don't condemn such a weakness? Pursuant to these notions, nothing seemed to me more noble than to shew in all the services that are done to the public, the same disinterestedness that the Gospel prescribes in works of charity. These were the maxims that moved me to suppress my name at the beginning of my Dictionary.

(32) *Vir bonus esse quam videri malebat. He rather chose to be good than to be thought so.*

See the remark [H] in the article AMPHARAUS and the remark [L] in the article CÆSAR.

(33) *Cicero relates the thing, but is none of those who blame it. Ipse illi philosophi etiam in illis libellis quos de contemnenda gloria scribunt, nomen suum interibunt; in eo ipso in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se ac nominari volunt. Even these philosophers have put their names to the books which they wrote concerning the contempt of glory; and desire applause and fame by the very books wherein they pretend to despise both. Cicero pro Archia poëta fol. m. 164. D. See also Cicero. Tuscul. quæst. lib. 1. fol. 247. D. & Valerius Maximus. lib. 8. cap. 14. n. 3. in ext.*

But

But I shall not be believed by Detracters; they will think that my scruples were grounded upon the little honour that is to be got by appearing at the head of a large compilation, which they will call *A common store of Collections, a Rhapsody of a Transcriber, &c.* Of all the employments, will they say, that can be had in the Common-wealth of Learning, there is none so contemptible as that of compilers: they are the drudges of great men. Indeed they are not useless: "Such people, said Scaliger (34), are the drudges of learned men, they bring us all our materials; it is a great help to us, such men are necessary". But are not the vilest professions necessary? and does their usefulness retrieve them from their sordidness? There is therefore more vanity than modesty, in declining the reputation of a drudging author, and endeavouring to get out of the class of those writers, whose productions are not so much the work of their minds, as the work of their bodies, and who carry their brains upon their shoulders. The detracters may believe what they please, there is no reasoning against them; and therefore I shall only say it is not through inconstancy, but in obedience to the supreme authority, that I have done what I have so often said I would not do. It was thought necessary, to compose the difference of some Booksellers, that I should name myself. Without this the *Sieur Reinier Leers* could not have obtained the licence which he thought he had an indispensable occasion for: I therefore pay a blind obedience; and for that reason should not fear even the rigorous tribunal of *Cato the Cenfor* himself (25).

I have few words to add concerning my *Errata*, and two or three other small matters.

I comprehend under the word *Errata* my Additions and Corrections. If it was compleat it would contain more pages than it does. I do not lay them all to the Printer's charge, how much soever they exercise our patience, especially when they do not correct all that has been marked in the margin of the proofs. I have had experience of that fatality which attends the trade, and I forget it as much as I am able, *animus meminisse horret*. I however take part of the blame myself, but I beg of those who shall criticize me, to look carefully over my *Errata*. I beg of them also, when they shall find any thing that is wrong, to see whether it be not in the authors quoted by me; for if my translations be not literal, they are at least faithful as to the sense: they must therefore contain an irregularity, when my authors have spoken or thought confusedly.

If any think they have been groundlessly criticized in this Dictionary, and if they publish any piece in their justification, wherein they shall use the right of reprisals, I presume they will not take it amiss, that instead of interrupting my work, to answer them, I take the resolution of referring all this to the continuation of this Dictionary. I shall ingenuously confess my errors, and retract them without having recourse to cavilling, as is the common practice. I am sometimes more positive than I should be: but at the bottom I then only propose doubts; and if I speak in another strain, it is that I may the better excite the learned to afford me their instructions, and concur more zealously in the illustration of things.

I have almost every where followed the orthography of the learned; but I have placed the letter *y* in the Articles as if it was *i*. This has not been done in the Index, but I perceived it too late.

(34) In Scaligeranis, voc du Maine, p. m. 148.

(25) Ποσειδωνος Ἀλκιονος, ἰσορίαν ἑλάνησι γυδαίαν, καὶ συγγράμην αὐτομένων, ἐπισκώσαν, εἰπὼν δὲ ὅτι οὗτοι εἶναι τὴν συγγράμην ἐς τῶν Ἀμφοίονων ἱερῶν ἀφιστάμενων ἀνακασθεὶς ὑπέμεινε τὸ ἔργον. Plut. in Catoe Majore. p. 343. B. He laughed at Posthumius Albinus, who wrote Histories in Greek, and desired his Readers to excuse his inaccuracies; saying, that he ought to be excused if he had been obliged to write in Greek by a decree of the Amphibolyons.

ADVERTISEMENT

CONCERNING THE

Second French Edition.

(1) In the
preface of the
first edition.



THE first thing I am to acquaint the Readers with, is, that most of the remarks they have seen above (1), suit with, and ought to be applied to this second edition.

I acquaint them in the second place, that I have been very sorry that a great many concurring circumstances, with which it would be to no purpose to acquaint them, have put me under a necessity of joining to what had already been published, the new articles I was preparing. I knew that this might offend those who have bought the first edition; but at last I hoped they would be so good as to accept of my excuses.

They had no reason to imagine that the second edition should be no ways preferable to the first; for they must needs believe that I would correct all the errors which I could observe, and that the additions and corrections which were at the end of each volume would be inserted in their proper places. That alone must give the preference to the second edition, and displease those who had bought the other. It was therefore impossible not to disoblige them in some degree. The question then in that respect was only concerning doing so more or less; but on the other hand we were to give an intire satisfaction to those who had not as yet purchased the book, but wanted to have it. They would have been very discontented if I had divided my work into two alphabets. One might probably presume that the number of the latter was greater than that of those who had already purchased the first edition. Long experience has taught us that alphabetic works of this sort are frequently reprinted, even when they are very defective. We were therefore reduced to this alternative, either not altogether to please a certain number of people, or to give intire satisfaction to a much greater number: reason then required that we should chuse the last.

There was a middle way we might have taken: to wit, to print the additions apart, and likewise to insert them in the second edition. They who had not as yet bought it, would by this means have had the whole work under one alphabet; and they who had purchased it before, would have only been obliged to procure the additions, and would have found the inconvenience of two alphabets more tolerable than paying twice for the same thing. I should have made choice of this expedient, if I had thought the additions would have been so large as they have proved; but when this second edition was begun, I fancied they could not amount to more than a

very few sheets, and that it would not be worth the while to print them by themselves. It proved quite otherwise during the course of the impression; but the opportunity of taking that middle way was lost, before we had reason to think that the additions would be sufficient to fill a volume. More care shall be taken of this, if this second edition should be followed by any more; for in that case we shall take our measures, so that every one may have it in his power to buy separately what shall be added.

If this excuse is not sufficient I will give another. The public ought to be so accustomed to frequent editions of Dictionaries, corrected and enlarged in every impression, that it would be unreasonable to take it amiss that I have followed a custom authorized by so many examples. I might produce a great many, but I content myself with alledging Moreri's Dictionary, which has passed thro' nine editions in the space of twenty five years, always with new additions and corrections. The ninth will doubtless be followed by many more, on the same footing, both in France (2) and in Holland. I should not desire to be pardoned if I was guilty of so many relapses; but methinks the public ought to think me sufficiently justified this first time, especially since I have no design of doing so any more.

Let us say something concerning this second edition. It is not twice as large as the first, but it does not want much of it; and if it be not exempt from the faults of the first as much as it should be, and as much as I desired, it is however less faulty. As I was revising the first edition, I have found many mistakes that proceeded from the negligence of the Printers. They have been rectified, as also many others, most of which were occasioned by the authors quoted by me, whom I could not rectify, because I had not by me the books necessary for it. There are some faults which I should not have mended, had I not been informed of them; they will be easily discerned, for I have carefully mentioned the authors of the advices, illustrations, or supplements, that have been communicated to me (3). After all, I am not without great fears that there are more faults remaining than I have removed; 'tis the fate of Dictionaries to arrive slowly and by degree at perfection. Abundance of things are wanting to them when they first come out, which time gives them by slow degrees. Be it how it will, I have been so dissatisfied with my first edition, in bringing it to the test of examination, that I disown and disclaim it (4), and will be answerable only for the things I have caused to be reprinted out of it: I expect from the readers equity, that if they will reprove me, they will take care to observe whether the passage they think faulty is to be found in the second edition. I likewise earnestly desire them to examine whether the passage found fault with, be not corrected in the Errata, or in the Additions placed at the end of these three volumes.

There are some corrections that I have made, as it were *ex officio*, and in consequence of an engagement of which the public was informed (5). I have done it with all imaginable care, and with the strongest intention to satisfy the discontented. To this purpose I have struck out of the article of DAVID every thing that could give offence. This is the greatest suppression that has been necessary: the others are not considerable, either for their number, nor their length. We have been able to amend all the rest at the expence of some few words, or few lines; and chiefly by means of four Explanations which are at the end of this work.

I shall say but little of the Additions, not being willing to prepossess any body: let every one judge of them as they see cause. But I will not dissimble, that the trouble they have given me has not permitted me to cor-

(2) *The Literary news from Paris acquaint us that Mr Vautier is employed in a new edition of Moreri's and not only designs to augment and correct it, but also to new mould it. He is very capable of succeeding in it. It was he who gave the edition of Paris 1699.*

(3) *Either in general, or by naming the persons, or placing asterisks or points instead of their names, when I knew or thought they would not be named. There are few exceptions to this.*

(4) *This ought particularly to be understood of the copies that were reprinted, the proofs whereof I did not revise. The Printers have committed great mistakes in those copies.*

(5) *In a Letter concerning what passed in the Consistory of the Walloon church of Rotterdam, in relation to the Critical Dictionary. That Letter is inserted in the Life of Mr Bayle, under the year 1698.*

rect the articles of the first edition with all the severity and diligence I designed. It is very difficult for an author, whilst the press goes on without any interruption, to do these three things; to revise two large volumes in folio, to enlarge them above one third part, and to correct the proofs.

Some Additions require that many places should be mended and new moulded, to prevent contradicting one's self, and writing nonsense. To correct a Dictionary well, a man should never enlarge it; for it is with these works, as it is with towns and fruits. A town seldom receives a just symmetry and proportion, whilst greater care is taken to enlarge it, than to repair the old houses. Such an increase serves rather to shew it's disproportions, and irregularities, than to remove them. And as for fruits, it is well known they never ripen, 'till they cease to receive new juices. Such is the common fate of compilations. When they are reprinted, a greater care is taken to add new things, than to put the old ones in a better condition. An author is weary of the old ones he has read so often, and finds in the others the charms of novelty, which take up all his attention. This produces an ill effect; most of the old faults remain, and new ones are added to them.

Having been advised by several people not to suffer the Project or plan which I published in the year 1692, before some essays of this Dictionary, to be lost; I have reprinted it at the end of the dissertations which are in the last volume.

There are certain things of which I have said in sundry places, that I did acquaint my Readers with them once for all. It may happen that they will never light upon these passages, books of this kind not being usually read through, from the beginning to the end: I have therefore been advised to mark here the places where I give any general advertisements. For this purpose I believe it will be sufficient to refer to the following articles: ANAXAGORAS, in the text at the end; ARISTANDER, Remark [B]; BEME; CAMDEN, Remark [D]; CARNEADES, Remark [B]; GOMARUS, Remark [B]; GOURNAI, Remark [D]; HAILLAN; MAHOMET II; PRIOLO.

OBSERVATIONS
concerning the
Index.

(6) Which I
have done
as often as
I could, and
always when I
had a sufficient
number of
books.

Several people have desired me to place good Indexes at the end of the work. I agree that there are but few books where they are more necessary than in this. I had laid down pretty good plans, and perhaps I might say that there are few people more proper to execute them, than such as have laboured a long while in making vast compilations; for if they have been at the pains to verify the passages (6), they must have been obliged to turn to the indexes every moment; they have been disappointed there a thousand and a thousand times: they have thereby found their defects, and learned what is necessary in order to shun them. Possibly therefore I could have composed a good index; but I neither had the time, nor the patience, which so tedious and tiresome a task requires. Nay, I did not think it proper that the person, who was employed to make one, and who would have been able to have executed very exactly any plan that could have been laid down to him, should engage himself in the detail which some readers desired. They would have a particular index of authors cited, censured, or corrected, and so of an hundred things besides. I considered that such indexes would be so long, that they would disgust many people. I know by my own experience, and by that of many others, that articles of an index, filled with half pages of cyphers, are hardly of service to any body; for where are the people, who in order to find out one passage, will give themselves the trouble to consult twenty? in an index

of SALMASIUS's (7), the article of PLINY contains above three columns of cyphers, that of STRABO two, and that of THEOPHRASTUS near three. Of what use can this be to a reader? will he be stupid enough to employ a whole day to try his chance in this incredible quantity of pages quoted? the way to remedy this, would be to take notice that Pliny is quoted for such and such a thing, but if you do not make a new alphabetical distribution, the sight of two or three pages, filled only with one name, will disgust every body. Now this alphabetical distribution, of what concerns each author that has been quoted, is a task for a gally-slave. Besides, do we not know that there are hardly four readers among an hundred, who mind whether the index is good or not? most people never look into it: we should therefore undertake a most fatiguing task, which would be of use only to very few. It is for these and many other reasons, that I thought it would be sufficient to give the index, which you will find at the end of this work, and to add only another index, which contains nothing but a list of the articles. Be pleased to observe, that the index doth not contain the names of all the authors which I have quoted; and when they are contained in it, all the passages where they are quoted, are not set down. People will therefore deceive themselves if they reason thus, a certain author does not appear in the index, or appears but thrice, therefore he has not been quoted, or he has been quoted only three times.

The chief reason which made me resolve not to execute all the plans of indexes which I had conceived, was, that I thought a word of advice would supply all defects. Let the few readers who make use of that part of a book, only observe what follows.

When they meet with any thing worth remembering, they need only see whether it be in the table; and if it be not, it is but marking it themselves in the margin of the table, under the word which they think most convenient, or on a paper by itself. It is the method that is taken by those who find the tables of books defective, and design to prevent the damage they might receive by them.

Having received too late the memoirs for the article of the town of ETAMPES, and for those of FEVRET, and the house MINUTOLI, which has afforded Cardinals, and many illustrious persons of all ranks, I could not make use of them. I have also received too late an article ready made, and very well drawn up, viz. that of RALPH Archbishop of Bourges, son of Ralph, Count and Lord of Turenne.

It would not have been proper, methinks, to place all these articles in the Addenda, which are at the end of each volume (8). Very few people read these sorts of Addenda, and no body approves that they should fill many pages. I am so much persuaded that they are but little consulted, that I here once more beg of my readers not to condemn me upon any account, before they have examined my Addenda, where many things are corrected. I desire them likewise, particularly to consult there the additions to the articles BRUN (9), and BUDÆUS, in which I mention the ancient nobility of these two families; the addition to the article FONTEVRAUD, and to the article LEO X (10), and the article VERSORIS, which I give entire in the Addenda to the last volume (11).

I have nothing to say to those, who complain that my work does not afford them a sufficient number of things that suit with their taste. It is the unavoidable fate of miscellaneous writings. Each reader finds in them too much of one thing, and too little of another. Those who love genealogies

(7) Salmasius in the Index of authors quoted in his Exercitationes Pliniane.

(8) These four articles have been inserted in their proper places in this new edition.

(9) The Plenipotentiary of Spain at the peace of Munster.

(10) I give there two Letters of this Pope, which were never printed, and are very curious.

(11) All these Additions have been inserted in their proper places in this edition.

(12) Compare what is said in the remark [F] of the article PO-QUELIN.

(13) Unde Seneca: non est, quod mireris, ex eadem materia suis quemque studiis apta colligere. In eodem prato bos herbam querit, canis leporem, ciconia lacertum.

Cum Cicero- nis libros de republica prehendit hinc philologus aliquis, hinc grammaticus, hinc philosophiæ deditus, alius alio suam curam mittit. Et Plinius cum dixisset multos esse, quos ea quibus nos capimur & ducimur, partim ut inepta, partim ut molestissima offendant: *Drusus*, inquit, *alienis oblectationibus veniam ut nostris impetremus*. Scioppius, E- lem. Philof. Stoicæ morali- cap. 152. fol. 147. *Therefore Seneca says: You need not wonder that every man from the same matter chooses what most suits his own studies. In the same meadow the ox seeks for grass, the dog for a bone, and the hawk for a lizard. When a philologist, a grammarian, and a philosopher, take up each of them Cicero's Treatise on government, they all apply their attention different ways. And Pliny, after observing that many people look upon those things with which we are delighted, either as trifling or disagreeable, says, Let us excuse*

nealogies do not find enough of them: those who do not love them think there are too many. Those who delight in Philosophical reasonings, would have more of them; and those who do not like them, would not have so many. Some with I had not given the articles of so many Ministers; others wonder I have omitted so many. I desire them all to call to mind this saying of Pliny, "Let us forgive others their inclinations, that they may forgive ours (12)." I shall quote upon this, a fine Passage of Scioppius (13).

If I have spoken of one family, rather than of another equally or more considerable, it was without any respect of persons; the only reason of it was, that I had materials for some and not for others.

A particular answer is due to those who have found fault with me for speaking so little of great warriors: two things made me so barren in this respect; one is, as I have sufficiently said (14), that I have avoided falling in with the subjects of other Dictionaries, both as to the present and future editions. Most of the ancient and modern Generals of armies are to be found in Moreri; especially the Constables, Admirals, and Marshals of France, &c. These articles cost only the pains of transcribing Father Anselme. I was persuaded, that all the famous northern and German warriors, would appear at large in Mr Chappuzeau's Dictionary. I did not therefore think it necessary to turn my thoughts that way. But I had still a stronger reason, which was this: I did not find myself in a capacity to give the articles of great captains, such as I should have desired. Father Anselme's performance is a good and useful work, and required an incredible patience and very labourious enquiries, but it cannot satisfy the reader's curiosity. It is next to nothing to know that in such a year a general took or relieved a town, or won a battle, &c. The reader is besides willing to know what was his character; whether he excelled in courage, as Marcellus, or in prudence as Fabius Cunctator; whether he was better qualified to conquer, than to preserve his conquests; whether his fiery and quick temper dazzled him in a battle, or whether he remained sedate in the greatest danger; by what wise and happy expedient he gained a battle that was almost lost; by what fault he was overcome on such an occasion. The readers are also willing to know, whether in reality he got the victory, as the writers of his party affirm, or whether he lost it, as the Writers of the other side maintain. These disputes are innumerable (15). I should think myself obliged to discuss them, and to compare the relations of both sides, that by establishing as a principle, the facts in which they agree, whether in relation to the battle or to its consequences, we might there, by way of induction, arrive at some sort of certainty.

For example, if I spoke of the Marschal de Luxembourg, I would observe the character that distinguished him from other generals, and be particular upon the occasions in which he discovered what he excelled in, and in what his talents was but indifferent. I would avoid the mistakes and omissions which I find about him in Moreri's Dictionary. I would not say that he "defeated the armies of Holland near Bodegrave, in 1672," that he took Bodegrave (16) in 1673, that he raised the Siege of Charleroi in 1674. For the first of these three facts (17) is an inexcusable hyperbole, and the two others are wholly chimerical. I would not say, that in 1673 "he made his way through the enemy's army of seventy thousand men, though he had but twenty thousand:" it is an hyperbole that would not be excused in a poet. I would not say, that in 1678

other people's inclinations, that we may obtain excuse for our own.

(14) In the preface to the first edition.

(15) The original cause of it is frequently this: That for political reasons they use the name of Victory in the first relations of a battle, that are sold about the streets. This appellation takes root, tho' it should be only a transient one: it is like a Christian name, which remains to the last.

(16) Note, that Bodegrave is but a village.

(17) See the article BODEGRAVE.

" he beat the Dutch army at St Denys, near Mons ; but I would examine the question who won the battle. I would not say, that in 1692 " he took " the enemy's cannon and baggage, &c. at Steinkerke ;" it being a fact manifestly confuted by the very relation he gave of this battle, and which was immediately printed in France. I would not omit the rebellion he peristed in from the year 1649, to the Pyrenean treaty. I would not omit his campaign of Philipsburg (18), under pretence that he was mortified upon that account. I would not omit his imprisonment in the Bastille, and would endeavour to dive into the secrecy of the proceedings of the Chamber of the Arsenal against him. This is the more requisite for the honour of his memory, because there went strange and very ridiculous reports concerning his process. I would examine what so many people imagine, though perhaps without much reason, that he would have done greater services to France in his last campaigns, if he had not preferred his particular interest of keeping up the war to the public good, or if his orders had not been too limited. Those men pretend that he headed the army, just as the Pope's legates headed the Council of Trent ; that is, he was to wait every post for a new inspiration. Lastly, I would endeavour to find a true medium as to his morals, betwixt his funeral oration, and some pieces that have been printed (19).

Every body will be sensible, that since I am not in a capacity of filling up a plan of this nature, I am very excusable for not touching upon such articles.

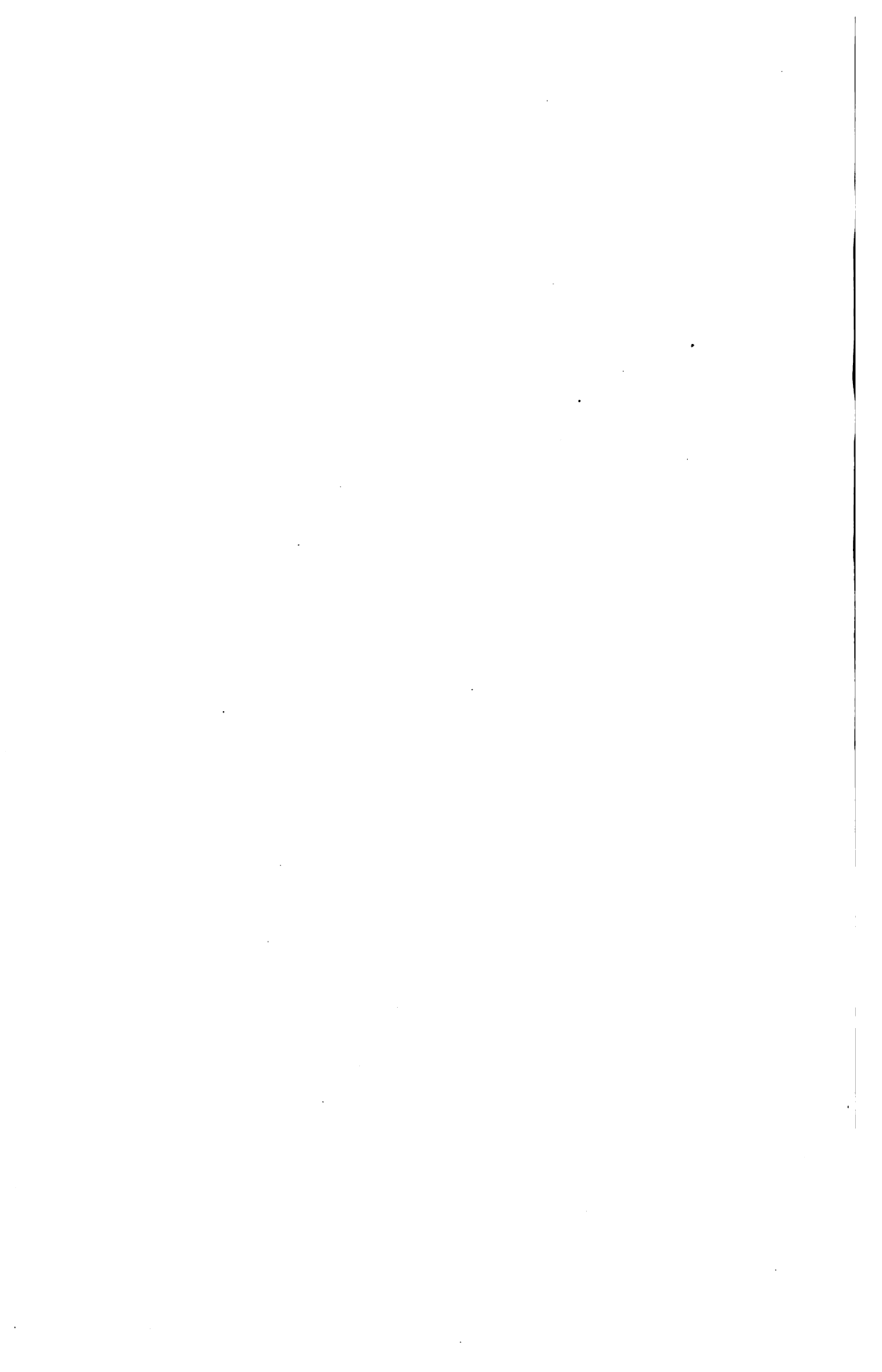
I forgot to mention, in the preface of the first edition, one of the reasons why I quote long Latin passages ; which is, that many persons who read my book are but little acquainted with French, but they are well skilled in Latin, and so by the help of the citation they can perfectly understand my meaning.

Such as will give themselves the trouble to cast their eyes upon the margins of this Dictionary, are desired to remember, that the quotations I have marked with a figure, are those which I have found in the authors, whose passages I relate. I am not answerable for them.

(19) I do not mean all; for most of them are so silly and impertinent satires, and so plainly calumnious, that they ought not to be credited.

The 7th of December, 1701.





T H E
L I F E
O F
M^R B A Y L E.

B Y
Mr DES MAIZEAUX,
Fellow of the Royal Society.

*A Letter from Mr DES MAIZEAUX to Mr DE LA MOTTE ;
who engaged him to write the Life of Mr BAYLE, which was
prefixed to the last edition of his Dictionary, printed at Amster-
dam in the year 1730.*

S I R,

LONDON, Dec. 13, 1729.

I Have at length finished the task you was pleased to prescribe me ; but I am very much afraid that the performance will discover the shortness of the time in which I was obliged to compose it, and that my zeal to obey your commands, has thrown me into a precipitation prejudicial to my desire of doing well. Tho' my materials were ready long ago, that was not enough ; it was necessary to range and reduce them into order, which was no small matter. I am fully persuaded that you are too much my friend, not to be satisfied with my endeavour, and that you will excuse the defects of this piece, on account of my eagerness to gratify your desire. But tho' a friend regards principally the good intention, the public considers only the performance. It is impossible but being so hurried, I must have sometimes too much contracted what ought to have been enlarged, and too much enlarged what ought to have been contracted. The stile likewise is very incorrect, and I do not even know but I have been guilty of some inconsistencies: for having sent you the sheets as fast as I composed them, I have not as yet seen the work entire, and consequently could not compare the several parts together. I could wish the public were apprized of this, which might incline the reader to excuse my faults: and since you are the occasion of the evil, you are in some sort obliged to apply the remedy. Be so good, therefore, as to join to it a short Advertisement, which may serve as an apology for me. But above all things, do not forget to take notice, that when you engaged me to write these Memoirs, the impression of the Dictionary was finished, and they had actually begun to print the Index.

But after having shown my performance in it's worst light, you may likewise set it off by showing it's fair side. However defective the form may be, you may, Sir, speak with assurance of the matter, since that is none of mine. I had very good materials to go upon. After the death of Mr BAYLE, the Earl of SHAFTSBURY, his friend, desired me to communicate to him all that I could gather concerning his life and writings. I addressed myself immediately to Mr BASNAGE, who furnished me with a great many particulars, which I inserted in the account my Lord SHAFTSBURY had desired of me, a very imperfect English translation of which was published in 1708. Mr BAÿZE acquainted me also with several circumstances relating to Mr BAYLE's youth. He was his relation. I might likewise name Mr DE LA RIVIERE, Mr ABBADIE, Mr HUET, &c. Mr BAYLE's Letters, which I have published, were of infinite service to me. Lastly, I had a sure guide to fix the dates of his journeys, of his studies, of the composition and impression of his works, and of the different circumstances he was in during the first forty years of his life. This guide is Mr BAYLE himself, who has left us an historical and chronological journal of his life, under the title of *Calendarium Carlananum*. For this journal I am obliged to Mr MARAIS, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, who was pleased to send along with it such illustrations as I wanted. I am also indebted to him, for the Letters which relate to the Queen of Sweden, and for some other important pieces which you will find in this work.

I have joined to Mr BAYLE's Life three small pieces, which will serve for vouchers, and may be placed at the end by way of appendix. The first is the *Calendarium Carlananum*; the translation of it explains what is either expressed very briefly, or by abbreviations in the original. The second is the *Ordonnance* of Mr DE LA REYNIE, Lieutenant-General of the Police, at Paris, containing a condemnation of the *Critique Generale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr MAIMBOURG*; there is something very singular in it. The third contains the *Acts of the Consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam, concerning Mr Bayle's Dictionary*; in which is to be found, the whole procedure of that consistory, together with Mr BAYLE's declarations: this piece has not as yet been published.

Out of all this, Sir, you may choose what you think proper for your advertisement. I think you cannot avoid naming the persons who have furnished me with memoirs. This is an acknowledgment which is due to them. But I can safely rely upon you in this matter, my interests cannot be in better hands. It therefore only remains, that I beg the continuance of your friendship, and that I assure you of the great devotion with which I shall always be,

S I R,

Your very humble and most obedient servant,

P. DES MAIZEAUX.

T H E L I F E

O F

Mr B A Y L E.

1647.



R (PETER) BAYLE, was born at Carla, a small town in the county of Foix, betwixt Pamiers and Rieux, on the 18th of November 1647. His Father, descended from a good family, originally of Montauban, was named JOHN. He was minister of Carla, and married Jane de Bruguere, whose mother was of the family of Ducasse; so that Messieurs Bayle were related to two families of distinction in the county of Foix, Ducasse, and Chalabre of which that of Bruguere is a branch. He had two brothers; one elder called JACOB, who was colleague to his father, and a younger, named JOSEPH, and surnamed *du Peyrat*, from an estate belonging to the family.

Mr Bayle discovered from his infancy, a subtle and lively genius, an easy and quick conception, and a very extraordinary memory; and all these were attended with another talent, absolutely necessary to the improvement of these excellent qualities, a strong desire after knowledge and instruction. He would frequently ask questions of his parents, and wait for their answers with the utmost eagerness and attention, and would not be satisfied with such as they gave him, 'till he fully comprehended them, and what he learned in this domestic school he never forgot. His father cultivated these happy dispositions with the utmost care. After having taught him Latin, he made him study the Greek language at the age of twelve years and a half (1), and for some years improved his knowledge of both these languages, by the reading of the best authors. But at last the functions of his ministry taking up a great deal of his Time, and finding his son capable of a greater progress than he could possibly make under him, he took the resolution of sending him to the Academy of Puylaurens. Mr Bayle arrived there in the month of February 1666 (2). He was then in his nineteenth year; but neither the passions which ordinarily have the sway at that age, nor his absence from his parents, could in the least weaken the strong passion he had for letters: he made even the hours that are given to recreation subservient to it; and while the other scholars were engaged in the amusements which are so dear to youth, he used to retire to his chamber, and there devote himself to the pleasures arising from study.

In the month of September following (3), he took the opportunity of the vacation to make a visit to his father. But even this season which is designed for diversion, was to him a time of labour: he applied himself so closely to his studies, that he fell sick; and hardly was he recovered, when giving himself up a-new to this favourite passion, he sickened again, and in this manner by frequent relapses he was detained at Carla, above eighteen months. After this he was sent to Saverdun (4), to the house of Mr Bayze, who had married his aunt Paula de Bruguere. The design of this journey was for the change of air, and to divert him from study, but unluckily he found books there. Mr Rival, minister of Saverdun, had a large collection of them, which was such a temptation to young Bayle, as almost cost him his Life. His continual study threw him into a dangerous fever, which held him a long time, and of which he with great difficulty recovered. As soon as he was in a condition to go abroad, they removed him to a country house of Mr Bayze's, situate upon the banks of the Aurige, which makes the place very agreeable. The remembrance of the happy moments he spent near that river, was the occasion of his consecrating an article to it in his Dictionary (5).

(1) June 29, 1660.

(2) Febr. 12, 1666.

(3) Sept. 9.

(4) May 29, 1668.

(5) See the Article AURIGE.

(6) Sept.
28.
(7) Nov.
5.

When he was perfectly recovered, he returned to Carla (6), and soon after to Puylaurens (7), to prosecute his studies. He resumed them with new vigour, and, together with his academical exercises, he read all sorts of books that came in his way, not even excepting books of controversy: but Plutarch and Montaigne were his favourite authors. The long stay he had made at home with his father, before he went to the academy, and his frequent indispositions afterwards, had so much retarded his studies, that he did not begin his Logic, 'till he was one and twenty. So that it is not without reason, that he complains in one of his books (8), that he begun his studies late.

(8) In a pamphlet intitled, *Reflexions sur un imprimé qui a pour titre, Jugement du public sur le Dictionnaire Critique*, &c. 19. p. 8. That is, *Reflexions on a Pamphlet intitled, The Judgment of the Public, concerning the Critical Dictionary*: which see at the end of the last volume.

He redoubled his application to make up the time he had lost; and the progress made at Puylaurens, not being in his apprehension sufficiently quick, he resolved to leave that academy in order to go to Toulouse, one of the most celebrated universities in France. He arrived there in the month of February 1669 (9); and taking lodgings in a private house, attended the philosophical lectures, which were read in the Jesuits college. There was nothing very extraordinary in this. The Protestants often sent their children to study under the Jesuits, though this had been forbidden by the synods. Mr Bayle's stay at Toulouse, however, had very melancholy consequences for his family, here he changed his religion. The books of controversy which he had read at Puylaurens, had already shaken him; and his doubts were increased at Toulouse, by some disputes he had with a priest, who lodged in the same house with him. He thought his opinions were false, because he could not answer all the arguments that were objected to him; and, a month after his arrival at Toulouse, he embraced the Roman Catholic religion (10). He was matriculated, and the next day resumed the study of Logic.

1669.

(9) Febr.
19.

(10) Mar.
19.

(11) Holding the child Jesus in her arms.

The news of his change was in the utmost degree afflicting to all his relations, and particularly to his father, who loved him tenderly. Mr Bertier, bishop of Rieux, rightly judging, that after this step young Bayle had no reason to expect any assistance from his relations, generously took upon himself the charge of his maintenance. Mr Bayle makes a grateful acknowledgment of it in a letter which he wrote in the year 1693, to Mr Pinson, Advocate of the Parliament of Paris [A].

They valued themselves very much at Toulouse upon this acquisition of a young man of so great hopes, and whose merit was heightened by his being son to a minister. When it came to his turn to defend Theses publicly, it was resolved that the solemnity should be performed in a splendid manner. The most distinguished persons, both of the clergy, parliament, and city, assisted there: there had never been seen in that university so august and numerous an audience. The theses were adorned with the picture of the Virgin (11), to whom they were dedicated, and this picture was accompanied with several emblematical figures, representing the conversion of the respondent. The perspicuity, the penetration, and the modesty, with which he answered his opponents, procured him an universal applause.

(12) To the Virgin Mother of God.

Mr Ros de Bruguere, one of his uncles by the mother's side, who was married to a Roman Catholic lady, being at Toulouse when Mr Bayle defended his theses, carried a copy of them to Carla, which Madam Ros de Bruguere hung up as an ornament in her chamber. Mr Bayle's father being come to visit Mr Ros de Bruguere, they acquainted him in what manner his son had distinguished himself in the public disputation, the honours which had been done him, and the applause he had received. The good man heard this with pleasure, and seemed for a moment to have forgot the grief with which his son's change of religion had afflicted him. But Madam Ros de Bruguere having shewed him the theses, as soon as he saw the figure of the Virgin, with these words, *VIRGINI DEIPARÆ* (12), he was seized with such indignation, that he made an effort to get near it; but was stopped lest he should

(a) This letter was never printed before.

[A] Mr Bayle makes a grateful acknowledgment of it in a letter he wrote to Mr Pinson in 1693. What follows had been published in the *MENAGIANA*: Mr Bayle is son to a minister. The bishop of Rieux, who had contributed to his conversion, made him study at Toulouse, at his own charges; but after he had finished his studies, he joined himself again to that sect which he had left. These expressions appeared too general to Mr Bayle. He complained of them to Mr Pinson. "The manner, says he (a), in which Mr Menage has spoke concerning me is a little too loose, and apt to give false ideas: every body, from these words, will imagine, that I went through all my studies under the protection, and by the liberality of the bishop of Rieux: the whole of the matter is this. After I had finished the studies of Grammar, Latin, and Rhetoric, partly under my father's care, partly at the academy of Puylaurens; I began to study Philosophy at that academy, and continued to do so only about four or five months. Afterwards I went to Toulouse full of doubts concerning my religion, occasioned by the reading of books of controversy. I chanced to lodge in the same house with a priest, who, by his disputes with me,

"increased them, and at last persuaded me that I professed a false religion. I separated from it, and continued the study of Philosophy in the Jesuits college at Toulouse. The bishop of Rieux, in whose diocese I was born, hearing of my change and the indignation of my family against me, and besides, that I was studious, of blameless morals, and had some measure of genius, honoured me with his protection, and gave me money to pay my board, for I received none from home because of my father's displeasure. Thus I finished my study of Philosophy: that is to say, I staid at Toulouse 18 months, after which the impressions of my education having regained the ascendant, I thought myself obliged to return to the religion in which I was born, and went to Geneva where I prosecuted my studies. I do not say this, as if I were ashamed of the favours of that great prelate, I still retain the remembrance of them with respect, and with the utmost gratitude. But still we are bound, both on our own account and that of the public, to prevent peoples forming false, extravagant, and hyperbolical ideas of things, &c."

1670. have tore it to pieces in the transport of his grief. He left the house with precipitation and shed a flood of tears, protesting that he would never return thither, while so ungrateful an object presented itself to his sight.

In the mean time, the catholics, not content with having gained young Bayle, formed a design of bringing over the whole family; and for this purpose they thought it proper to begin with the elder brother. The bishop of Ricux laid his commands on Mr Bayle to write to him, and at the same time assured him, that if he could only persuade him to come to Toulouse his conversion was sure. Mr Bayle believing sincerely that he had embraced the right side, and bearing a great affection to his brother, wrote him the following Letter (1).

My very dear Brother,

“THE great affection that I have for you, and the passionate desire I have for your happiness, won't permit me to omit any occasion of procuring your welfare. I find myself under a necessity of begging of you, in the most earnest manner, to come and pass a few days in this city, that I may have an opportunity of talking to you of several matters, which are of the utmost importance to you, both with regard to this life, and that which is to come. I persuade myself, that if I had the liberty of discovering to you the state of things as they really are, and the favourable disposition in which they are at present, I should be able to make some impression upon your mind, and make you confess that the supreme wisdom, which governs the world, has laboured in a very particular manner in directing the motion of so many springs; and that as it doth nothing that is not conducive to the advancement of it's own glory and our salvation, it has been pleased, by bringing together so many different things, which all seem to conspire for your advantage, to endeavour the most happy and glorious change, which can possibly be wrought in my father's mind, and in your's.

“You will without doubt say that all these are mysteries which you do not at all understand, that they are riddles to you; but I assure you that if I had but a little conversation with you on this subject, you would easily comprehend my design, and would see as clear as day, what good foundation I had for assuring you, that this disposition which has ordered such a number of things, in which you have a great concern, is so favourable to you, that there is all the reason in the world to hope something supernatural from it.

“I shall not explain myself more clearly upon this subject, because I hope that you will not refuse me the favour I desire of you of coming to see me as soon as possible, and then we shall have an opportunity of talking more at large about it, in the private conversations we shall have together. Come therefore, my dear brother, if it be possible, before the end of this week; come and satisfy the impatience of one who languishes for you, and ardently desires that you would put yourself in a condition of being happy. I assure you that you shall not repent your coming, what I have to say being of such a nature as is proper to satisfy a solid and reasonable mind such as your's.

“And surely I should wrong you, if I believed that you were sick of an incurable distemper, to such a degree too as to approve of nothing but what is agreeable to your own notions. I entertain a better opinion of you, and those who know you make no difficulty of believing, that a person of so good a natural disposition, and of such probity as you profess, may be brought to relish any reasonable opinion, however strange it may appear at first sight, and however strong your prejudices may be to the contrary. Upon this foundation I assure myself, that what I have to say to you will not displease you, nor startle you so far as to make you capable of altogether shutting your ear against whosoever shall desire to talk to you about it.

“If I had addressed myself to a great many people, and begged of them the favour of a hearing which I desire of you, it might indeed happen that they would presently suspect and distrust me, and condemn all I should be able to say to them: but as for you, I believe you are not capable of condemning me without hearing me; and if it was only out of curiosity, methinks you will be desirous to know what this matter may be, and that you will suspend your judgment 'till you know what it is: in which I can observe nothing in your mind but a disposition to do well.

“I should want no more, to give me a foundation for good hopes, than to be assured that you are resolved to form this conclusion, which is founded upon a truth confirmed in the most incontestable manner, by the experience of all ages; to wit, that in matters of religion, all innovations are most pernicious, and that a private person who pretends, by his own authority, to set himself up for a Reformer, can be thought no other than a factious person, a schismatic, a sower of tares, and, in short, a person filled with pride, obstinacy, and envy. And indeed what probability is there, that God should suffer the Christian Church to fall to ruin and desolation, that he should hide his light from it, and deprive it of his illumination; while, in the mean time, he invests a private person, with so extraordinary an abundance of his grace, that he

(1) *This Letter is dated the 15th of April 1670. I have the original in my hands. The direction is To Mr Bayle, the son, Minister of Carla, at Carla.*

“ shall become the restorer of truth, a light to guide into the right path those who
 “ go astray; and, in short, the chanel and vehicle, the base and pillar, of true faith;
 “ so that one might say of him, as the poet says of a young prince who seemed to
 “ be born for the glory of that age, 1670.

*Hunc saltem everso juvenem succurrere saclo
 Ne prohibete (1).*

(1) Virgil.
 Georg. lib.
 i. v. 500,
 501.

“ In truth we must be both rash, imprudent, and blind, to suffer ourselves to be
 “ persuaded of such chimera's. It is much more agreeable to the order of God's
 “ providence, and to the care which the Holy Ghost takes of the faithful, in go-
 “ verning the church, by the communication of his divine assistance, which he be-
 “ stows upon the vicegerents of the son of God upon earth, that the church should
 “ instruct, correct, and reform, private persons, and the abuses which they may have
 “ suffered to creep into their conduct, and cure them of their errors, rather than
 “ that private persons should reform the church and set it to rights again. For
 “ as it would be very foolish to maintain, that God, when he intended to preserve
 “ some persons from the waters of the flood by whom he might restore the human
 “ race, should drown those who were in the ark of Noah, and at the same time
 “ should raise up I don't know what person, who had saved himself and his wife
 “ in some cavern, or who had escaped the fury and inclemency of the waves in
 “ I don't know what inviolable sanctuaries: so it is as extravagant, and without
 “ foundation, to pretend that the Holy Spirit, in order to accomplish his design of pre-
 “ serving always a little of the haven of faith from the ravages of infidels and heretics,
 “ has suffered the church, which is his spouse, to fall into idolatry, superstition, and error,
 “ and has drawn out Luther and Calvin from the obscurity of a cell, or the corner
 “ of a chapel, to propagate the faith, restore it to it's rights, and raise it up from
 “ under it's ruins.

“ Indeed one might think, tho' without the least appearance of reason or truth,
 “ that God would preserve these two men to propagate the gospel, during that
 “ general corruption which they suppose to have spread over the whole face of the
 “ church, because they had preserved themselves pure and clean from all those dis-
 “ orders and pretended abominations; as he preserved Lot and Noah, as a reward
 “ for their not having polluted themselves with the vices of the ages in which they
 “ lived. But to entertain any such thought, one must be altogether ignorant of things
 “ the most universally known, since it is notorious, that these two great sticklers for
 “ Reformation were altogether abandoned and immersed in vice (2); not to observe
 “ that they set out in an extremely criminal manner, that is to say, that they began
 “ by violating those vows, of which both piety and justice required the strictest ob-
 “ servance (3).

(2) See Mr
 Bayle's
 Critique
 Generale
 de l'Hi-
 stoire
 du Cal-
 vinisme.
 Lettre
 xi. § 8; and
 in the
 Critic.
 Diction.
 the Arti-
 cles CAL-
 VIN and
 LUTHER,
 where you
 will find
 a defence
 of these
 two Refor-
 mers.

“ These, dear brother, are the reflexions with which I would have you fortified,
 “ when you shall come to this town, for assuredly you will thereby become more apt
 “ to receive instruction. Besides all this, the precarious and weak condition of your
 “ whole party, which exists in this kingdom only by toleration, and because the
 “ King is not in the humour of extirpating you, makes me fear on your account
 “ every time I think of it. And indeed to subsist only because the fancy of a prince,
 “ who may do whatever he pleases in this matter, doth not incline him to suspend
 “ his concurrence by which you are preserved, is it not to be exposed to destruction every
 “ hour of the day, since there is not one in which the humour of a prince may not
 “ pass from one extremity to another.

(3) See
 Critique
 Generale,
 &c. Lettre
 ix.

“ I have therefore great reason to wish, that you would imitate the Pharisees and
 “ Sadducees who came to John's baptism, of whom he asked who had persuaded them
 “ to fly from the wrath to come? I hope one day we shall be able, through the
 “ grace of the Holy Ghost and the blessing of God, to ask you a like question, which
 “ would be both very agreeable and advantageous for you. For this I pray to the
 “ sovereign Lord of all things, and would willingly bestow the last drop of my
 “ blood to procure your salvation. This I say not only on your account in parti-
 “ cular; but likewise on the account of my father, mother, second brother, and all my
 “ relations: too happy, if, like another Joseph, I could be the instrument of saving
 “ all my family! Adieu, my dear Brother: reflect on what I have said to you,
 “ and come as soon as possible, to know what he would say to you who is your
 “ most humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servant. You will see the ac-
 “ complishment of that which St Paul says, *be who seeks after the kingdom of God and*
 “ *his righteousness, all other things shall be added unto it (4).*”

(4) These
 words are
 not of St
 Paul, but
 of JESUS
 CHRIST;
 Gospel of
 St Mat. b.
 Chap. vi.
 ver. 33.

This letter made no great impression upon Mr Bayle's elder brother, with regard
 to religion. He was equally insensible to the flattering hopes it gave him, and to
 the common-places of controversy it opposed to him: but he was very much alarm-
 ed by some expressions, which made him fear least his brother, together with the
 Roman Catholic religion, had imbibed that sournels of spirit, with which it inspires
 it's devotees. His father, more indulgent, attributed them to some busy priest who had
 dictated

1670. dictated the letter. He said that he saw nothing of his son in it, and that he hoped to see him very soon return into the good way.

Mr Naudis de Bruguere, his cousin-german, a young gentleman of a great deal of wit and penetration, was at this time at Toulouse. He lodged in the same house with Mr Bayle. They disputed frequently about religion; and after warmly pushing the arguments of each side, they used to examine them coolly over again. Mr Naudis was well acquainted with his religion: the strict friendship that was betwixt them banished all bitterness from their debates, and rendered them more free and more impartial. These familiar disputes, which seemed to be entirely accidental, frequently embarrassed Mr Bayle, and made him suspect several opinions of the church of Rome, in so much that he sometimes inwardly condemned himself for having embraced them without being sufficiently acquainted with them. For he looked upon examination in matters of religion, to be an indispensable duty, being the only means to assure one's self of the truth, and consequently of knowing the will of God, and of putting one's self in a condition of following it. He was the more confirmed in these sentiments by observing, that whatever submission the church of Rome exacts, it was notwithstanding by the way of examination, that they thought fit to bring about his conversion.

About the same time Mr de Pradals de Larbon came to Toulouse. He was one of those men, who by their wit, gaiety, and manners, at first sight gain the affection of all who see them. Accordingly he was very much caressed by persons of the greatest distinction in that province. Mr Bayle, the father, had desired him to visit his son as oft as he went to Toulouse: he hoped that Mr Pradals would very soon gain the confidence of the young Bayle; and in fact he succeeded so well, that Mr Bayle one day confessed to him, that he believed he had been a little too hasty in the new party he had chosen, and that now he found several doctrines in the Romish religion, which appeared to him contrary both to reason and scripture. Mr de Pradals, charmed with this confession, presently communicated it to Mr Bayle's family, to their inexpressible satisfaction. They presently resolved to send his elder brother to him, and begged of Mr de Pradals to manage their interview. Mr Bayle's eldest brother being gone to Toulouse with Mr de Pradals, the latter invited young Bayle to dine with him, as it was his custom to do. After some discourse, when the servants had retired, Mr Bayle the elder, who was in a closet, came out and shewed himself to his brother. All that joy, grief, and surprise have most strong at once seized the young Bayle, so that he was not able to utter a word, he threw himself at his feet, and burst out into tears. Mr Bayle, the elder, could not restrain his, and raising him up he spoke to him in so tender a manner, that the young Bayle discovered the bottom of his heart to him, by telling him how impatient he was to leave Toulouse, and renounce the errors which had seduced him. In the mean time, as his escape would certainly incense, the bishop of Rieux and the Jesuits, they thought it necessary to take some precautions, which delayed Mr Bayle's departure for some days. It was in the month of August 1670, that he put this design in execution.

He departed secretly from Toulouse (1), where he had staid eighteen months, and retired to Mazeres in the Lauragais, to a country house of Mr du Vivie, six leagues from Toulouse, and three from Carla. His elder brother came there the day after, with certain ministers of the neighbourhood; and the next day (2), Mr Rival, Minister of Saverdun, received his abjuration in presence of his elder brother, of Mr Guillemat Minister of Mazeres, and of Mr Rival Minister of Calmont and nephew to the minister of Saverdun. The very same day they made him set out for Geneva [B].

[B] Mr Bayle has himself given us the history of his change of religion, and of his return to the protestant church.

"The truth of the matter is (a), that Mr Bayle, while he studied philosophy in the Academy at Puylaurens, did not confine himself so closely to what was dictated by his professor, as not likewise to read some books of controversy, not with the disposition with which most people do so, I mean to confirm himself in his preconceived notions, but to examine agreeably to the great Protestant principle, whether the doctrine he had been taught from his infancy was true or false: which requires that we should hear both parties. Upon this account he was curious to see the arguments of the Roman Catholics in their own writings. He found so specious arguments against the doctrine which denies that there is any living judge upon earth, to whose decisions private persons are obliged to submit, when there arise disputes about matters of religion, that not being able to answer these objections to himself, and much less to defend his principles against some subtle controversies with

"whom he disputed at Toulouse, he thought himself a schismatic, and out of the way of salvation, and bound to join himself again to the flock, from which he looked upon the Protestant communions as branches lopped off. Being re-united to it he continued the study of philosophy (b), in the college of the Jesuits, as do almost all who study in Roman Catholic countries, of whatsoever quality and condition they be. But the excessive worship he observed was paid to creatures, appearing very doubtful to him, and philosophy having given him a more perfect knowledge of the impossibility of transubstantiation, he concluded that there must have been some sophistry in the objections, which had overcome him; and upon making a new examination of the two religions, he recovered that light of which he had lost sight, and followed it without regarding a thousand temporal advantages, of which he deprived himself, nor a thousand inconveniences which appeared to him inevitable in doing so."

(a) Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam démontrée p. 139. & suiv.

(b) He had not then studied above four or five months in philosophy. See la Chimere démontrée, p. 151. and the Letter to Mr Pinon, above, Rem. [A.]

- He arrived there the second of September; and resumed the course of his studies. 1670.
 He had been taught the peripatetic philosophy by the Jesuits, and as he understood it well he defended it with a good deal of warmth (1). Yet notwithstanding he thought himself obliged to examine the Cartesian philosophy, which was taught at Geneva; and it was not long before he preferred the reasonable principles of the new philosophy, to the vain subtilties of the followers of Aristotle. A person of Mr Bayle's merit could not fail of being soon distinguished at Geneva. The reputation he obtained there, made Mr de Normandie, Syndic of the Republic, desire him to take the charge of his childrens education (2). Mr Bafnage, who studied at that time in Geneva, lodged with Mr de Normandie, and it was there Mr Bayle became acquainted with him, and formed that union which continued to his death. Mr Bayle likewise contracted a friendship with Mr Minutoli, which he ever after cultivated by a correspondence, that neither the length of time, nor distance of place, ever made him neglect. He was likewise intimately acquainted with Messieurs Pictet and Leger, who have been Professors of Divinity in the Academy of Geneva; and acquired in a very particular manner the esteem and affection of many persons of eminence, both in the State and in the Church: such as Mr Fabry, the Syndic; Messieurs Turretin, Mestrezat, Bourlamachi, Sartoris, &c.
- Some time after the place of one of the regents of the College becoming vacant, they cast their eyes upon him to supply it. Upon this he set himself to look over the ancient Latin and Greek authors; but, after considering the matter maturely, he could not bring himself to a resolution of teaching a Form, and so he neglected this sort of establishment.
- (1) *Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam de-montree, &c. pag. 144, 145.*
 (2) *He went to live with Mr Normandie, Nov. 21.*
 (3) *May 23, 1672.*
 (4) *July 24, 1712.*
 (5) *See in Mr Bayle's Letters, printed at Amsterdam in 1729; the letter to Mr Minutoli of the 27th of Feb. 1673. P. 24.*
 (6) *Letters to Mr Minutoli of Jan. 31, and of May 2, 1673. pag. 20, 25, 26. and of March 8, 1674. pag. 37, 38.*
 (7) *Letter to Mr Minutoli, of May 17, 1674. pag. 52.*
 (8) *Mr Manget, who has acquired a great reputation by several works relating to physic, which he has published.*
 (9) *Letter of March 17, 1675, pag. 66.*
- Mr Bayle had not been two years at Geneva, when the Count de Dhona, Lord of Copet, a Barony in the Pays de Vaud, two leagues distant from Geneva, desired Mr Bafnage to find him out a tutor for his sons. Mr Bafnage named Mr Bayle to him as a person extremely fit for that business. At the same time, he spoke of it to Mr Bayle, who at first had some reluctance to undertake the task proposed to him. He could not resolve to quit the delights of Geneva, and bury himself in the country. However at last he went thither (3), and employed himself in the education of the young Counts de Dhona: Alexander, who was governor and afterwards minister of state to the King of Prussia; Frederic surnamed Ferrassieres, who was a lieutenant-general in the Dutch service, governor of Mons, and was killed in the action at Denain (4); and Christopher, who assisted on the part of the King of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, at the coronation of the Emperor Charles VI, and who has distinguished himself in many other offices both civil and military. He continued two years with this family, and during that time he endeavoured to divert himself in his solitude, by a commerce of letters, which he carried on with Mr Minutoli, and with Mr Constant who afterwards filled the highest stations in the Academy of Lausanne. The letters he wrote to them turned upon every thing that came to hand, philosophy, literature, or political news which he loved passionately (5): he owns that he wrote without attaching himself to any regular connexion of thoughts (6). This commerce however was not capable of hindering his being tired of Copet, so he resolved to leave that place. He informed Mr Bafnage, who had returned to France, of his design and begged his good offices. Mr Bafnage acquainted him, that a relation of his who was studying at Geneva, was ordered to return to Rouen; he desired Mr Bayle to accompany him, and flattered him with the hopes of procuring something advantageous for him in that city (7). Mr Bayle received this news with great satisfaction; the only difficulty was to find some pretext for leaving the Count de Dhona. He made use of the following, which could not fail to prevent the Count's opposing the loss he was a going to sustain; he told him that his father, who was dangerously ill, had laid his commands upon him to come to him without delay.
- Accordingly he left Copet, the twenty ninth of May 1674, after having provided his pupils with another person capable of instructing them (8). He made no longer stay at Geneva than was necessary to see his friends; and arrived at Rouen with Mr Bafnage's relation on the fifteenth of June. Soon after he was appointed tutor to a merchant's son, and lived in the house with him; this was the post which Mr Bafnage had provided for Mr Bayle. This merchant had a country-house near Rouen, where Mr Bayle was obliged to go and spend five or six months with his pupil. He found this retirement as disagreeable as that of Copet had been, and he had recourse to the same remedies; he wrote letters to his relations and friends, and even composed some small pieces. When Mr Minutoli pressed him to send them to him, he desired to be excused. "It is a sufficient satisfaction to me," says he in a letter which he wrote to him (9), "that you are not ignorant how constant a correspondent I was, during my solitude in Normandy: and this being a sufficient proof that you are always in my thoughts, I won't give you the trouble of reading a confused medley of indigested thoughts, which my chagrin has made me put in writing." Being returned to Rouen in the beginning of the winter, the sole advantage he found there, was the benefit of frequent conversations with Mr Bafnage the father, Mr Bigot, Mr de Larroque, and some other persons of distinguished learning and merit. He only passed the winter there, for

for finding that his pupil had no disposition to Letters, he acquainted his relations with it, and left him.

1675. His utmost ambition was to be at Paris. The arts and sciences which flourished there, the great number of excellent libraries, the conferences which were weekly held on all sorts of subjects, in the houses of several learned men, where they with pleasure received all who desired to assist at them, were such powerful attractives to Mr Bayle, that he could not resist them. He desired his friends to procure for him some establishment there, to enable him to live in that great city. They proposed that he should take the charge of a young gentleman who was expected there from the country, and Mr Bayle left Rouen, the 1st of March 1675, in order to go to Paris. There he did not indeed find the young gentleman his friends had designed for him, but by the recommendation of the Marquis de Ruvigny, he was chosen tutor to Messieurs de Beringhen, brothers to Mr de Beringhen counsellor in the parliament of Paris, and to the Duches de la Force. He entered to this charge the 3d of April a month after his arrival at Paris.

While he was still in Normandy his mother had let him know, that she passionately desired to have his picture. He could not refuse her that satisfaction, and employed Ferdinand, a famous painter, whom a President of the Parliament, had at that time invited to Rouen. He sent her this picture after he came to Paris, and along with it a letter so tender, so full of respect, and which shows so well the disposition of his mind, that I think it well deserves a place in these Memoirs. It is as follows (1).

(1) *This Letter is dated April 16, 1675. The direction is To Mademoiselle de Bayle at Carla.*

Madam,

“ I Had resolv'd to send you at the same time a portrait of my heart, as well as of my face: but not being able to find words strong enough to express the greatness of my affection and respect for you, rather than my heart should suffer by my not being able to do it justice, I have chosen to send you the work of the painter alone. I flattered myself, that it would have been as easy for me to represent what passeth in my mind, as it has been to him to give a just representation of my features; I already fancied, that a thousand proper and significant words strove, which should first present themselves for that purpose. But when I came to try it, I found that my imagination was not able to furnish me with any thing that I wanted, and so I was oblig'd, much contrary to my inclination, to abandon my enterprize.

“ In order to supply this defect, fancy to yourself, my very good Mother, the thing on earth which is the most grateful, the most affectionate, and the most respectful, and you will have an idea of what I am with regard to you, and of what I am not able to express in words. It is a great satisfaction to me, that you have so much desired to have my picture, and it would be still a greater, if you would be persuaded that I am not to blame, that you have waited so long for it. If I cannot have yours, at least I shall have you always painted in my heart, on which you are impress'd as a signet.

“ May the good God, who has always display'd his mercies to us, still more and more favour our family, and grant to you, my much honoured Mother, a long life, free from cares, grief, and sickness; and to me such a share of his protection, as may make you taste those joys and pleasures, which usually arise from the happiness of persons who are dear to us.

“ I am indeed of a disposition neither to fear bad fortune, nor to have very ardent desires for good. Yet I lose this steadiness and indifference, when I reflect that your love to me makes you feel every thing that befalls me. It is therefore from the consideration that my misfortunes would be a torment to you, that I wish to be happy; and when I think that my happiness would be all your joy, I should be sorry my bad fortune should continue to persecute me; tho' as to my own particular interest, I dare promise to myself that I shall never be very much affected by it. I am with the most ardent affection, Madam my much honoured Mother, Your, &c.”

Mr Basnage was at this time at Sedan, where he finish'd the study of Divinity. Mr Bayle communicated to him all the literary news he could meet with, and Mr Basnage us'd to read his letters to Mr Jurieu, Minister, and Professor of Divinity in the Academy of Sedan. As Mr Jurieu will be mentioned more than once in these Memoirs, I shall begin here to give his character. He had a good deal of sagacity, a fruitful imagination, and wrote both well and with ease. Tho' in many things he departed from the sentiments of the Reformed, he did nevertheless set up for a rigorous defender of Orthodoxy [C]. Being presumptuous he would domineer every where, and his

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[C] *Tho' in many things, he departed from the sentiments of the Reformed, he did nevertheless, set up for a rigorous defender of Orthodoxy.* He had published in the year 1670 an Answer to a book concerning the re-union of Christians, written by Mr Duiffseau,

Minister of Saumur: this answer was condemn'd by the synod of Saintonge, as containing heretical propositions. He afterwards compos'd a dissertation on the necessity of Baptism, wherein he defended one of the errors of the Church of Rome; and it was with much

pride could not bear those, whose merit he looked upon as either capable of equalling or obscuring that which he thought himself possessed of. His attachment to his friends was measured by the deference they paid to him. To fail in that deference which he exacted, was sufficient to raise his indignation, and make him an implacable enemy. By this imperious and turbulent spirit he brought discord wherever he went, and rendered himself odious to all the world. It was upon this account he had been obliged to quit the churches of Mer and Vitry, and had brought upon himself a great many mortifications at Sedan, where notwithstanding he had a very considerable party.

At this time Mr Basnage having got notice, that the Academy of Sedan designed to appoint a successor to Mr Pitheois, one of their Professors of Philosophy aged eighty years, he acquainted Mr Bayle with it, and advised him to take advantage of that opportunity to procure to himself a lasting and honourable establishment. Mr Bayle made him the following answer, the same day on which he took the charge of Messieurs de Beringhen. "I never receive any of your letters, says he (1), without receiving "at the same time, proofs of your friendship, nay of a friendship always watchful "of every thing that can be of advantage to me. The great age of your Professor would be a favourable conjuncture, if I was in a condition of making use of "your good offices. But, dear Sir, I must acquaint you, that ever since I left Geneva "I have done nothing else but forget, and want of culture has so blunted my mind, "that I do not know if by a return to study, I should be able to set myself to rights "again. Without doubt that post is a hundred times better than this which I am "going to have, for after all, the character of preceptor is become so contemptible "almost every where, that no personal merit can save a man from that general esteem with which it is attended, therefore it is with the greatest reluctance that I "once more venture into that tiresome road. I do not know but I might have "brought Mr de Beringhen to allow me thirty pistoles if I had higgled with him: "but my natural modesty, my disinterestedness, and the advice of my friends, having "inclined me to leave myself entirely to his discretion, and to assure him that I "would be satisfied with whatever he should please to allow me, I shall only have "two hundred livres. I must be upon the watch, and had it not been for a troublesome delicacy, which obliged me not to depart from the laws of civility, I "might have retracted with considerable advantages towards repairing my bad fortune. I am a fool, you will say, for not having done so: I own it, and it is the "shame of appearing tickle, which has been the cause of my folly."

The disagreeable situation that Mr Bayle was in redoubled Mr Basnage's zeal, and made him act with more vigour in his favour. He desired Mr Jurieu to employ his interest for him, and Mr Jurieu promised to serve him to the utmost of his power. He found himself so much the more disposed to do so, that he was afraid least Mr Bazzi, who was the other Professor of Philosophy, and whom he hated, should have interest enough to get his son chosen in the place of Mr Pitheois. So that it was not so much from the esteem he had for Mr Bayle, as (2) "to flatter his "darling passion, which was the desire of domineering. His party in the Academy "was not so strong as he could have wished, and in case the opposite party had "succeeded in their design of giving the chair of Philosophy to Mr Bayle's competitor, Mr Jurieu foresaw nothing but sorrow and bitterness to himself, so that who "ever had chanced to have been recommended to him, he would have left no stone "unturned to establish him, in order to exclude a competitor of whom he was "afraid."

Mr Basnage having made sure of Mr Jurieu, represented to Mr Bayle how much what he proposed to him was preferable to his present condition, and pressed him to yield to the desires of his friends. But he continued still to excuse himself, as not being sufficiently qualified, and promised however to look over his Philosophy and see what progress he could make in five or six months study. "I admire "you continually, says he (3), you and that generous beneficent disposition of yours, "and that indefatigableness to serve those you love. I agree with you, that the "title of preceptor is unworthy of a gentleman, and that I ought to get rid of it "as quickly as possible. I know on the other hand, that the character of Professor "of Philosophy is much more honourable, and not ill suited to my fortune and "situation: your pressing me on that score therefore appears to me perfectly well "judged, and to flow from the most sincere friendship in the world. But, dear Sir, "the misfortune is, you lay your account to find me the same person you knew at "Geneva: then indeed I could dispute indifferently well; I came fresh from a "school, where I had been well instructed in all the scholastic chicanery, and I "may say, without vanity, that I was no bad proficient in it. But the matter is "quite altered now. You know, Sir, that the proposal of teaching a Class, which

was

(1) Letter of April 3, 1675, p. 581, 582, of the fourth Volume of the Miscellaneous Works of Mr Bayle.

(2) Letter concerning the small books wrote against the Cabale Chimérique, pag. 4, 5.

(3) Letter of May 5, 1675, in his Works, last cited, p. 592, 593.

(4) This book was published in the year 1674.

much difficulty, he was persuaded to suppress that piece. They found it no less difficult to make him strike some heretical propositions out of his *Apology for the Morals of the Reformed* (a). Notwithstanding this, he combined with some other divines to perse-

cute Mr Pajon, Minister of Orleans, who had a particular system concerning Grace, tho' at bottom it agreed with the doctrine of absolute predestination, and final perseverance, which was taught by the reformed churches in France (b).

(b) See Réponse à l'Analogie de Mr Jurieu, by Mr de Basnage, p. 104.

1675.

" was made me, sent me back once more to study the Classics, and that I began to neglect Philosophy, that I laid aside Mr Des Cartes for Homer and Virgil, and that by going to Copet I lost two years there, without studying either languages or any sort of science, but Philosophy less than any thing. I have continued on this footing ever since my return to France, and as I easily lose my ideas, I find myself reduced to such a condition at this present time that I write to you, that I do not so much as know the first elements of Logic. I know that a year employed in the manner I told you of in a former letter, in studying night and day, in disputing, defending theses, &c. would bring me in wind again, and give me courage to give defiance to all assailants. But here is the point. Where shall I find this year, and where shall I find the means to employ it so? in my present state, I cannot promise to have it in my power to study a quarter of an hour without a thousand interruptions. I have not one book of Philosophy, and it is impossible for me to make acquaintances, the few people I know are of so difficult access, that I call upon them three or four times without finding them, nay I do not so much as know if they have those books which will be necessary for me. In fine, dear Sir, my rivals cannot be so far behind in Philosophy, nor in so bad a situation to prepare themselves for the engagement, as I find myself in at present. I am vexed to the last degree, and am ready to curse my stars, that I am not able to answer the advances you made in my favour. I honour and admire Mr Jurieu, and should desire earnestly to be near him, that I may improve by his great and incomparable talents, and I find myself unable to express my gratitude, for his generous inclination to serve me, upon your recommendation. What shall I say more to you, dear Sir? I am going to look over my Philosophy, to buy or borrow some good system, and study as much as the noise and clamour of two foolish ungovernable boys, whom I have upon my hands from morning to night, will permit me to do; and according to the progress which I shall be able to make, I will resolve upon a journey to Sedan, with great pleasure, five or six months hence. If it was only to see Sedan, I would resolve to make this journey, for there can be no hurt in it. Dear Sir, I should die with grief, if you had engaged yourself for me, and I did not engage myself to disengage you. My friendship to you would make me run into any thing, rather than endure that you should not get out of this affair, in which you have involved yourself on my account. But once more, dear Sir, pray consider that you cannot depend much upon the progress which I shall make in Philosophy, by a study so interrupted, and attended with so many vexations and so disturbed as mine will be."

This letter surprized Mr Jurieu extremely; he considered Mr Bayle's excuses as mere shifts, and owned that he could not tell what to make of it. The truth was Mr Bayle had a secret reason, which made him averse from going to Sedan. He was afraid least his change of religion, which was a secret to every body in that country but Mr Basnage, should come to be discovered, and that occasion might be taken from the Arrêt against the Relapse [D], to give him trouble, and to distress the Reformed at Sedan. Mr Jurieu therefore suspecting that there was some other reason than that which Mr Bayle pretended in his letter, would needs know what it really was that kept him back; Mr Basnage could not help letting him into that affair, and Mr Jurieu was of opinion that this ought not to hinder his coming, since they two being the only persons who knew any thing of it, he ran no hazard. Whereupon Mr Basnage removed Mr Bayle's fears, and some time after having wrote to him that the election of a new Professor approached, and that there was no time to be lost, he set out from Paris the 22d of August in order to go to Sedan.

As soon as he arrived there (1), Mr Basnage procured him the acquaintance of several of his friends who were of the party which opposed Mr Jurieu, and particularly of Mr du Rondel, Professor of Eloquence. They promised to do him justice. Mr Bayle soon found the occasion he had for their protection. He had three competitors, and all possible means were used to set him aside, because he was a stranger and his competitors were natives of Sedan. But at last it was left to be

determined

[D] The arrêt against the relapse. They called Relapse those of the Reformed, who after having embraced the Roman Catholic religion, abandoned it, and returned to the protestants. From the year 1657 they began to disturb some of the Reformed under pretence, that they were Relapse, but this was without any express order from court (a). The first declaration which appeared against them was given in the month of April 1663, importing that they should be punished according to the rigour of the Ordinances; an expression which properly speaking meant nothing, because no Ordinance had as yet defined the punishment of this new crime. They did not fail, notwithstanding, to take advantage of this declaration to distress the Reformed: they even pretended that it had a retroactive force; which having caused infinite disorders, the King found himself obliged to publish an Arrêt in the

month of September 1664, forbidding the extending of it to any thing which had past before it was registered by the parliaments. In the mean time, that prince not being satisfied with the loose and indefinite terms of his first declaration, published another in the month of June 1665, in which he condemned the relapse to perpetual banishment. Mr Bayle came under this second declaration, which still appearing too moderate, was at last followed by a third in the month of May 1679, whereby it was declared, that the Relapses should be condemned to an amende honourable, be banished for ever out of the kingdom, and have their estates confiscated (b). The fear Mr Bayle was under of being known and punished as a relapse, made him desire his friends to change the spelling of his name in the directions of their letters, and to write *Belle* instead of *Bayle* (c).

(1) He arrived at Sedan August 31.

(b) See the same History Vol. iii. p. 520, 522. and the collection of Edicts, declarations, &c. which is at the end of that vol. p. 109, 151. And vol. iv. p. 18, 374. and the collection of Edicts, &c. of that vol. p. 7, 106.

(c) See the letters to Mr Minstrell of March 17, 1675, p. 78, and of Feb. 6, 1676, p. 103.

(a) See the History of the Edict of Nantz. Tom. iii. p. 66, 132, 230, 428.

determined by a dispute. The candidates agreed to make their Theses without books or preparation, betwixt sun rising and sun setting. The subject assigned them was *Time*. They shut themselves up upon the 28th of September, to compose them; and Mr Bayle defended his Theses publicly upon the 23d and 24th of October, in the afternoon. He disputed with such clearness, accuracy and force, that notwithstanding the interest and intrigues of his rivals, the moderators of the Academy adjudged him the victory. These particulars are to be found in the letters which he wrote to Messieurs Constant and Minutoli [E].

He was received Professor on the 2d of November: he took the usual oath upon the 4th, and began his public lectures upon the 11th.

Soon after he was informed that the Academy of Geneva had chosen Mr Minutoli Professor of History and Belles Lettres: it was Mr Minutoli himself who informed him of it, not omitting a detail of the examination he had undergone, and of the opposition he had met with. Mr Bayle made his compliments to him upon this new promotion, and thanked him for the particular account he had given him of it. "The circumstances, says he (1), of your glorious establishment, in the place of Professor, with which you have acquainted me, have been infinitely agreeable; for tho' I knew in general that you had given very distinguishing proofs, both of your genius and learning, and that I had from thence already conceived an incredible satisfaction yet the order and detail of it, which you have given me, have redoubled that pleasure: for we Philosophers love method in every thing, and without it nothing has charms for us. I say this, Sir, to give you hopes of not being henceforth exposed to my irregularities, and that I shall not any more overwhelm you with a confused heap of thoughts and words, as I have done formerly. My new degree inspires me with the spirit of method, and you will be sensible of it, or no body will. But who could have thought that you should have met with such opposition in your own country. No body was surprised here that all sort of means were used to set me aside from the Professor's chair, for I was a stranger and my antagonists were natives of the place; on the contrary, people were strangely surprised that I found any friends at all: but surely there is room for wonder, that all your country men did not without hesitation join in your promotion, which will be so advantageous and glorious to the Academy."

(1) *Letter of April 4, 1676, p. 104.*

Whatever opposition Mr Bayle found at his coming to Sedan, his merit soon engaged the love and esteem of every body. The Count de Guiscard, Governour of Sedan, invited him frequently to his house, that he might enjoy his conversation. Mr du Rondel who was afterwards Professor of the Belles Lettres at Maastricht, gave him his friendship, and continued it to his death. Even Mr Jurieu was so touched with Mr Bayle's fine qualities, and was so charmed with the sweetness of his temper, his modesty, and his integrity, that he opened his heart to him, perhaps more than he thought himself capable of to any one. He has acknowledged this publicly in 1691, at a time when he had shamefully broke with him, and was labouring to ruin him. "This man, says he (2), was recommended to us, to fill a chair of

(2) *Apologie pour Mr Jurieu, p. 24. col. 1.*

"Philosophy then vacant in the Academy of Sedan, where I had the honour to be Professor of Divinity, and one of the Moderators of the Academy. One of his friends gave him the character of a young man of great genius, good learning, and very capable of making those sciences flourish, which he should be called to cultivate. We were not deceived in this. He came and distinguished himself in all the public exercises of his examination. But his friend and he not thinking it proper to make a secret to me of his revolt and long stay among the Jesuits of Toulouse (3), I was embarrassed to the last degree because of the Arret against the Relapses. However as I, upon his protestations, believed that he was sincere in his return to us, we resolved to keep that matter secret and to proceed. He was several years in the Academy, behaving himself decently, and neither doing or saying any thing that gave offence. The beauty of his genius and

(3) *Mr Bayle never lived with the Jesuits.*

[E] *These particulars are to be found in the letters which he wrote to Messieurs Constant and Minutoli.*

(1) *Letter of December 17 1675, p. 97. 98.*

"It is about four months ago, says he to Mr Constant (a), since I left Paris, being invited to come hither, to be a Professor of Philosophy. Upon my arrival I found matters so embarrassed with little academical intrigues, that I was obliged to wave my Invitation, and submit to the hazard of a Dispute. I exposed my self to it, and God so assisted my ignorance, whether by strengthening my weakness, or by opposing antagonists to me no stronger than my self, that at last I gained the victory. I take the liberty of sending you the only remaining copy of my Theses, they are theses cooked up in haste, which we agreed to make, without books or preparation, betwixt sun rising and sun setting, to prevent the tricks which auxiliary troops might have play'd, if we had been allowed to compose them in our own chambers. Unluckily

"for us, the subject was very difficult." See how he speaks of the matter to Mr Minutoli. "Several reasons, (says he (b), having determined me to comply with an invitation, which was given me to accept of a Professor of Philosophy's place, I left Paris, about the end of August last, and came hither, where I have been obliged in a hurry, to rally my scattered ideas of Philosophy, and to enter the lists with three rivals, who had kept themselves always in wind. I leave it to you to judge of my anxiety upon that occasion. At last whether by good fortune or the ignorance of my competitors I have been received Professor; and am obliged to labour like a galley-slave, having a course to compose from day to day, besides giving five hours a day to my scholars. These are drudgeries which have stunned me, and it is only because one may be accustomed to any thing, that I now begin to breathe."

(b) *Letter of Febr. 6, 1676, p. 100.*

1675. "his honourable principles attached me so to him, that I loved him better than ever I did any person, I confess it."

The composition of his Course of Philosophy employed him during two years: it was an additional labour which filled up all the intervals of his Academical functions, and left him no time to write to his friends. "I have not been able, says he to 1677. "Mr Minutoli (1), to answer your fine letter of the 1st of April, otherwise than by a "line or two, because of the fatiguing business which has entirely taken me up these "two years, I mean the multitude of exercises I was obliged to make for my "scholars, and the composition of my Course. I am now, thank God, freed from "that terrible drudgery. I have finished my Course, my Theses for the Master of "Arts degree are defended, and now at last it is Vacation."

(1) Letter of the 29th of August, 1677. p. 8. 130.

But still a long time after this, the vacations were the only time, in which he could have any relaxation. The revival of his course, the additions which he made to it, together with his public and private lectures, left him no leisure. This is the account he gives to Mr Minutoli in another letter (2).

1679. Mr Ancillon, Minister of Mets, had made him a present of a book of Mr Poirer, printed at Amsterdam in 1677, intitled *Cogitationes Rationales de Deo, Anima, & malo*; and had defired him to make Remarks upon it. Mr Bayle in the year 1679, sent him a piece in latin, containing the difficulties which had occurred to him, in reading it through. He sent along with it, a Letter of thanks, wherein he excused himself that his affairs had not permitted him to comply with his desire sooner, nor to give that force and regularity to his objections, which he could have wished. Mr Ancillon communicated this piece to Mr Poirer, who wrote an answer to it, which he sent to Mr Ancillon, together with a Letter wherein he thanked him for exciting an adversary against him who showed so much accuracy, judgment, penetration and politeness. Mr Poirer inserted these objections of Mr Bayle's, together with his own answers to them, in a new edition of his book, printed at Amsterdam in 1685, and thereto joined the two letters, which I have now mentioned (3). This small piece shows that Mr Bayle was thoroughly acquainted with the most sublime points of Philosophy. Mr Poirer extricated himself but indifferently from some of his Objections (4).

(2) Letter of the 15th of Dec. 1678. p. 2. 140.

(3) Mr Bayle's letter is dated April 13, and Mr Poirer's August 14, 1679.

Mr Bayle took advantage of the harvest vacation to make a tour to Paris, and from thence he went to Rouen, to wait upon Mr Bafnage (5).

1680. The affair of the Duke of Luxembourg, at that time made a great noise. He had been accused before the Chamber of Poisons, of impieties, forcery, and poisonings, and had surrendered himself a prisoner: but he was declared innocent, and the process against him was suppressed. Mr Bayle who had learnt a great many particulars concerning this matter, when he was at Paris, diverted himself in composing an Harangue, wherein the Marechal pleads his cause before his Judges, and vindicates himself from having made a compact with the Devil, that he might, 1. enjoy all the women he had a mind to. 2. That he might always be successful in war. 3. That he might gain all his law suits. 4. That he might always enjoy the King's favour. The harangue is divided into these four points: it contains a very smart satire upon the Marechal, and several other persons. Mr Bayle afterwards composed under another name a criticism upon this harangue, still more satirical than the satire it self. He sent these two pieces to Mr Minutoli, and desired him to give him his opinion of them: and in order to engage him to do it with more freedom, he did not tell him who was the author of them. "I send you (says he) (6), a copy of a "Harangue, which some body has composed in the name of the Duke of Luxembourg, "to take an opportunity from thence to give us part of his Life. If I have "time, I will get copied for you a sort of criticism upon this harangue. You "will oblige me by giving me your opinion of both these pieces; for a friend of "mine at Paris, who is acquainted with the author of the second of them, "and who possibly out of prejudice in favour of his friend, inclines to think that "the harangue is good for nothing, has obliged me to promise to write him my "sentiments of both the one and the other. But as I have not leisure, and "besides as you are more capable than I to examine works of this nature, in "order to show their strong and weak side, I beg, Sir, that you will bestow a "few hours upon them. By this means I shall satisfy my friend's desire, and I am "sure he will sooner trust to your judgment, than to mine; for he knows "how to value things, and would much rather that I should pay him out of your "pocket that out of my own."

(4) See the letter to Mr Des Maizeaux of July 3, 1705. p. 1027.

(5) Letter to Mr Minutoli of the 1st of January, 1680. p. 153.

(6) Letter of the 24, of March 1680. p. 162, 163. See likewise the letter of the 1st of January 1681. p. 169.

(7) Sentimens de Mr Des Cartes touchant l'essence & les proprietiez du Corps, opposez à la Doctrine de l'Eglise, & conformes aux erreurs de Calvin sur le sujet de l'Eucharistie.

About this time, Father de Valois, a Jesuit of Caen, concealed under the name of Louis de la Ville, published a book at Paris, intitled, *The Sentiments of Mr Des Cartes concerning the Essence and Properties of Body, repugnant to the doctrine of the Church, and agreeable to the errors of Calvin on the subject of the Eucharist* (7). The author not satisfied with opposing the authority of the Council of Trent to the Cartesians, attacks them likewise by way of argument, and endeavours to confute the reasons made use of by Messieurs Clercelier, Rohault, and Father Malebranche, to prove that extension is the essence of matter. Mr Bayle read this work and found it very well done. He judged that the author had incontestably proved the point in question, to wit, that

(1) *Letter of the 24 of March 1680, p. 165.*

Mr Des Cartes's principles were contrary to the faith of the Church of Rome, and agreeable to the doctrine of Calvin; which at bottom, says Mr Bayle in a letter to Mr Minutoli, was no hard matter to do (1). As Mr Bayle had a mind to make his scholars defend philosophical Theſes, he composed a Dissertation on this subject, wherein he defended Mr Des Cartes's principle, and at the same time restored the arguments of these Philosophers which had been attacked by Father de Valois, to their full force, and destroyed all the exceptions and subtilities of that Father. He endeavours principally to prove that the penetrability of matter is impossible. 1680.

(2) *See the Advertisment concerning the 3d Edition of the Pensées diverses, sur la Comete, &c.*

In the month of December 1680, there appeared one of the largest Comets that was ever seen. People, that is to say almost every body, were seized with fright and astonishment. They had not as yet got the better of the ancient prejudice, that Comets are preſages of some fatal event. Mr Bayle, as he informs us himself (2), was incessantly teized with the questions of a great many people, who were alarmed at this pretended bad omen. He endeavoured to remove their fears as much as possible, but he found that he gained but little upon them by philosophical reasonings; they still made answer that God shows us these great Phænomena's, to give warning to sinners to prevent by their repentance the judgments which hang over their heads. He believed therefore that it would be to no purpose to reason any more with them, except he could find out some argument which would prove that it was inconsistent with God's attributes to appoint Comets for that purpose. Upon examining thoroughly that matter, he soon bethought himself of the following theological argument, to wit, *That if Comets were preſages of evil, God must have performed miracles to confirm idolatry in the world.* He did not remember to have met with this argument, either in books or conversation: so that the novelty of it made him think of writing a Letter on that subject, which might be inserted in the *MERCURE GALANT*. He began to write it upon the 11th of January 1681, and endeavoured to keep within the bounds of a Letter; but the abundance of matter would not allow him to be so short, he was therefore obliged to consider this letter as a work which must be printed by itself. After this he no longer affected brevity, but enlarged upon every thing as he found occasion; without losing sight however of Mr de Viſé, author of the *MERCURE GALANT*. He resolved to send this letter to him, and to desire him to give it to his printer, and obtain either a licence from Mr de la Reynie, Lieutenant-general of the Police, if that would be sufficient, or the King's Privilege, if nothing else would do. Accordingly he sent it to him the 27th of May. Mr de Viſé kept the manuscript some time without knowing the author's name; and when he was wrote to about it, he answered that he was told by a person to whom he had given it to read, that Mr de la Reynie would never take the consequences of printing it upon himself, and that it would be necessary to obtain the approbation of the Doctors, before a Royal Privilege could be applied for, which was a troublesome long and tedious task he had no leisure to engage in. The manuscript was got back, and Mr Bayle gave over all thoughts of printing his letter concerning Comets at Paris. But as he at first composed it with this view, he had assumed the stile of a Roman Catholic, and had imitated Mr de Viſé's manner and encomiums upon the administration of affairs. This conduct was then absolutely necessary to those who had a mind to print any thing at Paris, and he thought that to imitate the *MERCURE GALANT* in some things, would render it more easy to obtain either Mr de la Reynie's licence, or the Royal Privilege. It was upon this account likewise, that he feigns that the letter was wrote to a Doctor of the Sorbonne. 1681.

The Reformed in France were at this time in a melancholy situation. The Court had for a long time laboured their destruction. They stript them by little and little of all their privileges, and no year passed without some infringement of the Edict of Nants. At last they resolved to suppress their Academies. There was some reason to hope that they would spare the Academy of Sedan. The principality of Sedan had been a sovereign state until the year 1642. The Duke of Bouillon surrendered it to Lewis XIII, who agreed to leave all things there in the condition he found them. Lewis XIV confirmed this treaty, and it was a-new granted that the Protestant Religion should be maintained there with all the rights and privileges of which it was then possessed. But all these advantages could not save the Academy. Nay Lewis XIV ordered that it should be the first that should be dissolved. The Arrêt was passed on the 9th of July 1681, and notified the fourteenth of the same month.

(3) *Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam démontrée. préface p. cxiij. c. lxiij.*

There was at this time at Sedan a young gentleman from Rotterdam, named Mr Van Zoelen, a relation of Mr van Zoelen, who was afterwards Burgomaster of that city. This young gentleman (3) had lodged at Sedan with Mr Bayle, and had improved himself in his studies by frequent conversations with him. He had conceived so strong a friendship for his Professor, that upon the same day on which the Arrêt for the suppression of the Academy came there, he resolved to send a copy of it to Mr Paets, a relation of his, who was one of the Counsellors of the city of Rotterdam, a very learned man, and a patron of men of letters. He acquainted Mr Paets, at the same time that he sent him the Arrêt, that Mr Bayle was without employment; he gave a very good character of him, and received an answer wherein Mr Paets declared a very great inclination to serve him. Mr Bayle upon this wrote to Mr Paets a letter of thanks, for

1681. for the favourable sentiments he had of him, and begged the continuance of his favour. Mr Paets, together with a great deal of wit and penetration, had a strong passion for the sciences, particularly for Philosophy. His merit had acquired him a great authority, and would have gained him still more had it not been for the divisions which then prevailed in the Republic. He was considered as the head of the party which opposed the family of Orange (1); and upon this account he found some difficulty to get into the Magistracy again, after his return from being Ambassador extraordinary in Spain (2). He notwithstanding triumphed over their jealousy, and the Magistrates of Rotterdam had so great deference for his counsels, that they were guided in all their deliberations by him.

Mr Bayle at the same time endeavoured to procure an establishment at Rotterdam for Mr Jurieu, and engaged Mr van Zoelen to recommend him to Mr Paets. Mr van Zoelen left Sedan in order to solicit these matters in person at Rotterdam, and insisted so strenuously with Mr Paets, that he was pleased to use his interest likewise for Mr Jurieu (3).

Mr Bayle staid six or seven weeks at Sedan after the suppression of the Academy, waiting for letters from Holland. But at last not receiving any, he grew impatient and left Sedan the 2d of September, and arrived at Paris the 7th of the same month, uncertain as yet whither he should go to Rotterdam or to England, of if he should continue in France (4). Before his departure the Count de Guiscard used all his endeavours to persuade him to embrace the Popish religion. He proposed great advantages to him, but all to no purpose (5). At length when he was ready to set out for Rouen, and from thence to pass over to England, he received an answer from Mr Paets acquainting him that the city of Rotterdam had given him a salary with the right of teaching Philosophy. Mr Paets added that Mr Jurieu's business was in a fair way. Upon this he left Paris the eighth of October, and upon the thirtieth arrived at Rotterdam, where he was very kindly received by Mr van Zoelen's family, and by Mr Paets (6).

Mr Jurieu followed Mr Bayle very soon after; but before he was well settled at Rotterdam, he was guilty of some rash and blunt actions, which very much provoked Mr Paets against him, and which he pardoned only upon Mr Bayle's account (7). The town of Rotterdam erected an ILLUSTRIOUS SCHOOL in their favour; Mr Jurieu was appointed Professor of Divinity; and Mr Bayle Professor of Philosophy and History, with five hundred guilders of yearly appointments. Upon the 5th of December, he delivered his Inaugural Oration with universal applause; and on the 8th he read his first lecture of Philosophy to a great number of scholars.

1682. A little while after he gave his Letter concerning Comets to Mr Leers, a bookseller in Rotterdam, and a man of sense and merit, in order to have it printed. And as he took all manner of precautions not to be thought the author of it, he changed nothing either in the title of a Roman Catholic which he had assumed, nor in his imitation of the manner and panegyrics of the *MERCURE GALANT*. He thought that this strain would be very proper to prevent peoples thinking, that this Letter was wrote by one who had left France for his Religion. While they were printing it he added many things that were not in the copy which he had formerly sent to the author of the *MERCURE GALANT* (8). The impression was finished on the 11th of March 1682, and it appeared under the following title: *A Letter to Mr L. A. D. C. Doctor of the Sorbone. Wherein it is proved by many arguments, both Philosophical and Theological, that Comets are not presages of evil. With several moral and political reflexions and historical observations. Together with a confutation of some vulgar errors. Printed at Cologne by Peter Marteau, MDC LXXXII* (9).

To conceal himself the better, Mr Bayle prefixed to it a Preface or Advice to the Reader under the character of a person publishing this Letter without knowing the author of it. In this preface, after taking notice of several reasons which induced him to make it public, he adds likewise the following: "I have been confirmed in this design by a yet stronger reason than any of these. I have it from very good authority, that the Doctor of the Sorbone to whom this Letter was written, is preparing a very exact and elaborate answer to it, and there would be great reason to fear, considering his indifference for the character of an author, that he would content himself with writing only for his friends use, if we did not by publishing this Letter which he has received from him, engage him to impart to the public the learned and fine reflexions he no doubt has made upon several important subjects; such as the conduct of providence with regard to the ancient Heathens: the question, *Whether God has wrought miracles among them, tho' he knew that they would thereby become more idolatrous*: the question, *Whether God has sometimes appointed presages among infidels*: the question, *Whether an effect purely natural can be a certain presage of a contingent event*: the question, *Whether Atheism be worse than Idolatry, and if it be necessarily the source of all sort of crimes*: the question, *Whether God would rather choose that men should be without any knowledge of a God, than that they should be engaged in the abominable worship of idols*; and upon many others, concerning which so great and learned a divine may have very instructive thoughts, and which well deserve to be made public.

But

(1) *He was brother-in-law to Cornelius de Witt.*
(2) *See London Gazette of the 4th of October 1675, article from the Hague of the 8th of October.*
(3) *Chimere démontre préface, p. cixiii and the following.*
(4) *Ibid. p. clxviii. and Letter to Mr Minuscule, of the 17th of September 1681 p. 172.*
(5) *Catala Chimérique, p. 172.*
(6) *Chimere démontre, préface p. clxix.*
(7) *Ibid. p. clxix, clxx.*
(8) *Preface to the 3d edition.*
(9) *Lettre à Mr L. A. D. C. Docteur de Sorbone. Où il est prouvé par plusieurs raisons tirées de la Philosophie & de la Théologie, que les Comètes ne sont point le présage d'aucun malheur. Avec plusieurs Reflexions Morales & Politiques, & plusieurs Observations Historiques; & la refutation de quelques erreurs populaires. A Cologne chez Pierre Marteau, 1682.*

But notwithstanding all these disguises, it was very soon known that Mr Bayle 1682. was the author of the Letter concerning Comets. Mr Leers had shown the manuscript to Mr Paets, and told him from whom he had it; and Mr Paets made no secret of it to his friends (1); nay he thought he did the author a piece of service, by discovering him (2). Mr Jurieu by this means came likewise to know it, either immediately from them, or from others to whom they had told it, and having spoke of it to Mr Bayle, with a kind of reproach that other people knew this secret while he was ignorant of it; Mr Bayle told him how every thing had passed, and satisfy'd him as to some points in the book (3), Mr Jurieu spoke of it with applause (4): but at the bottom he bore with impatience, the honour that Mr Bayle acquired by it; jealous as he was of the honour done his friends.

(1) *Chimere de montrée, preface p. clxxi.*

(2) *Cabale chimérique, pag. 206.*

(3) *Preface ubi supra, pag. clxxi.*

(4) *Chimere de montrée, pag. 207.*

(5) *Histoire du Calvinisme.*

(6) *Eloge de Mr Bayle by Mr de Bauval.*

(7) *It was a volume in 12° of 339 pages in a small character.*

(8) *Critique générale de l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr Maimbourg. A Ville Franche chez Pierre le Blanc. 1682.*

(9) *Letter xix p. 268, 269.*

(10) *This Sentence is to be found at the end of these Memoirs.*

Madam Paets died at this time, and gave a proof of her esteem for Mr Bayle, by leaving him a legacy of two thousand guilders to buy books. Mr Bayle always preserved a grateful remembrance of this generous gift, as we will afterwards observe.

Mr Maimbourg had just published his *History of Calvinism* (5). This work treated of very important matters: a judgment was to be made concerning the spirit and conduct of the Reformed in France, from the time of their separation from the Church of Rome. Mr Maimbourg had employed all the art he was master of, to draw both the contempt and hatred of the Catholics upon them. Mr Bayle, full of indignation at the dissingenuity and pernicious design of this author, resolved to refute his History, and took the opportunity of Easter Vacation to set about it. He wrote his answer by way of Letters, but did not think it necessary to follow in adversary step by step. He was of opinion that in order to undeceive the public, and show how little Mr Maimbourg ought to be regarded, it was sufficient to make some general observations on his History, which even supposing the truth of the facts it relates, might discover his malice, violence, and the cruel and barbarous principles, with which he endeavours to inspire his readers. Mr Bayle diverted himself with several particulars of the life and disputes of this writer, and gave a very just tho' by no means advantageous picture of them (6). "It was not a four and morose criticism, but an ingenious sort of raillery, full notwithstanding of good sense and reason, and more proper to embarrass or confound an adversary, than grave and serious arguments."

He began to write these Letters on the 1st of May, and finished them on the 15th of the same month, so that this work tho' pretty bulky (7), was composed in the space of 15 days, as he himself acquaints us in the last Letter. He took all possible precautions to conceal his being the author of them. In the Advertisement prefixed to them, he makes the bookseller say, that this collection of letters having fallen into his hands, he thought himself bound to publish them without delay; and that he was desired to acquaint the reader, that they were really wrote by a country Gentleman of the Province of Maine, and sent to his friend according to their dates. He would not even have them printed at Rotterdam, and having occasion to go to see Amsterdam, he carried his manuscript along with him, and gave it to Abraham Wolfgang, a bookseller there, upon the 30th of May. This book appeared in the beginning of July, with the following title: *A general Criticism on Mr Maimbourg's History of Calvinism. At Ville Franche by Peter le Blanc. M. DC. LXXXII* (8). Mr Bayle received the copies of it, on the 11th of that same month.

This work was approved of, not only by the Reformed, who were so well defended in it from Mr Maimbourg's attacks, but even by the judicious and moderate among the Catholics. A great many copies of it found their way into France, and were eagerly sought after. The Prince of Condé, a prince who was very capable of judging of the merit of books, could never be tired with reading it. It is true indeed he did not love Mr Maimbourg. That historian to please the court, whose pensioner he was, had affected not to take any notice of his Highness, while he made panegyrics upon all his ancestors. Mr Bayle did not fail to expose him upon this account (9), and the Prince took it well. This work touched Mr Maimbourg to the quick: the general approbation with which it was received troubled him extremely. He applied several times to Mr de la Reynie, to procure a condemnation of it. But that magistrate having read it with pleasure, and not being displeased that Mr Maimbourg had been mortified, put him off from time to time. At last he addressed himself to the King, and obtained an order from his Majesty, directed to Mr de la Reynie, commanding the *General Criticism on Mr Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*, to be burnt by the hand of the hangman; and forbidding all printers and booksellers to print, sell, or publish that book on pain of death. Mr de la Reynie obeyed the order, and put in his Sentence whatever Mr Maimbourg pleased: one may easily discover in it the style of an author, and of an enraged author too (10): but to revenge himself against Mr Maimbourg, he got above 3000 copies of that sentence printed, and posted them up all over Paris, which incited the curiosity of the public to such a degree, that every body would needs have the criticism on Mr Maimbourg.

1682.

This work was sold off in Holland, almost as soon as it appeared; and in the month of August, Mr Bayle prepared a new edition of it. He enlarged it one half, and added a preface to it, wherein he again endeavours to deceive the reader and put him upon a wrong scent. This edition was printed off about the end of November, and he received copies of it, on the 29th of that month.

They sought for a long time in France, among the best pens of the Protestant party for the Author of the Criticism on Mr Maimbourg; and at last fixed upon Mr Claude, who at that time gloriously defended the cause of the Reformed. Even Mr Bayle's friends, who knew that he was the author of the Letter concerning Comets, never dreamt of ascribing this Criticism to him, because of the difference of the stile, and it was a mere accident which discovered it, as he tells us himself, to show that there is nothing more uncertain than conjectures drawn from the conformity or difference of stile, in order to discover the author of a book. "I know by experience, says he

(1) Cabale Chimérique, pag. 204, 205.

(2) L'Histoire du Calvinisme & celle du Papisme mises en parallèle; ou Apologie pour les Réformateurs, pour la Réformation, & pour les Réformez: divisée en quatre parties: contre un Libelle intitulé Histoire du Calvinisme par Mr Maimbourg. It was printed in two Volumes in 4^{to}, and in four in 12^o.

(3) Menagiana, Tom. ii. p. 22, 23, of the Paris Edition, 1694.

(4) See Mr de Bauquemau's Letter (sur les différens de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle, pag. 1 and 2.

"(1), that all the Writings of a man do not resemble one another. The *General Criticism of Father Maimbourg*, was published soon after the *Thoughts concerning Comets*; yet no body seemed to suspect that these two books came from the same hand. The first edition of the Criticism was sold off, before any body so much as suspected the true author. And tho' the second edition possibly might have discovered him better, yet in all probability, if it had not been for a mere accident he had remained still unknown. The accident was this. The author having writ an answer to an Anonymous Letter which his bookseller had sent him, forgot to desire the bookseller not to deliver the original of the answer but a copy. "This Anonymous person being a friend of Mr Claude, the son, shewed him my Letter and asked if he knew the hand. Mr Claude having told him whose it was, there wanted no more to put the author under a necessity of making a secret of it no longer. The matter could never have been discovered by the conformity of stile. For although the author did not at all intend it, he wrote the Criticism on Maimbourg in a stile very different from that of the *Thoughts concerning Comets*."

Mr Jurieu likewise wrote an answer to Mr Maimbourg, but more full and circumstantial. It appeared in 1683, under the title of *A Parallel between the History of Calvinism and that of Popery: Or an Apology for the Reformers, the Reformation, and the Reformed: in four parts: In answer to a Libel intituled, The History of Calvinism by Mr Maimbourg* (2). This book was well written; the author refuted Mr Maimbourg with a great deal of force; but one could not find there that easy and natural turn, those lively and poignant reflexions, that manner of exposing the faults of an adversary without bitterness, and of treating matters of controversy without passion; which was the distinguishing character of the *Critique Generale*. Every one was presently sensible of this difference. Even the Catholics, notwithstanding the prejudices of their religion, could not help applauding Mr Bayle's book, while at the same time they affected to despise that of Mr Jurieu. "The Criticism on Father Maimbourg's History of Calvinism is a fine book, said Mr Menage (3) and he himself could not help esteeming it. He confessed this to me, tho' ordinarily he affected to speak of it as a book which he had not read. Excepting what relates to religion, I find every thing Mr Bayle says very lively and very judicious. I had a mind to read what Mr Jurieu has done on the same subject; there is a great difference betwixt them. "Mr Bayle writes like a gentleman, and Mr Jurieu like a bigotted old woman, "his book is nothing but a wretched repetition of the dullest things alledged by "du Moulin, and the rest of them against the Catholic religion." The different esteem showed to these two books, infinitely displeased Mr Jurieu. He looked upon Mr Bayle as his rival, and could not forgive him for carrying away all the suffrages. This accident sowed the seeds of hatred and jealousy in his mind (4).

Amongst the other men of Letters with whom Mr Bayle contracted a friendship at Sedan, we ought to number Mr Ferizon, a young Minister and a native of that town. He had left Sedan, and was gone to exercise his Ministry in Champagne, in Mr de Briquemau's family (5). He wrote to Mr Bayle that he had composed by way of dialogue an Apology for the Reformed, with regard to the civil wars of France. Mr Bayle desired to see the book, and Mr Ferizon sent it him, and dedicated it to Philareus, that is to Mr Bayle himself. Mr Bayle found that it deserved to be published and caused it to be printed (6). It appeared in the beginning of the year 1683, under this title; *An Apology for the Reformed; wherein a just idea is given of the civil wars in France, and of the true foundations of the Edict of Nantz. Being a curious dialogue betwixt a Protestant and a Catholic* (7). PATRICIUS, the Roman Catholic, alledges the strongest and most odious things that have been said against the Reformed with regard to the civil wars, and doth not forget the common accusation, that they are animated by a spirit of faction and rebellion; and that they maintain principles opposite to the absolute power of princes. EUSEBIUS, the Protestant, justifies them for taking up arms in defence of their religion, their lives, and the rights of the house of Bourbon; and shews, even by the testimony of Lewis XIII, that they have always been faithful to their lawful princes, and that their principles are so far from being opposite to the sovereign power of princes, that they tend to establish and

(5) Mr de Briquemau's estate situated upon the river of Aisne, was called St Loup. Mr de Briquemau being afterwards obliged to leave France upon account of his religion. The Elector of Brandenburg made him Governor of Liplads in the country of Cleves.

(6) At the Hague, by Abraham Arondeus, in 12^o.

(7) Apologie pour les Réformez, où on voit la juste idée des Guerres Civiles de France: & les vrais fondemens de l'Edit de Nantes. Entretiens curieux entre un Protestant & un Catholique.

confirm it; whereas, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics make that authority dependant on the people or on the Pope. 1682.

About the end of the year 1682 Mr Bayle was strongly sollicit to marry. The match propos'd to him was advantageous. She was a beautiful young lady, of very good sense, good nature and prudence, was entirely at her own disposal, and had at least fifteen thousand crowns (1). Mademoiselle du Moulin, grandchild of the famous Peter du Moulin, sister to Mrs Jurieu, and afterwards wife to Mr Basnage, had set this affair in motion, and had put it in so good a way, that there remained no difficulty except on Mr Bayle's side. He had always appeared very averse to marriage: the cares and troubles of a family did not seem to him to suit a man of letters, a Philosopher who makes all his happiness consist in study and meditation. Besides, as he contented himself with what was necessary, riches appeared to him rather an incumbrance than a happiness. Mademoiselle du Moulin spared no pains to make him change these sentiments, and to engage him to make use of these advantages, which in a manner offered themselves; but she was unsuccessful.

(1) *Letter of Mademoiselle du Moulin to Mr Bayle, of the 12th of December 1682. In Mr Bayle's Letters, pag. 193.*

The Year following Mr Bayle gave a new edition of his Letter concerning Comets, fuller and more exact than the first. The impression of it was finished the second of September 1683, and he received a hundred and twenty copies of it from the bookseller to send to his friends. He suppressed the title of the first edition, and substituted the following: *Divers Thoughts written to a Doctor of the Sorbonne, upon occasion of the Comet which appeared in the month of December, 1680. At Rotterdam, by Reinier Leers, MDC LXXXIII* (2). He likewise suppressed the long preface of the foregoing edition, and instead of it inserted an advertisement in the bookseller's name, pointing out the advantages of this second edition beyond the preceding.

(2) *Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la Comète qui parut au mois de Décembre 1680. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1683.*

(3) *It is intitled, Lettre sur la dernière Assemblée du Clergé A. M. B. A. R. that is to say, à Mr Bayle à Rotterdam.*

(4) *Examen des Methodes proposées par Mess. de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France en l'Année 1682. It was printed at Rotterdam by Pierre de Graef, but the title bears à Cologne chez Pierre Marteau, in 12°.*

About this time some of Mr Bayle's Friends sent him some pieces of controversy which they had compos'd, and desired him to get them printed if he thought proper. The first which he received was a Confutation of the Memorial drawn up by the Assembly of the Clergy of France in 1682, wherein they propos'd and approved of seventeen Methods, or different manners of disputing against the Reformed. This Confutation was wrote by Mr Basnage, at that time minister of Rouen. It was accompanied with a Letter to Mr Bayle, in the name of a friend to the author, which contained several curious particulars relating to that Assembly of the Clergy (3). This work came out under the title of *An Examination of the Methods propos'd by the Assembly of the Clergy of France in the year 1682* (4). Mr Basnage had desired that the manuscript might be communicated to Mr Jurieu, and Mr Jurieu prefixed his approbation to the book. The other pieces which were sent to Mr Bayle, were in answer to a book of Mr Brueys Advocate of Montpellier. Mr Brueys had distinguished himself among the Reformed by a confutation of a book of Mr Bossuet, Bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Meaux, entituled *An Exposition of the doctrine of the Catholic Church*. But he afterwards changed his Religion, and according to the common practice of new converts, he wrote against the party which he had left. His book appeared in 1683 with the following title, *The reasons which have given occasion to the separation of the Protestants, examined without prejudice, according to the Council of Trent, the Confessions of Faith of the Protestant Churches, and the holy Scripture* (5). It was wrote in a mild and insinuating manner, and had an air of disinterestedness, very proper at first sight to catch weak and superficial minds: it was thought necessary that it should be answered. Mr Jurieu, who had written a Tract entituled, *Préservatif contre le changement de Religion*, in answer to the bishop of Meaux's book, published a continuation of it against this piece of Mr Brueys. Mr de Larroque, son to the Minister of Rouen, who had been received into the Ministry in one of the last Synods, did likewise enter the lists. He wrote an answer to Mr Brueys, and sent it to Mr Bayle, who presently put it to the press. The title of it is, *The Proselyte abused: or Mr Brueys's false views in his examination of the separation of Protestants* (6). It has an epistle dedicatory prefixed, *To Mr *** Professor of Philosophy and History at Rotterdam*, wherein Mr Larroque gives an account of the composition, design, and plan of this work. Mr Bayle would not suffer his name to appear before the dedication, though it was easy to those who knew Holland, or had any commerce with men of Letters, to see that it was address'd to him. He has spoke very advantageously of Mr Larroque's book. "It is (says he (7), the first essay of a young author full of wit, who follows his adversary very close, and shows him that he has made gross blunders. "He sometimes makes use of raillery, which is somewhat strong indeed, yet at the same time delicate; and he acquits himself very well likewise in point of erudition." Mr Lenfant, who at that time studied Divinity at Geneva, wrote likewise against Mr Brueys. But being informed that several learned men were employed on the same subject, he would have suppress'd his answer, if Mr Bayle and Mr Jurieu had not press'd him to finish it, and make it public (8). After he had made some stay at Geneva, he went to Heidelberg, from whence he sent Mr Bayle his manuscript, and desired him to make what alterations in it he should think proper. Mr Lenfant did not choose to enter into the detail of the dispute, but contented himself

1683.

(5) *Examen des raisons qui ont donné lieu à la séparation des Protestans, fait sans prévention sur le Concile de Trente, sur la Confession de l'oi des Eglises Protestantes, & sur l'Ecriture sainte.*

(6) *Le Prosélyte abusé: ou fausses vues de Mr Brueys dans l'examen de la séparation des Protestans. At Rotterdam for Reinier Leers, 1684, in 12°.*

(7) *Nouvelles de République des Lettres, Mar. b 1684, p. m. 101. See likewise the Letter to Mr Lenfant of the 26th of November 1683, pag. 204.*

(8) *See the Letters to Mr Lenfant of the 8th of September and 26th of November 1683, pag. 201, and the following.*

1683. himself with reasoning upon general principles. His book appeared about the beginning of the year 1684, with this title, *General considerations on Mr Brueys's book, intituled, An Examination of the reasons which have given occasion to the separation of Protestants, and occasionally upon all those of the same character* (1). There was an advertisement added to it, wherein after showing how people might be deceived by Mr Brueys's book, and the necessity there was of answering it, they ascribed his change of Religion merely to worldly motives, and even attacked his Morals. This advertisement was followed by a long *Letter of the Author to a friend, upon sending him his manuscript*, that is to say, to Mr Bayle. Mr Lenfant there gave the character of Mr Brueys's book, and pointed out a great many weak places in it. This answer is written with a great deal of wit, judgment, and moderation, qualities which reign in all Mr Lenfant's writings.

1684. Mr Bayle was always very curious in gathering those sorts of pieces which are called *Fugitives*, because they disappear almost as soon as they come out. The only way to preserve them, is to gather as many of them together as will make a volume. This Mr Bayle did, with regard to several pieces relating to Des Cartes's Philosophy. He published them under the title of *A collection of some curious pieces relating to Mr Des Cartes's Philosophy. At Amsterdam, by H. Desbordes, MDCLXXXIV* (2). He wrote a preface to them, wherein he gave the history of these pieces, and lamented the slavery of the writers in France. "It would be a great misfortune for the whole Republic of Letters, says he, if they were every where as formal and captious with regard to the printing of books, as they have been in France for some time past, where the Inquisition, which they are establishing there apace, prevents the publication of many fine pieces, and discourages the best writers. And who would not be discouraged to see those people, who are appointed to license books, keep a manuscript for three or four years without looking into it, and then disapprove every thing there that discovers a mind elevated above slavery and vulgar opinions? What mortification for an author, who never thinks the press can go fast enough upon his works, after a delay of three or four years, to find himself commanded to suppress what he thinks is most valuable in his writings, if he would not rather chuse to see them condemned to eternal silence, by being refused the Royal Privilege?" This Collection contains, I. A sort of Concordat, entered into betwixt the Jesuits and the Fathers of the Oratory, by which these last oblige themselves neither to teach Des Cartes Philosophy, nor the doctrine of Janfenius. II. Remarks upon this concordat. III. An Explanation concerning Mr de la Ville, or rather Father de Valois's book (3). This piece was wrote by Mr Bernier, so well known by his Voyages, and his Abridgment of Gassendus's Philosophy. Father de Valois had placed him in the list of the new Philosophers, who destroy the doctrine of Transubstantiation, by maintaining that the essence of matter consists in extension. His book made a great noise in France, and alarmed all the Cartesians. Mr Regis, who held conferences at Paris, was obliged to give them over. Mr Bernier was afraid for himself, and published this explanation, wherein he endeavours to reconcile the principles of his own philosophy, with the decisions of the church. This collection likewise contains, IV. An answer of Father Malebranche to Father de Valois, who had shewed great animosity against him, and particularly endeavoured to raise suspicions of his orthodoxy. This answer was followed by a Memoir, explaining the possibility of Transubstantiation. V. The Theses which Mr Bayle had made his scholars recite, in 1680: *Dissertatio in qua vindicantur à Peripateticorum exceptionibus rationes quibus aliqui Cartesiani probantur essentiam corporis sitam esse in extensione*. Mr Bayle joined some Philosophical Theses to this Dissertation, where he maintains, among other things, that place, motion, and time, have not as yet been defined in an intelligible manner. VI. A piece which had been printed at Paris, under the title of *Meditations concerning Metaphysics, by William Wander* (4). The Abbé Lanion is the author of it (5). It contains the substance of the Cartesian Metaphysics, and the most valuable things in Des Cartes's Meditations. Nay every thing here seems even better digested, than in Des Cartes's book, and the author appears to have penetrated further than that Philosopher. This is Mr Bayle's judgment of it.

Mr Bernier's Explanation was refuted in a book printed at Paris in 1682, entitled, *The Philosophy of Des Cartes repugnant to the faith of the Catholic church, together with a refutation of the pamphlet lately printed in defence of it* (6). The pamphlet mentioned in this title, is Mr Bernier's performance. The author of this book says, that having seen Mr de la Ville's treatise, he found that the author had very successfully attacked the System of the Cartesians on the subject of the essence of matter, but that their opinion concerning it's accidents and qualities had not been refuted. So that he thought it necessary to handle this last point, and to add to it a new discussion of the first, to make the work complear. He divides his book into two parts. In the first he shows, "That if the essence of the body consists in actual extension, the body of JESUS CHRIST cannot be really and actually in the Eucharist, since a thing cannot exist without it's essence, but it must be there only figuratively, that is, purely in imagination and thought, or in imaginary apprehension, which makes us believe it present where it

(1) Considerations générales sur le livre de Mr Brueys, intitule, Examen des raisons qui ont donné lieu à la separation des Protestans, & par occasion sur ceux du meme caractère. At Rotterdam, for Reinier Leers, 1684.

(2) Recueil de quelques pieces curieuses concernant la philosophie de Mr Des-cartes. A Amsterdam chez Henry Desbordes, 1684.

(3) See above, pag. xiii.

(4) Meditations sur la Metaphysique, par Guillaume Wander.

(5) See Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, Tom. I. chap. xxvi. pag. 223, 224.

(6) La Philosophie de Mr Des-cartes contraire à la Foy Catholique. Avec la Refutation d'un Imprimé fait depuis peu pour sa défense.

" it is not : " and in the second, he proves " That by establishing, as Des Cartes doth, " that there is nothing in the substance but the substance itself, and that the qualities " and accidents which we fancy to exist in it, are only simple appearances that " abuse our senses, and make them believe that there is something really existing " in the substance, which doth not exist there, but only in our thoughts; we destroy " the doctrine of the Church, which teaches us that in the Eucharist, the substance " of the bread and wine being destroyed, and quite changed into the body and " blood of JESUS CHRIST, the accidents, which were in it, remain still, which " necessarily supposeth that the accidents are really distinct from the substance, and " can exist without it." This book is very little known. Mr Bayle doth not mention it, possibly because it never came to his knowledge, and I take notice of it here only because of the relation it has to this Collection which Mr Bayle had published.

The manner of acquainting the public by way of Journal, with what passeth in the Republic of Letters, is one of the finest undertakings of the last age. The honour of it is due to Mr de Sallo, Ecclesiastic Counsellor in the parliament of Paris, who published the *Journal des Sçavans* in the year 1665. This work was received every where with applause, and was imitated in Italy and in Germany. Mr Bayle was surprized to see that in Holland, where there were so many learned men, so many bookfellers, and so great a liberty of the press, no body had as yet thought of publishing a Literary Journal. He had been several times tempted to do it, but considering that a work of this kind requires a great deal of time and application, he had laid aside that design. In the mean while there appeared about the end

(1) Nouvelles Découvertes dans toutes les parties de la médecine.

(2) Chimie démontrée, préface, p. lxxvii.

(3) Nouvelles de la République des Lettres.

(4) In an advertisement which he published at the end of the *Nouvelles* for the month of May, of the first edition, and which he repeated on the reverse of the title page, in the following editions.

(5) See the Letter to Mr le Clerc of the 18th of June 1684. p. 213, and the following.

of the month of February 1684, a Journal printed at Amsterdam by Henry Desbordes, with the title of *Mercure Sçavant du mois de Janvier 1684*. This was an attempt of the Sieur de Blegny, a surgeon of Paris, a man fertile in projects, of which take the following instances. Having observed that several people held conferences on Philosophy, and other sciences, he would needs pretend to do the same, and erected an *Academy of new discoveries* in his own house. He read private lectures to the Surgeons apprentices, under the name of a Course of Surgery; and to the Apothecaries apprentices by the name of a Course of Pharmacy: he even undertook to give a Course of Periwigs for the Perwig-makers apprentices. Every body was admitted to them for a certain price. He meddled likewise in physic, and came at last to take the titles of " Counsellor, Physician, " Artist in ordinary to his Majesty and to the Dauphin, and overseer, by his " Majesty's command, of enquiries and examinations of new discoveries in Physic." In 1679 he undertook a sort of Journal, intitled, *New Discoveries in all the parts of Physic* (1). He published it monthly; but his abusive manner of treating several persons of merit, produced an Arrêt of the Council, which put a stop to it in 1682. The Sieur de Blegny not daring to print his Journal in France, turned his eyes towards Holland, and chose Mr Gautier, a physician of Niort who lived at Amsterdam, for his partner in this project, and furnished him with the materials. This new Journal contained no extracts of Books, but several small pieces generally on subjects relating to physic. It contained likewise songs set to music, poetry, and political news. And he was more abusive in it than he had formerly been in his Journal of Physic.

A work so ill conceived and so ill executed, piqued Mr Bayle and made him re-assume his former design of publishing a Journal. Mr Jurieu pressed him strongly to undertake it. He was glad to have a sure hand to write panegyrics on all the books he should publish (2). Mr Bayle yielded to his solicitations, and began to set about his Journal the 21st of March 1684. Upon the 4th of April he made an agreement with the Sieur Desbordes for the impression, and resolved to publish it once a month, under the title of *News from the Republic of Letters* (3); and to begin with the month of March. The *Mercure Sçavant* was published only for the months of January and February: whereupon several people fancied that Mr Bayle was the author of it; which obliged him to disown it in express terms (4). The News from the Republic of Letters, for the month of March, did not appear 'till the 27th of May, and those of the month of April 'till the 2d of June: but he laboured so hard, that the Journal of July was published in the beginning of August, and so on, the News of every month appearing in the beginning of the following. In the preface he gives an account of the plan which he had laid down, which did not differ much from that of the other Journalists. He divided every Journal into two parts; the first contained large extracts, and the second a catalogue of new books, accompanied with remarks. This last part of his plan gave him occasion to mention a much greater number of books, and to make a great many Pieces known to the public, of which he did not think it proper to give an extract. He embellished his extracts with a thousand curious and entertaining particulars concerning the history of authors, their works and controversies; and with many ingenious and delicate reflexions. He did not write only for the learned: he intended likewise to please and be of use to the polite world (5). In a word, every thing was lively and animated in his extracts; " he had the art of giving a gay turn

1684. "turn to all sorts of subjects, and of giving the readers a notion of a book in
"very few words, without fatiguing them either with a bad choice, or with
"dull and tiresome reflexions. He was wise and reserved in judging of the
"merit of books, neither desiring to shock authors, nor to expose himself by pro-

(1) *Eloge
de Mr
Bayle, by
Mr de
Bauval.*

(2) *See the
Advertisse-
ment pre-
fixed to
the Month
of August
1684.*

(3) *See the
Advertisse-
ment before
the Addition
to the
divers
Thoughts
concern-
ing Co-
mets.*

(4) *The
161b of
May.*

(5) *Letters
to Mr. Mi-
nucoli of
the 9th of
July,
1682, pag.
183; and
of the
15th of
July
1683 pag.
197, 198.*

(6) *See the
Article
AU RI-
EGE.*

(7) *See a
Letter of
the Count
de Dbona
to Mr
Bayle, of
the 28th
of Septem-
ber, 1684,
pag. 227,
228.*

"stituting his commendations (1)." People were of opinion that at first he praised too much, and this obliged him to be more sparing of his applause (2). He received advice with pleasure, and knew how to profit by it. This work was received with universal applause. Mr Bayle had flattered himself that it would not be prohibited in France, it was forbidden however, but this prohibition could not hinder a great many copies of it from passing there every month. Every body read it with eagerness.

The States of the Province of Friesland, to whom Mr Bayle was known by his *Letter concerning Comets* (3), on the 29th of March, appointed him to be Professor of Philosophy in the University of Franeker, with a salary of nine hundred gilders. This resolution was communicated to him by a letter of the 21st of April, which he received on the 9th of May. He wrote an answer to it next day, desiring to be allowed some time to consider of it; and upon the 9th of June wrote them a letter of thanks, but declined accepting that place, though the salary was near double what he had at Rotterdam.

While Mr Bayle was deliberating about this invitation to Franeker, he had an account (4) of the death of his brother Joseph, a young gentleman of great merit. After he had begun the study of Divinity at Puylaurens, he went to Geneva in 1682 to finish it, where he continued above a year. From thence he went to Paris, where he was invited (5) to be governour to Mr Duffon, son to the Marquis de Bonac (6). He died there the 9th of May 1684, regretted by all who knew him (7). He had a great deal of wit and penetration, together with a great share of piety and modesty. He was learned and laborious, and was likely to make a very considerable Figure in the Republic of Letters. Mr Bayle loved him tenderly, and was no less beloved by him. He was sensibly afflicted with his death. "I am
"infinitely obliged to you (says he to Mr Lenfant (8), for the share you have taken
"in the loss of my poor brother, every body wrote and spoke of him very ad-
"vantageously to me. I loved him dearly, and he loved me, if possible, still more.
"Praise be to God, who has been pleased to take him out of this world, and to
"deprive me of the comfort I expected from him: you have lost a good friend
"who had the utmost esteem for you; so that you have had some interest in la-
"menting his Death."

There appeared about this time a third edition of the *General Criticism on the History of Calvinism*. The second edition had been reprinted at Geneva, but notwithstanding this, it was very soon out of print. In the advertisement to this third edition Mr Bayle says, that being convinced that this would be the last time of printing that book, he would very willingly have brought it as near perfection as possible, by making some necessary additions and alterations; but that he durst not venture to do so, lest he should disoblige those, who had already bought the two former editions, who frequently complained of new editions revised, corrected, and augmented, because they disgust people at the former editions, and make them regret their having laid out their money upon them. Upon this account he had managed matters so, that this edition did not differ much from the preceding, and he acquainted all those who had the second, that they might be contented with it, and that this edition ought not to tempt them. Not that this (adds he) is not less faulty than the two former, but it is not so to such a degree as to deserve notice. But we must not understand this strictly: this third edition contains many considerable additions and alterations. He likewise made some change in the order of the Letters, but above all he was at particular pains to correct the stile, by striking out all ambiguous expressions and rhymes. He upon this occasion observes how difficult it is in writing French to avoid verses, jingling of words, and phrases wherein one word may relate to different parts of the sentence, and so cause double meanings.

1685. In the beginning of the year 1685, he published a continuation of the *Critique Generale*, under the title of *New Letters of the author of the General Criticism on the History of Calvinism of Mr Maimbourg. Part I. wherein several passages which have been found fault with, as containing contradictions, false reasonings, and other mistakes of that sort are justified, and several curious matters relating to this subject are occasionally handled. At Ville Franche by Peter le Blanc, MDC LXXXV* (9). To these New Letters a long preface, or advice to the readers, is prefixed, wherein Mr Bayle takes notice that after having, with much difficulty, consented to their being put to the press, he had been frequently tempted to put a stop to the impression, when he considered how rare it was for an author, who ventures to publish a continuation of a book which has been well received, not to miscarry. "These continuations (says he) make people almost always say, that the
"author has not held out, that he ought to have rested where he was, that he
"ought to have known his strength better, and that he was much in the wrong
"to run the hazard of lessening the opinion the public had conceived of him." He

(8) *Letter
of the 8th
of August
1684. pag.
219, 220.*

(9) *Nouvelles Let-
tres de
l'auteur de
la Criti-
que Gé-
nérale de
l'His-
toire du
Calvi-
nisme de
Mr Maim-
bourg.
Premiere
partie, où
en justi-
fiant quel-
ques en-
droits qui
ont sem-
blé con-
tenir des
contra-
dicti-
ons, de
faux rai-
sonnemens
& autres
méprises
sembla-
bles; on
traite par
occasion
de plu-
sieurs cho-
ses curieu-
ses, qui
ont du
rapport à
ces ma-
tières. A
Ville
Franche
chez
Pierre le
Blanc,
1685.*

shows that people are sometimes in the right in judging so, but that for the most part they are very much in the wrong, and that when the continuation of a book is less esteemed than what went before it, is not so much the fault of the author as of the readers. But since the misfortune is not the less upon this account, he concludes that excepting a few privileged authors, all others ought to be afraid of the comparison which people will make betwixt their works, if the first has had the good fortune to please. He adds that no body ever had more reason to be apprehensive of this comparison than himself, and takes notice of several circumstances which luckily concurred to procure a good reception to the *General Criticism on the History of Calvinism*, which did not now subsist in favour of these *New Letters*. But that at last he had suffered them to be made public, with a resolution of looking with perfect indifference upon the opinion the public might have concerning them. Mean while he acquaints the reader that he will find in the second Volume several passages which have not all the gravity, which possibly he may expect in that book; nay that he may possibly be of opinion, that some of them are too much a-kin to trifling. For this reason he declares that he doth not pretend here to write for the learned, but for a great many people who love reading, and not being deep scholars, want, properly speaking, only an innocent amusement whereby they may learn something, but with little trouble. They who would judge of this book, says he, ought to remember that this was the intention of the author. We have only the first part of this work: Mr Bayle intended to publish two parts more, and had even begun to compose them, but did not finish them. "It was originally intended (says he) that this first part should be followed by two others, the first of which was to have satisfied those who had said, that several things which deserved great consideration had been too briefly handled in the *General Criticism*, such as the Conference of Poissy, the first rising in Arms, the Version of the Psalms, &c. and the second was to have explained some difficulties in the controversy. But though something has been prepared a good while ago, for both the one and the other of these parts, yet in all appearance other business will hinder the author to finish them."

(1) Letter of the 2d of April, 1685, pag 237.

Mr Bayle sent a copy of this book to Mr Lenfant, and assured him that he might let him know the faults in it without fearing to displease him. "I desire (says he (1), you will accept of a copy of the Continuation of the *Critique Generale*. . . . I am not at all pleased with this last book, and you will oblige me if you will sincerely show me it's faults. Do not be afraid that you will in the least displease me by doing so. My friends cannot oblige me more than by telling me frankly the faults they find in my small productions. I have been tried in this matter, and I can say from experience that their censures do not in the least offend me."

(2) July 1685. Art. viii. p. m. 780, 781.

This Continuation had not the same success with the *Critique Generale*. All that Mr Bayle had said in the Preface, to show the difference betwixt these two pieces, and to give a just idea of this last, was to no purpose. No notice was taken of it. Neither would people understand what he had said in the ninth Letter concerning the rights of an erring Conscience, and concerning innocent Errors; though he had taken all possible precaution to explain himself fully on these heads. He complained of this six months after in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, upon occasion of some reflexions of Father Malebranche's concerning the carelessness of readers. "It must be confessed (says he (2), that the generality of readers are strange sort of people, one may take the trouble of acquainting them with a thousand things, one may commend this and the other thing to them in the most humble manner, they will nevertheless follow their own humour and custom. Good stories have been made concerning the useless precautions of mothers and husbands: I am surpris'd that no body has given us a history of the useless precautions of authors. I know one whose book has not been published above six months, who omitted nothing to secure himself from rash judgments; his preface had given very essential advices, and in those places where he distrusted his readers, he had expressly warned them that they would certainly mistake him, if they did not carefully examine the whole series of his reasoning; he had even carried his precautions so far as to print his real sentiments in large letters, and to threaten the readers in some sort, that if they committed any mistakes there, they should be inexcusable. All this signified nothing, he has been informed, that notwithstanding all his care, even people whose profession it was to know these things, have fallen into those mistakes which he had been at so much pains to warn them of."

(3) Par le Sieur B... Professeur en Philosophie & en Histoire à Rotterdam.

Mr Bayle began the second year of his *News from the Republic of Letters*, that is to say, the month of March 1685, by an addition to the title, which made it no longer an anonymous work; he added these words, *By Mr B... Professor of Philosophy and History at Rotterdam* (3). He added likewise an Advertisement, wherein he says that he thought himself obliged to let the public know distinctly the place where this Journal was composed, that they might see that the Magistrates of Rotterdam honour the Muses with their protection, and that this work was composed by one of the Professors whom they had settled in their *New Illustrious School*; and declares, that

1685. that though he doth not dedicate it in the ordinary forms, he doth nevertheless entirely consecrate it to them. He expressed himself in a still stronger manner, in an article of the month of March, where he is giving the extract from a book, wherein it was observed, that the town of Rotterdam had always favoured the Belles Letters. "What this city did three years ago, adds Mr Bayle (1), is a very (1) Art. viii, pag. m. 312. "evident proof of their love to the Sciences. It is easy to observe that I mean the ILLUSTRIOUS SCHOOL, which the honourable Magistrates of Rotterdam generously founded in 1681. If the public shall receive any instruction, or useful amusement from these *News from the Republic of Letters*, they will be obliged for it to those gentlemen, since it is to them that I owe the sweet tranquillity which enables me to support this laborious task. It is under the protection of this glorious Senate that these collections are composed, *ille nobis hæc otia fecit*, and I am very glad to find here so natural an occasion, of testifying my gratitude, and of declaring, that if the public has any good opinion of this work, I consecrate it entirely to the glory of this city."

Upon the eighth day of May, 1685, Mr Bayle was informed that his father died upon Saturday the 30th of the preceeding March. This was very afflicting news to him, but his grief was redoubled, when he heard that his elder brother was in prison upon account of religion. The Bishop of Rieux did not know what was become of Mr Bayle, till the time in which the *General Criticism on the History of Calvinism* made a noise in France, and it was known that he was the author of it.

This Book renewed their vexation for his escape from Toulouse, and his return to the Reformed Religion. They had endeavoured several times to revenge themselves upon his brother, but that minister, by his wife and prudent conduct, had still escaped the pursuits of his enemies. At last they applied to Mr de Louvois, a violent and revengeful man, who at this time was the author of unheard of cruelties against the Reformed in several provinces. Mr de Louvois had taken offence at several strokes in the *General Criticism* concerning the conduct of the French Court with regard to the Reformed, and so gave orders that Mr Bayle, the Minister of Carla should be seized. They sent a great number of public officers to his house, who dragged him out of his closet, and carried him to the prison of Pamiers, upon the 11th of June. From thence he was removed to Bourdeaux, on the 10th of July, to the Chateau Trompette, and confined in a stinking and infectious dungeon. They used all their efforts to make him change his religion, but neither their promises, their threats, nor their outrages, were capable to shake him. He showed a constancy and steadfastness which astonished his persecutors, and praised God who had called him to suffer for the truth. But the delicacy of his constitution could not bear such barbarous usage: he died the 12th of November, after five months imprisonment. In this manner he "crowned (2) (2) Cabale Chimerique, pag. 313. "that piety which he had shewed during the whole course of his life, by an heroic death, which was admired even by those who had done every thing in their power to make him die a Papist, and over whose attacks he triumphed gloriously." He was well versed in sacred and prophane history, and in the knowledge both of ancient and modern authors. His zeal for his religion was attended with mildness and wisdom. Although he had a very lively sense of the many injuries done to the Reformed, yet he still preserved an inviolable fidelity to the King's person, and a perfect submission to his commands, being persuaded that a Christian ought to oppose nothing to his sovereign, but supplications and tears (3).

Mr Paets was at this time in England, on the affairs of the States, and as the question about Toleration was then very much debated there, he wrote a Latin Letter, on the 12th of September, upon that subject to Mr Bayle, which Mr Bayle got printed at Rotterdam, under the following title: *H. V. P. ad B***** (4) *de nuperis Angliæ motibus Epistola, in qua de diversorum à publica Religione circa divina sententiarum differtur Tolerantia*. In this letter, Mr Paets begins with admiring that change, which had been made in the minds and opinions of the English, with regard to James II. He praised that prince for not dissembling his Religion at his accession to the crown; and hoped that he would faithfully observe the promise he had made to his Protestant subjects, of allowing them the peaceable enjoyment of their Religion. The rest of the Letter is employed in confuting those who maintain, that Princes ought not to suffer any Religion but one in their dominions, and that subjects ought not to submit to any Prince but of their own Religion. He shews that nothing is more opposite to the spirit of primitive Christianity, than a spirit of persecution, and after having examined the reasons adduced by Politicians and Divines against Toleration, he attacks the infallible authority arrogated by the Church of Rome. In a Postscript he clears up and confirms some things he had said in the Letter, and shews that it would be easy to reduce all the Sects among Protestants into one society. Mr Bayle being of opinion that this Letter was very fit to inspire sentiments of mildness and moderation, thought proper to translate it into French. This translation appeared in the month of

(3) See his Discoursje to Mr Da-guesseau, Intendant of the Generality of Montauban, and his answer to the Com-missary of Mazarres, in the Histoire de Mr Bayle & de ses Ouvrages, printed at Amsterdam 1716, pag. 98, and the following.

(4) That is, Hadrian Van Paets ad Bælium.

August.

August. It was likewise translated into Dutch. Mr Bayle gave an abstract of it in his Journal of the Month of October 1685; and Mr Paets being dead after the impression of that article, he in a new edition added a few words, by way of elogy upon that great man. "This is not the first time, (says he (1), that the illustrious Mr Paets, author of the Letter of which we have been speaking, has reasoned "strongly upon the subject of Toleration. There are some other Letters of his "upon this subject, in the Collection of the *praestantium ac eruditiorum Virorum* "Epistolae, printed first in Quarto, and reprinted in Folio at Amsterdam, in the "year 1684. These are beautiful monuments of his eloquence, and of the strength "of his judgment. He could have easily produced many more considerable than those, "if he had pleased to become an author, for he was a great Divine, a great Lawyer, "a great Politician, and a great Philosopher, he had a very happy conception "of things, and a surprizing penetration; never did man reason more strongly, "or give a greater air of dignity to what he said: but he was born for greater "employments than that of an author. The extraordinary embassy to Spain, which "he performed so advantageously for his country, at that time in a conternation "upon account of the great success of the French arms, shewed what he was capable of in affairs of State. What a loss is it to the public, that so great a man "did not live longer! hardly had he arrived to his 55th year, when he died "upon the 8th of October of the present year 1685; deserving all manner of "praise as much upon the account of his intrepidity, probity, generosity, integrity, "and all the other qualities of a gentleman, as upon the account of his great genius "and profound erudition. It is in quality of Journalist of the Republic of Letters, "that I am obliged to give this account of him. But what should I not be obliged "to say, if I were to speak agreeably to those sentiments of gratitude, which fill "my soul for the favours I have received from this illustrious person?"

Mr Bayle at this time was engaged in a dispute with Mr Arnauld, upon Father Malebranche's account. This Doctor in his *Philosophical and Theological Reflexions on the New System of Nature and Grace* of Father Malebranche, had vehemently opposed his opinion, viz. "That all pleasure is a good, and renders the person "who enjoys it actually happy." Mr Bayle, in making an extract of this work of Mr Arnauld, had declared himself for Father Malebranche. "There is nothing, (says he (2), more innocent, or more certain, than to say that all pleasure "renders the person happy who enjoys it, for the time in which he enjoys it, "and that notwithstanding this, we ought to shun those pleasures which attach us "to the body. . . . But some will say it is virtue, it is grace, it is the love of "God, or rather it is God alone who is our happiness. I agree that he is so in "quality of instrument or efficient cause, as the Philosophers speak; but in quality of "a formal cause, it is the pleasure, it is the satisfaction we enjoy, which constitutes our "happiness." He had observed before, that "those who had in any sort understood Father Malebranche's doctrine concerning the pleasure of the senses, would no "doubt be astonished that any body should find fault with him on that account; "and that if they did not remember that Mr Arnauld had made oath of his sincerity, in the preface to this last book, they would be ready to think that he "had only cavilled with his adversary, in order to render his morals suspected." Mr Arnauld who easily took fire, published a Piece intitled, *An Advice to the Author of the News from the Republic of Letters* (3), wherein he complained of this reflexion of Mr Bayle, and maintained that he had not only well understood, but likewise well confuted Father Malebranche's opinion. Mr Bayle gave the substance of this book in the Journal of December, and promised to make use of the vacation to examine it carefully. Accordingly he set about it, and the impression of his Answer was finished upon the 25th of February: it was intitled, *An Answer of the Author of the News from the Republic of Letters, to an Advice which has been given him, concerning what he had said in favour of Father Malebranche about the pleasure of the senses* (4). Mr Arnauld did not give up the point, he wrote a Reply under this title, *A Dissertation concerning the pretended happiness arising from the pleasure of the senses, to serve for a Reply to an Answer which Mr Bayle has made to justify what he had said in his News from the Republic of Letters of September 1685, in favour of Father Malebranche against Mr Arnauld* (5). Mr Bayle would have answered this Reply, if he had not been sick when it appeared, and he thought it would be too late to refute it when his health allowed him to write. However he afterwards did design to answer it, and fully to discuss that subject [F]. Notwithstanding he has only said a word or two about it in one of his works (6).

Mr Bayle

(1) Art. ii. p. 1093, 1394, of the third Edition.

(2) Nouvelles of the Month of August, 1685, Art. iii, pag. m. 876.

(3) Avis à l'Auteur des Nouvelles de la République des Lettres.

(4) Réponse de l'Auteur des Nouvelles de la République des Lettres à l'Avis qui lui a été donné sur ce qu'il a dit en faveur du P. Malebranche touchant le plaisir des sens, &c. at Rotterdam chez Pierre de Graef. 1685, in 12mo.

[F] Mr Bayle did afterwards design to answer Mr Arnauld, and to discuss that subject fully. This appears by a Letter published by the Abbé Archimbaud, in his *New Collection of scarce pieces of History and Literature*, &c (a). As this Letter was never printed except in that Collection (b), which is now pretty scarce, I thought it would not be unacceptable to the reader to find it here. It was wrote in the year 1694.

(b) Tom. iii. p. 64, & seq.

1685.

(5) Dissertation sur le prétendu bonheur du bon sens, pour servir de réplique à la Réponse qu'a faite Mr Bayle pour justifier ce qu'il a dit dans ses Nouvelles de la République de Lettres du mois de Septembre 1685, en faveur du P. Malebranche contre Mr Arnauld. Printed at Cologne (Rotterdam) 1687, in 8vo.

* He ought to have said du mois d'Aout.

(6) Critical Dictionary, Article ERICURUS, Rem. [G].

(c) L'Art de se connoître soy même, which they had reprinted at Lyons.

1685. Mr Bayle having observed in the Journal of September 1685 (1), that there were a great many errors in the Treatise concerning anonymous Authors, published by Mr Deckher, Advocate in the Imperial Chamber of Spire; Mr d'Almeveen, who designed to publish a new edition of this work, desired him to read it, and to point out to him the faults he should find in it. A learned man called Mr Vindingius had before this time wrote a letter to Mr Deckher, which had been printed with the second edition of this book, wherein he corrected some mistakes of the author, and furnished him with some supplements: but neither was this letter free from faults. Mr Bayle corrected both the one and the other, and added a discovery of several anonymous authors, in his answer to Mr d'Almeveen's letter. He concludes by saying that he could have furnished him with more ample and more curious remarks, if he had time to consult his papers and his friends, and if he had not been afraid of offending authors, who had a mind to be concealed. This letter was written upon the 6th and 7th of March 1686; and Mr d'Almeveen joined it to a new edition of Mr Deckher's book, printed at Amsterdam with this title: *Jobannis Deckherii Doctoris & Imperialis Camerae Judicii Spirensis Advocati & Procuratoris, de Scriptis adscriptis, pseudepigraphis, & supposititiis Conjecturae. cum Additionibus Variorum. Editio Tertia altera parte auctior.* Mr Bayle mentions it in his new Journal of April 1686 (2), and takes notice of some errors of the press in his letter.

(1) Art. 1.
Of the
Catalogue
of new
Books, p.
m. 460.

1686. The cruel Persecution of the Reformed in France had very sensibly touched Mr Bayle, but he was quite overcome with grief, when he heard that in the month of October 1685, they had revoked the Edict of Nantes, which was the pledge and security of their rights and liberties; and that they had sent Dragoons into their houses, who lived there at discretion, and committed all sorts of disorders and violence to force them to embrace the Romish Religion. Some among them submitted outwardly, and others fled to foreign countries, that they might serve God there according to the dictates of their conscience. In the mean while the Missionaries and Popish writers, notwithstanding all this, impudently denied that any violence had been used towards them, and there was hardly two or three of them, who confessed the quartering of the troops upon them, which the Protestants called the *Croisade Dragonne*, the *Conversions à la Dragonne*, or simply the *Dragonnade*. Mr Bayle made several reflexions on this subject in his *News from the Republic of Letters*, with a great deal of wisdom and caution. But at last, the sight of so much injustice, so many cruelties and frauds, put him quite out of patience: being teized with an infinite number of books wherein nothing was talked of but the immortal Glory which Lewis the Great had acquired by destroying Heresy, and rendering France entirely Catholic, he published in the month of March 1686, a little book entitled, *A Character of France entirely Catholic under the reign of Lewis le Grand* (3). But that he might not be so much as suspected to be author of it, he feigned in the title that this book was printed at St Omer, and added an advertisement wherein the bookseller said that the manuscript had been given him by a Missionary lately returned from England, who had advised him to print it, being persuaded that it would be a proof of the rage of the Heretics.

(3) Ce
que c'est
que la
France
toute Ca-
tholique
sous le
Regne de
Louis le
Grand.

This small piece is composed of three Letters. The second which makes the body of the book, is written to a Canon by a Refugee at London, who had been his friend. It is a very strong and severe censure of the conduct of France with regard to the Reformed. All the Catholics in France are here accused of having been concerned in the persecution: a hideous picture of the Church of Rome is here drawn; treachery and violence (says he) are its distinguishing characters: the pretended Converters are reproached with their ridiculous artifices, and their low and gross cheats: the injustice of the Arrêts is complained of, and particularly of that which allowed children of seven years of age to make choice of the Catholic Religion: the falsity of the reasons alledged in the Edict by which that of Nantes was revoked are shown: the dragooning is described in very lively colours: the oaths of Catholics, considered as such, are represented as a meer farce: their pretended zeal is ridiculed: the ruin of the Christian Religion is laid to the charge of the Catholic Clergy:

"It is an Answer to a Defence which I had published of an article of my *News from the Republic of Letters*, wherein I had sided with Father Mablebranche, against Mr Arnauld: I had maintained, that the pleasures of the senses are altogether spiritual and incorporeal beings or modifications, and that there is no pleasure, how gross soever or brutish, which in its own nature may not be a modification of the purest of all created substances. So that if some pleasures are at present criminal, it is only by accident, upon account of the occasions in which they are tasted, that is to say, because they are the consequences of an act of the will, which we know to be forbidden by God. But this doth not relate to the nature itself of the modifications of the mind, but is only an accidental relation, or *ex institute*, which arises from

"the laws which God has revealed to man, either by his word, or by reason. From whence it follows, (and I think that I even took notice of this consequence), that the pleasures of taste, of sight, and of touch, may be communicated without the intervention of any corporeal organ, or that the eye may be indifferently the organ of the pleasures either of taste or of hearing, as it is *ex institute* of those of sight. I was sick when Mr Arnauld answered me, and before I recovered, the subject of our dispute was forgotten, so I have not to this day made any reply to him; but I will set about it when a proper occasion offers, and will show that it is impossible to maintain the spirituality of our souls, without admitting my principle."

Clergy : the conduct of the Converters is compared with that of the Pagan persecutors : 1686.
the Catholics are accused of having rendered Christianity odious to all other Religions ; and he maintains that the laws of humanity, and that general benevolence which we owe to all mankind, would oblige an honest man to inform the Emperor of China of what has lately past in France, and acquaint him that the Missionaries, who at first only desire a Toleration, did really intend to become masters, and that he could not rely on the fidelity of their Profelytes ; and concludes by saying that Priests and Monks carry discord, sedition, and cruelty, wherever they go. This is a general view of this Letter.

(1) Nou-
velles of
March
1686,
Art. iii. of
New
Books, p.
m. 346.

The reader will no doubt be glad to see Mr Bayle's judgment of it in his Journal.
“ They will possibly find (says he (1), too much fire here, and too great flights of
“ fancy, but the beauty of the thoughts, and their solidity in the main, as to the
“ facts, will very likely make them excuse what is excessive in it. Certainly there
“ is enough said to the Converters in France to cover them with the highest
“ confusion, if people of their trade could blush at any thing. The turn and vivacity
“ which goes through the whole of it, will make few readers think it long, though
“ it were really so.”

(2) Ce que
c'est que
la France
toute Ca-
tholique,
pag. 125.

(3) Com-
mentaire
philoso-
phique sur
ces paro-
les de Je-
sus-Christ,
contrain-
les d'en-
trer ; où
l'on prou-
ve par plu-
sieurs rai-
sons dé-
monstra-
tives, qu'il
n'y a rien
de plus a-
bominable
que de
faire des
Convertis-
ons par
la con-
trainte, &
où l'on re-
fute tous
les Sophis-
mes des
Convertis-
seurs à
contrainte,
& l'Apo-
logie que
St Augu-
stin a faite
des per-
secutions.
Traduit
de l'An-
glois du
Sieur Jean
Fox de
Bruggs.
Par M. J. T.
A Can-
torbery,
chez Tho-
mas Lit-
wel 1686.

In this manner Mr Bayle speaks of it, pretending not to know the author. The Canon being piqued by this letter, sends it to another Refugee at London, who was a friend of the author's, and desires him to give him his opinion of it. He assures him that he will give thanks to God, for having blest the gentle and charitable methods which had been used against a Religion which had rebelled both against God and the Church, and that he will strive by his prayers to obtain for him the grace of conversion. He afterwards desires him to read St Augustin's Letters, which (says he) show the injustice of the complaints of the Reformed, and unanswerably justify the means which had been used, in order to reclaim them. This Letter is the first of the three. In the third the Refugee answers to the Canon, with a great deal of mildness and moderation. He condemns the fallies and hyperbolical expressions of his friend, and confesses that there were an infinite number of good people in France, and even Priests and Monks, who had generously sympathized with the miseries of the Reformed, and had done them good offices ; and that his friend was to blame in saying, that he had not found one good man in France : but with regard to the Converters, he abandoned them to all the strokes of his friend's pen, and to the utmost extent of his invectives, together with all the Catholic Writers, who had denied that any violence had been used towards the Reformed. He asks some pretty lively questions on this subject, and says that having represented to his friend the great number of honest men they had found among the Catholics in France ; in answer to this he had maintained, that these honest men had acted in this matter not as Catholics, but as Frenchmen ; and that we ought to depend more upon a person, considered as having been instructed in the laws of civility and honour practised in France, than upon one considered as having been instructed in the Catechism of his Religion by his parish Priest. He adds, that he laughed at this distinction, but that his friend had shown him some sheets of a manuscript, translated from the English, containing the same thought. “ There
“ is here, (says he (2), a learned Presbyterian and good Philosopher, who has
“ wrote a Philosophical Commentary upon these words of the parable, *compel
“ them to come in*, which is not as yet printed. They are at present translating
“ it into our language. They have lent me some sheets of it, which I have
“ read with great pleasure. The English have the most profound genius, and
“ are the most given to meditation, of any people in the world. I do not
“ believe that ever it was more strongly proved, that all constraint in religious
“ matters is criminal and contrary both to reason and scripture. St Augustin,
“ and the two Letters to which we are referred are here quite destroyed, and they
“ shew him that if he had not argued better against the Heretics of his time,
“ than he has done for the Persecutors, the Councils who have condemned Pela-
“ gius upon the report and opinion of St Augustin, must have been very easily
“ satisfied or put out of humour. I will hasten the translation and impression of
“ this Book, as much as possible. I am convinced that a great many Catho-
“ lics will approve of it, notwithstanding the prevailing spirit of those of your
“ cloth.”

The book here promised is entitled, *A Philosophical Commentary on these Words of JESUS CHRIST, compel them to come in. Wherein it is proved, by several invincible arguments, that there is nothing more abominable than to make converts by compulsion. With a confutation of all the sophisms of the advocates for constraint, as also of St Augustin's Apology for Persecution. Translated from the English of Mr John Fox de Bruggs. By M. I. T. At Canterbury, by Thomas Letwel, MDC LXXXVI* (3). Mr Bayle inserted this title in his Journal of the Month of August 1686 (4), and added,
“ In the Journal of last March, pag. 345, we spoke of the piece entituled, *Ce que
“ c'est que la France toute Catholique*, which is a small treatise wherein they promise
“ the publication of this Commentary. It will no doubt be a Commentary of a
“ new kind. We had the title of it sent us from beyond sea two days ago, and they
“ promise to send us the work itself very soon. We will then see whether it be so
“ dreadful

1686. "dreadful a stroke to the whole Tribe of Converters, as they would make us believe in the letter of advice we have had about it." But all this was only a feint. The book was printing at Amsterdam for Wolligang, who had printed *La France toute Catholique*. The impression was finished in the month of October, and Mr Bayle mentions it in his *Journal* of the month of November (1).

This work is divided into three parts. In the first, Mr Bayle refutes the literal sense of these words *Compel them to come in*; and as this is not a theological or critical Commentary, but a philosophical one, that is to say, a work of pure reasoning, he lays it down in the beginning as a principle, "that natural reason, or the general principles of our knowledge, are the fundamental and original rule of all interpretation of scripture, especially in what regards to manners;" what comes to the same thing, that every particular doctrine, whether advanced as agreeable to Scripture, or proposed in any other manner, is false when it can be refuted by the clear and distinct notions of natural reason, especially if it regards morality: and he shews that all Divines, not even excepting the Roman Catholics, agree to this maxim. After having established and proved this principle, he shews that the literal sense of these words is false, I. Because it contradicts the most clear and distinct notions of our reason. II. Because it is contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. III. Because it totally overturns morality, both divine and human; confounds virtue and vice, and by that means opens a door to all imaginable confusion, and tends to the universal ruin of societies. IV. Because it furnisheth Infidels with a very lawful pretence of hindering the preachers of the Gospel to enter into their dominions, and of driving them out wherever they are found. V. Because it contains a general command, the execution of which must needs be attended with many crimes. VI. Because it takes away from the Christian Religion, a strong proof against false Religions, particularly against Mahometism, which was established by persecution. VII. Because it was unknown to the Fathers of the Church in the first three Centuries. VIII. Because it renders the complaints of the primitive Christians, against the Pagan persecutions, vain and ridiculous. IX. And lastly, because it would expose true Christians to continual oppression, without leaving them any thing to alledge, in order to put a stop to it, but the doctrines themselves in dispute betwixt the persecuted and persecutors, which is only a pitiful begging of the question, that would not prevent the world's becoming a continued scene of slaughter and cruelty.

In the second part, Mr Bayle answers the objections which might be raised against him, which he reduces to the following: I. "That force is not used in order to constrain the conscience, but to awaken those who refuse to examine." He refutes this plea, and examines what it is they call *obstinacy*. II. "That the literal sense is rendered odious, by our judging of the ways of God by the ways of men: and that though men are capable of judging wrong, when they are actuated by passion, yet it doth not follow that God may not make use of this means to accomplish his work in the wonderful conduct of his providence." Mr Bayle shews how false this thought is, and what are the common effects of persecution. III. "That things are maliciously exaggerated, when the constraint commanded by JESUS CHRIST is represented under the notion of scaffolds, wheels, and gibbets, whereas we ought only to mention fines, and banishments, and other such small inconveniencies." He shews the absurdity of the excuse, and that supposing the literal sense, capital punishments are more reasonable than the chicaneries, imprisonments, banishments, and quartering of Dragoons, which they had made use of in France. IV. "That we cannot condemn the literal sense, without, at the same time, condemning the laws which God established among the Jews, and the conduct of the Prophets upon some occasions." Mr Bayle shews that several things were permitted, or even commanded by the Old Law, for reasons which were peculiar to the Jewish Commonwealth, and which have no place under the Gospel. V. "That Protestants cannot find fault with the literal sense of constraint, without condemning the most wise Emperors and Fathers of the Church, and without condemning themselves, since they in some countries do not suffer other Religions, and have sometimes punished Heretics with death, Servetus for example." Mr Bayle blames the conduct of the ancient Christian Emperors, who have been guilty of Persecution; and censures the Non-Toleration of Protestant Princes, except when it is an act of policy, necessary for the good of the State. On this account, he maintains, that it is lawful to make laws against Popery, because it teacheth persecution, and has always practised it when it had the power. "The punishment of Servetus, (adds he), and of a very few others of that sort, who erred in the most fundamental doctrines, is at present looked upon as a hideous blemish on these early days of our Reformation, and as sad and deplorable remains of Popery, and I do not at all doubt, that if the Magistrates of Geneva had at present such a process before them, they would carefully abstain from such violence."

(1) *Art. iii. of the Catalogue of New Books, p. m. 1347. and the following.*

(1) Com-
mentaire
Philoso-
phique,
&c. Part.
II, cap. 6.
pag. 363,
364.

The sixth objection is, "That the opinion of Toleration cannot fail to throw a 1686.
"State into all sorts of confusion, and to produce a horrible medley of Sects, which
"deform Christianity." Mr Bayle draws a proof of his own opinion from this ob-
jection: for if a multiplicity of Religions be hurtful to a State. "It is only, (says he (1),
"because the one will not tolerate the other, but swallow it up by persecution.
"Hinc prima mali labe, this is the origin of the evil. If every one of them,
"adds he, enjoyed the Toleration which I plead for, there would be the same con-
"cord in a State, divided into ten Religions, that there is in a City wherein the
"different sorts of mechanics support one another. All the differences it could
"produce, would be an honest emulation which should most signalize itself in
"piety, good morals, and in knowledge; every one would strive to prove itself
"the most beloved of God, by shewing a stronger attachment to the practice of
"good works; nay they would even strive which should show the greatest love
"to their country, if the Sovereign protected them all, and kept an equal bal-
"lance among them by his equity: now it is evident that so beautiful an emula-
"tion would produce infinite advantages, and consequently that Toleration is the
"most proper means in the world to bring back the Golden Age, and to make
"a consort and harmony of many voices and instruments of different tones and
"notes, as agreeable at least as the single harmony of one voice. What is it then
"that prevents this beautiful concert, formed of voices and tones so different from
"one another; it is, that the one of the two Religions wants to exercise a cruel
"tyranny over the minds, and force the others to sacrifice their consciences to it;
"it is that Princes foment this unjust partiality, and lend the secular arm to the
"furious and tumultuous passions of a herd of Monks and Clerks: in a word, these
"disorders proceed not from Toleration, but from Non-Toleration." He af-
"terwards shows in what sense Princes ought to be the *nursing Fathers of the Church*.
The seventh objection is, "That constraint in the literal sense cannot be denied,
"without introducing a general Toleration." Mr Bayle acknowledgeth that this
consequence is just, but denies that it is absurd. He shews that no inconveniencies
would follow from tolerating not only the Jews, but if it were necessary, the
Mahometans and Pagans, and much more the Socinians. He examines the re-
strictions of those who plead for a partial Toleration; and after making some re-
marks on what is called *Blasphemy*, he concludes, that Servetus was unjustly pu-
nished as a Blasphemer.

The 8th and last Objection is, "That constraint in the literal sense is rendered
"odious by falsely supposing, that it authorises the persecution of the Truth." Mr Bayle answers that the consequence is just; and that if we admit the literal
sense, Heretics will have the same right to persecute the Orthodox, that the Ortho-
dox pretend to have to persecute the Heretics. In order to prove this, he lays it
down for a principle, that men are always obliged to follow the dictates of their
conscience; that they always sin when they do not follow them, though they may
likewise sometimes sin by following them. That principle is founded on this Maxim,
that whatever is done contrary to the dictates of the conscience is a sin; from whence
it follows, that whoever doth an action which his conscience tells him is bad, or
who omits doing what his conscience tells him he ought to do, offends God and
necessarily commits a sin. So that if God had commanded, by a positive law, that
every man who knows the truth ought to employ fire and sword to defend it; all
those to whom this law should be revealed, would be indispensably obliged to obey
it. But since a Heretic is persuaded that his opinions are true, he is therefore ob-
liged to do that for his errors, which God should have commanded to be done in
defence of the truth; and consequently Heretics would be authorized to persecute
the Orthodox, whom they look upon as maintainers of error, if it was true that
God had commanded to persecute error. He confirms this proof by distinguishing
betwixt absolute truth and seeming truth. He says that as we have no certain mark
whereby to discern whether what seems to be truth to us, be absolutely so; when
it happens that error is clothed in the dress of truth, we owe it the same respect
that is due to truth; and that considering the weakness of man, and the state in
which he is placed, the infinite wisdom of God has not permitted that he should
require of us rigorously the knowledge of absolute truth, but that he has laid a
burthen upon us proportioned to our strength, which is to enquire after the truth,
and to stop at that which seems to be such after a sincere enquiry, to love this
seeming truth, and to conform ourselves to it's commands how difficult soever they
may be.

(2) Dif-
cours pre-
liminaire
qui conti-
ent plu-
sieurs re-
marques
distinctes
de celles
du Com-
mentaire.

In the Preface intituled *A preliminary Discourse containing several remarks distinct from those in the Commentary* (2), the author says that he composed this work, at
the desire of a Refugee, who is the author of *France entirely Catholic*; and that having
wrote it in order to it's being translated into French, and upon occasion of the
persecution of the Protestants in France, he had not quoted any English books in
it, but had confined himself to such as were very well known to the French Con-
verters. Here he attacks a-fresh the spirit of persecution, and confutes some Catholic
Controvertists with a great deal of force and vehemence. "The Author (says Mr Bayle,
"speaking

1686. "speaking of this work in his Journal (1), has prefixed to his book a long pre- (1) November, ubi supra, pag. 1343, 1349.
 "liminary Discourse, which may be justly called a *Philippic Oration*. The definition which he there gives of a Converter is almost as cruel as the thing defined; all the rest is very much in the same strain." Before this discourse there is an advice to the reader, wherein the bookseller promises to publish speedily a third part, containing a Refutation of the reasons whereby St Augustin justifies persecution.

The *News from the Republic of Letters* procured Mr Bayle the esteem not only of particular persons, but likewise of several illustrious societies. The French Academy, to whom he had presented his Journal, thanked him in a Letter wherein he was assured that they had been unanimous in acknowledging his merit, and the usefulness of the present he had made them (2). The Royal Society in England wrote him a Letter wherein they say (3), *That having observed his particular care in collecting every thing curious that happened among men of letters, and the fine genius he discovered in his Journal, they were desirous of holding a fixed and certain correspondence with him, from which they might reap common advantages.* They add, that as the first mark of their esteem for him, they had sent him the *Natural History of Fishes*, by Mr Willoughby, revised and augmented by Mr Ray. He received likewise very civil letters from the Society of Dublin (4). It consisted of a number of learned and curious gentlemen who had formed themselves into a body, in order to contribute to the advancement of arts and sciences: but it continued only a few years.

On the other hand, his Journal engaged him in some disputes; and occasioned some complaints which he satisfied either by explaining himself, or by fairly correcting the mistakes he had made by following some unexact Memoirs which had been communicated to him. But he was censured in one particular, which gave him a great deal of uneasiness, not so much upon account of the manner of the complaint, as because it concerned a crowned head. This is one of the most memorable events of Mr Bayle's life, and deserves that I should here publish all the pieces which relate to it.

In the Journal of the Month of April 1686 (5), he took notice of a printed paper that was handed about under the name of Queen Christina of Sweden. It was an answer to a letter of the Chevalier de Terlon, wherein that Princess condemned the persecution in France. "It is very probable (says he) that all the Confessionaries in France would be severe to the Queen of Sweden, if it were true that she had answered the Chevalier de Terlon in the manner contained in the Letter which is handed about, wherein she loudly condemns the conduct of France, with regard to the late conversions, and especially when she considers the behaviour of the Clergy of France, against the head of the Church. There are a great many Protestants who cannot believe that a Princess who professeth the Catholic Religion, has wrote such a Letter." Mr Bayle was desired to give this Letter a place in his Journal, and he inserted it in that of the Month of May (6). It is as follows:

"SINCE you desire to know my sentiments concerning the pretended extirpation of Heresy in France, it is with great pleasure that I acquaint you with them, upon so important a subject. As I pretend neither to fear nor to flatter any person, I will freely own to you, that I am not well persuaded of the success of this great undertaking, and that I cannot rejoice upon that account, as for a thing that will be of great advantage to our holy Religion. On the contrary, I foresee a great many ill consequences, which will follow upon so strange a proceeding."

"Tell me ingenuously, are you well persuaded of the sincerity of those new Converts? I wish indeed that they may obey God and their Prince sincerely; but I fear their obstinacy, and I would not be accountable for all the profanations which will be committed by these Catholics, compelled by Missionaries who treat our holy mysteries very licentiously. Soldiers are strange Apostles, I imagine they are fitter to kill, ravish, and plunder, than to persuade. Accordingly, the accounts we have, and of which we cannot possibly doubt, inform us that they acquit themselves of their mission very much after their usual manner. I pity people who are abandoned to their discretion: I lament the ruin of so many families, so many good people reduced to beggary, and I cannot look upon what passeth in France at present without being moved with compassion. I am sorry that these unhappy people were born in error, but methinks they deserve pity rather than hatred; and as I would not for the empire of the world share in their error, so neither would I be the cause of their miseries."

"I consider France at present as in the condition of a sick person, from whom they cut legs and arms to cure a distemper which a little patience and gentle management would have entirely removed. But I am much afraid least that distemper encrease and at last turn incurable; that this fire concealed under the ashes should one day blaze out more fiercely than ever, and least Heresy, under a masque, should thereby become more dangerous. Nothing is more commendable than the

“ design of converting Heretics and Infidels. But the manner in which they choose to go about it is very new. And since our Lord did not make use of that method to convert the world, it cannot be the best.

“ I admire and cannot comprehend this zeal and these politics, they are out of my reach, and I am even glad that I do not comprehend them. Do you believe that this is a time to convert Huguenots, to make them good Catholics in an age, in which the most notorious attempts are made in France upon the respect and submission which is due to the Church of Rome, which is the sole and sure foundation of our Religion, since it is to her our Lord has made that glorious promise, *that the gates of Hell shall not prevail against her*? Nevertheless the scandalous liberty of the Gallican Church was never pushed nearer to rebellion, than it is at present. The late propositions, signed and published by the Clergy of France, are such as have given too much ground of triumph to Heresy, and I fancy its surprise must have been very great, to see itself persecuted by those whose doctrines and sentiments are so agreeable to its own upon this fundamental article of our Religion.

“ These are the strong reasons which hinder me from rejoicing at this pretended extirpation of Heresy. The interest of the Church of Rome is without doubt as dear to me as my life; but it is upon account of that very interest that I see what passeth with grief, and I own to you likewise that my love to France is such as makes me lament the desolation of so fine a kingdom. I wish with all my heart that I may be mistaken in my conjectures, and that all may terminate in the greater glory of God, and of the King your master. And I assure myself that you will neither doubt of the sincerity of my wishes, nor that I am.”

(1) *Art. i. of the new books, pag. m. 522.*

(2) *Art. vi. of the new books, p. m. 726.*

In that same month (1) he said; “ We have been assured by very good hands that Queen Christina did write the Letter which we have inserted above.” And in that of the month of June (2) he says again: “ What we hinted at in our last month is confirmed to us from day to day, that Christina is the real Author of the Letter concerning the Persecutions in France, which is ascribed to her. It is a remainder of Protestantism.”

Some time after Mr Bayle received the following letter:

Sir,

“ I HOPE you will not take it amiss that I give you a little advice, which in process of time may be of some use to you, as you will see. You are a man of wit, and people who read your *News from the Republic of Letters*, if they have the least taste, confess you have an infinite deal of it: But, Sir, may not one be a man of wit without abusing people, and bringing one self into trouble? And ought you, who know so many things, to be ignorant of the respect due to crowned heads; and that these are sacred things, which are not to be touched without danger of the thunderbolt? I say this with relation to the Queen of Sweden, of whom you have taken the liberty of talking very licentiously in your Journal, upon occasion of a Letter which has been printed under her name. You mention it in four different passages, but the last of them surely proceeds from a genius which has soared a little higher than became it.

“ Although you had added to the illustrious name of *Christina* at least the title of *Queen*, you would have done nothing but your duty. Do not tell me that great Historians, such as you are, treat the greatest Monarchs in the same manner, and that they say without ceremony Louis the XIVth, and James the II, in speaking of the Kings of France and of England. The numbers XIVth, and II, carry with them a sort of distinction, and in some sort correct the liberty of that expression. But who would say, for example, *Lewis has taken it into his head to convert the Protestants, by a mission of Dragoons*; or, *James endeavours by gentle methods to re-establish, if possible, his own Religion in his kingdom*; that would be a very ridiculous manner of speaking. It is not less so, Sir, to say as you have done in your Journal for the month of June last, page 726, *It is confirmed that Christina is the true Author &c.* in speaking of one of the most illustrious Queens that has been, or perhaps ever will be, in the universe. You ought surely to have accompanied that name with some title, not only because of the respect you owe to so great a Princess when you mention her Majesty, but even in conformity to the stile of those who pique themselves upon being good writers.”

“ But still this is not what is most faulty in that passage of your Journal. The worst is two or three words, with which you conclude this Article: *It is a remainder, say you, of Protestantism.* You had done well not to have said this. Your great inclination to play the wit has hurried you on; but you have deceived yourself; there is no wit in it, there is only insolence. No body talks at that rate of a Queen who professeth with so much zeal, and in so edifying a manner, a Religion quite opposite to Protestantism; who has sacrificed every thing for it, and who in all her actions contradicts what you have said, that there is in her Majesty any remainder of your Religion. To be convinced of this, one need only read that very Letter which you mention in your Journal, or a great many
“ others

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"others which she has wrote on the same subject. She is not indeed a Catholic after the manner of France, she is one after the manner of Rome, that is to say, after the manner of St Peter and of St Paul. Therefore she doth not approve of these persecutions, because in reality this manner of converting Heretics, had not it's original from the Apostles.

"For the rest, all that I say to you here I say from myself, and because my duty obligeth me to do so, being one of the Queen's servants. If her Majesty happens to read your Journal, I do not know what she will say, or what she will do: but believe me, Sir, whatever protection you may boast of from the magistrates of the city of Rotterdam, that would not save you from the resentment of so great a Princess, if she should undertake to do herself justice. And the magistrates of Rotterdam are too just and reasonable to undertake to protect upon such an occasion.

"Her Majesty doth not disown the Letter which has been printed under her name, and which you have inserted in your Journal. There are only the words *I am* with which it concludes, which are not her Majesty's. A man of wit, as you are, ought to have taken notice of this, and to have corrected it. So great a Queen cannot make use of that expression, except to very few persons, and Mr de Terlon is not of that number. This single circumstance is sufficient to prove that the printing of this Letter was no contrivance of the Queen, as all the world knows. If you have a mind to mention it in your Journal, you may; but no rallery on this subject, as you have taken the liberty to do in the month of April, page 472: make use of this advice, and believe that in this I am truly, Sir, your very humble servant.

"P. S. I do not subscribe my name, because is it not necessary, and besides my Letter requires no answer. When it shall be proper to make myself known to you I will do it: but it is your business to amend, if you think proper."

Mr Bayle justified himself in an Article of the Journal for the month of August (1), intituled, *Reflections of the author of this Journal upon a Letter which has been sent him concerning what he has said of the Queen of Sweden* (2). His answer is as follows:

"The writer of this Letter doth not put his name to it, and neither tells us the time when, nor the place from whence, he writes. He only acquaints us that all that he has written is only from himself, and that his duty obliged him to do so, being one of the Queen's servants. Let us see what it is he complains of, and since it concerns a crowned-head, let us not imagine that the bitterness and passion he expresses, shall hinder us from justifying our conduct very coolly."

"He complains first, That I did not add the title of Queen to the illustrious name of Christina in my last month of June, page 726. But I am very sure that no body who judges equitably will be of opinion, that in this I have been wanting in the respect due to that great Princess. She has rendered her name so famous, that my expression in that passage ought not at all to be thought equivocal. To name persons by their names only, without adding some title, is ordinarily indeed either a mark of contempt, or of familiarity; but this is by no means a general rule, for there are some persons whose names alone excite the ideas of their great elevation, and in this case it is quite indifferent whether we give them their principal titles, or omit them. There is no harm in giving them, it is a superfluous addition which at worst can do no hurt. Neither on the contrary is there any harm in not giving them, it is an omission of no consequence. Crowned-heads are of this number, and hence it is that we say more frequently both in conversation and in history, Francis I. Charles V. Henry IV. Philip II. than King Francis the 1st, The Emperor Charles V, &c. It is supposed that the rank to which God has raised these Princes makes it impossible for a reader to imagine that their titles are omitted out of want of respect, and therefore the shorter expression is made use of without scruple. I know very well, as the author of the Letter observes, that the number *first*, which is added to the name of Francis, carries with it a sort of distinction; but this very instance shows, that in case the name of Francis alone contained a distinction, it would not be necessary to add the number *first*. Thus we say every day, that Alexander was a disciple of Aristotle, that Soliman made himself master of Hungary. One has no occasion to say either that the first was King of Macedon, or that the second was Grand Signior, or to add the ordinal number which belongs to them. Our most exact writers would say without scruple Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, are the true authors of such a law. Or if we desire an example nearer home, who has not said or wrote, either during the life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, or after his death, Gustavus did this or that? and whence comes it that in speaking of him it is not necessary to add the title of King, nor the ordinal number which belongs to him in the succession of the Kings of Sweden? It is because he has rendered the name Gustavus so famous, that he is sufficiently distinguished by it alone. This is the very case in question. The Queen of Sweden, his daughter, has given such a lustre to the name

(1) Art. ix. pag. m. 952, and the following.

(2) Reflexions de l'Auteur de ces Nouvelles sur une Lettre qui lui a été écrite touchant ce qu'il a dit de la Reyne de Suede.

“ of *Cbristina*, that the naming of it alone is sufficient to awaken all the ideas 1686.
 “ of her royalty, great qualities, and actions. As therefore it flows no want of
 “ respect to the father to call him simply *Gustavus*, so it is no want of respect
 “ to the daughter, to name her simply *Cbristina*; but on the contrary, it is giving
 “ to understand that they deserve these names by way of excellence, and that their
 “ very names contain their panegyric.

“ The second complaint turns upon my having said, that this Queen's Letter against
 “ the persecution in France is a *remainder of Protestantism*. This is very violently
 “ complained of. But this proceeds from not having sufficiently understood the force
 “ of these words. They have imagined that I intended to insinuate that this Princess
 “ had not sincerely renounced the Protestant Religion; which is what never entered
 “ into my thoughts. It is not necessary to a sincere renunciation of a Religion, that
 “ we should divest ourselves of every thing we have learned in it, and approve
 “ every thing that is taught in the communion which we embrace. I should
 “ think people very unjust, who should suspect the sincerity of a Roman Ca-
 “ tholic, who after having joined in communion with the Protestants, should declare
 “ that in some particulars the Church of Rome seemed to him to have the ad-
 “ vantage of the Protestant, such as in the celibacy of the Clergy, in the obser-
 “ vation of Lent, and in the fasting on Fridays and Saturdays. One would have
 “ reason to believe that these were *remainders of Catholicism*; but one might say so
 “ and believe at the same time, that he had sincerely abjured his *Catholicism*, and
 “ embraced *Protestantism*, as the only Religion which leads to salvation. It is there-
 “ fore judging of things without understanding them to give my words the sense
 “ which he gives them. The true sense they ought to have, is the following.

“ That if the Queen of Sweden disapproves of the conduct of those employed
 “ in the pretended conversions in France, it is owing to the principles of the
 “ Religion in which she was instructed before her journey to Rome, and not to
 “ the new instructions she has received in that country. It is not at Rome that
 “ one can learn to find fault with persecution. On the contrary, it is the general
 “ spirit of *Catholicism* to extirpate all sects; for they have not only made public
 “ rejoicings at Rome for what has been done in France; not only has the Pope
 “ applauded it in full Consistory, and by his Briefs, but likewise all the Catho-
 “ lics in Europe have shown their approbation of it, at least by their silence.
 “ How then could the Queen of Sweden have the principles she has, if she had
 “ not brought them from her own country? It is (says the author of the Letter)
 “ *because she is not a Catholic after the manner of France, but after the manner of*
 “ *Rome, that is, of St Peter and St Paul*. But this is what I have called a *re-*
 “ *mainder of Protestantism*, and so this author and I have really the same thought.

“ The last thing he finds fault with, is that I did not strike out the words *I*
 “ *am*, out of the copy of the Letter which I inserted in my Journal. *There is*
 “ *only this word* (says he) *which is not her Majesty's*. So great a Queen cannot make
 “ use of that expression except to very few persons, and Mr de Terlon is not of that
 “ number. This single circumstance is sufficient to prove that the printing of this Letter
 “ was no contrivance of the Queen, as all the world knows. To this I answer, that
 “ I did not think that I could with justice strike out this Conclusion, *I am*, be-
 “ cause by doing so, I should give people reason to suspect that I had suppressed
 “ a mark of forgery in that Letter, in order to make it appear more probable to
 “ the public, that it was written by the Queen of Sweden. Moreover, there has
 “ lately fallen into my hands a copy of a letter, wherein that Princess declares,
 “ that she is surprized and displeased at the publication of the other, though she
 “ still continues in the same sentiments. The curious will be glad to see this se-
 “ cond Letter here at length, but the law of nations doth not allow me to give
 “ them that satisfaction. There is a great difference betwixt these two things, the
 “ inserting a piece which is in every body's hands, and is already printed; and
 “ the inserting a piece which has never been printed. We must, with regard to
 “ manuscripts, either wait for the consent of those who have a right to them, or have
 “ reason to believe that they are entirely indifferent what use people make of them.”

Mr Bayle's unknown correspondent was not entirely satisfied with this answer,
 and wrote him the following Letter:

“ Sir,

“ **T**HE Queen has seen the answer you have made to my Letter, and I must do
 “ you justice on the one side, if you have been to blame on the other. Her Ma-
 “ jesty doth not think that it is to be wanting in the respect which is due to
 “ her, to name her simply *Cbristina*. She has indeed rendered that name so il-
 “ lustrious, that it has now no need of any other distinction, and the most noble
 “ and august titles which could be joined to it, could add nothing to the lustre
 “ which it has already acquired in the world. I was of opinion that it was not
 “ a proper expression, with regard to a prince, while he is still living; but I
 “ have been mistaken; persons of such elevated rank, and so full of glory, as the
 “ great

1686. " great *Christina*, have rules peculiar to themselves, and their names alone are sufficient to fill the minds of men with that respect and veneration which the titles of others excite. You have got the better in this, Sir, and I submit.

" But the case is quite otherways with regard to the word *Protestantism*, which has escaped you somewhat unreasonably; and which you employ all the subtilty of your wit to justify. You ought to follow my example, and own that you have been to blame. The Queen, who is pretty well satisfied with all the rest of your excuses, is not at all so with regard to this part of your justification. One ought not to seek for evasions before a genius like her's. When one has offended her, the shortest and safest way is to confess it; and after all, a genius such as your's, ought to have suggested something more worthy of her Majesty, than the reasons you have brought in your defence. Not that any thing you can say of her, is capable of giving her the least uneasiness. So great a Queen cannot but equally despise the praises and calumnies of people of a certain kind: but she is born to do justice, and you might have boasted that you are the only person in the world who has offended her with impunity, if you had not taken the course you have done, I mean that of justifying yourself.

" But you must do it effectually, Sir, and retract fully and distinctly what you have said, if you desire to give an entire satisfaction. The Queen at least has a mind that you, together with all the world, should know that she owes nothing to the Protestant Religion; and that if God permitted that she should be born in it, she renounced it as soon as she arrived at the years of discretion, and that without having the least thoughts of returning to it: that ever since that time the Catholic Religion has appeared to her to be the only one, and the true one, and that it was in conformity to it's holy maxims, and not to those of the Protestants, that her Majesty has in her Letter condemned the method used in France in the conversion of the Huguenots, and the Pope has rendered to that Letter the justice it deserved.

" You have no reason to say, as you do, that you are treated with too much bitterness and passion in the Letter which I wrote to you; on the contrary I am of opinion that you owe me thanks, and that you might possibly have had a great deal more reason to complain, if I had not wrote to you. And I would have you know that I am one of the least of the Queen's servants, and that there are in this Country a great many persons who are proud of being in her Majesty's interest, and who will talk to you in a very different manner than I have done, if you do not take more care for the future.

" I have said nothing to you concerning the word *fameuse*, which you have once more made use of in speaking of the Queen (1), and which has not been agreeable to her Majesty. I know that this word has not altogether the same signification in French, which it has in Latin and in Italian, and that we use it more frequently in a good than in a bad sense. But one ought above all things to avoid these ambiguities in speaking of crowned heads; with regard to whom you know the Proverb says we ought to employ only golden and filken words. And especially with regard to such a Queen as we now speak of; concerning whom we may boldly say, and without fear of offending others, that she has no equal; I say so even in point of rank, for other Queens are properly speaking only the first subjects of their husbands or sons; but the great Christina is a Queen in a manner so noble and elevated, that she knows no superior but God.

" This, Sir, is what I had farther to say to you, and is all the reply I can make to your's. I hope you will continue to make use of my advice, and that time may discover that I am more than you can imagine, Sir, your very humble servant.

" P. S. I had forgot that in your Journal of the Month of August, you speak of a second Letter of the Queen, which has fallen into your hands, and which you make some difficulty of publishing. Her Majesty would be curious to see that Letter, and you will do a thing agreeable to her Majesty, if you send it to her. You might even make use of that opportunity to write to her Majesty. Take this advice; it may be of some service to you: do not neglect it. But I must acquaint you that if you follow it, you must by no means make use of the title *Serenissime* to the Queen. It is a little too common for her, and her Majesty will not have it. You must only direct your Letter; *à sa Majesté la Reyne Christine, à Rome.*

(1) Mr Bayle did not make use of this word: He only said that *Christina avoit rendu son nom si fameux*, (bad rendered her name so famous) &c. the same expression which he afterwards used speaking of *Gustavus Adolphus*.

Mr Bayle took the hint that was given him, and on the 14th of November wrote the following Letter to Queen Christina:

“ Madam,

“ I SHOULD not have taken the liberty of writing this Letter to your Majesty, if a person who has the honour of being in your Majesty’s service had not advised me to do so, and to send to your Majesty a copy of a Letter which has fallen into my hands. I hoped, Madam, that an advice of this sort would justify my boldness, and I thought it my duty to make use of this occasion of testifying my most profound respect to the most illustrious Queen in the world. I am ignorant of the name of the person who procures me this great honour. He has not thought fit to make himself known to me by any other title than that of *one of your Majesty’s servants*; and I must do him the justice to testify that his zeal for your Majesty’s interests is very suitable to the title he assumes.

“ It is by him that I have been informed that there are some things in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, which did not seem agreeable to that respect which all the world owes to your Majesty, not only upon account of your Majesty’s heroic and extraordinary qualities, but likewise upon account of the sublime rank, in which, from your birth, God has placed your Majesty. As I was sensible of my innocence, I was seized at once with the most inexpressible surprize, and the most unsufferable grief, when I found that my words were interpreted in a manner so contrary to my genuine intention; and to every thing that common sense ought to dictate to every rational creature. For is there any person, Madam, who has the smallest degree of knowledge or reason, who is ignorant of that almost infinite glory which surrounds your Majesty, and of the profound homage which is due to your Majesty from all the world; and if any person has been capable of forgetting this duty, what shame ought not he to feel upon that account? I protest to your Majesty, that ever since I was able to read I have known that your Majesty is the admiration of the universe, and that there is not any one person in the whole Republic of Letters who is more thoroughly sensible of, and more charmed with the just encomiums which have been given to your Majesty by all the learned world. I can with truth affirm that I can still repeat all the passages of *Alaric* (1) which relate to your Majesty, whose august name shines from all quarters. So that I would be the farthest in the world, from either saying or thinking any thing which I apprehended to be contrary to the respect which is due to so great a Queen. My sorrow therefore was exceeding great, when I understood that some persons, who have the honour to serve your Majesty, had judged me guilty. I immediately endeavoured to justify myself, and I am informed that your Majesty has been pleased to declare, that you are satisfied in the main with my defence. This is my greatest consolation; and I am very much persuaded, that it will not be more difficult for me to demonstrate my innocence entirely, when it shall please your Majesty to lay your commands upon me.

“ The second Letter which I received upon this subject, acquaints me with a thing which your Majesty desires I should make public. It is, that your Majesty renounced the Religion in which you was born, *as soon as you attained the years of discretion*. If your Majesty command me I will also publish this new explanation; but I was of opinion, that since I have done myself the honour, by the advice of one of your servants, to send to your Majesty the copy of a Letter, and at the same time to pay to your Majesty my most humble homage, it was my duty to wait for your Majesty’s commands. I most humbly beg that your Majesty will be pleased to pardon all that may have escaped me, which has given occasion to judge amiss of my intentions; and I protest to your Majesty with the utmost sincerity, that my strongest passion is to testify to all the world the admiration, veneration, and profound submission, with which I am, &c.”

The Queen upon the 14th of December 1686, wrote to him the following answer:

Mr Bayle. I have received your excuses, and am willing that you should know by this Letter that I am satisfied with them. I am obliged to the zeal of the person, who gave you occasion of writing to me; for I am very glad to know you. You express so much respect and affection for me, that I pardon you sincerely; and I would have you know, that nothing gave me offence but that remainder of Protestantism, of which you accused me. I am very delicate on that head, because no body can suspect me of it, without lessening my Glory, and injuring me in the most sensible manner. You would do well if you should even acquaint the public with the mistake you have made, and with your regret for it. This is all that remains to be done by you, in order to deserve my being entirely satisfied with you.

(1) *Scudery has composed a pompous Panegyric on Queen Christina, in the Xth Book of his Poem called Alaric ou Rome Vaincue.*

1686. *As to the Letter which you have sent me, it is mine without doubt, and since you tell me that it is printed, you will do me a pleasure if you send me some copies of it. As I fear nothing in France, so neither do I fear any thing at Rome. My fortune, my blood, and even my life are entirely devoted to the service of the Church; but I flatter no body, and will never speak any thing but the truth. I am obliged to those who have been pleased to publish my letter, for I do not at all disguise my sentiments. I thank God they are too noble, and too honourable to be disowned. However, it is not true that this Letter was written to one of my Ministers. As I have every where enemies, and persons who envy me, so I in all places have friends and servants; and I have possibly as many in France, notwithstanding of the court, as any where in the world. This is purely the truth, and you may regulate yourself accordingly.*

But you shall not get off so cheap as you imagine. I will enjoin you a penance; which is, that you will henceforth take the trouble of sending me all curious books that shall be published in Latin, French, Spanish, or Italian, on whatever subject or science, provided they are worthy of being looked into. I do not even except Romances or Satires; and above all if there are any books of Chymistry, I desire you may send them to me as soon as possible. Do not forget likewise to send me your Journal. I shall order that you shall be paid for whatever you lay out, do but send me an account of it. This will be the most agreeable and important service that can be done me. May God prosper you.

CHRISTINA ALEXANDRA.

1687. It now only remained that Mr Bayle should acquaint the public with the mistake he had made and with his regret for it, in order to merit that Princess's entire satisfaction. This he did in the beginning of his Journal of the month of January 1687. "We have been informed to our incredible satisfaction, says he, that the QUEEN of SWEDEN having seen the ninth Article of the Journal of August 1686, has been pleased to be satisfied with the explanation which we gave there. Properly it was only the words *remainder of Protestantism*, which had the misfortune to offend her Majesty; for as her Majesty is very delicate on that subject, and desires that all the world should know, that after having carefully examined the different Religions, she has found none to be true but the Roman Catholic, and that she has heartily embraced it, it was injurious to her glory to give occasion for the least suspicion of her sincerity. We are therefore very sorry that we have made use of an expression, which has been understood in a sense so very different from our intention, and we would have been very far from making use of it, if we had foreseen that it was liable to any ambiguity: for besides the respect which we, together with all the world owe to so GREAT A QUEEN, who has been the admiration of the universe from her earliest days, we join with the utmost zeal in that particular obligation which all men of letters are under to do her homage, because of the honour she has done the sciences by being pleased thoroughly to examine their beauties, and to protect them in a distinguishing manner."

Thus Mr Bayle extricated himself out of this affair with honour, and had the address not only to appease a provoked Queen, but likewise to procure marks of her favour. She very soon had the unwelcome news of his not being able to perform the penance she was pleased to impose upon him. He sunk under the weight of an insupportable labour. Besides his public and private lectures, he was employed in composing his Journal, a task which alone required the labour of many persons. The Composition of his *Philosophical Commentary* quite exhausted his strength. On the 16th of February 1687, he was seized with a Fever, which hindered him from finishing the Journal for that month. But as he hoped that this indisposition would be attended with no bad consequences, he gave notice on the back of the title page, "That fore eyes and a slight fever, which had left him several times, and returned as soon as he attempted to resume his studies, did at last oblige him to publish the Journal for this month incomplete, and to acquaint the public likewise that the Journal for the month of March should appear very soon." But his Fever, attended with a head-ach, encreased to such a degree that he was obliged to give over that work. He engaged Mr de Beauval to continue it, and Mr de Beauval began that Continuation, which was printed at Rotterdam by Mr Leers, with the month of September 1687, under the title of *The History of the Works of the Learned* (1). "Ever since the month of April last, says he in the preface, the Author of the *Republic of Letters* having being indisposed, and afflicted with pains in his head, which Mr Balzac would call the pangs of his beautiful productions, proposed to me that I should continue his work, which he was by this means forced to give over. I confess that possibly being flattered by my vanity upon the account of his having singled me out upon such an occasion, I accepted the task without making all the reflexions that such an undertaking deserved. I believed that his choice would supply both the place of merit, and of excuse with the public, and so resolved to make some attempts at least. Since I have entered into this detail, adds he, people would no doubt likewise know

(1) Histoire des
Ouvrages
des Sçavans.

“ why I have not continued this work under the same title, that Mr Bayle made use of. I own that this would have been more natural: but my particular attachments to Rotterdam, the great plenty of the best books which are to be had at Mr Leers’s, together with some other reasons which it is not necessary to mention here, made me think it more proper to change it. After all I thought it best to treat the public as we do those who are afflicted with the loss of a person very dear to them, whom we must never carry to those places, which may bring to mind, or awaken the ideas of the object of their grief. The public would have always in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, sought after the illustrious Author who gave them birth, and the same title ill supported, would only have served to redouble their sorrow for the loss of so inimitable a person.”

In the mean time, the *Sieur Desbordes*, who had printed the *News from the Republic of Letters*, caused them to be continued by Mr Larroque, and some other persons, until the month of August of the same year 1687, and Mr Barin, a French Minister, composed them without any assistance from the month of September to the month of April 1689.

We have seen what pains Mr Bayle was at, that he might not be thought the author of the *Philosophical Commentary*. He endeavoured even to deceive his friends, “ These gentlemen at London, says he to Mr Lenfant (1), have a strange itch of printing. The public ascribe to them a *Philosophical Commentary* on these words of St Luke *compel them to come in*, wherein under pretence of attacking Popish persecution they aim at establishing a toleration for the Socinians.” He feigned that this *Commentary* came from London, because some Ministers among the Refugees, who lived there at this time, were thought to be great friends to Toleration, and had even rendered themselves suspected of Socinianism. Notwithstanding all this he was still suspected to be the author of it. To put a stop to this suspicion he published on the back of the title-page of the *Journal* for the month of April 1687 (2), that “ certain persons, ill-disposed towards the author of the *General Criticism on Mr Maimbourg*, having affected to ascribe to him the *Philosophical Commentary* on the words *compel them to come in*, he thought himself obliged to complain of this bad office, and to declare that he will look upon all persons as persecutors with regard to him, who shall continue to spread abroad a conjecture so opposite as this is to all the rules of Criticism. One might as well, adds he, ascribe Voiture’s Letters to Balzac, or those of Baudius to Blondel.”

The *Philosophical Commentary* did not please Mr Jurieu; and how was it possible for him to relish a book wherein mildness, moderation, or, to say it in one word, Toleration, was so strongly established. He undertook to refute it, and gave to his answer the following title, *The rights of the two Sovereigns in matters of Religion, Conscience, and the Prince. In opposition to the indifferency of Religions and universal Toleration, against a book intitled a Philosophical Commentary on these words of the Parable, Compel them to come in* (3). He sets out under the character of a novice in writing, who in obedience to the commands of a friend, and out of vexation at that book, *was a going to be an author in spite of nature and himself*. Afterwards he gives his friend his opinion concerning the *Commentary*, *That it is an original and not a translation. That it is of French and not of English extraction*. He adds, *That it is not the work of one single person*. “ This appears, says he, to be the work of a cabal, and a conspiracy against the truth; nothing is more unequal than the stile of it. In the first part the expressions are clear and pretty strong, but there are passages in the second where one finds a confusion, and obscurities which do not seem to proceed from the same genius that wrote the first. The pretended Translator affects sometimes to make use of old French words, which are not now in use among good writers; but his fraud is a little too gross, for elsewhere he shows that he understands French well enough to write more correctly.” But in the advice to the reader he affirms downright *That the authors of the Philosophical Commentary are French Divines, and consequently Refugees*. When Mr Jurieu wanted afterwards to lay the composition of this book as a crime to Mr Bayle’s charge, Mr Bayle always brought him back to this declaration, that it is the work of certain French Divines. Observe how he endeavours to soften this false judgment in a satirical piece which he published against a great many French Ministers, and particularly against Mr Bayle, in the year 1691. “ In the year which followed our dispersion, says he (4), there appeared a wicked book intitled, *The Philosophical Commentary, &c.* wherein the pernicious doctrine of the indifferency of Religions and Doctrines of the Christian Religion is maintained in so rash and bold a manner, as even goes the length of infolence. I can truly say that this book wounded and struck me in a very sensible manner. One could easily guess from the third volume of the *General Criticism*, whence it had it’s original. But the stile, and many other circumstances, made us believe that it was the work of a cabal, and published by several persons in concert.”

Mr Bayle had finished the third part of his *Philosophical Commentary*, and given it to the Printer before he fell sick. The impression of it was finished before the end of February, but he did not receive any copies of it ’till the 20th of June.

(1) *Letter of the 3d February, 1687. pag. 281, 282.*

(2) *There are some Copies where this is not to be found,*

(3) *Des Droits des deux Souverains en matiere de Religion, la Conscience & le Prince. Pour détruire le dogme de l’indifference des Religions & de la tolerance universelle, contre un Livre intitulé Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de la parabole, Contrains les d’entrer.*

(4) *Apolo- gie du Sieur Jurieu, p. 4. col. 2.*

1687. It is intitled, *A Philosophical Commentary on these Words of JESUS CHRIST, compel them to come in. Part the third. Containing a refutation of the Apology which St Augustin has made for those who use violence in making converts. At Canterbury, by Thomas Litwel, 1687* (1). Here two Letters of St Augustin are refuted, the one wrote to a Donatist Bishop named Vincencius, who had let that Father know how much he was surprized at his inconstancy, having formerly been of opinion that the authority of the secular power ought not to be made use of against Heretics, but only the word of God and persuasion; whereas now he maintained quite the contrary. The other is addressed to Bonifacius, who was a Tribune in Africa, wherein St Augustin pretends that it is lawful to employ the secular arm to destroy Heretics. The Archbishop of Paris had ordered these two Letters to be printed in 1685, with a long Preface intitled, *The Conformity of the conduct of the Church of France in reclaiming the Protestants, with that of the Church of Afric to bring the Donatists into the Catholic Church* (2). This is likewise the title of the whole book. Mr Bayle had refuted some passages of this Preface in his preliminary Discourse. He doth not here confine himself to the two Letters which I have mentioned, but likewise answers what St Augustin has said on this subject in some other Letters.

As soon as he had seen Mr Jurieu's answer, he wrote a letter to his Bookfeller, dated from London the 25th of May 1687. "If you have (says he) still time enough, (and it is no matter though you have already sold some copies) I desire you to publish what follows at the beginning of the third part." He says afterwards, that he has just read the treatise *Of the rights of the two sovereigns, &c. against a book intitled a Philosophical Commentary, &c.* and that he finds it an unsuccessful and very weak attack on that Commentary. "The author, (adds he) owns in the beginning, that in spite of himself and of nature, his Chagrin, and the desire of one of his friends, are going to make him an author. One must have very little judgment to make such a confession. Chagrin ought to have no share in the composition of any work. . . . His performance is faulty in those very places which most essentially require solidity, since it goes entirely upon a false state of the question, so that he fights against a shadow. I mean against an opinion which he falsely imputes to me. He is at prodigious pains to prove that men frequently sin and offend God, while they act according to the light of their conscience. Who denies that? have not I said so very distinctly in more places than one? he accuses me likewise of introducing an indifferency of Religions, whereas on the contrary, there never was any doctrine more opposite to that indifferency, than this which lays it down as a principle, that we ought always to act according to our consciences. Fallacies of the same sort prevail in the passage where he treats of the legislative power of Sovereigns in matters of Religion. As for quotations from the scripture, they are very frequent in his book, but for the most part misunderstood, and in the manner of St Augustin. To conclude, this author has officiously meddled with a subject he doth not understand, and has through the whole been guilty of the fallacy of not proving what was the point in question."

Mr Bayle's indispotion still continuing he resolved to try a change of air, and drink the waters of Aix la Chapelle. He left Rotterdam upon the eighth day of August, and went to Cleves, where he arrived the 13th of that month. Next day he went to lodge at the house of Mr Ferrand, Minister of the Castle of Cleves, and continued there till the 15th of September, on which he passed to Boile Duc, and from thence to Aix la Chapelle, in company with Mr Pielar, Minister of Rotterdam, and Mr Farjon, Minister of Vaals. He returned to Rotterdam upon the 18th of October: but he was obliged to repose himself for some months longer; as he writes to Mr Constant in a Letter of the 22d of March 1688. "It is more than thirteen months (says he (3), since I fell sick, and all the while have only lingered and languished, and I now only begin at the return of this spring, to be able to take a little literary exercise. After my return from Aix la Chapelle, where I had been to drink the waters, I found your son here. . . . but unluckily for me, I was not able to speak much without bringing upon me a return of my slow Fever, and this has been my continual misfortune during my illness: if I entered never so little into conversation, I was the worse for it." He gives Mr Lefant a more particular account in a Letter of the 20th of July, "You do me a great deal of honour (says he (4), remembering, as you are pleased to do, a person in a manner dead to the world, and blotted out of the memory of the living. . . . I have made a Journey to Cleves, another to Aix, and upon my return hither, I have, during the whole winter, immersed myself in the greatest Quietism imaginable, without either reading or writing. At last, after I thought myself sufficiently reposed, I re-assumed my Philosophical Lectures, first my public only, and afterwards likewise my private ones; but with regard to other matters, I observed and do still keep myself in a full and absolute inaction. . . . I have not as yet returned to my books, nay I do not so much as run through the Literary Journals; and

(1) Commentaire Philosophique sur ces paroles de Jesus Christ, contraindre: troisième Partie contenant la Refutation de l'Apologie que St Augustin a faite des Convertisseurs à contrainte. A Canterbury, chez l'honnorable Thomas Litwel 1687.

(2) Conformité de la Conduite de l'Eglise de France pour ramener les Protestans, avec celle de l'Eglise d'Afrique pour ramener les Donatistes à l'Eglise Catholique.

(3) Letters &c. ubi supra, p. 283, 284.

(4) Ibid. pag. 285, 286.

“ out of fear of being tempted to break this agreeable charm of indolence, very 1687.
 “ seldom visit the booksellers, so that I am quite ignorant what new things they
 “ have got. I only hear by chance sometimes that this or the other book is
 “ come out.”

All the men of letters were afflicted at Mr Bayle's illness: and they were overjoyed to hear of his recovery. Mr du Tor de Ferrare, a Counsellor in the Parliament of Rouen, a man of great worth, and a great master in the lapidary stile (1), testified his joy upon that occasion, by the following beautiful inscription:

(1) See
 his *Elogy*
 in the *Mc-*
moires
 pour l'Histoire des
 Sciences
 & des
 beaux
 Arts, *December*
 1704, *Art.*
iv. p. 440.
and the
following
of the
Dutch Edition.

In

Doctissimi Bælii

Sanitatem restitutam

S O T E R I A.

QUÆ TE MORI VETAT GLORIA,

ÆGROTARE PROHIBET.

OMNIBUS CARUS ET UTILIS

SCRIPTORES

CRITICA FACE ELUCIDASTI,

CENSORIA NOTA EMENDASTI.

QUÆSITOR URNAM MOVENS

MAGNUM IN NOMEN ITUROS

ÆTERNITATI

PRONUBA MANU DICASTI.

LABORIBUS TUIS ALIENOS ABSUMIS,

DELICIIS NOSTRIS NUSQUAM ABSUMENDUS.

IN HOC VENERANDUS

QUOD NEMINEM CONTEMPSISTI:

IN HOC VERENDUS

QUOD NEMINEM FORMIDASTI:

DIGNUS QUI VERITATIS ANNOS EXÆQUES.

QUI LABANTEM SUSTENTAS COGNATAM VERITATI
 LIBERTATEM.

NON AD UNIUS UTILITATEM REGIONIS NATUS,

ITA EXILIUM TOLERAS

UT VIDEARIS OPTASSE:

ITA CUNCTOS EMINUS COMINUS REFICIS,

UT VIX CREDARIS ULLIBI ABESSE.

THEATRUM ERUDITIONIS CIRCUMDUCTILE
 FACTUS EST ORBI.

SUBSELLIA QUÆ DICENDO FATIGARE NON POTES,
 TE SILENTEM FERRE

TE QUIESCENTE QUIESCERE
 NE SPERA.

VALE, VIVE, SCRIBE.

ENCÆNIA RENOVATÆ FACUNDIÆ

FAUSTIS LITERATORUM ACCLAMATIONIBUS
 CELEBRANTUR.

Mr Bayle had once a design to leave Rotterdam. The death of Mr Paets, and 1688,
 the violent temper of Mr Jurieu, had made him weary of it: accordingly he desired the famous Mr Abbadie, who was then at Berlin, to procure him some establishment in that City. He knew that the Elector of Brandenburg gave a generous protection to the French Refugees; and besides he had several friends at Berlin. Mr Abbadie upon this addressed himself to the Dukes of Schomberg,
 who

1688. who being well acquainted with Mr Bayle's merit, expressed a great satisfaction at his design of coming to Berlin, and promised to engage the Marechal to speak of it to the Elector. But that great Prince fell sick about this time, and his death (1), a little after, put a stop to the effects of that Lady's good inclinations towards Mr Bayle.

(1) He and the
qth of
May 1688.

Mr Bayle published the following Advertisement, under the name of the book-seller, on the reverse of the title-page of the News from the Republic of Letters, for the month of October 1687. "We have received a Letter dated from London, "by which we are informed that John Fox of Bruggs is the real name annagrammatized of the author of the *Philosophical Commentary*, and that he will very soon give us occasion to speak of the answer, which he has in the press, to "the treatise *Of the rights of the two Sovereigns*." This was in order to prepare the public for a continuation of the *Philosophical Commentary*, which he designed to publish very soon. In effect, it appeared soon after under this title: *A Supplement to the Philosophical Commentary upon these words of JESUS CHRIST, compel them to come in. Wherein, among other things, the only refuge that was left to the adversaries is quite destroyed, by demonstrating that Heretics have an equal right with the Orthodox to persecute. Something is likewise inserted concerning the nature and origin of error. At Hamburg, for Thomas Litwell 1686* (2). The author in a long Preface acquaints us, that having heard of a book intitled *The true System of the Church* (3),

(2) Sup-
plement
du Com-
mentaire
Philoso-
phique sur
ces paro-
les de Je-
sus-Christ,
contrain-
les d'en-
trer. Où
entre au-
tres cho-
ses l'on
acheve de
ruiner la
seul écha-
patoire qui
restoit aux
adversai-
res, en dé-
monstrant
le droit
égal des
Hérési-
ques pour
persécuter
à celui des
Ortho-
doxes. On
parle aussi
de la na-
ture & o-
rigine des
erreurs. A
Ham-
bourg
pour Tho-
mas Lit-
well,
1688.

wherein his opinion concerning Toleration, and the rights of conscience were attacked, and also that the treatise *Of the Rights of the two Sovereigns*, was not the first essay of a young author, but the work of one who had appeared frequently in print, he had resolved to answer them both, and to divide his book into three parts. The first to contain some additions which seemed to him very proper for ever to silence all the advocates for constraint. The second to contain an answer to three chapters of the *true System of the Church*, wherein a doctrine contrary to his is maintained, and an answer to all the objections of the author of the *Rights of the two Sovereigns*, and likewise to every thing that he has advanced directly in favour of his opinion. He adds, that he had laboured so diligently in the execution of this design, that he had finished it before the end of December 1687, and had sent the manuscript to the printer: but having found afterwards that this work would be too bulky, he thought himself obliged to suppress the two last parts, and accordingly "he had ordered the book-seller to put a stop to the impression, and "it had happened very luckily that they were not as yet come to what he had "said concerning the affairs of England, the Penal Laws, and the taking away "of the Test, &c. subjects which were not then seasonable, considering the turn "that things were likely to take." He assigns several causes of the encrease of the bulk of his book, and among the others the following: "It has proceeded "partly (says he) from this, that the gentlemen who translated my English Ori- "ginal, could not as they pretended, strip it of it's native dress without making use "of a diffused stile; they have likewise diverted themselves by mixing a great "many different things together, sometimes following one system and at other times "another, sometimes imitating the manner of thinking of certain authors, and not "their stile, and at other times the stile of others, and not their manner of thinking; "designing by this means to make a medley of it, which has caused the Readers, "as they pretend, to ascribe my Commentary to a good many different people, "without ever guessing at them or me, though my name was only con- "cealed under an Anagram, which deviated but very little from the rules. "And they make a diversion of concealing themselves so successfully, and of put- "ting the searchers after the fathers of anonymous and pseudonymous books up- "on a wrong scent." The rest of the Preface is employed in shewing from a passage of the *true System of the Church*, that the writer of it agrees entirely with Mr Bayle's opinion, and consequently that Mr Bayle is orthodox, and that it is there- fore this writer's business to answer himself, and to answer the author of the *Rights of the two Sovereigns*. In this manner Mr Bayle makes Mr Jurieu, who is author of both these books, contradict himself. He adds afterwards some reflexions which serve to confirm what he has said in this *Supplement*.

(3) Le
vrai Sys-
tème de
l'Eglise.
Tous Book
appeared
in 1686.

(4) Ré-
ponse d'un
Nouveau
Converti à
la Lettre
d'un Refu-
gié. Pour
servir
d'addition
au livre de
Dom De-
ny de Ste.
Marthe,
intitulé,
Réponse
aux Plain-
tes des
Protestans.
Suivant
l'imprimé
à Paris
chez Eti-
enne No-
el, à la
place de
Sorbonne,
1689.

(5) Ré-
ponse aux
plaintes
des Protec-
tants tou-
chant la
prétendue
persécution
de
France.
Où l'on
expose le
sentiment
de Calvin,
& de tous
les plus ce-
lebres Mi-
nistres, sur
le peines
dûes aux
Hérési-
ques.

At this time Mr Leers was printing Mr Furetiere's *Dictionary*; and the author having died while it was in the press, the Book-seller desired Mr Bayle to write a *Preface* to it. It is an excellent piece.

1689. In the beginning of the year 1689, there appeared a pamphlet entituled, *An Answer of a New Convert to a Letter from a Refugee, by way of supplement to Father de Ste. Marthe's book intitled, An Answer to the complaints of the Protestants. According to the copy printed at Paris by Stephen Noel in the place de Sorbonne 1689* (4). Father de Ste. Marthe, a Benedictin of the Congregation of St Maur, had published at Paris in 1688, a book intitled *An Answer to the Complaints of the Protestants concerning the pretended persecution in France. Wherein the opinion of Calvin, and of the most famous Ministers concerning the punishment due to Heretics, is shewn* (5). Here he pretended that the Reformed complained without reason of the rigour that had been exercised against them, since they must have been used with much greater severity,

severity, if they had put the laws of the first Christian Emperors in execution, or followed the maxims of the Reformers themselves, who teach that Heretics ought to be put to death. He reproached them likewise for taking up arms in defence of their Religion, and accused the Protestants in general of being fond of Independency, and enemies to Monarchy. The *Answer of a new Convert*, which serves for a supplement to this piece, is dated from Paris the 20th of December; and the *Letter of a Refugee* is dated from Amsterdam the 6th of the same month. The Refugee, who had retired to Holland after a tedious imprisonment, puts the new Convert in mind of the disputes they had formerly had, particularly concerning the burning of Servetus, and the rising in arms of the Protestants. He says that his friend always referred him to Father de Sainte Marthe's book; and adds, that instead of engaging himself in discussing all these facts, "he chose rather to employ his time in prayer, "and in meditation on the glorious promises which God has made to the Reformed "in the Apocalypse." But that since his arrival in Holland he has had an opportunity of consulting some of the most learned men of the party, who had furnished him with the four following answers with regard to the affair of Servetus. "I. That at worst it was only a fault of particular persons, the party not having "in the least meddled in that process. II. That if some Doctors have formerly "wrote in justification of such proceedings, they have made no profelytes; and "that it is a long while since they have been cured of these violent sentiments "among the Reformed. III. That the doctrine which some people might have had "on this subject, concerned so small a number of Heretics, that it ought not to "serve for a recrimination to those, whose cruelties are so general. IV. And lastly, "That the practice of the Reformed sufficiently justifies them; for since Servetus's time we do not find that they have punished the Socinians who have been "among them, or that they have ever extended Calvin's Theory to the Papists." And as to what regards subjects taking up arms upon account of Religion, he says that very learned and very pious men have assured him that it is lawful, when subjects have no other intention by it but to procure themselves the liberty of following the light of their conscience, being ready to show their fidelity to their Prince in all other matters: and therefore that the Reformed ought not to be ashamed of what their ancestors may have said or done in that respect. He sends him the two last *Pastoral Letters* of Mr Jurieu, and exhorts him to return to the Protestant Church. "You cannot choose a more proper time, says he, to go out from the midst "of spiritual Babylon. You may possibly ruin yourself by continuing in it, in time as "well as to all eternity; and the great success with which God has already favoured the "holy and heroic expedition of the most accomplished Prince who is at present "upon earth, shows us that the time is at last come when the true Church shall "enjoy a flourishing prosperity. You understand me, you know that I do not "only mean that all goes ill for you in England, but likewise that God has struck "your Kings, and above all the Pope, with the most extraordinary stupidity "that ever was known, and the most fruitful in blunders."

The new Convert begins his answer by criticizing one of the *Pastoral Letters*, and afterwards examines the four answers which the Refugee had been furnished with, concerning Servetus. He reduces them to these four questions. "I. Whether "the punishment of Servetus proceeded from the ill humour of a particular person, or "if it was not generally approved of by the Protestants? II. Whether the Protestants now have different sentiments from those of the last age concerning the "punishment of Heretics? III. Whether the doctrine of the Reformers concerning "the punishment of Heretics, can be justified by saying that it only concerned a small "number of Heretics, in comparison of the great number of erroneous people whom "the Catholic Doctors think punishable? IV. Whether the practice of the Calvinists with regard to the punishment of Heretics can justify the doctrines of their "divines upon that subject." The new Convert answers in the negative to all these questions; and in refuting the second, he refutes at the same time what Mr Bayle in his *General Criticism*, and Mr Jurieu in his *Apology for the Reformation*, had answered to Mr Maimbourg, upon the subject of Servetus; and what Mr Rou, in his *Seduction éludée*, had answered to the Bishop of Meaux upon the same head. Hitherto he preserves a good deal of moderation; but he attacks the Protestants with great violence in the sequel of this pamphlet, intitled, *Reflections on the Civil Wars of the Protestants, and the present Invasion of England* (1). He says that the Revolution in England has not at all surprised him, since he knows what that Religion is capable of, which is wont to stir up people to Rebellion. He adds that this event is an apology for the conduct of those Princes who have purged their kingdom from such a sect; and that the quickness of this change, which the Protestants boast of, is a proof that the spring of this affair was not their fear of being oppressed by the Catholics; that King James was dethroned for no other reason than because he would not espouse the passions of the enemies of France, who were envious of her prosperity, but that all the Leagues formed against Lewis XIV served only to increase his glory, and to heighten the idea of his formidable power. He maintains that the Catholic Princes have given greater examples of Toleration than the Protestants;

(1) *Reflections sur les guerres civiles des Protestans, & la présente invasion de l'Angleterre.*

1689. restants; and insults the whole body of the Refugees upon the account of the lofty hopes of some among them whom he represents as waiting, like the Jews, for a Messiah who shall conquer all the Popish Kings, and enter Rome in triumph. He taxes the French Protestants with vanity in considering their party in France as the whole Protestant party, and the ruin of their Churches as the ruin of the Protestant Religion. He accuseth them of feeding themselves with visions, dreams, and chimerical interpretations of the Apocalypse, as if the Edict of Nants had been the design and principal object of the inspired Oracles in that sacred book. And lastly he accuseth them of being animated by a *spirit of Rebellion and of Satire*, and of being seized with an *inveterate and incurable disease*, of *rebell[ing] against their lawful Sovereigns on the one hand, and on the other of filling the whole world with the most infamous calumnies, that ever were imagined*. To this little book is prefixed an Advertisement of the Dutch Bookseller, wherein it is said that the author of this Answer had sent it from Paris in 4to to the author of the Letter: that it was not doubted but Mr Pellisson had a considerable share in it, though the stile of it is different from his, because the Letter which gave occasion to it, was written to one of his intimate friends. It is added, that a very learned author was labouring incessantly at an Answer to it, wherein the public would see the most delicate questions in Morality, especially with regard to these times, treated in the most agreeable and exact manner, and that it was hoped it would be published in a few months.

Mr Bayle mentions this piece in one of his Letters to Mr Rou. "They have crucified both you and me at Paris lately, says he (1), but not so severely as they have done Mr Jurieu, in an *Answer of a new Convert, &c.* which they pretend is wrote by a Disciple or Profelyte of Mr Pellisson. If Mr Pellisson has any share in it, he must needs have given credit to a very false report, which might possibly even have reached his ears, that I am the author of a Letter which was printed at Amsterdam in answer to his *Chimera's of Mr Jurieu* (2), for Mr Pellisson has spoken very civilly of me in his last book; whereas this *New Convert* treats me harshly. The piece I am talking of, is short and indifferently wrote; but very injurious to the party. They have reprinted it in this Country. Mr Bayle gives this account of it from the bookseller's advertisement; but all that was said of it there was a mere feint. This piece was not printed at Paris, and the Answer which the bookseller promised, never appeared.

If we consider this performance as a continuation of the *Philosophical Commentary*, we will be ready to believe that Mr Bayle is the author of it. It is natural to suppose that having seen with grief that his *Commentary*, which was designed to attack the persecutions of the Church of Rome, had been represented by the Ministers as a pernicious book; he may have made use of the way of recrimination in the person of a new Convert, to force them to declare for Toleration, or to give up the cause to the Catholic writers. Besides it is plain, that the author of it strikes particularly at Mr Jurieu, the principal advocate for constraint in religious matters, he laughs at his Interpretations of the Apocalypse, and the chimerical hopes with which he fed the Refugees. He has him likewise in view in a sort of digression, which we find at the end of it, under the title of *Reflections on the Civil-Wars of the Protestants, &c.* as it would be easy to show.

However, in Holland this piece was thought to be Mr Pellisson's (3). They were the more easily persuaded of this, because it was known that he had laboured much in the Conversions, and had published some treatises of Controversy, under the title of *Reflexions sur les differens de la Religion*. Mr Jurieu ascribed this Answer to him without hesitation [G]; and as the Protestants were charged with maintaining

(1) *Letter of the 24th of February 1689, p. 301.*

(2) *It is a piece consisting of 8 pages in 4°, intitled Reponse à l'Auteur des Chimeres de Mr Jurieu.*

(3) *Mr Pellisson disowned it in the Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans, February 1690, p. 276.*

(d) *Lettre écrite de Suisse en Hollande pour suppléer au défaut de la Réponse que l'on a-*

voit promise de donner, à un certain Ouvrage que Mr Pellisson a publié sous le nom d'un Nouveau Converti, &c. (e) In the month of May 1691.

(f) *See the Letters to Mr. Leyland of the 25th of May, and to Mr. Constant of the 12th of July 1690, with the Remarks, pag. 321, 322, 325, 326.*

(g) *Apologie du Sieur Jurieu, pag. 24. et. ii.*

[G] Mr Jurieu ascribed this Answer to him without hesitation. In one of his *Pastoral Letters*, which contains some *Reflexions upon the Libels which came*

(a) *Pastoral Letter from France on occasion of the affairs of the present time; after having spoke of the books which were published in France against the Protestants, he adds (a), "We see lately published a Libel under the title of An Answer of a new Convert to a Letter from a Refugee, to serve for a Supplement to Dom Denis de St Martine's book (b). These gentlemen*

may pretend to hide themselves under feigned names, they are always found out. We have no new Convert who can write in that manner; and with that force upon the subject. One must be confirmed in a spirit of persecution, and full of the old leaven to write so. Be not therefore deceived in this matter, it is not a new Convert (c) but an old scholar of the Jesuits, who has made great proficiency in that school." Mr Huet, a Minister and a Refugee, who lived at this time at Dort, and who afterwards went to the Hague, wrote an Answer to this piece which was very much esteemed. It came out under this title: A Letter written from Switzerland to Holland, to supply the place of an Answer which has

*been promised to a certain book published by Mr Pellisson, under the name of a new Convert, &c. (d). But as he maintained a political Toleration, and in defending what Mr Bayle had said concerning the punishment of Servetus he had given up Mr Jurieu, the latter was so piqued at it, that he accused him before the Synod of Leyden (e) which was composed of his creatures, and got him suspended from his Ministry. He inveighed afterwards against him in his Libels, and particularly in his *Tableau du Socinianisme*, where he endeavours to establish persecution (f). However it was not Mr Huet he aimed at; Mr Bayle was the person he really had in view. By procuring a condemnation of Mr Huet's opinion concerning Toleration, he wanted to render Mr Bayle odious, whom he looked upon as the author of the *Philosophical Commentary*. He durst not attack him, and so he vented all his spleen upon Mr Huet, and sacrificed him to his rage. He himself has let us in to this secret, in recounting his proofs against the Heterodox, with all the ill nature he was master of. "A little while after, says he (g), the *Philosophical Commentary* appeared. And it was the labour of this book that had almost cracked his brain.*

1689. This was his last resource, he turned all his views that way, and in his writings prepared the people for this great revolution [M]. He laboured to prove that the power of princes proceeds from the people, and that there is a mutual contract betwixt the Prince and people (1). He maintains that it is lawful to defend our Religion by force of arms (2). He likewise makes an apology for the Revolution of England, and for King William (3), who was violently attacked in several libels then published in France [N]. There appeared likewise several pieces on this subject composed by Refugees. There were likewise some persons, who abusing the liberty of the press they enjoy in Holland, published romantic and satirical pieces against Lewis XIV, against King James, and against the Queen his consort: but these libels were only relished by the mob, and the greatest part of them were not written by Refugees.

In the heat of this war of political and satirical authors, there appeared towards the end of the month of April 1690, a book entituled, *An important advice to the Refugees, on their approaching return to France. Given for a new year's gift to one of them in 1690. By Mr C. L. A. A. P. D. P. At Amsterdam by James the Cenfor, 1690* (4). This book was wrote in form of a Letter to a friend, dated from Paris the first of January 1690. In the beginning the author rallies the Refugees upon the hopes they had conceived of seeing very extraordinary events in 1689. "You see, (says he), the year 1689 expired without any thing happening very extraordinary. You promised yourselves mighty and wonderful things that year; that it should be fatal to the Romish Church in general, and more fatal still to France, that we should see nothing but great crises of affairs, wonderful Revolutions, and in short every thing most suiting a climacteric year of the world. You have seen on the contrary every thing go on so naturally, so smoothly, and so altogether of a piece, that it would be hard to find in History a first campaign of so general a war as this, in the greatest animosity of the parties concerned, wherein so few remarkable things have fallen out, as in the year 1689. At least it is certain, that the thing which you looked upon as the most infallible, I mean your re-establishment, has not happened. I do not say this, (adds he), to insult you, God forbid; you know my sentiments: you are not ignorant that I always disapproved the usage you have met with, and I am exceedingly sorry that France has deprived itself of so many honest people, and so many persons of merit, who have been obliged to seek shelter in foreign Countries. So that if I observe with pleasure that the year 1689 has not answered your Predictions, it is by no means because of the loss you thereby sustain, but because we ought to be glad for the sake of reason and good sense, that the superstitious confidence in chimerical calculations, and popular credulity, are belied by such palpable experiences, which may weaken them as much as they would have been confirmed by events which you expected." After this he congratulates his friend upon the favourable disposition in which the King of France was said to be with regard to the re-establishment of the Reformed, and assures him that in general the most reasonable part of the three estates of the kingdom would approve of allowing them an honest liberty. "But allow me, (continues he), to give one advice to you, and all your brethren Refugees wherever dispersed, which is to perform a sort of Quarantine before you set a foot into France, in order to purify you from the bad air you have breathed in the places of your exile, and which has infected you with

(1) Pastoral Letters of April 15, and May 1, 1689.

(2) Letter of Jan. 1, 1689.

(3) Letter of May 15, 1689.

(4) Avis important aux Réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France. Donné pour Entretenues à l'un d'eux in 1690. Par Monsieur C. L. A. A. P. D. P. A Amsterdam chez Jacques le Censeur, 1690.

"two

his predictions chimerical, and to laugh at the credulity of those who had given credit to them. He therefore found himself under a necessity of abandoning what he had said concerning the manner in which the Reformation should be established in France. According to his first scheme, that Reformation was to be brought about without violence, without effusion of blood, by the King's own authority: but the revolution in England, and the confederacy of so many Princes against France, made him believe that it should triumph there by way of conquest (r); and he declared "that he firmly believed that God had raised up King William to execute his great design of abasing and humbling the persecutors in France (s)." He would needs lend a helping hand himself. "After several nights meditation he contrived a sort of pontons, by means of which they might land as many troops as they had a mind in France without much difficulty, and in spite of the Militia that might be upon the coast (t)."

[M] In his writings he prepared the people for this great revolution. He made several reflexions upon the state of affairs in his Pastoral Letters, wherein he set forth the wonders of providence, in the present situation of Europe, and particularly of England (u). He exhorted the Reformed in France to be firm and unshaken, and promised them a speedy deliverance. He gave over writing Pastoral Letters in the month of July 1689, and in the

month following he published a new work, which came out monthly under this title, *Les soupirs de la France Esclave qui aspire après la liberté*. The design of this work was to shew that the ancient liberties of France were lost, and that it was absolutely necessary to reform the government of it, and change it into an Aristocracy.

[N] The Revolution in England, and King William were violently attacked, in several libels published in France. Mr de Vilé, besides what he published monthly in his *Mercurie Galant*, put out likewise every month a volume concerning the present state of affairs (x). Mr le Noble published also several libels. Father de Ste. Marthe published a book, intituled, *Dialogues concerning the Prince of Orange's enterprize upon England, wherein it is proved that this action fixeth upon the Protestants the character of Antichristianism, with which Mr Jurieu reproacheth the Church of Rome*. Paris, 1689. And no less a man than the famous Mr Arnauld would needs engage in this affair, in a piece intituled, *The true Picture of William Henry of Nassau, a new Absalom, a new Herod, a new Cromwell, a new Nero*. Mr Jurieu refuted this last, in a book printed at the Hague 1689, under the title of *An Apology for their most Serene Britannic Majesties against an infamous Libel, entitled The true Picture of William Henry of Nassau, &c.*

(x) Sur les Affaires du tems.

(r) Chimeres démentées, p. lvi, lvii.

(s) Pastoral Letter of July 1, 1689, pag. 273, col. 2.

(t) Chimeres démentées, p. lviii, lix.

(u) See the Pastoral Letters of the 25th of February, pag. 93, of the 13th of March, pag. 102, and of the 25th of March, pag. 107 of the year 1689.

“two very dangerous and hateful distempers, the one is a spirit of satire, the other a sort of republican spirit, which tends to nothing less than to introduce Anarchy into the world, the greatest plague of civil society. These are two points upon which I take the liberty to speak to you as a friend.”

Concerning the first point, which regards *satirical writings*, he makes bitter complaints of the many Libels full of calumnies and scandalous stories which were spread abroad every where, and wherein the Refugees seem, says he, to breathe nothing but vengeance. He lays them to the charge of the whole body of the Refugees, because they had not in a public manner disowned them. He even goes back as far as their ancestors, and accuseth them of having first introduced the licence of diffamatory Libels. He maintains that this satirical rage is an infallible mark of Heresy; and shows how much slander is contrary to the spirit of Christianity. He puts the Refugees in mind of the patience of the primitive Christians, and opposeth to the licentiousness of their pens, the moderation of the English Catholics, who were Refugees in France, and of the French writers. He doth not spare the Emperor nor the Pope himself upon the account of their being enemies to France. In the mean while, he represents himself as full of love, charity, and compassion for the Refugees; and protests that he speaks to them in this strong manner for no other reason but to persuade them to reform, and to disavow their satirical Libels in a public manner. In this manner he softens the bitterness of his reproaches and insults. He proceeds to their *sedition writings*, and under this class comprehends all those wherein it is maintained “That princes and their subjects engage themselves to one another mutually, and by way of contract to the observation of certain things, so that if the Prince fail in the performance of what he has promised, the subjects are thereby freed from their oath of allegiance, and may transfer their homage to new masters, whether the whole people disapprove the breach of promise of those princes, or the most numerous and most considerable part of them agree to it.” He pretends that it is on this principle that the Reformed have supported all their civil wars, and founded their seditious maxims. He attacks this doctrine smartly, and makes use of that manner of arguing which they call *reductio ad absurdum*, and maintains the absolute power of Princes with a great deal of warmth. He heaps together all the reproaches which Mr Arnauld in his *Apology for the Catholics*, and other Controversists have thrown upon the Protestants, on account of the principles of Buchanan, Junius Brutus, and Pareus; and exhorts the Refugees to do something to show that they are not infected with these political Heresies. He chargeth the Presbyterians with the death of King Charles I, and reproacheth the Church of England with abandoning the sound doctrine of submission due to Princes, and embracing the Presbyterian opinion of the lawfulness of bringing Kings to justice; and in a word, he represents the Protestants, and in particular the Refugees, as seditious persons, who bring Rebellion and Anarchy every where; and declares that Princes cannot rely upon their fidelity.

All these invectives are followed by a sort of digression, which he intitles *Reflexions on the irruption of the Vaudois*. He owns that the Vaudois have been unjustly treated, but maintains that they are inexcusable for having entered their own Country in a hostile manner, and made war upon their Prince; and from thence he takes occasion to return to the absolute power of Princes. After this follows the *Conclusion*. “Now you see, says he, in what consists the *Quarentine* which your best friends among the Catholics desire you would perform before your return to France, it is to protest in the most public manner, either that you never approved of those scandalous and seditious Libels, which your authors have published by heaps, or that you sincerely repent your having done so, and are extremely sorry that you were ignorant of their evil tendency, or that you had not the courage to declare against them.” He once more returns to this subject, and afterwards makes several reflexions on the Campaign of 1689, tending to extol the greatness of France, and the glory of Lewis XIV. From thence he passes to the Revolution in Siam, which was very acceptable to the Hollanders, because of the check it gave to France. He says that the Controversies of the Protestants had grown worse these four or five years past, especially with regard to their civil wars; and he sets in opposition the fidelity of the French Catholics to Henry IV, to that of the English Protestants to James II. He allows his friend to publish this Letter, and make what alterations in it he shall think proper. He concludes with a very devout prayer, and with wishes for the conversion of his friend to the Catholic Religion; but “if the hour, says he, for that happy change is not as yet come, may heaven grant that you at least may be endowed with the sentiments which every honest man ought to have for his country.”

If one compares this *Advice to the Refugees*, with that part of the *Answer of a new Convert to a Letter from a Refugee*, intitled, *Reflexions concerning the Wars of the Protestants*, he will find a great conformity betwixt them; the same sentiments, the same reproaches, the same insults. The one is only in a manner the prelude or sketch of the other. They both pursue the same design, and follow the same plan, but in a manner different enough to make us doubt, whether these two pieces

1690. come from the same hand. In the *Advice* the subject is treated more at length, is more embellished, and more engaging; the style is more correct, more lively, and more vehement.

To this book is prefixed a Preface, the author of which, a Refugee at London, is as zealous a Protestant, as the writer of the Letter appears to be a zealous Catholic. He says that this piece surprized him extremely from the very beginning of it: that it was the performance of one of his old friends, an Advocate by profession, but who had employed himself more in reading books of Controversy than at the bar: that he must do him the justice to own that he had loudly condemned the *Dragonnings*; and that he could not imagine why he had made choice of him to be the depositary of a heap of indignities thrown out with the utmost bitterness, both against the whole body of Protestants, and likewise against those who had fought out of France, their cruel step-mother and not properly speaking their country, a sanctuary where they might serve God according to the purity of the faith. "The ground, says he, of this so severe and so extravagant behaviour, and so contrary to the equity and moderation which I have always observed in him, is first, that the Refugees being in a place where they are at liberty to complain of the barbarous treatment perfectly worthy of the Religion of Antichrist, as well as unworthy of all sort of Humanity, which they had suffered in their own country, had published their complaints against France in a pretty lively manner: and in the next place, that the Protestants of England and Scotland have not been so simple, after so long experience as they have had of the treachery and cruelty of the Church of Rome, to suffer themselves to be led like sheep to the slaughter, but had rather chosen according to the laws and liberties of their country to shake off the yoke, and free themselves from slavery, and receive the Deliverer whom God had raised up to them, as he did frequently to the people of Israel in the time of the Judges." He adds that he was resolved to make this old friend of his such an answer as should make him repent his having so highly and maliciously provoked him; but that the public would be better acquainted with the justice of his resentment, if they saw this piece such as he had received it: that he had struck out a great many passages which breathed an unheard of rage, and had only retained certain passages which he designed to examine and to confute exactly in the answer which he was preparing. He gives the plan of this answer, and adds that in the mean while, he had thought it proper to publish this piece that his brethren might know in what light some people considered them, and what envenomed reflexions were made against them; hoping that some body would undertake their Apology, and confine himself to these two general heads, the *satirical writings* and the *seditions writings*, while he would canvass the other articles particularly, and leave nothing without a full and strong answer. He invites the author of the *Letters concerning the present state of affairs* (1) to do this, and says that he is so much the more interested in this matter, that he is one of those writers who are accused as satirical. "It will be, adds he, very easy to vindicate our Refugees, for I have been assured, by some of my friends in Holland to whom I wrote on that subject, I. That the pieces wherein they pretend to give an account of amorous adventures, and wherein persons of the first quality are defamed, were composed by Papiests, before there were any Refugees in that country. II. That the news writers who have given France the greatest cause of complaint, are not Refugees, nay some of them are not so much as Frenchmen." He gives an account of the alterations he has made in the performance of his friend, and concludes with a Panegyric on *King William the favourite of God*. "One, says he, may justly give him that title, and apply to him what the scripture says of David, that God has found him a man according to his own heart, has led him by the hand, and placed him upon the throne, with this advantageous difference, that whereas David was not put in possession of the crown of his father-in-law who was rejected by God 'till some time after his death, God has anticipated that favour to King William, having bestowed upon him the crowns of his father-in-law even while he was still alive." He adds that the Princes who are the greatest enemies of the Protestant Religion, that the *August House of Austria* whose zeal for the Catholic Religion is sufficiently known, and all the Catholic Princes in Germany, had applauded that happy Revolution: and that it was visibly a miraculous work of Providence, which had confounded both the counsels of France and of James II, since of a thousand means which they had in their power of giving a powerful check to that enterprize, they had precisely chosen that conduct which rendered it infallible.

The *Advice to the Refugees* was printed secretly at the Hague, and was presently answered by several hands. Mr Tronchin du Breuil vindicated the Refugees in his *Letters concerning the present state of affairs* (2). Mr de Bauval in his Journal (3) showed the injustice and unreasonableness of this author's complaints: and Mr Coulan, a Minister and Refugee at London (4), answered him more fully in a treatise intitled: *A Defence of the Refugees against a book intitled An Advice, &c* (5). We may see Mr Bayle's judgment of these Answers, in a Book he published in 1692. Af-

(1) Lettres sur les matieres du tems.

(2) Letter of the 1st and 15th of May; of the 1st of June; and of the 1st of September 1690.

(3) Histoire des Ouvrages des Savans, April 1690. Art. x. pag. 364.

(4) Anthony Coulan born at Alais on the 10th of October 1667. He died at London the 23d of September 1694.

(5) La Defense des Refugees contre un Livre intitule, Avis, &c. At Davenport in 1691 in 120. pag. 157.

(1) Project & Fragmens d'un Dictionnaire Critique, pag. 110. ter having pointed out the *Advice to the Refugees*, he adds (1), "I mean that sort of sermon wherein we are accused of a pretended proneness to libelling and civil wars, with as much vehemence as ever a Minister showed in a fast-day sermon, when he lays the breach of the whole Decalogue to the charge of his hearers. And since this occasion offers, adds he, it will not be unreasonable to observe here, that the violent reproaches of this declaimer have produced a good effect. They are not perhaps the cause that those wretched little satirical books do not come so thick among us as before; but at least it is certain that they have obliged the best writers of the party to inform the Public, that it is without reason that people pretend to make the whole body of the Refugees accountable for these sorry books: so that we shall have cotemporary evidence to latest posterity to clear us from the malicious imputations, which some people endeavour to fix upon our cause. Let no body alledge, that the excellent writers who have disclaimed them, have done it in an anonymous way; for since they have answered for the whole body, without any persons entering a complaint against their declaration, this proves that the whole body acquiesces in it. Add to this that the name of the person who writes every fortnight in so ingenious and judicious a manner concerning the present state of affairs, is now known to every body. And as to the author of the inimitable History of the Works of the Learned, is there any body who doth not know his name? And with regard to the person who has lately given us the Defence of the Refugees against the *Important Advice*, he is no doubt very worthy of credit in what he advances as from his brethren. He fully answers all the reproaches which concern this satirical spirit, and sets forth his opinion on the other point with a great dexterity of wit. All things well considered, it must be owned that though a disavowal which had preceded the severe reproaches of the adversary, and had been made by persons appointed for this purpose by the Synods, would have been both more honourable and more authentic, yet nevertheless none but extravagant cavillers can henceforth renew these accusations." Some other Answers were likewise made to this piece [O].

(2) P. 418. a Letter from the author of the *Advice to the Refugees* (2). "I confess, says that author, that I was surprized to see my performance made public. I did not trust my friend with it for that purpose, especially there being several things in it which I cannot approve of. I mean the passages wherein I speak of the manner in which you have been treated in France. You know very well that though I had thought in the manner he makes me speak, I would not have been so imprudent as to say such things in the middle of Paris. I shall perhaps send it to you very soon reprinted with the necessary alterations." And in the month of February 1691 he published an Extract of a Letter from Paris which gave an account that this work was in the press. "They are actually reprinting, says the writer of this Letter (3), the *Advice to the Refugees*, with the King's Licence, the author who had kept himself concealed upon account of several things which could not fail to irritate the Archbishop of Paris and Father de la Chaise, has found means of making his peace by adding some things, and taking away what might give them offence." In fact, it was reprinting at Paris, with the King's Licence dated the 20th of October, and the first two sheets of it appeared in Holland in the month of March following (4). They suppressed the Preface of the first edition, and substituted the following *Advice to the Reader*: "This piece having been sent by the author into foreign parts to one of his friends, it has been printed there with several alterations contrary to his intention. This obliges him to reprint it in France in it's true and natural form. He protests sincerely that he had no other intention in writing this, but to do his duty by acquainting those in whom he interests himself, with certain important truths which they do not sufficiently reflect upon, and that he has been so far from regarding either favour or hopes from the court, that he has even avoided being known to it, concealing himself for this good action with as much care as others do for bad ones." But this edition was interrupted by the death of the Bookseller: they set it on foot again a few months after, and the Impression was finished upon the 9th of December 1692, with a new Licence dated the 19th of September, the preamble of which is as follows: "Our well-beloved Mary Magdalen Guellerin, widow of Gabriel Martin, late Printer and Bookseller in our good City of Paris, having

" remonstrated

(a) Reponse sommaire au Livre intitulé Avis important aux Réfugiés sur leur prochain retour en France. Par Monsieur G. N. A. 3. M. Maastricht 1690.
(b) Delicé de la Nation Britannique; où les Droits de Dieu, de la Nature, & de la Société sont clairement établis, au sujet de la Révolution d'Angleterre, contre l'auteur de l'Avis aux Réfugiés.

[O] Some other Answers were likewise made to this piece. Mr Nizet, Advocate and Professor of Law at Maastricht, published, in 1690, *A short Answer to the Advice to the Refugees* (a). Mr Abbadie confined himself to what related to the Revolution in England, and printed at London in 1692, *A Defence of the British Nation; Wherein the Rights of God, of Nature, and of Society, are clearly established, with relation to the Revolution in England, against the author of the Advice to the Refugees* (b). Mr de Larrey made a full and large Answer to it under this title: *An*

Answer to the Advice to the Refugees. By M. D. L. R. At Rotterdam for Reinier Leers, M. DCC. IX (c). This work he was desired to undertake by Mr Leers, who having a mind to publish a new edition of the *Advice to the Refugees*, engaged him to write this Answer to it, to be published along with it. He reprinted the *Advice* from the Paris edition, with the same date, and under the same Printer's name. But he restored the Preface which they had suppressed at Paris. The *Advice* and Mr Larrey's Answer make two volumes in 8vo.

(c) Reponse à l'Avis aux Réfugiés, par M. D. L. R.

1690. "remonstrated to us, that by our Letters of the 20th of October 1690, signed *le Petit*, and sealed, we have given permission to the Author of a book intitled, "*An important Advice to the Refugees upon their approaching return to France*, to print, sell, and distribute the said work throughout all our Kingdom for the space and term of ten years, which Author has yielded his right to the said deceased Gabriel Martin, husband to the petitioner; but having affected to continue unknown to the public, he made a difficulty of allowing the said privilege expeded in his name, to be inserted in the Registers of the society of Booksellers of our City of Paris, which together with the sickness and death of the late Gabriel Martin, has interrupted the impression of the said work which was already begun, and will retard it still if we are not pleased, in consequence of the agreement made with the foresaid Author, and with his consent, to allow the said privilege to be registred in the name of the petitioner. For these reasons desiring to show favour to the said petitioner, we have permitted and allowed, and by these presents we do permit and allow the impression of the said book to be continued, &c."

1691. No body in Holland now talked any longer of the *Advice to the Refugees*; this book was quite forgot (1), when Mr Jurieu took it into his head all of a sudden, in the month of January 1691, to send word to Mr Basnage that he looked upon Mr Bayle as the author of that libel, and that he must go out of the seven Provinces. Mr Basnage endeavoured to make him take other sentiments, but he gave no ear to him. Mr Bayle told Mr Basnage that he had formerly intended to answer this book, and that in order to convince Mr Jurieu of his mistake, he was going to set about it again. At the same time he desired Mr Basnage to assure Mr Jurieu that he was ready to confer with him on this subject, and to satisfy all his doubts (2). All this did not appease Mr Jurieu. The hatred which he had of a long time conceived against Mr Bayle was changed into rage: he imagined that he had found a proper occasion of defaming him. Nay if it had been in his power he would have likewise taken away his life. "Since it was not in my power, (says he (3)), to get all the punishment which he deserved inflicted upon him, I resolved at least to expose him to public infamy." It was with these dispositions that Mr Jurieu set about an *Examination of the Advice to the Refugees*, wherein in the beginning he endeavours to discover the author. After having praised the composition of the book, he undertakes to shew that the author of the book and of the preface, are one and the same person: that this author is a Protestant, and lived in Holland; and that the Preface which he wrote in order to conceal himself had discovered him. In fine, he characterized him in such a manner, that one might easily see that he wanted to point out Mr Bayle, though he did not run the hazard of naming him. But when he comes to give the reasons that could have induced Mr Bayle to write this piece, he found himself extremely embarrassed. "What (says he (4)), could be the design of this author? was there ever so whimsical a design? what view could he have? At first I fancied he was one of our Sceptics who designed only to divert himself with truth, and defend both sides of the question; first to make a book against us, and afterwards to destroy it by another for us, to shew that Truth as well in facts as in matters of right lies in the well of Democritus; that one may doubt of every thing, affirm, defend, and attack every thing. And I am still of opinion that a little of this has entered into his views. I believe he would have kept his promise if so much noise had not been made, we should have had a sorry confutation, for in it he would have spoke against his inclinations, and his maxims; whereas here he speaks his real sentiments."

After this Mr Jurieu undertakes to discover the real intention of the Author. He says that this Author, "being extremely fond of the independant and absolute power of Princes, and seeing that for some years past they had wrote against his idol the King of France pretty freely; and being above all full of indignation against the Revolution in England and the dethroning of King James, he had at length lost all patience, and could no longer refrain from writing an apology for the King of France, and for King James (5): and that it was upon this account that he was obliged to screen himself under the mask of a bigotted Papist, and of a violent hater of the Protestant Religion (6)." He confesseth that this mask would have kept him in suspense had it not been for the Preface (7)." However he did not believe that this Author was so animated against the Protestant Religion as he pretended to be. "We do him the justice, (says he), to believe that he is not so malicious against the Protestant Religion as he would make himself appear to be, and that his raving against us is a part of the comedy, that he may under that deep disguise defend both the King of France, King James, and arbitrary power (8)." He did not even believe that any motive of interest had engaged him to write in favour of these Princes. "We must, (says he), do him this justice, that interest could have no share in these appearances of zeal. For he had no design of making a merit of

(1) Cabale Chimerique, pag. 198, 353. *Left Con-victi.n.* pag. 35. col. 1. Chimera demonstred, pag. 351, 352.

(2) MSS. *Memoirs of Mr Basnage. See likewise the Chimera demonstred*, pag. 351, 352.

(3) Apology for Mr Jurieu, p. 25. col. 1.

(4) *Examen d'un Libelle &c.* pag. 36, 37.

(5) *Ibid.* pag. 38.

(6) P. 39, 40, 41.

(7) P. 40.

(8) P. 40, 41.

" this work with these powers, since he has taken all manner of precautions not 1691.

(1) P. 69. " to be known (1)."

But he did this justice to the author, only to make him appear the more like Mr Bayle. He did the same thing in speaking of the *Advice*. At first he said of this book all that he thought of Mr Bayle, whom he had in view. He found the style of it flowing, easy, and lively; that his figures were natural, his metaphors happy, his ornaments well chosen and well placed; that it engages the reader by a secret charm; that it was filled with agreeable literature, and that his learning was mightily well displayed (2). All this agreed to Mr Bayle in the opinion of the public. Afterwards

(2) P. 5, 6. he says that this Author strikes blow after blow to overbrow his adversary, and sets forth with a great deal of art, and in a very narrow compass, all the strongest things that had ever been advanced against the Reformed; that his book was the most dangerous piece that had been wrote against them since the Reformation; showing the Reformation in the most hideous light (3): because all this was still necessary to his design, which was to render Mr Bayle odious. But when he came to answer the book, and was much heated, he forgot all his former description of it, it was then a piece so extravagant at the bottom that it required neither system, principles, nor reason to compose such another. A work which was all outside and nothing within; a little figure of wax-work well polished and well dressed, well furnished with red and white, but within had neither flesh, bones, nor nerves; there was nothing in it but two very meagre difficulties which the author had plumped up by the fertility of his imagination, and

(3) P. 7. out of the treasure of his common-place books (4): two poor difficulties, all the rest being mere gilding, embroidery, invectives, idle stories, reproaches, trifles, and reflexions nothing to the purpose, and which proved nothing (5): a piece wherein there was no system (6), a pretty little collection from the Polyanthea and pure pedantry (7); in fine, a work wrote with so little wisdom and solidity, that the Author must have considered mankind as brutes, who suffer themselves to be led by the nose or by the ears (8). His judgments were entirely regulated by his passions. He represented the *Advice* as a formidable work, that he might with the greater probability ascribe it to Mr Bayle;

(4) P. 91, 92. and he accused Mr Bayle of having made an apology for the King of France and for King James, because at that juncture nothing was more proper to incense the public against him.

About this time there was at Geneva one Goudet, a Merchant, who had but little business indeed, but was a great Projector. He took it in his head to adjust the differences of Princes, and become the pacificator of Europe. He composed a book entitled, *Eight Dialogues, wherein Irene and Aristus lay down measures for putting an end to the present war by a general peace* (9). These Dialogues contained a Project

(9) Huit Entretiens où Irene & Aristote fournissent des idées pour terminer la présente guerre par une Paix générale.

of Peace, wherein Mr Goudet assigned to the Princes and States of Europe the Territories they were to possess. France for instance, was to keep Franche-Comté, their conquests in Flanders, and Luxembourg; but must restore all that they had conquered in Catalonia from the peace of the Pyrenees, and in Germany from the peace of Nimeguen, excepting Strasbourg. She must likewise demolish Mont-Royal, Fort-Louis, Hunniguen and Fribourg; and in equivalent our projector gives her the City of Mons and all Hainault, and some other territories which lay convenient for her. He gives her likewise Lorraine, and the Duke of Lorraine was to have Servia and Bulgaria, and Belgrade for the capital of his new Dominions: but afterwards he changed this article, and gave him Brabant and the rest of the Spanish Netherlands. France was to restore to the Swiss the Town of Fribourg and the fortress of Hunniguen, after they were demolished; and the Emperor was to yield to them the four Forest Towns, together with the Brisgau and the Suntgau. He gives up likewise to France the principality of Orange, the County of Avignon, and the Venaissin; and in exchange he gives to the Prince of Orange the Baillywic of Gex, and to the Pope an annual tribute of fifty thousand Crowns to be paid by the Duke of Savoy, in consideration of which this Duke was to have Casal and Pignerol. He grants likewise to the Protestants in France a perpetual Edict, which should secure to them the same liberty of conscience which the Catholics enjoy in Holland: but they were not to be allowed to write against the Church of Rome. The Dutch were to have all the commerce of the Indies, and France was to demolish certain places in the Low-Countries, which might give them umbrage. He would have King William to be acknowledged King of England, and King James made King of Jerusalem and of all Palestine. The Christian Princes were to unite to destroy the Ottoman Empire. The Elector of Bavaria was to be Emperor of Constantinople, and Count Tekely was to have Belgrade and the Provinces of Servia, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Rascia, Moldavia, and Walachia. These two last were to be Tributaries of Poland. He gives also to France, Egypt, a part of Syria, and the Isle of Rhodes, and "the advantages that will arise from thence, (said Mr Goudet (10), is, that by this means at the expence of the Infidels, there will be employment found in remote countries for the unquiet and restless temper of the French, who can hardly be at ease themselves or suffer other people to be so, which is not of small consequence to the general interest." To render this peace perpetual, the Princes of

(10) Second Dialogue &c. p. 27, 28.

1691. Europe were to give every year to the Swifs six hundred thousand crowns to maintain 40000 men, who should be always ready to pour in upon any one who should endeavour to disturb it; and these troops in case of need were to be joined by 30000 men whom the Emperor and the Princes of the Empire were to keep on foot.

Mr Goudet admiring the sublimity of his genius in this project of peace which he had formed, communicated it to every body whom he could persuade to read it. He entertained the French Resident with it, who made a jest of it (1). But this did not discourage him. Knowing that Mr Minutoli, to whom he was related, was a friend of Mr Bayle; he desired him to send this scheme of a peace to Mr Bayle, "in order to have his judgment of it, as well as that of many other illustrious persons in foreign countries (2)." In the month of September 1690, Mr Minutoli sent the first six dialogues to Mr Bayle, without naming the Author, and told him at the same time, "that if they did not design to take a particular care of the interest of the Protestant Religion, and of his dear brethren the Refugees in this scheme, he would not have to much as looked into it, but that the person who was concerned in it had assured him that the sequel would satisfy all the scruples he could have on that head (3)."

The article concerning the Refugees was reserved for the seventh Dialogue, which was not sent to Mr Bayle. Mr Minutoli desired him to communicate the six first to Baron Groeben, Governor to Prince Louis, brother to the Elector of Brandenburg; to Dr Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury; to Mr Hulst, the State's Resident at Brussels; to Mr Fremont d'Ablancourt, and to Mr de Bauval: and in general he desired him to put it into the hands of as many ingenious men and Ministers of State as possible, and to acquaint him with their opinion of it (4). Mr Bayle caused some transcripts to be made of it, and sent them to the persons named by Mr Minutoli. They did not think very advantageously of it. "Besides that they did not esteem it well wrote, they found in it chimeras and notions of a Platonic Commonwealth, and of that Christian Republic of which Mr de Sulli has prescribed the plan (5)." Mr Bayle did not read it, for besides the great aversion he had to the reading of manuscripts, his other affairs, and the indifferent character which was given of it by the persons who had read it, made him neglect it entirely (6). He acquainted Mr Minutoli with their judgment of it, and added, "that the author might lay it down as a thing certain, that any plan of a general peace, which did not strip France of all that she had conquered for some years past, and which did not weaken her to such a degree as to make her neighbours no longer jealous of her, would be rejected (7)." While they were making copies of this piece, Mr Bayle chanced to go into Mr Acher's shop, a Bookseller in Rotterdam, who (8) desired him to cast his eyes upon a manuscript which had been sent him and give him his opinion of it, and tell him whether it was a piece which would sell. Mr Bayle presently upon looking into the first page of it knew it, and said aloud, in presence of several Refugees who were in the shop, that it was a piece which he had given to be copied, and appeared to be vexed, because he was afraid that the copier had taken it into his head to give it to the press; for he had only been desired by his friend at Geneva, to show it in manuscript, and to get the opinion of good judges concerning it, that the Author might alter it according to the different views which might be suggested to him. But Mr Acher made him easy on that head, by telling him that the person from whom he had the copy, would part with it to no body but to Mr Bayle; and as he believed that Mr Bayle had the disposal of it, he desired that he would procure him the publication of it. Mr Bayle answered that he had received no order to get that piece printed, but that if this should be resolved upon, and the choice of the Printer be left to him, he would prefer him to any other. He appeared very grateful for this.

"(9) Some time after Mr Minutoli wrote to Mr Bayle, that the Author was preparing to publish the first six Dialogues at Laufanne, while in the mean time he was finishing the two others. Mr Bayle told this to Mr Acher, who did not think fit to alter his design upon that account, since it was not likely that an Edition in that country could hinder the sale of one in Holland, which would be more beautiful and more easily sent every where than that of Switzerland. He proposed therefore only to oblige Mr Acher, that they should send him the sheets of the Laufanne edition as they came from the press, there being a Bookfeller at Rotterdam who would reprint them. They agreed to this proposal, and post after post Mr Minutoli made Mr Bayle hope that they would send him the sheets with the Author's corrections. He acquainted him that the work would be considerably enlarged, and that the form of it would be almost wholly changed for the better; that the author insisted particularly on a Guarantee, and had put the article concerning the Refugees on such a footing as had been approved of by several of them. As the sheets did not come, Mr Minutoli desired Mr Bayle to keep the Bookfeller in hopes,

(1) *Ex-
tract of a
Letter
from Ge-
neva &c.
in the Chi-
mere de-
monique,
p. 204.*

(2) *Letter
from Mr
Minutoli
to Mr Ju-
rien, ibid.
p. 194.*

(3) *Cabale
Chimeri-
que, p. 5,
6, of the
second E-
dition.*

(4) *Ibid.
p. 20. and
the follow-
ing.*

(5) *P. 13,
14.*

(6) *P. 7,
and the
following.*

(7) *P. 20,
77.*

(8) *P. 16.
and the
following.*

(9) *P. 18,
19.*

- (1) P. 22, 23. " (1) During this delay of the sheets, Mr Acher told Mr Bayle from time to time, 1691; that he would not print this project until he knew whether it might not give offence. Mr Bayle always told him, that he would do well to give it to read to any body he pleased, and Mr Acher having said that he would be directed by him in that matter, Mr Bayle answered him, that he need not do so, that he had not read it, and would not read it while it continued in manuscript. He even told him plainly the opinion of Messieurs d'Ablancourt and Bauval, and of some others who had read it. This did not discourage him, for Mr Jurieu's prophecies (which he had printed) had taught him by experience, that the most chimerical books, are the very best for the Printer . . . At last (2), when Mr Bayle could not tell what to make of this delay of the sheets, he was informed, in the time of the siege of Mons (3), that there were copies of the first edition at the Hague. This made him advise the Bookseller to give over the thoughts of printing the Project of Peace, and so much the more because the siege of that place, which ever way it turned, would change the state of affairs : and he found that he had already taken that prudent resolution."
- (2) Ibid. p. 24. Mr Jurieu's book against the *Advice of the Refugees*, and against Mr Bayle, was actually in the press, when the first six dialogues concerning the *Project of Peace*, printed at Lausanne, came into his hands. He was quite a stranger to this work. (4)
- (3) *Mons capitulated on the 9th of April 1691, after 16 days open trenches.* " Mr Minutoli, in his letters to Mr Bayle, had never particularly named Mr Jurieu as one of the persons to whom he ought to show the manuscript. He believed no doubt that it was not necessary to do so, having heard of their intimate acquaintance, and as he desired his friend to shew it to judicious persons in general, he took it for granted that Mr Jurieu would see it among the first. Mr Bayle would not have failed to have shewn it to him at first, tho' his friend had not particularly desired him to do so ; but he was afraid lest Mr Jurieu should have thought it was with a design to affront him, if he had desired him to read a project of peace, wherein they had departed so far from his system. For Mr Bayle saw plainly from Mr Minutoli's first letter, that according to this project, the religion of the Protestants was not to be the national religion in France. As Mr Bayle had never relished Mr Jurieu's System, and possibly had talked with too much liberty of it before some of his spies, he had already incurred his secret hatred ; so that he had reason to fear, that in so delicate an affair, as the glory of having given true or false predictions concerning great events, the smallest matter should pique him, and might be taken, especially coming from such a hand, for an insult."
- (4) The Chimericalness of the Rotterdam Cabal demonstrated &c. p. 194, 195, in the Note. Mr Jurieu was, in fact, extremely irritated at this *Project of Peace* : but he grew quite outrageous when he understood from Mr Acher, that this work had been long before sent to Mr Bayle, and was told what had passed between Mr Bayle and him concerning the manuscript. Being always full of wild dreams, and become quite furious against Mr Bayle, he built upon this a system a thousand times more chimerical than the chimerical Project of Peace itself. He prefixed to his *Examination of the Advice to the Refugees* (5) ; an *Important Advice to the Public* (6), wherein he declared that all that he had said " concerning the design of the author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, was only the effort of a person groping his way in a dark place. It is true, adds he, that I must have been blind, and at present I can hardly imagine how I could fail of discovering the whole mystery at first sight. (7) They who are under suspicion, and are justly so, could find no better means of justifying their friends, than by asking, *cui bono* ? and I confess that this difficulty raised a scruple even in me, which did not indeed make me in the least doubt from whence the book came, but which however embarrassed me : when at last God, whose pleasure it is that mysteries of iniquity should be discovered, has permitted that another unexpected discovery should give more light into it. The public must know then, that this is not the work of a private person who designed to defend the authority of Princes. They who have imagined so, have been mistaken (8). This is the work of a Cabal which extends from south to north, and has its center at Paris and at the Court of France (9)." He added, " That there was a French party at Geneva, which was hatched under the wings of the Resident of France ; that this party consisted of persons of all ranks and characters ; and that this cabal kept a correspondence with another in Holland entirely in the same interests (10). That they both had the same view, which was to relieve France from her present distress, by a peace as advantageous as she could wish for : that their design was to disunite the Allies, to raise a spirit of rebellion in subjects against their Sovereigns, which would force the Allies to receive peace upon any condition : and in fine, that these two parties did nothing but in concert with the Court of France, and by her direction (11)." That in consequence of the views and instructions of the Court of France, Mr Bayle, who was the head of the northern cabal, had wrote the *Advice to the Refugees* ; and Mr Goudet, agent for the southern cabal, had composed the *Dialogues concerning a Peace*, which were drawn up by the Resident of France, and corrected at Versailles ; that Mr Bayle had undertaken to get them printed at Rotterdam, in order to spread them the more easily over all Europe, and particularly in Holland and in England (12). After this he calls Mr Bayle an *Impious* and
- (5) *Examen de l'avis aux Refugiez.*
- (6) *Avis important au Public.*
- (7) *Avis important au Public,* p. 3, 4.
- (8) Ibid. p. 5.
- (9) Ibid. p. 7.
- (10) Ibid. p. 7, 8, 9.
- (11) Ibid. p. 42, 43.
- (12) P. 37, and the following.

1691. and prophane person, without honour or religion, a traitor, a deceitful man, an enemy to the State; a person to be detested and deserving corporal punishment.

In the mean while he owned that this accusation concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*, was founded on simple presumptions only. "It may be, says he (1), that some people who would appear to be disinterested, will say that this is to push people too fiercely, and to expose them to the public hatred without having sufficiently convicted them but when the public security is concerned, must we wait for conviction, are not disaffected persons discovered by strong presumptions, that we may be upon our guard against them?" It is very singular, that while he was accusing Mr Bayle of a design to ruin the Protestants; some confessions escaped him which destroyed this accusation. "The Author, said he (2), believed that at last this would do them no more hurt than an hundred other libels which have been wrote against them: that this would be forgot like the rest, and that for the present it would be of use to France, and by accident to the Protestants themselves, because it would contribute to dissolve the confederacy, and to bring about a peace." And with regard to the *project of peace*, after having represented it as a piece concerted with the court of France, and capable of dis-uniting the allies, he said that it was a performance so full of chimeras that one must be a chimerical man who would set about the answering of it (3). But these reflexions which were sufficient to have opened the eyes of a disinterested person, made no impression on Mr Jurieu: he did not want to vindicate Mr Bayle, he wanted to find him guilty. He likewise attacked Mr Bauval. He accused him of having forged the Letter which he had inserted in his Journal, wherein it was said that they were reprinting the *Advice to the Refugees* at Paris (4). But as the first sheets of this new edition had been seen in Holland, he pretended that this was an artifice they had contrived to screen themselves from suspicion; and that the Royal Licence, printed in the first sheet was forged.

His book against the *Advice to the Refugees* appeared (5) under this title: *An Examination of a Libel against Religion, the State, and the Revolution of England, intituled An important Advice to the Refugees upon their approaching return into France* (6). There was prefixed to it *An important Advice to the public*, as we have already observed.

As soon as Mr Bayle had read this *Advice to the public*, "he went to the grand Schout of Rotterdam, and told him that if his accuser would go to prison with him, and undergo the punishment which he should deserve, in case Mr Bayle was found innocent, he was ready to go there (7)." He likewise informed two of the chief Magistrates of Rotterdam, and two or three other gentlemen at the Hague, distinguished by their merit and employments, of Mr Jurieu's accusations, that these accusations were false, and that he desired nothing of the State but that they would not condemn him without a hearing (8). Possibly he would have done well to have gone no further. Mr Jurieu would never have had the confidence to appear before a Magistrate with him. He had no legal proof to alledge, they would have ridiculed his presumptions, and he would have been declared a false accuser. But as he had publicly accused Mr Bayle of being the head of a Cabal or conspiracy against the State, Mr Bayle thought himself obliged to justify himself in the same manner. He intitled his Answer (9), *The chimerical Cabal: or a Refutation of a fabulous Story which has been lately published with a malicious intention concerning a certain project of peace, in the Examination of a Libel, &c. intituled An important Advice to the Refugees on their approaching return into France* (10).

In the beginning Mr Bayle gives an account of all he had done with regard to the *project of peace*, agreeably to what we have related above. He takes notice of all the falsehoods in Mr Jurieu's narration, and of all the extravagancies he had been guilty of in this matter. As to the *Advice to the Refugees*, which made the second article of his Accusation, he says he had at first designed to handle that subject in a particular treatise; but considering that this work might encrease under his hand, and not appear soon, he thought it would be best in the mean while to give this *prelude of an Answer*. He agreed with Mr Jurieu that the *Advice to the Refugees* was the work of a Protestant: but he undertook to show by the strongest presumptions that it must have been written in France; and so he refuted all the suppositions which Mr Jurieu had made to prove that it had been composed in Holland, and that if the author was at Paris, he would discover himself. He shows the difference betwixt that author's manner of writing and his own. He refuted all the characters by which Mr Jurieu had pretended to point out the author of the *Advice* in order to conclude that it was Mr Bayle. He showed how ridiculous his remarks and chicanery were concerning the new edition of that piece, which they were printing at Paris; and that Mr Jurieu's presumptions gave him no right to arraign him publicly as a traitor, an impious person, and guilty of high-treason both against God and man; and proved that in order to make him appear guilty he had made use of deceit, treachery, and the blackest malice. He showed that the characters which Mr Jurieu fixed upon the author of the *Advice*, offered presumptions incomparably more strong than Mr Bayle was not the author of it, than all

that

- (1) *Ibid.* pag. 110, 111.
- (2) *Ibid.* pag. 57.
- (3) *Ibid.* pag. 80.
- (4) See above, pag. xlvii, xlviii.
- (5) About the end of the month of April 1691.
- (6) Examen d'un Libelle contre la Religion, contre l'Etat, & contre la Revolution d'Angleterre, intitulé Avis important aux Refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France.
- (7) Cabale Chimérique, pag. 94. of the first edition.
- (8) *Ibid.* pag. 207, 208.
- (9) It was dated the 8th and 13th of May 1691.
- (10) La Cabale Chimérique: ou Refutation de l'Histoire fabuleuse qu'on vient de publier malicieusement touchant un certain Projet de paix, dans l'Examen d'un Libelle, &c. intitulé Avis important aux Refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1691, in 12°.

(1) *Ibid.*
pag. 283.
and the
following.

that he had alledged to prove that he was. Lastly he re-capitulates Mr Jurieu's accusations, and reduced them to twenty five Articles, the eighteenth of which was (1), *That Mr Bayle made hardly any secret of his Atheism, that he did not edify the public by any act of Religion; that he was without Religion, and without love to God, so that his supreme deity was called Lewis XIV.* "Here, adds Mr Bayle, are eighteen Articles, out of which I am sure my adversary will never extricate himself. The last alone is sufficient to employ him for his whole Life, without drawing any thing but matter of confusion to himself from it. I wait with a great deal of impatience 'till he shall come that length. It is so capital a point, that he must either conquer or die. He must prove it, either by my writings or by credible witnesses, or by avouching by unquestionable signs, that God has conferred upon him the gift of prophecy to such a degree, that he sees all that passeth in peoples hearts. Passion has blinded him in such a manner that he could not see, that though his cause had been good, he would have ruined it by the great number of facts with which he has loaded it. For though he should succeed in all the rest of the articles, if he failed in the last could he justly escape hanging? is not Atheism punished capitally every where? and ought not an accuser who is convicted of false evidence, to suffer the same punishment which the person accused would have undergone, if he had been found guilty. . . . I repeat it once more, an accuser who embarrasseth himself so stupidly and foolishly excites rather our pity than our anger. Who would not laugh to see a Minister undertake to prove, that a man who in the sight of the world communicates four times a year, and is frequently present at the public prayers, and at the best part of the sermon, doth not perform any religious act? I will show him that my pretended impiety consists only in my not having applauded his false miracles, false prophets, and pretended revelations; and I will never be ashamed of having contributed to stop my fellow Refugees upon the brink of Fanaticism, and of having indirectly hindered Mr Jurieu himself from pushing his chimeras still further (2)." To these eighteen articles he added seven more, and (3) declared that all that Mr Jurieu could write before he had proved these twenty five articles would be lost labour, and that his honour would not be at all salved by proving some of them only; for if he should fail in others, he would still be convicted as a public calumniator, in a matter where life and fame are concerned; and consequently his Ministry would be thereby so much dishonoured that he would be a reproach to the Protestant Church if they did not depose him."

(2) *Ibid.*
p. 286.

(3) *Ibid.*
p. 294,
295.

As this was not one of those disputes which arise among men of letters, about points of erudition or science, but an affair wherein honour and even life was concerned, if the treason against the State had been proved; Mr Bayle did not think himself obliged to keep any terms with his accuser, he unmasked him so successfully, that even Mr Jurieu's pride and arrogance were not able to stand so rude a shock. He had recourse to the civil power, and presented to the *Venerable Burgomasters* of Rotterdam a Petition wherein he drew his own picture to the life. It is as follows:

The Sieur Jurieu, who has had the honour for so many years and by so many labours to defend the cause of God, prays for justice from your Lordships, against a horrible Libel composed by the Sieur Bayle, wherein the said Bayle calls him rogue, villain, impostor, calumniator, and wicked man; and calls the Princes who have shaken off the yoke of Popery flagitious men, and assassins, and says many other infamous things against the Reformation. The Sieur Jurieu implores protection for his innocence, and that the said book may be prohibited, lacerated, and torn to pieces; the author punished as such atrocious injuries deserve; and that the Sieur Jurieu may be permitted to defend himself publicly, he promising to do so with modesty and christian moderation; and that the Sieur Bayle may be forbid to compose any more books against the Sieur Jurieu.

(4) Chimeres demontrees, p^{te} f. pag. lxxv, lxxvi.

"This is, says Mr Bayle (4), one of the most violent and at the same time the most burlesque piece that was ever seen. To desire that an accuser of high-treason both against God and man should be allowed to write against the party accused, and that the latter should be forbid to write against his accuser; must not one be out of his wits to offer such a petition? A Gentleman who should desire his Prince to give him leave to fight in single combat with his adversary, after tying him hand and foot to a tree, would not be so ridiculous. But his assurance in accusing Mr Bayle before these gentlemen, of having in his *Cabale Chimerique* called the *Princes who have shaken off the yoke of Popery, flagitious men and assassins, and of having said several infamous things against the Reformation*, is such a furious calumny, that tho' he should meet with no other disgrace in this process, but the being convicted of having advanced such a falsehood in such a petition, he would have good reason to repent of his notable accusation."

The Burgomasters of Rotterdam acted a part agreeable to their equity and wisdom. They exhorted both Mr Bayle and Mr Jurieu to make up matters as soon as possible; and forbade them to write any thing against each other, which should not first be examined by Mr Bayer, Pensionary of the city. They prohibited likewise the publication of any more anonymous libels, such as had appeared at Rotterdam

"against

1691. "against the *Cabale Chimérique* (1)." We shall soon have an occasion of speaking of these libels.

What Mr Jurieu had wrote concerning the pretended Cabal of Geneva, drew upon him both the indignation and contempt of that whole City. One of the Syndics wrote what follows on this subject to a friend of his in Holland (2): *I can assure you, Sir, that people in this Country have been very much offended at Mr Jurieu's manner of writing, and that he has lost his reputation among all men of honour and good sense. One cannot imagine what could make him write in the manner he has done against this City. What he has said is absolutely false, and entirely his own invention. All that is true in the matter is, that one Goudet, a Merchant, has taken upon him to write certain projects of peace &c.*

See likewise what a private Gentleman writes from thence (3): "We cannot but look with indignation upon a man, who, filled with the most deadly poison, bites without distinction every thing that comes in his way, friends and foes, not sparing even Sovereign States. What have the Magistrates of Geneva done to him that he should endeavour to embroil them with their people, and set them at variance with all the Protestants and the Allies? but all that I can say to you on this subject is, that every body here has looked upon his calumnies with the utmost contempt."

Mr Minutoli wrote a letter to Mr Jurieu on the same subject in very strong terms. *I do not know, (says he (4)), whether our Government, and so many persons of distinction, so unworthily treated in a point which concerns so deeply both their conscience and honour, will not endeavour to give you the most mortifying proofs of their just resentment; but I am very certain that I must have forgot all the rules of justice, if I did not at present appear in favour of Mr Bayle, who by the accident which I will tell you, was brought by me only into that affair, which you are pleased to lay to his charge as a great crime.* He proceeds to give a detail of all that had passed betwixt Mr Bayle and him concerning the project of peace; which agreed in every circumstance with the account Mr Bayle himself had given of it in his *Cabale Chimérique*, and which I have before related. He reproached Mr Jurieu with having upon some frivolous conjectures, placed both Mr Bayle and him in his pretended Cabal. *Tell me upon your conscience, (says he), how would you take it, if any body upon such presumptions, which they might have against you, should presently, without farther examination, in a public manner accuse you and your friends as persons without Honour, Faith, or Religion?* He exhorted him to acknowledge his fault, and not to oblige him to make this Letter public for Mr Bayle's justification.

Mr Jurieu received likewise Letters from some friends he had at Geneva, advising him not to give any credit to the story of the Geneva Cabal, and not to consider the project of peace as a serious matter (5). But this did not hinder him to publish without the knowledge, and contrary to the prohibition of the Magistrates, a piece intitled, (6) *New Convictions of the Author of the Advice to the Refugees. Together with the Nullity of his Defences. By a friend of Mr Jurieu. Part the first.* He wrote under the name of a friend, that by this disguise he might not come under the Magistrates prohibition. He maintained in it all that he had before said concerning the Cabal at Geneva, and the project of peace. This first part was soon followed by a second, intitled, *The last Conviction of the Sieur Bayle, Professor of Philosophy at Rotterdam, concerning the Advice to the Refugees, which may serve for a Factum in the complaint laid before the State* (7). In this last piece, he no longer talks of the dangerous Cabal which extended itself from North to South, which had its center at the Court of France, and whose intention was to raise an insurrection in Holland and in England to confound all the Designs of the Allies, and by this means to procure an universal Monarchy to France, and consequently to ruin the Protestant Religion. He saw that he had thereby made himself both contemptible and ridiculous; he therefore changed the state of the question, and only accused Mr Bayle of *having had an intention to publish without the knowledge of the State, A Project of Peace contrary to their intentions and interests* (8). With regard to the *Advice to the Refugees* he only repeated and amplified the accusations which he had already brought against Mr Bayle: and instead of justifying himself from the falsehoods and calumnies which Mr Bayle had reduced to twenty five articles, he gave a loose to abuse and invectives. He had even the boldness to deny that the Magistracy had forbid him to write, as they had done Mr Bayle. "Surely, (said he), one must have a very bad opinion of the Administration both of this City and of the State, to believe that they have put a man accused of treason against the State, upon the same footing with one who through his zeal for the State has brought a complaint against him. It would not be at all just to take the right of defending himself from a man who has been so violently attacked, as Mr Jurieu has been. He is obliged for the edification of the Church to vindicate his name wherever his works have carried it (9)." However as it was very certain that they had been both alike forbidden to publish any thing which had not been examined by Mr Bayer (10): this Magistrate on reading that part of

(1) *Chimere de-montree*, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid. Preface*, p. xxxv, xxxvi.

(3) *Ibid.* p. xxxvi, xxxvii.

(4) *Letter from Mr Minutoli to Mr Jurieu of the 13th of May 1691. In the Chimere de-montree &c. p. 189, 190.*

(5) *Ibid. Preface*, p. xi, xii.

(6) *Nouvelles Convi-ctions contre l'Auteur de l'Avis aux Refugees. Avec la nullité de ses justifications. Par un Ami de Mr Jurieu. Premiere Partie.*

(7) *Der-niere Convi-ction contre le sieur Bayle, Professeur en Philosophie à Rotterdam au sujet de l'Avis aux Refugees, pour servir de Factum sur la plainte portée aux Puissances de l'Etat. Both parts together contain 36 pages in 4°, in two columns small character.*

(8) *Last Conviction &c. p. 15, col. 1.*

(9) *Ibid.*

(10) *Chimere de-montree*, p. 215, 216, and *Preface*, p. lxxiv.

the Factum, was extremely surprized at Mr Jurieu's assurance in maintaining the con- 1691.

(1) Letter to Mr.

Infant of the 24th of August 1691. p. 390, 391.

(2) Lettre écrite à M. B. Prof. en Phil. & en Hist. à Rotterdam sur la Cabale Chimérique.

(3) Remarques Générales sur la Cabale Chimérique de Mr Bayle: I. & II. Suite de ces Remarques.

(4) Bauval Copy of a Letter from Mr S.... concerning the General Remarks on the Cabale Chimérique, p. 1. and the following.

(5) Entre-tiens sur le grand scandale causé par un Livre intitulé la Cabale Chimérique, p. 157.

(6) Lettre sur les petits Livres publiez contre la Cabale Chimérique.

(7) Courte Refutation de la Lettre écrite en faveur de S. B. pour la défense de la Cabale Chimérique.

(8) Lettre écrite à Mr B. sur la Cabale Chimérique, p. 27, 28.

Before the publication of Mr Jurieu's *last Conviction*, there appeared several anonymous libels against the *Cabale Chimérique*, wherein his accusations were repeated and even improved by new calumnies. Of this kind were the *Letter to Mr Bayle, Professor of Philosophy and History in Rotterdam, concerning the Cabale Chimérique* (2). It was a violent declamation wrote by a Minister, one of Mr Jurieu's Creatures. *General Remarks on Mr Bayle's Cabale Chimérique, with a first and second Continuation of these Remarks* (3). At first these Remarks were ascribed to Mr Bazin de Limeville, a Refugee at Rotterdam (4), but he protested that he was no ways concerned in them (5), and it was afterwards known that they were written by Mr Robethon. Mr Bayle published under the name of a friend, a pamphlet of twelve pages, intitled *A Letter concerning the little books published against the Cabale Chimérique* (6), wherein he informed the Public of his reasons for not answering these libels. He said that the prohibition of the Magistrate had made him suppress the answer which he had promised in his *Cabale Chimérique*; and that all the world was convinced that Mr Jurieu had broke the promise which he made to the Burgomasters, by publishing his pretended *New Convictions*. He added that he intended to answer Mr Jurieu's last libel, but that he did not think it proper to spend his time in answering a great many other pieces which only repeated the same things, or commented on some mistaken or mutilated passage of the *Cabale Chimérique*, and advanced falsehoods with equal boldness and malice. He gives some examples of this, taken from the two pieces just now mentioned. The Minister who was Author of the letter to Mr Bayle thought fit to reply. He published a pamphlet of twenty one pages, intitled *A short Refutation of a Letter written in favour of the Sieur Bayle in defence of his Cabale Chimérique* (7). He believed that Mr Bauval was author of the letter concerning the little books. I will insert here one of his accusations, Mr Bayle's answer to it, and the accuser's reply: this will be sufficient to give a notion of these two pieces, and of the character of their author. The Minister after accusing Mr Bayle of avarice adds (8), "when I speak of your avarice I do not use this word in the strict sense. They say you do not love money with a design to hoard it up; I am willing to believe it since people say so. You love it notwithstanding for the use you are pleased to make of it, with which I do not pretend to meddle. But, Sir, do you believe that the world doth not know why you discontinued your *News from the Republic of Letters*? We know indeed that the indisposition which seized you, furnished you with a pretence. But we know likewise, that you pretended to be better paid for it than you had been formerly, and that the Bookseller not being willing to agree to the augmentation you demanded, your agreement was at an end, and you discontinued the work upon that account. That is to say, your appetite increased in proportion with your reputation." Who could imagine that a fact could be alledged with so much confidence, without taking all the necessary precautions to be certain of its truth! However let us hear Mr Bayle. *I do not know, says he* (9), *what name to give to a falsehood of a certain declaimer, who has lately published as a thing certain, that Mr Bayle discontinued his News from the Republic of Letters, only because the Bookseller would not give him all that he demanded for the copy. The Bookseller is still alive: his name is Henry Desbordes, he lives at Amsterdam, in the Kalverstraet, one may be fully informed what truth there is in this, with all the ease in the world; yet here is a man, who without being at the pains of informing himself, which could have retarded the publication of his wonderful Letter only a day or two, dares to entangle himself publicly in an infamous falsehood, for which he may be covered with confusion, if he is capable of any shame, by showing Mr Desbordes's own handwriting.* But this author was not to be put to the blush. He answered coolly (10), "We think ourselves obliged to consult Henry Desbordes about the fact we advanced, concerning the interruption of the *News from the Republic of Letters*. We have spoke in the manner we have done on the testimony a printer, who at that time worked for the said Desbordes, because he had no interest to disguise matters, and we believed that he related things as they were. So we leave it as we found it, because it is a matter of very small importance in itself, and neither much helps or hurts the principal cause." This was the common custom of those writers of libels. They published upon hear-say the most infamous things they could pick up against Mr Bayle, and when they were convicted of falsehood, they said that *they left them as they found them*. And in this they only followed Mr Jurieu's example, who filled his *Factums* with mere imaginations and falsehoods. It was in this manner that he repeated several times, that *Mr Bayle had lived with the Jesuits at Toulouse three years*; tho' he had never lived with them, and had staid only eighteen months at Toulouse, as we have already seen. He had his spies every where, who wrote or told him what passed, and for the most part very unfaithfully. We may well imagine, that his spies were the very scum of the Refugees. He had even some of them so scandalous, that his own creatures were ashamed of it. One of his friends could not forbear writing to him, that he disparaged himself by his correspondence with a certain Minister

(9) Lettre sur les petits livres publiez contre la Cabale Chimérique, p. 6, 7.

(10) Courte Refutation de la Lettre écrite en faveur de S. B. pour la défense de la Cabale Chimérique, p. 15, 16.

1691. nister among the Refugees at London : Mr Jurieu answered him, *He is a knave, it is true ; but he is orthodox* : whereupon he was commonly called the *orthodox knave*.

There appeared likewise another piece consisting of twelve pages, against Mr Bayle's Letter, with this title, *A Letter to Mr*** relating to a Libel intituled, A Letter concerning the little books published against the Cabale Chimerique* (1). The author ascribes this Letter concerning the little books, &c. to Mr de Bauval, with more assurance than the author of the Letter to Mr Bayle had done. And indeed the same spirit was observable in both. Before these three pieces appeared, Mr de Bauval had published one of eight pages intituled, *A Copy of a Letter written to M. S. . . . concerning the author of the General Remarks on the Cabale Chimerique* (2). After some fine raillery upon the author of the *General Remarks*, whom he took to be Mr Limeville, he gives us Mr Jurieu's Petition, and shews how ridiculous it is. He made likewise some reflexions upon the unjust distinction that Mr Jurieu pretended should be made betwixt him and Mr Bayle.

The first edition of the *Cabale Chimerique* being very soon sold off, Mr Bayle published another corrected and very much enlarged. On the back of the title-page there is a short advertisement, wherein he desires the reader not to make a judgment of that piece from the first chapters of it, in which he was forced to be dry, and could not avoid a detail of trifling particulars ; but that they should find what followed more lively and less tiresome, if they would give themselves the trouble of reading it quite through. This edition did not appear so soon as the impression of it was finished. Mr Bayle put a stop to the sale of it for a considerable time, because the Burgomasters of Rotterdam had forbidden all the Booksellers in that City, to sell any thing that should be printed on this subject (3). But when he saw that Mr Jurieu published his *Factums*, he thought himself likewise intitled to publish the second edition of his *Cabale Chimerique*. However, he did not mention in the title that it was printed at Rotterdam, or that it was a second edition corrected and enlarged. As this title is somewhat different from the first, I will insert it here : *The Chimerical Cabal : or a Refutation of the fabulous stories and calumnies which Mr Jurieu has lately maliciously published concerning a certain Project of Peace ; and concerning a Libel intituled, an important Advice to the Refugees, upon their approaching return into France, in his examination of that Libel* (4).

In this edition Mr Bayle attacked Mr Jurieu very smartly with regard to the accusation of Atheism. He insisted upon this article by all the considerations which could show the importance of it ; he called upon his accuser, in a solemn manner, to prove it, he employed defiance, insults, and, in a word, every thing that is most proper to put an adversary under a necessity of producing his proofs (5). Mr Jurieu seeing himself so pressed, addressed himself to his Consistory, and promised to make good his accusation : but he gave over this design a few days after, and offered only to be their Commissary, if they would furnish him with some Memoirs, which surprized them extremely (6). He had often than once harangued in the Consistory against Mr Bayle with the utmost vehemence, and went even so far as to declare, *That he would no more be reconciled with him than with the Devil* (7). He endeavoured in vain to get the Acts of the Consistory annulled, which amongst other things contained *that Mr Jurieu had desisted from his accusations against Mr Bayle, concerning Religion, and that he should not carry the complaints he might have against him any where but to the Consistory in the first instance* (8). In the mean while he published a piece intituled, *A short review of the maxims of Morality and principles of Religion, of the author of the Thoughts concerning Comets, and of the General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism : To serve for an Information to the Ecclesiastical Judges, if they please to take cognizance of it* (9). He here alledges some passages of these two books, and endeavours to show that they tend to irreligion. The same day that this piece fell into Mr Bayle's hands, he published one under this title : *The Declaration of Mr Bayle, Professor of Philosophy and History at Rotterdam, concerning a Pamphlet lately published under the title of a Short Review of the Maxims of Morality &c.* (10). Mr Bayle here showed that Mr Jurieu changed the state of the question, he calls upon him anew to prove his accusation of Atheism, and engages to justify himself from all Heterodoxy, as soon as this first and principal point is cleared. He adds several propositions extracted from Mr Jurieu's writings, to serve for a supplement to those, a condemnation of which had been desired from the Synod assembled at Leyden in the beginning of May 1691. "The Short Review having been distributed among the members of the Consistory, they resolved to examine a cause of so much importance : however they did not ground any prejudices against Mr Bayle's opinions, either upon the discourses, or writings of his accuser. They prepared themselves to judge the matter in a regular manner ; and Mr Bayle declared himself always ready to show his innocence, and it was not owing to him that they did not come to a final determination (11), but they did not proceed in the cause."

Some of Mr Bayle's friends sided with him even so far as to write in his favour. Mr de Bauval published *A Letter concerning the differences between Mr Jurieu and Mr Bayle* (12), wherein he demonstrated that Mr Jurieu could never justify his base usage

(1) Lettre à Monsieur *** sur le sujet d'un Libelle qui a pour titre, Lettre sur les petits Livres publiez contre la Cabale Chimerique.

(2) Copie d'un Lettre écrite à M. S. . . . touchant l'Auteur des Remarques Generales sur la Cabale Chimerique.

(3) Letter to Mr Minutoli of the 27th of August 1691, p. 392.

(4) La Cabale Chimerique : ou Refutation de l'Histoire fabuleuse & des calomnies que Mr J. vient de publier maliciousement touchant un certain Projet de Paix, & touchant le libelle intitule Avis important aux Refugiez sur leur prochain retour en France, dans son Examen de ce libelle. A Cologne. chez Pierre Marteau, 1691, in 12^o. (5) P. 337. (6) Chimerie demontree, p. 14. (7) Ibid. p. 30. (8) Letter to Mr Lonsfant of the 24th of August 1691, p. 389.

(9) Courte Revue des Maximes de Morale & des principes de Religion de l'Auteur des Penfées diverses sur les Cometes, & de la Critique Generale sur l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Maimbourg : Pour servir de Factum aux Juges Ecclesiastiques, s'ils en veulent connoître. In 4^o. pag. 8.

(10) Declaration de Mr Bayle, Professeur en Philosophie & en Histoire à Rotterdam touchant un petit Ecrit qui vient de paroître sous le titre de Courte Revue des Maximes de Morale &c. In 12^o, pp. 24.

(11) Additions to the Thoughts concerning Comets &c. p. 15, 16. (12) Lettre sur les differences de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle.

(1) New
Conviction-
ons, &c.
pag. 10.
col. 1.

(2) *Letter
to Mr Mi-
nutoli of
the 27th
of August
1691, pag.
395.*

(3) Lettre
d'un des
Amis de
Mr Bayle
aux Amis
de Mr Ju-
rieu.

(4) Lettre
à Mes-
sieurs les
Ministres
& Anciens
qui com-
posent le
Synode
assemblé à
Leyden,
le 2 de
Mai 1691.

(5) Apolo-
gie du
Sieur Ju-
rieu, Pas-
teur &
Profes-
seur en
Théolo-
gie, adre-
ssée aux
Pasteurs &
Conduc-
teurs des
Eglises
Wallones
des Pays-
Bas.

(6) Apolo-
gy for the
Sieur Ju-
rieu, pag.
25. col. 1.

(7) Ibid.
pag. 24.
col. 2.

(a) Répon-
se à l'avis
de Mr Ju-
rieu,
pag. 26, 27.

* Accom-
plishment of
Prophecies,
tom. ii. cap.
12. 1st Edit.

† Ibid. tom.
ii. cap. 2.
1st Edit.

usage of Mr Bayle, whether we consider the matter with respect to the conduct be- coming a gentleman, or to our common obligations as members of civil society. Afterwards he defends himself from Mr Jurieu's attacks. We have seen that this divine had accused him of forging the Extract of a Letter in his Journal, wherein it was said that they were reprinting the *Advice to the Refugees* at Paris. He repeated this charge in his *Convictions*, and imputed likewise other crimes to him. He accused him of being the publisher of the *Advice to the Refugees*, and of being a *man without Religion*. He maintained that the Extract of the Letter was forged. "We are certain, says he (1), that it is forged. And we defy those Gentlemen to deposite that Letter, from whence this Extract was taken, in the hands of four men of honour who shall be chosen on the one side and the other, who may examine from whence it came, when it was written, and what goes before and after that passage. We defy them to do this, says he, and if they do not do it, it will be a proof that the Letter is either forged, or written by a correspondent who is in the secret, or contains things which will discover the mystery. This is a challenge which we are very sure they will not accept. They will not dare to do it." Mr de Bauval accepted this challenge. He summoned him by a Notary to name two referees, and promised to name two others, to whom he would shew the Letter: but Mr Jurieu drew back, and could never be brought to this discussion which he had proposed. Mr Bayle mentions this piece of Mr de Bauval in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli. "Of all my friends, says he (2), there is none who has wrote any thing in my favour, except Mr de Bauval, Mr Bagnage's brother. Mr Jurieu hates him, at least as much as he doth me, and brings him into all his Libels with a perfectly brutal rudeness; and at last joins him with me as author of the *Advice to the Refugees*. Mr de Bauval has therefore wrote a Letter of two sheets and a half, concerning our differences, which rallies him in a very elegant and dexterous manner." Mr Huet likewise published a piece in favour of Mr Bayle, intitled: *A Letter from a friend of Mr Bayle's to Mr Jurieu's friends* (3), wherein he takes to task several passages of the *New Convictions*, and of the *General Remarks*. This pamphlet is wrote with a great deal of good sense and moderation.

Mr Jurieu raised as many complaints by his heterodox opinions, as he did by his violent and persecuting spirit. Some churches petitioned the Synods to examine his books; they made up a list of heresies and profane expressions contained in them [P], and sent it to the Synod then sitting at Leyden, under the title of *A Letter to the Ministers and Elders, members of the Synod assembled at Leyden, the second of May 1691* (4). This accusation together with the disputes he had with several Ministers in the Synods, obliged him to publish a piece intitled, *An Apology for the Sieur Jurieu, Minister and Professor of Divinity, addressed to the Ministers and Heads of the Walloon Churches in the Low Countries* (5): but instead of defending his doctrine here, he with a great deal of pride and ostentation sets forth the great services he pretended to have done the Church; and after thus making his own panegyric, breaks out into railing and invectives against the Ministers who had complained of him, and once more inveighs bitterly against Mr Bayle. It is here that he owns that *since it was not in his power to get him punished as he deserved, at least he would expose him to public infamy* (6), and he makes grievous complaints of the clemency of the State (7). As Mr de Bauval's piece had touched him to the quick, he falls violently upon him; and tho' he had refused to abide by the terms of the challenge which he had given; he

[P] The profane expressions contained in the writings of Mr Jurieu. Mr Jurieu having complained in 1690 that Mr de Bauval had taken all occasions of introducing him in his Journal without the least necessity; Mr de Bauval answered that this was an unjust complaint. "I have done it, says he (a), only once in treating of Toleration; and I have spared him on a thousand occasions. He would long ago have thundered against me, as he has now done, if I had not shunned him even when he came naturally in my way. Have I pointed out all the blunders which Mr de Meaux, and Father de Sainte Marthe have observed in his writings? His not the one of them observed with great marks of astonishment that Mr Jurieu not being able to fix the time of the fall of Antichrist * has given this reason for it; that in matter of prophecies God doth not look so near? And has not the other reproached him with a certain chapter † in the Accomplishment of Prophecies, which has the following fine title, *Some things put in order which the Holy Ghost has put out of order, with regard to the visions*? Have not others made violent outcries against his Religion of the Jesuits? After having recited there a Motet wherein the King of France is introduced saying to King James II, who had then abandoned his three kingdoms, *Sit thou on my right hand until I make thy enemies thy foot-stool*, Mr Jurieu adds waggishly, *See what an ad-*

"mirable metamorphosis here is! The King is become God the Father, the King of England is become God the Son; that this Trinity may be complete I think we should make a Holy Ghost of the Prince of Wales. He had jested pretty much in the same manner when he found the following resemblance between Jesus CHRIST and the Prince of Wales, that as Joseph the Virgin's husband, was not the true father of the first Jesus, James II, the Queen's husband, might possibly likewise not be father of the second."

These expressions to unedifying and so disrespectful to Religion, were complained of to the Synods. The Author of the *Answer to Mr Jurieu's second Apology* (b) makes a particular article of them under the title of *Profane expressions of Mr Jurieu*, and gives many examples of them, and among others the following: *The Apostles did not imitate those jugglers, who immediately upon their arrival any where endeavour to perform some master-piece of their art, &c. The Disciples of Aristotle must needs be much surprised to find that the Eternal Word has turned Cartesian in his old days* (c). Mr Saurin in his *Examination of the Theology of Mr Jurieu*, observes that we may add to this railery the following, which very much resembles it: *Can God perform this miracle? possibly they believe he cannot, and that now he is too old to do such great and extraordinary works* (d).

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(b) Répon-
se à un Libelle
intitulé, Se-
conde Apo-
logie du
Mr Jurieu.

(c) Répon-
se à un Libelle,
&c. pag. 19.
& suiv.

(d) Exa-
men de la
Théologie
de Mr Ju-
rieu, tom. i.
pag. 532.

1691.

(1) Ibid.
pag. 26.
col. 2.(2) Re-
ponse à
l'Apolo-
gie de Mr
Jurieu.(3) See
Confide-
rations
upon two
Sermons
of Mr Ju-
rieu, &c.
pag. 36.

he nevertheless maintained *that he had convicted him of being an accomplice in the Advice to the Refugees*, and of being *the principal actor in the comedy of the Paris edition* (1). Mr de Bauval published an *Answer to Mr Jurieu's Apology* (2) wherein he refuted his calumnies, and showed how ridiculously he had boasted that he was the pillar of the Church, and the champion of Orthodoxy. He called upon him once more to name his arbiters to decide the difference between them with all rigour: but he called upon him in vain. At last, seeing that he would make him no reparation, nor come to any explanation, he presented a declaration to the Consistory of Rotterdam, by which he *protested that he looked upon Mr Jurieu to be a calumniator and a wicked man* (3).

Mr Bayle published an answer to Mr Jurieu's last pieces under this title: *The Chimera of the Cabal of Rotterdam, demonstrated by the pretended Convictions which the Sieur Jurieu has published against Mr Bayle* (4). This Answer is written under the name of a friend of Mr Bayle, and contains three parts: I. *The Chimera of the Cabal of Rotterdam, demonstrated by the New Convictions published by a friend of Mr Jurieu; or a Letter from a Friend of Mr Bayle to Mr ****. It is a Refutation of the Factum or Case published by Mr Jurieu, in support of his Cabal of the Project of peace. It concludes with the Letter which Mr Minutoli wrote to Mr Jurieu upon that subject. II. *General Remarks upon Mr Jurieu's Factum against Mr Bayle concerning the Advice to the Refugees*. He doth not here endeavour to refute particularly every thing that Mr Jurieu advances in his *Last Conviction*; but lays down a list of things to be proved by him, without which that piece could be of no force. III. *A long Preface, wherein the way to judge on which side the victory lies in this process, is laid down*. Mr Bayle gives here an account of all the particulars of Mr Jurieu's accusation, and of what had been done in consequence of it. This accusation is reduced to these three heads: *the Cabal of Geneva; the Advice to the Refugees; and the correspondence with the Court of France*. Mr Bayle joined to it some *Reflexions on Mr Jurieu's Apology*, wherein he discovers several falshoods which he had advanced, and amongst others this; that Mr Bayle owed his establishment at Rotterdam to him. Mr Bayle shows that it was quite the contrary. In the *Advice to the Reader*, he says that this book was composed a good while before, except the last sheets of the Preface; and that it would have appeared a few days after Mr Jurieu's pretended *Convictions*, if the Printers had been as diligent as the Author. He gives an account of the contents of each part, and makes some reflexions upon Mr Jurieu's shameful conduct in this whole affair. Mr Bayle treats Mr Jurieu in this work with less severity than he had done in the *Cabale Chimérique*, as he himself observes.

Mr Bayle much about the same time published, *Dialogues concerning the great scandal which had been given by a book intitled the Cabale Chimérique* (5). This piece contains five Dialogues. PHILODEMUS and AGATHO, the two dialogists, consider Mr Jurieu as an eminent servant of God who has wore out his strength in the service of the Church; and are very much displeased that Mr Bayle has treated him so harshly. They acquaint each other with the conversations they have had with some *Cabalists*; and repeat the arguments these *Cabalists* had advanced for Mr Bayle, and the manner in which they had answered them. It is a perpetual Irony, under which Mr Jurieu's picture is drawn, and Mr Bayle is vindicated on many different subjects.

The mortifications which Mr Jurieu had received at the last Synod (6), the necessity he found himself reduced to of preparing his defences for the next Synod, against the complaints which came from all quarters against his doctrine, and his grief to see that, notwithstanding all his opposition, Mr Bafnage his brother-in-law was received Minister in ordinary to the Church of Rotterdam; all this together troubled him so much that he was seized with his usual vapours in the month of September 1691 (7). He found himself unable to write, and there passed three or four months without any thing appearing in his dispute with Mr Bayle. But at last his champion, the Author of the *General Remarks*, thought fit to publish a piece against the *Chimera of the Cabal*, &c. intitled, *The Philosopher degraded. Which may serve for a third part to the General Remarks upon Mr Bayle's Cabale Chimérique* (8). Mr Bayle's friends advised him to neglect this piece: however he thought it necessary to answer it. He gives the following reasons to Mr Sylvestre for doing so. "If you had read, says he (9), the Libel which you desire me not to answer, "I am sure you would approve of my having made that Author sensible of his insufferable abuses; and I have done this to nip in the bud a thousand little libels of this sort which he prepares to give us, wherein he would not regard the grossest falshoods, if I did not threaten to take him sharply to task. And indeed I thought I should disoblige Mr Sartre, if I should oppose nothing but silence to his testimony." To clear up this fact, I must observe that Mr Jurieu in his *Short Review* published a Letter from London, wherein it was positively affirmed that a person *who had studied with Mr Bayle at Puy-laurens* (that is to say of Decem-ber, 1691, deduced to such a degree that he turned Papist, and even went to stay at Toulouse with the Jesuits about three years: that this person having wrote to him concerning his

(4) Chi-
mère de la
Cabale de
Rotter-
dam, dé-
montrée
par les
prétendues
Convicti-
ons que
le Sieur
Jurieu a
publiées
contre Mr
Bayle. A
Amster-
dam chez
Henry
Desbor-
des, dans
le Kakev-
straet.
1691.

(5) Entre-
tiens sur
le grand
scandale
causé par
un Livre
intitulé,
la Cabale
Chimé-
rique. A
Cologne
chez
Pierre
Morteau.
1691.

(6) The
Synod of
Naerden,
held in
September
1691, or-
dered Mr
Jurieu to
produce
his de-
fences a-
gainst an
accusation
of Heresy
and Impie-
ty, brought
against
him by five
Churches.

(7) Letter
to Mr Con-
stant of
8th of
October
1691, p.
498.

(8) Le
Philoso-
phe dégra-
dé. Pour
servir de
troisième
partie aux
Remar-
ques Ge-
nérales sur
la Cabale
Chimé-
rique de
Mr Bayle.

(9) Letter
of the 17th
of Decem-
ber, 1691,
pag. 421,
422.

change of Religion, had received a sharp answer from him which bespoke him a true Papiſt and already filled with the ſpirit of Jeſuitiſm: that he ſaw him afterwards at Geneva after he had left Toulouſe, and that Mr Bayle calling to mind this Letter and the Answer to it, made an apology for it, and begged of him not to mention that matter. Mr Bayle denied all theſe circumſtances in his *Cbimere demonſtrée*, except his change of Religion. He denied that he had ever lived with the Jeſuits; and called upon the Author to name the perſon who pretended that Mr Bayle had wrote a

(1) Letter from Mr Sartre to Mr Bayle of the 6th of October 1691, p. 399, 400.

(2) Advice to the little Author of the little books, &c. p. 29, 30.

(3) It is dated the 11th of December 1691.

(4) Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets ſur ſon Philoſophie dégradée, 1692.

(5) Addition to the Thoughts concerning Comets, &c. p. 18, 19.

(6) This is the ordinary day wherein the Conſiſtories meet.

(7) See in the Hiſt. and Crit. Diſſ. the Article COMENIUS.

(8) The Gate of Heaven opened to all Religions, by the famous Mr Peter Jurieu Miniſter of the Goſpel and Profeſſor of Divinity at Rotterdam.

ſharp Answer to him, and afterwards had made apologies for it at Geneva: Upon this Mr Jurieu's emiſſary, author of the Letter, engaged Mr Sartre to write a Letter to Mr Bayle, wherein he owned that he had ſaid, that Mr Bayle "being at Puy-laurens, had abſented himſelf; and that it was known ſome days after that he had thrown himſelf into the Jeſuits Convent at Toulouſe; that he had wrote a Letter to him on that ſubject, ſuch as a young man might be ſuppoſed to write on ſuch an occaſion; and that he had received a very tart answer to it; and that he had likewiſe ſaid, that about three years after he had ſeen Mr Bayle at Geneva, and that Mr Bayle ſignified to him that he would oblige him, by not ſpeaking of what had paſſed at Toulouſe, becauſe it might do him hurt in the deſign he had of making ſome ſtay at Geneva (1)." The Author of the *Philopſopher degraded* published an Extraſt of this Letter; but he ſuppreſſed the paſſage wherein Mr Sartre declared, "that he durſt not affirm, either that Mr Bayle had received his Letter, or that he had answered it, and that ſeveral perſons who ſaw the Letter which he received in answer to his, were of opinion that Mr Bayle was not the Author of it (2)." However the Author of that Libel produced this Letter as a proof of what had been advanced againſt Mr Bayle, and to convict him of infincerity. It was this properly that obliged Mr Bayle to answer this piece. His answer (3) is intituled, *An Advice to the little Author of the little Books, with relation to his Philopſopher degraded* (4). He there produced many inſtances of the unſairneſs, ſtupidity, and vain repetitions of this Author. He likewiſe diſcovered ſome falſhoods which this pretended Athour to prove from this Letter of Mr Sartre, and acquainted him that he had wrote to that Miniſter, and waited for his Answer; and that Mr Sartre had already aſſured him by a common friend, that he would clear up that matter in a manner which ſhould ſatiſfy Mr Bayle.

We have ſeen that Mr Jurieu being preſſed by Mr Bayle to prove the accuſation of Atheiſm, which he had brought againſt him, had promiſed to his Conſiſtory to do it; and that afterwards he drew back, and only offered to furniſh them with ſome Memoirs on that affair; that without waiting for the orders of the Conſiſtory, he published his *Short Review*, which obliged Mr Bayle to publiſh a *Declaration*, wherein he ſhewed that Mr Jurieu had changed the ſtate of the queſtion; and at the ſame time called upon him to prove this principal article. Mr Jurieu answered nothing to theſe repeated challenges, and made no further ſtep before the Conſiſtory that year. But he would needs renew the proceſs as ſoon as the Conſiſtory was changed in the month of January 1692. "At firſt, ſays Mr Bayle (5), he would not be conſidered as a party, but a little after he himſelf agreed that he ought to take that character; he excepted againſt whomſoever he pleaſed. "And as I much about the ſame time addreſſed myſelf to the Conſiſtory to demand juſtice againſt the atrocious calumnies he had publiſhed againſt me, all things looked as if we ſhould ſoon have this affair brought to an iſſue in form; but the accuſer ſuffered ſeveral weeks to paſs without appearing, alledging from ſunday to ſunday (6) divers excuſes. At length he acquainted the Conſiſtory that he would be ready againſt a certain day. I was informed of it, and did not fail to appear, but inſtead of entering upon the affair, my accuſer deſired that we ſhould be referred to the Synod. He ſupported this by all the reaſons he could think of. On the contrary I did all that was in my power to get the Conſiſtory to retain the judgment of the cauſe in the firſt inſtance before themſelves, and propoſed that they ſhould deſire ſome of the Miniſters of the neighbouring Walloon churches, and ſome of the Miniſters of the Dutch churches at Rotterdam to join with the Conſiſtory, and that they ſhould even deſire the Magiſtrates to appoint ſome of their body to aſſiſt at the diſcuſſion of this cauſe: but all my demands were rejected by the plurality of voices; my adverſary obtained that the affair ſhould be referred to the Synod. He went in perſon to the Synod which met a few days after at Zirc-zée, but did not make the leaſt mention of our proceſs, nay would not ſo much as agree that the proceedings of the Conſiſtory ſhould be laid before the Synod, although the Conſiſtory had commiſſioned their deputies to do ſo."

About this time Mr Bayle, diſguiſed under the name of *Carus Larebonius*, publiſhed a treatiſe in Latin againſt Mr Jurieu's book intituled, *The true Syſtem of the Church*: and as there is no title to which the ear is more accuſtomed than that of the *Janua Linguarum reſerata* of Comenius (7). He intituled it, *Janua Cælorum reſerata cunctis Religionibus; à celebri admodum viro Domino Petro Jurieu, Rotterodami verbi divini Paſtore & Theologiæ Profeſſore. Porta patens eſt. Nulli claudatur bo-neſto. Amſtelodami excudebat Petrus Chayer. MDCXCII, in 4to* (8). This work had

1691.

had been composed long before this time; for he makes mention of it in his *Cabale Chimerique* as a piece that was then ready to be sent to the press. "I know a person, says he (1), who has a Latin Dissertation ready for the press, intitled, *Janua Calorum rejerata*, wherein he shows that the *System of the Church* of this Author is a sponge to the Reformation, takes away all manner of necessity for it, and saves good people in all Religions." This was to attack Mr Jurieu in the most sensible part: this book was looked upon as the best he had written; and Mr Nicole thought it the only one of all his writings which deserved an answer (2). Mr Bayle shows Mr Jurieu, that as great an enemy as he was to Toleration, he had here opened the gates of heaven, not only to all the sects of Christians, but even to Jews, Mahometans, and Pagans. This book being wrote in a language understood by all the Learned, mortified Mr Jurieu extremely. He durst not venture to answer it. But at last having published a piece in defence of his doctrine, intitled, *A second Apology for Mr Jurieu: or an Answer to an anonymous Libel presented to the Synods of Leyden, and Naerden under the title of A Letter to the Ministers and Elders members of the Synod assembled at Leyden the 2d of May 1691*; he put at the end of it a kind of Advertisement, wherein he affected to despise that book; and gave extracts of two Letters, written by persons who talked very contemptibly of it, but who confess at the same time that they had not read it. The Authors of the *Letter* addressed to the Synod of Leyden (3), answered this Apology of Mr Jurieu in a piece intitled, *An Examination of Mr Jurieu's Doctrine which may serve for an Answer to a Libel intitled Mr Jurieu's second Apology*. They do not let this pitiful artifice of Mr Jurieu pass unobserved. "There cannot be, say they, a more diverting rodomontade than that of Mr Jurieu concerning the book intitled *Janua Calorum rejerata*, wherein people who understand those matters very well, pretend that his *System of the Church* is for ever demolished. He answers it by two extracts of Letters genuine or spurious; the Author of one of which says that he had not read the book, and the other that he had read five or six sections only, which make but ten or twelve pages. This is a very slight way of getting off, and it is taking people for dupes, to believe that the world will be satisfied with the judgment of this unknown person, who possibly is Mr Jurieu himself. As a Latin book is now out of his reach, and as he cannot grapple with it, he makes the judgment of two persons unknown a pretext for despising a work which he is unable to answer." Mr Bayle had advertised in the beginning of the *Janua Calorum rejerata*, that it is wrote in the scholastic stile (4). He likewise made use of their dogmatical method, which, together with the harsh stile, disgusted a great many people from reading this book, and made it to be sought after with less eagerness than his other writings; for otherwise one finds there the same clearness and force of reasoning.

The Author of the *General Remarks*, appeared again upon the Stage, by publishing *Letters concerning the differences between Mr Jurieu and Mr Bayle, wherein the contradictions of the latter are discovered, which may serve for New Convictions* (5). These Letters were five in number, they are dated from Copenhagen; but this did not hinder people from soon discovering the Author. He repeats in a new shape what had been wrote against Mr Bayle, and disguiseth or suppresseth what Mr Bayle had answered. Mr Bayle published on this occasion a piece intitled, *New advice to the little Author of the little books. Concerning his Letters on the differences between Mr Jurieu and Bayle* (6). He sets forth the reasons why he doth not answer this Author, and only gives a specimen of the false reasoning, malice, and fraudulent disguises with which his pamphlets are filled. He inserted Mr Sartre's Answer to his Letter, wherein he owned that by saying that after Mr Bayle's departure from Puy-laurens it was known that he was gone to throw himself into the Jesuits Convent at Toulouse; he only meant that this was said at Puy-laurens, and believed by every body; and with regard to other little circumstances of the time that there might be from Mr Bayle's going to Toulouse to the time when he saw him at Geneva, and concerning the particular place where they first conversed together, that it was about three years or less though his memory had failed him in this, it was a thing of very little consequence either to the one or the other: and with relation to the Answer which was wrote to him from Toulouse he said, that since Mr Bayle did not agree that he had wrote it, he would not pretend to affirm it, being in no ways certain of the matter; that is to say, he retracted all that he had advanced, and of which Mr Jurieu and his party had made a matter of triumph. To this piece Mr Bayle joined a *Letter of Mr *** to the Author of the Advice to the little Author of the little books*. The Author of this Letter praises Mr Bayle for having at his desire suppressed the reflexions which he was going to send to the press, concerning the violent assault which Mr Jurieu had made upon the Author of the *Janua Calorum rejerata*, in his second Apology. He shows how mortifying that piece was to Mr Jurieu, and makes an ironical Apology for that Minister's anger. He likewise answers to the reproach which had been made to the Author upon account of his Latin. "It is very likely, says he (7), that Mr Larebonius did not expect such a reproach, not only because he declared both at the beginning and end of his book, that he had on purpose made choice of the scholastic stile, but because he did not think his adversary was able to judge of

(1) Page 104 of the 1st Edit. and pag. 102. of the 2d Edit.

(2) See the Article de COMENIUS. Rem. [M].

(3) Mr Jurieu's Dissertation de l'Esprit de l'Esprit, Mr de l'Esprit, &c.

(4) Non tam sile in Rhetorum scholis quam in Peripateticorum Lyceis obviante.

(5) Lettres sur les differences de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle. Où l'on découvre les contradictions de ce dernier qui peuvent servir de nouvelles Convictions.

(6) Nouvel Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets. Concernant ses Lettres sur les differences de Mr Jurieu & de Mr Bayle. A Amsterdam, 1692.

(7) Nouvel Avis, &c. p. 65. See also the Article de COMENIUS, ubi supra. of

“ of Latin stile, otherwise than a blind man judges of colours. It is as un- 1691.
 “ reasonable to find fault with an Author for making use of the stile of the
 “ schools in a work of pure reasoning, as it would be to desire that one should write
 “ in elegant French a confutation of a parcel of forry Factums in which the Authors
 “ had only laboured to invent lies and contradictions. How long is it since
 “ people began to pique themselves in point of stile in writings of processies, in Cafes
 “ and Inventories. Have the accuser’s libels been refuted with that care that is
 “ taken in the composition of a work, which one would make worthy to
 “ be read upon its own account? It was known that few people would take the
 “ trouble to read refutations of this sort; the reading of them was not necessary
 “ to unprejudiced persons, and the demonstrations of Euclid would not be
 “ able to convince those who are prejudiced; this was known, and therefore care
 “ was taken not to lose time about stile.” This friend says afterwards that if
 Mr Bayle would have taken his advice, he would have abandoned the Author
 of little Books to his bad genius, without daigning to give him a word of
 answer, and that he is sorry to see that he continues still to confute him. You may
 as much as you please, (says he), convict him of having reasoned wretchedly, of
 having quoted falsely, and of repeating the same things without the least regard to
 what has been answered to them; all this will not prevent his writing on, and
 rekindling the flame in proportion as he observes that time begins to extinguish
 it. He adds, that this Author had advanced many things which Mr Bayle ought
 to have exposed, since he had put himself on the foot of answering him once
 more.

(1) *This*
Advertisse-
ment is da-
ted the 2d
of June
1692.
 Mr Bayle prefixed an Advertisment to this piece (1), wherein he owns that the
 greatest part of his friends had advised him not to answer the Author of the Re-
 marks on the Cabale Chimerique; and that if he had followed their opinion he
 would not seem to know that there were such things in nature as these little libels,
 and that they had been sorry that he had refuted some places of them: however
 as this is a matter where something may be said on both sides, he had not alto-
 gether followed their advice, but had chosen a middle way, which was to publish
 something to acquaint the public why he doth not more particularly answer the
 writings of this maker of Remarks. “ The principal reasons, says he, why I do
 “ not engage myself in answers of this sort are, I. That this Author doth nothing
 “ but repeat the same things without taking any notice of the answers, which have
 “ been made to them. II. That the public is already too much fatigued with
 “ so many trifling discussions. III. That this Author falsifies so grossly the passages
 “ which he endeavours to refute, that I have reason to think that the disinterested
 “ readers themselves will discover the frauds of this kind: but as I should be to
 “ blame if I expected to be believed in this matter upon my own word, it was
 “ necessary to give some proofs of this; and for this purpose care has been taken
 “ both in the first and second Advice to the little Author, to show by some ex-
 “ amples what he is capable of in matter of false quotation and false reasoning.
 “ Besides it has been necessary to desire all the readers who would judge in this
 “ matter, to confront the writings of both parties throughout: this is the reason
 “ why, on the one hand, I answer something to them, and on the other why I
 “ do not answer all.” Mr Bayle observed that this small piece would have appear-
 ed sooner, if he had not known that Mr Jurieu had a large Factum in the press which
 was much cried up by his emissaries after their usual manner, and that to prevent
 his being obliged to go twice to the press, he had resolved to delay the publishing
 of this second Advice till he had by reading this piece seen whether it deserved an
 answer, in which case he would have refuted it at the same time with this other
 piece. But as he was now informed that it would not appear for some time, he
 did not think it proper to delay the publishing of this New Advice any longer;
 and promised here beforehand that if it should be worth while he would very
 soon demolish all the new machines of his accuser.

(2) *Factum*
selon
les formes,
ou dispo-
sition des
preuves
contre
l'Auteur
de l'Avis
aux Refu-
giez, selon
les regles
du Bar-
reau: qui
sont voir
que sur de
telles
preuves,
dans les
crimes
capitaux,
on con-
danne un
criminel
accusé.

(3) *Letter*
of the 28th
of August
1692, p.
445.

This Factum appeared some time after under this title: *A Factum in form, or the proofs*
against the Author of the Advice to the Refugees disposed according to the forms of the Bar:
which show that upon such proofs criminals are condemned for capital crimes (2). Mr Ju-
 rieu says in the advertisement, that a distemper which had kept him very weak for
 eight months had hindered him from continuing to write against the Author of
 the *Advice to the Refugees*; but that others had supplied his place. He adds that
 this *Factum* was composed by an Advocate at Paris, excepting some chapters which
 he had added to it. There is nothing new in this piece but the form. Mr Jurieu’s
 pretended *presumptions* are here repeated, though a hundred times refuted; they are
 ranged under different heads, and accompanied with a commentary drawn from
 Mr Jurieu’s Libels and those of his adherents. Mr Bayle wisely despised this piece,
 and would not so much as read it, as he acquaints Mr Minutoli. “ Mr Jurieu,
 “ (says he (3), has anew published a great *Factum*, or *Casse*, against me, which no
 “ body adviseth me to read, (and I have taken this advice), wherein he only re-
 “ peats his old chicaneries without seeming at all to know that they have been fully
 “ confuted. He has, as I am informed, brought over again the story of the *Cabal*

1691. "of Geneva and the Project of Peace, without having the least regard to what he "has wrote to you in acknowledgement of your innocence, nor to the confession "of his most zealous partizans, that he was in the wrong to attack me on that "head, and that he ought to be satisfied with the other accusatiⁿ." Mr Jurieu's adherents wished that he had confined himself only to the accusation which related to the *Advice to the Refugees*: but they judged so only after they saw the event, and because they found that all that he had advanced concerning the Cabal of Geneva, and the Project of a Peace was evidently false and chimerical.

This was the last piece which appeared on this subject. Mr Bayle's prudent silence put an end to this dispute. He had refuted all Mr Jurieu's pretended *presumptions*; and the writings of his partizans consisted only, as we have already observed, of heavy and tiresome repetitions, ridiculous reasonings, and false interpretations of what he had written.

In the mean while people did not agree about the true Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*. It was ascribed to Mr Pelisson as soon as it appeared in France. Dr Wellwood, an eminent Physician at London, who published a weekly Paper called the *Observer*, but without setting his name to it, speaks of it as Mr Pelisson's in his *Observer* of the twenty second of August 1690, six months before Mr Jurieu thought of ascribing it to Mr Bayle. For it was not before the month of January 1691, that he began to say that he believed Mr Bayle was the Author of it, and the book which he published concerning it did not come out 'till near the end of April (1). "There comes very opportunely to my hand, (says Dr Wellwood (2), "a book that makes of late a great noise in the world, called *Avis aux Refugez*, "Advice to the Refugees; written by a learned pen in France, designedly to throw "dust on the carriage, and actions of the Protestants of Europe in general, with "relation to the late Revolution in England I both know the Author, "and can assure the reader, that it was written at command of the late King James "and the French King, signified to the Author by the Archbishop of Paris." Dr Wellwood's *Observer* having been translated into French, and printed in Holland under the title of *A History of the Times* (3). Mr Jurieu declaimed violently against this passage (4). He said that it was inserted there to serve a turn, and contrived in the same manner as the forged edition, the forged licence, and the extract of the Letter from Paris in the History of the Works of the Learned. "We were not much puzzled, " (adds he), to guess whence it came: it comes from the same person in England (5) "who is the only man there who denies that Mr Bayle is the Author of the *Advice*; "and who says every where that the true Author will discover himself at Paris. And "in the mean time he has thrust this into a Journal in favour of his friends on "this side of the water, and at their desire; nay it is not improbable, that this "has only been foisted into the French translation, for there is no sort of falsehood of which those Gentlemen are not capable." And after having treated Dr Wellwood in the most abusive manner, he makes a ridiculous Apology to him (6). He repeats it likewise in the Advertisement before his *Casé in form*. "I am obliged to inform the public, (says he), that the harsh expressions which "are in the *Last Conviction* against the Author of the *History of the Times*, ought "to be cancelled. At that time I did not at all know the Author of it. "I have been informed since that he is a very honest, and very learned "man."

Dr Wellwood in 1692, published an Apology for his *Observer*, under the title of an *Appendix*, wherein he justifies some passages of that work, and among others that which relates to the *Advice to the Refugees*. "This book, (says he (7), "had scarce appeared in France, and was not yet seen in England, when from "a worthy and noble person in France, since in chains for his Religion, I had an "account both of the book itself, of its being concerted with the French Court, "and that every body in Paris looked upon Monsieur Pelisson as the Author of "it. In return of a letter of mine in answer to his, my friend told me, that according to my desire, he had employed one who was intimately acquainted with Monsieur "Pelisson, to inquire of him the truth of that common report: and that Monsieur Pelisson "was pleased to allow the person that spoke to him, to think him the author, though he would "not positively confess he was so; adding, that it was not fit for him, or for the King's service, "to acknowledge that book publicly to be his, though he were the author of it. In short, this "worthy Gentleman gave me both his own and the universally received opinion at "Paris, that Monsieur Pelisson was the author of the *Avis aux Refugez*, and backed "it with a great many probable arguments, needless here to be mentioned. The "book itself appearing here in London a little after, I took occasion to mention "what my friend told me about it, and withal, upon his information said, I believed "I knew the author, meaning Monsieur Pelisson, with whom I was a little acquainted "at Paris nine years ago.

Mr de la Bastide (8) was likewise of opinion, that Mr Pelisson was the author of the *Advice to the Refugees*. He said so openly, and by that means drew upon himself the hatred of Mr Jurieu (9). Mr de la Bastide's testimony was of great weight. He had lived in a close friendship with Mr Pelisson five and twenty years; he had been together

(1) Cabale Chimérique, p. 217. of the 2^e Edition.

(2) Mercurius Reformatus, or the New Observer. Vol. iii. Numb. 7.

(3) Histoire du Temps.

(4) Last Conviction on &c. p. 34. col. 2.

(5) Mr de la Bastide.

(6) P. 36. col. 1.

(7) An Appendix to Mercurius Reformatus, p. 13.

(8) See his *Elogy in the Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, December 1704, Art. 14, p. 548.*

(9) See *Revue de l'Histoire de Mr Bayle, in the collection printed at Amsterdam in 1715, intitled, Histoire de Mr Bayle, & de ses Ouvrages, &c. p. 182 and the following.*

(1) *This Dissertation was published in the collection intitled Histoire de Mr Bayle &c. p. 297 and the following. Mr de la Baftide gave me a copy of it which is more exact than that which is printed.*

ther with him a Clerk to Mr Fouquet ; and after Mr Peliffon was confined in the Bastille, he kept a regular intercourse of Letters with him, on matters of controversy : for even at that time Mr Peliffon inclined towards the Catholic Religion. This close friendship had made him acquainted with Mr Peliffon's turn of wit and favourite expressions. Mr de la Bastide was well acquainted with his works of controversy, and had even answered some of them. When the *Advice to the Refugees* appeared he found so great a conformity betwixt it and Mr Peliffon's writings, that he made no doubt of his being the Author of it. However he did not think it proper to write any thing on this subject during Mr Peliffon's life : but after his death he composed a Dissertation (1) to prove this conformity. " I propos'd, (says he), to " put in writing several general and particular observations, which all taken to- " gether evidently show, that the Author of the *Reflexions on the differences about* " *Religion*, is likewise the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, and that this last " piece is properly only a supplement, and, as it were, an appendix to the other." In his general observations he takes notice that Mr Peliffon was very well acquainted with the Belles Lettres, and ecclesiastic and prophane History : that he had studied the Scripture, the Fathers, and the writers of Controversy : that he was very well skilled in the Roman Law, and loved to make use of authorities from it on subjects of all sorts, having frequented the Bar for some years : that being appointed to write the History of the King, he collected every thing that was published, and made Memoirs and Observations on every thing that pass'd relating to affairs of State or of Religion : and in fine, that in his books of controversy, we find apostrophes and frequent exhortations to the Protestants, elevations and prayers to God, and panegyrics on the French King : characters which all taken together agree to the Author of the *Advice*, and appear to agree to him alone. But to make this conformity more evident, in his particular observations he brings a great number of passages of the *Advice*, and compares them with parallel passages in the *Reflexions*, and particularly in the third volume of the *Reflexions* published in 1689, under the title of the *Chimera's of Mr Jurieu*. He shows for example, that near the end of that piece Mr Peliffon insults the Refugees upon account of Mr Jurieu's Prophecies, which assur'd them of a re-establishment in France in the year 1689 ; and that the *Advice* begins with this very thing. In the *Reflexions* Mr Peliffon had said, that Mr Jurieu *pours out his gall and venom upon our times, against the most illustrious defenders and protectors of the truth in our days, without respect to rank or merit* : and in the *Advice*, there is nothing, (says the Author), *so august or so eminent which you have thought worthy of your respect ; crowned heads, which upon all accounts ought to be secured from the insults of your diffamatory libels, have been the objects of the most enormous and furious calumny in many of your books*. In the one and the other, the Roman Law is frequently quoted ; the authority of the greater number is insisted upon ; the Prophecies of Drabitus, and the little Prophets of Dauphiné are ridiculed ; the present state of affairs in Europe is considered ; and a great deal of pains is taken to proclaim the glory of Lewis XIV &c. With regard to the Preface, we may well imagine that Mr de la Bastide doth not ascribe it to the Author of the book itself. It did not appear natural to him that an Author should not only answer himself, but likewise satirize his own work, and give a frightful idea of it.

Mr de la Bastide concludes his Dissertation, by answering a difficulty which naturally offer'd itself. " If one should now ask, (says he), why the Author did not " name himself in this piece as he had done in others, that he might not lose, " amongst those of his own communion at least, the merit of the wit, learning, " and zeal which he seems to display in it ? besides secret reasons which we do " not always discover, it appears pretty plain that it was not his intention to conceal himself entirely or for ever, but only to stand behind the curtain for some " time, in order to know the opinion of the public concerning it. For we find that " towards the end he says to the person to whom it is address'd, that he may get " it printed, and only recommends it to him to be *cautious in using his name* ; as if " he would say, that it was not proper to name him openly, but he might allow " people to guess at it. Being born a Protestant, and being nearly related and " allied to several of the Refugees, it was natural that he should have some reluctance " to appear avowedly the Author of a piece which rendered them odious to the supreme powers, and seem'd to shut the door against their re-establishment. But in " all likelihood his principal reason was, that having in several places of this piece " dropped some pretty free sentiments, and some pretty strong expressions against the " manner in which those of our communion had been persecuted, and this, whether " by his not sufficiently reflecting upon the consequences of them, or that he might " by this means the more insinuate himself into the favour of the Protestants, the " Archbishop of Paris, and the Jesuits, made a complaint against him on that " account, as was commonly reported. And it actually happened that an edition " of the *Advice*, begun by Gabriel Martin, Printer or Bookseller to Mr Peliffon, " was stopp'd and interrupted, though it had been undertaken by his order : and " we have likewise seen that some time before his death, he got a new edition of

1691. "it printed under his own direction; but not before he had suppressed or altered the passages which had offended those of his communion, and had added a short preface instead of that which was formerly prefixed to it."

It is true however that a short while after the *Advice* was published, Mr Peliffon wrote to Holland to be informed who was the Author of it, and endeavoured to oblige him to discover himself by the hopes of a considerable reward (1). This would suppose that the Author of it was unknown to him, and consequently that it was not he who wrote the *Advice*. But Mr de la Baftide might have answered, that Mr Peliffon did this only to conceal himself the better, and besides that this supposition is destroyed by the licence of the Paris edition, wherein it is set forth that the Author of the *Advice* had obtained a licence dated the 20th of October 1690, but he affecting to remain unknown to the public, had made a difficulty of allowing the said privilege to be registered in his name in the registers of the Society of Bookjellers of Paris: which proves that the Author's name was known at the Chancellor's Office, and so it was not necessary to write to Holland to be informed of it.

Mr Bayle tells us in one of his Letters written in the month of October 1690, that the voice of the public at that time gave the *Advice* to the Refugees to Mr de Larroque (2). Mr de Larroque left France in the month of February 1686, and went to Holland (3), and the year following he published *Critical Remarks* upon the first volume of Varillas's History of Heresy, which were well received. I have already mentioned his answer to Mr Brueys. After having made some stay in England and in Germany, he returned to Holland, and from thence into France in the month of June 1690 (4), that is, about a month or six weeks after the *Advice* to the Refugees was published, and embraced the Romish Religion. When I began to write Mr Bayle's Life in 1707, I desired Mr Bafnage to give me some light in this matter, and he wrote to me what follows, concerning the *Advice* to the Refugees (5). "Since you desire me to write to you with full confidence about what concerns Mr Bayle; I do not think you ought to awaken the affair of the *Advice* to the Refugees: not that I at all suspect that he was the Author of it. I have not as yet departed from my first conjecture: which is that being intrusted with the manuscript, he had got it printed, and added a preface and some strokes of his own to it. Mr Hartsoecker has confirmed me in my conjecture, for he has assured me that while Mr de Larroque was a prisoner as Paris, he used frequently to cite this piece as a production of his own: but as this is an odious subject, it will be better to let it drop, than to set his enemies a clamouring again." He says likewise in a Memoir, which he sent me some time after. "I always believed (6), and I still believe, that Mr Bayle was Author of the Preface, and that the manuscript was entrusted with him by Mr de Larroque, who changed his Religion a short while after, and who always claimed this work as his own. This, if I am not mistaken, is all the mystery which made Mr Bayle's defences so weak: he durst not give his opinion of the book and of the Author who had always been his friend." Mr Bafnage observes that Mr Larroque always claimed this work as his own; and in fact Mr Larroque always used to say, in speaking of certain things, *I have said*, or *I have proved this in my Advice to the Refugees*; and his friends have often told it as a literary anecdote, that he was the Author of this book. This is a fact attested by persons very worthy of credit.

Here are two opinions, very opposite to one another, which notwithstanding have each of them their followers. However there is still a third, which seems to have most prevailed: many persons ascribe this work to Mr Bayle, though for very different reasons. Some ground this belief upon Mr Jurieu's testimony, but what weight can we lay upon that? besides he had so interwoven his pretended *Cabal of Geneva* with the affair of the *Advice to the Refugees*, that he could not be allowed afterwards to separate them. The falsity of the one of these accusations being well proved, necessarily destroyed the other. Notwithstanding when he was convinced that the *Cabal* was only a Chimera, he nevertheless persisted in his accusation concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*. But finding afterwards that this separation was not favourable to him, he was not ashamed to have again recourse to the accusation of the *Cabal*.

Others ascribe that piece to Mr Bayle, because they imagine they discover his stile in it. But this is precisely what ought to make people believe that he is not the Author of it: for besides that proofs drawn from the conformity of stile are very uncertain, the stile of it appears to be very different from that of Mr Bayle's other works: it is more pure, more flowing, and more regular. Mr de Lar ey, who had well examined the *Advice to the Refugees*, and who was much inclined to ascribe it to Mr Bayle, has not dared to decide. For my part, (says he (7)), *I am not either sufficiently persuaded myself to undertake to persuade others, nor bold enough to decide in a problematical matter.*

Lastly, this piece is ascribed to Mr Bayle upon the testimony of Adrian Moetjens, who printed it. It is said that Moetjens told several persons that Mr Bayle was the Author of it. For my part, having heard that Mr Louis, who corrected the proofs, confirmed Moetjens's testimony, I desired him to give me some information

(1) Examens de l'Avis aux Réfugiés, p. 24, 25. Chimere démontrée, préf. p. cxxi.

(2) Letter to Mr Constant of the 24th of October 1690, p. 339.

(3) Letter to Mr Rou of the 17th of February 1686, p. 251.

(4) Letter to Mr Constant, ubi supra, p. 339, 340.

(5) Letter of the 19th of August 1707.

(6) A Memoir MSS. of Mr Bafnage.

(7) In the Preface to his answer to the Advice to the Refugees.

formation in this matter. He did not think fit to write me any answer: but he said by word of mouth, to a person equally distinguished by his merit and by his works, who did me the favour to deliver my letter to him (1), "That he knew Mr Bayle's hand writing before he corrected that work, and that since that time he has had several opportunities of being perfectly acquainted with it: that the whole manuscript from the one end to the other was wrote with Mr Bayle's own hand, and that he preserved a piece of it, which he cut from one of the sheets before he returned it to Moetjens." This is all I have been able to learn of this matter. But though upon this one should no longer doubt that Mr Bayle is the Author of that piece; yet it would still be unjust to accuse him of the pernicious designs and criminal views, which Mr Jurieu attributes to him. The circumstances in which Mr Jurieu revived that book aggravated his accusations. The persecution had forced the Refugees to abandon their estates and the sweets of their native country, and to retire into foreign parts: their wounds were still fore. In this condition we are impatient of reproof, and are provoked by raillery. We take every thing in bad part; we do not consider the intention of the person who speaks, and we make groundless applications of things. And yet it is the intention which ought to guide our judgments. It is by this that we distinguish an innocent raillery from a bitter reproach, and a wholesome advice from a violent invective. Now it is not possible to imagine that Mr Bayle had an intention to blacken the whole body of the Refugees, or designed to make them odious to Princes, and to lay an invincible obstacle in the way of their return. This were to bely his own character, conduct, and all his other books, wherein he has so well defended the Reformed and shewed himself so compassionate to their misfortunes. Besides, the strongest censures in the *Advice* related only to a very small part of the Refugees, a handful of them who retired into Holland. They were the only persons who wrote any thing. The Refugees in Switzerland, Germany, and England, had printed nothing (2). Mr Bayle was not ignorant of this, and therefore could not have them in view, no more than those in Holland who did not write, and who even blamed the conduct of some of their brethren.

(1) *Mr de la Chapelle, Minister of the Walloon Church at the Hague.*
(2) *We must say Mr Jurieu, justify the Refugees who live at London, and those scattered all over England; those who live at Berlin, in Brandebourg, Hesse, Switzerland, all over Germany, and at Geneva; for I do not bear that in all these places there appear any of these little books which they call Libels. The province of Holland is the only place where all these pieces appear. Examination of the Advice to the Refugees, pag. 67, 68.*

(3) *Examination of the Advice, pag. 13.*

(4) *Chimere démontrée, préface, p. cix, cx.*

(5) *Ibid. pag. cxi, cxii.*

(6) *See the Article COMENIUS, Rem. [K].*

So that though Mr Bayle were the Author of the *Advice to the Refugees*, all that one could say concerning the motives that might have induced him to write this book, would only be, That he was vexed to see some people feed the minds of a great many of the Refugees with chimeras and apocalyptic visions, which rendered them the jest of all Europe: That having an extreme aversion to satire and calumny, he was full of indignation to see some Refugees write Libels against persons worthy of regard, and even against crowned heads; that they had taken a cruel revenge on his brother upon account of the Criticism on Mr Maimbourg, and that for a much stronger reason there was ground to apprehend that they would revenge themselves for these satirical writings, upon the Reformed who remained in France: That he knew that in that kingdom, Kings look upon themselves as absolute, and that no body there is allowed to say the contrary; and therefore he was willing to intimate that the writings of the Refugees against this absolute power, served only to render them odious and to hinder their return: That having been educated in the doctrine of the independent and absolute power of Princes, a doctrine which was taught in the Reformed churches, we ought not to be surprized to see him attack the contrary opinion with so much vigour: That not being well acquainted with the affairs of England, he did not believe that the Established Religion there was in any danger, and so he considered the Revolution as a political rather than a necessary action: That he had put on the mask of a Roman Catholic, to give the more authority to his remonstrances, to render them more lively, more touching, and more capable of making impression: "That since the Author of the *Advice*, according to Mr Jurieu's own confession, designed to put the Refugees in a condition of returning to France, which was not the spirit of the French Papists (3); he must needs, as Mr Bayle observed (4), have had the interests of the Protestants more at heart than those of the Papists, so that what he says in the person of a bigotted Papist must not be thought his own opinion, but the language of one who wanted to support the character under which he had disguised himself: That this Author, as Mr Bayle likewise said (5), had only collected the old and new objections of the most passionate and malicious Catholics, and the reflexions of flatterers upon the events of the first Campaign, the envenomed reflexions which were thrown upon the whole body of the Refugees for the faults of a few Authors, &c. and all this only to give occasion to a disavowal of them which might be very useful, and to an answer which might confound the malice of the persecutors of the Reformed and the vanity of flatterers, and might free the Refugees from the ridicule which their prophecies had drawn upon them; a thing which proved formerly very fatal to the Protestants who had fled out of the Emperor's dominions (6)." To this we might add that Mr Jurieu who infatuated the Refugees with his prophecies, and who had published several pieces which the Author of the *Advice* called Libels; that Mr Jurieu, I say, whom our Author had principally

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1692. cipally in view, had acquired a sort of dominion over the Refugees [2], so that it was not possible to obtain a disfavour of those writings of which they complained, otherwise than by interesting the whole body. Even this expedient did not succeed: the Synods, who ought to have disowned them, kept silence, no body daring to speak through fear of being violently persecuted by Mr Jurieu. We might likewise add, that most part of the reproaches which Mr Bayle puts in the mouth of a Catholic, had been refuted a thousand times, and that Mr Bayle himself had answered them very successfully in his Letters against Maimbourg: and lastly that Mr Bayle intended

[2] Mr Jurieu had acquired a sort of dominion over the Refugees. Here follow some of his exploits. He assumed the character of Inquisitor of the Faith, and attacked several French Ministers, most part of whom were Refugees in Holland. He accused them of Socinianism, and brought them before the Synods. All their crime was that they were men of moderate principles; for Toleration was, in his way of thinking, the greatest of all Heresies. It was upon this account that he cruelly persecuted Mr Huet (a). He likewise accused as Heretics, or favourers of Heretics, Mr de la Conscience, Minister of Hamburg, Mr Jaquelot, Mr Papin, &c. Mr Papin was a nephew of Mr Pajon, and had the same sentiments with relation to Grace (b). He defended them against Mr Jurieu in a book intitled *Essays of Theology*, &c. Mr Jurieu resolved to ruin him; and for a pretext chose a little book of Mr Papin, intitled, *Faith reduced to its genuine principles, and confined to its just bounds* (c). This work was wrote with the same intention with that of Mr Dhuiffeau (d), that is to say, to unite Christians by bringing them back to the fundamental principles of Religion, and to inspire them with a spirit of Toleration in controverted points. It was published without Mr Papin's knowledge. The Manuscript was found in the closet of a gentleman distinguished by his rank and merit (e), and put into Mr Bayle's hands, who added two pages in the beginning, and published it in 1687, with the aforesaid title (f). Mr Jurieu got it condemned by a Synod, and persecuted Mr Papin so violently, that he forced him to return to France, and throw himself into the arms of the Bishop of Meaux. Mr Bayle mentions this in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli. "You know, says he (g), that Papin has changed his Religion: this he would not have done, if a confutation of a book of our false prophet which he wrote, had not exposed him to the violent persecution of that Fanatic, who not being able to deny the contradictions and sophisms of which Papin had convicted him, revenged himself by writing every where that they should take particular care not to employ Mr Papin he being a dangerous Heretic, &c. Papin in vain sought bread in Germany, Holland, and England; he there found every gate shut by the secret practices of his enemy, so that he was forced by hunger to return to France, where he put the Letters which Dr Burnet had wrote to him, in approbation of a little book intitled *Faith reduced to its due bounds*, into the hands of the Bishop of Meaux."

When Mr Jurieu found it impossible for him to accuse people of Heresy whom he hated, he endeavoured to make them suspected by the Government, and represented them as ill affected persons. He suspected Mr le Gendre, Minister of Rotterdam, to be author of a piece against the little Prophets of Dauphiné, and upon this account he accused him before his Consistory, of *entertaining correspondence with France, and of being a secret enemy to the State*: but Mr le Gendre demanded satisfaction of him, and declared that he looked upon him to be a calumniator and a wicked man. This Declaration was put in writing, signed, and delivered to the Consistory: Mr Jurieu shifted as much as possible, but Mr le Gendre pressed hard upon him without giving any quarter, and he was forced shamefully to yield. His accusation was torn to pieces in his presence, and by his own consent (h). His hatred extended even to the relations and friends of those he hated, tho' they themselves had never had any quarrel with him. He used to accuse them to the Ministers of State as traitors and spies of France. Without regard to Confidence, which is the bond of civil so-

ciety, he published in his Libels whatever was said or wrote to him; and when he came to fall out with his friends, he used to employ against them whatever they had said to him in confidence (i).

Here follow some more of Mr Jurieu's features. They are drawn by Mr de Bauval.

"Mr Jurieu, says he (k), has brought trouble and division every where. His hand has been against all men, and the hands of all men have been against him. Discord entered along with him into the Academy of Sedan. He divided it into parties and cabals. They who foretold what we had to expect from him by the first step he took after he was settled in the ministry at Rotterdam, have not been mistaken. He preached upon these words: *How beautiful are the feet of those who bring tidings of peace*: and upon coming down from the pulpit, he brought a process against his colleague for precedence; he had however the mortification to be worsted in this vain struggle for preference. For some years past Mr Jurieu has put all in combustion among us. His vain and ambitious mind has carried war every where. *Bella gerimus nullo babinura triumpho*. He has divided the French nation, which the common misfortunes of their flight ought to have united; he endeavours, as it were, to canton his party. The animosities which he sows and nourisheth with so much care, are so many barriers to keep them asunder. He has assumed the character of Inquisitor-General in order to acquire glory at the expence of his brethren's reputation. He acts as Universal Bishop. He has armed the Churches against one another, and has debased and vilified the gravity and dignity of ecclesiastical assemblies, by the quarrels of which he has been the author. On the one hand, we have seen members of the Synods of Amsterdam and Leyden making complaints to the public, that these two Judicatories have at Mr Jurieu's instigation been guilty of injustice, and, what is worse, of falsehood, from which they have not as yet been able to clear themselves: and on the other hand, Mr Jurieu dissatisfied with the Synod of Zurich has addressed a pamphlet to the States full of complaints, wherein he accuseth that Synod of violence, oppression, of all sorts of excess, and of endeavouring to violate the fundamental laws of the liberty both of Church and State. Nothing renders ecclesiastical assemblies more contemptible than such mutual complaints, which lessen and dishonour them. Mr Jurieu is the original cause of all those disorders. He accuseth, he lays about him on both hands: he declares that the advice of his friends, who desire him to leave the world at rest, are the counsels of flesh and blood (l). He never takes up the pen but to write diffamatory Libels, and he no sooner has laid down his arms than he takes them up again upon the first occasion. He is always the aggressor and pursuer. He employs fire and sword to root out all who do not submit to his despotic empire; he calls fraud and calumny to his assistance; and would willingly go under the standard of Religion to extirpate, after the manner of the Interdict, all who refuse to bend the knee before him. Surely Mr Jurieu has made many Refugees feel a new kind of persecution possibly more sensible than that which drove them out of their native Country. He has robbed them of that repose which they sought after in their exile: and to compleat their misfortunes and miseries, they have found among their own countrymen an unjust Oppressor, who under other names makes them feel the iniquity of the furious zeal against which they had sought a sanctuary."

(i) Ibid.

pag. 53; 14.

(k) Ibid.

pag. 7.

(l) Apologie du Sieur Jurieu, pag. 25, col. 2.

(a) See above, Rem. [G].

(b) See above, Rem. [G].

(c) La Foi reduite à ses véritables principes, & renfermée dans ses justes bornes.

(d) See the Rem. [C].

(e) Letter from Mr Papin to Mr Jurieu, inserted in his Pastoral Letter to the faithful at Paris, Orleans, Blois, &c. p. 6, col. 1.

(f) Preface of Mr Papin's book, intitled: les deux voix opposées en matière de Religion &c. pag. xi, xii, of the Liege edit. 1713.

(g) Letter of the 11th of November 1692, pag. 474, 475.

(h) Bauval, Considerations for deux sermons de Mr Jurieu, &c. pag. 30, 31, and 37.

(1) See the *Chimere* de-montée, p. 307, and the Answer to Mr Jurieu's Apology, by Mr de Bauval, p. 8. tended to answer the *Advice* (1), and that they ought to have engaged him to set about it, instead of diverting him from it by outrageous accusations. 1692.

This methinks is the judgment which an equitable and disinterested person might make concerning this piece, and concerning the design of the Author, supposing him to be Mr Bayle. However Mr Bayle always protested to those who had the greatest share in his confidence, that he was not the writer of it; so that it must be struck out of the catalogue of his works; at least this is sufficient to prevent its being alledged in proof against him, and since he constantly denied it, equity will not allow that it should be quoted in evidence to blacken his memory. These are the very words of Mr de Bauval (2).

The accusations brought against Mr Bayle had interrupted his literary labours. Study requires a perfect tranquillity. Mr de Bauval had in his Journal for the month of Novem. 1690 (3), advertised a work intitled: *A Project of a Critical Dictionary, which will contain a the correction of a great number of errors to be found both in Dictionaries, and in other books* (4). This, (said Mr de Bauval) is the title of a book which a learned man designs "to undertake. As he desires to have the advice and opinion of the learned concerning his design, he is about to print a Preface in which he will give a distinct account of his Project." This Author was Mr Bayle. He proposed to publish this Project a few months after, and the impression of it was begun in the month of December following. The Articles belonging to the three first letters were almost all prepared, and while these were printing Mr Bayle was to finish the others, together with the Preface. But Mr Jurieu's violent attacks obliged him to lay aside this work after the first sheet of it was printed, so that he laid down that Project very soon after he had formed it. More than a year passed before he took it up again, and at last when Mr Leers pressed him to set about it, he was obliged to make use of the first subjects which chance presented to him, till he had collected the books which were necessary to his design (5).

This work appeared in May 1692 (6), under this title: *A Project and Fragment of a Critical Dictionary* (7). Mr Bayle gives an idea of this Project in a long Preface, addressed to Mr du Rondel, Professor of Belles Lettres at Maestricht. He says that he designed to compose a *Dictionary*, which should contain all the falsehoods and errors of fact which are found in other Dictionaries, and a Supplement to their omissions under every Article. He promised likewise to make fallies upon all sorts of Authors as occasion should offer. After this he shows how useful such a compilation would be. "Were it not to be wished, (says he), that there was extant a *Critical Dictionary*, to which one might have recourse in order to be sure whether what we find in other Dictionaries, and in all sorts of other books, be true? It would be a touchstone of other books, and you know a gentleman who is a little affected in his stile who would not fail to name such a work, *the Office of Insurance of the Republic of Letters* You see very well that if, for example, I should be able to collect under the word "SENECA, all the falsehoods that have been advanced concerning this famous Philosopher, one needed only consult that article to know what is to be believed of what one reads concerning him in any book: for if it is a falsehood, it would be taken notice of in this collection, and when one did not find a thing set down here as a falsehood, one might depend upon it as true: this instance is sufficient to show that such a design well executed, would produce a very useful work, and very convenient for readers of all sorts." Mr Bayle added that he knew well enough what ought to be done in order to perform such an undertaking perfectly, but that he knew still better that he was not able to execute it: so that he would confine himself only to give a sketch of it, which should only contain a volume in *Folio*; leaving the continuation of it to persons who have the requisite abilities, in case this Project, rectified in every thing that shall be necessary, should be thought worthy of the labours of the learned. But as he had foreseen that even this sketch would be extensive enough to engage him in a very painful task, and that besides he was very doubtful how he should execute his project, he had resolved to venture a few fragments of this work abroad, that he might before-hand know the taste of the public, and be determined thereby either to pursue or abandon his design. These *Fragment*s contained the Articles of ACHILLES, ANTHONY ARNAULD, JANE OF ARRAGON, CORNELIUS BALBUS, of the Author concealed under the name of STEPHANUS JUNIUS BRUTUS, of CASSIUS in general, and in particular of SPURIUS CASSIUS VISCCELLINUS, of L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, of C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, of T. CASSIUS SEVERUS, which gives him an occasion of making a digression concerning diffamatory libels. He placed there likewise the articles of L. CASSIUS HEMINA, of C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, of CATIUS, of COMENIUS, of ERASMUS, of the Maréchal de GUEBRIANT, of HIPPOMANES, of the DAY, of Madam DES LOGES, of the three sisters ANNE, MARGARET, and JANE SEYMOUR, of MARY TOUCHET, and of ZEUXIS. All these Articles were personal except those of *Hippomanes* and of the *Day*, which Mr Bayle called *real*, because they neither related to persons nor places, and consequently did not belong to Historical or Geographical Dictionaries (8).

(8) In the beginning of the Article HIPPOMANES, p. 297.

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The plan of this new Dictionary was not relished, though such a work might have been very useful. Mr Bayle laid it aside, but in the mean while he formed a design of another Dictionary which he forwarded with so much diligence, that the impression of it was begun in the month of September 1693; notwithstanding he had been frequently interrupted in it by the trouble Mr Jurieu gave him. He acquaints Mr Constant with this, in order to excuse himself for not having wrote to him sooner. "I have been, (says he (1), very much embarrassed these three or four months past by the machinations of my accuser, who having interested the Dutch Consistory in his quarrel with me, has persuaded them to examine my book concerning Comets, and to lay it before the Burgomasters as a book filled with dangerous and impious propositions, and that therefore it is not consistent with their duty to give a salary to a Professor who entertains such opinions. This is the turn he has given it, after being disappointed by the nullity and rashness of his other accusations. I was obliged to make some visits, to undeceive people concerning the pretended heresies in this book; and here one cannot do in a fortnight what might be done elsewhere in an afternoon."

(1) Letter of the 29th of June 1693, pag. 510.

Mr Bayle attributed the disgrace, which he fell under a short while after, to the solicitations of these Ministers: see in what manner he speaks of it to Mr Minutoli on the fifth of November. "Our Magistrates, (says he (2), have deprived me of my place of Professor, together with the salary of five hundred guilders which was annexed to it, they have even revoked the liberty of teaching privately which they had granted me. This resolution was taken by the plurality of voices on the thirtieth of October last; and last monday (3) the Burgomasters notified it to me in their chamber. All people of good sense here cry out against this injustice, and several of our Counsellors of the longest standing in their Offices, and of the greatest abilities, opposed this resolution with all their might, but they were outvoted. If they had not last year turned out seven or eight Burgomasters or Counsellors of this City, in order to put others in their places, this would not have happened to me. It gives me comfort to see the general discontent of the City on this account, the irregularity of their proceedings in this affair, and the unjust ground of it. This ground is my *Various Thoughts concerning Comets*: the Dutch Ministers have made the Burgomasters believe that it contains dangerous matters; and opposite to Christianity. This I offered to refute; and I maintain, and will prove it as clear as noon-day, that my book concerning Comets advances nothing contrary either to our Confession of Faith or to the Scripture. But however this be, they have condemned my doctrine without allowing me a hearing, and without asking me if I agreed to the justness of the extracts, and to the sense which they give to my words; neither did the Magistrates give me any opportunity of answering my accusers. There was nothing said either concerning the *Advice to the Refugees*; or the *Project of a Peace*, which I intended to publish. This would have been more odious."

(2) Letter of the 5th of November 1693, pag. 537, 538.

(3) The 2^d of November.

In another Letter to him, he says (4); "You have very probably heard it reported in your country, that I lost my place upon account of the *Advice to the Refugees*. For the emissaries of you know who, being mortified to the last degree; at the contempt which our Superiors showed for his pretended information concerning the *Cabal* of Geneva, and for his repeated calumnious Facts relating to the said *Advice*, have spread it abroad every where that it was the accusation about that book which produced this effect. This is a manifest absurdity, for they would not have satisfied themselves with taking away my liberty of teaching, if they had founded their proceedings against me upon an accusation of writing a libel against the State. You may affirm it confidently that the only foundation of it was the complaint of the Dutch Consistory against my book on Comets; and most people are of opinion that they never read the book, and some of them were against depriving me of my pension. It was therefore only upon account of my Treatise concerning Comets. The Dutch Consistory being almost wholly composed of persons who neither understand French, nor any thing else, except a few common places of Divinity; who besides were ill affected towards me from my first arrival in this Country, because my Patron who founded the *Illustrious School*, (the late Mr Paets, a great Republican) was very much hated by them: this Consistory, I say, only consulted a Dutch translation of some passages out of my book, made by my accuser, with the greatest insincerity in the world."

(4) Letter to Mr Minutoli of March 1694. pag. 542.

Mr Bayle gave the same account, but with some further circumstances, to his cousin Mr de Naudis, on the twenty eighth of December. As this Letter has not been printed, the reader no doubt will be glad to find it here.

"You must know that upon the thirtieth of October last my appointment of five hundred livres, and the liberty of reading public and private Lectures, were taken from me by the Council of this City, which is composed of four and twenty persons, whom they in Dutch call the *Vroedschap*. The Burgomasters who are four in number, and chosen out of these twenty four, acquainted me with

“ with this resolution, without telling me why they now took from me what they granted me in 1681. I have been told that several members of the Council opposed this act of injustice very vigorously, but the plurality of voices carried it. Let us distinguish the real cause of this from the pretext.

“ The pretext with which they coloured their conduct, when they were spoke to in private about it, and which was even alledged by some on giving their votes the day on which I was deprived of my place, is, that the book concerning Comets, which I published here in 1682, contains pernicious doctrines, and such as no Christian Magistrate should suffer to be instilled into youth. To give more authority to this pretence, the authors of this plot had by a long train of intrigues obtained that certain head-strong Dutch Ministers, great enemies to strangers and to the new Philosophy, and of a violent and seditious temper, should take the book concerning Comets into their examination, and determine that it contains unsound doctrine. All this was done in a very mysterious manner, and without giving me the least notice of it, and without having the least regard to my public declarations, which I have repeated a hundred times to the Burgomasters, Ministers &c. in conversation, that I was ready to show that my Comets contained nothing contrary either to sound reason, or the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches. A great number of people of merit here are highly offended at this violent procedure, which is not practised even in the Church of Rome: for there they hear an Author accused of Heterodoxy, and admit him to explain or to retract his errors. This, dear Cousin, ought to lessen your regret for not having left France. You will be a hundred times the better Protestant, if you only see our Religion where it is under persecution: you would be offended if you saw it where it is established, but let us come to the cause of my disgrace.

“ You must know that a Republican Government has this peculiar to it, that every City, nay every little Town is composed of two or more parties. In Holland there are two every where: the one is very weak, but composed of people of substance and honour; the other governs haughtily, and almost constantly makes a bad use of its good fortune. I had upon coming into this Country all my patrons, benefactors, and those who received me with civility, among the weaker party, which however was not then so weak as now: I have always cultivated their friendship, and have never conformed myself to the maxims of Courtiers. I have not endeavoured to make my court to those of the other party, which was growing more powerful every day, this appearing to me base and mercenary. So that a sudden storm having above a year ago happened in this City, which overwhelmed part of our Magistrates, and others of this all-powerful party being put in their places, the balance could no longer be preserved, and to show their power against those who do not fall down before them, and who keep up their correspondence with their old friends, they have turned me out of my place. And as doctrines pretended to be dangerous to the youth was the pretext, they were obliged to take from me the liberty of teaching in private as well as in public. By this means they have stopped up both the sources of my subsistence. I never received a farthing of my patrimony, never had a humour of laying up money, and never was in condition to save any. I depended upon my salary, which I believed I should have enjoyed for life: but now I see there is nothing certain in this world. You may judge that I had great reason to be uneasy about the time to come, in a Country where living is very expensive. But hitherto by the goodness of God I have not felt any uneasiness, but have been perfectly resigned to the will of heaven.

“ You would be surprized if I should finish my Letter without mentioning that French Minister who has published so many libels and calumnies against me. I can assure you that all these calumnies have fallen to the ground, and there was nothing taken notice of but my book concerning Comets, printed near twelve years ago. Besides they were Dutch Ministers who carried on this pursuit against me in a clandestine manner. They have owed me a grudge for a long time, because they hated the friends and patrons which I had upon my first arrival here, and being infatuated with Aristotle, whom yet they do not understand, they could not hear Des Cartes named without swelling with rage.”

Mr Bayle was ignorant of the true cause of his disgrace: his Judges did not think it proper to inform him of it. He never suspected that it could proceed from any circumstance relating to the situation of public affairs, however that was the occasion of it. France victorious every where, began to be weary of the war. The efforts which she had made to gain this superiority over her enemies, had drained her both of men and money. Peace would have been advantageous to her, and she took all possible steps to obtain it. In the year 1692 she had found means to propose it to the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, by the Pope and some neutral Princes; but they did not give the least ear to her proposals. Seeing herself refused on that side, she wanted to try what she could do

1693. in the United Provinces, and employed Mr Amelot, her Embassador in Switzerland, to make her intentions known to several considerable persons. She promised the States a strong barrier to cover their country, a full and entire liberty of commerce, and all the other advantages they could desire. Mr Halewyn, Burgomaster of Dort, seduced by these great offers, entered into a sort of negotiation with Mr Amelot, without the knowledge of the States. King William was informed of this, and Mr Halewyn was seized, together with his brother who was believed to be his accomplice. Mr Bayle mentions this in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli. "No body knew certainly, says he (1), what was the crime of these gentlemen until their sentence was published; for during the process, every thing was managed with great secrecy. They have discovered that Mr Halewyn the Counsellor was entirely innocent; but his brother, the Burgomaster of Dort, has been found guilty of holding correspondence with Mr Amelot, the French Embassador in Switzerland, in order to negotiate a peace in this country. He confessed this, and pretended that it was the duty of every lover of his country to endeavour to put an end to so destructive a war; that he was not the only man who had given ear to the propositions of France; and that he had communicated all that he knew of this matter to a person to whom others had made the same propositions. However he has been condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and confiscation of his estate. They have not printed with his sentence all the answers and justifications, which had been inserted in the minutes of it; and people are generally of opinion that he had no intention of betraying his country, and that he was as well affected to the Republic as those who are against a Peace; the difference between them being only, that the one believes that the continuation of the war is advantageous, and the others that it is hurtful. But, unhappily for him, correspondence with the enemy, and meddling in a treaty of peace without a particular commission from the Sovereign Powers, is treason; and this makes interested people say that the punishment inflicted upon him is too gentle. You cannot imagine, adds Mr Bayle, the hopes which our prophet conceived from the imprisonment of these gentlemen. He hoped that all his pretended *Cabal of Geneva* would be discovered, and that you and Mr Goudet, and the Syndics whom he aimed at, that Messieurs Bafnage and I should be involved in their positions: and he already boasted that he was the first, who had blown up the mine of that wicked plot, said he, of the project of peace, which was contriving in Switzerland. But all his hopes, as usual, were chimerical, and it appeared that we had thought of nothing less than of Mr Amelot and Messieurs Halewyn."

(1) Letter of the 14th of September, 1693, p. 521, 522.

Mr Bayle's innocence in this matter did not hinder his feeling the effects of these secret negotiations: they were the cause of his disgrace. All Mr Jurieu's intrigues among the Magistrates were fruitless. It is true he persuaded the Dutch Ministers to act in his favour against Mr Bayle; but their solicitations came to nothing. The Regency of Rotterdam had been changed in 1692, by order of King William, who turned out seven Magistrates who were Mr Bayle's protectors. However they who succeeded them had at first no bad intentions against him: they declared that they would do justice, and promised to hear his defences, if there should be occasion for it. But the secret practices of France, made King William call to mind the *Project of Peace* of which Mr Jurieu had made so much noise; and as the peace of Nimeguen had been brought about by spreading abroad such pieces at Amsterdam and elsewhere, he thought they had a mind to make use of the same methods at Rotterdam. That great Prince, not having time to examine this ridiculous Project, was alarmed at the thoughts of a Peace, and imagined that there was, as Mr Jurieu pretended, a cabal to assist in bringing it about, of which Mr Bayle was the chief person who had as yet been discovered. He commanded the Magistrates of Rotterdam to deprive him of his place of Professor and of the salary annexed to it, and this order was put in execution without either citing or hearing him, notwithstanding the promises they had given him to the contrary. It is very certain that the *Advice to the Refugees* had no share in this. King William did not regard the Refugees so much, as to trouble himself about the complaints they might have against that book. But the *Project of Peace* made him uneasy, he was afraid of the consequences of it (2). The Magistrates of Rotterdam, though better acquainted with this chimerical project, obeyed the orders of that Prince whose creatures they were: however they seem to have been ashamed of their conduct, since they concealed the cause of it from Mr Bayle. It even appears that they, who were in the secret, deceived those who were not, and made them believe that the book concerning Comets was the foundation of their sentence.

(2) This is taken from a Memoir of Mr Bafnage.

Mr de Bauval bears Mr Bayle witness (3) "that he received this disgrace with a philosophical constancy, and even with too great indifference; especially without uneasiness with regard to his fortune. He did not mind the gathering of riches, because really he had no occasion for them. His temperance and sobriety supplied the place of every thing, so that having little he wanted nothing. He was not however reduced to indigence, very far from it. Neither did he make any step to procure a new employment. He found himself more free and more at his

(3) Eloge de Mr Bayle.

(1) *Letter of the 8th of March 1694, p. 541.*

(2) *See the Article G U I S - C A R D. Rem. [C].*

(3) *Psalms xxxix, v. 21, 22.*

(4) *St Matt. c. v. v. 44.*

(5) *Nouvelle Heresie dans la Morale, touchant la haine du Prochain, prêchée par Mr Jurieu dans l'Eglise Walloonne de Rotterdam les Dimanches 24 de Janvier, & 21 de Fevrier, 1694. Denoncée à toutes les Eglises Reformées, & nommément aux Eglises Françoises recueillies dans les différens endroits de leur exil.*

“own disposal, now he was released from the tiresome labour of teaching and 1693.
“reading of lectures.” Mr Bayle gives the same account in one of his Letters to Mr Minutoli, who had condoled with him upon his disgrace. “I received it, says he (1), as becomes a Christian Philosopher, and I continue, I thank God, “to possess my mind in great tranquillity. The sweetness and repose I find in the “studies in which I have engaged myself, and which are my delight, will make “me stay in this city, if I am allowed to continue in it, at least, ‘till the impres- “sion of my Dictionary is finished; for my preference is absolutely necessary in the “place where it is printed. Moreover, being neither a lover of riches, nor ho- “nours, I shall give myself no trouble to procure an invitation elsewhere; and “would not accept of it, though it should be made to me. I am not so fond of “the disputes, cabals, and professorial snarlings, which reign in all our Academies. “*Canam mihi & Musis.*” And indeed he was so charmed with this quiet and in- dependent situation, that he refused very advantageous offers, and would not so much as make use of the liberty which the Regency were willing to allow him of teaching the sons of some of the Counsellors who desired it earnestly. Mr Basnage solicited him several times to give them this satisfaction, but in vain. The Count de Guiscard, who was pleased to allow him his friendship at Sedan, desired him to take the charge of his son’s education (2). He offered him a thousand crowns of appointment, and assured him that he had taken his measures so with the Court, that he should enjoy a full liberty of conscience: but Mr Bayle excused himself upon the necessity he was under of finishing his *Dictionary*, which was then in the press.

Mr Jurieu’s conduct sufficiently shows that he thought it was lawful to hate his 1694.
enemies and to persecute them. But he said that *his enemies were the enemies of God*; and declared solemnly that he thought it his duty to *tread under foot all human considerations, and to have no regard to the ties or friendships of this world when the glory of God was concerned*. In this manner he invested himself with the character of Defender of the Cause of God, that he might treat with indignity all those who had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure: and though nothing is more op- posite to the maxims of the Gospel than the hatred of our neighbour, he was not ashamed to defend it in two Sermons: the one on these words of David, *shall not I hate those who hate thee? I hate them with a perfect hatred* (3): and the other on these of Jesus Christ, *love your enemies, and bless those who curse you* (4). Every body was offended to hear such scandalous morality taught from the pulpit. Mr Bayle charged him publicly with it, in a loose sheet, intitled: *A new heresy in Morality, concerning the hatred of our neighbour, preached by Mr Jurieu in the Walloon church of Rotterdam on Sunday the 24th of January, and on Sunday the 21st of February 1694. published for the information of all the Reformed Churches, and particularly of the French Churches gathered together in the different places of their exile* (5). In the beginning he sets forth the doctrine which Mr Jurieu had preached concerning the love of our neighbour. “I shall not set down particularly, says he, all the pernicious “maxims and propositions which have been extracted from these two last Sermons; “but shall content myself with acquainting you that his doctrine in general may “be reduced to what follows: I. That sentiments of hatred, indignation, and wrath, “are lawful, good, and praise-worthy, against the enemies of God; that is to say, “as he explained it himself, against the Socinians, and other Heretics in Holland, “against the superstitious and idolatrous, &c. II. That we ought to show these “sentiments of hatred and indignation by breaking all communication with those “people, by not saluting them, and not eating with them, &c. III. That we ought “not only to hate these peoples heresies and bad qualities, but that we ought to “hate their persons and detest them. One of the objections which he made to “himself, and which he rejected with an air of the utmost disdain, was, that we “ought to be at enmity with error and vice, but at the same time have charity “for the person of the sinner.” Mr Bayle next takes notice of the false interpreta- tion which this Minister had given of the Scripture in order to draw it to his pur- pose, the pernicious consequences which may follow upon this doctrine, and how necessary it was that the Ministers of the Walloon Churches should stigmatize this pernicious morality, the tendency of which must be the throwing Holland into confusion, and putting an end to its commerce. “For what must be the conse- “quence, says he, if the Reformed should neither salute those of another Religion, “nor eat, nor trade with them? what must be the consequence if they be allowed, “and it be thought praise-worthy, to hate the persons of all Papists, of all Arminians, “Mennonites, &c. and if we are obliged by the Gospel only to wish them spiri- “tual blessings, without being obliged to procure them any temporal good, to draw “them out of a ditch if we should see them fall into it, to give them alms if we “see them in want? could this country prosper upon such principles? are not “they therefore seditious, and tending to overturn the Government, as well as “heretical? Is the person, who teaches them, ignorant that this is censuring with “an astonishing boldness the supreme powers and the laws of the Government under “which we live?

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Mr Bayle made too great haste to publish this charge. He was blamed for doing so. Mr Jurieu was actually printing these two Sermons, and they were ready to be published. If he had waited for their publication, they would have furnished visible proofs of his pernicious Morality. As soon as he saw this charge he suppressed them, and published a paper under the title of *Reflexions upon a Libel in a loose sheet, intitled, A new Heresy in Morality, &c* (1), wherein he denied that he had preached the Doctrine he was accused of. Mr de Bauval took occasion from this to set Mr Jurieu's morals in a full light, and to show that this Minister's conduct was agreeable to his morality. This piece is intitled, *Considerations on two Sermons preached by Mr Jurieu, concerning the love of our neighbour: wherein the following curious question is incidentally handled: If we are obliged to bate Mr Jurieu* (2). Mr de Bauval showed very well that Mr Jurieu by suppressing those sermons furnished a proof that he had preached what he was accused of. "If the Morality contained in Mr Jurieu's sermons, says he (3), has nothing scandalous in it, it is very surprizing that he has put a stop to the impression of them. He might have contented himself with a denial of the Libel, without engaging himself further in the matter; but we know that they were in the press. The sheets of them have been seen, and all of a sudden he changed his resolution. The reason which he gives for this interrupting and retarding of them, strengthens the suspicion instead of weakening it. *We are very well informed (says he) that these Gentlemen lie in ambush, and that they have prepared their batteries in order to find heresies in these sermons, and we do not think it proper at present to give them the pleasure of an engagement, we will wait a little 'till their fire is somewhat spent.* But if Mr Jurieu is under no apprehensions with respect to orthodoxy, far from suppressing his sermons upon account of the menaces of these gentlemen, he ought to laugh at their preparations, and make all their batteries useless. These gentlemen whom he aims at, are not Knights-errant to go about to fight with phantoms; and after all, the public, who is their common judge, would have vindicated Mr Jurieu, if they had cavilled him without reason. If they had offended the world by it, so much the worse for them, it would have been at their own expence and at their own peril. As for Mr Jurieu, if his morals are sound, the printing of his sermons would have put these gentlemen to silence, and would have stifled all the murmurs they have raised on that subject. But it must be confessed that this so sudden interruption of a design already begun, is so unlike Mr Jurieu, that he gives ground thereby to think that he has stopped the course of the impression for no other reason but that his doctrine might not be exposed to the inevitable censure of the publick. It is at least a strong presumption, that the *Information* to the public stopped him short, and that what ought to have been a further reason for hastening the publication of his sermons, has obliged him to put it off to an uncertain time. This prudence of waiting 'till these gentlemen's fire was a little spent, seems to be only an artifice to let the remembrance of these sermons, which is at present too fresh and recent, pass away, that by this means he may afterwards be at liberty with more impunity to give them a quite different form. If Mr Jurieu has taught, as he assures us he did, *that we ought to forgive our enemies: that we ought not to seek to revenge ourselves: that we ought to suffer injuries patiently,* this is without doubt the doctrine of the Gospel, he runs no hazard; but his irresolution shows that he is embarrassed, and is contriving some trick to save himself: for he promises *either the sermons or a treatise.* One would say he doth not know on which side to turn himself. A man has not all this uneasiness when he has only preached the morality of the Gospel. There has been a clamour raised about these sermons. It is therefore these very sermons which ought to appear or nothing. A treatise on this subject will not decide the question. Besides, if Mr Jurieu has preached no other doctrine than what we have just now mentioned, from whence have those rumours and the emotion of his audience proceeded? whence comes it that the Reformed Ministers of Rotterdam have all with once voice disapproved of his morality? we defy him to refer himself to their judgment. Whence comes it that some of his hearers have been so shocked and offended at him, that they have declared they will no longer hear him. While he went on in the common road, he found no such commotions? But what is still more, from whence ariseth the difficulty which the Commissaries of his Consistory make of granting him the approbation he desired? How comes it about that they have not as yet found sufficient evasions and softenings to make it safe for them to do so? This is a strong presumption that his morality startled them. Otherwise they would have granted him their approbation without difficulty."

Mr Saurin agrees with Mr de Bauval in his sentiments on this subject. That Divine declares, that "the most favourable thing that we can say of these two sermons, is that all the good people who heard them were offended, and grieved in the highest manner; and that Mr Jurieu's friends were much mortified on account of them (4)." He says that Mr de Bauval had very well observed that it was a poor shift to pretend, as Mr Jurieu did, that he would not publish those sermons, because his informers were lying in ambush, and had prepared their batteries

(1) Reflexions sur un Libelle en feuille volante, intitule Nouvelle Heresie dans la Morale, &c.

(2) Considerations sur deux sermons de Mr Jurieu, touchant l'Amour du prochain: ou l'on traite incidemment cette question curieuse: S'il faut haïr Mr Jurieu.

(3) Considerations on two Sermons of Mr Jurieu, &c. pag. 2, and the following.

(4) Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology, &c. Tom. ii. pag. 803.

(1) Ibid. p. 812. in order to find heresies in them at any rate. He thinks that pretence very ridiculous. "I admire, (says he (1), Mr Jurieu's bravery who boldly refuseth to fight, because he sees the enemy ready to offer him battle: if we did not know from whence he is, we would be ready to think him of another Country than his own. To speak seriously, Mr Jurieu could not say any thing more poor, or which gives more matter of triumph to his accusers. Either he was afraid that those Gentlemen would really find heresies in his sermons, or he was not. If he was afraid of it, he was conscious of his guilt. If he was not afraid, he ought to have published his sermons immediately, in order to convict his accusers of calumny before the whole world." Mr Saurin confirms this argument by several other reflexions, and afterwards speaks of Mr de Bauval's piece. "They have published, (says he (2), some *Considerations on Mr Jurieu's two Sermons*, wherein his *Reflexions* are answered, and it is proved that he really preached the hatred of our neighbour, and that he cannot clear himself from it. Mr Jurieu (adds he) has made a Reply to this piece, in another intitled, *An Apology for the Synods*, and for several good people who have been abused in Mr de Bauval's last *Satire*, intitled, *Considerations on two Sermons &c* (3). One would think, (adds Mr Saurin), that while he makes an Apology for others, and for himself on some other points, he ought not to have forgot to have apologized for his doctrine concerning the hatred of our neighbour. It was this which ought principally to have been done in his last piece, and it was this which people of sense, who are concerned for the glory of God, the purity of our morality, and for Mr Jurieu's reputation, wished and expected to find there. But their hopes have been deceived. Mr Jurieu is very large on several other matters, but says not one word on this."

(4) *In the posthumous editions of the Critical Dictionary*, there is a long digression on this accusation, in the article ZUERIUS BOXHORNIUS.

(5) Addition aux *Pensées diverses sur les Comètes*, ou Réponse, à un Libelle intitulé, Courte Revue des Maximes de Morales & des Principes de Religion de l'Auteur des *Pensées diverses sur les Comètes &c*. Pour servir d'Instruction aux Juges Ecclesiastiques qui en voudront connoître.

(6) Addition aux *Pensées diverses sur les Comètes &c*. p. 25, 26. Nouvelle Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets, in the preface, and pag. 46 and the following.

It may be thought, perhaps, that I have insisted too long on this subject: but as it is not easy to imagine that rage could carry a Minister of the Gospel so far as to preach the hatred of our neighbour, I thought it necessary to show by good authorities that Mr Jurieu had really preached that detestable doctrine, and that Mr Bayle had good reason to accuse him of it (4).

Mr Bayle published much about the same time a Book intitled, *An Addition to the various thoughts concerning Comets, or an Answer to a libel intitled, A short Review of the Maxims of Morality and Principles of Religion of the Author of the Various Thoughts concerning Comets &c. to serve for information to the Ecclesiastical Judges, who may please to take cognizance of it. At Rotterdam by Reinier Leers. M.D.C.XCIV. In 12°* (5). He here gives the reasons why he did not sooner answer this libel. Mr Jurieu had made no answer to Mr Bayle's summons and defiance concerning his accusation of Atheism, although he had brought it before the Consistory; and had even defisted from it. He had afterwards published his *Short Review*, wherein he arraigns certain propositions out of the *Thoughts concerning Comets*, and out of the *New Letters against Maimbourg*, as dangerous, heretical &c. He had addressed himself to the Consistory to get these Propositions condemned, and when they were ready to examine into that matter, he had desired that it should be referred to the Synod; and yet notwithstanding he had suffered four Synods to pass without mentioning it. This libel contained no objections against the book concerning Comets, which might not be answered by the book itself, and Mr Bayle designed to publish a new edition of it, with additions containing new proofs, new explanations, and new answers to all the objections, which could be made to what he had advanced. It was here that he designed to have answered the *Short Review*. But being informed in the month of February 1694, that Mr Jurieu had got a Committee to be appointed by his Consistory to decide upon the Extracts which he had produced in that libel; so sudden and unexpected a change made him fear some bad design, and obliged him to publish this answer. "Mr Jurieu, (says he (6), has a mind to act a part in his own Consistory, which hitherto he has not been able to act with regard to me. He will no longer be my Accuser, he will be my Judge, and manage matters so that we shall henceforth hear no more of the accusation of Atheism, but they will only examine whether there be any erroneous and dangerous Propositions in my writings, which may be punished by Church censures. In all appearance he designs they should judge without hearing me, and solely upon the credit of his extracts, and of the consequences which he has drawn from them. Our dispute therefore is now to appear before the Ecclesiastical tribunals, and that too upon a new foot. But as it may very possibly happen, that every thing shall pass there without my having the least knowledge of it, it is absolutely necessary for me to have recourse in this manner to a public Factum, which may serve for information to the Judges who desire it, and may take away from those who do not, all room for pleading ignorance. I will confine myself to short observations, not only because I desire that the long Apology for my Comets, which will appear in the third Edition, may have the grace of novelty; but likewise because I will not leave to those who do not care to be informed, their common pretence in such cases, that the length of the piece discouraged them from setting about the reading of it."

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He showed that Mr Jurieu had misrepresented what is said in the Thoughts concerning Comets, and drawn false and absurd consequences from it. For example. This Minister affirms that Mr Bayle in this book pretends that "God never performs prodigies and extraordinary things, in order to be presages of what is to come, such as earthquakes, extraordinary meteors, signs which are seen in the heavens and upon earth, apparitions, voices, births of monsters, floods; and that he maintains that all these things are brought about by natural and necessary causes, and that God doth not at all design by things of this sort to foretel judgments, which he intends to inflict upon men, nor even to manifest his Deity." But this is not at all Mr Bayle's opinion. What he maintains is, that *God never miraculously produces comets, earthquakes, inundations, monsters &c. with a design to threaten Infidels with the judgments which his justice is preparing against them; for he cannot persuade himself that such a conduct, which appears to him to be proper only to foment the abominable superstition of idolaters, is consistent with our ideas of the goodness, justice, and sincerity of God.* He doth not pretend to deny that God ever performs in any part of the world what we call *prodigies* or *presages*; he says only that things which appear equally and indifferently among heathen nations and among the children of God, are not miraculous productions, appointed to threaten mankind. His doctrine tends to give us such an idea of God, as affords a lively representation of his wisdom, goodness, and truth. It denies certain presages indeed; but it is because they would be injurious to these divine Perfections.

Mr Bayle likewise entered into a detail of Mr Jurieu's extracts, and discovered both his insincerity, and his want of discernment and penetration. He refuted his objections concerning the Parallel between Pagan Idolatry and Atheism, concerning the morals of Atheists &c; and proved what he had advanced in his new Letters against Maimbourg, about the Rights of an erring Conscience. He afterwards lays down the true state of the question betwixt him and his adversary, and shews in what manner Ecclesiastical Judges, who shall take cognizance of this dispute, ought to proceed. He subjoins a Petition to the Christian Universities, wherein he desires them to decide upon this representation of his principles which he had made to them: and concludes by impeaching twelve propositions drawn out of the *Short Review*, as false, rash, and impious.

This work broke all Mr Jurieu's measures, and reduced him to silence. This was no easy matter: but Mr Bayle had set his proofs in so evident a light, that it was not possible to make a reply. It was however only the work of a few days. "It cost me so little trouble, (says he (1), that the three or four days which I bestowed upon it, would have been too much, if I had thought fit to make a larger answer, but my resolution of being short, made it necessary to employ more time. I have destroyed that libel so as not leave one stone upon another. The public will see that my adversary is ignorant of his own Religion, that he attacks what he has maintained in his other books, and that he denies the most evident truths: and which is worst of all, his quotations are so unfaithful, that there is no ground to think that he erred sincerely."

(1) Addition to the various Thoughts &c, in the Advertisement.

An Officer, a friend of Mr Bayle, having let him know how much he desired to see a reconciliation betwixt him and Mr Jurieu, Mr Bayle showed him that it was impossible. "The nature of this quarrel is such, (says he (2), as can admit of no reconciliation: there can only be what in your profession is called a *cessation of all acts of hostility*. For the question is, whether I have been in a Cabal which did conspire both the ruin of Religion and of the Government, or not. He has accused me of this publicly, and I have shown him that this Cabal is the most ridiculous chimera, that ever was heard of. He has accused me of being the Author of a book called *An Advice to the Refugees*, wherein the diffamatory libels which are printed in this Country against the King of France, and the dethroning of King James are condemned; and I have shewn that all the proofs which he has alledged against me are impertinent. If he reconcile himself to me, he must own himself an infamous calumniator; and if I reconcile myself to him, I must acknowledge myself guilty. This is what renders our reconciliation impossible. For my part, I do not care for any reconciliation. It is sufficient for me that the Government takes no notice of his accusations: for while there is no process against me, it is plain they laugh at his pretended proofs. For as to the place which they have taken from me, that was upon another account."

(2) MSS. Letter to Mr *** of the 25th of November 1694.

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Mr Bayle continued to bestow all his time in the impression of his *Dictionary*. The impression of the first volume was finished in the month of August 1695 (3). The public preposited in Mr Bayle's favour, expected it with impatience, but Mr Bayle on the contrary was very much afraid of the reception it should meet with. "If the public, (said he to Mr le Duchat (4), has conceived any hopes or good opinion of my Dictionary, (of which I have reason to doubt, not knowing on what it can be founded,) I must expect many complaints; they will find themselves disappointed and villainously cheated, for I own ingenuously to you, that this work is nothing else but a confused compilation of passages tacked to

(3) See the Letter to Mr Constant of the 22d of August 1695, p. 570.

(4) Letter of the 9th of January 1696, p. 576.

“ one another, and that nothing can be worse suited to the delicate taste of this age : 1695.
 “ but there is no remedy, *jacta est alea*.”

However the Booksellers in foreign Countries, in consequence of the taste of the public, demanded so many copies, that the number which was printed of the first volume was not sufficient to satisfy them ; so that Mr Leers was obliged to print a thousand more copies of the second, and to reprint a like number of the first : this made some people imagine that there was a second edition of the whole work published (1). Mr Bayle was not concerned in this re-impression ; and he complained that there were many errors in it (2). He could not correct the proofs of it ; the impression of the second volume took him up so entirely that he had not even time to write to his friends. “ You would excuse my silence (says he to Mr Constant (3), if you knew what a load of business I have upon my hands, occasioned by the impression of my Historical and Critical Dictionary. The Bookseller is resolved at any rate to finish it this year ; so that I am obliged to furnish him constantly with new copy, and every day to correct the proofs, wherein there are a thousand errors ; for my manuscript is so full of rasures and references, that neither the Printers nor the Corrector of the press can find their way through such a labyrinth : and another thing that retards me very much is, that not having all the books at hand which I have occasion for, I am obliged to wait till they are procured for me, when any body in this city has them.” He complains likewise that the frequent returns of his head-ach made him lose a great deal of time. “ I am very glad, says he (4) that your megrims have left you ; mine would have done me the same favour, if it had been in my power to live without study, but obstinate labour nourishes them, and makes them return very frequently. By this means I lose many days in every month, which obligeth me afterwards to apply more closely to regain the time I have lost.”

(1) See the Letters to Mr Constant of the 4th of July 1697, p. 654, and to Mr Constant, July 15 of the said year, pag. 660, 661.

(2) Letter to Mr le D.E.M.S. of the 7th of July 1698, p. 712, and the following.

(3) Letter of the 31st of May 1696, p. 588, 589.

(4) Ibid. p. 591.

(5) The Duke of Sbrewsbury, Secretary of State.

The impression of the second volume was finished on the 24th of October, and the work came out under the following title : *An Historical and Critical Dictionary by Mr Bayle. At Rotterdam by Reinier Leers. M.D.C.XCVII* (7). In the beginning of the Preface Mr Bayle acquaints the Reader, that this work is not what he promised in the *Project* published in 1692. His first design was, as we have observed, to publish the errors of Dictionaries, and other books, both great and small. But being informed that a mere collection of errors would disgust the readers, and that they desired something historical, he was obliged to lay aside that undertaking.

(6) MSS. Memoir of Mr Bagnage.

(7) Dictionnaire Historique & Critique, par Monsieur Bayle. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers 1697.

“ See in what manner (says he) I have changed my plan, in order the better to hit the taste of the public. I have divided my composition into two parts : one of which is purely historical ; a succinct narration of facts ; the other is a large commentary, a medley of proofs and discussions, wherein you find a criticism of many errors, and sometimes a long train of philosophical reflexions ; in a word, such a variety as makes me hope, that in one place or other all sorts of readers will find something to their taste.” He adds that this change had made the greatest part of the materials he had prepared useless to him, and that this was one of the reasons which had retarded the publication of this book. Another reason was, that he had carefully avoided every thing that is to be found in the Dictionaries already published, or which he foresaw would be contained in those promised by learned men. He had done the same with regard to Mr Du Pin’s *Bibliothèque* of Ecclesiastical Authors, and to Mr Teissier’s *Additions* to the *Elogies* of learned men, taken from Thuanus’s *History*. He would not put the reader under the necessity of buying the same thing twice : though in the mean time he had thereby deprived himself of all the materials which are most easily collected and digested. To these reasons we may add the alteration which he made in the choice of the articles. At first he intended to give *real* as well as *personal* articles. But he was told that the former not being historical, would not be relished ; which deprived him once more of a great many materials. However, to prevent the loss of the articles *HIPPOMANES* and of the *DAY*, which had appeared in the *Project*, he placed them at the end of the work under the title of *Dissertations*. He ascribed likewise the delay of this work to the badness of his health, to the great exactness in his citations, to his want of the necessary books, and to the difficulties arising from

1697. from the stile, which requires great attention if we would prevent equivocal expressions, verbes, and false applications of relatives.

He offered all these considerations, in answer to those who might think it strange that he had spent above four years in composing these two volumes. But as others, on the contrary, might be astonished that he had been able in that time to compose two such large volumes in Folio, and might believe that he had made too much haste; he observes that uninterrupted labour will go a great length in little time, and that he had lost no time in the recreations which are very common among men of letters: "I remember as well as they (says he) the dithich of Cato *Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis* &c., but I very seldom make use of it. Diversions, games, collations, journies into the country, visits, and such other recreations necessary to a great many studious men, as they say, are not my business. I lose no time in them, nor do I spend it in domestic cares, making interest for preferments, solicitations, or other affairs. I have been happily delivered from a great many occupations which were not very suitable to my humour, and I have had the greatest and the most charming leisure that a man of letters could desire. By this means an Author makes a great progress in a few Years. His work will increase daily under his hand, though he be not careless in the composition of it."

After this he gives his reasons why he has quoted long passages of Greek and Latin Authors, and why instead of translating them himself, he has frequently made use of the versions of Amiot or Vigenere. He adds, that people of grave and severe characters may possibly find fault with him for his quotations from Brantome and Montagne, containing actions and reflexions of too gallant a nature; but that persons of merit, who had the Bookfellers interest at heart, had been of opinion, that, in order to raise a general demand for this Work, it would be necessary that they who do not understand Latin, and do not trouble their heads with Philosophical and Theological discussions, should find some agreeable entertainment in it. He had been told that if he was too averse from taking that advice, he ought at least to allow others, to furnish the Bookfeller with such memoirs, and even sometimes with dogmatical reflexions, which might excite some attention. That he had accordingly consented that the Bookfeller should insert whatever memoirs should be sent to him: that with relation to the Philosophical reflexions which sometimes had been pushed some length, he did not think it necessary to make any apology for them, for as they only tend to convince man that the best use he can make of his reason, is to subject his understanding to the obedience of Faith; they can't but deserve the thanks of the Divines.

Next follow some remarks upon the liberty he has taken of criticizing the faults of some celebrated Authors, or of pointing out their defects. He declares that he has not the least intention to diminish the reputation they have justly acquired, and that besides for the most part he has only related the observations of others, and only copies from Authors already printed. "Of the the two laws of History (says he) I have religiously observed that which commands to say nothing that is false; as for the other, which bids us venture to say all that is true, I cannot boast that I have always observed that; I think it is sometimes inconsistent not only with prudence but also with reason." In the mean while he was very far from believing that this work was free from faults. "I do not doubt (says he) but besides my omissions, which are many, I have committed many faults. I shall think myself obliged to those who will be so kind as to rectify me, and if I had not relied upon the advice of intelligent and equitable readers, I should have kept this work many years in my closet, according to the advice of the Ancients in order to correct it, and render it less unworthy of the public view: but considering that I had materials left for two other large volumes, I hastened the publication of it. I easily understood that I should be both more usefully and more seasonably assisted, when the public should know what I wanted, and wherein I am wanting. I hope that with those helps the Continuation of this work will be more perfect than otherwise it would have been. I shall immediately go about it, while age will permit. I see nothing wherein I can better or more pleasantly employ the leisure I am blessed with, a leisure which seems to me preferable to all things, and which has always been earnestly wished for by the true lovers of study and learning."

He observes likewise how he has behaved with regard to Moreri's Dictionary. That he has passed over several subjects, because they are to be found at sufficient length in that work: that when he has given the same articles which are in Moreri, he has been determined to do so, either because that Author gives a very short account of them, or because having the life of some illustrious person, he found himself able to give a compleat account of him; or because he had as many detached and curious matters, as would make up a tolerable supplement: that he referred the readers to that Dictionary for facts of any importance: that when he gives the same Article with Moreri, he has put the errors he has found in this Author in a remark by themselves; but has not touched those which are to be met with in the

articles that are not common to both, though they are neither less considerable nor less frequent in those articles than in the others: from whence he concludes that his Dictionary is not designed to hurt the sale of the other, but on the contrary will encrease it, and make the reading of it more agreeable.

This is the first and only work to which Mr Bayle has set his name. It was not his intention to do so: he had said upon all occasions during the course of the impression, that he would not let his name appear in it, and he owns at the end of the preface that his friends had endeavoured in vain to make him change his sentiment; but that at last he had been obliged to give his consent that his name should appear. "This doth not proceed from fickleness (says he) but it is in obedience to authority that I do what I have so often said that I would not. It has been thought fit that I should affix my name, in order to terminate some differences among the Bookfellers. Without this Mr Leers could not have obtained the privilege, which he thought was absolutely necessary to him. I therefore pay a blind obedience." The occasion of this difference was, that Mr Leers having applied to the States of Holland for a privilege, the Bookfellers who were concerned in the edition of Moreri opposed it, on pretence that Mr Bayle's Dictionary was a work of the same kind with that of Moreri, and that this concurrence had been forbid by the privilege which the States had granted to them, and that this would be a great loss to them. And because they knew that Mr Bayle would not put his name to it, they made use of that circumstance to represent his Dictionary as a work which no body owned. The States notwithstanding this granted a privilege to Mr Leers, but with this condition, that Mr Bayle should affix his name in the title of it (1).

(1) This condition is expressed in the privilege.

And indeed Mr Bayle's work has hardly any thing in common with that of Moreri. It is a Dictionary of a new and singular kind. An infinite variety runs through the whole of it. In the Text or body of the articles, he in a very exact and concise manner gives the history of the persons he treats of, but he makes amends for this brevity in the Remarks which are subjoined to the text, and which are a sort of commentary on it. He draws the characters of those persons, he clears up the circumstances of their lives, and the motives of their conduct, he examines the judgment which has been, or may be made concerning them. He treats of the most important points of Religion, Morality, and Philosophy. Nay sometimes the Text seems to have been made for the sake of the Remarks. He takes occasion from the actions or sentiments of an obscure and almost unknown person, to instruct or agreeably to amuse his reader. So that some Articles which seem to promise nothing at all, are frequently accompanied with the most curious matters. He acts throughout the part of an exact, faithful, and disinterested Historian, and of a moderate, penetrating, and judicious Critic. In the articles of the Philosophers, he applies himself to discover their opinions, and to show their strong and weak sides.

Being persuaded that disputes about Religion, which have been the occasion of infinite disorders in the world, proceed only from the too great confidence which the Divines of all parties have in their own understandings; he undertakes to humble them, and to render them more modest and moderate, by showing that even so ridiculous a sect as that of the Manicheans can raise such objections to them concerning the origin of evil and the permission of sin, which it is impossible to answer. He even goes further, and maintains in general that human Reason is more capable of refusing and destroying, than of proving and building up: that there are no points either in Divinity or Philosophy, against which it doth not raise very strong difficulties, so that if we should follow it, with a disposition to dispute, as far as it will go, we should often find ourselves reduced to very great straits: that there are doctrines which are certainly true, to which it opposeth unanswerable objections; that in this case we ought to have no regard to these objections, but acknowledge the narrow limits of human understanding, and oblige it to captivate itself under the obedience of faith, and that in this, Reason doth act inconsistently with itself, since it acts upon very reasonable principles. He at the same time gives several examples of difficulties which Reason finds in the discussion of the most important subjects, and he doth this for the most part without deciding, and merely as a reporter. He endeavoured to inspire people with the same moderation with regard to historical facts. He showed that several facts which no body has ever called in question are very uncertain, or even evidently false: from whence it is natural to conclude, that we ought not lightly to give credit to Historians, but rather to suspend our judgment 'till by a rigorous examination we are assured of the truth.

The public was agreeably surprized to find that this work surpassed the favourable opinion they had conceived of it. The Bookfellers at Paris observing the great demand there was for it, resolved to reprint it, and desired a Licence from Mr Boucherat, Chancellor of France. Mr Boucherat appointed the Abbé Renaudot, Author of the Paris Gazette, to examine it in order to see if it contained anything against the Government, or against the Catholic Religion. This Abbé instead of confining himself to these two points, drew up a critical Memorial, wherein he says that this

1697. work is full of *digressions*; that one can find no *system of Religion* in it: that Mr Bayle never cites the *Fathers* there but in order to turn them into *ridicule*: that he maintains *Pelagianism* and *Pyrrhonism* throughout: that he had in different places inserted all the *barbrest things* which have been said or written these fifty years past against the *Catholic Religion*: that he every where makes *panegyrics* upon the *Calvinist Ministers*, filled with *falshoods*: that he seeks all occasions to render the reign of *Lewis XIV* odious with regard to the *revocation of the Edicts*, and the *complaints of the Refugees*: that one might observe every where in it a *visible affectation of collecting the most odious and infamous things* against the persons of late French Kings; and that he had purposely collected several *fabulous stories* in order to render *Henry the Fourth's conversion* suspicious: that in the article of *Francis I*, there was a very *injurious digression* against the *King of England*, to give ground for establishing the possibility of the *supposition of the Prince of Wales*: that it was full of *unjustifiable objections*: that Mr Bayle was only acquainted with modern books concerning *Religion*, and with those wrote by *Heretics*: that he had not the smallest knowledge of *History*; that his knowledge in *Antiquity and Literature* was all drawn from *extracts* which he had taken from French *Translations*: that he *ridiculously compared the Moderns with the Ancients*, and sets up the *Abbé de St Real* as a rival to *Cornelius Nepos*, in treating of the merit of *Pomponius*. "We may judge, says he, of the abilities of a person who in an extract of the life of *Pomponius Atticus*, translates "librarii, Bookfellers." This example which the *Abbé Renaudot* produced of Mr Bayle's ignorance is a very notable proof of his own rashness; for Mr Bayle had observed in the margin that we ought to understand by that word the *Copists and Binders* according to the custom of binding books at that time.

We may see by this what weight this *Abbé's* judgment ought to have. He had negligently run through Mr Bayle's Dictionary, and saw every thing through the prejudices he had conceived against it. He was besides naturally decisive, rash, violent, and passionate against the Protestants. He piqued himself upon his great reading and profound knowledge of antiquity; but they who have examined his works do not allow that his learning was equal to the opinion which he wanted that the public should have of it. They have found a thousand mistakes in his tract concerning the *Origin of the Sphere*, and showed that he has not so much as understood the Authors whom he has transcribed (1). However, upon his report, they refused the Licence which the Bookfellers of Paris desired in order to reprint Mr Bayle's Dictionary, and even prohibited the importing it into France. This was what Mr Bayle wished for (2). "I will tell you as a secret (says he to one of his friends (3), that I am exceedingly glad that they have prohibited my Dictionary in France. "It is not because the prohibition will the more excite peoples curiosity; for *timur in vetitum*. I have two other reasons. The one is, that if they had allowed it to be sold there, the Bookfellers at Lyons would have counterfeited it, and committed a thousand typographical errors. Their edition would have hindered the sale of that of Mr Leers, and would have multiplied the copies of a first edition, which is always imperfect when a large work has been composed hastily, and with so little assistance of libraries as I have had. This prohibition makes me hope that Mr Leers's sole edition will sell, and that he will be obliged to print a second, in the correction of which I will employ all my abilities, which are very small I own, but which however I will apply to better purpose, and I expect from your knowledge and good advice how to direct myself aright in the correction. The other reason, which still is of more importance, is, that if my Dictionary had been allowed a free admission into France, my enemies in this country, who are a factious kind of people, and very artful in giving a bad turn to things, would have inferred from hence that my book contains nothing in favour of Protestants, or against France: A proof, would they say, of the criminal attachment, of which the Author of it is suspected, to the cause of the common enemy of the repose of Europe. It is therefore of advantage to me that my Dictionary has been prohibited; notwithstanding, though I wished that this might happen, I have said nothing in it which can please our Visionaries. When any thing came in my way relating to the affairs of Europe, I have avoided saying any thing either *pro* or *con*: and they even complain in England, that I have indirectly condemned the late Revolution, and that I have declared myself too much against the rights of the people, in favour of the despotic power of Princes."

Mr Bayle criticized Mr Jurieu in several places of his Dictionary: and in doing so he only followed his plan, which was to take notice of the errors in fact, or of the false reasonings the Authors of whom he had occasion to mention. "I have sometimes, says he (4), criticized my enemy with some force; he is enraged at this, and searches for all possible means of revenging himself. When I first published my Dictionary he set his emissaries a declaiming against it, pretending that it contained impieties; and after all these snarlings, he has persuaded his Confratry to examine it. I have all my defences ready, and I am not at all afraid, provided they will, I do not say, exactly follow the rules of equity, but forbear only from violating them shamefully and without measure."

(1) See Mr Des Vignoles's Remarks on this piece of the Abbé Renaudot in the Bibliothèque Germanique, Tom. v. Art. xi, pag. 153, and the following.

(2) See Letter to Mr Jandion of the 11th of February 1697, p. 625, 626.

(3) Letter to M^r of the 13th of May, 1697, p. 642, 643.

(4) Letter to Mr Constant, July 4, 1697, p. 654.

Mr Jurieu's party finding themselves superior in the Consistory of Rotterdam, he took that opportunity to have Mr Bayle's Dictionary examined there. In the mean while he published several extracts of anonymous Letters from Paris, London, Geneva, and from some towns in Holland, to decry this work. And indeed the Authors of these Letters said a great deal against it, but most of them had not read it, and spoke of it only by hearsay. Mr Jurieu added the Abbé Renaudot's Memorial, and the extracts which Mr Bayle had given of the books of that Minister in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, "In order, said he, to oppose the high encomiums which " Mr Bayle has given to him and to his works there, to the criticisms in the Dictionary." To all this he added several reflexions, wherein he repeated his ancient calumnies, and made new efforts to disflame Mr Bayle, and disparage his Dictionary. In the mean time he owned that he had not so much as read the title of it (1). He intitled this compilation: *The Judgment of the public and particularly of the Abbé Renaudot, concerning the Sieur Bayle's Critical Dictionary* (2).

(1) *I own to you that I have not read this book, nor even the title of it. Jugement du public, &c. p. 28.*

(2) *Jugement du public, & particulièrement de Mr l'Abbé Renaudot, sur le Dictionnaire critique du Sieur Bayle, in 4° pp. 47.*

(3) *Reflexions sur un Imprimé qui a pour titre, Jugement du public, &c. in 4°, page. 16. small character, and in two columns.*

(4) *Reflexions sur un Imprimé qui a pour titre, Jugement du Public, &c. p. 1.*

(5) *Ibid. pag. 1, 2.*

Mr Bayle upon this published a piece intitled: *Remarks on a Pamphlet, intitled The Judgment of the Public, &c* (3), wherein he says that his principal design in publishing this piece was to acquaint the public that he was preparing a defence, which would demonstrate to all unprejudiced readers the injustice of his censures: but that this apology not deserving the fate of loose sheets, which for the most part do not outlive the week in which they first appear, he kept it to be placed at the beginning or end of a book in folio. For the same reason, adds he, I refer to it almost every thing considerable that might be said against that piece which is just published, and I confine myself to a few observations made in haste. He takes notice in the beginning that the title of this piece of Mr Jurieu's is deceitful. "This Libel, says he (4), has a very improper title, it ought only to be intitled: *The Judgment of the Abbé Renaudot, commented upon by the publisher*; for all the other judges are less than phantoms: they are invisible beings, no body knows whether they are black or white. Therefore their opinion and a cypher are of the same value. . . . What manner of proceeding is this! to make the judgment of the public to consist in such pieces. I could produce a great many much stronger in my favour, if modesty would permit: and besides how many Letters could I produce, wherein my adversary is represented both as a bad writer, and a bad man! but God forbid that I should imitate him in the use he makes of what people write to one another in confidence. "This is a conduct detested even by the Heathens themselves."

He observes that Mr Jurieu out of all his evidences has mentioned only the one who was most exceptionable. "The Author of this pretended Judgment of the Public (says he (5), has not been very wise in the choice he has made. He conceals the names of all his witnesses except one whom he ought principally to have concealed, a name odious and despised in all the countries which are at war with France. I will not take advantage of the prepossession of the public: I will not consider him with regard to his Gazette, which discredits him every where as a man who has got a habit of giving a malicious turn to lies. I will consider him on his fair side.

"The Abbé Renaudot has the character of a very learned man, and of having a taste so delicate that nothing is able to please him. One can therefore conclude nothing from his contempt of any thing: it is an equivocal proof. I have been likewise told that he is exceedingly devout. We need not therefore be astonished, that he thinks some things too free, which at bottom do not go beyond the liberties which an honest man may allow himself, after the example of so many great authors." He adds, that with regard to the gay passages in his Dictionary, which are complained of as a little too licentious, he does not doubt but every body will be satisfied when they have seen the Apology he is preparing on this head: and he promiseth to revise the article of David in such a manner that it shall not any longer serve for a pretence for the declamations of his detractors. "I have declared (says he) upon all occasions, and I here declare it publicly, that if there are any heterodox opinions in my work, I am the first who will detest them, and that I will throw them out in the second edition. All that I want is to have them pointed out to me."

He next observes several falsehoods which the Authors of the extracts had spread concerning his Dictionary: he refutes Mr Jurieu's calumnies and malicious insinuations; and shows how ridiculously he had boasted that he had reduced him to live upon the pension of a Bookfeller: he says that he had criticized him without affectation, and had treated him in the same manner with other authors, whose faults he had taken notice of; that he had done him justice when he had been censured by others without reason, and that it was not his fault that he had not had more frequent occasions of justifying him; that what he had censured in some of his works, was not the same thing which he had formerly commended; that at first he had praised him sincerely, and that afterwards he had criticized him for good reasons, being better instructed.

With regard to Mr Renaudot, Mr Bayle contents himself with observing two or three falsehoods in point of fact contained in his Memorial, delaying a thorough examination

1697. mination of it 'till that Abbé should declare himself the Author of it. "If I at any time do answer the Abbé Renaudot's Judgment (says he) it will only be after I shall know that he acknowledgeth it to be his, in the manner in which it is printed; for it is so full of mistakes, falsehoods, and blunders, that I imagine it not to be agreeable to the original: some false pieces have possibly been added to it in copying. He had prejudiced a great many people, but men of judgment having read my Dictionary, quickly put an end to that prejudice. The Abbé himself is not ignorant of this, for he says in one of his Letters, *That I ought to be satisfied with the approbation of so many people.* And so I am. People were surprized to find so many idle things in his report. The only question was, whether my book contained any thing which could shock either the Church of Rome or France. No body had asked him whether I was acquainted with good Authors, or whether I equal the Moderns with the Ancients. If several of my readers have contradicted him on the head of my ignorance, I disavow them: he has not said enough on this head, I know a great many more circumstances of it, and if he has a mind to draw my picture in this light, I will furnish him with a good many memoirs."

This dispute went no further. Mr de Wit interested himself for the Abbé Renaudot, and made Mr Bayle promise not to write against him. Mr Bayle religiously kept his word; and was even so scrupulous that he was not pleased to see that I designed to insert in Mr de St Evremond's Works, the answer which that celebrated writer had made to the Judgment of that Abbé. "As to what concerns (1) *Letter March 7, 1702, p. 867, and the following.* (says he), the Apology which Mr de St Evremond did me the honour to write in my favour, as your friendship for me is already publicly declared, I do not know whether the Abbé Renaudot will not think me guilty of an indirect breach of the treaty which Mr de Wit had concluded between us, if any thing should appear in a work reprinted by you concerning the foolish quarrel which that Abbé picked with me. You know that in my *Reflexions* on that Abbé's Judgment, I promised to examine and answer it more at large. He is exceedingly techy, and though he is very learned, yet he is afraid of literary disputes. He is very well pleased with the liberty of criticizing by word of mouth, but doth not care to be obliged to come to discussions in writing. The late Mr de Wit, his particular friend, persuaded me very earnestly to peace, and was vexed at the *Reflexions* which I had published. Mr Leers, who is under many obligations to the Abbé, who doth him good offices upon all occasions, received a Letter from him, wherein he signified that it would be against his inclination to enter into a dispute of this nature. In short out of deference to Mr de Wit, and complaisance for Mr Leers, and in consideration of the excuses which the Abbé made for himself, I having a natural aversion to literary disputes of a personal nature, consented that Mr de Wit should make us agree to forget what was passed, and make no more mention of this difference. I have kept my word very scrupulously; for there is not one word in the second edition of my Dictionary which bears the least mark of my remembrance of the Abbé's Judgment. I leave it entirely to your discretion, whether by inserting Mr de St Evremond's answer, the Abbé would not have a pretence to say that what I have not done myself I have done by a friend, by thus renewing the memory of that quarrel." Mr de St St Evremond had read Mr Bayle's Dictionary with a great deal of pleasure: and he diverted himself by composing this answer, which contains very fine and delicate raiillery (2).

1698. The first edition of Mr Bayle's Dictionary being almost sold off, they thought of giving a second. It was begun on the 26th of May 1698.

Mr Jurieu had published his pretended *Judgment of the Public*, in order to engage the Ecclesiastical Assemblies to condemn Mr Bayle's Dictionary. He got this libel presented to the Synod, at this time sitting at Delft; but the Synod took no manner of notice of it. The Consistory of Rotterdam itself, acted with great moderation. They granted Mr Bayle a hearing, and communicated to him the remarks which they had made upon his Dictionary; they declared that they were satisfied with his answers, and exhorted him to acquaint the public with every thing that had passed on this subject. This he did in a loose sheet, intituled, *A Letter from the Author of the Historical and Critical Dictionary to Mr D. E. M. S. concerning the proceedings of the Consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam, against this work* (3). It is as follows.

"Sir,

"I AM informed by your last Letter that a great many contradictory accounts have gone about concerning what passed in the Consistory of the Walloon Church at Rotterdam, when the affair which I had before it concerning the Historical and Critical Dictionary was ended there. All you could gather from so many different reports was, that I had promised to amend that work in a second edition: but this not satisfying you, you desire me to give you a more exact account of that matter, and this I shall now give you.

"Be

(1) *Letter March 7, 1702, p. 867, and the following.*

(2) *This small piece was inserted in the first edition of Mr de St Evremond's Works, printed at London in 1705, 2 Vols in 4^o, and is to be found in all the following editions.*

(3) *Lettre de l'Auteur du Dictionnaire historique & critique à Monsieur le D. E. M. S. au sujet des procédures du Consistoire de l'Eglise Wallonne de Rotterdam contre son Ouvrage.*

(1) *In the*
Reflections
on a Pamphlet
intituled
The Judgment
of the Public
&c, upon
the Critical Dictionary,
§. iii.
pag. 2.

“ Be pleas'd therefore to know, Sir, that the Consistory having thought it their
 “ duty to take my book into their consideration, on account of the complaints
 “ which several persons spread abroad concerning it, named a Committee to ex-
 “ amine it. This Committee read it, took extracts and made remarks, and having
 “ made their report to the Consistory, and all other preliminaries being regulated,
 “ so that there remained nothing to be done but to hear me, and then proceed
 “ to give sentence, I was warn'd to appear before the Consistory, and accordingly
 “ I came there upon the day appointed. The state of the case in general being
 “ laid before me, together with the first article of particular extracts and remarks,
 “ I was ask'd what I had to say in my defence. I answer'd that not knowing
 “ what should be first consider'd in this affair, I had prepar'd only a very
 “ general discours. It consist'd of these two points. First, that I had a great
 “ many things to alledge in my justification on every one of the grounds of com-
 “ plaint; and secondly, that in order to spare the Consistory the trouble of a long
 “ series of tedious discussions, and to contribute more effectually to peace and edi-
 “ fication; I chose rather to change the things which had given occasion for complaint
 “ in a second edition, than to insist upon the reasons which I might advance to
 “ prove that all the noise which had been made was without foundation; that I
 “ had already acquainted the public with my dispositions to correct my work, ac-
 “ cording to the advice which they should be pleas'd to communicate to me, and
 “ that in particular I did declare to the Consistory, that I would with the utmost
 “ docility and respect make use of what information they should be pleas'd to
 “ give me; in a word, that if I had advanced any heretical or erroneous opinions
 “ (which I believ'd I had not done) I disavow'd and retract'd them, as I had
 “ already declared in a piece printed three or four months ago (1).
 “ This answer being thought too general, I was told that they would commu-
 “ nicate to me the remarks which the Consistory had made on my Dictionary. Ac-
 “ cordingly they were communicated to me by the Committee which they had
 “ appointed; they consist'd amongst other things of these five heads: I. The ci-
 “ tations, expressions, and reflexions all over the work, which might offend chaste
 “ ears. II. The article of David. III. The article of the Manicheans. IV. That
 “ of the Sceptics. V. The praises given to persons who had denied either the
 “ being or providence of God. I answer'd two things as I had done before: in
 “ the first place, that I thought I had a great many reasons to alledge in my
 “ justification on all these heads; and secondly, that notwithstanding this, I was
 “ ready to strike out of the book all the stumbling blocks which they had found
 “ there; I added that now that I knew, by the remarks of the Consistory,
 “ what the things complain'd of were, I saw more clearly how to correct
 “ them, that I thought it a very easy matter to remedy every thing, either by
 “ suppressions, change of expressions, or by additions and explanations. That in
 “ particular, I would new-mould the article of David in such a manner as no-
 “ thing should remain there which might give offence to pious souls. That with
 “ regard to the horrible doctrine of two Principles, that is to say, of Manicheism, I
 “ had sufficiently declared how much I thought it absurd, monstrous, contrary not only
 “ to religion and piety, but likewise to the clearest notions of reason and sound
 “ Philosophy. That I would enlarge more upon this in the second edition; and
 “ that if in quality of an historian I had thought myself oblig'd to recite the
 “ arguments of the Manicheans in their full force, I on the other hand was of opi-
 “ nion, that this was of no consequence, and that I only enlarg'd on what the
 “ most orthodox of our Divines every day tell us in fewer words, viz. that the agree-
 “ ment of the holiness and goodness of God with the sin and misery of man is
 “ an incomprehensible mystery, which we ought humbly to adore, being persuad'd
 “ that since it is revealed, it must needs be so, and that we are oblig'd to silence
 “ all the difficulties which our weak reason suggests to us. That I had sufficiently
 “ declared on other subjects, and particularly with regard to the existence of ex-
 “ tension and motion, that I did not think it a reason to reject a doctrine because
 “ I could not answer all the objections against it. That I would again examine
 “ the difficulties of the Manicheans, and that if could find answers, or if the re-
 “ verend Ministers of the Consistory would furnish me with any, I would put
 “ them in the best form I was capable of. I made the same answer with relation
 “ to the article of Pyrrho; and as to the praises bestow'd on the good morals of
 “ some Atheists, I promis'd an Explanation, which would show how these facts
 “ which I have found in books, and which I was oblig'd by the laws of history
 “ to relate, ought not to give offence, and that in effect they do no hurt to the
 “ true Religion.

“ The Committee having made a report of this Conference to the Consistory, it
 “ was desired that I should give in writing what I had declared by word of mouth.
 “ Accordingly I present'd a memorial, wherein after having first touch'd upon the
 “ two general heads of my verbal answers, I protest'd that I never had design'd
 “ to advance any proposition as my own opinion, which was contrary to the Confes-
 “ sion of Faith of the Reformed Church, in which, by God's goodness, I was born,
 “ and

1698. "and of which I made profession. That if any such propositions were to be found in my work (which I did not at all believe) they must have crept in without my observation, that I disavowed and retracted them; that if I had in certain respects taken a more than ordinary liberty of philosophizing, it was because I thought that this would be readily excused in consideration of the nature of my work, wherein I sustain both the character of Historian and Commentator, without pretending to act the Dogmatist; that the pains which I have taken to make my Philosophical Reflexions subservient to the confirmation of a fundamental doctrine of our Church, and which we constantly oppose to the Socinians, viz. that we ought to subject our understanding to the authority of God, and believe what he has revealed to us in his word, although the principles of Philosophy should not always be conforming to it: this, I say, made me hope that all my Protestant readers would be rather edified than offended by my Commentaries; that I was very sorry that the event had not answered my expectation, and that if I had foreseen the consequence of the liberty which I have taken, I would have carefully abstained from it; that to remedy what is past I would amend those passages in a second edition, and that I would have great regard to the remarks which the Consistory had communicated to me. I added to this, the particular declarations which I had made verbally to the Committee concerning the article of David, that of the Manicheans &c.

"Upon this Memorial the Consistory drew up an Act, with such reflexions and modifications as they thought proper, and this, Sir, was the amicable conclusion of that matter. They signified their desire that without waiting for the publication of the second edition, which might be long a finishing, I should publish something which might acquaint the public with the sentiments which I had set forth in my Memorial. I readily agreed to this, and I now acquit myself of that promise; and it has not been owing to me, that I have not done so sooner. I am, Sir, yours."

Mr Jurieu being vexed that the Consistory had not gratified his resentment, used all his efforts to engage them to take this affair once more into their consideration. The Consistory had been changed in the beginning of the year 1698, he flattered himself that he should find them more tractable. And indeed they did name a Committee, but did not think it proper to alter any thing in what had been already determined. They confined their examination to the making of some remarks upon the Letter which Mr Bayle had published. The Consistory approved of their report, and declared that this piece had appeared later than they had expected (1); that Mr Bayle had not sent a copy of it to the Consistory; that the number of copies which he had printed was too small; that Mr Bayle had not sufficiently enlarged on what the Consistory had required of him, and had not declared that he submitted to it without reserve: and that upon this account they might justly demand further satisfaction; but that they would be content to represent these things to him verbally, and to exhort him to correct the second edition according to the remarks which they had communicated to him, and to make a good use of the advice which they had given him: that they would draw up a Memorial wherein they might add some new remarks; and that as Mr Jurieu had been very ill used by Mr Bayle in that work, Mr Bayle should be exhorted to behave himself for the future with more moderation, both in the second edition, and in the other books which he should publish. "The Consistory having seen with grief that so little regard had been shewn to a Minister whose ministry and labours had been and still were of singular edification to the Church." A Committee was appointed to draw up this Memorial, and they were ordered to communicate it to Mr Bayle. They inserted in it what related to Mr Jurieu. They added likewise some remarks; and amongst other things they desired Mr Bayle "to take care not to refuse except upon very good grounds, what our Divines have reported of certain wicked Popes, since though he might alledge some conjectures in defence of these Popes, with regard to certain facts, yet strong reasons might be offered for their condemnation, and that it was unjust, without necessity, to side with seducers, who have done so much hurt to the Church, and to endeavour to traduce our writers as rash accusers." This affair ended here, and Mr Jurieu could not engage the Consistory any farther to gratify the desire of vengeance with which he was animated (2).

1699. In the year 1699 Mr Bayle published a third edition of his *Various Thoughts concerning Comets*. He suppressed the Advertisement prefixed to the second, and substituted another, in the beginning of which he tells us for what reason he had assumed the stile of a Roman Catholic in this work, both in treating of religious and political matters. He next observes upon what occasion this book was composed, and the design which he had of printing it at Paris, together with the other particulars which we related above. He observes likewise that he had promised that this edition should be enlarged with many new proofs and new answers to objections, yet notwithstanding it was entirely the same with the second, without addition

(1) The Consistory had been employed in this affair from November 3, 1697, to January 7, 1698. Mr Bayle's piece was not published till six months after. It is dated July 6, 1698.

(2) The reader will find at the end of this LIFE, the Acts of the Consistory of Rotterdam, with relation to Mr Bayle's *Dictionnaire*.

dition or diminution. The reason which engaged him to add nothing to it, is (says he) that this work being already too like those rivers which do nothing but wind about, he could not add new digressions to it without making it very tiresome to the reader : and that on this consideration he had reserved these additions for another volume, which should be published when he had advanced a little further in the composition of his Critical Dictionary, about which he was still employed. "What makes me (says he) refer this to that time, is that having anew examined all the objections that can be formed against the parallel which I have drawn betwixt Paganism and Atheism, it seems to me, that they may be all solved by the principles which I have laid down, and by applying the answers which I have already made use of. There is therefore no occasion to make haste." This new edition was printed while he was revising and reprinting his Dictionary. When it was finished he had nothing further to divert him from a labour which increased every day, and which did not allow him the smallest relaxation. "I should be quite inexcusable (says he to Mr Marais (1) for delaying so long to write to you, if I were not more than ordinarily busy, both in revising my Dictionary, of which they are now printing a second edition, and in correcting the proofs. It is with much ado that I can perform both these tasks, and it is very happy for me that my *Thoughts concerning Comets* being finished, I have a little leisure. I have read over all the sheets of it before they were printed, and though I have added nothing, but only made some small alterations in the title, it has made me lose a good deal of time." This Edition is in two volumes ; and to the second volume was joined a second edition of the *Addition to the Various Thoughts concerning Comets*, which was first published in 1694.

About this time Mr le Clerc, concealed under the name of *Theodore Parrhase*, published a book intitled, *Parrhasiana : or Various Thoughts on Critical, Historical, Moral, and Political Subjects*, in which there was an article that concerned Mr Bayle. He had maintained in his Dictionary, that the Manicheans could oppose to Christian Divines difficulties concerning moral and physical evil, which it was not possible to solve by the light of reason. Mr le Clerc on the contrary maintained that Origen's System which has been abandoned by all Christians, was sufficient to take away all these difficulties, and refuted Mr Bayle's Manichean in the person of an Origenist ; and concluded "that since a man of that sort can reduce a Manichean to silence, what might not they do who should reason infinitely better than the disciples of Origen (2) ?" But he declared that by answering the Manichean objections, he did not pretend in the least to hurt Mr Bayle, whom he did not at all suspect to be a favourer of them. "I am persuaded (says he (3) that he has taken the philosophical liberty, of disputing both *pro* and *con* on many occasions, without concealing the strength of either side, only to exercise those who understand the subjects of which he treats, and not with an intention of favouring those whose reasons he explains. One ought to consider the difficulties he propoeth, as we do the objections which every body is allowed to make in a school of Divinity or Philosophy ; where the further one pusheth a difficulty, the more honour redounds to those who can solve it. This is a piece of justice which he has a right to require of his readers, and which ought not to be refused him. For my own part (says he) I grant it him with all my heart, but I think I have a right to desire in return, that I may be allowed to answer his objections, without any body's making odious applications to the person, of answers which regard only the difficulties."

In the year following the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and her daughter the Electress of Brandenburg, since Queen of Prussia, had the curiosity to take a tour through Flanders and Holland. These Princesses, less distinguished by their elevated rank than by their knowledge and sublime parts, were the admiration of all Europe. They honoured the learned with their particular favour, loved to converse with them, and proposed sometimes very embarrassing questions to them. Mr Bayle was perfectly well known to them by his works, their desire of seeing Holland was heightened by the pleasure of being personally acquainted with so celebrated a Philosopher. After having travelled through Flanders, they had no sooner arrived at Rotterdam than they sent to desire Mr Bayle to come to see them. But it being late, and Mr Bayle being in bed tormented with a violent head-ach, he made his compliments, acquainting them how sorry he was not to be in a condition of paying his respects to them. These Princesses next day went to the Hague without having seen Mr Bayle, who was detained at home by his indisposition : but the Count de Dhona, having informed Mr Basnage, who was gone to the Hague, of the desire which their Highnesses had to see Mr Bayle, Mr Basnage gave him notice of it. He came, and was received by these two Princesses in a distinguishing manner. The Princess Sophia conversed with him a long time in private, she asked him many questions, and they entered upon very sublime points. In the mean while Mr Basnage entertained the Electress of Brandenburg, who expressed a great deal of esteem for Mr Bayle and his writings, which she always carried about with her. They staid with the Count de Dhona by their Highnesses

1699.

1700.

(1) *Letter of September 7, 1699, p. 763, 764.*

(2) *Parrhasiana, Tom. I, p. 304.*

(3) *Ibid. p. 302, 303.*

1700. nesses order. These Princeesses desired their company to Delft, but Mr Bayle not being able to wait upon them, they parted at the Hague (1).

1701. In 1701 there appeared a book intitled, *An Apologetical Dissertation for the blessed Robert d'Arbrisselles, founder of the Order of Font-Evraud, with relation to what Mr Bayle has said of him in his Historical and Critical Dictionary* (2). Mr Bayle, in speaking of Robert d'Arbrisselles, said, that he had been accused of lying with some of his Nuns, that by irritating his passions, he might give the more glorious victory to his virtue. It is certain that Jeffery, Abbot of Vendôme and Cardinal, gave the blessed Robert notice of the reports which went about on that head, and rallied him upon this *new kind of martyrdom* which he had found out. Father de la Mainferme, a Monk of Fontevraud, undertook the defence of the founder of his Order; and Mr Bayle confesseth in his Dictionary, *that the reasons of the Apologist seem very strong, and that he doth not pretend to affirm what was reported of Robert*. This confession gave occasion to Father Souri, a Monk of the same Order (3), to examine this subject more accurately, and to place it in a new light. His Dissertation is wrote in form of a Letter addressed to Mr Bayle. He praiseth him for having given to understand that he did not believe what was said concerning the blessed Robert to be true, and at the same time makes great encomiums on his Dictionary. "It is a long time ago (says he (4), since the Republic of Letters have been obliged to you, but this last service which you have lately done to it, by your admirable Dictionary, has crowned them all. It is not enough to say that you have given us a book, you have given us an entire library. The novelty of the design, your discernment in historical facts, the exactness of your citations, that care and discreet attention which reigns every where in that prodigious work of advancing nothing that is false, and of daring to say what is true, according to the inviolable laws of a true Historian; all this makes me say that it would have been pity, if you had yielded to the temptation of suppressing so learned a work. As for me, an inconsiderable and private person, I received it, with a gratitude which I cannot express to you, and I join with the common herd of readers at least, in making the acknowledgments which the public owes to you upon account of the great discoveries you have therein made, and I shall make a good use of them.

"The difference of party is of no consequence here, every one will be able to choose what is proper for him. You do not set a great value upon our Saints, but that prejudice doth not at all hinder you from being dissatisfied at people's laying evident falsehoods to their charge, and we cannot sufficiently acknowledge your justice and sincerity in this respect. This love for truth deserves that God should one day give you the knowledge of all revealed truths.

"I feel in myself the same equity for your Reformers. I never relished either the exaggerations or impostures of zealots; and still less the bold assertions of Boleac, an Author full of resentment; how much soever we may be inclined to believe the scandals which are reported concerning your Patriarch, who has declared himself in so open a manner against the most ancient of Churches. It is not by impostures that he ought to be attacked, and the truth of my Religion which he endeavoured to destroy, had no occasion for such assistance. I do not believe, notwithstanding their Heterodoxy, all that the Catholics say of your Doctors, except when they are supported by incontestable proofs, and neither doth my Catholicism impose upon me, as to the evil which the Protestants say of ours, when their reasons are evident. I do not tell you this, Sir, to make you excuse the more easily what I will take the liberty to remonstrate to you, nor to set myself up as a model of sincerity to a person who might serve for such to others. Although I should not act in this manner, the poor example of such an obscure man as I am, would not turn you out of your way, and you would still thunder against the forgers of lies. That of which I treated here, which has been made concerning the blessed Robert d'Arbrisselles, cannot fail to belong to your Dictionary; for if it is true, your Dictionary may take bold of it, as it is historical; and if it is false, may take notice of it, as it is critical.

"But I am very sure you do not believe it to be true. You, Sir, own as much yourself. . . . I do not pretend, say you, to affirm what is said of him, for the reasons of the Apologist seem very strong. But will you allow me, Sir, to say that possibly you have not sufficiently, in this passage, condemned that falsehood, nor with so much vivacity as you have done others of that kind, which are only founded on HEARSAY."

This is the only thing which Father Souri would have desired of Mr Bayle, for in other respects he is perfectly well satisfied with him. "Once more (says he (5), we have only gratefully to acknowledge, upon this occasion, your equity and good taste. Shall I dare however (adds he) to tell you that the entertaining part of this Article has made you in some measure forget your own maxims, and has hindered you from saying any more than the two favourable lines which I have just now cited? there never was a story more worthy of your censure than

(1) *A MSS. Memoir of Mr Baynoge.*

(2) *Dissertation apologetique pour le bienheureux Robert d'Arbrisselles, Fondateur de l'Ordre de Font-Evraud, sur ce qu'en a dit Mr Bayle dans son Dictionnaire Historique & Critique. At Antwerp (Amsterdam) by Henry Desbordes. In 12^o.*

(3) *See Reponse aux questions d'un Provincial, Tom. I. chap. lxvii. pag. 684.*

(4) *Dissertation apologetique &c. p. 1, and the following.*

(5) *Ibid. p. 8, 9.*

"than this. You have indeed a mind to divert your Readers, and you have your
 "reasons for doing so; but it is not your design to divert them at the expence
 "of truth, and you have never lost sight of it, in what relates to us." 1701.

Mr Bayle gave an account of this piece in an addition to the Article FONT-
 EVRAUD. "This Apology (says he) is so well turned and so solid, that every
 "reasonable man ought to acquiesce in it; and though I have sufficiently declared
 "that I did not give the least credit to the reports concerning the sharing of
 "the bed &c, I declare again here, that in all the passages where I have spoke
 "of it without repeating this my opinion, I desire it may be understood." Mr Bayle
 does Father Souris the justice he deserved. "The civility (says he), the politeness,
 "the wit, and erudition of the Author, appear in it in a distinguishing manner,
 "and I am very sorry that I do not deserve the praises which so accomplished
 "a person has been pleased to bestow by way of compliment upon me."

The second edition of the *Critical Dictionary* was finished on the twenty seventh 1702.
 of December 1701, and was published in the beginning of the year 1702. It was

enlarged very near one half. This augmentation was contrary to Mr Bayle's in-
 tention. He only designed to make some additions to the Articles already pub-
 lished; and did not think of adding any new ones, he reserved them for a se-
 parate Alphabet, under the title of *A Supplement to the Critical Dictionary* (1). But
 the Bookseller desired that they should be published in this second edition, and
 Mr Bayle was obliged to consent to it. This change gave him a great deal of
 uneasiness as he shows in the Preface. He distinguished the additions in such a
 manner that one might discern them at first sight. He very carefully corrected
 the faults of the first edition, which he had either discovered himself, or which had
 been pointed out to him by his friends. He showed his gratitude to those who
 had furnished him with memoirs, and names them when he thought he could do
 so without offending them. In the mean while he owns that these additions had
 not allowed him to make the Articles of the first edition so correct as he could
 have wished. "I must own (says he) that the trouble which they have cost me,
 "has not permitted me to correct the Articles of the first edition, with all the fe-
 "verity and all the diligence which I would have employed about them. It is
 "very hard, while the Printers work without ceasing, for an Author to be able
 "to perform these three things, to revise two large volumes in Folio, to enlarge them
 "more than one third, and to correct the proofs."

In speaking of the corrections which he had made in the first edition, he doth
 not forget those which he had obliged himself to make. "There are (says he) a
 "fort of corrections which I have made as it were *ex officio*, and in consequence of
 "an obligation of which the public has been informed. I have behaved herein
 "with all possible care, and with a very strong intention to give satisfaction to
 "those who were offended. For this purpose I have suppressed every thing in the
 "article of David, which could give offence. This is the greatest suppression,
 "which has been necessary, the rest are neither considerable for their number, or
 "their extent. We have been able to amend every thing at the expence of a few
 "words, or lines, and principally by means of four Explanations, which are placed
 "at the end of this work." Mr Bayle did, in fact, suppress every thing which
 the Consistory of Rotterdam had disapproved in the article of David: but even be-
 fore this edition was completed, several persons having declared that they would
 not buy it, if that article was not published in the same manner as before, the Book-
 seller was obliged to reprint it by itself (2) that they might join it to this new
 edition. Some of Mr Bayle's friends advised him to insert in it the *Projet* which
 he had published in 1692 together with some Essays of his Dictionary, and he
 accordingly placed it at the end of the Dissertations in the last volume (3).

There is no book which stands more in need of a good Index, than Mr Bayle's
 Dictionary. Mr Leers took care to advertise in the beginning of the Project, that
 he would not forget this article, and Mr Huet composed a very exact one for the
 first edition: but Mr Leers foreseeing that the printing of it would take up a long
 time, suppressed the one half of it, which disfigured it in such a manner, that
 Mr Bayle thought he was obliged to inform the public of this in a short adver-
 tisement, which he placed at the end of the Index. The other half was preserved,
 and given to the Author of the Index to the second edition, who made the best
 use of it he could. But this new Index, considering the great number of additions
 was very imperfect. Mr Bayle here lays down a method of supplying that defect.
 He takes notice at the same time that having learned by experience the qualities
 which a good Index ought to have, he could have made such a one, but that he
 had neither the time nor the patience which so tedious and toilsome a task required.
 He adds, that he had not even thought it proper that the person employed in com-
 posing the Index, should engage himself in all the details, which some readers de-
 sired, and gives his reasons for it.

He next observes that some persons might complain, that his Dictionary did not
 furnish them with a sufficient number of things to their taste. He says that this is
 the inevitable fate of all books which contain a medley of many different things,

and

(1) See the
Letters to
Mr de la
Monnoye,
August 19
1697, p.
665; and
to Mr Ma-
rais, Octo-
ber 2,
1698, p.
727.

(2) See
Letter to
Mr Pe-
cher, Au-
gust 10,
1705, p.
1041.

(3) See
Letter to
Mr Des
Mailleux,
November
1 1701,
p. 839,

1702. and wherein there is a great variety. He declares that if he has made mention of one family rather than of another no less, or more considerable, he has done so without the least respect of persons, and only because he had Memoirs concerning the one, and none concerning the other. Lastly, he answers those who had found fault that he had given so few articles of great Captains. He says that this proceeds not only from his having avoided to treat the same matters which are in other Dictionaries, but chiefly from his not being able to make these articles such as he could wish. He gives an example of this, by showing upon what plan he would compose the article of the Maréchal de Luxembourg, if he had the assistance and knowledge necessary to draw it up.

He joined four Explanations to this edition, in order to fulfil his engagements with the Consistory of Rotterdam. He prefixed to them a general observation, wherein he gives the reasons why he believed that no body would be offended with the liberty of philosophizing, which he had sometimes take. In the first Explanation he justifies himself against those who had found fault with him for having said, that there had been speculative Atheists and Epicureans, who had surpassed the Idolaters in the soundness of their morals; and shows that the conduct of these Atheists, could not do any hurt to the true Religion, nor give it the least blemish. But he promiseth to treat of this more at large in the continuation of his book concerning Comets. The second Explanation relates to the objections of the Manicheans. He concludes it with the following six propositions, which contain the substance of his doctrine:

I. That it is the property of the mysteries of the Gospel to be liable to objections which natural light cannot solve.

II. That Unbelievers cannot justly draw any advantage from this, that the maxims of Philosophy do not afford solutions to the difficulties which they raise against the Mysteries of the Gospel.

III. That the objections of the Manicheans, concerning the Origin of Evil and Predestination, ought not to be considered in general as attacking Predestination, but with this particular regard, that the Origin of Evil, the decrees of God concerning it, and the consequences of it, are the most inconceivable mysteries of Christianity.

IV. That it ought to satisfy every good, Christian that his faith is founded on the testimony of the word of God.

V. That the system of the Manicheans considered in itself is absurd, indefensible, and contrary to the ideas of order; that it is liable to retortions, and is not able to remove difficulties.

VI. That in all events, adds he, no body can be offended at my confessions, unless he looks upon the doctrine of the most orthodox Divines as scandalous, since all that I have said is a natural and necessary consequence from their sentiments, and that I have only laid down in a more prolix manner, what they teach more compendiously.

In the third Explanation he shows, that the objections of the Pyrrhonian Abbé against some doctrines of Christianity, which he has related in his Dictionary, are of no force against our Religion. He first lays it down as a certain and incontestable principle, *That Christianity is of a supernatural order, and that its analysis is the supreme authority of God proposing mysteries to us, not that we may comprehend them, but that we may believe them with all the humility which is due to the infinite Being, who can neither deceive nor be deceived.* From whence evidently follows, adds he, the incompetency of the tribunal of Philosophy to judge of the controversies among Christians, since they ought only to be carried to the tribunal of Revelation. He draws the character of the Pyrrhonians, and shows that of all the Philosophers who ought not to be allowed to dispute concerning the mysteries of Christianity, before they have admitted Revelation as the rule, there are none so unworthy of being heard as the followers of Pyrrho. In the fourth Explanation he examines the complaints of those who had said that his Dictionary contained obscenities. He expresseth this accusation in the following manner: "That the Author relates historical facts which he has found in other authors, whom he carefully quotes, which facts are filthy and obscene, that he adds a commentary upon these historical narrations to illustrate them by testimonies, by reflexions, and by proofs, &c. in which he sometimes alledgeth the words of some authors, who have wrote freely, some of them as Physicians or Lawyers, others as Gallants or Poets: but that he never says any thing containing either explicitly, or even implicitly, an approbation of impurity; that, on the contrary, he endeavours upon many occasions to expose it to our abhorrence, and to refute loose morality." He afterwards proves by reasons, by authorities, and by examples, that these sorts of obscenities, are not of the number of those which we can reasonably censure.

Mr Bayle made an addition to the article of Origen, upon occasion of the *Parablasiana* of Mr le Clerc. "There are (says he) in that work some reflexions concerning the dispute between the Manicheans and the Orthodox. They are preceded by an observation as equitable as we could expect from a very honest man, they are preceded, I say, by a judgment altogether agreeable to equity, truth, and reason, concerning the views which I had in taking the liberty of relating the

“ objections of the Manicheans, and of confessing that natural light doth not furnish
 “ Christians with any means of solving them, whether we follow the system of 1702.
 “ St Augustin, or whether we follow that of Molina, and of the Remonstrants, or
 “ whether we have recourse to that of the Socinians. Theodore Parrhale main-
 “ tains the contrary, and pretends that an Origenist is able to stop the mouths of
 “ the Manicheans If a man of this sort (says he) can reduce a Manichean to
 “ silence, what might not they do, who would reason infinitely better than the disciples of
 “ Origen? We shall examin what he supposeth an Origenist might say, after having
 “ read all the objections of the Manicheans.” Mr Bayle reduceth the answer of the
 Origenist to these propositions: I. God has made us free to make way for virtue
 and vice, bame and praise, rewards and punishments. II. He damns no man sim-
 ply for having sinned, but for not having repented of his sins. III. The physical
 and moral evils of mankind are of so short a duration in comparison of eternity,
 that we cannot conclude from thence that God is not a beneficent Being and a lover
 of virtue. It is in this last proposition, says Mr Bayle, that all the strength of
 the Origenist lies: the reason is because he supposeth that the torments of Hell will
 not be eternal, and that God after he has judged that creatures, endowed with li-
 berty, have suffered enough, will afterwards make them happy to all eternity. The
 eternal happiness which will be bestowed on them according to the Origenist, fully an-
 swers the idea of the infinite mercy, though it should be preceded by even many
 ages of suffering; for many ages are nothing in comparison of an infinite duration,
 and there is infinitely less proportion between the time in which this world shall
 exist and eternity, than there is between a minute and a hundred millions of years.
 Therefore we have no reason to wonder that God looks upon the miseries which
 we suffer as almost nothing; he who alone has an adequate idea of eternity, and who
 looks upon the beginning and the end of our sufferings, as infinitely more near to
 one another than the beginning and the end of a minute. We ought to reason
 in the same manner concerning vice and vicious actions, which with respect to God
 do not continue a great while, and which in the main do not change any thing in the
 universe. If an artist should make a clock, which by being once wound up should
 go exactly during a whole year, excepting two or three seconds, which should not
 be equal when it is first set a going, could one say that this artist could not pre-
 tend to great skill or exactness in his work. In the same manner if God amends
 in one day for all eternity the disorders which the bad use of liberty has occasioned
 among men, can any body be surprized that he has not put a stop to them dur-
 ing the moment in which we shall exist upon this Earth.

Mr Bayle observes that a Manichean might answer,

I. That it is not consistent with ideal or infinitely perfect goodness, to bestow a
 gift of which we foresee the bad effects, without preventing them, though it is in
 our power: it is the essential and distinguishing property of ideal goodness, that it
 disposeth the being possessed of it to grant favours, which by the shortest, and most
 certain means which it can contrive, render the condition of the person who receives
 them happy. This ideal goodness essentially and necessarily excludes every thing
 which can agree to a malicious being; and it is certain that such a being would
 be very ready to bestow favours, the use of which he should know would prove
 fatal to the persons to whom he should grant them. Now if we consult this idea
 of goodness, we shall not find that God, an infinitely good principle, can postpone
 the happiness of his creatures to several ages of misery, nor bestow free will upon
 them by the use of which he was very certain they would procure their own damna-
 tion. But supposing that the infinite goodness of the Creator allowed him to be-
 stow upon his creatures, a liberty of which they might as readily make a bad use
 as a good one, we must at least allow that it would engage him to watch over their
 conduct in such a manner, as not to suffer them actually to sin. As to the reason
 alledged by the Origenist, that it was necessary to bestow liberty upon the crea-
 ture, in order to make way for virtue and vice, blame and praise, rewards and
 punishments; we might answer, that this reason instead of being an argument why
 an infinitely holy and infinitely good Being should give free-will to creatures, is,
 on the contrary, what ought to have hindered him from doing so. Vice and blame
 ought to have no place among the works of an infinitely holy cause, every thing
 there ought to be praise-worthy, virtue alone ought to appear here, and vice be
 entirely banished. And as every thing ought to be happy under the government of
 a supream Being infinitely good and infinitely powerful; punishments ought to have
 no place there. Virtue, praise, and benefits, may very well exist, though vice,
 blame, and punishments have no other existence than what they call ideal or objective.
 The Origenist owns that this will be the case when all creatures endowed with
 freedom of will shall enjoy an eternal happiness, which shall succeed to some
 ages of suffering. If he answers, that these blessings could not be a reward if
 creatures had not been endowed with liberty, it might be replied, that there is no
 proportion between eternal happiness and the good use that man makes of his free-
 will; and therefore the eternal happiness which God bestows on a good man cannot,
 properly speaking, be considered as a reward, it is a favour, it is a free gift. It ought
 not

1702. not therefore to be pretended, strictly speaking, that it was necessary to confer freedom upon men in order to their deserving the happiness of paradise, and obtaining it by way of reward.

II. Impenitence being nothing else but a bad use of our liberty, it comes all to the same thing, whether we say that God damns men only because they do not repent, or whether we say that he damns them simply because they have sinned. It is true that, generally speaking, it shows a merciful disposition to be willing to remit the punishment to those who are sorry for their faults: but when one promiseth pardon under condition of repentance to such as he very certainly knows will not repent, properly speaking he promiseth nothing, and in this case he is as fully resolved to punish them as if he had offered them no favour at all: if he had a mind in good earnest to exempt them punishment, he would hinder them from being impenitent, which is very easy for God to do who has an absolute power over our hearts.

III. The Origenists would not dare to determine the duration of these torments which precede this eternal happiness: for not only they are ignorant of it, but likewise they would be afraid of making them too short, lest they should be accused of loosing the reins to sinners; or of making them too long, lest they should not give a just idea of the mercy of God. They would not dare to make them, for example, either of a hundred or of a million of years. They do not therefore trust to the want of proportion between the duration of a million of ages, and an infinite duration; and we do not see that it solves the difficulty to say that there is infinitely less proportion between the duration of the earth and eternity, than there is between a minute and a hundred millions of years. What can be affirmed of these hundred millions of years, may likewise be affirmed of as many millions of ages, as there are drops of water in the ocean; since there is no proportion between finite and infinite. Yet in the mean while one cannot conceive that the punishment of a creature, which should be continued for a hundred millions of ages, is consistent with the sovereign goodness of the creator. This number of years, which is nothing in comparison of eternity, seems notwithstanding a very long duration considered in itself, and with regard to the person suffering. Now let us diminish this number as much as we will, we shall only thereby make a diminution of rigour, and we shall never arrive at the supreme goodness of God except by suppressing even the last minute of the pains of hell. We commend the skill of a Clockmaker when his clock fails only in two or three seconds in a year; but the exactness of an infinitely perfect artist excludes absolutely all exceptions. His goodness, his holiness, his wisdom, &c. are absolutely simple, and without the least mixture of the contrary qualities, without the least mixture which can be conceived, or which can be in the nature of things.

Mr Bayle observes that "though Origen could answer the objections of the Manicheans, it would not follow that therefore they could be much more easily answered upon better and more orthodox principles: for all the advantage that he can find in this dispute, proceeds from falsities which are peculiar to him, he giving on the one hand a great deal of power to free-will, and on the other hand substituting eternal happiness to eternal misery which he doth not admit." By supposing that eternal happiness will follow the torments which the damned shall endure for some ages, we take away the most embarrassing argument of the Manicheans; for their strongest argument is founded on the hypothesis, that all men, except a few, will be damned to all eternity; which is the doctrine of all the sects of Christians, excepting the Socinians.

In 1701 there was printed at Paris a book intitled *Naudæana & Patiniana. Or Remarkable Particulars, taken from the conversations of Messieurs Naudé and Patin* (1). In works of this kind, they make use of the name of some celebrated author, to introduce a great many historical and literary particulars, which have a relation to the time in which he lived, and which they sometimes even transcribe from his works. These Collections would not be contemptible, if one could depend upon the facts which are related in them; but they ordinarily fill them with an infinite number of things which are either false or uncertain, or which want many essential circumstances. To make them useful they should be attended with a Commentary both to correct them and to supply what is defective. This Mr *** did with relation to the *Naudæana*. He both made Corrections and Additions of which he gives an account in a short preface. "All the world knows (says he) how greedily the *Ana* are at present received. But neither is any body ignorant, that the little exactness which one finds in them very much diminisheth the pleasure which the variety of matter and liberty of sentiments, inseparable from books of this nature, might give the readers. It is therefore to put people in mind of making them henceforth more useful, that I have undertaken to add a sort of Commentary to the pretended *Naudæana*. The only thing which I propose to do here is to fix the chronology of the facts mentioned in it, to add sometimes absolutely necessary circumstances, and lastly not to allow the Author to advance any thing, which is not supported by the testimony of some other person worthy of credit." Mr *** tells us that he had a design of making likewise Additions and Corrections to the *Patiniana*, but that certain reasons had obliged him to confine himself to the *Naudæana*.

Father

(1) *Naudæana & Patiniana. Ou singularitez remarquables, prises des Conversations de Messieurs Naudé & Patin.*

(1) By
Francis
vander
Plaats
1703.

Father de Vitry, sent the Additions to the *Naudæana* to Mr Bayle, and he published them at Amsterdam (1) with the *Naudæana* and *Patimiana*, under the title of a *Second Edition revised, corrected, and enlarged, with Additions to the Naudæana which are not in the Paris edition*. Mr Bayle added an Advertisement to it in the name of the Bookseller, wherein he says that this edition is incomparably preferable to that of Paris; that there were a great number of faults corrected in it, which disfigured the proper names so much that they were scarce to be known; that they had brought together all the passages which related to the same person, and which were dispersed all over the book in the Paris edition; and lastly, what was much more considerable, they had given very curious and very necessary supplements, from a manuscript sent them from Paris.

(2) Ré-
ponse aux
Questions
d'un Pro-
vincial. A
Rotterdam
chez Rei-
nier Leers
1704.

The second edition of the Critical Dictionary had fatigued Mr Bayle. To divert himself he composed a book intitled *An Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman* (2). He says in the Preface, that in composing it he had proposed to write a book of a middle kind betwixt those which employ our hours of study, and those which we read only for amusement. In consequence of this he goes lightly over certain matters which might have been treated in a more compleat manner, he passes quickly from one subject to another, in order to introduce the greater variety, and when it was necessary to enlarge upon some matters, he doth it in such a manner that every chapter shows them in a different light. He observes that he might have employed certain thoughts and facts which have an essential connection with the things which he has treated of, but that he abstained from doing so, to avoid repeating things which are commonly known. He doth not doubt but some readers will think that he has made too many quotations, but he shows that this is a groundless complaint. It is to go against the nature of things (says he) to pretend, that an Author in a work designed to prove and clear up facts, should only make use of his own thoughts, or that at least he ought to quote very seldom. Mr Bayle adds, "That this book is not written in the taste which has prevailed for some years past, and of which possibly the public begins already to be tired. It is not a collection of miscellaneous thoughts, or of maxims or characters, smart repartees or merry tales. What is it then? It would possibly (answers he) be pretty difficult to define it, and I leave it to every reader to do it for himself; I shall only observe that this work has some resemblance to those books which appeared in so great number in the XVth Century under the title of *Diversæ Lethiones*, or some other title to the same purpose."

(3) Letter
November
9, 1703,
p. 936.
See like-
wise the
Letter to
Mr Ma-
rais, Au-
gust 4,
1704, p.
1001.

(4) Letter
February
8, 1704,
p. 951.

(5) Nou-
velles Ad-
ditions
aux Elo-
ges des
Hommes
sçavans
tirez de
l'Histoire
de Mr de
Thou.
Tome
troisième.

This work contains an agreeable and instructive variety of historical, critical, and literary discussions. One finds there likewise some philosophical remarks and some political observations. As soon as this book appeared in Holland, one of my friends informed me that it was written by Mr Bayle. I desired to know of Mr Bayle if this was true, and he made me the following answer. "I do not wonder (said he) that you have been told that I am the Author of a new book intitled, *An Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman*. Every body here will have it that I have wrote it, and if I were ambitious I would contradict this report, for this work is not very proper to give a man a great reputation. It is a heap of little observations, which can only please those who do not even neglect literary curiosities, and do not, after the manner of the generality, look upon them as trifles (3)." Some time after this I desired him to inform me whether this book would have any continuation, and told him the opinion of some people about it. "I will not here repeat (answered he (4), what I think I told you very plainly, that I renounce all interest in the *Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman*. I know however that the Bookseller has no intention of publishing any other part to it. I mean that there is no fixed resolution or plan laid down in this matter, and there is nothing of that kind in the press. Those people are no doubt in the right who say that it doth not sufficiently interest the public, but they ought to consider that an Author cannot interest the public, except he discusses questions which concern the honour and glory of a whole people, or of a whole Religion, or at least if he doth not treat of some important doctrine of morality, or politics. All the other subjects with which men of letters fill their books, are useless to the public, and we ought to consider them as only frothy nourishment in themselves, but which notwithstanding satisfy the curiosity of many Readers according to the diversity of their taste. What is there, for example, less interesting to the public than the *Bibliothèque choisie* of the Sieur Colomies, which however is a work that has been looked upon as excellent in its kind, and which almost charms those who are fond of literary particularities? I could name many other books to you which are read, though they contain nothing that interests the public."

In 1704 Mr Teiffier published at Berlin, *New Additions to the Elogies of learned Men. Extracted from Thuanus's History. Tom. III.* (5). Mr Bayle had in his Dictionary criticised several passages in the two first volumes: Mr Teiffier in this volume agreed that some of Mr Bayle's remarks were well founded, and undertakes to defend the other passages which had been censured. But in the mean time expressed a great

1704. a great esteem and respect for Mr Bayle. "I am obliged to him, (says he (1), for "taking the trouble of reading this work, and pointing out to me the passages in "which I have been mistaken; the other Authors whom he has criticized ought "with me to express their gratitude, and acknowledge that he has done great "service to the Republic of Letters, by discovering their errors."

(1) Nouvelles Additions, &c. in the Advertissement.

Mr Teissier seemed even to be diffident of the justness of his answers. "I do not "know (says he) if I have well maintained my cause, for I have to do with a "formidable adversary, I mean with a Critic of vast erudition, exquisite judgment, "extreme exactness, and who has signalized himself by several victories which he "has obtained over the greatest Heroes of the Republic of Letters."

Mr Bayle answered Mr Teissier in a Memoir inserted in the *History of the works of the Learned* (2). He says that two reasons made him hasten the publication of this Memoir: the one to show Mr Teissier how sensible he was of his politeness, and the esteem he had for his work; and the other to prevent the consequences which might be drawn from Mr Teissier's answers. "It would (says he) be a very bad prejudice against my whole Dictionary, if among the Critical Observations which relate "to Mr Teissier's Additions, there were so many of them ill grounded as he pretends. "I therefore thought myself bound to discuss some of them, in order to put every "reader in a condition to judge of the dispute." He shows afterwards that Mr Teissier imputes to him things which he had not said; that he would make him accountable for what is advanced by the Authors he quotes; that he sometimes has expressed himself inaccurately, and given occasion to people to mistake his sense; and that if he in order to support his opinion has quoted Authors who in effect say the same thing that he has done, Mr Bayle has cited others to establish his side of the question, who are of greater weight and authority. He concludes with excusing the errors which Mr Teissier may have fallen into. "This (says he) is what I "have to offer in defence of my remarks. I leave it to by my readers to "judge, whether they are just or not; but I declare at the same time, that although they should decide in my favour, they will notwithstanding be obliged "to think Mr Teissier very excusable, since he has followed Authors who must "needs have appeared well informed about these matters. No body can be more "persuaded than I am that my small observations will do no prejudice to his work; "and no body is more interested than I am to banish from the Republic of "Letters, that false and pernicious maxim, that a book cannot be worthy of esteem "if it is not without errors. Matters do not go ill with some sorts of books, especially with Dictionaries, if there are but seven or eight things to be corrected in "every page taking one with another."

(2) May 1704, p. 200, and the following.

Mr Bayle likewise made use of Mr de Bauval's Journal to defend himself against the attacks of an anonymous writer (3), who had published a book at Paris intitled, *The Distinction and Nature, Good and Evil: a Treatise wherein the error of the Manicheans, the sentiments of Montagne, Charron, and of Mr Bayle, &c. are censured* (4). This piece had been highly commended in some books printed at Paris, and they had even said that Mr Bayle could not avoid answering it. Mr Bayle sent for it, and after having examined it found that it required no answer with respect to those who knew what he had said concerning the Manicheans, and that a short Memoir would be sufficient for those who did not know it. All that he had to do, was to show that this anonymous Author had entirely mistaken the state of the question, or at least had pretended to mistake it. In this Memoir (5) Mr Bayle observed that what this Author had said of his own, or had borrowed from St Augustin tended only to show. "I. That the system of two principles is false, absurd, and "evidently contrary to the ideas of the infinitely perfect Being. II. That this system "is particularly absurd, ridiculous, and abominable in the details, to which the Manicheans had descended." But these two propositions were no part of the matter in debate. Mr Bayle had expressly agreed to them, and consequently there was no occasion to prove them to him. He had only maintained that the hypothesis of two principles, how false and impious soever, yet attacks the other hypothesis with objections which natural light cannot solve. This was the only thing that this Author ought to have engaged with, and yet it is precisely what he had neglected to do. He had satisfied himself with acting offensively against the principles of the Manicheans, instead of standing upon the defensive, and repelling the attacks which the Manicheans might make against the most orthodox Christians. The business here was not to make thrusts, but to parry those which were made. In this manner Mr Bayle shows that this Author not having touched the Manichean objections, he did not think himself interested in the dispute, and that it was enough that he had informed the public why he did not answer him.

(3) This anonymous writer was a Cartesian of Paris, named Dom Alexis Gaudin. He was nephew to Abbé Gaudin, Canon of Notre Dame.

(4) La Distinction & la Nature du Bien & du Mal. Traité où l'on combat l'erreur des Manichéens, les sentimens de Montagne & de Charron, & ceux de Monsieur Bayle, &c. Printed at Paris in 1704, in 12°.

This anonymous author had pretended that it was easy to destroy the system of two principles by maintaining with St Augustin that evil is not a being but a simple privation: Mr Bayle owns that this being once proved would solidly refute the Manicheans in as far as they affirm that evil is a substance; but that a Manichean might easily get out of this difficulty, by showing that this is only a dispute about words, and a misunderstanding betwixt St Augustin and his adversaries.

(5) History of the Works of the Learned, Augustin, 1704, p. 369, and the following.

faries. He concludes by telling this anonymous Author, that if he thinks it proper to treat this dispute in a regular manner, he must begin anew, since he is not one jot further advanced in it than he was when he first sat down to write: but that if he has nothing to advance but what he finds in St Augustin he had better be silent. "These arguments (adds he) are able without doubt to set the absurdities of the Manichean sect in a very strong light, but this is not the affair in hand; the question here is only how to defend, and not at all how to attack; nay it would not be sufficient to confound the impieties of the Manicheans by objections; one must enter into a dispute wherein we might get the better of adversaries who would not give such advantages as they did with whom St Augustin had to do; we ought to imagine ourselves to be engaged with Sceptics, who being disgusted with the hypothesis of the two principles, reject it, and yet will not embrace the other 'till we have freed it from the difficulties with which it is encumbered. In a word, we must show by the light of nature that there is a close connection betwixt the crimes and miseries of mankind, and the ideas of an infinitely holy, infinitely powerful, and infinitely free being." The anonymous Author having no mind to engage in such a ticklish discussion, chose to be silent.

Mr Bayle at last fulfilled the promise which he had so often made of publishing a defence of his *Thoughts concerning Comets*. He began it in the month of November 1703, and resolved not to give over 'till he had finished it (1). The impression of it was begun in the month following (2), and the book appeared in the month of August 1704, under this title: *A Continuation of the Various Thoughts written to a Doctor of the Sorbonne, on occasion of a Comet which appeared in the month of December 1680*. Or, *An Answer to several difficulties proposed to the Author by Monsieur **** (3). In the Advertisement Mr Bayle, says that though he had promised this work several times for ten years past, he had not made great haste to publish it, for several reasons which he relates: "So that when he all at once

"took the resolution of composing it, he had found nothing prepared for that purpose, and was obliged to awaken, or call very far back, his thoughts on this subject, so that the materials were brought together and made use of at the same time. There was only one thing in the Various Thoughts (adds he) which determined me to write an apology, to wit, the parallel betwixt Atheism and Paganism; but being thus obliged to take up the pen in my own justification, I thought myself bound to satisfy several difficulties which had been proposed to me concerning other parts of the work, and I persuaded myself that it was necessary to observe the same order in my answers which they had done in their objections, in which they had followed the order of my chapters. I have followed this method to the end of the first volume, but I was obliged to lay it aside in the second, to prevent engaging myself in a labour much larger than I had proposed. I have therefore inserted nothing in the second volume but what regarded the parallel of Paganism and Atheism, and notwithstanding I have not been able to go through that subject. There are some objections still left undiscussed on this subject which I have reserved for a third volume (4)."

Mr Bayle next makes a remark which he thought very essential. "I beg of the reader (says he) carefully to remember that this long dispute, wherein I have maintained that Paganism is at least as bad as Atheism, is a question entirely indifferent to the true Religion. The interests of Christianity are so separated from those of Pagan Idolatry, that it can neither lose nor gain by Idolatry being thought either as bad or worse than no Religion. This dispute therefore is of the nature of those problems, wherein one may indifferently choose which side he pleaseth, and orthodoxy not be concerned in the matter. It has been always left to peoples choice to maintain that Arianism is worse than Sabellianism, or that it is not; that the Nestorian heresy is more or less pernicious than the Eutychian, and so of several other questions, wherein they who are mistaken cannot be accused of doing the least hurt to the faith, provided they adhere to the decisions of the ancient Councils &c." He in the next place obviates some objections, and makes some remarks to clear up this subject. We have seen that he had promised to answer at length in this work a piece of Mr Jurieu called the *Short Review*: he gives us here the reasons why he has not done so. "When I published (says he) in 1694 an addition to my Various Thoughts, to answer in a few words a pamphlet intitled the *Short Review &c*, I promised a full refutation of it, yet notwithstanding I have taken no notice of it in this work, for I find that my preliminary answer has been more than sufficient."

The principal objections discussed in the first volume of this *Continuation* of the *Thoughts concerning Comets*, relate to the following six questions. I. Whether the consent of all nations, in acknowledging a Deity, be a certain and demonstrative proof of the existence of a God. II. Whether there be any certainty in Astrology. III. If the Pagan Religion taught the practice of virtue, or of good morals. IV. If all things were made for man. V. If Historians ought to relate things incredible and superstitious. VI. If the Polytheism of the Pagans has been exaggerated. The

(1) Letter to Mr Des Maillezeaux, November 9, 1703, pag. 936.

(2) See Letter to Mr Minutoli December 16, 1703. p. 940.

(3) Continuation des Pensées diverses, écrites à un Docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la Comète qui parut au mois de Decembre 1680. Ou Réponse à plusieurs difficultés que Monsieur *** a proposées à l'Auteur. A Rotterdam chez Reinier Leers, 1705, 2 Vols in 12°.

(4) Mr Bayle never wrote this third volume.

1704. second volume is employed in showing that he had reason in his Thoughts concerning Comets to say, *That Ateijm is not a greater evil than Idolatry*. Mr Bayle points out the writers whom he had already alledged in that work, and cites several others, among which are Fathers of the Church, and Catholic and Protestant Doctors, who have affirmed that there are things as bad or worse than Atheism, or who have even declared that Idolatry is worse than Atheism, and who have notwithstanding never been exposed to ecclesiastic censures upon that account. From hence he concludes that he was intitled to maintain the same opinion, and that if many writers have been of a contrary sentiment, this only proves that the question in debate is of a problematical nature, and left to every body's discretion, and concerning which every body is at liberty to choose either side without prejudice to orthodoxy.

He likewise here examines the question (1), *Whether a society entirely composed of true Christians, and surrounded by other nations either of Infidels, or of worldly minded Christians, such as all the nations where Christianity prevails are at present, and have been for a long while, would be able to preserve itself*, and declares himself for the negative. Upon this occasion he acquaints us with the notion which a learned man had formed to himself of Christianity. "I was acquainted (says he (2)), with a learned man, who fancied that Jesus Christ had not proposed his Religion as a thing which could suit with all sorts of persons, but only with a small number of the wise. He founded his notion upon this, that a whole nation which should practise exactly all the rules of Christianity, would not be able to preserve itself against the invasions of its neighbours. Now it could not be the intention of God, that an entire society should be deprived of all the human means of preserving itself independant of other people. This man would therefore persuade me, that as the Stoic Philosophy which was impracticable for a whole society was designed only for exalted minds, so the Gospel in like manner was only appointed for *Ascetics*, for chosen persons capable of abstracting themselves from the world, and of devoting themselves, in case of necessity, to the solitude of the most frightful deserts. In a word (said he), we ought to consider the Gospel only as a model of the utmost perfection, proposed to those to whom nature strengthened by Grace should give a relish for the most refined spirituality. Thus St Benedict, St Dominic, St Francis of Assise, and other founders of orders, have laid down rules and observances, not for all mankind, but for interior and spiritual Christians the number of which is very small. I answered this learned friend that he was evidently mistaken, since it is plain by reading the Evangelists and Apostles that the law of JESUS CHRIST is proposed to all sorts of people, of what sex and condition soever, not as a choice which they are left at liberty to make or not, but as the only means of avoiding eternal damnation."

This book engaged Mr Bayle in some disputes. He had cursorily criticised the system of Dr Cudworth and Dr Grew concerning *plastic and vital natures*. These Gentlemen suppose that these are immaterial substances, endowed with a power of forming plants and animals, without knowing what they do. Mr Bayle observed (3), that thereby these Gentlemen, without thinking of it and contrary to their intentions, had weakened the most sensible argument we have for the Being of God taken from the admirable structure of the universe, and gave an opportunity to the Stratonicians to elude it by retortion. For if God could give to a plastic nature the faculty of producing the organization of animals, without its having the idea of what it doth; they will conclude from hence that the formation of the regularity which we observe in the world, is not inconsistent with want of knowledge, and so the world may be the effect of a blind cause.

Mr le Clerc had adopted this hypothesis, and thought himself obliged to defend it (4). He was offended that Mr Bayle had said that it gave ground to elude by way of retortion one of the arguments which most embarrasseth the Atheists. He complained that this remark would raise very disadvantageous notions of the Religion and of the abilities of Dr Cudworth and Dr Grew, and that he found himself interested in this matter. He says that if Mr Bayle had sufficiently understood their opinion, he would have seen that it gives no handle to Atheists, because the plastic and vital natures which they maintain, are only instruments in the hand of God, that they have no power but what God has given them, that God governs their actions, that they are instrumental causes, produced and employed by the principal; and that we cannot say that a building was made without art, because not only the hammers, the rules, the squares, the compasses, the axes, the saws, but even the hands of men which made use of these utensils, are things destitute of intelligence: it is sufficient that the mind of the Architect has conducted all these, and employed them to accomplish his designs. It is evident then, adds he, that Atheists, who deny the existence of the intelligent cause which has guided and regulated the formation of all things, cannot retort the argument which these two Philosophers have opposed to them.

Mr Bayle answered (5), that he had not the least intention of doing prejudice either to the orthodoxy or the learning of these Gentlemen, and that he had even taken

(1) Continuation of the Various Thoughts &c. *T. m.* ii. pag. 598.

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 602, 603.

(3) *Ibid.* Tom. i. p. 90, 91.

(4) Bibliothèque choise, Tom. v. Art. iv. pag. 283, and the following.

(5) History of the Works of the Learned, Art. 1704, Art. vii. pag. 580, and the following.

care to prevent any such thought. He adds, that the defect he had found in their hypothesis, was not peculiar to them: that almost all the Philosophers, both ancient and modern were in the same case. He shows that if these Gentlemen had considered their plastic natures as simple instruments in the hand of God, they would have fallen into all the inconveniences of the Cartesian hypothesis which they designed to avoid; so that it must be supposed that they believed them to be active principles, which do not require being pushed on and directed without interruption, but that it is sufficient, that God set them in their proper places, and watch over their conduct, in order to set them right when it is necessary. Now this being granted, he maintains, that there is room for a retortion. For when we bring the order and symmetry of the world as a proof of the existence of God, we suppose that in order to produce any regular work, the agent must have an idea of it: while according to Dr Cudworth the plastic natures which produce plants and animals have no idea of what they do. If it be answered, that they were created by a Being who knows all things, and that they only execute his idea's, the Stratonician will reply that if they execute them in quality of efficient causes, this is as incomprehensible as the thing objected against, since it is as difficult to execute a plan which we do not know, but which another knows, as it is to follow a plan which is known by no body. Since you allow, will the Stratonician say, that God can give to creatures a faculty of producing excellent works without the least knowledge; you ought likewise to own, that there is no necessary connexion between the faculty of producing excellent works, and the idea of their essence, and of the manner of their production; and consequently you ought not to pretend that these two things cannot be separated in nature, and that nature may not have of itself, what these plastic beings have, according to you, by the gift of God. To abridge this dispute Mr Bayle reduced it to this question of fact: *Have these Gentlemen taught that plastic and vital natures are only passive instruments in the hand of God?* Mr le Clerc (says he) seems to affirm it, by his example of an Architect who erects a very regular building, though all the tools of which he makes use be void of understanding. It is evident, added Mr Bayle, that with regard to the Architect, all his tools, and even his hands, are merely passive instruments, which only move in as far as he pusheth them. If the plastic and vital natures be in the same case, I confess there is no retortion to be feared, but on the other hand God alone in this case will be the next and immediate cause of all generation; which would be to admit the Cartesian doctrine, which they meant to reject.

(1) Bibliothèque de la ville de Paris. Tom. vii. Art. vii. pag. 422, and the following. Mr le Clerc replied (1) that Dr Cudworth did not look upon the plastic natures to be passive instruments; that they are under the direction of God, who conducts them, though we do not know in what manner; that though they act regularly, yet it is under the direction of God, who intervenes as he thinks fit, and when he thinks fit; that the sole difference which is between their action and the faculty of beasts, who do several things in a regular manner when men conduct them, tho' they do not know what they do, is, that we do not know how God intervenes, and that we see how men act. But however this be, adds he, the Atheists cannot retort Dr Cudworth's argument against him, because God is Author of the order in which the plastic nature operates; and that according to the Atheists notions, matter moves of itself without any cause which regulates it, or which has given it a power of moving regularly. If any body should say that it has it of itself, that would not be to retort the argument, this would be to make a supposition, which it would be easy to overturn.

(2) History of the Works of the Learned, Dr Cudworth, 1704, Art. xii. pag. 540, and the following. Mr Bayle again replied (2), and began with stating the question anew. He said that the retortion was founded on this, that, if we suppose that there are beings which have the faculty of organizing animals without knowing what they do, we cannot refuse those who say that the world may have been produced without the operation of an intelligent cause. It would be to no purpose to answer to them, that these beings have received this faculty from an intelligent cause: for by making this answer we would still own the compatibility of the power to organize matter with want of understanding, and consequently would confuse ourselves. Mr Bayle next examines Mr le Clerc's Reply. He owns that a creature without, understanding may under the direction of God do certain things as regularly as a cause endowed with understanding; but that in that case this creature would be only a passive instrument in the hand of God. And so the plastic natures of Dr Cudworth cannot be the efficient cause of organization, but at most the instrument. They are no more capable of discernment in the first moment of conception, than in all the other moments which follow until the organization is completed; it is necessary therefore that God apply and direct them without interruption from the beginning to the end: from whence it necessarily follows, that they are only passive instruments in his hands, and so Dr Cudworth cannot avoid the retortion, except by supposing what the Cartesians suppose. The example of beasts, adds he, confirms the difficulty; for if we consider all the services which we draw from them, we shall find that in all things wherein their knowledge doth not serve them for a guide, they must be pushed or directed as if they were pure machines.

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Mr le Clerc had said, that Madam Masham, Dr Cudworth's daughter, had wrote him a letter, wherein *she complained with reason of Mr Bayle's proceeding with regard to her father*; and that she had allowed him to print it, but that he did not think it proper to do so; because possibly Mr Bayle might change his opinion when he had better understood Dr Cudworth's system. Madam Masham had been prejudiced against Mr Bayle: but he appealed to what he had at first answered to Mr le Clerc, and added that if this Lady, who was very learned, would be pleased to examin the matter, she would find that she had been misinformed. And in fact when she had seen Mr Bayle's explanations, she desired Mr le Clerc to suppress the Letter which she had wrote to him (1).

Mr le Clerc still maintained that Dr Cudworth gave no room for retortion. He said (2), that the conception of a design, such as that of forming animals, is incompatible with a want of knowledge in the first cause; but that it is not so as to the second causes, which act under the direction of this first cause: that it is not necessary that God should direct and push them continually as we do passive instruments, and “(3) that he had proved this by the use which men make of beasts; “whose organs they do not move, which act notwithstanding in a regular manner, “in order to produce a certain effect, which they are entirely ignorant of. They “are not pushed, as Mr Bayle says, in the same manner as if they were pure “machines, since they move their own members. For example, can one say that “a dog, who being placed in a sort of wheel turns it about by going in it, and by “this mean turns a spit and what is tied to it, is employed in the same manner “as a jack? the jack is set a going merely by weights, but we do not give motion to the limbs of the dog; it is he himself who moves them, and though “we should put in his place any sort of machine it would never produce the same “effect. I own, adds he, that I cannot tell in what manner God applies himself to “matter and directs the immaterial forming natures, without being author of all their “actions; but we cannot reject this opinion as absurd, after the direct proofs which “have been brought of it. Otherwise we must reject every thing of which we have “not complete or adequate ideas, which would be to fall into a ridiculous Pyrrhonism.” As to what Mr Bayle had said that he preferred the system of occasional causes to all others, because it seemed to him to be the most proper to establish the being of God; Mr le Clerc declared that he would not engage in any dispute on that subject. “I only thought (said he (4), that after having proposed Dr Cudworth's opinion as probable, I was obliged to show that Mr Bayle was in the “wrong to say that it made way for the Atheists to destroy, by a retortion, the “strongest argument which can be produced against them, and which is drawn “from the order of the universe. After having done this, I have no more to add “upon this subject. I will not enter into personal matters, nor penetrate into “designs, which cannot be discovered, without vexing those who might be suspected “of them.”

Mr Bayle recapitulated this dispute, and examined it more thoroughly (5). He observed that Dr Cudworth's hypothesis, to wit, that God has the idea of the organization of animals, doth not in the least lessen the incomprehensibility and impossibility of his supposition that the true efficient and immediate cause of organization knows nothing at all; and that the Stratonicians may make use of the second hypothesis in order to contest the other: that they will show him that these two things appear equally impossible, the one that the inventors of a machine know nothing, the other that they should cause it to be executed by persons who have no idea of it. Mr Bayle adds, that the example of a dog who is the cause of a spit's turning about, was out of the case which he had proposed: for he had not said, that we are obliged to *push and direct beasts* in the services which we receive from them, but only that *in all cases in which their knowledge doth not serve them instead of a guide, we must push them or direct them, as if they were pure machines*. “(6) A dog placed in a sort of wheel is not ignorant that he must walk, “and that he will be beaten if he stops; is not he threatened and even beat every “time he interrupts his action? He is not therefore without a certain kind of knowledge which serves to direct him, he sees the objects which are round about him, “he is afraid, and he acts by this fear, or by some other passion upon his *locomotive* faculty; and in the situation in which he is placed he cannot move himself, without at the same time moving the wheel round its center, and by that “means turning the spit. It is not therefore necessary to push him or *make him move his legs*, it is sufficient to excite some sentiment or passion in him which “may make him move. Let us observe, continued Mr Bayle, that the motion “which he gives to himself is continually under the direction of another cause. It “is not a motion which makes him go from place to place. The dog continues “still in the same place although he never ceaseth to move. From whence proceeds “this? It is because his motion is continually determined by the disposition of the “wheel to be such as it is. Here therefore is an example which proves that “in all cases wherein the knowledge of beasts doth not serve them for a guide, “we must either push or direct them, if we want to make them serve for

(1) See Letters to Mr Caste of the 30th of April, and the 3d of July, 1705, p. 1017, and the following.

(2) Bibliothèque chérie, Tom. vii. Art. ciii. pag. 281, and the following.

(3) Ibid. pag. 280, 287.

(4) Ibid. pag. 238.

(5) An Answer to the Questions of a Court y Gentleman, Tom. iii. chap. cxxxix, and the following.

(6) Ibid. chap. cxxxix. p. 1279, 1280.

"any purpose. All muletiers and coachmen will confirm this. A coachman may be at rest when his horses know the way, or content himself with taking notice when they do not do their duty; but when they are ignorant that they must change their road, he is obliged to be active in order to give them the necessary direction." Mr Bayle added, that as to the *direct proofs which had been brought* of the existence of plastic natures, he did not believe them to be so strong that one must either be a Sceptic, or embrace that opinion; but that he would not enter upon that enquiry.

(1) *Ibid.*
chap.
clxxxii.
pag. 1286,
1287.

The conclusion of Mr le Clerc's last Reply gave Mr Bayle occasion to say (1), that Mr le Clerc "had not sufficiently reflected upon a thing which may be easily known, to wit, that the same zeal which inclines one man to maintain that a reason has a great deal of solidity for the existence of God, may incline another man to maintain that it is weak and dangerous. These two men may have the same intention, they differ only in their judgment about the quality of an argument. They ought both therefore, said Mr Bayle, to abstain from all suspicious expressions, to abstain, I say, not by saying that they will abstain from them, for this doth not fail to strike home, but by a perfect silence. Equity ought immediately to present itself to their mind, and hinder them from saying any thing which may be agreeable to the malice of their readers. The warmest defenders of orthodoxy have always preserved to themselves the liberty of examining the arguments for the existence of God, and for any other article of faith, and of rejecting such as they thought weak." He shows that in the Church of Rome they acknowledge a difference betwixt contesting a doctrine, and contesting some of the reasons brought to prove it; and that this liberty is still greater among Protestants. "But be it as it will, continued he (2), you will easily observe that the dispute about Dr Cudworth's plastic natures doth not interest Religion. It is an hypothesis lately invented which has very few followers. Whether it doth or doth not furnish the Atheists with a pretence to chicane, is of small importance. This doth not in the least hurt the many victorious arguments, which this learned Englishman has made use of and illustrated in a wonderful manner against Atheism. The system of the Peripatetics has been in the same case with these plastic natures during many ages and is so still: so that the dispute of which I am speaking only concerns two private persons, is only a question of Logic, and of Natural Philosophy. All the question is whether Mr Bayle has reason to say that a certain retortion can be made, or if Mr le Clerc has reason to maintain the contrary, and has not given occasion to his readers to discover the embarrassing consequences and defects of his plastic natures."

(3) *Bibliothèque
choisie,*
Tom. ix.
Art. x.
pag. 361,
362.

Mr le Clerc took this matter very differently. "When Mr Bayle (said he (3), accused Dr Cudworth of giving a handle to the Atheists to retort some of the arguments which are brought against them; I at first believed that it was because he did not sufficiently understand Dr Cudworth's system, for in fact he did not understand it . . . but as I have seen that he would receive no explanation upon that subject, after I had explained it to him thrice, I no longer doubted that he said this with a design to excuse the Atheists, as he doth in his *Thoughts concerning Comets*, and in the *Continuation*. . . . Being vexed, as it seems, to see Dr Cudworth triumph over the Atheists in a very glorious and advantageous manner for Christianity, and not daring to deny this, he thought it was necessary at any rate to blacken that great man's manner of philosophizing, by accusing him of furnishing arms to those who deny the being of a God." Mr le Clerc afterwards says that all the difficulty is now reduced to this one proposition: "Whether there can exist an immaterial self-acting nature, which forms in miniature, by a faculty which it has received from God, machines such as the bodies of plants and animals are, without having an idea of them." He maintained that this is possible, still supposing that the creator of this nature has in himself perfectly clear ideas of what it doth; without which it would be impossible for a blind nature to act with order. But that it doth not follow from hence, that this nature is a merely passive instrument in the hand of God, because according to the supposition it is a self-acting nature. He alledged the example of beasts, which men employ as active instruments to draw loaded carriages, and to turn millstones in a certain order; without knowing either what they do, or why they do it, or whether they observe any order or no. He related likewise the principal actions of birds, and said that how admirable soever those actions are, yet they were performed without knowledge; since otherwise we should be obliged to conclude that these animals have a great deal more wit, and reason infinitely better than man, which would be very absurd. He owned that he had not a clear idea of these plastic natures, that he did not know how God applies them to matter, nor how he directs them without being author of their actions: but that he had a very clear idea of an active instrument which is Author of its own actions, and yet doth not know what it doth, because he saw that beasts were in many respects instruments of this nature, and that this was the subject in question. He added, that we ought not, as Mr Bayle did, to take out one proposition from Dr Cudworth's system, as if he had advanced only that, and give it up to the Atheists to be retorted: that

1704. that Dr Cudworth had not maintained in general, that what has no idea of order can act with order; but that an infinitely powerful Being who has an idea of order may create other Beings which have it not, and who notwithstanding observe it; because he may give them a certain activity which they can only exercise in the manner which he thinks fit, and apply them to matter upon which they act of themselves, although we do not know how. After having thus explained Dr Cudworth's opinion, he says that he will not "stay here to retute particularly all Mr Bayle's "limities, which are not at all just, which make us forget the state of the question, "and which turn only upon confused ideas which he perplexeth with a design to "favour the Atheists. Neither will I take up time (adds he) in exposing his weak "reasonings, to shew that he has not understood me, and has not sufficiently "taken notice with what view I have spoken. This would be to tire the reader, "and one could not avoid troublesome repetitions and fatiguing discussions of "trifles."

Mr Bayle considered his last Answer as the end of this dispute, and contented himself with making some reflexions on Mr le Clerc's reply. "We may hence-

"forth (says he (1)), look upon the plastic natures of Dr Cudworth as at an end. "Not that Mr le Clerc doth not still make a great noise about it, but he only para- phraseth what he has already said, and leaves my replies in their full force. It is "not necessary therefore to support them by any new remark; it will be sufficient to "desire the readers to compare them with his last piece." He observes that Mr Leib- niz had acknowledged the justness of the retortion of the Stratonicians. "But let "us not talk any more of retortion, adds he; Mr le Clerc obviates this sufficiently "by the necessity which he supposeth there is, that God should intervene in the "work of these plastic natures. It has been proved to him, that an interrup- ted direction would not be sufficient, from whence it follows that God directs them "without intermission, which shows that they can only be reckoned an instrumental "cause. Now in this case there is no ground for further dispute; for Mr Bayle al- ways laid down this alternative, that either the retortion of the Stratonician must "take place, or the plastic natures are not the true efficient cause of the organization of "the fetus. The consequence which ought to be drawn from Mr le Clerc's answer "is, that they are only an instrument in the hand of God, whether he directs them "immediately, or whether he place them like a spring in a machine, the form of "which is the permanent cause of the direction of all the pieces, or whether "he makes use of some other determination equivalent to this. Let no body "object that they are endowed with activity, for this doth not hinder them from being "a mere instrument." He says, that he had shown that Mr le Clerc could receive no advantage from the example of beasts, and that to suppose, as he did, that birds perform many things with a wonderful regularity, tho' they are neither directed by their own knowledge, nor by the laws of mechanism; is to bring back the occult qualities of the Schoolmen. "It would be (adds he (2)), a sort of inhumanity to push "Mr le Clerc any farther: he himself owns that he is embarrassed, which is a sign "that he is reduced to the last extremity. He is therefore sufficiently punished, "especially if we consider, that being infatuated with his plastic natures, he has ex- posed himself to the ridicule of all the modern Philosophers. They cannot com- prehend how a man who has shown a good taste in other things, should chuse ra- ther to fall into the most absurd galimatias, than to part with his conceit." He says that he was persuaded, that if Dr Cudworth had foreseen the consequences of his System, he would have reformed it; and that if he had been alive when Mr le Clerc's first Answer was published, he would have been very much surprized to see his honour interested where there was so little occasion for it: that Mr Bayle's observa- tion concerned Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and such superior genius's, as well as Dr Cudworth and Dr Grew: that the last named gentleman gave himself no trouble about it, although Mr le Clerc had in a manner provoked him to it. "Dr "Cudworth (says he (3)), would have been no less indifferent about an objection "in which he was no more concerned than almost all mankind, and would have "no doubt suspected that this was only made a pretext to serve for the begin- ning of a quarrel. He would have imagined that there was a *snake in the grass*, "some old leaven, some abscess which had been forming itself a great while, "and which must needs break at last." Mr Bayle adds that knowing how touchy Mr le Clerc was, he had treated him with the utmost tenderness, and had ab- stained from reproaching him with not understanding Dr Cudworth's System: that Mr le Clerc to cloak his inability to answer his arguments had treated them as trifling: in a word that the victory obtained over him on the subject of the plastic natures had so confounded him, that he was beside himself whenever he returned to that subject, and that he had loosed the reins to calumny; "like parish Priests "who cry out *Heretic*, if any of their parishioners though agreeing in the main "to the truth of their doctrine, do not agree about the force of the reasons they "make use of to prove it."

Thus ended the controversy which Mr Bayle had with Mr le Clerc concerning the plastic natures of Dr Cudworth.

(1) An-
swer for
Mr Bayle
to Mr le
Clerc con-
cerning
the 3d
and 10th
Articles
in the 9th
Tome of
the Bi-
bliothéque
choisie,
pag. 31.

(2) *Ibid.*
pag. 34.

(3) *Ibid.*
p. 35; 36.

About the end of the year 1705, Mr Bayle published at the same time the second and third volumes of his *Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman*. In the Preface to the second volume he observed that there is this difference betwixt these volumes and the first, that the first contained a great variety of literary and historical particulars, and few matters of reasoning, and these on the contrary contained a great deal of reasoning, and little variety of literary and historical articles. "I have not heard (adds he) that any body complained that there was too much reasoning in the first part, and many have been heard to complain that there was not enough of it there, I have therefore thought it proper to change the proportions, by allowing the greatest share in the continuation of this work to what was only an accessory in the first volume." The plan of this book furnished him with a natural occasion of introducing all sorts of subjects: he took this opportunity of examining some pieces which had been lately published, wherein he found himself interested.

Dr King, Bishop of Londonderry, and afterwards Archbishop of Dublin, had published a treatise concerning the Origin of Evil (1): Mr Bayle examined his principles, but not having the book, and considering that it would have been difficult to find it in Holland, he confined himself to some general observations upon the long extracts which Mr Bernard had given of it in his *News from the Republic of Letters* (2). Dr King had composed this work in order to solve the difficulties which the Manicheans raise in Mr Bayle's Dictionary on the subject of physical and moral evil. Experience teacheth us that man is not only subject to diseases, pains, troubles, and sundry other miseries, but he is likewise liable to commit an infinite number of crimes. The question is how to reconcile these facts with the common notions of the sovereign goodness and sovereign wisdom of the infinitely perfect Being. Dr King had a great deal of penetration, and a very nice judgment. His penetration made him comprehend the whole extent and consequences of the difficulty; he made use of new principles to solve it. He maintains that God's end in creating the universe, was not to procure to himself glory, as the generality of Divines affirm, but to exercise his power, and communicate his goodness: that it is not true that the earth was made for man, that it is the ignorance or pride of man which inspires him with this chimerical imagination; that the quantity of happiness in the world is greater than the misery to be found there, an evident proof of which we have in the horror which all men have at death, and their violent desire for life, even when they are overwhelmed with the miseries, of which they most bitterly complain; that man being created of matter, becomes necessarily subject to diseases, grief &c; but that pain and passions are useful for the preservation of the body, since they warn it of what might destroy it; that the evils are so connected with the good that they are inseparable; that these are inconveniencies which are necessary consequences of the laws of nature; that physical evil is as necessary in the universal System of Beings, as the equality of the diameters is essential to a circle; and that these necessary evils do not at all interest the goodness of God.

(1) *De origine mali.*
Authore
Gulielmo
King,
S. T. D.
Episcopo
Dereni.
Dublinii,
1702, in
8^o It was
reprinted
at London
the same
year.

(2) *Months
of May and
June*
1703.

But the great difficulty regards moral evil, that is, the bad choices of man, the bad determination of his will, and in a word, all that is called vice. In order to solve it, Dr King has recourse to the ordinary solution, to wit, free-will; but he gives a notion of it very different from that of other Divines. He makes it to consist in the power of choosing, independently of the other faculties of a free agent, and of the quality of objects; so that this power is not determined by the goodness of objects, but the objects are rendered good and agreeable by its choice and determination. This perfect independence is the source of mens happiness, since it makes him master of his determinations, and disposer of his fate. Consequently God would have disturbed the happiness of the first man in its source, if he had not left him at liberty to chuse what he should please. It was necessary therefore that man should be capable of making a bad choice, and falling into sin. God could only hinder the bad use of liberty in the three following manners. I. By not creating any Being endowed with liberty. II. By making use of his almighty power to prevent free agents from abusing their liberty. III. By carrying man to another habitation, where he should find no occasion which could incline him to make a bad choice. But if none of these three be practicable, we must conclude, that the permission of sin is not blameable. Now 1. If God had created no Beings endowed with liberty, the world must have been a pure machine, incapable of any action; for matter is moved, but doth not move itself. Besides, God has created the world to exercise his virtues, and to please himself in his work. Now the more a creature is like to him, and the more self-sufficient it is, the more agreeable it must needs be to him. But we cannot make any doubt that a creature which moves of itself, which is pleased in itself, which is capable of receiving and acknowledging a favour, is more excellent, and must please him who made it, more than one which is not capable of acting, feeling, and of acknowledging a favour. 2. If God should interpose his almighty power, to prevent the bad use of liberty, greater inconveniencies would arise from thence, than from the abuse itself which we can make

1705. of this liberty. It requires no less power to hinder the exercise of liberty, than to stop the course of the sun, and besides it would be necessary, that God should entirely change his manner of acting with free agents, which is to keep them in their duty by the motives of rewards and punishments. It would deprive us of what is most agreeable to us in our determinations, which is to be persuaded that we had it in our power not to determine ourselves. It were to deprive God of the exercise of one of his most excellent virtues, to desire that he should interpose his power in order to hinder all the evil determinations of the will, in which his wisdom is exercised in the most excellent manner, and in which it shines with a particular lustre. III. As to the third manner of hindering the bad use of liberty, this were to desire that God should entirely destroy human nature, which was created to dwell upon the earth and no where else. It is true that good men shall be afterwards carried to another place, where they shall continue to all eternity, but that is only after they have been prepared upon earth, like wild stocks in a nursery before they are transplanted in order to bear fruit elsewhere.

Thus Dr King answered the objections founded upon physical and moral evil. As he supposeth that his adversaries do not admit a Revelation, he makes use only of principles drawn from natural reason. Mr Bayle did not think that his system took away the difficulties, and refuted it by several arguments which he lays down with great accuracy and force.

Mr Bernard furnished Mr Bayle with another article of great importance. He gave a critical Extract of the *Continuation of the Thoughts concerning Comets* (1), and attacked Mr Bayle upon the question whether the general consent of nations be a proof of the existence of God, upon the parallel of Atheism and Paganism, and upon the question whether a society entirely composed of true Christians, surrounded with other nations either of Infidels or worldly Christians, could be able to maintain itself. Every body was surprized that Mr Bernard who had always lived upon a footing of friendship with Mr Bayle, should affect to enter into a controversy with him; and it was thought that being suspected of Arminianism, he wanted by this means to ingratiate himself with the Orthodox. However he used Mr Bayle with great respect. "As I am persuaded (said he (2), that Mr Bayle searcheth after truth sincerely, I am sure without having consulted him, that he will not be displeased that I propose some difficulties to him in this Extract, as they shall offer themselves to my mind, not forgetting in the mean while the rules of good manners, and the esteem, and respect, which I have for his person and merit." Mr Bayle in the second volume of his *Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman*, answered at large Mr Bernard's objections concerning the general consent of nations. In the third volume, he examined what related to himself in a book of Mr Jaquelot's intitled, *The Conformity of Faith with Reason, in answer to the principal difficulties dispersed in Mr Bayle's historical and critical Dictionary* (3). Mr Jaquelot had left the Hague in order to go to Berlin, where he was Chaplain to the King of Prussia. He then declared himself openly for Arminianism; which he durst not have done in Holland, while under the authority of the Walloon Synods. In 1697 he had published a large volume intitled, *A Dissertation concerning the Existence of God, wherein that truth is demonstrated, by the universal history of the most ancient times; by a refutation of the System of Epicurus and Spinoza; by the characters of Divinity which are observable in the Jewish Religion, and in the establishment of Christianity: Containing likewise convincing proofs of the Revelation of the sacred writings* (4). Mr Bayle in quoting this book in his Dictionary (5), made use of an expression which infinitely displeased Mr Jaquelot. " (6) He lost all patience when he observed that Mr Bayle in quoting his Dissertation concerning the Existence of God, had only given it the title of a *fine Book*. He made loud complaints of this, and spread them abroad every where. It is true indeed that he durst not own that they were grounded on Mr Bayle's having made use of the positive *fine* instead of the superlative *very fine*, or of some sublime epithet. He pretended that he had used the term *fine* ironically. As soon as Mr Bayle was informed of this he sent a common friend, to protest to him that he had made use of that epithet in its natural signification, and it is certain that he employed it in speaking of another book concerning which no body will suspect that he would pretend to speak ironically (7). Several people from that time foretold that Mr Jaquelot would write against Mr Bayle with all the animosity of a bitter enemy, that he would conceal his resentment a little in his first attack, because he knew that the reply would give him a large field for it." Accordingly Mr Jaquelot declared in his Preface, *that he had no intention of attacking either Mr Bayle's person or his morals. I esteem, said he, his erudition, his genius, his penetration, and all the fine talents which distinguish a man in the learned world. I say once more, adds he, I have no design to drive into his intentions: I leave them to be judged by God and his own conscience. He declares that he proposeth these difficulties with no other view than to obtain an answer to them.*

The greatest part of this work is only a repetition of what Mr Jaquelot had said in his Dissertations concerning the Existence of God, and concerning the Messiah (8). What relates to Mr Bayle may be reduced to these three heads. I. The liberty of in-

(1) News from the Republic of Letters, February and March 1705.

(2) News &c. February 1705, p. 125.

(3) Conjointure de la Foi avec la Raison: ou defense de la Religion, contre les principales difficultez repandues dans le Dictionnaire historique & critique de Mr Bayle. At Amsterdam 1705.

(4) It is a book in 4^o of 705 pages. See Mr Bayle's opinion concerning it in a letter to the Abbé du Bois, December 13, 1696, p. 607, and the following.

(5) In the Article PERGAMUS, a City in Asia. Rem. [C] letter (j).

(6) Entretiens de Maxime & de Thémiste, ou Réponse à l'Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle par Mr Jaquelot, p. 14, 15.

(7) It was a book of Mr Bajnage.

(8) The Dissertation concerning the Messiah appeared in 1699.

difference. II. The Origin of Evil. III. The objections which the Pyrrhonians may raise against some doctrines of revealed Religion. Mr Bayle observes upon this that the title of Mr Jaquelot's book is deceitful, because it makes people think that it is entirely designed to refute Mr Bayle, whereas what concerns him makes only the smallest part of it. He finds another much more essential fault in it. "There is no reader (says he (1), who upon seeing this

(1) Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman, *Tom. iii, chap. cxxix, p. 642, 643.*

"title will not judge that Mr Bayle has attacked Religion, while all that he has done is to show that the philosophical objections against what Theology teacheth concerning the Origin and Consequences of Sin, are so strong that our reason is too weak to solve them, so that we ought to behave ourselves in the same manner with regard to the mystery of predestination, as with regard to the other mysteries of the Gospel; that is to say, believe them upon the authority of God, though we can neither comprehend them, nor reconcile them to the maxims of Philosophers. If he has dispersed some other difficulties in his Dictionary, they are all of the same kind." Mr Bayle adds that if this be to attack Religion we must affirm that the most orthodox Divines do likewise attack it, when they say that the Trinity, the Incarnation, Predestination, and still more particularly the Origin of Evil, are mysteries which our reason cannot comprehend, but which it ought to believe, submitting itself to the authority of God who has revealed them. He quotes a great many divines in proof of this, who all with one voice except against reason, and do not ask its assent when the question is about revealed articles of faith. He cites particularly Mr Jurieu, who in vain implored the assistance of reason to solve the difficulties which presented themselves to his mind.

(2) A Judgment concerning the rigid and loose methods of explaining Providence and Grace, *p. 28, of the Edition in 1686.*

"When I turn my eyes (says Mr Jurieu (2), upon the world, upon history, upon events, I find abysses there in which I lose myself, I find difficulties there which overwhelm me. It is true that I see God who created all things good at the beginning. Man at coming out of the hands of God was just, pure, and holy. But presently I find God abandoning this creature whom he had just placed in the world, and suffering him to fall into sin; sin whose effects were to be so fatal and terrible. . . . (3) I find in the conduct of God things which are incomprehensible to me, I can scarce reconcile his hatred of sin with his providence. . . .

(3) Ibid. *p. 63, 64.*

"(4) Is there any body so insincere as to say that he finds no difficulty in this, and that he can easily reconcile this with God's infinite hatred of sin? if God hates sin infinitely, why did not he prevent it since he foresaw it? why has he made creatures which other creatures may abuse? why has he created men when he knew they would damn themselves? why doth not he stop these men in their criminal courses? why doth not he stop the most part of men in those courses which lead them to hell? he could have saved a million of persons, and have suffered only one to be lost. On the contrary, he saves but a hundred, and suffers a million to be lost. This possibly proceeds from his want of power in this matter: but who can resist his will, and since he saves a hundred persons, why could not he, by the same means, save millions? Could it be said, that a King had the utmost aversion to the miseries and calamities of his people, who foreseeing that three fourths and a half of them were about to destroy themselves, and throw themselves down a precipice, should open the road to them, make an easy way for

(5) *P. 92.*

"them, and suffer them to run headlong tho' he could prevent it. . . . (5) The common sense of all men leads them to believe, that he who could have hindered the fall of the first man as easily as he has permitted it, and who has opened all the ways in which men have gone astray, tho' he could have shut them so easily, may be considered as author of the evil which he ought to have prevented according to his principles, and the hatred which he bears to evil, and which he could have hindered without the least trouble. . . . (6) It is to no purpose to say that God, before he had decreed any thing concerning the event, foresaw that man, placed in these circumstances, would fall, and that all his posterity would be lost: this doth not at all lessen the difficulty. For I could still answer: since God foresaw that Adam, placed in those circumstances, would damn himself and an infinite number of millions of men, by his free-will, and yet notwithstanding placed him in those sad circumstances, it is evident that he is the author of all evils. . . . And if we would speak sincerely, we would confess that we can answer nothing for God,

(6) *P. 100, 101.*

(7) *P. 103.*

"which can silence human reason. . . . (7) To conclude, I maintain that there is no safe medium betwixt the God of St Augustin, the God of Epicurus who was idle, or the God of Aristotle who meddled with nothing lower than the sphere of the Moon. For if we own a general Providence which extends itself to all things, in whatever manner we conceive it, the difficulty recurs, and when we think we have shut one gate it comes in at another."

Such were the sentiments of Mr Jurieu in 1686. He speaks in no less strong a manner in a piece published ten years after. "To what a height of blindness,

(8) *La Religion d'un Libertin, p. 385, 384.*

"says he (8), must one be arrived to affirm that we should gain our cause before the tribunal of reason in the matter of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Satisfaction, the sin of the first man, the eternity of punishments, and the resurrection of the body? they who say so, cannot believe it: I shall never be persuaded that they speak

1705. "speak sincerely. For all the false lights of reason rebel against these mysteries. And these false lights are of such a nature that there is no distinguishing them from the true, otherwise than by the light of faith."

This is precisely and in a few words all that Mr Bayle has put in the mouth of the Manicheans in his Dictionary. All his objections concerning the Origin of Evil are contained in these of Mr Jurieu: they all tend to show, that there is no hypothesis which is able to solve the difficulties which our reason offers against the providence of God with regard to evil, and that consequently we ought to hold by revelation alone. Things being so, Mr Bayle asks, why Mr Jaquelot never thought of assisting Mr Jurieu in his difficulties, which oppress him so sorely that he seems to groan under the weight of them; and why he thought himself obliged to take up his pen against Mr Bayle, since he kept silence so long with regard to Mr Jurieu, who however has said the same things?

Mr Bayle next comes to the three principal points which related to him. Mr Jaquelot reproached him with having used all his efforts to destroy free-will, thereby to give the greater force to his objections; and to show that man was unjustly punished for crimes which he was necessarily and inevitably obliged to commit. Mr Bayle answers that he had neither denied nor affirmed any thing expressly concerning free-will: that he took care not to engage himself in a preliminary question which would for ever keep the principal one in suspense. It is a subject so embarrassing and fruitful in distinctions and equivocations, that disputants have endless resources, and that it frequently happens that they fall themselves into contradictions: and that in fine he allowed him to choose whatever hypothesis he should think fit, and to go as far as Pelagianism if he pleased, which is almost the only post wherein we can make use of the liberty of indifference to advantage.

Before he touches upon the question concerning the origin of Evil, Mr Bayle observes that the question between Mr Jaquelot and him doth not concern any article of Faith, and that they are perfectly agreed in the substance of the doctrine. The matter in debate here is only whether our reason can comprehend the real and effectual agreement which is betwixt the Attributes of God, and the system of Predestination, and whether it can solve the difficulties which conceal that agreement from us, and whether reason can not only convince, but likewise enlighten our minds upon this subject. Mr Jaquelot takes the affirmative with the rational Divines, and Mr Bayle takes the negative agreeably to the hypothesis of the first Reformers, and their followers. He then observes what Mr Jaquelot ought to have done in order to succeed in his design: he ought to have proved that the perfect agreement between the theological doctrine concerning sin, and a certain number of philosophical maxims, can be shown to our reason; and he lays down seven theological propositions on the one side, and nineteen philosophical maxims on the other, which must be reconciled together in order to show the agreement betwixt Faith and Reason.

Mr Jaquelot is of opinion, that all the difficulties concerning moral evil may be solved by means of free-will, which according to him consists in "the power which man has over his actions, so that he doth what he will, because he will do it, so that if he did not will to do it, he would not do it, and would even do the contrary." A being, says he, which is possessed of this liberty is the most excellent, and most perfect of all created beings: the power of making a good or bad use of his understanding, and the command over his actions, are surely the things in which man approacheth the nearest to the Deity: God having formed this universe for his glory, that is to say, that he might be known in his works, and that he might receive from his creatures that adoration and obedience which is due to him, it was only a free Being that could contribute to this design; the adoration of a creature not endowed with liberty could not contribute more to the glory of the Creator, than a machine in human shape which should bow down before him by virtue of springs, or a speech in his praise, pronounced by an automaton. God loves holiness. But what virtue could there be in this, if man was as necessarily determined by his nature to follow good, as the fire is determined to burn? Nothing therefore but a free creature could execute God's design. Mr Jaquelot concludes from hence, that although a free creature may abuse its free-will, yet a free agent is something so elevated and so noble, that its excellence and value far exceed the worst consequences which can flow from the abuse which he could make of it.

Mr Bayle answers, that if Mr Jaquelot's principles be true, the love which God necessarily has to virtue would deserve no praise: the holiness of Saints and Angels would be only a mechanical holiness, and the Devils would deserve no blame for their hatred against God, since it is not in their power to do otherwise. He adds, that since it is one of the most sublime perfections of God, that he is so determined to love what is good, that it implies a contradiction to suppose that he may not love it; a creature determined to good, would be more conformable to the nature of God, and consequently more perfect than a creature which has an equal power of loving vice and hating it. Mr Jaquelot said, that the state of the blessed was

a state of recompence, in which their understanding was so purified that it always inclined their liberty to good, and never tempted them to evil. That is to say, that they should always enjoy free-will, yet notwithstanding they would never turn aside to evil. Now since he declares that this state is a state of recompence, he must consider it as a more excellent and more perfect state than that in which we live. It was therefore in the power of God to have constantly and invariably united in man liberty and the practice of virtue. And in this case, all the value that liberty gives to the worship and obedience which we pay to God, would be found upon earth as it is in Paradise. Consequently the glory and holiness of God have no need of free Beings left to the bad use of their liberty, since they might be confined to a good use of it without being thereby less free. Mr Jaquelot would have more reason to magnify the advantages and prerogatives of liberty, and to make it be esteemed the most extraordinary favour which a creature can receive, if it had served only to render mankind happy. But God having foreseen that this wonderful gift would be the instrument of mens damnation, he could not bestow it upon them out of a principle of goodness. The present was too dangerous, and he would not have raised them so high, except in order to make their fall the greater. He would have done them a greater favour, if he had recalled a gift which has been so fatal to them.

Mr Bayle makes a still stronger answer to Mr Jaquelot. All Divines agree, and Mr Jaquelot with them, that the operation of Grace doth not in the least prejudice free-will, and that God, who is the master of hearts, infallibly directs mens liberty as he pleaseth, without violating the laws of this liberty. From whence it evidently follows, that God by confirming man in a good choice, and by infallibly directing him to good, doth no prejudice to his free-will, and that by finally preserving him from sin, he doth not deprive him of this so precious liberty with which he had invested him. If it be necessary that men should have it in their power to sin, it is not at all so that they should actually sin, and God can prevent their doing so without prejudicing their liberty. Notwithstanding, God far from disposing man constantly to good, constitutes him in such a manner, and places him in such circumstances in which he has foreseen that he will succumb, and has endowed him with a faculty of which he knew very well that he would make a bad use. So that though we allow man even an unlimited liberty the difficulty still recurs, to wit, whether the permission and foresight of sin, are consistent with the goodness and holiness of God. Mr Bayle makes use of several other arguments to prove that whatever side we embrace, we can never make use of free-will to solve the difficulties concerning the origin and consequences of moral evil; and shows that Mr Jaquelot has been obliged to cover himself with the same intrenchment that the maintainers of Predestination make use of. He shows the terrible consequences of this answer of Mr Jaquelot, to wit, that since the permission of sin was necessary to the manifestation of God's glory, it was just and agreeable to all the divine perfections. He examines Mr Jaquelot's hypothesis concerning physical evil, and the idea which he gives of the eternal pains of hell.

The third point of the dispute between Mr Bayle and Mr Jaquelot relates to the objections which Pyrrhonism may raise against some doctrines of revealed religion. In the *Critical Dictionary* under the article PYRRHO we find the recital of a dispute between a Pyrrhonian Abbé and a Roman Catholic Abbé. The principle in which they both agree is, that the mysteries of the Church of Rome, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Transubstantiation, the fall of Adam, and original Sin, are doctrines undoubtedly true. From this supposition, acknowledged by both disputants, the Pyrrhonian Abbé infers, that evidence is not the certain criterion of truth, since there are several evident propositions which are false if we admit the truth of mysteries. Mr Jaquelot pretends that Mr Bayle by this wanted to prove that the Trinity and the hypostatical union imply a contradiction; and he defends these two mysteries by relating what the Divines say upon these subjects. But Mr Bayle shows him that he has misunderstood the Pyrrhonian Abbé. The design of his objections is only to show that these doctrines are opposite to evident propositions, and that they deprive us of the certainty which we found upon evidence. Mr Jaquelot ought to have proved that this is false, and shewed that this example of the fashood of evident propositions, gives no ground to the Pyrrhonians to distrust propositions which appear the most clear to us. But he mistakes the matter, and raiseth up a phantom in order to fight with it. He takes it to be the same thing, to own that the mysteries of the Gospel ought to be believed though our reason cannot comprehend them, and to endeavour to ruin Religion by pretending that it is always contrary to reason. Mr Bayle wonders that so penetrating a genius has not observed that the question was not to explain the difficulties of our mysteries; the objection supposeth them true, since from hence it is concluded that evidence is not the certain criterion of truth. All that Mr Jaquelot had to do was to destroy this consequence.

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This dispute did not hinder Mr Bayle from doing justice to Mr Jaquelot's merit. He owned that he had a fine genius, a great deal of penetration, and a lively and persuasive stile, that he had joined the study of modern Philosophy to that of Divinity, and had signalized himself in works of reasoning.

Mr Bayle likewise defended the answer which he had made in his Dictionary to Mr le Clerc's Origenist. The latter had given some new explanations in his Reply (1), to show that the system of the Origenist takes away the difficulties of the Manichean, who maintained that it was impossible to reconcile the permission and consequences of sin with the ideal or sovereignly perfect goodness of God. In order to prove this Mr le Clerc observed,

(1) Bibliothéque choisie, Tom. xii. art. viii. p. 330. and the following.

I. That God, who produced man from nothing, was not obliged to create him so perfect that it should be impossible for him to deviate from his duty; that it is a great proof of his goodness that he gave him the means of being happy by observing the rules prescribed to him, without being under any necessity of violating them.

II. That they exaggerate the damage which liberty has done to men, and which they might have avoided, if he who created them had made them of such a nature that they could not have departed from their duty.

III. That in order to prevent the bad use which man might make of his liberty, and to guide him to happiness, the divine goodness has been pleased to propose to him eternal rewards, and unlimited punishments in the Gospel: and that it is his own fault if he doth not avoid those punishments and obtain these rewards.

IV. God knew what would come to pass; but he was not obliged to make use of his almighty power, in order to prevent the evil which he foresaw would happen by the fault of man, because this evil is of a very short duration in itself, and in all its consequences, and occasions no disorder in the universe which God is not able to redress in a moment, and which he doth not at last redress for all eternity.

V. The inconvenience of passing through evil before the enjoyment of all the effects of the divine bounty, proceeds from the nature of man, which could not exist in the degree of imperfection where it is placed, without being liable to what has happened.

VI. God who foresaw that man would fall, doth not damn him because he falls, but only because having it in his power to rise again, he doth not rise, that is to say, he freely retains his bad habits to the end of his life.

VII. That this is already a very considerable degree of mercy, since no body is damned except for his own fault, and that it is in our power to take advantage of this goodness of God, to amend our faults, and avoid the pains of a future state.

VIII. God has bestowed many other marks of his goodness upon men. He has endowed them with a thousand excellent qualities; and surrounded them with a thousand sensible goods, which they taste with a great deal of pleasure, which make them in love with life; he hath put it in their power to make themselves happy after death, and he gives without delay eternal happiness to those who repent of their faults, and is satisfied by making the impenitent pass through moderate punishments, before he puts them in possession of eternal happiness.

IX. God has considered the miseries of mankind as nothing, in comparison of the happiness which he designs to bestow upon them. The duration of the evils which they suffer here below, and in the other world, are nothing when compared to eternity. If the Manichean should say, that, according to this principle, a certain number of ages, how great soever we suppose it, not having any proportion to infinite duration, torments for many millions of years may be as consistent with the ideas of goodness, and would be as nothing, no less than those which should continue only one day: the Origenist will answer that since there is no proportion betwixt finite and infinite, however long you suppose the torments of a creature, since they are to have an end, neither will there be any proportion betwixt God's severity and his goodness. He will add, that he doth not determine the length of the punishments; they shall be longer or shorter as justice shall require. The duration of punishments shall be shorter when they are more severe; and there shall be as great a variety of punishments, as there hath been of sins. That the arguments against punishments for several ages, do not concern the Origenist; because he is not of opinion that they shall continue so long, though he cannot precisely determine their duration.

X. What has been said above may be equally applied to moral and physical evil, or to the vices and to the sufferings of men.

Mr Bayle answered (2).

I. That the principle which they lay down, to wit, that it is not contrary to the ideas of goodness that one creature should be more perfect than another, is very true; and therefore that men have no reason to complain that they want that perfection which consists in not departing from ones duty. But neither is this the foundation of the objections. They are founded on this, that God has permitted that they should actually depart from their duty; and that they should actually feel the evils of which their nature was created susceptible. This, says

(2) An Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman, Tom. iii. ch. cxxii. and the following.

he, is what doth not appear agreeable to the ideas of goodness, even granting what the Origenist remarks, that if men observed the rules which God has prescribed to them, and which he is under no unfurmoutable necessity of violating, he should be happy. We cannot conceive that the goodness of a father is such as it ought to be, when he makes the happiness of his children depend upon a condition which he knows very well that they will not fulfil, and which he permits them not to fulfil, though he could easily procure them sure and infallible means of fulfilling it.

II. The objection is not founded on man's not being immutably determined to good. A creature is essentially mutable, and so it would be absurd to ask why it was not immutable. The question is only, why he was permitted to turn to evil? The consequence from the act to the power is necessary, but from the power to the act is not at all so. The dispute therefore doth not turn upon the possibility of change, but upon the actual change from good to evil. Now God could hinder this without doing any prejudice to free-will. It may be said that God was not obliged to prevent it: but by this the state of the question is changed; for when the Orthodox undertake to satisfy the difficulties of the Manicheans, the question is not always concerning God considered as just; but frequently concerning God considered as good. So that though God considered as just, is not obliged to give his creatures any thing but what he has promised them by way of reward, he is obliged, considered as good, to make them useful presents, that is to say, it is of the essence of goodness to give good gifts. It is not bestowing a good present, to give a thing which one knows will be fatal to the person who shall receive it.

III. God knew that his promises and threats would not hinder men to damn themselves, and that a hundred other assistances, which he doth not bestow upon them, would have conducted them to happiness, without prejudice to their free-will. How can we reconcile such a foresight with the ideas of goodness? Is it not very evident that a real benefactor chooseth the most sure means which he knows, and flights those which he knows to be useless?

IV. Would any body praise the goodness of a Prince who should suffer disorders to reign in his dominions, because at last he could apply a remedy to it? Is it possible not to observe that such a Prince would then apply a remedy not only to the faults of his subjects but to his own, and that he had at least for some time ceased to be good, so that we might find in him a vicissitude of goodness and wickedness?

V. Our nature was made subject to sin, this is certain; but doth it follow from hence that it was necessary that we should sin? Not at all. The goodness of God was therefore at entire liberty not to permit Adam, who was subject to sin, to sin actually; and it is in vain to insinuate that God would have acted contrary to the nature of things, if he had freed men from an inconvenience to which they are subject, that is to say, into which it was possible they might fall. But was it not likewise possible that they should not fall into it?

VI. One doth not less will a thing when he renders the event of it infallible, than when he renders it necessary. Now the causes of the damnation of the reprobate, and consequently their damnation was rendered infallible, since they were placed in conjunctures in which God foresaw that they would sin during their whole lives, and in which he had decreed not to give them any assistance. He therefore created them for sin, and for the pains of hell; and if this objection be strong against the Predestinarians, it must likewise be so against an Origenist.

VII. That it is a considerable degree of mercy, to see a man abuse his free-will for fifty or sixty years, without any assistance from Grace, when it is known that this abuse will damn him, is what the ideas of our reason do not show us. They show us in the most evident manner, that goodness inclines to assist not only those who have not sufficient strength to free themselves from danger, but likewise those who having the necessary strength and skill, do not make use of it.

VIII. The pleasures of this life are mixed with so many miseries, that they cannot come up fully to the character of ideal goodness. As to that innumerable multitude of impenitents, who after a rigorous purgatory pass to the abode of the blessed, we cannot in their lot see the marks of ideal goodness. Here is a representation of the conduct which Origen attributes to God. A Prince designs to make a Gentleman his favourite. He finds him subject to great faults, he has infallible means of correcting them, yet doth not make use of them. He contents himself with making use of promises and threats, which he knows will produce no good effect. The young man is hurried along by his wicked inclinations, notwithstanding the promises and threatnings of his Prince, he is banished, and very severely punished, but at last he is called back to Court, and for the remainder of his life he enjoys the place of favourite. Can such a Prince be said to be eminently good? If we love any person, if we are good to him, we save him, as much as we are able, from the misfortune of committing faults, especially when they are to be followed by punishment; and the only manner of justifying people who expose their friends to any trouble or punishment is, that they cannot by any other means correct their vices. But this is not the present case, since we suppose a King who has effectual means of correcting this Gentle-

1705. man's faults, and yet instead of making use of them, has recourse to methods which he knows will be to no purpose.

IX. The bounds which are set to the duration of the pains of the next life, the degrees and varieties which are supposed to be in them, are all very proper to prove that the marks of God's goodness are infinitely more apparent in the condition of men than the marks of his hatred, and that they have incomparably more reason to praise the bounty of their Creator, than to complain of his severity. Yet notwithstanding, infinite goodness, which ought to be pure without the least mixture of the contrary quality, ideal goodness, in a word, doth not appear in the hypothesis of Origen: it escapes us even tho' we soften it after that manner. Would a father who has a moderate love for his children, desire that the great establishments which he designs for them, should be preceded by a permission of committing faults, and by a punishment of these faults, tho' only for some days? Would he desire this, if he could render them equally happy without this preliminary? Few people would desire to buy the favour of a Prince, at the price of being put to the torture three times a week for six months. We ought not to imagine that the torments of hell are small, under pretence that they continue possibly only fifty or sixty years. This term, it is true, is nothing in comparison of eternity. But it is of a frightful length with regard to human sensibility. If one should say to a person afflicted with the Gout, "the horrible pains which you suffer, shall only last " fifty days together, and after that you shall enjoy health for fifty years," he would make him quite desperate.

X. What the Origenist has replied, cannot be equally applied to moral and physical evil. Our ideas do not discover any equality betwixt these two sorts of evils: they judge a father incomparably more to blame, who doth not hinder his children, when it is in his power, from committing a crime, than a father who allows them to eat what may be prejudicial to their health.

Some persons of Quality in England had used all their efforts to draw Mr Bayle out of his solitude and to bring him over to England. They desired that he would live with them as a friend, that they might have the benefit of his hours of recreation. I shall only name the Earl of Huntington, who together with a great deal of learning was possessed of all the accomplishments of a gentleman (1). He offered him

(1) *This Nobleman died young and unmarried March 2, 1705.*

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The Earl of Albemarle passionately desired that he would come and live with him (2). Baron Walef went to Rotterdam to propose it to him, and redoubled his instances in a letter which he wrote to him. "If your friends (says he (3), endeavour to persuade you to refuse the proposition which I have had the honour to make to you, their friendship must needs be interested, and they can have no other motive in doing so, but their desire of possessing you at Rotterdam. Have not you sufficiently honoured that City with your presence, and has not the Metropolis of Holland, with all its advantages, a right to invite you to prefer it to a place designed for commerce? I will not mention here the great esteem which every body has for you, nor the regard they will pay to your merit. I know your indifference on this head. But together with the friendship of a noble Lord who has an infinite esteem for you, you will find libraries and walks proper to nourish, and agreeably to entertain your Philosophy. Allow me, Sir, to make use of your own arms. You have with your ordinary eloquence shown how much a man of Letters ought to prefer an abode in a metropolis to that of inferior towns (4). Either renounce your own sentiments, or grant us the favour which we desire of you. I will not repeat what my Lord Albemarle has desired me to say to you. You will find in his family a life more agreeable than I can describe to you. As much as you excel other men by your profound knowledge, and the sublimity of your genius, so much he excels by his generous and beneficent mind, by his probity, by that equality of temper, which is one of the greatest charms in life, and which is so rarely to be met with among the Great. . . . Preserve, on account of your friends, a health which you spare so little with regard to yourself, and prevent in a calm and certain retreat the infirmities inseparable from an old age so worthy of respect as yours is." My Lord Albemarle likewise wrote to him, and confirmed all that Baron Walef had told him by his direction. "I wish with all my heart (said he (5), that I could find some expression able to persuade you to grant me the favour I desire of you. I will endeavour to live with you in such a manner that you shall not repent the choice which you shall make, by leaving you a full liberty without the least constraint, as much as you can possibly enjoy at present. This you may depend upon."

(2) *He proposed to entrust him with the education of his son, when he should be of an age to profit by his instructions.*

(3) *Letter February 9, 1706, p. 1065.*

(4) *See the Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman, Tom. i, chap. i.*

(5) *Letter February 11, 1706, p. 1067.*

Mr Bayle answered Baron Walef, that it was very unhappy for him that his present situation was such as necessarily obliged him to continue in it. "Providence (adds he (6), orders the destiny of some persons in such a manner, that when they would be glad to enjoy a certain happiness, it doth not present itself to them, and when it presents itself, they are no longer in a capacity of enjoying it. This is my fate. I consider myself as a worn out old man, my constitution is so weak, that I cannot escape being sick or very much indisposed, if I depart in the least

(6) *Letter February 12, 1706, p. 1068, 1069.*

" from

“ from a regularity of life, which a long habit has made necessary to me. I have not advised with any of my friends; for, in examining by myself, the reasons which I had the honour to represent to you, and which you opposed with all the wit and eloquence imaginable; I have found it too certain, that removing from hence will not be at all proper for me Good fortune comes to me too late. “ If she had offered herself sooner, she would have made me the most contented man in the world: I would with all imaginable satisfaction have complied with the reasons which persuade me that living in a metropolis is advantageous to a man of Letters. Would to God that about the year 1690, or a little before or after, so agreeable and honourable an offer as my Lord Albemarle has been pleased to make me, had come in my way! This would have been the height of my wishes, and the sure means of obtaining much knowledge, and many degrees of wit, and abilities which I want, and which I shall never enjoy.” Mr Bayle wrote to the Earl of Albemarle at the same time to thank him for the honour he was pleased to design for him, but we have not been able to recover this letter.

(1) Défense de la Bonté & de la Sainteté divine, contre les Objections de Mr Bayle.

(2) Bibliothèque Choisie, Tom. ix, Art. iii, p. 103, and the following.

(3) Ibid. p. 106, 107.

(4) Ibid. p. 143.

Mr le Clerc flattered himself that Mr Bayle would acknowledge that his Origenist had taken away all the difficulties of the Manichean, but seeing him persist in maintaining the contrary, he concluded from thence that Mr Bayle had pleaded his own cause, and intitled his answer, *A Defence of the Goodness and Holiness of God, against the Objections of Mr Bayle* (1). “ When (says he (2), I read the objections made by Mr Bayle in the first edition of his Critical Dictionary, against the goodness and holiness of God, and which he maintains no Christian Divine can answer; I believed it only a sort of trial of wit, and that he had for his diversion cut out a little work for our Divines. . . . I continued in this opinion, until I had seen the last two volumes of his *Answer to a Country Gentleman*, wherein he seriously maintains the cause of the Manicheans against the goodness of God (3) But since he thinks himself bound in honour to maintain a Thesis opposite to the whole Christian world, which he defies methinks in a very odious and very insulting manner; he will be pleased to excuse us, if, in our turn, we maintain a Thesis, which not only honour, but likewise the love of truth and conscience obliges us to defend. I flattered myself, that possibly he would of himself acknowledge the goodness and holiness of the conduct of God, after the opportunity which I had given him of getting out of this ugly affair without hurt to his reputation; by owning that he was convinced, and making an end of the dispute by thanking those who had removed his difficulties, as is the custom in the Divinity and Philosophy schools. But as he has done quite the contrary, and pretends that we have not solidly answered him; it is necessary to let him see that we are not afraid of his arguments, and that we, without sparing him any longer, show how ridiculous they are.”

Mr le Clerc having thus assumed the character of Defender of Religion, attacked by Mr Bayle, begins by recapitulating the whole dispute; and, laying aside the person of an Origenist, answers Mr Bayle's difficulties in his own name. He declares that he has no other Confession of Faith but the New Testament, and that this is the only book which he thinks himself bound to defend. But as the strongest objection of the Manicheans is founded upon the eternity of punishments, which seems so clearly revealed in the Gospel; after having rejected the opinion of Origen he lays down his own. “ For my part (says he (4), I would answer that we are not well acquainted with the nature of the torments of the next life, that we do not know whether at first there may not be divers very sensible punishments, differing notwithstanding according to the greatness of sins, and whether God putting an end to these violent punishments, will not be satisfied to deliver over those who have obstinately abused his grace, to the remorse of their own consciences, which will reproach them with their faults, and will add to their grief by the reflexion that they have lost a happiness which they shall know that others enjoy. This possibly will be *the worm which never dieth, and the fire which is never quenched*. And in this I do not see that there is any thing but what is most just. Sinners might have avoided these punishments by repentance, and yet they have neglected to do it. They deserve some punishment on this account.” Mr le Clerc determines nothing concerning the duration or the circumstances of these punishments: he nevertheless says, that probably the condition of the condemned will be tolerable. But he doth not pretend to advance all these conjectures as certain and evangelical doctrine, he only means to show that we may find a very reasonable sense in the words of JESUS CHRIST relating to the pains of the next life. He adds that others may possibly be more happy in their conjectures, yet in the mean while he is persuaded that there is nothing in the conduct which he attributes to God, inconsistent with his infinite goodness; but that if there be any thing in what he has advanced which is unworthy of the justice and goodness of God, he is very certain that God will not do it. This is (continues he), what I called reasoning infinitely better than Origen, for Origen assures us of what he knows nothing of, as if he knew it, when he affirms that the pains of the damned shall not be eternal. However he looks upon Origen's opinion as tolerable, and infinitely better (says he) than the side Mr Bayle chooses, by departing from it to accuse God of being neither good nor holy.

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He endeavours next to show that Reason cannot deceive us, if we make a right use of it; that it serves to prove the truth of the Christian Religion, and to make us understand the sense of the Holy Scripture: that there are in Divinity, as well as in Philosophy, several things which reason cannot comprehend, but these things are never contrary to reason, and we ought not to reject them because we do not comprehend them: that therefore we ought never to oppose the light of Revelation to the light of Reason, nor suppose that they may contradict one another, unless we reject either the one or the other, and unless we throw ourselves headlong into Pyrrhonism, since truth cannot be contrary to itself: from hence he concludes, that Mr Bayle, who maintains that we ought to renounce our common notions of goodness and holiness, cannot, if he reasons consequentially, believe that God is good and holy; and that he doth not sacrifice his reason to faith, but destroys reason by itself, and involves Revelation in the same fate, while he endeavours to screen himself by pretending to humble his reason, speaking in the stile of the vulgar Divines, whom he ridicules.

In answer to Mr le Clerc, Mr Bayle published a piece intitled *An Answer for Mr Bayle, to the III and XIII articles of the IX volume of the Bibliothèque choisie* (1).

"I easily believed, (says he (2), that Mr le Clerc would be out of humour upon the "defeat of his Origenist, and of the plastic natures, but I did not imagine that he "would be enraged to such a degree, as not to reflect upon the irregularity of the "conduct which he should choose. It is not therefore without surprise that I have "observed the manner of revenging himself, which he has thought fit to take; but "instead of being angry with him, I have had a real compassion for him on this "account. One cannot without pity see a man, who enjoyed a considerable share "of glory in the Republic of Letters, so touched with so trifling a check. He "ought to have comforted himself by reflecting upon his other exploits, in which he "has had better success, or at least not to have abandoned himself to such a chagrin, "as should make him declaim in a manner altogether unworthy of a man of honour and good sense. He has pretended to dive into Mr Bayle's heart, he has "accused him of horrible designs, he has repeated his accusations a hundred times "over, still in a loose manner, still without the least shadow of proof, still without regard to the clear and distinct declarations, which are to be found in a thousand places of Mr Bayle's writings." He observes, that the Republic of Letters would be a perfect anarchy, if it were allowed to attack our adversaries under pretence that they conceal bad designs in the bottom of their hearts; and he adds, that this conduct doth not at all become Mr le Clerc, who has so well described those who in order to render their adversaries odious, cloak themselves under the pretence of the interest of religion. "Doth it become him, after this, (says he (3), to de- "claim as he has done against Mr Bayle, just when he saw that he could no longer "sustain the shock in the lawful methods of dispute? Doth it become him to give "himself airs of being eaten up with zeal for the house of God? This zeal which has "come so late, would never have appeared, if Mr Bayle had renounced his remark "upon Dr Cudworth, and if he had not refuted the reasons of the Origenist." He opposeth to this conduct of Mr le Clerc, the complaints which he had formerly made against those who accused Grotius of favouring Socinianism, because he gave to some passages of scripture a sense different from that of the common orthodox writers of controversy, and who from thence had concluded that he designed to sap the foundations of Christianity. "No body (said he (4), cried out with more vehemence against "such accusations than Mr le Clerc. With how good a grace therefore doth he now "say, that Mr Bayle writes an apology for Atheists, and intends to destroy religion? "Is this pretended apology any thing else than his having rejected a bad argument?" He adds, that Mr le Clerc has been obliged several times to defend himself against the accusation of Socinianism, with which he continues still charged.

Mr Bayle afterwards lays down the substance of his doctrine on the subject in question, and reduces it to these three propositions (5):

"I. The light of Nature and Revelation teach us clearly that there is only one principle of all things, and that this principle is infinitely perfect.

"II. The manner of reconciling the moral and physical evils of man, with all the attributes of this sole infinitely perfect principle of all things, surpasseth the light of Philosophy; so that the Manichean objections leave difficulties which human reason cannot solve.

"III. Notwithstanding of this we ought firmly to believe what the light of Nature and Revelation teach us concerning the unity and infinite perfection of God, as we believe by faith, and in submission to the divine authority, the Mystery of the Trinity, the Incarnation, &c.

Mr Bayle adds, that he will without all doubt be thought orthodox in the first and third propositions; and that if he be attacked on the second, Luther and Calvin, and the whole body of the Protestant churches, and even almost the whole Christian world, must be attacked at the same time. He is persuaded that no body will ever be able to prove, that these three propositions are not what he has constantly taught in his writings, or prove that if he has established them in some passages, he has maintained propositions contrary to them in some others.

(1) Ré-
pon-
se pour Mr
Bayle au
sujet du
III & du
XIII ar-
ticles du
IX Tome
de la Bi-
bliothèque
choisie.
This piece
is dated
April 25,
1706.

(2) Ré-
pon-
se pour Mr
Bayle, p. 1.

(3) Ibid.
pag. 5.

(4) Ibid.
pag. 7.

(5) Ibid.
pag. 18.

(1) *Ibid.*
pag. 20.

He next makes some general Remarks on the dogmatical part of Mr le Clerc's piece, not being willing to enter into a more minute criticism which would have led him too far. "I will suppress (says he (1), a great many remarks which would show where Mr le Clerc has misunderstood me, where he disguiseth the state of the question, where he complains, without reason, that I have not understood him, where he discovers chimerical contradictions, where he takes the liberty of distinguishing into two species where there is but one, where he suppresseth what is inconvenient for him, and adds what is convenient, &c." Mr le Clerc charged Mr Bayle with *accusing God of being neither good nor holy*. "What horrible calumny!

(2) *Ibid.*
pag. 22.

"(cries Mr Bayle (2), what malicious imposture! or at least what want of discernment! but who will be persuaded that so learned a man as Mr le Clerc has erred through stupidity, and by not being able to distinguish here betwixt two things evidently different? the one is to say that God is infinitely good and holy, though our reason doth not know the manner in which this goodness and holiness is reconcilable with the misery and sins of men; Mr Bayle has said no more than this; the other is to accuse God of being neither good nor holy; Mr Bayle has never done any thing like this."

(3) *Ibid.*
pag. 29.

Mr Bayle doth not meddle with Origenism, he pretends that Mr le Clerc hath said nothing new on this subject, and that he has made no reply to the reasons of his adversary; so that they remain in all their force, and it is sufficient to desire the reader to compare the pieces on both sides to be convinced of this. Neither doth he regard what Mr le Clerc had said concerning the excellence and use of Reason. He only observes that the result of the Manichean controversy, which we have recited, was always that we ought from thence to infer the necessity of captivating our understanding under the authority of God, and that this is a principle common to all Christians who admit the mystery of the Trinity, and certain others. "Mr le Clerc (adds he (3), proposeth several difficulties against this, as if the most frightful Pyrrhonism were inevitable, in case revealed truths were not conformable to our common notions. All that I have to say against this is, that the Unitarians have of a long time made these objections, and the Roman Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Reformed have refuted them." He defies Mr le Clerc to dare to say, that he himself has not departed from our common notions, by acknowledging in the Deity three persons really distinct, coessential, and consubstantial, and consequently that it is his business to answer the difficulties which he proposeth against the common principle of Divines, to the confirmation of which Mr Bayle has made the whole present dispute subservient.

(4) *Ibid.*
pag. 40,
and the
following.

Mr Bayle draws a parallel betwixt his opinion and that of Mr le Clerc, to the end that all the world (says he (4), may judge whether Mr le Clerc had cause to intitle his Reply, *A Defence of the Goodness and Holiness of God, against Mr Bayle's objections*. He makes a supposition that Mr le Clerc and he are disputing with a disciple of Zoroaster about the unity of the principle of all things. Mr Bayle (says he) shall begin the attack, and force the enemy in all his entrenchments. But the difficulty doth not lie there: the question is how to resist the Zoroastrian when he shall attack in his turn, and shall labour to prove that sin and its consequences are not consistent with the idea of one infinitely perfect and holy Being. Mr Bayle will stop him short at once, by declaring that he doth not admit our ideas of goodness and holiness in general, as the rule of the goodness and holiness of God: and by opposing his system to him, which is conformable to the principles of the most orthodox Divines, he will defend with success the following Thesis: "God is infinitely good and holy, though our knowledge is too confined to be able to reconcile his goodness and holiness with the miseries and crimes of mankind in this life, and with the crimes and eternal torments of the greater part of mankind in the life to come". But Mr le Clerc, who will grant to his adversary that the common notions, that is to say, the ideas which we have of goodness and holiness in general, ought to serve us for a rule whereby to judge of the goodness and holiness of God, will be obliged to depart from the opinion of other Christians, at first by denying, with Origen the eternity of hell torments; and not finding even this post tenable, he will be forced to betake himself to conjectures, and reduce the goodness and holiness of God to a problem, the solution of which we shall only learn in the other world. Upon this Mr Bayle observes that Mr le Clerc has fallen precisely into the case on which he founded his accusation. For according to him Mr Bayle's great crime is, that he believes that no Christian system can solve the objections of the Manicheans against the goodness and holiness of God: now Mr le Clerc is persuaded of the same thing, since on the subject of the eternity of punishments, he abandons all the systems of Christians, and even that of Origen, and only intrencheth himself in *may be's* and probabilities. From hence it follows that according to Mr le Clerc there is no Christian system which can solve the objections of Manicheism against the goodness and holiness of God: "This nevertheless (adds he (5), is the sole foundation of his accusation against Mr Bayle: he has therefore wounded himself by the stroke which he aimed at him. He has from this ground of accusation drawn several false consequences, I mean the calumnies which he has raised against

(5) *Ibid.*
p. 68.

"Mr Bayle.

1706. " Mr Bayle. He has said that they who maintain that we cannot answer the Manichean objections, attack the goodness and holiness of God, and accuse him of being neither good nor holy, and that they cannot be admitted to profess that they believe him both good and holy, for having no reason to believe him so, they fall into a manifest contradiction &c. These consequences, and all the rest which I do not particularize here, fall equally upon the accuser and the accused. This can admit of no dispute."

Mr Bayle, to put an end to this debate, offered (1) to Mr le Clerc that he would submit to the decision of the Faculties of Divinity at Leyden, Utrecht, Franeker, Groningen &c. He proposed to him to draw up a Petition to be presented to these Faculties, in which he should specify the punishment which he desired they would inflict upon the person who should lose his cause. That Mr Bayle should sign that petition jointly with him, and that Mr le Clerc should join to it such propositions as he shall draw out of Mr Bayle's writings, and that he should communicate them to him, and that in case they are to be found in so many words in his works, and without any essential mutilation, he will subscribe them. The Faculties of Theology will know by this petition and those extracts, that what is desired of them is that they may be pleased to determine the following question: *Are the propositions extracted from Mr Bayle's books, good proofs of Mr le Clerc's accusation against him? Mr le Clerc pretends that they are, and Mr Bayle denies it, and likewise maintains that they contain nothing contrary to the Confessions of Faith of the Reformed Churches in France and the Low-Countries.* But as Mr le Clerc, adds he, declares that before he examined the second and third volumes of the *Answer to a Country Gentleman*, he considered Mr Bayle's objections as a trial of wit only, and that they did not prevent his believing him orthodox; Mr Bayle is of opinion that in order to lessen the trouble of these Professors, it will be sufficient if the Faculties of Divinity shall take the trouble of examining those two volumes. It would likewise (adds he) take away the greatest part of their trouble, if Mr le Clerc would mark the pages from whence he shall extract his propositions, and if Mr Bayle would likewise mark the pages omitted by his accuser, the knowledge of which he shall think necessary to inform his judges more fully of the state of the question.

Mr Bayle's enemies were not content to represent him as a man who endeavoured to destroy Religion, they strove to make him pass for an enemy to the State. This was to imitate Mr Jurieu pretty exactly. But as Mr Bayle's sentiments were too well known in Holland, for such an accusation to make any impression upon reasonable people, his enemies thought it would be better to endeavour to ruin him in England, where they expected to find less difficulty. They left no means unforgotten to prejudice the Earl of Shaftsbury against him. But they were disappointed in their attempts upon this noble Lord: he was too well acquainted with Mr Bayle, with whom he had entertained a close friendship, during the stay which he had made at Rotterdam. He perceived the motives of this accusation, and diverted himself with it among his friends. They wrote likewise to the Earl of Sunderland, assuring him that Mr Bayle had conferences with the Marquis d'Allegre, a prisoner of war, when he passed through Holland on his way to England. They added, that Mr Bayle spread every where principles favourable to Monarchy and absolute Power, that he continually extolled the grandeur of France, and talked contemptibly of the power of the Allies, and of the great actions of their Generals &c. My Lord Sunderland being of a warm and impetuous temper, and having as great an aversion to the principles which they attributed to Mr Bayle, as he had a passion for the humbling of France, and the glory of the English General, never spoke of Mr Bayle without transports of indignation and wrath. I endeavoured to undeceive him, but without success, his prejudices were too strong. I own this alarmed me. I was afraid lest he should persuade the Court to complain to the States of Holland, who considering the situation of affairs at this time, could refuse nothing to England; and least upon such powerful representations they should order Mr Bayle, a person without great interest, to depart out of the Seventeen Provinces. This in all appearance was what his enemies aimed at. I had recourse to my Lord Shaftsbury, and acquainted him with Mr Bayle's danger. This Lord promised to speak to my Lord Sunderland, but at the same time told me, that it were to be wished that to stop the mouths of his enemies, Mr Bayle should take occasion in some of his works to mention the success of the arms of the Allies, which were principally owing to the activity of the English Ministry, and the conduct of the English General. He added, that this might be done without affectation, and without departing from the character of an historian, and signified to me that I would oblige him by insinuating this to Mr Bayle as from myself.

I thought myself bound to acquaint Mr Bayle with what had passed, and with the conversation which I had had with my Lord Shaftsbury. He answered me (2), that Dr Sylvestre had before informed him that my Lord Sunderland was out of humour with him on account of pretended conferences which he had with the Marquis d'Allegre: but that this was *the most notorious falsehood that could be imagined.* As to the other ground of accusation, which was the chief cause of my Lord Sunderland's displeasure,

(1) *Ibid.*
pag. 72,
and the
following.

(2) *Letter*
July 23,
1706,
p. 3096,
and the
following.

pleasure, Mr Bayle said, " that he defied his most inveterate enemies to find in his works the least shadow of affectation of speaking advantageously of the King of France, his Ministers or Generals, or to the prejudice of the Allies : for (adds he) we must not reckon here the Thoughts concerning Comets, a book which as I have advertised before the third edition, was composed with a design to be printed at Paris, &c. It is well known that the Abbé Renaudot alledged this amongst other reasons to hinder my Dictionary from passing into France, that it contained things against the State." Mr Bayle by no means approved the advice which had been given him, as the most proper to destroy his enemies calumnies. Being incapable of flattering on views of interest or even of praising unseasonably, he considered what was proposed to him in that light, and declared that such a conduct was very unsuitable to him. " However (says he), the plan which you lay down for me as what would disarm my enemies, is the advice of a good friend, and I return you most hearty thanks for it, but I find it impossible for me to comply with it. It would be very unsuitable for me at the age of fifty nine years, which with regard to the weakness of the constitution that nature has given me, is a more infirm old age than seventy or seventy five in other men ; who besides have struggled more than these six months past with a weakness in my lungs, a hereditary distemper of which both my Mother and Grandmother died, and which consequently doth not permit me to propose to make a long stay in this world : it would be very unsuitable for me, I say, to write like a Courtier and flatterer of men in power. My enemies would rejoice to have such an inequality of conduct to reproach me with."

(1) Letter Mr Bayle wrote likewise to the Lord Shaftsbury (1), wherein he thanked him for these new marks of his goodness : and protested that it was false that he had had conferences with the Marquis d'Allegre ; that he had not so much as known, any other ways than by the news papers, that the Marquis had been in Holland, and was gone over to England. He added, that no body knew his principles concerning government better than my Lord Shaftsbury, since he had the honour to converse with his Lordship more than once on that subject. He prayed that he would undeceive the Lord Sunderland. My Lord Shaftsbury did it with success. He represented to him that Mr Bayle being confined to his closet, and entirely taken up with his books and his works, did not in any sort meddle with affairs of State, that neither his genius nor his talents lay that way, and that these accusations proceeded only from the animosity of certain authors who had had disputes with him, and endeavoured to render him odious. My Lord Sunderland at last found that he had been imposed upon, and did Mr Bayle justice. My Lord Shaftsbury immediately informed him of this, and Mr Bayle in return testified (2) how sensible he was of the generous attention my Lord had shewn to his interest, and how joyful he was to learn " that the calumnies whereby his enemies had prejudiced my Lord Sunderland against him, were happily dissipated by his Lordship's means."

(2) Letter About this time Mr Bayle received a little book, printed at Paris, intitled, *Critical Remarks on the new edition of Moreri's Historical Dictionary, published in 1704* (3). The Author (4) had drawn almost all his remarks from Mr Bayle's Dictionary, and had given them for his own, yet notwithstanding this he sometimes criticized him. Mr Bayle thought that this Piece deserved to be known in Holland, and to make it more useful he thought fit to reprint it (5) with Notes to clear up several facts which the author had either mistaken, or had not related with sufficient exactness. He even pointed out the faults of his stile, and his ambiguous or equivocal expressions ; and lastly, added a long Preface for the instruction of those who should publish any after editions of Moreri. The relation which this small piece has to Mr Bayle's Dictionary, engaged one of my friends (6) to desire it of me, that he might add it to the fourth edition of this Dictionary. I sent it to him, together with some Observations, wherein I marked the places which the author had borrowed from the Critical Dictionary, and where I distinguished the errors which he takes notice of in Moreri, and which are corrected in the later editions, from those which still remain to be corrected in the edition of 1725.

(3) Remarques critiques sur la Nouvelle Edition du Dictionnaire historique de Morery, donnée en 1704.

(4) The Abbé Tricauld, now Canon of the Abbey of Ainay at Lyons.

(5) At Rotterdam in 1706.

(6) Mr de la Motte.

Mr Bayle at the same time published a fourth volume of his *Answer to the Questions of a Country Gentleman* (7). He says in the Preface, which is dated November 25 1706, that this fourth volume might have appeared much sooner, if the presses of his Bookseller had not been employed in large works, which had begun long before, and which it much concerned him to finish. The five first sheets of it were printed before the beginning of April. The principal and largest part of this volume relates to Mr Bernard's Criticism upon the second volume of the *Continuation of the various Thoughts*, and turns upon the parallel betwixt Atheism and Paganism, and upon the question " Whether Christianity be proper to maintain Societies ? ". Mr Bayle flatters himself that his readers will find here such a variety of arguments, authorities, and histories, as will not allow them to be tired. " They ought not to fear, (says he) that because this is an answer to Mr Bernard, they will find nothing interesting in it. Every thing here is as dogmatical, and disengaged from personal disputes, as if neither Mr Bernard, nor any other particular person had been in view."

(7) At Rotterdam by Reinier Leers, 1707.

1706. Mr Bernard had likewise made critical Extracts of the first and second volume of the Answer to a Country Gentleman (1): Mr Bayle says, that he could have wished to have inserted in this fourth volume an Answer which he had made to these Extracts. "This Answer, adds he, has been finished a good while ago, and treats of matters no less curious than important. In a word, it is such as might render an Author impatient to have it published. Nevertheless he had been obliged to rest content, that the publishing of it should be referred to the volume which is to follow this." This fifth volume did not appear till after Mr Bayle's death, and he did not live to revise, correct, and enlarge it as he could have done. Notwithstanding he handles several important questions in it, and examines several historical facts with a scrupulous exactness.

Mr le Clerc did not leave Mr Bayle's last Answer without a Reply. He repeated his accusations with a great deal of vehemence (2); he maintained that Mr Bayle had not answered his principal difficulties, and that what he had objected against him in his last piece was vain and frivolous. Mr Bayle had offered to submit the decision of their difference to the Universities in Holland: Mr le Clerc answered, that he had a much easier and more honourable way, which was, said he, to desire an approbation of his Dictionary, his Thoughts concerning Comets, and the Answers to the Questions of a Country Gentleman, in which these Universities should declare, that they find nothing in them contrary to their sentiments, particularly in the articles and chapters concerning the Manicheans, and Predestination. If they grant him such an approbation (adds he) I will say that I was to blame in denying that he is of their opinion.

Mr Bayle replied in a book intitled *Dialogues betwixt Maximus and Themistus: or an Answer to what Mr le Clerc has wrote in his Xib volume of the Bibliothéque Choïse, against Mr Bayle* (3). Maximus and Themistus examine and criticize each in his turn Mr le Clerc's piece. They labour to defend Mr Bayle's principles, and to show that Mr le Clerc has drawn false consequences from them. They complain that he frequently disguiseth the state of the question, and takes no notice of the most strong and most convincing things which have been answered to him. We see that this dispute had degenerated into reproaches of Author against Author, and had become in a manner personal. These reproaches were attended with many harsh and provoking expressions. The learned and ingenious Lord Falkland (4) said, that there ought to be no more sharpness in a book of controversy than in a billet-doux. This maxim concerns Philosophers no less than the Controversitists; or rather all the Learned ought to be Philosophers in this respect: but when an Author sees that his person, his honour, and reputation are attacked, it is very hard for him to contain himself. He thinks himself obliged to repel these injuries, and in his turn to wound his enemy in the most sensible parts.

The attacks which were made upon Mr Bayle from all quarters, gave Mr Jurieu fresh courage. He thought the occasion favourable, and that he ought to make use of it. He published a little book intitled, *The Philosopher of Rotterdam accused, attainted, and convicted* (5). He repeats here his old accusations against Mr Bayle, though they had been refuted in a manner which had reduced him to silence. He bestows great encomiums on Messieurs Jaquelot and Bernard, whom he had persecuted on suspicion of Heresy: he treats Mr le Clerc in the same manner, whom he mortally hated. But these gentlemen had wrote against Mr Bayle, he brings them in evidence against him, and he would not discredit his own witnesses. In the mean while he could not help mixing some strokes of satire with these panegyrics, he maliciously hints at their former disgraces and heterodox opinions. But he made use of a cunning shift in doing this. He related under the name of Mr Bayle and of his friends, the reasons which might be alledged against admitting these three witnesses, and joins himself with them. "He is very diverting (says he (6), and his friends with him, in the reproaches which they throw out against these witnesses. The Rotterdam Divine is conceited, fond to distraction of his own productions, vastly in love with superlatives, and discontented with the bad reception of his works. Mr Jaquelot has been piqued upon hearing that Mr Bayle had spoke with small esteem of his book concerning the existence of God. Besides he is a man more than suspected, and has not extricated himself with honour out of certain affairs. Another has been censured by the Synods. The third is a Pelagian and Socinian, convicted of heresy and impiety." Mr Jurieu is at much pains to find some difference betwixt his principles and those of Mr Bayle. We may judge with what success by the account he gives of his own system, which he reduceth to these three points (7): "I. That God could have no other end in his works, in his decrees, in his providence, than his own glory; from which it follows that all the dispositions of the divine providence are just, wise, and reasonable, how hard soever they appear to the flesh and opposite to the interest of the creatures. II. That there is nothing in man, or in human things, like what is in God; the names of *Being, Substance, Thinking-substance, Will, Understanding, Liberty, Right, Justice*, and such like, are all equivocal, and do not signify in God what they signify in man, so that it is in vain to compare the conduct and rights of God with regard to man, with the

(1) News from the Republic of Letters, January 1706, art. iv. p. 49, and February, art. ii. p. 153.

(2) Bibliothéque Choïse, Tom. x. art. viii, p. 363, and the following.

(3) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiste: on Réponse à ce que Mr le Clerc a écrit dans son x Tome de la Bibliothéque Choïse contre Mr Bayle. At Rotterdam, by Reinier Leers, 1707.

(4) Killed at the Battle of Newbury September, 20, 1643.

(5) Le Philosophe de Rotterdam accusé, atteint, & convaincu. The stile bears that it is printed at Amsterdam, but the Printer's name is not mentioned.

(6) Le Philosophe de Rotterdam, &c. p. 39, 40.

(7) Ibid. pag. 113, and the following.

"rights of men with regard to one another; and all arguments drawn from thence are sophisms, being founded on comparisons betwixt things not to be compared together, to wit, God and the creature, and the rights of God and those of man. III. But what *puts an end to all dispute*, is *the sovereign right which God has over his creatures*: that *power without bounds*, ought to silence man, with regard to every thing that troubles him, or startles his reason in the conduct of providence; and consequently this utterly confounds all the prophane and impious difficulties which the Author of the Dictionary furnisheth to the Manicheans and Paulicians, and which he displays in so pompous a manner."

Mr Jurieu shows that St Paul had foreseen and mentioned these difficulties in his Epistle to the Romans (1), and that he answers them by showing that the sovereign right which God has over his creatures ought to silence Reason. Mr Jurieu observes that St Paul concludes the dispute with this beautiful and sublime exclamation, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?* "It is as clear as the sun (adds Mr Jurieu (2), that by these words the Apostle designs to rebuke the rashness of those pretenders to learning, who demand that all difficulties should be solved by the way of human Reason and of their philosophical axioms, and that we should confess that human reason is incompatible with Divine Revelation, as if what is above reason must needs always be against reason." It is plain that Mr Jurieu had Mr Bayle in view here; but neither doth he forget Mr le Clerc and Mr Jaquelot. "We must confess likewise (adds he), that this pious exclamation of St Paul shows the error of those Divines, who would reconcile Reason and Revelation by Pelagian maxims. Surely, if it be true, as these Gentlemen pretend, that in order to get out of this labyrinth we need only suppose man absolute master of his free-will and of his actions, this exclamation *O the depth &c.* and *how unsearchable are his judgments &c.* appears neither very well grounded, nor very necessary. For there is no difficulty left, when we say, that God has forsaken man because he made a bad use of his free will." Here he only repeats what he had a little before said in a more strong manner and more at large. "I would willingly know (says he (3), why so many divines are afraid of this hypothesis, (*of the sovereign right of God over his creatures*); and choose rather to cry up the dignity of a free creature, and the excellence of liberty. This is good; but it is of no use in this question, and besides it leads to Pelagianism. By shutting one gate, as we imagine, against the impieties of the Manicheans and Pyrrhonians, we open another, or at least leave another open; for we are under a necessity of owning, that God is the Author of that free-will which he has bestowed upon man, and that he is master of it to stop the course of its disorders when he thinks proper. So that we shall never be able to stop the mouths of the prophane by this means."

(1) Chap. ix and xi.
(2) Le Philosophe de Rotterdam &c. pag. 128, 129.

(3) Ibid. pag. 118, 119.

(4) Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle, répandue dans son Dictionnaire Critique, dans ses Pensées sur les Comètes, & dans ses Réponses à un Provincial; où l'on défend la Conformité de la Foi avec la Raison, contre sa Réponse.

(5) Letter to Mr la Croze of the 25th of October 1706, p. 1121.

(6) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiste: ou Réponse à l'Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle, par Mr Jaquelot.

(7) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiste &c. p. 4, 5.

This is precisely what Mr Bayle had said: however he did not think fit to take any advantage from this piece; he did not think it worthy of his notice. He had before sufficiently shown the conformity of what he had advanced, with Mr Jurieu's doctrine.

Mr Jaquelot had not begun his dispute with Mr Bayle to make an end of it so soon, he returned once more to the charge; but instead of confining himself to the three essential heads of this controversy, he digressed to other matters which either entered only incidentally into it, or which had not indeed the least relation to it. He however by this means pursued his design, which was to represent Mr Bayle as a person who attacked Religion. He intitled his Reply, *An Examination of Mr Bayle's Theology, dispersed in his Critical Dictionary, in his Thoughts concerning Comets, and in his Answers to a Country Gentleman; wherein the Conformity betwixt Faith and Reason is defended against his Answer* (4). Mr Bayle gave the following judgment concerning this performance in a letter to one of his friends (5). "I will tell you in confidence that Mr Jaquelot's book is full of malice, infincerity, and weak reasoning. He departs as well as I from the common notions of goodness and holiness, and consequently he is wounded by all the thrusts Mr le Clerc has made against me. I shall not fail to make this observation which will embarrass my accuser; for he is Mr Jaquelot's friend, and even revised his manuscript." Mr Bayle answered Mr Jaquelot by way of Dialogue, as he had done Mr le Clerc. This Answer is intitled, *Dialogues betwixt Maximus and Themistus: or an Answer to Mr Jaquelot's Examination of Mr Bayle's Theology* (6). Mr Bayle in the beginning observes, that he might neglect the first three hundred and four pages of Mr Jaquelot's Reply which consists of four hundred and seventy two, because they do not concern the main point in the present controversy. The dispute had been reduced to these three points. I. The liberty of indifference. II. The Origin of Evil. III. The objections which Pyrrhonism might found upon some doctrines of Revealed Religion. With regard to the first, Mr Bayle observes that it is not necessary to insist upon it. Mr Jaquelot, says he (7), ought to have abandoned it entirely in his Reply, since Mr Bayle had given him a carte blanche, that is to say, had allowed him to show himself intirely Pelagian, since he had attacked him concerning the Origin of Evil, without supposing any other principle but the liberty of indifference. Mr Jaquelot notwithstanding

1706. " notwithstanding (adds he), has re-handled this question as a matter of great importance; Whether man is possessed of this liberty or not. His great itch for reasoning in the Arminian way has occasioned this. He shows the same impatience which new converts do, who presently publish the motives of their conversion."

Mr Bayle reproacheth Mr Jaquelot with five faults. I. That he has attacked Mr Bayle's doctrine, without seeming to know that it is the same with that of the Reformed, and afterwards seems to believe it to be very different from it. II. That he believes that the same doctrine is innocent or blameable according to the different intentions of those who teach it. Mr Bayle had shown that Mr Jurieu had taught, before him, that no system could solve the objections which may be made against the fall of Adam and its consequences, and that he had laid down the same difficulties which Mr Bayle has done. Mr Jaquelot had been asked why he did not sooner attack this doctrine, which as he imagines tends to make God author of sin, and to destroy Religion. To this Mr Jaquelot here answers (1), that he did not write against Mr Jurieu, *because he believed him sincere in his System*, and that he had *not directly struck at any of the fundamentals of Religion*: but that he thought fit to refute Mr Bayle, because he believed him ill persuaded of the System established by the Synod of Dort, and ill affected towards the principles of Religion. Mr Bayle thinks this a very extraordinary distinction. No body (says he) has ever thought of distinguishing things of this sort. It has been always believed that if two Authors maintain the same doctrine, it was impossible to refute the one without refuting the other. He puts Mr Jaquelot in mind of his declaration in the preface to his first book, *that he had no intention of attacking either Mr Bayle's person or morals, or of diving into his intentions*, which declaration he had repeated in the body of the book in these words: *I do not at all desire to dive into this Author's secret views. . . . I forbear rash judgments* (2). But in his second book he continually affirms that Mr Bayle has very bad intentions. Mr Bayle asks him whence he has got this new light, and ascribes this change in his conduct to his being irritated by the bad success of his attack. He adds that Mr Jaquelot, even when he was writing his Reply, having foreseen that the heat of the dispute and the necessity of having pretences, would oblige him to repeat his rash judgments a thousand times over, had formally disavowed them and made a sort of retraction. *I only wish*, says he: (3), *that the reader may remember that I do not pretend to speak either of Mr Bayle's person or his morals. . . . The title of this chapter*, says he some pages after (4), *sufficiently shows that I do not desire to speak either of Mr Bayle's intention or of his morals*.

The third fault with which he reproacheth Mr Jaquelot, is, that he affirms that Mr Bayle deprives man of all sort of liberty. To this it had been already answered, that Mr Bayle had neither affirmed or denied any thing on that subject, and that a discussion of that question was useless, because Mr Bayle had agreed to dispute with him as a Pelagian. He had attacked him all along, even supposing the liberty of indifference, and by showing that this liberty doth not at all weaken the Manichean objections. Mr Bayle therefore was not concerned to refute it, and yet he could have done it without destroying all sort of liberty, since the Contra-Remonstrants who reject the liberty of indifference, nevertheless maintain that man acts freely since he acts voluntarily and deliberately. Now Mr Bayle never undertook to deprive man of this kind of liberty. He next shows what might have deceived Mr Jaquelot, and led him aside from the true state of the question.

The fourth fault of Mr Jaquelot is, that he attacks Mr Bayle concerning the Conformity of Faith with Reason, and yet says at bottom the same thing that he has done. People believed upon reading the title of his first book, *The Conformity of Faith with Reason*, &c. that he had undertaken to show this conformity according to the plan laid down in the Answer to a Country Gentlemen, which is in substance this " (5) We must show that we not only have philosophical maxims agreeable to our Faith, but likewise that the particular maxims which are objected to us as not conformable to our Catechism, are really conformable to it in a manner which may be distinctly conceived. . . . (6) This Conformity requires not only that your Thesis be agreeable to several philosophical maxims, but likewise that it be not successfully attacked by any other maxims of reason. Now it will be successfully attacked by them, if you cannot defend yourself otherwise than by unintelligible distinctions, or by excusing yourself on account of unfathomable depth of the subject." It was easy for Mr Jaquelot (adds he) to perceive, even before he read the above plan, that it is this which is wanted when we desire a proof of the Conformity of Faith with Reason. But he has been very far from writing upon this plan. " When I speak of the Conformity of Faith with Reason (says he in his first book (7), I mean that we ought not to renounce our Reason, in order to embrace Religion. For though there be Mysteries in Religion which Reason cannot sufficiently comprehend, it doth not follow from this that those mysteries are contrary to reason. In the same manner it doth not follow that the infinite divisibility of body and motion, are contrary to Reason, though Reason cannot answer the difficulties which may be objected against these propositions." It is

(1) Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle, p. 66, 67.

(2) Conformité de la Foi avec la Raison &c. p. 222.

(3) Examen &c. p. 60.

(4) Ibid. p. 78.

(5) Réponse aux Questions d'un Provincial, Tom. iii, p. 685.

(6) Ibid. p. 687.

(7) Examen &c. p. 287.

observed, that if Mr Jaquelot hath nothing else to advance he has attacked Mr Bayle very groundlessly, since Mr Bayle never said that we ought to renounce our Reason in order to embrace Religion, and on the contrary has repeated a thousand times, that we cannot act more agreeably to reason, than in preferring the authority of the Scripture to the philosophical maxims which set themselves in opposition to our mysteries. Thus he shows that it is in vain for Mr Jaquelot to pretend to make a difference betwixt his doctrine and that of Mr Bayle, and that it appears by the state of the question laid down by Mr Bayle, that Mr Jaquelot and he do not really differ in their sentiments. 1706.

(1) Pag.
317.

The fifth fault he finds with Mr Jaquelot is, that he has undertaken an accommodation which was not at all necessary. He declares that it is his intention to show that we ought not to renounce our Reason in order to embrace Religion. Now all the world knew that they who admit the Trinity, and the other mysteries of the Gospel, believe themselves very reasonable, and that far from renouncing their reason, they found their belief upon philosophical axioms, which are in the highest degree evident and certain. They found their belief on this, that God can neither deceive nor be deceived, and consequently that what he says ought always be believed; and they employ Reason to find out the true sense of Scripture. Every body likewise knew, that it is not a just cause of rejecting a doctrine, because it is liable to great difficulties; and that the pre-eminence of the divine nature doth not allow us to subject it to the same duties by which men are tied to one another. All these truths are commonly known, and it is not this we expect from those who promise to show the Conformity of Faith with Reason. We expect that they should show that our theological systems are united with Reason by these very maxims, which it furnisheth to the enemy, and on which the objections are founded; and that the solution which they give shall discover the medium by which these philosophical maxims and theological hypotheses are connected together. But this is what Mr Jaquelot hath not done. He has been so frightened at the plan of reconciliation which was pointed out to him, betwixt seven theological propositions and nineteen philosophical propositions, that he has not had the courage to approach them: he has only pretended that these nineteen propositions "are false maxims, which ought not at all to be made use of in the present question (1)." Mr Bayle had owned that we ought to renounce the common notions of goodness and holiness in judging of the providence of God with regard to evil. This confession had displeased several people. It is upon this that Mr le Clerc grounds his accusation against Mr Bayle of destroying religion. But since Mr Jaquelot likewise refuses our common notions, and affirms that the damned will suffer eternally, he ought to think himself involved in Mr le Clerc's accusation, as an accomplice in the pretended impieties of Mr Bayle. From this he draws another proof, that nothing could be more deceitful than the title of Mr Jaquelot's first piece: *The Conformity of Faith with Reason; or a Defence of Religion, against the principal difficulties dispersed in Mr Bayle's Dictionary*. To rectify this title, we ought to change it as follows: *The imperfect Conformity of Faith, with some maxims of Reason; or a dispute with Mr Bayle, wherein it is acknowledged that the philosophical maxims, which be believed to be irreconcilable with our systems of Divinity, are really so*. After this follows an examination of the five principles which Mr Jaquelot substitutes to the common notions which he has rejected, and it is shown that they are not sufficient to satisfy reason. It is observed, that Mr Jaquelot, not being able to answer the difficulties which Mr Bayle had raised against his first work, had no other resource than to invent a new System, under favour of which he might get rid of these objections which it was not possible for him to evade, if he had continued in his first principles. Mr Bayle shows, that by this new System Mr Jaquelot retracts all that he had said in his first book, in justification of the permission of sin, on pretence that the glory of God is interested in it. He examines this new System, and proves that it is of no use in the solution of the difficulties in question. He maintains, that it evidently follows from Mr Jaquelot's system, that God has willed sin, and is, properly speaking, the cause of it. He proves that this Minister has in vain pretended, that free-will solves all the difficulties touching the origin of evil. He refutes his doctrine concerning the permission of evil, and also what he answered concerning physical evil, and Pyrrhonism, and gives an answer to several remarks which he had made on the third volume of the Answer to a Country Gentleman. Lastly, he gives the reasons why he had not examined the first 303 pages of Mr Jaquelot's reply, and had contented himself with making a few observations, which regard principally the collection of difficulties which he had drawn out of the Critical Dictionary, and to which he had joined some reflexions.

In this work Mr Bayle complains that Mr Jaquelot has made no answer to a great many embarrassing difficulties; that he abounds in shifts and disguises; that he treads sincerity under foot, in order to follow the motions of personal hatred; that he wants only to chicanery and conceal difficulties; that he mutilates the passages which he quotes from his adversary, and affects to talk contemptibly of his book: he observes that he is sometimes so confounded that he attacks his own principles; that he abandons himself too much to his presumption; that he is

too proud to acknowledge that he ever has been mistaken, &c. This stile was not natural to Mr Bayle: he used to dispute without departing from the bounds of moderation. On the contrary he used to difsemble or excuse the faults of his adversaries, and soften his criticisms with a thousand polite and obliging strokes. But he was soured and piqued by seeing that his person rather than his sentiments was attacked, and that nothing was omitted in order to draw the indignation of the public upon him. This manner of proceeding seemed very unreasonable to disinterested persons. Mr de Bauval complained of it. "If Mr Bayle (says he (1), has (1) History of the Works of the Learned. December 1706. p. 544.

"had secret and dangerous designs against Religion, that is Mr Bayle's particular concern, the public are not interested in it. They who only seek after truth, will not be at much pains to examine whether the accusations against Mr Bayle be well founded or not. They will mind only the principle cause. Now it is remarkable that his antagonists attack him alone on this head, though it is certain that almost all the Roman Catholics, and the greatest part of the Protestants loudly maintain the same thing [R]. Why should they single him out, and fall

"so

[R] *The greatest part of the Protestants loudly maintain the same thing.* They who undertook to confute Mr Bayle upon Arminian principles, durst not deny that his doctrine was the same with that of the Reformed. They saved themselves only by saying that he had bad intentions. They in the mean while attacked the opinion of the Reformed, and pretended that it was liable to Mr Bayle's objections. Mr Jaquelot seeing that Mr Jurieu had declared, that it was in vain to exalt the free-will of man, and that this hypothesis was not capable of solving difficulties (a), made an addition to his last book, in which he chargeth Mr Jurieu's system with all the consequences of the Manicheans. Thus Mr Bayle's adversaries refuted one another, and in their turns adjudged him the victory.

(a) See above, p. ca.

(b) Addition à l'Examen de la Théologie de Mr Bayle, &c. p. 475, 476.

(c) Ibid. pag. 478.

(d) Bibliothèque chés. Tom. xi. p. 412, 413.

(e) Réponse à deux Objections, qu'on oppose de la part de la Raison à ce que la Foi nous apprend sur l'origine du mal, &c. sur la mystère de le Trinité, &c. printed at Amsterdam in 1707.

(f) Réponse à deux Objections, &c. Préface fol. 3.

(g) Bibliothèque chés. Tom. xiii. p. 425, 416.

"I cannot imagine, says Mr Jaquelot (b), how a Divine, who has well understood Mr Bayle's objections against the hypothesis of those who for all answer content themselves with imposing silence on reason, doth not perceive that it will follow from this method of arguing, that human reason may be convinced, by good and necessary consequences, that God is the cause of evil, and the author of sin." He declares that " (c) all they who will not abandon the hypotheses on which Mr Bayle has founded his difficulties, are indispensably obliged to show the falshood of his consequences, and of his objections, in a manner capable of satisfying the conscience of a knowing and reasonable man. Otherwise it is pure obstinacy, and a false honour, to resolve to continue in principles from which such horrible consequences are drawn." Mr le Clerc approved of this judgment. " Mr Jaquelot observes very well (says he (d), that if we grant to Mr Bayle, that Reason cannot make a good reply to the consequences which he draws against Religion, from the doctrine of absolute Predestination, this is to own, that these consequences are fairly drawn, and consequently that the doctrine is false. We must allow this or renounce all Logic." Mr le Clerc adds, " that the political interest which some people had formerly in maintaining Absolute Predestination having ceased, it was high time to renounce a doctrine, from which they see consequences are drawn which they own they cannot answer."

On the other side, Mr la Placette, not content with Mr le Clerc's and Mr Jaquelot's hypotheses, thought himself obliged to answer the Manichean objections by the principles of the Calvinists. But as he was a man of great moderation, he carried his regard for Mr Bayle so far as not to name him. His book is intitled *An Answer to two objections which are opposed on the part of Reason to what faith teacheth us concerning the origin of evil, and the mystery of the Trinity &c* (e). "Some distinguished authors, (says he (f), have undertaken to answer these objections, especially the first which is the most plausible. But as they have built upon principles which do not appear to me to be at all solid, and which are not even universally acknowledged; it were to be wished that some other would undertake this task, and examine these objections by comparing them with more solid and less contested principles." Mr le Clerc speaking of this work of Mr la Placette, observed (g) "that it was composed before Mr Bayle's

death, but luckily it was not published during his life. If Mr Bayle had seen it, says he, I am sure, considering his humour, that he would have sheltered himself under the reputation of this Divine. He would have said, that he was ready to subscribe this book, without changing his opinion, and would have pretended to be as orthodox as Mr la Placette, to whom on other accounts no body will compare him." Was not this to confess, that Mr Bayle's principles were agreeable to those of this learned and judicious Divine?

Mr Naudé in 1708 published a book intitled, *The sovereign perfection of God in his divine attributes, and the perfect integrity of the Scripture taken in the sense of the ancient Reformers, defended by right reason against all the objections of Manicheism dispersed in Mr Bayle's writings* (b). In this work Mr Naudé opposeth the system of the Supralapsarians to the Manichean objections, being persuaded that this is the only hypothesis whereby they can be solved. So he is very far from approving of the hypothesis of Dr King, Mr le Clerc, and Mr Jaquelot; nay he even refutes them with a great deal of vivacity, and at length endeavours to show that Mr Jaquelot has not solidly answered Mr Bayle. He moreover maintains, that Mr Bayle has triumphed over Mr Jaquelot and Mr le Clerc. " Mr Jaquelot, says he (i), following a system merely of human invention, endeavours to justify God from the blame of being in any sort the author of sin. But he acquits himself very indifferently, since by drawing consequences which necessarily follow from his doctrine, we must conclude that God is the author of sin, whatever Mr Jaquelot can say to the contrary, and Mr Bayle's last work (k) has proved this in an incontestable manner. Besides, he makes God author of sin in a much more odious manner. He positively denies doctrines founded on a hundred passages of Scripture, he therefore gives it the lie, which alone is sufficient to pluck up Christianity by the roots. Moreover Mr Jaquelot frequently contradicts himself, and frequently contradicts right reason. All Christians therefore notwithstanding his answer are reduced to the straits to which Mr Bayle pretends to have pushed them. Mr le Clerc with his Originism, adds Mr Naudé, is still more unsuccessful than Mr Jaquelot, since he more formally contradicts the Scripture, and falls likewise under the same inconveniences. So both the one and other have been entirely defeated by this last book of Mr Bayle. I desire to be judged in this by those who have been spectators of the combat."

The reader will perhaps not be displeased to hear Mr Basnage's judgment of this dispute. "Two pieces says, he in a letter to me (l), have lately appeared against Mr Bayle, one by Mr la Placette, the other by Mr Jaquelot, which I have not seen. Methinks they may be easily set to combat one against the other. If a man be a Predestinarian in the terms of the Synod of Dort, he will look upon the answers of Mellicours le Clerc, Bernard, and Jaquelot as bad; and the Arminians imagine that he cannot be well answered by the ordinary system. One cannot say that he is well answered whatever system they take. For on the contrary, each party

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(1) History of the Works of the Learned. December 1706. p. 544.

(b) La souveraine perfection de Dieu dans ses divines attributs, &c. printed at Amsterdam in 2 Vol. in 12mo.

(i) La souveraine perfection de Dieu, &c. Préf. pag. xxxiv, xxxv.

(k) Entretiens de Maxime & de Themiste, &c.

(l) Letter of Aug. 1707.

“ so bitterly upon him alone, why do they make no account of the great multitude
 “ of Divines who are on his side? This is one of the principal points in the dispute
 “ betwixt him and his adversaries, on which however they have insisted very little.
 “ Methinks this is what they ought to have principally laboured: otherwise they
 “ may be suspected of having designed less to defend Religion, than to revenge
 “ themselves against Mr Bayle.”

Mr Bayle for above six months had been ill of a decay of the lungs, which weakened him sensibly. As this was a hereditary distemper he judged it mortal, and his friends could not persuade him to take any remedy. He saw death approaching without either fearing or desiring it. He laboured constantly, and with the same tranquillity of mind as if death had not been ready to interrupt his work. In a Letter of thanks which he wrote to my Lord Shaftsbury, he gave an account both of his occupations and of his illness. “ I should have thought (says he (1), that a
 “ dispute with Divines would have put me out of humour, but I find by experience
 “ that it serves for an amusement to me in the solitude to which I have reduced myself.
 “ For as my disease is a disorder in my lungs, nothing pains me more than speaking.
 “ I therefore neither make nor receive visits, but I divert myself with answering
 “ Mr le Clerc and Mr Jaquelot, whom I find constantly guilty of insincerity.”

(1) *Letter of the 29th of October 1706, p. 1124. See likewise a Letter to Mademoiselle Baricave of the 28th of October 1706, p. 1122, 1123.*

(2) *Mr Leers's Letter, January 18, 1707.*

His Answer to Mr le Clerc was already printed, and the larger part of his Reply to Mr Jaquelot: he had answered every thing that was considerable in the last book which the latter had published, and there was nothing left to be done but to make some remarks, which he reserved for the end of it, when death prevented him. Mr Leers wrote what follows to me on that subject. “ (2) Mr Bayle died
 “ with great tranquillity, and without any body with him. The evening before his
 “ death, after having studied all day, he gave my Corrector some copy of his An-
 “ swer to Mr Jaquelot, and told him that he was very bad. Next day at nine of the
 “ clock in the morning his landlady entered his chamber, he asked her, but with a
 “ dying voice, if his fire was kindled, and died a moment after, without Mr Baf-
 “ nage, or me, or any of his friends with him.” He died the twenty eighth of De-
 “ cember 1706, aged fifty nine years one month and ten days. He had at first made a Will
 in favour of Mademoiselle Bayle, his niece, his eldest brother's daughter; but she having died in the month of October, the same year, he made another at Toulouse, whereby he appointed Mr de Bruguere, his cousin by the mother's side, his heir. He bequeathed to him ten thousand guilders in money, and all his manuscripts, excepting the Articles which he had composed for a Supplement to his Dictionary, which he gave by way of legacy to Mr Leers. He left all his books of Theology and Ecclesiastical History to Mr Bafnage his Executor; and the rest to Mr Paets, Treasurer of the Admiralty of Rotterdam, as a testimony of his gratitude for the favours which he had received from that honourable family. He left likewise to Mademoiselle Paets a golden medal of which the Count de Dhona had made him a present (3). He was buried in the French Church at Rotterdam: he had left a hundred guilders to the poor of that Church.

(3) *See Letter to Mr Ancillon August 13, 1702, p. 915.*

(4) *Journal des Sçavans, January 1707, p. 207, of the Dutch Edition.*

He was universally lamented. The *Journal de Sçavans* expressed the sentiments of the public by saying, *that the year could not conclude with a more sensible loss to the Republic of Letters* (4). A great many persons of distinction honoured him with their friendship. His friends in France were, the Duke of Noailles, the Count de Guiscard, the Marquis de Bonrepaux, the Marquis de Bonac, the Marquis de Bougi, Monsieur and Madame de la Sabliere, Mr du Frêne, Counsellor of the Parliament of Metz, Mr Brodeau d'Oileville, Counsellor of the same Parliament, and afterwards Lieutenant-General at Tours, Mr Thomassin de Mazaugues, Counsellor of the Parliament of Aix, the Abbé Bignon, Father Malebranche, both the Fathers Lamy, the Abbé Nicaise, the Abbé du Bos, Father de Vitry, Father Sagaens, Messieurs Claude, Mr Bayle, Professor at Toulouse, Mr Rainfant and Mr Oudinot, Keepers of the King's Cabinet of Medals, Mr Charles Perrault, Mr de Benferade, Mr Menage, Mr de Longepierre, Mr de la Monnoye, Mr Marais, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, Mr de Fontenelle, Mr Lancelot, Mr Simon de Valhebert, Mr Naudis de Bruguere, Mr du Faï, Mr Jançon, Advocate in the Council at Paris, Mr de Larroque &c. In England: The Earls of Shaftsbury and Huntington, Dr Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, Mr Justel, Messieurs de la Riviere and Dubourdieu, who had been Ministers at Toulouse and at Montpellier, Mr Abbadie, Mr Cappel, Professor at Saumur, Mr le Vassor, Mr de la Touche, Messieurs Sylvestre, Buissiere, Bayze, Pujolas, Coste &c. In Germany: The Counts of Dhona and Reckheim, Messieurs Leibniz,

“ pretends that the other mistakes and wanders from
 “ the point, and is not able to sustain the weight
 “ of Mr Bayle's objections. It is not two different
 “ ways which they take to arrive at the same end,
 “ but two opposite roads, of which the one takes
 “ to the right and the other to the left, and each
 “ maintains that his own road is the only true one.
 “ Add to this, that Mr Bayle has obliged Mr Jaque-
 “ lot to declare himself Arminian, after having eaten
 “ the bread of the Orthodox for eighteen years, and

“ after having made solemn protestations in our Sy-
 “ nods that he was not so. Mr le Clerc has been ob-
 “ liged to quit the eternity of punishments; he has
 “ abandoned the doctrine both of the Ancients and
 “ Moderns, without being able to justify Providence,
 “ or solve the difficulties which remain still. For
 “ besides moral evil, there are abundance of physical
 “ evils which give ground for the complaints and ob-
 “ jections of men.”

1706. Leibniz, Thomafius, Budæus, Lenfant, la Croze, le Duchat, de Larrey &c. In Italy: Mr Magliabecchi, Library Keeper to the Great Duke of Tuscany. In Switzerland: Mr Conftant, Mr Spon &c. At Geneva: Madam Windfor, Meflicurs Minutoli, Bourlamachi, Chouet, Turretin, Leger, Piftet &c. In Holland: The Count de Frifen, the Earl of Albemarle, Mr Le-Leu de Wilhem, the Marquis de Bougi, Mr Paets, Mr de Wit, Mr Grævius, Mr d'Almeloveen, Mr le Moine, Profeflor at Leyden, Mr Fremont d'Ablandcourt, Mr Bafnage, Mr de Bauval, Mr Bafnage de Flottemanville, Mr Huet, Mr du Rondel, Profeflor at Mæftricht, Mr Drelincourt, Profeflor at Leyden, Mr Regis, a Phyfician at Amfterdam, Mr Rou &c. In Flanders: The Countefs de Tilly, Baron le Roy, Baron de Walef &c.

In his youth he had been at great pains to take extracts from, and make obfervations on, the books which he read. He had likewise then compofed, or fketched out, fome books. His collections were of great ufe to him when he wrote for the public. He then had hardly any thing more to add to them; his memory was fufficient to point out the fources which he had occafion for. The following is a lift of the principal Manufcripts which were found among his papers.

Differtationis fuper Virgilii & Homeri poematis nuper à quodam Gallo compofitæ refutatio: inchoata 9 Decembris 1671 (1). It is againft Father Rapin.

Amico fuo chariffimo ac plurimum colendo Jacobo Abbadie Epiftola fuper quæftione, an Deus poffit fapientiori perfectiorive modo fe gerere quam de factò fe gelfit (2).

Bælius Fetizoni, vel Refponfo Bælii ad Obfervationes Fetizonis fuper Epiftola prædiâa (3). *Collectanea quædam ad Chronologiam, Geographiam, & Hiftoriam pertinentia* (4).

Lectiões Hiftoriæ (5). Thefe Lectures compofe a body of Hiftory from the Creation down to the Roman Emperors. The errors in Chronology of Authors are obferved here, and the moft difficult points in Hiftory are explained.

Lectiões Philofophicæ (6). Thefe Philofophical Lectures are mixed with feveral ftrokes of erudition. Spinoza is confuted in them in a very lively manner.

Curfus Philofophicus (7). This Courfe of Philofophy is divided into four parts; Logic, Moral Philofophy, Physics, and Metaphysics. Mr Bayle compofed it for the ufe of his Scholars, and explained it in his public Lectures. He there recites the opinions of the moft famous Philofophers both ancient and modern, and points out their ftrong and weak fide.

“An Abridgment of Plutarch's Lives of Illuftrious Men, formed on Amiot's “Version, with collections or extracts from the Roman Hiftory, which ferve to connect the lives of the illuftrious Romans.” So that by filling up the chafms which are in Plutarch, from the other Hiftorians, Mr Bayle has compofed a compleat System of Roman Hiftory.

“An Hiftorical Index.” This is a collection of every thing either curious or remarkable in Hiftory, which Mr Bayle met with in the courfe of his reading. It begins from the year 1672. The fubjects are diftinguifhed by chapters, and ranged in alphabetical order. For example, under the letter A he treats of the Antiquity which the Egyptians and other people boasted of: and of the remarkable things relating to the Empire of Germany (8). Under the letter B he defcribes fome memorable Battles; and the honours paid to Beasts. Under the letter C he defcribes fingular Ceremonies which were ufed upon different occafions, and particularly thofe which relate to the keys of cities. He relates in what manner great men have given an account of affairs with which they were charged &c. There are likewife in this volume, fome feparate collections relating to Chronology and Hiftory.

Judgments, or a Journal of Literature (9). “This collection contains critical reflexions on the books which he had read, and thofe which had been communicated to him by letter or by word of mouth.

“Letters concerning the difpute betwixt Girac and Coftar, and fome other letters “on various fubjects (10).”

“An Harangue by the Duke of Luxembourg to his Judges, and a Letter concerning the faid Harangue (11).”

“A Letter concerning Hiftorical Phyrthonifm.”

“A Letter in juftification of the Reformed, concerning their firft rifing in “arms.”

“An Hiftorical and Critical Letter concerning the Conference at Poiffy.”

Thefe three Letters were defigned as a continuation to the New Letters concerning Maimbourg's Hiftory of Calvinifm (12).

“An Hiftorical Difcourfe concerning the Life of Guftavus Adolphus, King of “Sweden.” There are only the two firft chapters of it, but they are very long. They were compofed after the year 1683, for he mentions the laft fieve of Vienna by the Turks. The firft chapter contains Guftavus's actions unto the Treaty concluded with Poland 1629, fome time before he entered Germany in order to make war againft the Emperor Ferdinand II. The fecond treats of the origin of the houfe of Auftria, and of the various fates which it hath undergone. It contains the characters of the late Emperors, and fhow's that Ferdinand brought all his misfortunes upon himfelf, and deftroyed the power of the Houfe of Auftria, by giving himfelf up to the councils

(1) A Confutation of a Differtation on Virgil and Homer, lately wrote by a certain French Author: begun December 9, 1671.

(2) A Letter to Mr Abbadie on the Queftion, Whether God could aft in a more wife and a more perfect manner than he has done.

(3) An Answer to Mr Fetizon's Obfervations on the foregoing Epiftle.

(4) Collections relating to Chronology, Geography, and Hiftory.

(5) Hiftorical Lectures.

(6) Philofophical Lectures.

(7) A Courfe of Philofophy.

(8) Allemagne.

(9) Jugemens ou Journal de Literature.

(10) Lettres fur la querelle de Girac & de Coftar.

(11) See above An. 1680, p. xiii.

(12) See above, An. 1685, p. xxii.

of Spain, and by cruelly persecuting the Protestants. This chapter contains an account of the transactions in Germany, and in Bohemia, 'till the year 1620. It is pity Mr Bayle did not finish this work : but imperfect as he has left it, and as neglected as the title is, one may see that it comes from a masterly hand. It is filled with fine and judicious reflexions, and lively and bold strokes both concerning persons and things. It may serve for a model to Historians.

The new articles which Mr Bayle had prepared for a Supplement to his Dictionary, and which he bequeathed to Mr Leers, are not many. He himself said, that *this Supplement was but little advanced, and that he was disgusted at that sort of labour,*

(1) *Letter to Mr Des Maizeaux* September 21, 1706, pag. 1114.

(2) *See Letter to Mr Minutoli, January 2, 1702, pag. 843, and Letter to Mr Marais, March 6, of the said year, pag. 859.*

(3) *The posthumous pieces are his Course of Philosophy in Latin, together with a French Translation, and the Fragment on the Life of Gustavus Adolphus.*

since he had for some years been employed in works of reasoning (1). He had promised that these new articles should not be incorporated with the new edition of his Dictionary, and that they should be printed and sold a-part, that the public might not be obliged to buy the same thing twice (2) : but Mr Leers having left off business his stock fell into the hands of two booksellers, who, without regard to Mr Bayle's intentions, caused it to be inserted in their edition of the Dictionary printed in 1720. And what is yet more essential, they disfigured this edition by the alterations they made in it: they have even sometimes pushed their boldness so far as to change Mr Bayle's stile, and to father entire periods upon him. They had maimed and mutilated in the same manner the new edition of the *Philosophical Commentary*, printed by the same Booksellers at Rotterdam in 1713; but they have followed Mr Bayle's original edition in the collection of his *Miscellaneous Works*, which contain, in four volumes in folio, all the works which he published (excepting his Dictionary) and some posthumous pieces (3).

They used Mr Bayle's Letters no better, which I sent to these Booksellers, and which they printed in 1714. They presumed to make several alterations and castrations in them. They added Notes to them filled with gross blunders in point of Literature, base and malicious insinuations, and calumnious reflexions on several persons of distinction, and did not even spare Mr Bayle himself. I restored these Letters according to the originals, in an edition published at Amsterdam in 1729, and I joined what explanations I thought necessary to them.

Mr Bayle had a lively, shining, and fruitful imagination, a great deal of discernment and penetration; a natural and bold stile, but not very correct. His conversation was lively, cheerful, and the more agreeable that it was always useful. His memory was happy and faithful, and seasonably furnished him with every thing he had entrusted to it. He disputed without heat, and without assuming a dictating tone: and we may observe from his writings, that far from giving offence he was on the contrary rather too much inclined to praise. He was faithful and constant in his friendship, and never was any body more ready to do good offices or more disinterested than he. Far from being greedy of presents, it was with difficulty that he accepted of those which he could not handsomely refuse [S]. Having a strong passion for truth he was exceedingly sensible of any assistance which was given him in the discovery of it, and made use of these helps with the utmost gratitude. He abhorred all sort of fraud and insincerity.

Being a true Philosopher he was without ostentation in his manners, without ambition, and gave himself no airs of superiority over any person. He was sober even to frugality, being indifferent about all pleasures but those of the mind, he seemed to know the passions only to talk of them, and not to feel their effects. Modest even to scrupulousness, he would have for ever concealed his name, if it had been in his power to do it, and it was not owing to him that the public ever saw his picture.

[S] *Far from being greedy of presents, it was with difficulty that he accepted of those which he could not handsomely refuse.* What follows is a proof of this, which I thought not unworthy of the curiosity of the public. The late Earl of Shaftsbury having observed that Mr Bayle had no watch, bought one when he went over to England, with an intention of making him a present of it when he should return to Rotterdam. The difficulty was how to make him accept of it. He took it frequently out of his pocket when they were together, as if to see what a clock it was, but Mr Bayle took no notice of it. At last one day he took it in his hand, and after having examined it, could not help saying that he thought it a very fine one. My Lord Shaftsbury laid hold of that opportunity of offering it to him. But Mr Bayle with great confusion, and piqued that my Lord seemed to have taken what he said without design, as an indirect manner of asking his watch of him, excused himself in the most earnest manner and with great emotion. They disputed a long time. And my Lord Shaftsbury could not persuade him to accept of it, 'till he had assured him that he had

brought it from England purposely for him, and proved this by showing him his own watch.

Some years after, that Lord told me that he designed to send Mr Bayle some Greek and Latin books, printed in England, and desired me to draw up a catalogue of those which would be most acceptable to him. I secretly acquainted Mr Bayle with this, that he might let me know what he had most occasion for. But he would not do it. "It is not at all necessary, said he (a), to give my Lord Shaftsbury any list of books. I most humbly thank him for the favour he designs for me: I have a sufficient token from him of a fine watch which he was pleased to force me to accept of. At that time I thought it a very useless piece of furniture, but at present it is become so necessary to me, that I could not now be without it, so that I every moment feel how much I am obliged to my Lord for so fine a present."

We may by this instance see what judgment ought to be made of those who have affirmed that he was a pensioner of the Court of France, &c.

(a) *Letter of the 3d of April 1705, pag. 1014, 1015.*

1706. Picture [T]. He was jealous of excess, and possibly to weakness, of the glory of his Country, and suffered with impatience that it should be attacked; and secretly despised those who had not the same opinion of it which he had.

The fruitfulness of his imagination and the vast extent of his knowledge frequently threw him into digressions, which notwithstanding he had the art to render useful and even necessary to the consequences which he wanted to draw. His penetration made him at first sight perceive all the different sides of the most abstruse subjects; he discovered all their principles, and unfolded all their consequences. The difficulties which he found in them made him very reserved in his judgments, and frequently left him only reasons for doubting. This caution made some people accuse him of Pyrrhonism. But if it is to be a Pyrrhonian to doubt of things doubtful, should not all men be Pyrrhonians?

It has been complained that he has taken a little too much liberty in his Dictionary, and that he has taken great freedoms with regard to the female sex. These however are only quotations from Authors which are in every body's hands, and which are generally esteemed. Mr Bayle being less touched with strokes of this kind, than probably those are who condemn him, was not shocked at the stile of these writers. He considered their coarse and unpollite expressions as the language of undisguised nature, or, if you will, as innocent liberties, and mere sports of wit, because they excited no disorders in his breast. His manners were always so pure and regular, that his most violent enemies never reproached him with any thing on that head. But in this, as in all other things he was not scared at the appearance of vice, because he had a solid love for virtue. No body ought to conclude any thing against Mr Bayle's Religion, from his having related in his Dictionary the difficulties which may be raised against some important doctrines. The laws of dispute required that he should make a faithful report on both sides of the question. But it is plain that he had no intention of destroying these doctrines, because the arguments which he has recited in their favour are stronger than those which he opposeth to them. Mr Jaquetot himself owns this in his *Answer* to the *Dialogues of Maximus and Themistus*, which is one continued invective against Mr Bayle.

"Libertines (says he (1), who shall read this Philosopher's works, with understanding sufficient to comprehend what they read, may easily discover that he has advanced reasons for the Existence of God, and the spiritual nature of the Soul, incomparably stronger than those with which he has furnished Pagans and others to oppose these important truths." He repeats this likewise in the Preface. Mr Bayle (says he (2), reasons with a great deal more force and evidence when he establisheth the Existence of God, than when he proposeth the difficulties with which he furniseth Simonides against this truth. . . . We ought to make the same judgment of the spirituality of the soul, if we read with application what he says of it, pro and con: and consequently to receive the Existence of God, and the Spirituality of the Soul, the two foundations of Religion, as principles very agreeable to Reason. But even they who do not approve of Mr Bayle's sentiments, admire the beauty and fertility of his genius, and the extensiveness of his knowledge; and they who do not do him this justice, and who affect, or pretend, to despise him, that they may raise themselves by debasing him, do not so much disparage Mr Bayle as their own discernment,

(1) Réponse aux Entretien de Mr Bayle &c. p. 256, 257.

(2) Pref. fol. 5.

[T] It was not owing to Mr Bayle that the public ever saw his Picture.] It was desired of him in the most earnest manner, in order to be engraved and prefixed to the English Translation of his Dictionary: but he answered that could not resolve to sit for his picture, nor to allow it to be placed before his book: that it was not in his power to conquer that reluctance, and he begged them to pardon that weakness, if they should be pleased to call it so (a).

The picture which he sent to his Mother was designed to remain in the family, and we are obliged for its being made public to Mr Marais, an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, and to Madam de Meignac a Lady of distinguished merit, and a great admirer of Mr Bayle's memory and writings. They did not know that Mr Bayle had ever been drawn; but the Letter which he sent to his Mother along with his picture (b), falling into Mr Marais hands after the death of Mr Bayle, they had notice that this picture was at Montauban, in the house of one of Mr Bayle's relations. Madam de Merignac got a copy of it, which she gave at her death (c) to Mr de Francastel under-library-keeper to the Mazarine College, and Mr Marais caused a copy to be made from it. These are the only two copies of it, which are at Paris. The University of Frankfurt on the Oder, desired a third from Mr Marais, in order to be placed in a Hall where

they had already collected eighty two portraits of famous men. Mr Bayle appears in it of a brown complexion, with lively features and very fine eyes. One easily discovers there his wit and vivacity. Some prints have been engraved at Paris from this picture. One of them was engraved by order of Madam de Meignac and Mr Marais. Mr Marais desired Mr de la Monnoye to write some verses to be placed under that print, and he composed the following Latin Distich:

*Bælius hic ille est, cujus dum scripta vigeant
Lis erit oblectant, erudiant ne magis.*

Such were Bayle's looks, whose writings justly boast
We know not if they please or profit most.

Another was engraved to be placed before the Geneva Edition of his Dictionary printed in 1715, where we find the following French verses of Mr de la Monnoye, which are an imitation of the above Latin ones:

*Tel fut l'illustre Bayle, bonneur des beaux esprits,
Dont l'élégante plume, en recherches fertiles,
Fait douter qui des deux l'emporte en ses Ecrits,
De l'agréable, ou de l'utile.*

(a) Letter to Mr. Des Maisneaux of the 3d of April 1705, p. 1011; and of the 3d of July, p. 1024.

(b) See above, in the year 1675, pag. ix.

(c) This Lady died Nov. 11, 1712. Her name was Magdalen Felix d'Ober, the widow of a family of distinction in Flanders, and widow to Mr. de Merignac.

ment, and discover more presumption than knowledge. It is common to find men of great learning with little genius, of much wit with little erudition, much solidity without any thing agreeable: but it is rare to find one who has so perfectly united all these qualities as Mr Bayle has done. This made Mr de Saint Evremond say (3),

(3) Mr de
St Evre-
mond's
Works,
Letter to
Mr Des
Maizeaux,
Tom. v. p.
377. Edit.
of Amster-
dam,
1726.

*Qu'on admire le grand savoir
L'erudition infinie
Où l'on ne voit sens, ni génie,
Je ne saurois le concevoir:
Mais je trouve BAYLE admirable
Qui profond autant qu'agréable,
Me met en état de choisir
L'instruction, ou le plaisir.*

While some the soph profound admire,
Tho' wanting sense, and wit, and fire,
BAYLE stands my favourite confest,
Whose soul, with every talent blest,
Displays in his still various page,
The chearful wit and learned sage.

The end of the Life.



A P P E N D I X.

CALENDARIUM CARLANANUM.

An Historical and Chronological Journal of the Life of Mr Bayle.

ANNI ERÆ CHRIST.	EPOCHÆ NATIVIT.		YEARS OF THE CHRI- STIAN ERÆ	EPOCH OF MY BIRTH.	
	18. Nov. 1647.			The 18th of Novem- ber 1647.	
	ANNI ÆTAT.			YEARS OF MY AGE	
1660, 29. Jun.	13. curr.	Initium stud. L. G.	1660, June 29.	13. current	I began to learn Greek.
1661, Fer. 1. fe- we Domin. die 25. Decembr.	15. iniens.	I. Synaxis.	1661, on Sun- day Decemb. 25.	15. near the be- ginning.	I for the first time received the Holy Communion.
1666, Fer. 6. die 12. Febr.	19. curr.	I. Professio ex Lare pater- no PdRm; ubi ascript. I. Class. 30. Non. Maij, sub Virodunenſi Clepoïn.	1666, on Saturday February 12.	19. current	I left my father's house and went to Puylaurens where I entered to the first class. Mr Clepoïn of Verdun, was my Regent.
1666,		Excursio in triduum Castra.	1666,		I made a Journey of three days to Caſtres.
1666 die 9. Sept.	19. curr.	Reditus Carlan.	1666, Sep- tember 9.	19. current	I returned to Carla.
1668, die 29. Mai.	21. curr.	Profeſſus Sacerd. & manſio uſque ad 4. Kal. Oâ. proximas.	1668, May. 29.	21. current	I went to Saverdun where I ſtaid 'till the 28th of September following.
1668, die lunæ 5. Novemb.	21. adſe- ſus.	Egreſſus Carlan. & profeſſus PdRm. manſio uſque ad d. 19. ſer. 3. menſis Febr. 1669.	1668, Mon- day No- vember 5.	21. near the end.	I left Carla and went to Puylau- rens where I continued till Tueſday February 19, 1669.
1669, die Feb. 19.	22. curr.	Logicus. Advent. TLSm.	1669, Febru- ary 19.	22. current	I began the Study of Logic. I arrived at Toulouſe.
1669, die 19. Mart. ſer. 3.	22. curr.	Transit. ad deſ. ſub Ignat. . . no cognomine: poſtera die iterum Logicus, ſub Ignat. . . no cogno- mine urbi quæ ſedes Imper. (1)	1669, Tueſ- day March 19.	22. current	I changed my Religion . . . Next day I reſumed the Study of Logic.
1670, die 19. Aug. ſer. 3.	23. curr.	Profeſſ. ex TLSm. & ad- vent. ad villam D. del Vivie ad Mazers.	1670, Tueſ- day Au- guſt 19.	23. current	I left Toulouſe and came to a Country ſeat of Mr du Vivie near Mazers.
1670, die 21. Aug.	23. curr.	Redit. ad patern. Leg. intra privat. par. moderante Rivall. Saverd. Teſt. Fratres, Guillemat. & Rivall. reſpectivè Eccleſ. . . bus Carlan. Mazers. Calmon.	1670, Au- guſt 21.	23. current	I returned to the Reformed Reli- gion, and made a private abjuration of the Romiſh Religion in the hands of Mr Rival Miniſter of Saverdun; in preſence of my Brother the Mini- ſter of Carla, of Mr Guillemat Mi- niſter of Mazeres, and of Mr Rival Miniſter of Calmont.
1670, die 21. Aug.	23. curr.	Profeſſ. Lemann. advent. die 5. 7 ^{br} . ſer. 3.	1670, Au- guſt 21.	23. current	I ſet out for Geneva, where I ar- rived on Tueſday September 5.
1670, die 21. Nov.	23. adſe.	Ingreſſ. apud Dm. Neuſtriae cognom.	1670, No- vember 21.	23. near the end.	I entered to the houſe of Mr de Normandie.
1672, die 23. Mai.	25. curr.	Transitus Copet . . . apud Don. Comit.	1672, No- vember 21.	25. current	I went to Copet to live with the Count de Dhona.
1674, ſer. 3. d. 29. Mai.	27. curr.	Profeſſ. ex Copet. & iter in Neuſtr. apud D. Rip. advent. eò 15. Jun. proxim.	1674, Tueſ- day May 29.	27. current	I left Copet and went to Normandie to live with Mr Rip. I arrived there the fifteenth of June following.
1675 Kal. Mart.	28. curr.	Egreſſ. Roth. ad Urbem: ini- bi ingreſſ. apud Dm. Ber. . . gb. 3. apr. prox.	1675, March 1.	28. current	I went from Rouen to Paris, where I entered to Mr de Beringhen's fa- mily, the 3d of April following.
1675, ſer. 3. die Aug. 27.	28. curr.	Iter Sed. advent. ultima Aug. die proxim.	1675, Tueſ- day Aug. 27.	28. current	I ſet out for Sedan where I ar- rived on the laſt day of Auguſt.
1675, die 28. Sept.	28. curr.	Incluſ. cum rival. ad comp. Teſt. quæ prop. 22. Oâ. & 23. poſt merid.	1675, Sep- tember 28.	28. current	I was ſhut up with my Compe- titors to compoſe my Theſes which I defended on the 22d and 23d of October in the Afternoon.
1675 die 2. Nov.	28. adſec.	Recept. à curat. & 4. Nov. prox. Sacramenti præſt. ad ſpar- tam Philoſoph. quæ 14. Jul. 1681. interdicit. diplom. regio.	1675, No- vember 2.	28. near the end	I was received by the Moderators of the Academy, and on the 4th of November I took the oath as Pro- feſſor of Philoſophy. The Academy was ſuppreſſed by a Royal Ediſt July 14, 1681.
1675, ſer. 2. Nov. 11.	28. adſec.	I. Exercit. in audit.	1675, Mon- day Novem- ber 11.	28. near the end	I began my Public Lectures.

(1) We have not been able to diſ-
cover the meaning of theſe words:
Sub Ignat. . . no (Ignatiano) cognomine
Urbi quæ ſedes Imperii.

ANNI ERÆ CHRIST.	ANNI ÆTAT.		YEARS OF THE CHRIS- TIAN ÆRA.	YEARS OF MY AGE.	
1681, fer. 3. d. 2. Sept.	34. curr.	<i>Profess. Sed. in urbem, ad- vent. die 7. prox.</i>	1681, Tues- day Septem- ber 2.	34 current	I left Sedan for Paris, where I arrived on the 7th.
1681, fer. 4. d. 8. Oct.	34. adf.	<i>Profess. Urbe Rott. vocat. juf- su D. Pa. . .</i>	1681 Wed- nesday Octo- ber 8.	34 near the end	I left Paris for Rotterdam where I was invited by Mr Paets,
1681, fer. 5. d. 30. Oct.	34. adf.	<i>Advent. Rott.</i>	1681, Thurs- day October 30.	34 near the end	I arrived at Rotterdam.
1681, fer. 6. d. 5. Dec.	35. ineunt.	<i>Or. inaug. ob Prof. ppb. & bist. in Seb. ill. recens erect.</i>	1681, Friday December 5.	35 near the be- ginning.	My inaugural Oration at entering to my charge of Professor of Phi- losophy and History, in the Illustri- ous School lately founded.
1681, fer. 2. d. 8. Decem.	35. ineunt.	<i>I. Lect. ppb.</i>	1682, 1681, Mon- day Decem- ber 8.	35 near the be- ginning.	My first Philosophical Lecture.
1682, fer. 4. d. 11. Mart.	35. curr.	<i>Epist. de comet. absol. im- press. lum. compof. 11. Januar. 1681. missa in Urb. 27. Mai. inseq.</i>	1682, Wed- nesday March 11.	35 current	The Impression of the <i>Letter con- cerning Comets</i> was finished, it was composed January 11, 1681, and sent to Paris the 27th of May following.
1682, fer. 3. d. 31. Mart.	35. curr.	<i>Nunc. à D. J. Dam. Pa. . . paulo ante defunctam legasse duo m. Lb. Biblioth. 9.</i>	1682, Tues- day March 31.	35 current	I was informed by Mr J. that Madam Paets, lately dead, had left me a Legacy of two thousand gilders to buy books.
1682, fer. 6. die 1. Mai.	35. curr.	<i>Inchoata Crit. G. de l'Hist. du C. absol. 15. d. post. tradita 30. Maii Wolf. accepta ab illo die 11. Jul. dedit libr. in L.</i>	1682, Fri- day May 1.	35 current	I began the <i>General Criticism of the History of Calvinism</i> ; I finished it on the 15th of the same month, and on the 30th I gave it to Wolf- gang, from whom I received it prin- ted on the first of July at which time it was published.
1682, mens Aug.	35. curr.	<i>Visa, emend. & aucta. accep- ta edit. 2a. die lune 29. Nov. dedit libr. in L.</i>	1682, In the month of August.	35 current	I revised, corrected, and enlarged that work, and received a second edition of it, when it was published on Monday November 29.
1682, mens. Oct.	35. exeunt.	<i>Accepta à D. Fatiz. m. s. A- polog. pro bell. civil. quam mi- bi sub. nōie Philar. d. d. & c. impress. Hag. accepta die 21. Feb. 1683.</i>	1682, In the month of October.	35 near the end	I received from Mr Fetizon the M. S. of his <i>Apology for the Civil- Wars</i> , which he dedicated to me un- der the name of <i>Philaretus</i> , and which was printed at the Hague, from whence it was sent to me February 21, 1683.
1683, fer. 4. die 2. Sept.	36. curr.	<i>Absol. 2a. edit. Ep. ad. D. S. contra prę. Com. dedit Typog. 120. Exempl.</i>	1683, Wed- nesday Sep- tember 2.	36 current	The impression of the second edition of the <i>Letter to a Doctor of the Sorbon against the pretences of Comets</i> , was finished. The Booksellers gave me 120 Copies of it.
1683, fer. 4. die 24. Nov.	37. ineunt.	<i>Absol. imprimi à Typogr. Graef Exam. Method. à D. Bajss, Eccl. Rotbom. compositum, & mihi dicat.</i>	1683. Wed- nesday No- vember 24.	37 near the begin- ning.	Mr Graef finished the impression of the <i>Examination of the Methods</i> by Mr Bafnage Minister at Rouen, who dedicated it to me.
1683, mens. Dec.	37. ineunt.	<i>Absol. imp. Profel. ab. in 12. cujus auct. D. La. R. filius mi- bi dicav.</i>	1683, In the month of De- cember.	37 near the begin- ning.	The Impression of the <i>Proselyte a- bajss</i> , in 12mo, was finished: it was wrote by Mr de Larroque the son, and dedicated to me.
1684, fer. 6. die 21. Jan.	37. curr.	<i>Accept. Liber Heidelb. in Brueys exarat. à Theol. Cand. Lenf. postea tradit. Leers Ty- pogr.</i>	1684, Friday January 21.	37 current	I received from Heidelberg, a book against Mr Brueys composed by Mr Lenfant a student of Divinity. I gave it to Mr Leers to be printed.
1684, fer. 5. die 16. Mart.	37. curr.	<i>Acceptum exemplar tractat. in quibus dissertat. lat. in L. à Villa denuo excus. Amstel.</i>	1684, Thurs- day March 16.	37 current	I received a copy of the Collection which contains a Latin dissertation against Louis de la Ville, reprinted at Amsterdam.
1684, fer. 3. die 21. Mart.	37. curr.	<i>Inchoat. Nunc. Reipub. Litterar. & die 4. Apr. inseq. trans- fusa cum Des B. Typ. Amst. & die 27. Maii accepta exempl. mens. 11. die v. 2. Junii accept. exempl. mensis April.</i>	1684, Tues- day March 21.	37 current	I began the <i>News from the Repub- lic of Letters</i> ; and on the 4th of April following, I made an agree- ment with Des Bordes a Bookeller in Amsterdam: on the 27th of May I received copies of the first month (of March) and on the 2d of June I re- ceived copies for the month of April.
1684, fer. 3. die 9. Maii	37. curr.	<i>Accept. Litterę vocat. data Leovard. 21. April. Sty. vet. ad Philosop. Profess. Franek. postea die respons. petens moram: die v. 9. Junii sequente repons. aliud gratias ag.</i>	1684, Tues- day May 9.	37 current	I received Letters from Leewarden of the 21st of April old style, where- in a Professor of Philosophy's chair in the University at Franeker was offered to me. I answered the day after, and desired time to consider of it. And on the 9th of June following I wrote them a letter of thanks.
1684, fer. 3. die 16. Maii.	37. curr.	<i>Accept. Litterę Paris, à D. de Frejeville nunciant. obitum Fra- tris Jos. qui defunc. Paris. de morb. 9. Maii.</i>	1684, Tues- day May 16.	37 current	I received letters from Paris, by Mr de Frejeville, giving me an account of my brother Joseph's death, who died at Paris May 9.

ANNI ÆRÆ CHRIST.	ANNI ÆTAT.		YEARS OF THE CHRIS- TIAN ÆRA.	YEARS OF MY AGE.	
1685, fer. 2. die 5. Mart.	38. curr.	<i>Accept. Exemplar Nouv. Let- tres 2. vol. in 12.</i>	1685, Mon- day March 5.	38 current	I received a copy of the <i>New Let- ters concerning the History of Calvi- nism</i> , in two Volumes in 12mo.
1685, fer. 2. die 8. Maii.	38. curr.	<i>Accept. nuncius obit. patris qui contigit die Sabb. 31. mensis Martii.</i>	1685. Mon- day May 8.	38 current	I received the news of my father's death which happened on Sunday March 31.
1685, fer. 4. die 27. Jun.	38. curr.	<i>Accept. Amstel. Literæ Saverd. scriptæ nunciant. Fratrem duum die 10. Jun. in carcer. Appam. inde 10. Jul. transv. Burdig. in arce quæ vulgò Chat. Tr. ubi obiit die 12. Novembr. in se- quent.</i>	1685, Wed- nesday June 27.	38 current	Letters came from Saverdun to Am- sterdam, which gave an account that my brother was carried a prisoner to Famiers on the 10th of June, and on the 10th of July was removed to Bourdeaux to the Castle commonly called <i>Cbâteau Trompette</i> , where he died the 12th of November following.
<i>Mense Octobr.</i>	38. exeunt.	<i>Versa Gallicè Epistola A. Paets de nuperis. Vide Novell. p. 1070.</i>	In the month of October.	38 near the end.	I translated into French Mr Paets's Letter <i>de nuperis</i> &c. See the News from the Republic of Letters. p. 1070.
1686, men. Feb. die 25. fer. 2.	39. curr.	<i>Absoluta impress. Responfionis ad Monit. Arnal. circa de senf. volupt. opinion. Mallebr.</i>	1686, Mon- day Februa- ry 25.	39 current	They finished the Impression of the <i>Anfuer to Mr Arnauld's Advice</i> con- cerning Father Mallebrancibé's opinion about the pleasure of the senses.
<i>Die 6. & 7. men. Mart.</i>	39. curr.	<i>Composita Epist. appendix fus. Libri Deckkerri de adelf.</i>	On the sixth and 7th of March.	39 current	I composed a Letter to be placed by way of Appendix to Mr Deck- ker's book concerning <i>anonymous Au- thors</i> .
<i>Die 22. Mart. fer. 6.</i>	39. curr.	* * * * *	Friday March 22.	39 current	* * * * *
<i>Die 28. Octob. fer. 4.</i>	39. defin.	* * * * *	Wednesday October 28.	39 near the end	* * * * *
1687, fer. 1. die 16. Feb.	40. curr.	<i>Incept morbo laborare quo in- termittere coact. Nouv. de la R. non prorsus peract. mens. Febr.</i>	1687, Sun- day Februa- ry 16.	40 current	I was seized with an illness which obliged me to discontinue the <i>News from the Republic of Letters</i> , without being able to finish the month of Fe- bruary.
		<i>Abruptum omnino opus transf. in potest. D. de Beauv. qui no- vum adorn. mens. 7b. Abruptum quoque Colleg.</i>			I entirely laid down that work and resigned it to Mr de Bauval who published a new Journal in the month of September. I also interrupted my lectures.
<i>Die 10. Jun.</i>	40. curr.	<i>Recept. 3. pars Com. ph. quæ ante morb. absoluta fuer. & Ty- pog. trad. & ante fin. Feb. prorsus typis desjer.</i>	June 10.	40 current	I received the third part of the <i>Philosophical Commentary</i> , which I had finished before my sickness, and given it to the Bookfeller, who had finished the impression before the end of February.
<i>Die 8. Aug.</i>	40. curr.	<i>In viam me dedi tend. Cliv. quo perventum die 13. Aug. po- stero die in hosp. D. Ferrand. past. in Castello usque ad 15. Septemb. Hinc Sylo. Ducis, inde Aquis gr. cum D. D. Piel & Farjon. Versus 18. Oct.</i>	August 8.	40 current	I made a journey to Cleves, where I arrived August 13. Next day I went to lodge with Mr Ferrand Mi- nister of the Castle, and continued with him till the 15th of September. From thence I went to Bois-le-Duc, and afterwards to Aix-la-Chapelle, with Mr Pielat and Mr Farjon. I returned to Rotterdam on the 18th of October.

(2) These two passages are cut in the original: the one related to the impression of *la France toute Catholique*; and the other to the first and second parts of the *Commentaire Philosophique*, which appeared at the same time. The third part is mentioned here below, June 10, 1687.

AN ORDER of MR DE LA REYNIE, Lieutenant-General of the Police of the City, Provostship, and Viscounty of Paris, concerning the GENERAL CRITICISM on Mr Maimbourg's HISTORY OF CALVINISM. By the King, and the Provost of Paris, or his Lieutenant-General of the Police.



HEREAS it has been represented to us by the King's Attorney, that certain disaffected persons have imported and sold in this City, several copies of a book, intituled, *A General Criticism on Mr Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*, printed, as the title page bears, at Ville-Franche by Pierre le Blanc in 1682, wherein the Author of the said book, instead of a just and sober Criticism allowed to men of Letters and erudition, has had the boldness, under the specious title of a Criticism, to advance several calumnious and pretended facts, which tend under a false zeal for Religion to corrupt the fidelity of subjects: and it being for the interest of the public that the sale of so pernicious a book should be prevented, and that they who shall be found to be the Authors, or Printers, Importers, Sellers, or Venders of the same, should be punished according to the rigour of the laws; and the King's Attorney having desired that we should take cognizance thereof. WE having seen the said book, intituled, *A General Criticism on Mr Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*, printed at Ville-Franche by Peter le Blanc in 1682, as the title bears, containing 338 Pages, and divided into 22 Letters: WE in pursuance of the said petition have declared the book intituled *A General Criticism on Mr Maimbourg's History* diffamatory and calumnious, and filled with bold and seditious forgeries, and as such we order it to be lacerated and burnt at the Greve, by the hands of the hangman; and that, at the request and by the care of the King's Attorney, informations may be drawn up against those who have composed, printed, imported, sold, or vended the said book, and that process may be commenced and prosecuted against those who shall be found guilty, according to the rigour of the law. EXPRESSLY forbidding all Printers and Booksellers to print, vend, or sell, the said book, under the pain of death; and all other persons, of what quality and condition soever, to make any traffic or sale of the same under the pain of exemplary punishment: and this present Order shall be published and affixed in the usual and accustomed places; and particularly in the Hall of the Booksellers and Printers of this City, that no body may pretend ignorance of the same. Given by Mr GABRIEL NICOLAS DE LA REYNIE Counsellor of State in ordinary, and Lieutenant-General of the Police of the City, Provostship, and Viscounty of Paris, the sixth day of March, one thousand six hundred and eighty three,

Signed

DE LA REYNIE.

DE RIANTZ. SAGOT, Register.

The above Order was read, published, and affixed with sound of trumpet, and public proclamation, in the usual and accustomed places, by me Mark Anthony Pasquier, sworn Cryer in ordinary to his Majesty, in the said City, Provostship, and Viscounty of Paris, living near the Hôtel des Ursins, accompanied with Stephen du Bos, sworn Trumpeter to his Majesty, Philp le Sieû and Louis la Coste, deputy Trumpeters, March 9, 1683.

Signed

PASQUIER.

PRINTED BY DENIS THIERRY, IN THE RUE S. JAKES.

ACTS OF THE CONSISTORY OF THE WALLOON CHURCH OF ROTTERDAM, CONCERNING THE SIEUR BAYLE'S HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL DICTIONARY.

November 3, 1697.

THE Committee appointed by an Act of the fifteenth of September last, having made a report that they had examined the Extracts which Messieurs de Superville and le Page, Ministers, had made of the passages of a book of the Sieur Bayle, intituled, *An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, which relate to obscenities, and that having compared these Extracts with the said book, they had therein found obscene reflections, indecent expressions and questions, and a great many obscene quotations, as is more fully expressed in a Memoir which they produced concerning the same, wherein these passages are marked. Whereupon the Consistory have thought fit, that the said Memoir should be kept by their Secretary, to be produced when they shall come to a general deliberation with regard to the said book, and mean while the other members of the Consistory, may further examine the said Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and a fortnight hence. And it has been thought proper in the mean time that this Act and others of the same nature, which shall be made on this subject, shall not be registered in the book of Acts, except by the express order of the Consistory.

November

November 17, 1697.

The term of a fortnight appointed by the preceeding Act for making remarks on the Memoir mentioned in the said Act being now elapsed, the other members of the Consistory were asked, if they had made any remarks on the same, and no body having declared that they had made any, the Report contained in the said Memoir was agreed to and held as the opinion of the Consistory.

The same Day.

The Committee above-mentioned having made a Report that they had examined the Extracts which Messieurs de Superville and le Page, Ministers, had made of the passages of the above-mentioned book of the Sieur Bayle, in the Article of DAVID, and that having compared the said Extracts with the said book, they had found that the Sieur Bayle had in general drawn a very frightful picture of the conduct and government of this King and Prophet, and that in particular he treats several of his actions in an unworthy and scandalous manner, as this is more fully expressed in a Memoir which the said Committee produced concerning the same, wherein the passages are marked : whereupon the Consistory have thought fit that this Memoir shall be kept as the foregoing one, and the other members of the Consistory may further examine the said Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and a fortnight hence.

December 1, 1697.

The term of a fortnight appointed by the preceeding Act for making remarks on the Memoir which relates to the Article DAVID, mentioned in the said Act, being now elapsed, the other members of the Consistory were asked, if they had any remarks on the same, and no body declaring that they had made any ; the Report contained in the same Memoir was agreed to, and held as the opinion of the Consistory.

The same day.

The Committee abovementioned having made a Report that they had examined the Extracts which Messieurs de Superville and Le Page, Ministers, had made concerning the passages in the said book of the Sieur Bayle, in the Articles of the MANICHEANS, MARCIONITES, and PAULICIANS ; and having compared these Extracts with the said book, they had found that Mr Bayle had not only advanced the arguments which the Manicheans had made use of anciently, but had likewise formed new arguments in favour of Manicheism, which even tend to oppose the hypotheses of all Protestant Divines, and that he in the conclusion gives the victory to the Manichean hypothesis which had given great offence to the said Committee, as they have expressed it more at large in a Memoir which the said Committee have produced concerning it, wherein the passages complained of are marked : whereupon the Consistory have thought fit that this Memoir shall be kept as the preceeding, and the other members of the Consistory may further examine the said Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and a fortnight hence.

December 8, 1697.

The Committee above-mentioned having made a Report that they had examined the Extracts which Messieurs de Superville and le Page, Ministers, had made of the passages of the said book of the Sieur Bayle, in the Article of PYRRHO, and that having compared the said Extracts with the said book, the said Committee had drawn up a Memoir of what they had found there scandalous and blame-worthy, which Memoir they produced to the Consistory ; whereupon the Consistory have thought fit that this Memoir shall be kept as the preceeding, and that the other members of the Consistory may further examine the said Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and the week following.

December 15, 1697.

The term of a fortnight appointed by the second Act of the first instant, for making remarks with relation to the Article of the MANICHEANS, MARCIONITES and PAULICIANS, mentioned in the said Act ; and likewise the term of eight days, appointed by the Act immediately preceeding this, for making remarks on the Memoir relating to the Article of PYRRHO mentioned in the said Act, being now elapsed ; the members of the Consistory were asked if they had made any remarks upon the same, whereupon no body having signified that they had made any, the report contained in the said two Memoirs was agreed to, and held as the opinion of the Consistory.

The same Day.

The Committee abovementioned, having made a report that they had examined the Extracts which Messieurs Superville and le Page, Ministers, had made of the passages of the said book of the Sieur Bayle in diverse Articles with relation to *Albeists* or *Epicureans* ; and that having compared the said Extracts with the said book, the said Committee had drawn up a Memoir of such things as they had found scandalous and deserving reproof in it : which Memoir they produced to the Consistory Whereupon the Consistory have thought fit that the said Memoir should be kept as the preceeding, and that the other members of the Consistory may further examine the said Memoir, and make their remarks upon it betwixt this and Sunday next.

The same Day.

Mr le Page, one of our Ministers, informed the Consistory that the Sieur Bayle came to see him on the 10th of this month, to tell him that he had heard that the Consistory were examining his *Critical Dictionary*. That this had surprized him, because he did not think that Dictionaries were subject to examination ; that he had been assured that we found fault with the articles of DAVID, the MANICHEANS or PAULICIANS, the PYRRHONIANS, and sundry expressions and citations of too free a nature ; that since it was so he designed to soften and rectify these things in a second edition, either by adding or suppressing, and desired that the Consistory might be informed of this his declaration, and that he hoped they would be satisfied with it. Whereupon the Consistory having deliberated,

ACTS OF THE CONSISTORY

rated, thought fit to appoint an extraordinary meeting on Thursday next on the affair of the said *Sieur Bayle*.

Thursday December 19, 1697.

The Consistory being extraordinarily met, according to the abovementioned Act, and having read over the four first Memoirs relating to the affair of the said *Sieur Bayle*, mentioned in the preceding Acts, they thought fit to acquaint the *Sieur Bayle*, by the mouth of their Secretary, to appear before them on Tuesday next in the afternoon, at half an hour after three of the clock, on this affair.

Sunday December 21, 1697.

The time appointed by the second Act of the 15th instant, for making remarks on the Memoir relating to several Articles concerning *Atheists* and *Epicureans*, mentioned in the said Act, being now elapsed, the other members of the Consistory were asked if they had any remarks on the same. Whereupon no body having signified that they had made any, the report contained in the said Memoir was agreed to, and held as the opinion of the Consistory.

Tuesday December 24, 1697.

The Consistory being extraordinarily assembled, according to the Act of the 19th instant, the *Sieur Bayle* appeared before them : to whom the Consistory having declared, by the mouth of their President, that they had found in his book, intitled *An Historical and Critical Dictionary*, several passages which appeared to the Consistory offensive. And in the first place, that they had found in his said book obscene expressions, quotations, and reflexions ; in answer to which the said *Sieur Bayle* said, " That he was not prepared to answer, not knowing what the Consistory was to propose to him ; and added, " there was a difference betwixt a Philosophical writer or an Historian, and a Divine ; that an Historian ought to be faithful and impartial, and that he is accountable if he gives false relations ; " that he might desire of this Consistory twenty audiences, of two hours each, to lay his reasons before them, but that he would not make use of that method, and that he desired to prevent a long and tedious process ; that he maintained that he had advanced nothing in the said book as his own opinion, which was contrary to our Confessions of Faith, and that he had defended the principal points of Religion in it ; that they ought not to insist on what was only trifling ; that he might criticize upon the Extracts which the Consistory had made, both with regard to facts, and with regard to right ; but that he would not in the least enter into that discussion ; that in the preface to the said book he had declared that he would be ready to correct whatever should be found in it which deserved correction ; and that in the Reflexions which he had published on a pamphlet intitled, *The Judgment of the Public*, he had made the same declaration ; that he declared once more to the Consistory, that he had resolved to change in a second Edition whatever the Consistory should find fault with, and that he was already at work in correcting the said Book."

The Consistory having deliberated on this Answer, and desired the *Sieur Bayle* to come in, they told him, by the mouth of their President, that they would not at present enter upon an answer to the abovementioned reasons alledged by him, and as to the resolution which he had declared to them, that it appeared to be too general ; that he had spoke of correcting in a second Edition, and not of retracting ; that the Consistory did not know when that second Edition should be published, and likewise that several accidents might intervene to prevent the execution of it ; that the remarks which the Consistory had made upon the said book were of importance. Whereupon the *Sieur Bayle* had answered " that he would be ready not only to make alterations in the said book, but likewise to retract what should be thought deserved to be retracted, and that even now, if there be any propositions in it which are laid down as his own opinion, which shall be found contrary to our Religion, that he declared them heretical."

After this the Consistory informed him that they would cause the passages of the said book to be pointed out to him, together with their remarks upon the same, and afterwards appointed Messieurs Pielat, de Superville, and le Page, Ministers ; Messieurs de Fanueil, Diodati, and Vermande, Elders ; and Messieurs de Tinnebacq and de Peyster, Deacons ; to point out to the *Sieur Bayle* the passages and remarks contained in the five Memoirs which have been made on that subject ; and to hear what the said *Sieur* should say concerning them, and to make a Report of the same to the Consistory.

January 5, 1698.

The Memoirs of the Committee appointed by an Act of the 24th of December last, reported, that having met on the 30th following, they had laid before the *Sieur Bayle*, the substance of the Remarks contained in the five Memoirs made with relation to his book, mentioned in the said Act, and having heard the explanations and general answers, and likewise the *Sieur Bayle's* offers on that subject, they had thought it proper that the *Sieur Bayle* should put what he had said to them in writing, which the said *Sieur Bayle* having done, they produced a Memoir of the same subscribed by the said *Sieur*, which being read before the Consistory, after deliberating thereupon, they thought fit to desire the Members of the said Committee to draw up a sketch of an Answer to the said Memoir, and to communicate the same to the Consistory, which shall extraordinarily meet for that purpose on Tuesday next, and ordered that the *Sieur Bayle* be summoned to appear before them at that time.

A MEMORIAL presented to the Consistory of the Walloon Church of Rotterdam on Sunday January 5, 1698, concerning the HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL DICTIONARY.

"GENTLEMEN,

"**W**HAT I had the honour to say to you on the twenty fourth of the last month; and to repeat more at large to your Committee on Monday last, when they read their remarks to me, I now give the Consistory in writing with more particular explanations.

"This may be reduced to two points: The first is, that I have a great many things to alledge both by way of reason and of example in my justification, without a discussion of which this matter cannot in equity be determined by way of decision. The second is, that if to prevent a long process, and other inconveniences, the Consistory think proper to terminate this affair by way of agreement, I will do all that is in my power to facilitate it. For that purpose, I in the first place declare in the sincerest manner, that I never intended to insert any thing in my Dictionary which could give just cause of offence to pious souls. I always hoped that the liberty which I took on certain occasions would be favourably interpreted, because people would observe that it is a Layman and a Philosopher who speaks, and that too in a History, a Criticism, and a large Commentary, and that I have been at pains to add, wherever I thought it was necessary, salvo's and explanations which bring back my reader to the most orthodox principle of our Communion, to wit, that the Scripture is the rule of what we ought to believe, whether our reason can comprehend it or not. I likewise hoped that every body would remember that the quality of Historian puts one under a necessity of relating many things concerning the strong and the weak side of every party, which another Author would not lay, and that the Fathers of the Church have minutely related impurities and obscenities which create horror.

"I declare in the second place that I am extremely sorry, that, contrary to my intention and hopes, several people have been offended at the liberty which I have taken, and that if I had foreseen this I would have carefully abstained from it. And in order effectually to remedy this I promise to rectify in a second edition which I shall presently set about, all the passages which have been complained of. This appears to me to be very easy to be done either by suppressions, additions, or change of expression. By reading the remarks of your Committee, I know these passages more distinctly than I did before. In my corrections I shall have great regard to these remarks, and the rather that I know that they were made by persons of great abilities, and to the good advice and information, which it shall please the Ministers of the Church to favour me with; and I shall much more consider whether a thing may offend part of my readers, than whether it be at bottom true, and not contrary to our Confession of Faith.

"I promise, in particular, to new model the Article of the Prophet DAVID in such a manner, that no stumbling block shall be left there. As to what relates to the *Manichean* Heresy, I have very distinctly declared that it is horrible, extravagant, contrary to common notions, and that it may be easily overthrown by the Holy Scripture. I have only maintained, that the objections concerning the Origin of Evil cannot be solved by the strength of reason, and I believed that this was saying no more than what all our Divines confess concerning the incomprehensibility of Predestination. Notwithstanding I promise to consider that matter over again, and to seek for philosophical reasons against these objections. And if your Reverend Ministers will be so good as to take the trouble of furnishing me with any, I will make use of them in the best manner I am able, and that with the greater pleasure that Manicheism is an abominable heresy with regard to Morality, and ridiculous and monstrous with regard to Metaphysics. What I promise with relation to this Article ought likewise to be understood in particular with regard to that of PYRRHO.

"In a word, I declare that I will receive with joy, and with an intention to profit by them all the advices that may be communicated to me, in order to render my book more useful to the public, and more edifying to the churches; and especially I will receive with great submission the good advices of the Consistory.

"I have only two things farther, Gentlemen, to declare to you. The first is, that I never designed to advance as my own opinion any doctrine contrary to the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Church, of which I profess myself a member, and in which I beg the grace of God that I may live and die. If therefore there be any such doctrine found in my writings, I disown it, and from this day forth entirely retract it. The second thing is, that I have good ground to hope that the Consistory having nothing in view but the peace and edification of the public, will be fully content with what is above; for methinks it is all that can be required of an Author in such a case. Besides, that by taking the way of a formal process, the Consistory must be sensible that it will be drawn into great length, that I have reasons to offer in my justification on every article; that it may perhaps be necessary to pass from one Court to another, and even come to printed Cases, which will only tend to excite new troubles without any advantage to the Church, and on the contrary will give pleasure to our adversaries.

"If all that I have said above should not be able to bring this matter to an amicable issue, and if notwithstanding thereof this affair should come to be tried by way of process, I desire that nothing that I have said above may prejudice my cause, either as to my pretensions of challenging some persons, if that shall be found necessary, or to the method of appeal, if that be found requisite. I desire likewise that what I have said either to the Consistory, or to the Gentleman of the Committee, may not be taken as part of my Defence."

And it was signed BAYLE.

Tuesday, January 7, 1698.

The Consistory being extraordinarily assembled in consequence of the last Act, and finding that they were not a sufficient number, though all the members were particularly acquainted to meet, that they might come to a resolution on this affair, and considering the shortness of the time, the

Consistory being to be changed on Sunday next; after having examined the sketch of an Answer drawn by the Committee, mentioned in the preceding Act, they have thought fit only to read the said sketch to the *Sieur Bayle*, who having desired a copy of it, the Consistory came to no resolution thereupon, but thought proper to meet again on Thursday next.

Thursday, January 9, 1698.

The Consistory being once more extraordinarily assembled, in consequence of the preceding Act, and having read the sketch of an Answer, drawn up by the Committee, and communicated to the *Sieur Bayle*, as is mentioned in the preceding Act, unanimously approved of the same. The tenour whereof is as follows:

The Consistory continuing to deliberate concerning Mr Bayle's affair, after having heard the said *Sieur Bayle's* explanations and general answers, both in full Consistory on Thursday the 24th of December last, and on Monday the 30th of this month, in presence of the Committee who communicated to him by word of mouth the substance of the five Memoirs drawn up by the Consistory concerning his Dictionary, and have made a report of the whole on Sunday last, the 5th instant; after having likewise examined the paper presented to the Consistory, on Sunday last above-mentioned, by the said *Sieur Bayle*, and signed by him, in which he lays down his intentions and designs more distinctly.

The Consistory declare that they are glad to observe,

I. That the said *Sieur Bayle* protests that he desires to live and die in the profession of the Reformed Religion which it has pleased God to make known to him, and in which he has continued until now, disowning and retracting from this day forth all that he may have advanced in his works contrary to our Confession of Faith, supposing that there be any such thing in them, which he doth not believe, he having always had a contrary intention.

II. That the said *Sieur Bayle* is extremely sorry that, contrary to his intentions and hopes, many persons have been offended at the liberty which he has taken in his Dictionary, and that if he had foreseen this he would have carefully abstained from it.

III. That he abhors *Manicheism*, as a heresy which is entirely destroyed by the Scripture, and which is abominable, and monstrous with regard to Morality as well as Metaphysics, adding that he will be at all possible pains to refute it, which he also promiseth with regard to *Pyrrhonism*.

IV. That in particular he designs to correct the Article DAVID in such a manner, that no stumbling-block shall remain there.

V. And lastly, that to satisfy the complaints which have been made against his Dictionary, he designs to set about a second edition without delay; in which he will change, correct, rectify, and suppress, every thing that may have given offence, and that in order to render that edition more correct, he will have great regard to the Memoirs which have been communicated to him by the Consistory, and to whatever advice they shall please to give him.

The Consistory is very glad to see Mr Bayle in these dispositions: but they cannot approve of divers other things which the said *Sieur Bayle* has inserted in his paper, as among other things, that he pretends that he could justify what he has advanced in his Dictionary, if it should come to a discussion, and that he speaks of the reasons which he will then alledge, as reasons which are sufficient to justify him, so that it seems that it is only out of condescendence, and that he may not give offence to pious souls, that he is willing to correct and rectify his work, and not that at bottom he is obliged to do it, or that the work has need of it, because in quality of a Layman, Philosopher, Historian, and Commentator, it was lawful for him to advance many things, which would not be allowed in another Author. The Consistory cannot approve of these exceptions, as the President will represent to Mr Bayle more at large, yet in the mean while being willing to take the most indulgent method to endeavour to put an end to this affair, they are of opinion that in order thereunto it is necessary,

I. That Mr Bayle acquiesce in the remarks which have been made by the Consistory, that he acknowledge the solidity of them, and promise to profit by them, and conform to them in a second edition. These remarks relate 1. to the *Obscenities* dispersed in the work. 2. The Article of *David*. 3. *Manicheism*. 4. *Pyrrhonism*. 5. The excessive praises given to *Atheists*, with the consequences he draws from thence. Concerning which he shall declare his sorrow that he has given ground of complaint.

II. It is necessary that the *Sieur Bayle* should promise that for the future he will take great care to advance nothing in his writings, which may offend either the purity of Morality, or the truth of Doctrine: but on the contrary that he will dedicate the talents, which God has given him, to the defence of both, and to the edification of the Church.

III. That to repair the scandal already given, and for the edification of the public, Mr Bayle shall be earnestly exhorted, not to wait for a second edition of his Dictionary, which may be a long while hence, but with the first opportunity to print something in which he shall acquaint the public with the sentiments which he has declared to us concerning the points proposed to him.

Afterwards Mr Bayle being come in, the President once more read the before-mentioned sketch to him, which was now held as the opinion of the Consistory, and asked him what he had to answer thereto. Whereupon the said *Sieur Bayle* declared that he acquiesced in this resolution, and at the same time delivered the following Memoir written and signed by him:

" Gentlemen,

" **B** EING persuaded that the Consistory have nothing else in view, in terminating this affair, but sincerely to promote the edification of the public and the glory of God, and being desirous to concur with them to the utmost of my power, in so good a design, I accept of the conditions contained in an Act which was read to me on the seventh instant; and I declare in particular with regard to the remarks which have been communicated to me by the Consistory, that I acquiesce in them as a rule which I will punctually follow in the correction of my Dictionary for a new edition.

" I shall

OF THE WALLOON CHURCH OF ROTTERDAM. CXXVII

“ I shall likewise comply with the exhortation of the Consistory to the utmost of my power, concerning a piece to be published before the new edition, and I hope that this shall not be long delayed.

“ I hope and humbly desire the Consistory that they will be pleased not to allow their remarks and other paper relating to this affair, to fall into the hands of people who may make a bad use of them, by publishing pieces which can only do prejudice to the edification of souls, both in themselves and by the answers which I may be obliged to make to them. At Rotterdam, January 9, 1698.”

And was signed

BAYLE.

Thereafter Mr Bayle being withdrawn, the Consistory, after having deliberated on his answer, resolved to rest satisfied with it, because he agreed to every thing which they had desired of him, he acquiesced in the remarks of the Consistory on his Dictionary, and promised to publish, as soon as possible, a piece which should acquaint the public with his good dispositions. They were of opinion, that by putting an end to that affair in this manner, the Church would be more edified than by long debates; besides, that this would be the most effectual means of engaging Mr Bayle to employ his talents for the advancement of our Lord's Kingdom. Being therefore called in again to the Consistory, the President told him, I. That the Consistory was satisfied with his answer. II. That they assured him that the papers which had passed betwixt him and them, should not be given to any body to be published, that this was not the practice of the Consistory, and that they knew very well that after matters were determined, it was not fit to awaken them again by printed papers. III. That neither did the Consistory doubt that he would on his part fulfil his promise of publishing very soon a paper wherein he should inform the public of the good sentiments which he had testified to them, and that the sooner that paper should appear, the better it would be. And this the said Mr Bayle once more promised to do. After which the President represented to him that the more talents God had bestowed on him, the more he was bound to dedicate them to his glory. That he ought to labour to edify the Church, and that they hoped that for the future he would endeavour to do so; that the Consistory earnestly exhorted him to it, and that on that condition they prayed that God would bless his labours. Mr Bayle assured the Consistory that he would answer their expectations, and thanked them for their good wishes.

All the above written Acts down to this day, January 11, 1698, were read and approved of by the Consistory, this 11th of January 1698, and signed LE PAGE, Minister; PIELAT, Minister; DE SUPERVILLE, Minister; BASNAGE, Minister; J. V. KAEREN, Elder; F. VAN SCHONHOVEN, Elder; JOHN FANUEIL, Elder; JACOB VERMANDE, Elder; THEODORE SYSMUS, Deacon and Secretary; D. PRINS, Deacon; GOUERT COOLBRANT; PETER BALDE; ISAAC RERDOES, Deacon; G. ALLART, Deacon; JOHN DE PEYSTER, Deacon.

December 7, 1698.

The Committee appointed by the Act of the 28th of September to consider Mr Bayle's affair, made their Report. Whereupon the Consistory find that

I. The printed Letter of the said Mr Bayle appeared later than they had reason to expect, and that it would have been to be wished that Mr Bayle had published it sooner according to his promise.

II. That the said Mr Bayle did not send a copy of it to the Consistory: notwithstanding he was obliged to show them that he had fulfilled his engagement.

III. That the number of copies of that Letter was too small, and that there have been none to be had at the Booksellers this great while past; so that it seems as if it was intended that the Letter should be suppressed as soon as it was published, and put in the hands of as few persons as possible, which is contrary the intention of the Consistory, which desired that the public should be informed of the declarations which Mr Bayle had made concerning that affair.

IV. And what is more important, that Mr Bayle has passed lightly over the matters which had given offence, and even speaks of them as things that may be defended, pretending that he could defend what he has advanced in his *Dictionary*, because, in quality of Commentator and of Historian, it was allowable in him to speak otherwise than if he had been writing in the dogmatical way: an excuse which he had alledged in his paper of the 5th of January 1698, but which they had told him was by no means to be received, upon which he acquiesced simply in the Remarks of the Consistory, and acknowledged the solidity of them, and promised to submit to the same; which is a circumstance he ought to have taken notice of in his printed Letter, as being necessary to the satisfaction which was required of them.

For these and other reasons, the Consistory being of opinion that Mr Bayle's printed Letter only in part satisfies what he had promised, and so they might justly desire something farther of him, yet notwithstanding that they might not depart from the indulgent method which they had already taken, the Consistory may content themselves with representing these things by word of mouth to Mr Bayle, and earnestly exhorting him to a punctual performance of his promises: and the Consistory will take this method, being persuaded that the Sieur Bayle will, in the second Edition of his Dictionary sincerely correct the things which have been pointed out to him, and will make good use of the advices which they have given him; which is the principal thing that the Consistory proposed to itself in the whole of this affair, because they consider it as of importance to the glory of God, and the edification of the Church.

And farther that Mr Bayle who has promised to make use of the Remarks of the Consistory, may do it the more easily, the Consistory think fit that the Ministers who have already been employed in this affair, should draw up some succinct Memorials concerning the Remarks which the Consistory have made, to which they may add some others on important points, that after the Consistory shall have approved of the said Memorials, they may be put in Mr Bayle's hands, that he may remember and have regard to them.

The Consistory likewise being of opinion that our much honoured brother Mr Jurieu, one of our Ministers, having been very ill treated by Mr Bayle in his work; it is proper to acquaint the latter of the same, and to exhort him for the future to behave with more moderation, both in the

second Edition of his Dictionary, and in the other volumes which he promiseth to the public, the Consistory having observed, not without grief, that so little regard has been had for a Minister whose ministry and labours have been and are of singular edification to the Church.

December 20, 1698.

The Committee, appointed by an Act of the 7th of December, read to the Consistory the succinct Memorials concerning the Remarks of the Consistory on Mr Bayle's paper, and likewise their Remarks on the most important points in the Dictionary of the said Sieur Bayle, which are approved of by the Consistory, and it is resolved that the same be communicated to Mr Bayle by Messieurs Pielat, Superville, Le Page, and Fanueil.

A Short MEMORIAL of the principal things to which Mr Bayle ought to have regard, in order to correct them in the second edition of his DICTIONARY.

THE Consistory being informed that a second edition of the *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, is actually in the press, think themselves obliged to acquaint Mr Bayle in consequence of what has formerly passed betwixt the Consistory and him. That he ought to remember the following things, in order to have regard to them in the corrections which he promised to make in his book.

1. He shall carefully shun all obscenities, and suppress the impure expressions, citations, questions, and reflexions; remembering that purity of spirit, as well as of body, is one of those things which are most recommended to us in the Scripture, and that all wise men ought to take great care not to favour Libertinism, which is but too common in this age, and to which the youth have but too great propensity.

2. He shall entirely reform the article of DAVID, so that pious souls may no longer be offended at it, as he has promised: and in order to this he shall conform himself to what the Holy Scripture tells us of that great Prophet. He ought even to write a vindication of him, and observe that during the life of Saul, David was the rightful King; and far from judging of the actions of that Prince by the common and ordinary course of the Kings of the earth, he shall show that he was authorized to extirpate the Canaanites. That the High-Priest, by whose means he consulted God, was a particular rule to him; that we ought to be silent where the Scripture is silent; and that its silence, far from giving a pretence against David, is rather equivalent to an approbation; and, in fine, he shall take care to establish well the prophetic and canonical authority of David's writings.

3. With regard to *Manicheism*, instead of displaying the sophisms of the Manicheans, and lending them reasons and new objections which they never alledged, and endeavouring to free their hypotheses from the difficulties which render it ridiculous, Mr Bayle shall refute them, and shall take care not to give the victory to so detestable and monstrous a heresy. For that purpose he shall correct the articles MANICHEANS, MARCIONITES, PAULICIANS, and likewise divers passages in his book which seem to favour their opinion, or the difficulties which they alledge against the permission of evil.

4. He shall observe the same conduct with regard to the *Pyrrhonians* and *Pyrrhonism*, which extinguisheth all Religion, and reform the article PYRRHO, taking care, both there and every where else, not to injure our mysteries.

5. He shall not give extravagant praises to *Atheists* or *Epicureans*. He shall correct the passages which may contain any affectation in favour of them, and he shall not weaken the necessity of believing a God and a Providence, and even a future life, with regard to the benefit of civil society, and the reformation of manners. He shall rather insert clauses which may serve to inspire his readers with a horror against Atheism; and shall endeavour to show that altho' Atheists have been regular in their manners, that this did not proceed from Atheism, but only from a self-love, which was always irregular. He may even bring examples, which he may know, of many Atheists who have been very vicious and very infamous.

6. Besides these five principal heads, which have been already mentioned to Mr Bayle, and which he has promised to correct, as he has likewise promised to the Consistory to receive all the other informations which they shall give him, and to make use of the same, the Consistory do exhort him to take care, in the sixth place, not to refute, except on very good grounds, what our Divines have advanced concerning certain wicked Popes; since tho' he may alledge some conjectures in defence of these Popes, with regard to certain facts, strong reasons may be opposed to him for their condemnation, and that it is unjust, without necessity, to favour the party of seducers, who have done so much hurt to the Church, and to make our authors pass for rash accusers.

7. He shall likewise revise the Articles of NICOLE and PELISSON, which contain divers things which seem to lead to Pyrrhonism, and are hurtful to the way of Examination, by which Protestants pretend that we can and ought to come to the knowledge of the truth.

8. He shall take care in speaking of Providence, not to exaggerate and magnify the difficulties of the prophane, and not give their objections an air of superiority over our answers, even in refuting those which are agreeable to Scripture: whereupon they particularly point out to him the Article of RUFINUS. He shall likewise revise the Article of XENOPHANES, in which he exaggerates the victories of the Devil.

9. It is likewise to be wished that he would have greater regard to the expressions of the Scripture in the allusions which he sometimes makes.

Mr Bayle shall have regard to all these heads to conform his corrections to them, and shall endeavour to purge his book of every thing that may have given offence to true believers. The Consistory declaring that they have only made these remarks on what appeared to them to be most essential, and that they do not pretend thereby to approve of the rest of the work.

They think themselves obliged to acquaint Mr Bayle, that Mr Jurieu, one of our Ministers, having been very ill used in his book, they desire that he may behave for the future with greater moderation, both in the second edition of his Dictionary, and in the other volumes which he promiseth to the public, and they exhort him to do so, having observed, not without sorrow, that so little regard has been had for a Minister whose ministry and labours have been and are of singular edification to the Church.

Approved and Resolved in Consistory, on the 20th of December 1698.



Mr B A Y L E's

Historical and Critical

DICTIONARY.

A.



(a) *Tis intit-
tled, Aaron
purgatus. It
was reprint-
ed at Franc-
fort in 1675
in 8vo. This
differs from
the Edition
in 12mo at
Leipsic, in
1689, men-
tioned in the
27th Vol. of
the Biblio-
theque Uni-
verselle, in
nothing but
a new Title
which the
Booksellers
gave it.*

AARON, High-Priest of the *Jews*, and Brother of *Moses*. His Histo-
ry is so fully related in the *Pentateuch*, and in the Dictionaries of
Moreri and *Mr Simon*, that I may be excused from making an Ar-
ticle of it in this place. I shall only observe, That his Weakness
in complying with the superstitious Request of the *Israelites*, in the
Matter of the Golden Calf, has occasioned a great Variety of fabu-
lous Notions [A]. About the Beginning of the XVIIIth Century,
one *Monceau* or *Moncaius*, published an Apology for *Aaron* (a), which was con-
demned by the Inquisition at *Rome*, as had been foretold to the Author by the Je-
suit *Cornelius à Lapide* (b). In that Apology it is supposed that *Aaron* designed to re-
present the very same Form which *Moses* exhibited some time after, namely, a Cheru-
bim; but that the *Hebrews* fell down and worshiped it, contrary to his Intention. An ef-
fectual Confutation of this Notion was published in the Year 1609, by one of the
Doctors of the *Sarbonne*, who was a Canon of the Church of *Amiens* (c). It has been
asserted, that this criminal Compliance of *Aaron* was owing to his Apprehensions of
being stoned to Death; and that he hoped to have eluded the Desires of the People,
by proposing to the Women, on this Occasion, that they should contribute their Ear-
rings;

(b) *Corn. à
Lapide* Com-
ment.
in *Exod.*
cap. xxxii.
ver. 4. pag.
605.
(c) *His Name*
was *Vifort-*
us; and his
Book was
called, *De-
structio*
Pseudo-
Cherubi
Moncaii.

[A] Occasioned a great Variety of fabulous Notions.]

(1) *Corn. à
Lap. in
Exod. pag.
605.*

(2) *Aceme-
li taurum
fudit corpo-
rum, emit-
tentem mu-
gillum. i. e.
Acemeli
est a real
Bull that
bellow'd.*
*Azra xxx.
Lat. Cod.
xx Arabici
de Diis Syr.
Synt. 1. cap.
4. pag. 54.*

(3) See pag.
329. of Je-
remlah de
Pours's *Di-
vine Melo-
dy*.

I. Rabbi *Solomon* held (1) that the Calf which the
Israelites worshiped was alive, and that *Aaron* seeing
it walk and eat like other Calves, erected an Altar to
it. There is something analogous to this in the *Al-
coran* (2). II. Several *Rabbies*, in order to excuse
Aaron, affirm, that he did not make the Golden Calf;
that he only contributed so far towards it, as to cast the
Gold into the Fire, to free himself from the People's
vehement Importunity; but that certain Magicians, who
had mingled with the *Israelites* at their coming up out
of *Egypt*, communicated to that Gold the Image of
a Calf. As the holy Scripture declares it was Calf-work,
and fashioned with the Graving-Tool, two Things may
be supposed; either, that they prepared a Mould in the
Shape of a Calf, into which they poured the molten Gold;
or, that, having produced a Mats of Gold, they gave it the
Figure of a Calf by the Sculptor's Art. III. Many
maintain, that *Aaron* did not make a whole Calf, but
only the Head. IV. Some tell us (3), That the Powder
of the Golden Calf burnt by *Moses*, which he mingled
with the Water that the *Israelites* drank, stuck in the
Beards of those who had worshiped it; by which means
their Beards appeared gilt, as a special Mark distin-
guishing the Idolaters. This Fable is inserted in the
22d Chapter of *Exodus*, in a French Bible, printed at
Paris, in the Year 1538, by *Anthony Bonnemere*, who
says in his Preface, That this Bible in the French
Tongue was first printed, at the Desire of his most
Christian Majesty *Charles VIII.* in the Year 1495, and
has since been corrected and reprinted. And in the

same Preface he informs us, That the French Translator
had inserted nothing but pure Truth, as it is found in the
Latin Bible; and that nothing was omitted, but what
was improper to be translated. So that all which relates
to the gilt Beards is to be received as undoubted Fact,
as well as another Story of the same kind, which is also
inserted in this very Chapter; namely, That the *Chil-
dren of Israel* spit so violently in the Face of *Hu-*
who had refused to make Gods for them, that they
suffocated him. The Book (4) from which I extract
this, was written by a *Walloon* Minister, who fails not
to exclaim against the Impudence of adding in some
Places, and suppressing in others. But he is guilty of
both: in his own Version he has artfully soiled in some
things, and drop'd others; besides inserting childish
Traditions: And yet he promises in the Preface nothing
but pure Truth, and declares, that this Translation
was undertaken not for the Clergy, but for the Laity,
Hermits, and the lower Orders of religious Societies,
who are not so learned as they should be. Which is the
very Thing that renders the Translator's Unfaithfulness
more culpable: for the skillful may escape the Snare;
the ignorant cannot. Lastly, The Golden Beard is
not the sole Chimera which the *Rabbies* have invented.
Another of their Tenets is, that the Water, which *Moses*
compell'd them to swallow, impregnated with the Par-
ticles of the Gold, whereof their Calf was made, had al-
most the same Effect as the Waters of Jealousy. It pro-
duced Tumours and Ulcers in the guilty, and brought
no harm on the innocent (5).

(4) *Tis in-
titled La
Divine Mé-
lodie du
Saint Psa-
lme, Prin-
ted at Mid-
delbourg in
1644 in 4to.
The Author
calls himself
Jeremlah de
Pours.*

(5) See *Ma-
lian*, vol. 2.
pag. 165.
Bocharti
Hierozoic.
pars 2. lib.
2. c. p. 31.

AARON. AARSENS.

Rings; imagining that they would chuse to renounce the Presence of a Visible Deity, rather than divest themselves of their personal Ornaments: but he found, that nothing is accounted too costly, when the human Mind is intoxicated with Superstition and Idolatry (d). They, who affirm that the Golden Calf was only Wood overlaid with Gold [B], find nothing in the holy Scripture, that can in the least countenance any such Pretence. That God suspended the natural Effects of Fire, for the sake of Aaron, as he did on behalf of the three Children in the fiery Furnace at Babylon, is, I am persuaded, an Assertion not to be maintained; and yet there are some Writers who have held that Opinion [C].

[B] That the Golden Calf was only Wood overlaid with Gold. The holy Scripture tells expressly (6) that it was a Molten Calf, and, tho' it is afterwards said (7) that Moses burnt it, and reduced it to Powder, it does not necessarily follow, that the Idol was composed of combustible Materials: It may only signify, that Moses melted down the Gold again, and divided it into very minute Particles, which became imperceptible upon being thrown into the Water; like those with which the Waters of the Tagus and Padulus are said to abound. So that Francis Junius may be mistaken when he says, (8) *Quamvis non tam existimari possit Vitulus iste totus ex auro fuisse compositus, quam autem tantummodo obductus, et extra lignum, ut quere. Littere tradunt, combustum, etque in Aeres effusum.* That is, *But it is rather to be thought, that this Calf was only covered over with a thin Plate of Gold, the rest of it being nothing but Wood; than that the whole was entirely of cast Gold; since the holy Scripture assures us that it was burnt, and reduced to Ashes.* He had more Reason for placing Aaron at the Head of his Catalogue of ancient Sculptors, Architects, Painters, Statuaries, &c. Aaron might have claimed that Distinction by Right of Antiquity, tho' the mere Order of the Alphabet had not bellow'd it upon him. This brings into my Mind the Assertion of some who contend that Moses was Master of the profoundest Secrets of Chemistry, since he knew how to pulverize Gold. Many are of Opinion, that Aaron only ordered the Artificers to cast the Golden Calf, and had no hand in it himself; and that Moses did not command the Israelites to drink the Powder of that Gold: but, having thrown it into the Stream, the only Place they could possibly drink at, it may justly be said, that he made them swallow the Idol they had worshipped (9).

[C] There are some Writers who have held that Opinion. A Cordelier, a Doctor of Divinity, of the Faculty of Paris, maintains, that the Miracle of the burning Bush at Horeb, which stood unconsumed in the midst of Flames (10), was repeated some time after, when the Fire flew two of Aaron's Sons, without damaging their Shirts; and again, when Aaron flopt the Plague which had swept away a great Number of Israelites (11). *Sicut factum est, quando egressus ignis à Domino Nadab & Abiud ignem alienum & prophanum coram Domino offerentes devoravit, id est, interfecit: vestibus & tunica eorum lincis intactis remanentibus. Idem judicium est de Aaron summo sacerdote, qui citissime profectus est ad populum, quem ignis egressus à facie Domini interfecit: stetitque illæsus inter mortuos ac viventes, licet*

esset in medio flammæ fulgentissimæ & flagrantissimæ, secundam Josephum, lib. 4. Antiq. Cap. 3. (12). That is, *As it came to this Golden Fire from the LORD devoured Nadab and Abihu, whilst they were offering strange and prophan Fire before the LORD; their Coats and linen Garments remaining untouched: The same is remarkable of Aaron the High Priest, who ran into the midst of the People, whom Fire, proceeding from the Face of the LORD, was consuming; and stood there unburt between the Living and the Dead, tho' in the midst of a most bright and intense Flame, according to Josephus, in the 3d Chapter of his 4th Book of Antiquities.* To this, among other Examples, he adds that of Shadrach, Meshack and Abdenago, who escaped untouched out of the fiery Furnace at Babylon. Let it be here particularly remark'd, that he quotes not the holy Scripture, but Josephus, in relation to Aaron. And the Scripture (13) determines not whether that Plague, which Aaron flopped, and by which 14700 Persons perished, was a miraculous Fire, or something else. The Jewish Historian has entirely suppressed this Miracle: he only mentions the Fire which consumed the 250 Men that offered Incense. The Scripture mentions this likewise (14), but as a Fact preceding the Destruction stay'd by Aaron. Observe, Josephus contents himself with remarking, that the supernatural Fire which consumed Corah, and the 1250 Men that offered Incense, did no hurt to Aaron. He does not once touch upon the Circumstances for which Nadin cites him. We shall here transcribe his very Words. *ὅτι ἡ πόλις, ὅτι τὸ διακρίνει καὶ ἐντέλλεται καὶ Κόρη, δίκαιος ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐξ ὁμοκαρδίας καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου αὐτὸν ἀποφύγει γυναικῶν πορεύεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρὼν μὴδὲν ὑπὸ τῷ πυρὶ βασανῆ, τὸ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ἰδοὺ καὶ ἀπεκαλύπτει (15).* That is, *By the Force of which [Fire] rising upon them, the 250 Men, together with Corah, were so entirely consumed, that their dead Bodies could not be found. Aaron alone remain'd unhurt; because it was GOD, who directed the Fire against those only who were guilty.* Here he justly acknowledges the Finger of God, but does not particularly inform us, whether the Fire actually touched the Body of Aaron; or whether God only withheld it from approaching him. Father Nadin therefore ought not to have descended from Generals to Particulars; nor to have quoted, for that purpose, the Jewish Historian. Most of the Faults of this kind, which in Books are infinite, are occasioned, either by Authors not consulting the Originals, or by their having the Confidence to alter them with their Paraphrases, the better to accommodate them to their own Schemes.

"AARSENS (FRANCIS) Lord of Somel'dyck, and Spyck, &c. was one of the "greatest Ministers the United Provinces have produced, for Negotiation [A]. "His Father, who was also a Man of great Abilities, enjoyed such a Post, as enabled

[A] Was one of the greatest Ministers — for Negotiation. His very Enemies allow him this Character, when they affirm, That he (1) was the most dangerous Genius that ever arose in the United Provinces, and was the more to be dreaded, as he concealed all the Malice and Guile of foreign Courts, under the false and deceitful Appearance of Dutch Candour and Simplicity; that he was zealous and Master of the Art of Persuasion; that he could find Reasons to support the worst of Causes; that he had (2) a Genius for Intrigue, and had entered into Leagues and Correspondencies with those Grandes of France, whose Conduct was not only suspected, but odious to the King; and that having corrupted the French Ambassador's Secretary at the Hague (3), he was Master of all the most secret Schemes of the Ministers of that Crown. I say, when they give him this Character, they describe a Man admirably furnished with all the Talents requisite for the most important Embassies, and the most delicate Negotiations. Farther, Mr Du Maurier, who always inveighs most bitterly

against Francis Aarsens, takes care to prevent the Prejudice his Invectives might raise in his Readers; for he himself tells us, that his Father and this Dutch Ambassador were ever at Enmity (4); that there was an irreconcilable Disagreement in their Tempers; and that the strong Aversion they had conceived against each other, instead of wearing off, was continually increasing. He even tells us, That his Father made a Speech against Francis Aarsens, on the 13th of November 1613, before the States General (5), wherein he reproaches him with having presumed to speak disrespectfully of their Gallic Majesty, and the Lords of their Council, who were the solid Support of the Liberty of the United Provinces; and accuses him of Arrogance and Vanity in his common Discourses, and of Ingratitude, in returning nothing but Insolence for all the kind Offices that France had heap'd upon him. Thus has he furnished us with an effectual Antidote against his Poison; for who does not know, that an Author is not to be underfoot too vigorously, when he is speaking of his protect'd Enemy?

"him

(6) Coln. 3. L. 18. in Exod. p. 23. 60.

(6) Exod. xxii. 4. (7) Ibid. ver. 20.

(8) In his Catal. Artificum, p. 1.

(9) See Rivetus upon the 32d Ch. of Exod. Tom. I. p. 1184. (10) Exod. iii. 2.

(11) Lev. x. 2, 5.

(1) Du Maurier Mem. p. 376.

(2) Ibid. 378.

(3) Ibid. 381.

(12) Joann. Nodin. Comment. in Exod. cap. 3. pag. 142. col. 2.

(13) Num. xvi. 46, 47. &c.

(14) Ibid. ver. 35.

(15) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 4. cap. 3. Hudson.

(4) Ibid. 388.

(5) Ibid. 381.

" him to procure an Employ for his Son [B]. *John & Olden-Barnevelt*, who at that Time had the chief Direction of the Affairs of *Holland*, and all the United Provinces, sent him into *France*, with the Character of Agent. There he learnt the Art of Negotiation, under those great Masters, *Henry IV. Villeroy, Rôni, Sillery, Jeannin, &c.* and succeeded so well in it, as to gain their Approbation of his Conduct. He had afterwards the Character of Ambassador conferr'd upon him, and was the first, whom the Court of *France* considered in that Quality: And it was in his Time that *Henry IV.* declared, the Ambassador of the United Provinces, should take Place immediately after the Ambassador of *Venice*. He was some time after employ'd to that Republic [C], and to several Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, on Account of the Commotions in *Bohemia* [D]. Besides which, he was sent upon several extraordinary Embassies into *France* and *England* [E], of which he has left very exact and judicious Collections. We may observe from them, that all his Instructions, and Credentials, in his later Embassies, were drawn up by himself; whence we may judge, that no State ever produced a Minister better qualify'd, not only to negotiate, but to instruct an Ambassador in the proper Points of his intended Negotiation. And, indeed, in all his Embassies, he did Honour to the State, as well as to the Character with which his Masters had invested him; nor could himself, or his Family, regret the Time [F] he spent in the Service of his Country (a). He died in a good old Age, leaving behind him one Son, who was esteem'd the richest Man in *Holland* [G], and well known by the Name of *Monf. de Sommerdyck* (b).

(a) Taken from *Wicquefort's Ambassador*. Tom. 2. p. 435, 43.

(b) It is thus prov'd, that the Name is Somersdyck.

(c) Du Maurier Mem. p. 377, 378.

[B] His Father enjoy'd such a Post, as enabled him to procure an Employ for his Son.] His Name was *Cornelius Aarsens* (6); and he was Register of the States. He was acquainted with *Mr du Pleffis Myrnai*, who was transacting Affairs with *William Prince of Orange*, whom he intreated to take his Son into his Service. This was comply'd with, and continu'd some Years. In 1598, this young Gentleman, who understood the *French* Tongue, and the Affairs of the Kingdom, succeeded *Levin Caluad*, who died Resident for the United Provinces, at the Court of *Henry IV.* nor was he any thing more than the State's Resident till 1609, when, upon the Conclusion of a twelve Years Truce, in which *Spain* treated with the United Provinces, as with a free People, *Henry IV.* acknowledg'd him for their Ambassador (7). During his Stay in *France*, which was fifteen Years, he received great Favours, and even Honours, from the King; who rais'd him to the Degree of Nobility, and made him a Knight, and a Baron: for which Reason, he was afterwards receiv'd in *Holland*, among the Nobility of the Province. He became at last so odious to that Court, according to *Mr du Maurier*, that they desired he might be recall'd. See below, the Remark [D].

(7) Ibid.

[C] To that Republic.] To this Juncture of Time must be refer'd what *Cardinal Pallavicini* reproach'd *Father Paul* with. He is in Possession (he says) of a Letter (8) of the *Seur de Zulichem*, Secretary to the Prince of *Orange*, in which he relates, that, at an accidental Interview at *Venice* with the *Seur de Sommerdyck*, Ambassador of *Holland*, and *Francis Paolo*, the good Father assur'd that Minister of his extreme Pride in beholding the Representative of a Republic, which held the Pope to be the true Antichrist. The Author of a Book, entituled *Cancellaria Secreta Anhaltina*, has preserv'd some Fragments of this Letter, by which it appears, that *Francis Aarsens*, when he went to *Venice*, had Authority to negotiate with the Protestant Cantons, and that he receiv'd great Honours from them. This was a Year after the Deputation of the *Swiss* Ministers, to the Synod of *Dort*. *Gratias se imprimis egisse, quod Civitates & Oppida non Catholica Prædicantes suis ANNO PRÆTERLAPSO ad Synodum Dordracensem dimiserint* (9). He was particularly thankful, that the Protestant States and Towns, had, THE YEAR BEFORE, deputed their Preachers to the Synod of *Dort*.

(8) See the Preface to the Hist. of the Council of Trent, translated by *A. Houllaye*.

(9) Carcell. An. salt. p. 251.

[D] On Account of the Commotions in *Bohemia*] This fell out in the Year 1620, and it is remarkable, that the King of *France* (10) forbade his three Ambassadors, the Duke d'Angoulême, the Count de *Bethune*, and the Abbot des *Praux*, to receive the Visits of *Mr d'Aarsens*, who was employ'd by the United Provinces, to treat with certain Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*, concerning the same Affairs of *Bohemia*, which were the Purport of the French Embassy. Their Order importeth, that the King was not displeased with the States, with whom he desired always to live in perfect Harmony, but had a particular Dislike to *Mr d'Aarsens*, for ill

" treating the Service and Dignity of his Majesty. The Ground of this Displeasure, as any one will perceive, who is the least acquainted with the Affairs of those Times, was this: *Aarsens* had put himself at the Head of that Party, which, in 1619, oppos'd an Affair, which was negotiated with great Earnestness, at the *Hague*, by the King's Ambassadors *Boissie* and *du Maurier*. Add to these Words of *Mr Wicquefort*, a Passage of *du Maurier*, which gives Light into them. " In the Year 1618, says he, (11) *Mr de Boissie* was order'd by the King to complain, in his Name, to the States General, of a diffamatory Libel, written, sign'd, and publish'd, by *Francis Aarsens*, to the great Scandal and Dishonour of the Lords of his Majesty's Council, for which, at that Time, he could obtain no Satisfaction. It is probable, this Complaint was founded upon his having charg'd the Council of *France* with betraying the King, by favouring those who were plotting in *Holland*, to reduce that Republic once more under the Yoke of the King of *Spain*: for, if *du Maurier* is to be credited, the grand Common-Place Topics of *Mr Aarsens*, the constant Theme of all his Writings, and of the Placards stuck up at the Corners of the Streets, was, that the Faction of *Barnevelt* was conspiring with *Spain*, to abolish both the Reform'd Religion and Liberty, at once, in the United Provinces. We may apply here the Proverb, *Se non e vero, e ben trovato*. — If it is not true, it is well hit off. Nothing can be a greater Confirmation of the profound Abilities of *Mr Aarsens*, than this Scheme.

(11) Du Maurier. p. 362.

[E] Extraordinary Embassies into *France* and *England*.] He was sent Ambassador into *England*, in the Years 1620, and 1641 (12). The first Time, he was the Chief of three Ambassadors extraordinary; the second Time, the Second. In this latter Embassy he was join'd in Commission with the Lord of *Brédérade*, who took Place of him, and *Hempholiet*, who was last in the Commission. The Subject of this Embassy, was the Marriage of Prince *William*, Son of the Prince of *Orange*. The extraordinary Embassy to *France*, was in the Year 1624 (13). " As Cardinal *Richelieu* was but just come to the Helm of Affairs, and was ignorant of the Dislike his Predecessors had to this Ambassador, he greatly esteem'd him, and finding him to be a Man of fine Understanding, — made Use of him to compass his own Designs. *Aarsens* was appointed Envoy, either to *France* or *England*, in the Year 1628; but, being prevented by the Ice from embarking, he return'd to the *Hague*. — His being accidentally throw down by Dogs, was construed by his Enemies to be an unlucky Omen. *Arsenius à canibus fortè occurrantibus in terram deserta maleolis occasione præbuit suis ipsi ominandi* (14).

(12) Wicquefort. Amb. Tom. 1. p. 650, & 750.

(13) Du Maurier. p. 382.

(14) Bonet. Epist. 76. p. 217.

[F] Regret the Time.] *Du Maurier* says, that *Francis Aarsens* died worth an hundred thousand Livres per Annum (15).

[G] Leaving behind him one Son, who was esteem'd the richest Man in *Holland*.] He was Governor of *Nimwegen*,

(15) Du Maurier. p. 377.

Nimwegen,

Nimiguen, and Colonel of a Regiment of Horse. He left two Sons, the eldest of which nam'd *Francis*, Lord of *la Platte*, was cast away in his Passage from *England* to *Holland*, after having travell'd eight Years in several Parts of *Europe*. The other, *Cornelius*, bore the Name of *Sommerdyck*. He had been a Colonel in the *Dutch Army*, and afterwards Governor of *Surindam*; where he was kill'd in a Mutiny of the Garrison,

in 1688. He married the eldest Daughter of the Marquis de *St André-Membran*, by whom he had several Children: she died at the *Hague*, in 1695, or thereabout. Of seven Sisters, which he had, three were married to Persons of Quality: The other four fell into so superstitious a Devotion, that they followed the *Sieur Labadie*, the Schismatic Preacher, with as much Zeal, as if he had been another *Apollo*.

A B A R I S, a *Scythian* by Nation [*A*], the Son of *Scutbus*. There have been so many fabulous Stories told of him, that *Herodotus* himself made a Scruple of relating them, and of informing himself perfectly concerning them. He only tells us (*a*) the Story of this *Barbarian's* carrying an Arrow through the World, and eating nothing. *Herodotus*, it seems, was ignorant of the marvellous Part of the Story; for they, who pretend to know it, say, That *Abaris* was carried thro' the Air upon his Arrow [*B*],

as

(*a*) Herod.
lib. 4. cap.
36.

(1) Suidas in
Abaris.

(2) Euseb.
Chronic. n.
1454.

(3) Herod.
lib. 4. c. 36.
Diod. Sicul.
lib. 2. c. 11.
Apollonius
admir. Hist.
Sect. 4. Jam-
blichi vita
Pythag. c.
28. p. 127,
&c. Harpo-
cration, in
Abaris.
Scholiastes
Aristoph.
in Equit. Euse-
bius, n.
1568, &c.

(1) Jam-
blichi, in the
fragmented
place, p. 128.

(2) Petitis,
de Sibylla,
l. 2. c. 7. p.
200.

(3) Non off.
le d'ouffon vif
kruller, comme
un Clevau-
cheur d'écou-
vettes.

(4) Nouvell.
de la Repub.
des Lett.
Octob. 1686.
Art. 1.

(5) Bibl. U-
niversit. Tom.
2. p. 132.

(6) Petit, at
above, p. 198.

[*A*] *A Scythian* by Nation. It is *Suidas*, who gives him this Character, and who very particularly observes, that he came from *Scythia* into *Greece*; and that, with the Arrow presented him by *Apollo*, he fled back again from *Greece*, to the Country of the *Hyperborean Scythians* (1). Τὴν δὲ μυθολογούμενον διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος μῆτιν τὸν ὑπερβορίων Σκυθῶν. Ἐξοδὸν δὲ αὐτὸν παρὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. i. e. *This Person's Arrow is said in Story for carrying him through the Air from Greece (not from Scythia, as is commonly read in the Latin Version) as far as the Hyperborean Scythians. It was given him by Apollo.* *Eusebius* (2) is likewise of Opinion, that he came from *Scythia* into *Greece*. If the Account of *Abaris*, which is in *Suidas*, were clear and distinct, we might from thence infer, that he therein takes notice of three several Countries; *Scythia*, where *Abaris* was born; *Greece*, to which he travell'd; and another *Scythia*, called the *Hyperborean*, whither he took another Journey. We might likewise infer, that he made use of his Arrow in flying, only in his second Expedition, and consequently that it was in *Greece* *Apollo* bestow'd it upon him. All these Conclusions would be reasonable, had we to do with an accurate Writer, or were sure that he related Matters just as they stand at present in his Works; and then we might say, that *Suidas* is very singular in his Opinion, since most other Authors who have mention'd *Abaris*, tell us, that he was an *Hyperborean* (3), and that when he travell'd to *Greece*, he set out from the Country of the *Hyperboreans*; and, whenever they mention his flying Arrow, they constantly observe, that he was possess'd of it before he came to *Greece*.

[*B*] *Was carried through the Air upon his Arrow.* *Jamblichus* is very explicit as to this Point, when he says, (1) Οἱ αὖ τὴν ἐν Τερεβορίῳ Ἀπάλαντος ἀρρήναι ἐντὶ τοῦ αἵματος, τοταυτὰ τε καὶ πάλαι καὶ τὰ ἀβάτα ἀββαίων ἀρροβαίων τρέπον τινα. i. e. *riding upon the Arrow given him by Apollo the Hyperborean, he cross'd Rivers and Seas, and other inaccessible Places, as if he had been an Inhabitant of the Air.* *Monf. Petit*, (2) in his Account of this Arrow, takes notice of what is commonly reported concerning Witches, riding to their Nocturnal Meetings on a Broomstick. The Journalist, who gives us an Extract of *Mr Petit's* Book, does not forget the Verse of *Villon*, wherein (3) a Witch is stiled a Broomstick-rider: I will here insert the whole Passage, because it gives us an Opportunity of making a short Remark. *Mr Petit* (4) alleges the Translation of *Elijah*, the Rapture of *Habakkuk*, that of *Pythagoras*, and the Arrow which the *Hyperborean Apollo* gave to *Abaris*. *This* (adds he) *was a miraculous sort of Arrow, and much like the Broomstick, which, they say, Witches make use of to ride thro' the Air, to their Nocturnal Meetings.* Before we make our Remark upon this, it will be requisite to take notice of a Passage in another Journal, which runs thus.

(5) *Mr Petit, from Jamblichus, relates the History, or rather Fable, of Abaris the Hyperborean, to whom Apollo granted the Power of flying thro' the Air upon an Arrow, just as our Witches go to their Nocturnal Assemblies, astride a Broomstick.* This is the Interpretation the Journalist gives to *Mr Petit's* Text, which is as follows (6): *Auctor est Jamblichus in vitâ Pythagoræ, cap. 28. id munus Abaridi Hyperboreo ab Apolline concessum fuisse, ut per ætrem quocunque vellet cursum magico insectus jaculo tendere posset.* i. e. *Jamblichus, in his Life of Pythagoras, c. 28. tells us, that Abaris, the Hyperborean, received from Apollo, the Power of directing his Course, as he pleased, thro' the*

Air, upon a Magic Arrow. Now here every one may perceive that the Epithet *Hyperborean* may be refer'd either to the Word *Abaridi*, which goes before it, or to *Apolline*, that comes after it: The *Latin* Tongue is full of such Equivocations. But 'tis evident, by the Words of (7) *Jamblichus*, cited by *Petit* (8), that 'tis only *Apollo* that is called the *Hyperborean*. It would be mere trifling to criticise on the Journalist upon this Account; since, without observing that this Epithet might very well belong to *Abaris*, as may be seen under the first Remark, it is well known that Journalists are not tied up to a rigid Strictness of Translation. We must not forget that this was a Golden Arrow, and so necessary for *Abaris's* Travels, that he own'd himself (9) obliged to it for directing him the Way he should go. *Pythagoras* artfully extorted this Confession from him, for he robb'd him of his Arrow; and *Abaris*, like a blind Man who has lost his Staff, acknowledg'd his want of it. This puts me in mind of some who pretend, by the help of a certain Wand, to discover the right Road. If all be true that is related on this Subject, I think (all Circumstances considered) their Wand to be as miraculous as the Arrow of *Abaris*; for if, on the one hand, it has not the Power of making them fly, yet, on the other, it not only discovers Treasures, Metals, the Boundaries of Lands, Thieves and Cut-throats, but likewise the Intrigues of both Sexes. A noted Philosopher (10) who was consult'd about this Matter, in the Year 1689, returned for Answer, *That this could never be done, unless by the Assistance of some intelligent Cause, and that this Cause could be no other than the Devil.* While I was writing this, I was inform'd that one of the Principal of those Wand-Conjurors (11) shew'd the last Summer (12) at *Lions*, such surprising Experiments of his Art, that he was sent for to *Paris*, and on that grand Theatre made such Discoveries (13), as forc'd several to declare, they had now a greater Proof than ever, and that by indisputable Phenomena, of the Power of Dæmons to produce a great variety of Effects, under the Disguise of occasional Causes, such as a Staff, or the like. Upon this footing the Story of *Abaris's* Arrow may be vindicated; for why might there not have been such an Arrow formerly, since in our Days such wonderful Effects are said to have been wrought by the *Frenchman's* Staff? It would be worth our Metaphysicians While to enquire how the Wand came into such mighty Request; for the old Proverb, *Virgula Divina*, and the common Saying, *with the Turn of a Stick*, and the Juggler's Phrase, *by Virtue of my little Wand*, seem to be owing to the frequent Use of a Wand in Sorceries, according to the common Tradition. What Virtues did they not anciently ascribe to *Mercury's* Rod? His Golden Wings, which he fix'd on his Feet, would have been of little Use to him in flying, had not his Rod contributed thereto by it's powerful Energy; and it seems to have serv'd him as an Horse. Thus *Virgil* (14):

*Et primum pedibus talaria ne sit
Aurea, quæ sublimem alis, five æquora supra
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam caput: Hac animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias sub tristitia tartara mittit,
Dat somnos, adimique, & lumina morte refugnat.
Illa FRETUS agit ventos, & turbida tranat
Nubila.*

Hermes obeys, with golden Pinions binds
His flying Feet, and mounts the western Winds:

And

(7) See the
Words in C.
ration (2).
(8) Petit, p.
199.

(9) Jambli-
chus p. 134.

(10) Fa'o
Malle-
branche in
the Mercure
Gallant for
the Month of
January,
1692.
(11) James
Aymon, a
Plea 32 of
St Veran in
Dauphine.
(12) In the
Year 1689.
(13) See the
Note [C].

(14) Virgil
Æn. l. 4.
see above.
Homer's Ill-
ad. and Olyss.
l. ult.
Ovid. Me-
t. l. 1.
the Story of
Argus.
Horace, Ode
10, and 21,
of l. 1.
Statius, in the
Thebaid. l.
10.

as it were upon another *Pegasus*; so that Rivers, Seas, and Places inaccessible to other Men, were no Obstacle to him in his Journey. This Arrow belong'd to *Apollo*, and was apparently the same with which he slew the *Cyclopes*, who forg'd the Thunderbolts, which *Jupiter* made use of against the unfortunate *Æsculapius* (b). *Apollo*, after this Slaughter, hid his Arrow under a Mountain, in the Country of the *Hyperboreans*, and recover'd it after a wonderful Manner, the Winds bringing it back to him, upon a Reconciliation between him (c) and *Jupiter*. It is difficult to determine, when *Abaris* liv'd [C], there being so many different Opinions about it, as to occasion some of the Moderns to fall into Mistakes [D]: But they are more unanimous in assigning

(b) Hygin. Astr. Poet. l. 2. c. 15. p. 386.

(c) Ibid.

And, whether o'er the Seas or Earth he flies,
With rapid Force, they bear him down the Skies.
But first he grasps within his awful Hand,
The Mark of Sovereign Pow'r, his Magic Wand:
With this he draws the Ghosts from hollow Graves,
With this he drives them down the *Syngian* Waves;
With this he seals in Sleep the wakeful Sight,
And Eyes, tho' clos'd in Death, restore to Light.
Thus arm'd, the God begins his airy Race;
And drives the racking Clouds along the liquid Space.

D R Y D E N.

If we had the Treatise, which *Barthius* (15) promised on *Mercury's* Rod, we should doubtless have seen a very curious Piece, and probably more instructive than the Tract of *Antiphon* on *Minerva's* Wand. That Goddess had likewise her Rod, with which she made Persons look either young or old, as the occasion requir'd (16). *Circe* (17), the Sorceress, did more than all this, since with one single Stroke of her Wand, she could transform Men into Beasts, and Beasts into Men. *Erasmus*, who (18) to all those Instances adds the Rod, with which *Moses* wrought so many Miracles, should have taken notice, that the Devil, who mimicks God in all his Works, follow'd him likewise in that in making use of a Rod, as one of his principal Occasional Causes. *Huetius* (19) asserts, That what the Poets feign of *Mercury's* Rod, &c. was all borrow'd from the History of *Moses's* Rod. The Devil was certainly a very ready Mimick; for *Pharao's* Magicians, by virtue of their Rods, did some Miracles, which resembled those of the true God (20). Nor are we to forget the *Brachmans* (21), who always carry a Ring and a Staff, to which they ascribe great Virtues. I shall enlarge more on this, under the Article *Rabdomancy*.

[C] When *Abaris* liv'd. His Embassy to *Athens* is fix'd by some to the 21st Olympiad; by *Hippocratus* to the Third, and by *Pindar* to the time of King *Cræsus* (22). *Eusebius* is of the last Opinion, having fix'd the Journey of *Abaris*, and the beginning of *Cræsus's* Reign, to the second Year of the 54th Olympiad; but afterwards he falls into a shameful Blunder, telling us (23), That this Magician flourish'd in the last Year of the 82d Olympiad, *Abaris Hyperboreus Hariolus agnoscitur. Abaris is allow'd to be the Hyperborean Augur. Valesius* (24) seems to prefer the Opinion of *Porphyry* and *Jamblicus*, according to whom *Abaris* flourish'd in the 2d Year of the 54th Olympiad, cotemporary with *Pythagoras*. This is infer'd from what *Porphyry* and *Jamblicus* say, That *Pythagoras* shew'd his Golden Thigh to *Abaris*, the Priest of *Hyperborean Apollo*. If the Letters ascribed to *Phalaris* were not somewhat romantic, one might conclude that *Abaris* was cotemporary with that Tyrant; but it is not probable, that the Letters in that Collection were ever penn'd by him. However, 'tis an Argument produc'd by some, to prove that *Abaris* and *Phalaris* were cotemporary; for 'tis very likely, that the Sophist, who wrote those Letters, and ascrib'd them to *Phalaris*, kept strict to Chronology, in order to render his Fictions the more probable. *Suidas* places the Reign of *Phalaris* under the 52d Olympiad. The Opinion of *Hippocratus* may be back'd by the following Argument: *Suidas* (25) observes, that in the 5th Olympiad, the *Athenians* offer'd, in behalf of all the *Greeks*, Sacrifices that were called *πρωπολαι*: They were offer'd before the Land was till'd, in order to obtain the Divine Blessing upon the ensuing Harvest. Now the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tells us (26), That when the *Athenians* offer'd the Sacrifices call'd *πρωπολαι*, for the whole Country, there was a great Famine and Pestilence raging over the whole Earth, which forc'd the People to have recourse to the Oracle; and that the Answer of the O-

racle was, If the *Athenians* offer a Sacrifice, the Plague shall be stay'd. It was therefore at that time so many Ambassadors were sent to *Athens*, and *Abaris*, among the rest, in the Name of the *Hyperboreans*. *Hippocratus*, then, would not have been much mistaken in placing this Expedition of *Abaris* under the third Olympiad. If the Conjectures of *Scaliger*, upon a Passage of *Firmicus Maternus*, concerning the *Palladium*, were true, the Time wherein *Abaris* liv'd would be carried up much higher; for, according to some Authors, he must have flourish'd long before the taking of *Troy*. Others bring him down to the Time of *Alexander* the Great; this is indeed the whimsical Notion of an Orator, whose Opinion in this matter is not worth our regard. The Description (27) which the Sophist *Himerus* has left us, of the Equipage, with which *Abaris* made his Appearance before the *Athenians*, is very suitable to a Barbarian: But, says he, *he was a Scythian only in his Garb; he spoke Greek, and whenever he spoke, you would have thought you had heard an Oration in the midst of the Academy, or the Lyceum*. What an Absurdity! Had *Plato* and *Aristotle* founded these Schools in the Time of *Abaris*? A certain Author (28) endeavours to reconcile these Difficulties, by supposing there were two *Abaris's*; but this Hypothesis is insufficient; five or six are necessary, if he would succeed. Two will not unite these differences.

[D] As to occasion some of the Moderns to fall into Mistakes. *Vossius* prefers their Opinion, who say, That *Abaris* flourish'd between the 30th and the 38th Olympiad. This Period, says he, (29) according to *Eusebius*, coincides with the Reign of *Phalaris*—*Phalaris Tyrannidem exercuit ab Olympiadi xxx (it should be xxxi) An. II. usque ad Olympiadi xxxviii. An. II. teste Eusebio*. By this Hypothesis he overthrows the Notion of those, who maintain, that *Abaris* was the Disciple of *Pythagoras*; for he remarks, that *Pythagoras* flourish'd in the first Year of the 60th Olympiad, and died about the latter end of the 70th. He takes notice likewise, that no Disciple of *Pythagoras* could possibly write Letters to *Phalaris*. Lastly, he asserts, That all the Ancients place *Abaris* not only before *Pythagoras*, but even before *Solon*. *Antiqui omnes de Abari loquuntur, ut non Pythagora modo, sed Solone etiam antiquiori* (30). In these Remarks of *Vossius* there is not the least Solidity; since *Eusebius*, upon whose Testimony he builds, has refer'd *Phalaris* to another Period, namely the 3d Year of the 53d Olympiad, and the Travels of *Abaris* to the 2d Year of the 54th. *Vossius* should have observ'd this, and have remember'd, that the Passage of *Eusebius*, which he does not cite, was prefer'd by *Scaliger* (31) to that which he quotes. *Scaliger* grounds his Notion upon this, That the beginning of *Phalaris's* Reign was plac'd by *Suidas* under the 52d Olympiad. Add to this, that *Orosius* (32) remarks, that *Cyrus* and *Phalaris* were Cotemporaries. It is plain then that the Inferences, which *Vossius* has drawn from *Abaris* and *Phalaris* living at the same time, are not well grounded; for *Abaris* might have written to *Phalaris* after the 52d Olympiad, and have seen *Pythagoras* after the 60th Olympiad (33). Let this be as it will, it should never have been asserted, That, according to the Testimony of all the Ancients, *Solon* liv'd after *Abaris*; for we know that he prescribed Laws to the *Athenians* (34) in the 46th Olympiad, and that *Eusebius* places his *Abaris* under the 82d (35).

Mr *Moreri* makes a wrong use of the Observations of *Vossius*: He finds a Contradiction between those who say, that *Abaris* liv'd before *Solon*, and those who place him in the time of *Tullus Hostilius*, or of *Ancus Martius*, *Kings* of *Rome*. But these Sentiments are not contradictory; nor will any Chronologist scruple to assert, that these two Kings preceded *Solon*. Mr *Moreri* was misled by this Passage of *Vossius*

(27) Apud Photium, p. 1136.

(28) Edw. Simon, ap. Konig. Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 1.

(29) *Vossius de Poëta Græcis*, cap. 3. pag. 16.

(30) Ibid.

(31) *Scaliger Animad. in Euseb. n. 1452. p. 94.*

(32) *Id. ib. n. 1390. p. 84.*

(33) Note. *scilicet Abaris, according to Jamblichus, was old when he was instructed by Pythagoras.*

(34) See *Scaliger, as above, n. 1422. p. 86.*

(35) See the preceding Remarks, Circumstances (23).

(1) De Virgæ Mercurialis potestate & potentia peculiarium Trachitionem fuit mysteriodes damus in Superstitionum magno Commentario. *Barthius* in Stat. Tom. 2. p. 291. (16) Hom. *Odyss. v. & 7.*

(17) Ibid. v. (18) On the *Aldes Virgula Divina*, Chik. 1. Cent. 1. n. 97.

(19) *Huet. Demonstr. Evang. prop. 4. p. 258.*

(20) *Exod. vii. and viii.*

(21) *Philostrophat. in Vit. Apollon. l. 3.*

(22) Apud *Hippocratonem*.

(23) *Eusebius Chron. n. 1568.*

(24) *Henr. Valesii Note in Notis Mauficat. in Harpocrat. p. 83.*

(25) In the word *πρωπολαι*.

(26) In *E. quid.*

(d) Harpocration, on the Word *Abaris.

(e) Jamblichus in vita Pythag. c. 19. See Spanheim on Callimachus, p. 450.

(f) Diacry. Sicul. l. 2. c. 47. p. 126.

(g) Nemesio, the of Pe-
lopo.

assigning the Reason that induc'd him to quit his Country, in order to travel thro' the World. A raging Pestilence (d) (say they) prevailing over the whole Earth, the Oracle of *Apollo* gave no other Answer than this, That the *Athenians* should supplicate the Gods for all other Nations. Hence it was, that several States sent Ambassadors to *Abens*, of whom the *Hyperborean Abaris* was one. He was then very old; and, since he returned to his Country, to consecrate the Gold (e), which he had gather'd, to *Hyperborean Apollo*, whose Priest he was, it might be said, that a Collection for pious Uses was one of the Motives that induc'd him to travel to *Greece*. During this Expedition, he renew'd the Alliance between the *Hyperboreans*, and the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Delos* (f). He undertook to foretel future Events; and as he spread his Prophecies in all Places thro' which he travelled, he might properly enough be stiled a walking Oracle [E]. Some say it was he who made the *Palladium* [F], That defin'd Pledge of Security to those Cities which possess'd it, and that he sold it to the *Trojans*. He made it of human Bones (g); Materials, which I fancy, the Makers of *Talisman*s never employ. They maintain farther, That he could foretel Earthquakes [G], remove Plagues, and lay Storms, and that he offer'd Sacrifices in

(37) Voetus as Abaris.

(37) Cælius Redic. Ant. 16. c. 22. p. 881.

(38) This Error is not in the Dutch Edit. con.

(39) Gyradius de Poet. Dial. 3. circa init. p. 119.

(40) Stromac. l. 1. p. 334.

(41) Nicetas in Orat. 23. Gregor. Nazianz. p. 774. (42) Apollon. admir. Hist. Sect. 4.

(43) In E. quit.

(44) Artemidor. l. 3. c. 21.

(45) Pausanias, l. 3. p. 94. But he says, that a Hyperborean bore the Ball of it to Greece.

(46) Plato in Chirm. p. 467.

(47) Scaliger, Not. in Esch. n. 1174.

(48) De Ex. Prof. Kel. g.

Vossius (36), fuerit igitur (Phalaris) temporibus Tullii Hostilii & Anci Maritii. And here, by the way, give me leave to say, that he has also suffer'd himself to be impos'd upon, by this Passage of *Cælius Rhodiginus* (37); *Hujus* (Abaridis) & *Gregorius Theologus* commeminit in Epitaphio ad magnum Basilium. *Moreri* is of Opinion (38), that *St Gregory* makes mention of *Abaris* in an Epitaph upon *St Basil* the Great. But I have not met with one Word of *Abaris*, in the Verses which *St Gregory Nazianzen* made on the Death of *St Basil*. I expected to have found among them the five or six Lines, which *Gyradius* (39) cites, as taken ex *Monodia* in *Divum Basilium*. The Term *Monodia* seems to refer to a Piece of Poetry; but here it is a fallacious Direction. I had recourse to the Prose of that great Divine, that is, his Funeral Oration on *St Basil*, and could not meet with one quarter of what *Gyradius* had cited. There is a particular Mistake, into which *Moreri* has fallen, when he says, that this Epitaph was not compos'd for *St Basil*.

[E] A walking Oracle.] *Clement* of *Alexandria* has plac'd *Abaris* among those who foretold future Events (40). Προφῶναι δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας δὲ μάλιστα προσετίθεν αὐτῷ, Ἀβάρης τὰ δὲ ὑπερβόρειος. *Pythagoras* the Great always addit'd himself to *Prophesians*; as did also *Abaris* the *Hyperborean*. A Commentator on (41) *St Gregory Nazianzen* has related, that *Abaris* visited every part of *Greece*, and there uttered his Oracles. *Apollonius* asserts the same thing, and besides assures us, that these Oracles were still extant. (42) Ἐγράφη δὲ καὶ χρημῆς τὰς χώρας περιρχόμενος, ἐν οἷον μύχρῃ τῷ ὄνι υπάγοντες. i. e. He wrote also Oracles in the Countries through which he pass'd, which are extant to this day. The Scholiast of (43) *Aristophanes* says likewise, that there were some extant in his time. *Abaris* was not the only Person who made it his Business to travel thro' the World, and to spread his Predictions wherever he came: it was peculiar to Diviners to do so; and hence it is, that *Artemidorus* (44) says, when a Man dreams he becomes a Prophet, it is generally a sign, that he will undertake a Journey, or some Business: For, adds he, Diviners are accus'd to be Vagrants. Φέρει δὲ καὶ ἀποδημίας πολλὰς, καὶ κινήσεις τῷ ὄντι τὸν δειρὸν, διὰ τὸ τὰς μάντιας περιεῖναι. This Dream portends travelling and removing from place to place; for Diviners are generally Ramblers. They have this in common with Jugglers, and all kind of Strollers. *Abaris* did more than foretel things to come; 'tis said that he erected Temples; that the Temple of *Proserpine* in *Lacedæmon* (45) was built by him. *Plato* (46) says, That he was a perfect Cheat, or rather an Enchanter, who pretended to cure Diseases by the Charm of a few Words.

[F] Who made the Palladium.] This Discovery is owing to the great *Scaliger*, who (47) in two places of a Passage in *Firminus Maternus* (48) has corrected the Word *Abaris* by substituting *Abaris*. The whole Passage, as it stands thus corrected, is as follows: *Palladii etiam quid sit nomen audite. Simulacrum est ex ossibus Pelopis factum. Hoc Abaris Scythia scisse perhibetur. Jam quale sit considerate quod Scythia barbari consecravit. Etsi aliquod apud Scythas humana ratione compositum, & illa effera gens & crudeli atque inhumana semper atrocitate grassata, in constituendis religionibus rebus aliquid potuit invenire? Simulacrum hoc Trojanis Abaris vendidit, stultis hominibus etiam promittens.*—Hear likewise in what the Divinity

of the *Palladium* consists. It is an Image made of the bones of *Pelops*. The *Scythian Abaris* is reported to have been the Artist: but could a barbarous *Scythian* convey any Sanctity to it? Can the *Scythians* produce any thing agreeable to human Reason? or can that Savage Nation invent any thing fitting and proper in Religious Matters? This Image *Abaris* sold to the *Trojans*, making empty Promises to those foolish men. *Scaliger* has likewise corrected two Mistakes nearly of the same kind, in a Passage of the Scholiast (49) of *Aristophanes*. Instead of *βάρην*, he would have us read *Ἀβάρην*; and instead of *βάριδος*, *Ἀβάριδος*, which makes the Sense much more intelligible. The Passage, as corrected, is, Ὅ τὰ δὲ καὶ Ἀβάρην φασὶ τὸν ὑπερβόρειον ἔλθοντα θεοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἀπὸ λαῶν θητιῶσιν, καὶ ἔτα συγγράφει τὰς χρημῆς τὰς νῦν προσγορευομένας Ἀβάριδος. The Meaning of this is, That *Abaris*, when he travell'd to *Greece* to consult *Apollo*, or to make some Oblation to him, staid in his Service, and wrote the Oracles which still go under the Name of *Abaris*. *Valesius* (50) corrects a Passage of *Proclus* (51), where *Pythagoras* is cited, ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀβάρην λόγῳ; he believes it ought to be read *Ἀβάρην*: If so, there must have been some Work of *Pythagoras*, (52) address'd to our *Abaris*. All that we know for certain is, that *Pythagoras*, if we will credit *Jamblichus* (53), explain'd his Treatise concerning Nature, and his other Tract concerning the Gods, to this *Hyperborean*. *Plutarch* (54) makes mention of a Book entituled *Abaris*, and compos'd by *Heracleides*, wherein, I suppose, were contain'd all the Adventures, both real and romantic, of this famous *Hyperborean*. I am surpriz'd, that *Scaliger*, who was in good a Disposition to discover Mistakes, should refer us to *Gyradius*, as a Fund of learned Instruction, concerning *Abaris*; for, as learned a Man as *Gyradius* was, yet he was not very accurate in his account of this Matter (55): He says, That *Valerius Harpocration* has made mention of the Wonders of the Arrow, and that, according to *Herodotus*, it carry'd him through the Air as far as the Country of the *Hyperboreans*: But 'tis certain that *Harpocration* speaks not a Word of the Arrow, and that *Herodotus* says nothing of the Flight of *Abaris*, much less does he determine the particular Place, to which he fled. *Charles Stephens* and *Moreri* fell into this last Mistake; *Legatus Athenas veniens, ad juos Hyperboreos rediit, nihil comedens*, says *Charles Stephens*, i. e. He return'd from his Athenian Embassy to his Countrymen the *Hyperboreans*, without eating any thing. *Moreri* says, that *Returning from Greece into Scythia, he eat nothing during that long Journey*. This however is more excusable than the Rashness of the former, in saying, That we have still extant the Oracles of *Abaris*. This is to copy after another without Judgment, and without considering, that since that was asserted, those Oracles have been lost. We shall elsewhere (56) pass a general Reflexion upon the Blunders that arise from this Principle.

[G] Foretel Earthquakes.] *Porphyry* (57) ascribes this Power to *Pythagoras*, as also that of chasing away Pestilences, of stopping Hail, laying Storms, and appeasing of Tempets by Sea, and on Rivers, that his Friends might have a prosperous Passage. He adds, That *Empedocles*, *Epimenides*, and *Abaris*, having learn'd this Secret from *Pythagoras*, put it in practice upon several Occasions; πολλὰ καὶ ἱππευτικαὶν τοιαῦτα. A modern Author, having related (58), that *Pteregides*,

(50) Valesius not in notat Masul. in Harpocrat. p. 83.

(51) In Timæum Platonis p. 141.

(52) Compare Jamblichus's Words, as above, cap. 19. p. 92.

(53) Jamblichus's Words, as above, cap. 19. p. 92.

(54) Plutarch. quomodo audiendi Poet. init.

(55) See the Remarks [D], towards the End.

(56) In the Remark on the Article BALBUS (John) at the End. In vita Pythag.

(58) La Motte le Vayer, Tom. 11. p. 127.

(b) Jam-
blieh. at a-
bove, c. 19.
p. 53. &
cap. 28. p.
231.
Apollonius
also, at above.

(l) Phetil
Bibl. p. 113.

(o) Strabo,
lib. 7. pag.
208.

(o) Casu-
bon's Notes
upon Strabo,
lib. 7. p. 113.

(p) Origen
l. 3. against
Celsus, pag.
129.

in Lacedemon, of so great Efficacy (b), that That Country, which was very subject to the Plague, was never troubled with it afterwards. He composed a great many Books (i); such as, *The Arrival of Apollo among the Hyperboreans*; *The Marriage of the River Hebrus*; a *Theogony*, wherein he explain'd the Pedigree of the Gods; *A Collection of Oracles*, and another of *Conjurations*, or *Exorcisms*, or, if you please (k), of Expiatory Prayers. All these Pieces were written in Prose, except the first. If we had the whole Speech of *Himerius* the Sophist, of which *Photius* (l) has preserv'd a Part, we could better tell, than by that Fragment, whether the great Encomiums, bestow'd by that Sophist on a certain Person, belong to *Abaris* or not. 'Tis, at least, past all Dispute, that he (m) praises him for his speaking good Greek. Others (n) assert, That his affable Behaviour, and plain Dealing, together with his Probity, recommended him to all Greece. I do not find, that *Callimachus* and *Lucian*, make any mention of him, though a certain great Critic (o) assures us they did. Had his Arrow been endued with the Virtue attributed to the Wand of *James Aymar* [H], he might have been very beneficial to the World, without fearing the Reflexion cast upon him by *Origen* (p), of being useless in his Generation. But we have (q) since been inform'd, that the Credit of this Wonder-working Wand was but short-liv'd [I], and that it met with it's fatal Doom at the Prince of Condé's Palace.

ABARIS, a City of Egypt. See the Article PITHOM.

(co) He cites
Diog. La-
ert. in Phre-
cyd. Cicero-
n. 1. de
Divin.

(60) Concern-
ing Abaris,
he cites Apol-
lonius, firm-
named Dyl-
colus, cap. 5.
the same
author says
have quoted
above.

(61) See the
Remark [B].

Pherecydes, the Master of Pythagoras (59), and *Anaximander*, and *Abaris* (60), foretold Earthquakes, proposes this pleasant Question; *What, says he, did they look upon the Earth as a huge Animal, and were they arriv'd at so great a Skill as to know, by feeling her Pulse, when the trembling Fit was coming upon her?* Now whether the Arrow of *Abaris* was the Instru-ment with which he perform'd so many Miracles, or whether it contributed nothing thereto, it is certain that his Travels might be of great Use to Mankind. See the next Remark.

[H] Attributed to the Wand of (61) *James Aymar*.] Never did any thing make so great Noise, or occasion the writing of so many Books. I have understood since, that those who promis'd themselves so many Advantages, and so great a Victory over the Incredible, found themselves greatly disappointed in their Expectations. The single History of this whole Matter might well deserve a particular Article; and perhaps I shall give you some Hints of it under the Word *Rabdomancy*, or upon some other Occasion. But be that as it will, I shall not recant what I advance concerning the Usefulness of this Wand. Being in the Hands of so great a Traveller as *Abaris*, it would reform the Manners of Mankind more effectually, than all the Missionaries and Preachers in the World. For should such a Man return upon the Stage of the World, Jealously, that Plague of a married Life, would soon be banish'd all human Society: Neither the *Italians*, nor the eastern Nations, would have then occasion to set Guards over their Wives, or watch them with *Argus's Eyes* themselves; each Man would trust to their Honesty, and they would need no other Test, than this Wand: And the Men would not only be free from an anxious Care (62), which is too often their Ruin, but would find themselves obliged to preserve their Conjugal Fidelity, when the Reputation of it was become so necessary to them. The Appearance of a Court of Justice would strike less Terror into the Souls of Criminals, than the Arrival of an *Abaris*. The greatest Number of Offences, the most dangerous Sins, such I mean as are committed with the Hopes of Secrecy, would be entirely suppress'd, by thinking on the Wand; and then we might with *Horace* truly say:

(63) *Tutus bos etenim rura perambulat,
Nutrit rura Ceres, almaque faustitas.*

*Culpari mutui fides,
Nullis pollicitur casta domus stupris.*

Laudantur simili prole puerperæ.

Secure in Pastures roams the wanton Steer,
And smiling Plenty crowns the fruitful Year.
Unfalsly'd Faith in every Bosom reigns,
And the chaste Marriage-bed inviolate remains.
'Tis in the Child, the honest Sire is shown,
And all his Father's Virtues are his own.

I own it is not easy to conceive, that the Devil, the profess'd Enemy of Mankind, should make choice of such Laws of Intercourse with Men, which is not

considered by those, who will not allow us either to call in question the Virtues of the Wand, or attempt to explain them mechanically.

[I] The Credit of this wonder-working Wand was but short liv'd.] It scarce lasted so long at Paris, as the Time of composing and printing one single Article of this Dictionary. The Prince of Condé, whose Discontentment, if we consider his Education, must necessarily be fatal to all Impostors, and their credulous Followers, has pull'd down the Trophies set up by the Partizans of *James Aymar*. This poor Wretch was so unsuccessful in the Trials (64) he made of his Art in the Palace of Condé, that his Reputation was ruin'd for ever. The Public was made acquainted with the whole Affair, and there was no room to suspect the Truth, since it was by Order of that great Prince, that the World was inform'd of the Cheat. Nor indeed do they pretend any such Thing; they only endeavour to account for the Miscarriages of the Wand, as I shall observe by and by. They who assert, that the Favourers of these Jugglers ill-tim'd the Matter, and that, in such a Philosophical Age as this, such Artificers are not to be impos'd upon the World, have, in some Respects, Reason on their Side; but, all Things consider'd, they do not argue right. There are, I allow, many more private Men, at present, than formerly, who are able to oppose the Stream, and combat Error: But then I must answer; that our Age is as easy to be impos'd upon, as any whatsoever; and, after what we have seen concerning an Explication of the *Apocalypse*, we have no Reason to say, the World is grown wiser now a-days. It is the same it ever was: Every Delusion, which flatters it's Passions, is pleasing; it is not at all hard to be convinc'd it was impos'd upon; nor has it, upon that Account, the less Respect for the Impostor; and cries out, as much as ever, against the Incredulity of those, who will not suffer themselves to be deceiv'd. Hear what one of our Journalists tells us in Confirmation of this Matter:

"The (65) Testimony of a great Prince, and the (66) Ibid. p. 565.
"Letter of one of the principal Magistrates, are such strong Proofs against *James Aymar*, as none of those who give credit to the pretended Effects of the Wand, dare to contradict. But so foolish are those credulous Creatures, that hardly one of them will submit to this Evidence. Mr *Vallemont*, who has lately publish'd a Tract, concerning the secret Philosophy of the divine Wand, goes about to explain how the Peasant of *Dauphiné* might be mistaken in the Trials of his Skill before that Prince, though he had really the Power and Gifts, of which he boasted. This sort of Philosophers, as well as the Explainers of Prophecies, (for both of them are of the same Stamp) are a kind of Enthusiasts, who will never own themselves to have been in the wrong; and who, though they are convinc'd of the Falsity of what they have advanc'd, treat, as Persons of a dull Imagination, those Men of Sense, who reject their Chimeras."

SINCE the Impression of what I have said, three or four Years have elapsed without the least mention of *James Aymar*: Our Journalists had quite lost sight of him, and gave him over for lost. But at last they brought him again upon their Stage, in the Month of April,

(i) *Suidas on
the Word
ABARIS.*
(k) *The
Greek Word
is Suidas, is
nabapud.*

(m) See the
Remark [C],
towards the
End.

(q) This was
written in
the Year
1693.

(64) See the
Historical
Letters, and
the Political
Mercury for
the Month of
May, 1695.

(66) Ibid. p.

(62) *Per ægis
graves in
Cæl be vita,
Et graviter
cautus cave-
dia vana ma-
ritis.*
Aul. Idyll.
15.
Painful the
Cares, even
of a single
State,
More taxing
those which do
on Wedlock
wait.

(63) *Horace,
Ode 5. B. 2.*

"and that the Value of stolen Goods had in some Places been restored, upon the News of his Arrival. But our Dukes, and this excellent Prince, were both of Opinion, that Truth was preferably to be regarded." Mr Leibnitz has joined to this a Remark worthy of himself; That it had been better to have examined, how so many Persons of Merit could be deceived at Lyons, than to endeavour to find out the Natural Causes of the pretended Virtue of this

(73) Id. id.

Wand: (73) "Et scripsi nuper Parisios utilius & examine dignius mihi videri problema, morale vel logicum, quomodo tot viri insignes Lugduni in fraudem ducti fuerint, quam illud pseudophyficum, quod tractaverat Vallemontius, meliori materia dignus? Quomodo virga corylacea tot miracula operetur? Nam moralis illa quæstio, excussa pro dignitate, multorum errorum popularium origines sæpe speciosas aperiret. I gave my Opinion lately, in a Letter to Paris, that it was a Problem, whether Moral or Logical, of more Use, and more worthy Examination, why so many celebrated Persons at Leyden were impos'd upon, than that false point of Natural Philosophy, which Vallemontius (worthy of a nobler Subject) undertook to discuss, viz. whence it was, that an Hazel Wand could perform such Wonders. For the just and proper Discussion of this Moral Question would unfold the Spring, how specious soever, of many popular Errors." I fancy, that if the Magistrates of Lyons, who caus'd the Murderer to be hanged, whom James Aymar discovered at Beaucaire, had threaten'd to burn the Discoverer alive, as a wicked Magician; and had caus'd the Executioner to be present with all the Instruments of the Rack, they would have made him confess how he had learnt the Secret of the Assassination, and how he could find at Beaucaire, in such and such a place, one of the Assassins. 'Tis very probable, that those Persons, who had a mind to bring him into Reputation, that they might share the Profit with him, caus'd him to play this part. Mr Buissiere takes notice in his printed Relation (74), That this Man had a Club of People, who cry'd him up all over Paris; and who publish'd in the Mercuré Gallant for February, 1693, that he had discover'd such and such a thing; than which nothing was more false. The Prepossession was so great, that he would have got vast Sums, if he could but have maintain'd his Credit. You may judge whether his Partizans had not very good Reasons to second him.

(74) Letter concerning the real Effects of the Wand, pag. 13, 14.

(75) Mr Buissiere's Letter to me, July 25, 1693.

"(75) There never was an Imposture more credited than this; they were so prejudic'd in favour of this Person, that they made him do things which he never thought of, and found out Reasons to excuse him when he did not succeed. He impos'd on them by the appearance of a simple and rustic Air, and speaking only the Gibberish of his Country; but he was at the bottom nothing less than what he appear'd to be: The Motion of his Wand was the Cause of the Illusion. They saw the fork'd Stick turn so dexterously in his Hand, that they did not perceive the insensible Motion of his Wrist, which determin'd it to turn forcibly and quick, by the Spring which he gave to his Wand. Besides his apparent natural Plainness, he affect'd to be devout, went often to Confession, every Day to Mass, and shew'd other external Tokens of a great Sense of Religion; and said, That he had very carefully preserv'd his Virginity, without which, as he said, he could not succeed with his Wand. He would not walk in the Streets in the day-time, for fear, as he said, of being murder'd by Thieves and Pick-pockets. But all this was only because the Night serv'd better for his Tricks. However ridiculous he was, yet he did not want Admirers, and consequently People to cry him up: and if they

"had not taken care to prevent his going out of Condé-House, because the Prince, who had sent for him to Paris to satisfy his Curiosity, would have him try some things, which he had thought of, before he was publicly set on work, he had been over-run by those who came in Crowds to consult him. Some wanted to know whether he could not discover the Thieves who were guilty of such a Robbery, at such a time, and such a place, &c. Others wanted to know, whether such a Saint was not the true one, rather than that of another Parish, which pretended to be in possession of him likewise. Others brought Relicks to him, to know whether they really belong'd to such a Saint. Nay, I my self saw a young Silk-Weaver, who was contracted, give him two Crowns to know whether the Woman he was contracted to had her Maidenhead or no. Those, who shared the Profit, took care to bring Grift to the Mill; and oblig'd Persons to pay the Money before-hand, if they had a mind to succeed in their Enquiries."

Such a Man at Paris would have been a certain Source of Gain, and an inexhaustible Mine to those who were to share in the Profit. Both suspecting, and suspected, Persons would have strove who should pay him best. He would have squeez'd Money out of both Husbands and their Wives, Gallants and their Mistresses: The Wand would have mov'd, or not mov'd, according as he was best paid, by one or t'other. I believe that if we could discover the Mysteries of these sorts of pretended Prodigious, we should find it to be a Combination of People in order to get Money: One boasts of an extraordinary Talent; and others endeavour underhand to establish the Belief of it. But I believe there are some Cheats, who have no need of Emisaries; the Credulity of the Publick is a sufficient Preparation for their acting the Imposture. 'Tis not long, since there went over the Towns of Holland a sort of Germans, who pretended to cure all Distempers without any Remedies. The Patients need only, said they, send us their Urine. Their Success was the subject of the common Talk; every Body related some wonderful Circumstances; their Lodgings, like the Pool of Bethesda, were crowded with infirm Persons. I don't believe that those who cried up the Art of those Quacks were Sharers in the Profit: Some pleas'd themselves in recommending the thing, because it look'd like a Prodigy; others might find something agreeable in it, because the want of Effect of the common Medicines put them out of Humour with their Physicians. The Cheat did not last long; a Month or two set all things to rights. This (76) Imposture was detected, and there were so many People undeceived, that their Approbation was chang'd into the utmost Contempt.

We must observe that Mr Leibnitz takes notice, with a great deal of Reason, (77) That if the Prince of Condé had not discovered the Imposture, no Argument could have prevail'd to this very Day with those credulous People. But it is to be fear'd, that James Aymar's Cheats will be soon forgotten; and that People would be pleas'd with the same Farce again, if the same Motives should revive it seven or eight Years hence. "Nisi Princeps Condæus cognoscendæ rei tantum studii, imò & sumptus, impendisset, laborare adhuc & conficiantur cum quibusdam ingenii, quibus gratius est per mira falli, quam nudæ veritatis simplicitati acquiescere.— Had not the Prince of Condé been at great pains and even expense, in the Enquiry, we might have still contest'd the matter with certain Tempers, which are better pleas'd to be deceiv'd by something wonderful, than to acquiesce in plain, simple, Truth."

(76) Mr La-fou a very ingenious Physician of Rotterdam published a small Treatise in Dutch and French, to show the Vanity and Ridiculousness of this Practice. See the History of the Works of the Learned, by Mr Banage, May 1697, p. 408, &c. And the Paris Journal of Jan. 13, 1698, p. 30. of the Dutch Edit.

(77) Leibnitz ubi supra.

ABBEVILLE, in Latin *Abbatis-villa*, the Capital City of the Dutchy of Pontibieu in Picardy, on the River Somme, five Leagues from the Sea, in the Diocese of Amiens, was formerly, as the Word imports, no more than a Country-Seat belonging to an Abbot. 'Tis suppos'd, that this Abbot was St Riquier, or one of his Successors, who, perceiving the Situation to be very pleasant and commodious, two Leagues from his Abbey of Centula, caus'd first of all an House (a) to be built there, and then a Castle, where was a Priory (b) dependant upon the Abbey. Hugh Capet, willing to make a strong Place of it, in order to stop the Incurfions of the Barbarians, took it away from the Monks (c); and when he had fortified it, gave it to Hugh his Son-in-law, who took upon him the Title of Protector, because the King his Father-in-law had committed to him the Protection of the Church of St Riquier.

(b) Sirmond. Note in Epist. 36 Alexandri III.

(c) Hariulfus a Monk of Centula, in the Chronicle of his Monastery, l. 4. c. 12. apud Hadr. Valart. Notit. Gall. p. 1.

(a) Father 1. Abbé in his Methodical Tables of Royal Geography, p. 322. Edit. 12mo.

(d) Id. Valens ib.

His Son *Angelram* was satisfied with this Title, 'till such time as he had killed (d) in Battle the Count of *Boulogne*, and married his Widow; for then he took upon him the Title of Count of *Pontieu*, which has been continued to his Successors. In process of time *Abbeville* became very considerable. It is at present so large, *that there are scarce ten or twelve Cities in all France which surpass it, or which so much as equal it in Circumference.* (e) *Sanfon*, whose Words I just now cited, in his Computation made in the Year 1636, tells us, that it contained *thirty five or forty thousand Souls.* It was his native Country; and 'tis remarkable, that in a short time it produced three

(e) *Sanfon's Enquiry into the Antiquity of Abbeville, p. 2.*(f) *The Son of one of Sanfon's Sisters.*

(g) Id. p. 59, 60.

skilful Geographers, Himself, *Peter (f) Duval*, and Father *Phillip Briet* the Jesuit. The River *Somme* divides itself here into several Branches, which run partly within, and partly without the City. Father *L'Abbé* is not of *Sanfon's* Opinion, who maintains, (g) that *Abbeville* was always the Capital of *Pontieu* [A]; and that the other Cities of that Country were not in comparison near so antient as That [B]. Much less will he allow, what *Sanfon* pretends, viz. That this City was formerly called *Britannia* [C]; and that it was one of the most flourishing Cities of all *Gaul*, long before *Jesus Christ*. We shall, in it's due Place, take notice of the whole Contest, which Father *L'Abbé* [D] had with him on this Subject. *Abbeville* is endowed with excellent Privileges;

(1) L'Abbé, Tabl. Method. p. 320. Edit. 12mo.

[A] Was always the Capital of *Pontieu*.] Father *L'Abbé* (1) refutes him as to that particular in these Words, "You have not read, Sir, the Titles and Memoirs of the Abbey of *St Riquier*, which inform us, that under *Lewis le Debonnaire*, in the Year 815, there were, within the Walls of *Centula*, Two thousand five hundred Houses, several Artificers, a great many Streets, &c. That *Abbeville* is reckoned among the Towns and Villages which depended upon it." If any Credit may be given to the Verse that is commonly repeated in that Country;

Turribus à centum Centula nomen habet.

The hundred Towers with which the Walls of *Centula* were flank'd, occasioned it's Name (2).

(2) Id. ib. p. 316, 317.

(3) Id. ib. p. 320.

[B] Were not in comparison near so antient as That.] "This is (3) false," say the Inhabitants of *S. Riquier*. "What have you in *Abbeville* that carries any Marks of Antiquity? hence your Collegiate Church of *St Wulfran* owes it's Foundation to *William de Talus* and *John* his Son, Eleven hundred Years after *Christ*; and the Priory of *St Peter* of the Order of *St Benedict*, was founded but a few Years before: for as to the Parish Church of *Notre-Dame du Châtel*, it only looks like a country Church." As to *Fredogarius*, whom *Sanfon* has cited as his Voucher for the Existence of *Abbeville* in the Time of the Mayor *Ebroinus*; to this 'tis replied (4), That we ought to read in the Ninety sixth Chapter, not, *atque Abacius villa evadens aufugit*, but *atque à Bacio villâ evadens aufugit*.

(4) Id. ib. p. 321.

[C] That this City was formerly called *Britannia*.] He grounds this Opinion on a Passage of *Strabo*, where he fancies 'tis said (5), "That the Deputies of *Marseilles* appearing before *Scipio*, and being ask'd by him, what they knew of *Britannia*, *Narbo*, and *Corbilo*, not one of them could say any thing in Commendation of them, though they were the best Towns in all *Gaul*." He supposes that it was in the Year of *Rome* 532. that the Deputies of *Marseilles* shew'd themselves so grossly ignorant. His Reason for it, is, that he, who propos'd those Questions, was the same *Scipio*, who lost the first Battle, which *Hannibal* gain'd over the *Romans*. He supposes that this *Scipio*, willing to get Intelligence of *Hannibal's* March, fail'd to the Mouth of the *Rhône*; and that there the Deputies of *Marseilles*, who came to compliment him, could make no Reply to his Questions. This we shall enquire into farther, under the Article of *Pytheas*. Let us at present proceed to the other Hypotheses of *Sanfon*. He observes, I. That the City of *Narbonne* was one of the most antient, and most flourishing Cities of *Gaul*; and (6) yet it is not nam'd 'till after that of *Britannia*, among the Three, of which *Scipio* desired to be inform'd. II. That the *Belgium*, in the Commentaries of *Julius Cæsar*, was a Region (7) among the *Belgæ*, which comprehended the *Beauvaisis*, the *Amienois*, the *Artois*, and perhaps also the *Vermandois*, and the *Senlisians*. III. That the Inhabitants of the Coasts of *Great-Britain*, came from (8) *Belgium*, and retain'd the Names of the Cities, from whence they came; as *Cæsar* informs us. IV. That, according to *Pliny's* (9) Calculation, the People, whom he styles *Britanni*, must have been Inhabitants (10) of *Pontibius*. V. That of all the Parts of *Belgium*, from whence

(6) Id. p. 3.

(7) Id. p. 39.

(8) Id. p. 17.

(9) Lib. 4. cap. 17.

(10) Id. p. 46.

People went over into *England*, there is none that ought to come into the Account, so much as that which is situated by the Sea-side; that is, the Country of *Pontieu*: From all this he infers (11), That the *Britanni* of *Pliny* are the chief Inhabitants of *Belgium*, who went over into *England*; and that at first they retained their antient Name, and at last render'd it universal over the whole Country; and that they would not have called themselves *Britanni*, had not their Capital City been *Britannia*: It follows then, that the Capital of *Pontieu* was the antient *Britannia* of which *Scipio* desired to be inform'd; now *Abbeville* is the Capital of *Pontieu*: It went therefore under the Name of *Britannia*, the most flourishing City of the *Gauls*, even before the Second *Punic War*.

(11) Cluver. in Germani. Ant. l. 2. c. 27. cluise antior terred Britanni than Britannia.

Doubtless there is Learning and Genius in this long Train of Suppositions and Consequences, considering the Manner wherein the Author has manag'd it; But, after all, 'tis a mere Romance, an airy Phantom, founded on a Passage not duly understood. The Matter of Fact is this; *Strabo* (12) tells us, that *Pytheas* has inserted among the fabulous Stories of *Pytheas*, "That none of the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*, who had an Interview with *Scipio*, could say any thing considerable, when he questioned them about *Britann*, no more than any of the Inhabitants of *Narbonne*, or of *Corbilo*, the two best Cities of the Country." This is the true meaning of the *Greek* Text, as may be collected not only from the Rules of Grammar, but also from the Humour of the Stroller here mentioned; *καὶ ὅς τις αἰσῶν Πολύβιος, μὴδὲ τις τῶν ἐν Πύθει μνησθέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν τῶν συμμάχωντων Σκίπιον αἰδῶς εἶχε λέγειν ἵδεν μὴδὲς αἰὼν ἑρπεθῆς ὑπὸ τῷ Σκίπιονος ὕπαι της Βροτανικῆς ἢ τῶν ἐν Ναρβόνῃ, ἢ τῶν ἐν Κορβιλλῶν, αἵτις ἦσαν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰδῶς τῶν αὐτῶν* (13). This Fellow, to put the better Gloss upon his romantic Stuff and Rhodomontades, used to brag, That he would inform his Readers of a thousand things, of which they never had heard before. No question then but he boldly gave out, that his Relation of *Britain* presented us with the first and earliest Account of that Island; and that, to prove it, he made use of this Argument; viz. That *Scipio* could learn nothing about it from the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*, nor from those of *Narbonne*, nor from those of *Corbilo* upon the *Loire*; though these were the most flourishing Cities of *Gaul*. Every one may see how *Sanfon* has mistaken the Words of the antient Geographer, to which no question the *Latin* Version has not a little contributed: *Cujus (Corbilonis) mentionem faciens Polybius simul Pytheæ refert commentum, Massiliensium scilicet, qui Scipionem conveniunt, nullum quicquam habuisse dignum memoratu quod diceret, interrogatus de Britannia, itemque Narbonensium & Corbilienensium, cum hæc tres urbes Gallie omnium esset optime.* One might be apt to imagine, at first Sight, that the three chief Cities of *Gaul*, mentioned by the Translator, are call'd *Britannia*, *Narbo*, & *Corbilo*; but upon due Attention, we shall perceive that *Britannia* is here taken for the Island *Britannia*: And thus *Strabo* (14) is us'd to express himself, without the Addition of the Word *Narbo*, *Insula*.

(12) Strabo. l. 4. p. 190.

(13) Id. ib.

(14) See among other PLACES, l. 1. p. 71.

[D] The Contest which Father *L'Abbé* had with him on this Subject.] He made his Declaration of War,

Privileges; and as it has never been taken, (b) it is stiled, *The Virgin of the Country*, and has for it's Motto, *semper fidelis, always faithful*. Whoever would be acquainted more at large with what relates to this City, the Privileges of it's Mayors, the famous Men who have been born or died there (i), &c. may consult the genealogical History of the Counts of Pontbieu, printed at Paris, by Francis Cloufier, 1657. in Folio. The Author only tells us his Name by these initial Letters, F. I. D. J. M. C. D. But 'tis easy to perceive that they mean *Frere Ignace de Jesus-Maria, Carme deschausé*. i. e. *Brother Ignatius de Jesus-Maria, A barefooted Carmelite*. See the Article S A N S O N (James).

(b) Du Val in his Treatise of France p. 70.

(i) 'Tis with great Reason that I have here added an Etcetera, for the Book is full of foreign Matters.

Therein is to be found Bayard the Knight, and several other Persons who have no manner of Relation to Pontbieu.

(15) Sanson as before, p. 76, dec.

(16) Justin. l. 43. c. 5, 6.

(17) See the Remark [A] of the Article Pytheas, towards the End.

(a) Some call him Abbat.

(b) Athenus Oronient. Vol. 1.

(c) Fuller's Worthies of England.

War, and his first Act of Hostility, in these Words: "Britanniam Abbavillæus Chalcographus interpretatur Abbeville, lepidissimo commento, quod non tam ex Pytheæ mendaciis, quam ex ignorantiæ linguæ Græcæ editum malignam in lucem demonstrabimus alias, cum primum singulare illum de Britannia tractatum nancisci & legere datum fuerit. The Abbevillean Chalcographer (so he stiles Sanson) interprets Britannia to mean Abbeville, upon a pleasant Hypothesis enough, which we shall show in another place to be unfortunately built, not so much upon Pytheas's lying Accounts, as upon an Ignorance of the Greek Tongue, when it shall be in our Powers to procure and read over the remarkable Treatise De Britannia." Thus he exprels'd himself in his *Pharus Gallie antiquæ*, printed at Moulins 1644. He had not as yet read the Book, which Sanson publish'd on this Subject at Paris, 1636. He had only seen the new Appearance of Britannia, not in the large Map of ancient Gaul, published by Sanson in the Year 1627, but in a small Chart publish'd since. Having at last perus'd the Book, he refuted the Prin-

ciples upon which 'tis founded, Ann. 1646, in the *Methodical Tables of the Royal Geogaphy*; and did not forget to observe, that, according to the Sense, which the Sieur Sanson gives to Strabo's Text, it must be said, that the Inhabitants of Marjeilles were wholly ignorant with respect to the City of Narbonne, Ann. U. C. 532. though Marjeilles had then been built about 400 Years, and Narbonne was a very flourishing City. Sanson was sensible of the Difficulty, and guarded against it as well as he could (15). But who can imagine that the Marfillians, because they had frequent Wars with their Neighbours, had not Time to know what Narbonne was? The Passage of Justin (16), which Sanson relates, informs us, that before the Year of Rome 362, they had often conquered the Carthaginians, and entered into Alliance with the Spaniards. Father L'Abbe was not much the better for his Triumph; for Sanson made the same Insults over him in his Turn, which almost ruin'd the *Pharus Gallie antiquæ*. Note, That with respect to his Hypothesis concerning Britannia, he wrote a Reply (17) which was never printed.

ABBOT (a) (GEORGE) Archbishop of Canterbury, and Author of several Books [A], was the Son of a Cloth-Worker, and born at Guilford, in the County of Surry, in 1562. He studied at Oxford, and in the Year 1597 was made Master of University-College. Two Years after, he was advanced to the Deanery of Winchester, which he held 'till the Year 1609, when he succeeded Thomas Morton in the Deanery of Gloucester. Hitherto his Advancement was not very shining, nor quick; but afterwards it made a very great Progress in a very little Time; for he was made Bishop of Lichfield, Dec. 3. 1609, Bishop of London, Feb. 1610, and Archbishop of Canterbury in March following (b). His Learning and fine Talent of Preaching contributed less to his sudden Advancement, than his Interest with the Earl of Dunbar, whose Chaplain he had been. His Conduct was not pleasing to every Body. It was thought strange, that he should have more regard to his Secretary than to his Chaplains; and that, when he appeared abroad, he should show more Respect to the Laity than to the Clergy. It was supposed, that, having never had any Benefice with the Cure of Souls, that is, having never experienc'd the Difficulties to be met with in the Direction of a Parish, he was thereby become less capable of shewing any Indulgence to the inferior Clergy. His Severity towards them, and the Countenance he gave to the Nonconformists, were the two principal Reasons of the Clamour that was rais'd against him. The latter of these caus'd a modern Writer to say, That if Laud had succeeded Bancroft, and the Project of Conformity had not met with an Interruption in the Time of Abbot, doubtless the Schism in England would have been at an end (c). King James was disgusted with Abbot, because he oppos'd the Design That King had of marrying the Prince of Wales to the Infanta of Spain. The Enemies of the Archbishop, being apprized of this, thought they had a fair Opportunity of crushing him; for they hoped to gain the Ascendant over this superstitious King, by alledging the Sacredness of the antient Canons. For the better understanding of this, it must be observ'd, that Abbot had accidentally kill'd the Keeper of Bramzel Park, belonging to the Lord Zouch. The Bishop of Lincoln, who was then Lord-Keeper of the Broad-Seal, told the Duke of Buckingham, That the Archbishop was ipso facto deprived of his Dignity, upon the Account of the Murder he had committed. For this he appeal'd to the Laws of England, and the Severity of the antient Discipline; he added, That it was to be feared the Papists would make an Advantage of it, if they should suffer one to exercise the Office of an Archbishop and Primate of the Realm, whose Hands are defiled with Blood. In short, he gained his Point so far, that a Commission was issued to some Bishops and Peers, to enquire into the Matter of Fact. The Event of this Enquiry was not very agreeable to the Archbishop's Enemies; for it was adjudg'd, That this involuntary

[A] And Author of several Books. The chief are, *Quæstiones sex Theologicæ totidem prælectionibus disputatæ*, printed at Oxford, 1598. Dr Hill's Reasons for Papistry unmask'd (1) at Oxford, 1604. An Exposition upon Jonah, by way of Sermon. The History of the Massacre in the Valteline. A Treatise of Geo-

graphy; of which the ninth Edition, which was not the last, is in the Year 1607. And a Treatise concerning the Perpetual Visibility of the Church, printed at London, 1624. to which he has not put his Name.

(1) Dr Hill had embrac'd the Romish Religion.

(A) The Dile
of Bucking-
ham.

(e) Ruth-
worth's Hi-
storical Col-
lections, Tom.
1. Where is
to be seen a
long Memori-
al of George
Abbot, upon
the Account of
his Sufferings.

luntary Murthur had not disqualified him. This happened in the Year 1621. Six Years after, a new Storm was raised against him, which quite overthrew him: Nor is there any thing surprizing in it; for the Favourite (d) owed him a Grudge, and could not endure that several Persons, offensive to him, frequented the Archbishop's Table, one of the most splendid at that time. The Pretence made use of, was, That this Prelate refused to license a Sermon of Dr Sibbort, upon Apostolical Obedience, though the King had commanded him so to do: Upon which he was suspended from all his Archiepiscopal Functions, which were administered by other Prelates; among whom was William Laud, who was afterwards his Successor (e). Abbot retired to the Place of his Nativity, and afterwards to Croydon Castle, where he died on the 4th of August, in the Year 1633. His Monument is to be seen, with several Ornaments and Inscriptions, in Guilford Church. He founded an Hospital well endowed in that Town. There was another George ABBOT [B], who publish'd, in English, a Paraphrase on Job; Short Notes on the Psalms; Vindiciæ Sabbati, &c. (f) He liv'd in the Year 1640.

(f) A Hen.
Oxon. ib.

[B] Another George ABBOT.] The Sieur Hen-
ninges Witte was not aware of this, in his *Diarium
Biographicum*; where he attributes to the Archbishop
of Canterbury the Works of the other George, the Pa-
raphrases on Job and the Psalms, and the *Vindiciæ Sab-*

bati. He likewise ascribes to him, *A Treatise against
Bishops*, and another *against the Brownists*. Tho' it
seems very odd for a Primate of England to write a-
gainst Bishops.

ABBOT (ROBERT) elder Brother to the former, born also at Guilford (a), and Student of Oxford in Baliol College: One of his first Employments was that of Lecturer at Worcester; then he was made Minister of the Church of All-Saints in the same Place; and a little after Minister of the Parish of Bingham in Northamptonshire. All this happened between the Years 1581 and 1588. He Commenc'd Doctor of Divinity at Oxford, in the Year 1597, and was admitted Chaplain in Ordinary to King James I. in the beginning of his Reign. In the Year 1609, he was made Master of Baliol College; three Years after he was advanced to the Dignity of Regius Professor in Divinity, in the University of Oxford. In his Lectures he made choice of a Subject so agreeable to King James, and managed it with that Depth of Thought and Learning, as is supposed to be the only Reason of his Advancement to the Bishoprick of Sarum: The Subject he made choice of, was, *The supreme Power of Kings*; which he maintained against all the Subtilties and Sophisms of Bellarmine and Suarez. This is what may be seen in his Treatise, entituled, *De Supremâ Potestate Regia*, printed at London, 1619. He likewise publish'd, in 1613, a Latin Book, no less agreeable than his Lectures, viz. An Answer to the Apology publish'd by Eudæmon Joannes the Jesuit, in Vindication of his Brother Henry Garnet. He did not long enjoy his Bishoprick, for he was Consecrated Decemb. 3. 1615, and died of the Stone (b) March 2. 1618. Within two Years after his first Wife's Death, he married a second, which was highly displeasing to the Archbishop his Brother (c). Some have wondered how it came to pass, that, after he had shew'd his Learning and Merit both by speaking and writing; and having been successful in every thing he undertook, whether preaching, composing of Books and Lectures, disputing, maintaining of Theſes, or solving to a Wonder the most knotty Questions, it has been Matter of Surprise, I say, how he came to be promoted to a Bishoprick so late. For this there are three Reasons assigned; First, That he was not Ambitious: Secondly, That he was suspected of being a Puritan: And, Lastly, That his Relations were unwilling to consent, that the Church should be Adorn'd with the Spoils of the University; and that he should leave his Professorship to be made a Bishop (d). This last Reason, in my Opinion, is not well grounded. Let this be as it will, those, who have made a Comparison between the two Brothers, prefer George as an Eloquent, and Robert as a Learned Preacher. They tell us, That George was the fittest for Business; and that Robert was the most profound Divine: They add, that the Gravity of George was attended with an Air of Severity, and that of Robert with a smiling Aspect (e). The latter was reckoned a moderate Calvinist; for he explained the Doctrine of Predestination according to the Hypothesis of the Sublapsarians. In the Note we shall give you the Catalogue of his Works [A]. There has been since him another Robert ABBOT, a Native of Cambridge, who has publish'd several Books in English. He was a London Divine, after he had been a Minister in Kent, and other Places (f). The Catalogue of the Bodleian Library makes three Robert Abbots out of one, and the Treatises, which were composed by one and the same Person, are there divided amongst them.

(b) The Sieur
Witte places
his Death
March 11.
1618. That
he liv'd could
not be deny'd;
viz. That the
English do not
live in their
Year as other
Countries do.

(c) Athen.
Oxonien.

(d) Fuller's
Worship.

(e) Id. ib.

(f) Athen.
Oxonien. s.

(g) Scilicet
very much
commendat
Book, in his
Scholæ, p.
1-3, 2.

[A] The Catalogue of his Works.] Besides those I have already mention'd, he compos'd, *A Mirror of Popish Subtilties*, London, 1594. *Sermons on the 110th Psalm*, 1601. *Defence of the Reform'd Catholic of Mr W. Perkins, against the Boston Counter-Catholic of Dr Bishop*, and a Reply to the Answer of the same Doctor; London, 1611. *Anticristi (1) demonstratio contra Pontificem*, London, 1603. *Exercitationes de gratia & perseverantia Sanctorum*, Ibid. 1618. *Animadversio in Richardi Thompſoni diatribam de amifi-*

sione Justificationis & Gratia, Ibid. 1618: His Com-
mentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans was found
in his Study; it contains four Volumes, and was given
to the Bodleian Library by Dr Edward Corbet, the
Husband of Margaret Brent, Daughter of Martha
Abbot; which Martha was the only Daughter and
Heir of our Robert, Bishop of Sarum (2). That learn-
ed Prelate shew'd his great Skill in Polemics, by en-
larging on all the Matters of Controversy, which the
Epistle to the Romans affords.

(2) See the
English, su-
perior, quoted
in this Ar-
ticle.

ABDAS, A Bishop in *Persia*, in the time of *Theodosius* the younger, was, thro' his inconsiderate Zeal, the Cause of a very terrible Persecution, which was raised against the Christians, who enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conscience in *Persia*, when this Bishop took the Liberty to pull down one of the Temples, where the *Persians* worshipped the Fire. The *Magi* made their Complaints to the King [A], who sent for *Abdas*, and, after a mild Rebuke, ordered him to rebuild the Temple. *Abdas* refused to do it, though that Prince declared to him, that, in case of his Disobedience, he would cause all the Christian Churches to be pulled down. Which Threat he executed (a); and all the Christians were delivered up to the Mercy of his Clergy [B], who, being angry at the Toleration that had been granted them, fell upon them with great Fury. *Abdas* was the first Martyr, who lost his Life on that Occasion, if we may so call a Man, who by his Rashness [C] (b) exposed the Church to so many Misfortunes. The Christians, who had long ago forgot one of the most essential Parts of Christian Patience, had recourse to a Remedy, which occasioned another Deluge of Blood. They implored the Assistance of *Theodosius*, which kindled a long War between the *Romans* and *Persians* (c). 'Tis true the latter were worsted: But was there any Certainty that they should not overcome the *Romans*, and that, being flushed with Victory, instead of persecuting only the Christians in *Persia*, they would not exercise a general Persecution against all the other Churches? Thus we see what Mischiefs the inconsiderate Zeal of one Man may occasion. The Fury of the Persecutors could scarce be satisfied in the Space of thirty Years (d). They, who (e) suppress that Reason of the Rage and Violence of the *Persians*, can't be excused. The Commonwealth of Learning might enter an Action against 'em, as is practised against those Sellers, who (f) conceal what they ought to acquaint the Buyers with; and it were to be wished, that the Publick would be more severe against those Historians, who suppress certain Facts; It is so common a Fault amongst those Gentlemen, that it is high time to prevent it for the future, if possible.

(f) Cum et duodecim tabulis istis effectus ea praestari que essent lingua nuncupatis, que qui inficiatus esset dupli penam subiret, a Jureconsultis etiam retentis pena est constituta. Quiliquid enim esset in praedio visum si venisset nominatum dictum esset praestari oportere. Cicerone de Officiis. l. 3. c. 1. Sic likewise Grotius de Jure belli, l. 2. c. 8. n. 7. and Pufendorf de Jure Nat. lib. 5. c. 3.

(a) Ex Theodoret Eccl. Hist. l. 5. c. 39.

(b) Vedelius, a Protestant Divine, blames that Bishop, apud Voet. disp. Theol. Tom. 3. p. 310. (c) Socrates, l. 7. c. 18. Hist. Eccl.

(d) Theod. ibid. (e) See the Remark [C].

(1) Theod. Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 39. (2) Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 18. (3) Baron. ad ann. 420.

(4) Theod. ubi supra. (5) Socrat. l. 7. c. 8.

(6) This was wrote in 469.

[A] To the King.] 'Twas *Isdegerdes*, if we rely upon (1) *Theodoret*; but, according to (2) *Socrates*, the Persecution began under *Vararanes*, Son and Successor of *Isdegerdes*. *Baronius* (3) dares not determine which of the two is in the right.

[B] To the Mercy of his Clergy.] So I call the *Magi*, who, amongst other things, took care of Religion. It was their business to prevent all manner of Innovation in Religious Matters. *Theodoret* (4) compares them to a Whirlwind, which raises the Waves of the Sea; *Τράκοντα διαλαύβροντες ἔσαν ἡ ἑλκή μαλακῶν, ὅτε τὸν μέγαν καθάρει ὅτε τινὲς καταγίνοντο ἐκ τῆς ἐλκῆς.* The Tempest continu'd more than thirty Years, being rais'd by the *Magi*, as so many Whirlwinds; such was their Function in the Storm that toss'd so violently the Church of *Persia*. *Socrates* (5) tells us, that they made use of several Impostures to put a stop to the Progress of the Christian Religion, when they saw that the Love *Isdegerdes* had conceived for the holy Bishop *Marutbas*, gave them Reason to fear, that he would forsake their Religion. They were so bold as to hide a Man under Ground, in the Temple where the King used to worship the Fire; and they order'd him to cry out, when the King came in, "That they ought to turn out That Prince, since he had been so impious as to believe, that a Christian Priest was a Friend of God." If what is most falsely said by impious Men were true, viz. That Religion is a mere human Invention, set up by the Sovereigns to keep their Subjects within the Bounds of Obedience, may we not assert, that Princes are the first who have been taken in their own Snare? For Religion is so far from making them Masters of their Subjects, that, on the contrary, it gives their Subjects a Power over them, since they are obliged to profess the Religion of their People, and not That, which seems to them to be the best: And if they are resolv'd to profess a Religion different from that of their Subjects, their Crowns will fit loose upon their Heads. We see how the *Persian Magi* threaten'd their King, though he had only careles'd one Bishop. Has it not been asserted, that the last (6) King of *Siam* was pull'd down from the Throne, for having too much favour'd the Christian Missionaries. The same *Socrates*, who mentions the Artifices made use of by the *Magi*, to put a stop to the Propagation of the Gospel, tells us likewise, That, after the Death of *Isdegerdes*, they inspired his Son with such a Spirit of Persecution, that the Christians were treated with shocking Cruelty. They had endeavour'd, but in vain, to inspire his Father with the same Spirit; for he was inclin'd to embrace the Gospel. *Socrates* assures us of this: But he is to blame for not owning

sincerely, that the rash Action of Bishop *Abdas* afforded the *Magi* a very plausible Pretence. Compare with this the Remark [B] of the Article of *Junius* (Francis) Professor at Leyden.

[C] A Man, who by his Rashness.] All the Church Historians are not guilty of the Insincerity, for which I blame *Socrates*; for *Theodoret* (7) ingenuously confesses, That the Bishop, who pull'd down a Temple, occasion'd the dreadful Persecution of the Christians in *Persia*. He does not deny but that the Zeal of that Bishop was unseasonable; but he maintains, that his Refusal to rebuild the Temple is worthy of Admiration, and deserves a Crown: For it seems to me, says he, as great an Impiety to build a Temple to the Fire, as to worship it. *Nicephorus* (8) does but transcribe *Theodoret*. For my own part, I am of Opinion, That no private Men, whether they be Metropolitans or Patriarchs, can at any time be dispens'd with from obeying this Law of Natural Religion. The Damage, that has been done to one's Neighbour, ought to be made up by Restitution, or some other Way. Now *Abdas*, a mere private Man, and a Subject of the King of *Persia*, had destroy'd another's Property, and a Property which ought to have been the more invaluable, as it related to the establish'd Religion of the Country; he was therefore indispensably obliged to obey the Orders of his Sovereign, by restoring what he had destroyed: And it was no good Excuse to say, That the Temple, which he was ordered to rebuild, was design'd for the Use of Idolaters; for he was not to put it to that Use, and he could not be answerable for the Abuse of those, to whom it belong'd. Would it be a good Reason for keeping a Purse, stolen from another, to say that the Man, from whom it was taken, spends his Money extravagantly? Let him do so; you are not answerable to God for the ill Use he makes of his Money: Let him enjoy what is his own; what Right have you to it? Besides, could there be any Comparison between the Destruction of a Temple, without which the *Persians* would have remain'd as great Idolaters as they were before, and the Destruction of many Christian Churches? *Abdas* should have therefore prevented this last Evil by the first, since the Prince put it to his Choice. Lastly, can any thing render the Christian Religion more odious to all the Nations of the World, than to see, that after the Christians had insinuated themselves, as desiring only the Liberty of teaching their Doctrine, they are so bold as to destroy the Temples, consecrated to the Religion of the Country, and to refuse to rebuild them, when the Sovereign commands it? Is it not to give occasion to the Infidels to say; These Men desire at first a mere Toleration, but in a little Time they will;

(7) Hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 39.

(8) Lib. 14. c. 19. I find apud Salzen. Otia theol. p. 639. that *Socrates*, vocat exertim rem non opportunitatem, calls that an ill-tim'd Action, which was done by the Bishop. He quotes Hist. Tripart. l. 5. c. 50. but it is certain that That Chapter is taken from *Theodoret*. Voetius disput. Theol. Tom. 3. p. 310. quotes Eusebius, who could not mention it.

will pretend to share with us all Employments and Places of Trust, and then become our Masters. At first, they think themselves very happy, if they are not burnt, afterwards very unhappy, if they have fewer Privileges than others; and then again, very unhappy if they are not the only prevailing Party. For some time they resemble Cæsar, who could bear no Master; and then Pompey, who could suffer no Partner?

(g) Lucan.
l. 1. v. 125.
see likewise
Florus, l. 4.
c. 2.

Nec (g) quonquam jam ferre potest Cæsare priorem,
Pompeium parem.

Superior Power, fierce Faction's dearest Care,
One could not brook, and one disdain to share.

Rowe.

The Persecutors of the French Protestants maliciously inspired Charles IX. with the like Thought. 'Tis said, that that Prince made use of these Words, speak-

ing to the Admiral de Coligny (16), *Per immanem vi contentavate d'un poco di Ranza, bora la volete del pari, fra poco vorrete esser soli, & cacciar noi altri fuori del regno.* i. e. At first they pretend to be satisfied with a little Liberty; then they desire to be upon an Equality; next they aspire to govern alone; and at last, they would drive us out of the Kingdom. Such are the unavoidable Inconveniences, which They expose themselves to, who maintain so warmly, That the Power of the secular Arm ought to be made use of for the Establishment of Orthodoxy. Such were the Principles of *Abbas*. For what would he not have done with force of Arms against the Idolaters under a Christian Emperor, since, under a Heathen Prince, who tolerated the Christian Religion, he pulled down a Temple, for which the Heathens had a very particular Veneration. Compare this with what you will meet with in the Remark [B], of the Article BRAUN (George).

(1) David's
History of the
Civil Wars
in France, l.
4. p. 138.
Ann. 1506.

ABDERAME, Governor of Spain, for Ischam Caliph of the Saracens in the VIIIth Century, endeavoured to extend their Empire over France, after they had conquered all Spain. They might have been contented [A] with the Countries they had already subdued; but it was very natural for them not to stop in so fine a Road of Success. If we had a particular History of *Abderame*, written by one of his own Party, it would doubtless appear, that he was very well qualified to satisfy the excessive Ambition of his Master; and that he was one of the greatest Generals in the World. We should meet with nothing but great Actions and Triumphs. I know that some Christian Writers speak well of him: And indeed 'tis no small Praise to have penetrated, as he did, into the very Heart of France: But, after all, there is nothing like a Writer of one's own Party. *Abderame* quickly removed the Obstacle, which *Eudes*, Duke of Aquitain, had raised against him; having in a little time reduced the (a) Governor of Cerdagne, who had taken up Arms at the Solicitation of that Duke, to the Necessity of killing himself. He treated his Widow [B] very civilly, who was Daughter of Duke *Eudes*, and a most beautiful Woman. As soon as he had suppressed that Insurrection, he applied himself with all imaginable Care to Preparations for War, in order to invade France; and (b) the Year following, made an Irruption into that Country with one of the greatest Armies that had been seen for a long time: It spread far and wide, and filled every Place with Desolation and Horror. The Memory whereof is not yet lost, even amongst the common People in the Countries, which were so cruelly ravaged. 'Tis not known whether the *Gasccons* [C], whose Duke was a Friend to the Duke of Aquitain, made any Resistance, or whether they submitted to the Saracens: We only know, that *Abderame*, having advanced as far as Bourdeaux, took that City, and burnt all the Churches;

(a) H's Name was Munuz. See his Article.

(b) In 732.

[A] Have been contented. Perhaps the World has never seen such an Instance of a long Series of Victories, and large Conquests, as the Saracen History presents us with. The Idea which the Roman Poet formed of a vast Dominion, takes in but part of their Empire.

Latus regnes, avidum domandæ
Spiritus, quam si Lybiam remotis
Gadibus jungas, & uterque Pœnus
serviat uni (1).

(1) Hor. lib.
2. Od. 2.

That Man a wider Empire gains,
Who his own craving Wits restrains,
Than he, whose Sword, and wide Command,
Join distant Spain to Lybia's Sand;
Than if they did his Arms obey,
And either Carthage own his Way.

CREECH.

Reason prompted them both to stop, and not to stop. This seems a Contradiction, and yet 'tis very true: If they had stopped, they might have been praised for it upon several Accounts; but they had been blamed likewise for several Reasons. They might have been charged with Weakness and Imprudence. It might have been said, That they neither had the Courage nor the Skill to improve the Opportunities which Providence put into their Hands; and that a little more Boldness and Courage would have enabled them to conquer the whole World. They, who do great Actions, are never secure from such malicious Reflections: If it cannot be denied that they have done great Things, it will be said however, that it is nothing in Comparison of what another would have done in the like Case. The Heathens would have cal-

led this a Criticism on Fortune for the ill Choice of her Favourites.

[B] He treated his Widow, &c.] I shall observe in another Place (2), that the Daughter of *Eudes*, who was married to the Governor of Cerdagne, was the most beautiful Princess of her Time; and that, being brought to *Abderame*, he sent her to the Caliph. A Circumstance, which a Saracen Historian would not lightly pass over, as we Christian Writers do. He would extol it above all that has been celebrated by the Greeks, to the Glory of Alexander, and by the Romans, to the Glory of Scipio. Alexander (3) behaved himself chaastly towards Darius's Wife and Daughters, who were his Prisoners. Scipio (4) laid a Restraint upon his Passions, though he had a very beautiful Virgin in his Power, and sent her back to a Man of Quality, to whom she was contracted. A panegyric Writer might find in the Circumstances of *Abderame's* Conduct some Reasons to give him the Preference. He might have kept for himself the Widow of a Rebel Governor: She was an extraordinary Beauty, and yet he left her untouched.

(2) In the Article Munuz.

(3) See the Remark [G], of the Article Macedonia.
(4) Val. Maxim. l. 4. c. 3.

[C] Whether the Gasccons—made any Resistance.] The most exact (5) Historians observe, That *Abderame* entered France, through the Country that lies betwixt the Garonne, and the Ocean; and they say, That Country was at that Time under the Dominion of the Duke of Gascony, and not under the Duke of Aquitain. They make no mention of the Siege of Arles, which, *Moreri* says, the General of the Saracens undertook; before he went into Aquitain, and before he made himself Master of *Languedoc*, *Quercy*, &c. This Account is so much the more perplexed and confused, as it is certain that the Saracens were Masters of *Languedoc*, before *Abderame* passed the Pyrenies. The Way he took will furnish me presently with a justification of the Duke

(5) *Moreri*, Cordemoy.

Churches: After which, he was victorious in a bloody Battle [D] over *Eudes*, a little beyond the (c) *Dordogne* [E]. He crossed *Poitou*; he plundered the Church of St *Hilary* at *Poitiers*, and proceeded to *Tours*, in order to plunder the Treasure of St *Martin's* Church. It was then, that *Charles Martel*, seconded by the Duke of *Aquitain*, stopp'd the Course of that Torrent. The great Army of *Abderame*, the Number of the Towns he plundered, and of the Churches he burnt in his way through *Perigord* and *Saintonge*, made his March so slow, that *Eudes* had time to re-inforce himself with a considerable Army, before he join'd *Charles Martel*: After the junction of their Armies, they march'd (d) beyond *Tours* to meet *Abderame*. The two Armies, being in fight of one another, spent near seven Days in skirmishing; but at last, on the seventh Day, which happened to be a *Saturday* of the Month of *October*, in the Year 732 [F], the Battle was fought with a very great Loss to the *Saracens*. Yet we must not imagine the Number of the Dead was so great [G] as some hyperbolical Historians have represented it to be. *Abderame* was kill'd in the Field of Battle; the broken Remains of his Army retired more easily than they could have expected [H] (e). The Duke of *Aquitain*, who has been fall'y charged with being the

(c) See Cordemoi's History of France, Tom. 1. p. 43, &c.

Cause

(c) With respect to the Pyrenees.

(d) With respect to Paris.

(6) Histor. Saracen. l. 2. p. 111, 112.

of *Aquitain*. The Account of *Augustin Curio* (6) is still more confused: He says, That *Abderame* enter'd France before the Death of *Munazza*; that he won a Battle there against *Eudes*; that being returned thither after the Death of *Munazza*, he cross'd the *Rhone*, and made a horrid Slaughter at *Arles*, and afterwards besieged *Toulouse*, without taking it, and then *Bordeaux*, with very good Success; and at last, that he plundered and burnt St *Martin's* Church at *Tours*.

[D] A bloody Battle.] The Loss of the Christians was so great, if we may believe *Isidorus*, Bishop of (7) *Badajoz*, that God only knows the Number of the French that were slain. According to *Mezerai*, (8) Duke *Eudes* fought with all imaginable Bravery, but at last he was forced to yield, with such a loss of his Men, as is not to be express'd.

[E] A little beyond the *Dordogne*.] I do not apprehend what *Cordemoi* (9) means, when he says, That if *Eudes* had waited for the coming of *Charles Martel*, as he should have done, the *Saracens* had never cross'd the *Dordogne*. Did they not cross it before (10) the Battle was fought, and before *Charles Martel* had pass'd the (11) *Loire*? To what Purpose therefore should he have expected him, in order to prevent the Passage over the *Dordogne*? That Historian should have said, That if *Eudes* had staid for *Charles Martel*, he might have prevented the Irruptions of the *Saracens* into *Saintonge* and *Poitou*; because in that Case he had not lost the Battle; and having all his Troops, he might have kept the Enemy in awe, by the Favour of some advantageous Posts, which he might have secur'd. Thus, preserving his Troops 'till the Arrival of *Charles*, the entire defeat of the *Saracens* would have been more practicable, in whatever Province they had been met with. It is, perhaps, difficult to determine, whether the Eagerness, which prompted *Eudes* to a speedy Engagement, be most worthy of Censure, or the grave and slow March of *Charles* towards the *Loire*. Those two Generals both plaid an artful Part. *Eudes* was desirous to beat the Enemy without the Help of *Charles Martel*; and the latter was not displeased to see *Aquitain* laid waste by the *Saracens*, and the Troops of *Eudes* worsted. By this means he got rid of the Obstacles, which he feared from thence, to his great Design of making himself King; and the Glory of being the Deliverer of France, would increase in proportion to the small Share his Rival had in it. Some Spanish Writers say (12), That *Eudes* was beaten between the *Garonne* and the *Dordogne*. *Mezerai* made use of better Memoirs, when he said (13), "That *Eudes* durst not stay for the *Saracens* beyond the Rivers, but retired on this side the *Dordogne*; and, being there reconcil'd to *Martel*, he assembled his Troops, expecting that he should come and join him with the French Troops; but *Abderame* broke his Measures, and marching forward, cross'd the River to attack him in his Camp. The Duke staid for him without stirring, and fought with great Courage." This shews that his Impatience is not so much to be blamed, as *Charles Martel's* Patience.

[F] In the Year 732.] Is it not very strange, that such a Victory as this should not escape Chronological Contradictions? *Catell* places it in the Year 725. pag. 529. of his *Memoirs* (14); but in pag. 531. (no very great Interval) he places it in the Year 728. "The Year following, says he, which was the Year 728,

"*Eudo* Duke of *Aquitain* died." *Calevisus*, quoting the Annals of *Fulde*, places it in the Year 726; *Peta-vius* (15) in 725. Formerly most Writers pitch'd upon the Year 725, or 726, but of late they declare for the Year 732. Father *L'Abbé*, *Mezerai*, *Cordemoi*, &c. agree in that, with the Annals of *Metz*, and the most ancient Chronicles.

[G] The Number of the dead was so great.] 'Tis commonly computed at 370 or 375 Thousand, and That of the French at 1500. This is the Computation of (16) *Anastasis Bibliothecarius*, *Paulus Diaconus*, and several other Historians: But it is now no longer credited. *Mezerai* says, That the whole Army of the *Saracens* consist'd but of Fourscore or an Hundred thousand Men. We must remember that they fought till Night (17) without giving ground, and that they were not pursued the next Day, when it was known that they had march'd all Night. But it would have been almost impossible to make such a prodigious Slaughter of Men, who stood their Ground. A Slaughter of so many thousand Soldiers can't happen but in pursuit of a flying Army, when no Quarter is given. Since therefore the Night parted the two Armies, what we read in *du Haillan* must needs be a meer romantic Story, viz. That King *Abderame*, and almost all his chief Officers, were found among the great Heaps of dead Bodies, only suffocated by the Numbers that overwhelm'd them. If there had been at that time any Weekly News-Writers, we might have better judg'd of the Number of the *Saracens* by the *Gazettes* publish'd before the Battle, than by the Descriptions given afterwards of it. During the March of those Barbarians, the Licens'd News-Writers would have represented their Army as inconsiderable, and weaken'd it every Day by Deserions and Sicknesses: But, after the Victory, they would have corrected themselves, and assur'd us, upon good Authority, that the Army consist'd of innumerable Multitudes. One might therefore be impos'd upon both by the former and latter *Gazettes*; but if I were to chuse, I should rather trust the first Account than the last.

[H] Retired more easily than they could have expected.] To rectify the popular Notions of that great Victory, it is requisite to consider what the most accurate Historians have said of it. "(18) The *Saracens* threw their Darts to no purpose; the Shields of the French Soldiers, rais'd one above another, secur'd them; and, when the *Saracens* came on Sword in Hand, all their Efforts being not able to break so great and so close a Body, did but serve to put themselves into disorder. *Charles*, who knew how to take his Advantage, immediately attack'd them. A prodigious number of them were killed by the French, who continued to fight very close: *Abderame* himself was kill'd upon the Spot; but the Night coming on put an end to the Fight, before *Charles* was sensible of all his Advantages. He did not think it proper to follow the Remains of the *Saracens* Army, to avoid the Ambuscades that are always to be feared, when the Enemy is very numerous. Nay he caus'd his Troops to retire in good order, and with their Swords in their Hands, into the Camp, where they staid all Night, and at break of Day he drew them up again in order of Battle in Sight of the Enemies Camp. There were so many Pavillions in it, that, though the Field, wherein the Battle was fought the Day before, was

(15) Petav. Ration. temp. Part I. l. 8.

(16) He took it from the Relation written by *Eudes*, to Pope Gregory II. See below, the Remark [K]. (17) See the following Remark.

(18) Cordemoi's History of France, Tom. 1. p. 405.

(7) Isidorus Pacenc's Chronic.

(8) Mezerai, Chronol. Abridgment, Tom. 1. p. 293.

(9) Cordemoi's History of France, p. 404.

(10) Eudes did not go back, unless he heard that *Abderame* had cross'd the *Dordogne*; but met, and fought him. Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) See Catell's History of Languedoc. p. 525, 526.

(13) Mezerai, ubi supra.

(14) For the History of Languedoc.

Cause [I] of this Invasion, was greatly instrumental in obtaining the Victory [K]. It is surprizing, that so important a Victory should not have been well described by the Writers of that Time, and yet that the modern Historians should tell us so many Particulars concerning it [L].

(10) Mezerai's *Cronica*.
Abdymment.
Tom. I. p.
192.
(25) See the
Remarks [A],
in the Article
of Caesar.

(21) See his
Article.

(22) With
respect to
Spain.

"cover'd all over with the dead Bodies of the Saracens, Charles had some Reason to believe; that they had still a great number of Soldiers conceal'd in their Tents, and he expected every Minute they would fall out; but at last, after a long Stay, the French perceived that the Saracens had abandon'd their Camp, and some Spies reported, that they had march'd all Night towards Septimania. However he look'd upon this Flight of an Army, which he esteem'd to be more numerous than his own; as an Artifice to draw him into some Ambuscade; and was satisfy'd with making sure of the Saracens' Camp, where he found all their Baggage, together with the Booty they had gain'd." This is what induc'd Mezerai to say, (19) That Charles did not well improve the great Advantage he had gain'd. I am willing to believe he was like many (20) others, better qualified to gain a Victory, than to improve it: But perhaps he thought fit to let the Saracens retire quietly, that they might be the more able to ruin the Duke of Aquitain, whom he looked upon as a dangerous Enemy. With how much Difficulty did He and his Son Pepin subdue that Family? It was the last that submitted to those Usurpers. To conclude; Notwithstanding the ill Success of Abderame, his Successors return'd some Years after into France, and did a great deal of Mischief.

[I] With being the Cause.] There was never a more unlikely Accusation than this is. For first, Eudes (21) had married his Daughter to the Governor of Cerdagne, to engage him thereby in a Civil War, which might prevent the Saracens' Irruption into France. His Son-in-law perished in that Enterprize, and his Daughter falling into the Hands of Abderame had been sent to the Caliph of the Saracens. Secondly, It does not appear that Eudes made any Step to facilitate the Entrance of the Saracens; he gave them no Passage through his Territories; they enter'd into Gaul through the Country of the Duke of Gascony, and so advanced as far as Bourdeaux. Besides, it does not appear that the Saracens had any regard for the Territories of the Duke of Aquitain; they treated him like an Enemy, from the Beginning to the End; so far were they from restoring any thing to him of what they had taken from him in their former Expeditions; as they would certainly have done, if they had treated with him concerning Abderame's Invasion. Lastly, was there any necessity that Abderame should be solicited to come into France? Had not the Saracens enter'd into France already? Had they not already taken Narbonne, Carcassonne, and extended their Conquests as far as Bourdeaux? Abderame's Expedition was but a Continuation of what his Predecessors had so well began; he was willing to carry on their Conquests (22) beyond the Pyrenees; and, to give a greater *Eclat* to his Undertaking, he refus'd to follow a beaten Path. He cross'd the Pyrenees, thro' the Country of Biscay; which was a ready Way to make new Conquests; whereas if he had gone thro' Rouffillon, he must enter into a Province already conquered. As for those many Annalists, who throw this Blemish on the Duke of Aquitain, their Testimony cannot counterbalance the Reasons that may be alledged in his Justification; for they are a sort of Men, who do but transcribe from one another; and the first took his Account from a Tradition, which ow'd it's Original to the Artifices of the Cabal that favoured Charles Martel. That Cabal had several Reasons to charge the contrary Party with holding Intelligence with the Enemies of the Church and State. We do not find that *Isidore of Badajoz*, *Sebastian of Salamanca*, *Roderic of Toledo*, and such like Spanish Writers, who are free from the Prejudices of that Cabal, have accus'd Eudes of having invited the Saracens into France. See what it is to be born under a lucky Planet! I don't believe that Charles Martel invited those Infidels; and yet he ought to have been suspected of it rather than Eudes, since Eudes was the first who was to be oppress'd, and Charles might think, that whilst the Saracens were employ'd in delivering him from so formidable a Rival, he should have time enough to get his Army ready to fight them, and that a Victory would very much shorten

his Way to the Throne. These are good holds for the malicious Interpreters of the Conduct of Great Men; and yet Charles has not been suspected of holding Intelligence with Abderame.

[K] Was greatly instrumental in obtaining the Victory.] There are some Historians, who make no mention of his Engagement with Charles Martel upon that Day; but others expressly assert it. These are the Words of *Paulus Diaconus* (23): "Deinde post decem annos cum uxoribus & parvulis venientes, Aquitaniam Gallie provinciam quasi habitaturi ingressi sunt; Carolus liquidem cum Eudone Aquitanie Principe tunc discordiam habebat, qui tamen in unum se conjungentes contra eodem Saracenos pari consilio dimicant, nam irruentes Franci super eos trecenta septuaginta quinque millia Saracenorum interemerunt, ex Francorum vero parte mille & quingenti tantum ibi ceciderunt; Eudo quoque cum suis super eos irruens pari modo multos interficiens omnia devastavit." Ten Years after, (the Saracens) coming with their Wives and Children, made an Irruption into Aquitain, a Province of Gaul, with a Design of settling in it; Charles being at that time at Variance with Eudo, Duke of Aquitain; but, uniting upon this Occasion, they oppos'd the Saracens with Confederate Forces; for the Franks, pouring upon them, slew 375000 Saracens, with the Loss of but 1500 Men on their own Side; Eudo likewise, settling upon them with his Forces, routed them with a great Slaughter. *Regino* likewise mentions the Reconciliation of Charles and Eudes: He says it was made before the Battle, and that afterwards they jointly attack'd the Saracens. *Siegebert* divides the Glory of the Day between those two Chiefs in such a Manner, that he seems to allow Eudes no other Advantage than that of having forc'd their Camp, and destroy'd the Remains of their Army: Eudo quoque reconciliatus castra Saracenorum irrupit, & reliquias eorum contrivit. *Roderic Archbishop of Toledo* will afford us a good Proof; for he says, (24) that the Forces of Charles Martel consist'd chiefly of Germans, Goths, and French, who remain'd to Eudes after the Victory, which the Saracens obtained near the *Dordogne*. We must not forget the Letter, written by Eudes to Pope Gregory II. wherein he gave him an Account of the Battle. *Marianus Scotus*, and *Orbo of Frisingen* mention that Letter. *Anastasi* the Librarian (25) likewise mentions it; but 'tis strange that he should ascribe all the Glory of that Day to the Duke of Aquitain, without speaking one Word of Charles Martel. As to the Number of the Dead, he makes it 370000 on the side of the Saracens, and 1500 on the side of the French. His Authority is the Letter of Eudes, out of which he extracts a particular Circumstance, which is ridiculous enough, namely, That on the Day of the Battle Eudes caus'd three holy Sponges, sent him by the Pope, out of those that serv'd for the use of his Table, to be cut into very small Pieces, and made his Soldiers eat them: Which had so good Effect, as to secure those, who eat of them, from being killed or wounded. The following Words of *Martial* will explain what is meant by the use of his Table,

*Hæc tibi sorte datur tergendis spongia mensis
Utilis* (26).

This useful Sponge, which Chance has render'd thine, If right apply'd, will make your Table shine.

[L] And yet that the modern Historians should tell us so many Particulars concerning it.] I shall apply here the judicious Reflexion of the Historian, who has been my chief Guide in this Article. "That Day, says he (27), can never be too much taken notice of, and the ancient Annalists can never be sufficiently blamed, for omitting all the Circumstances of so memorable an Action. But on the other Side, they, who have some love for Truth, can hardly excuse some modern (28) Authors, tho' otherwise Writers of great Merit, for being so particular in the Description of the Battle. They speak of it as if they had been present in all the Councils,

(23) *Histor. Longob. lib. 6. c. 46. in Catel's Memoirs of Langue-doc, p. 530.*

(24) *Roderic's Historia Arabum, in Catel's Memoirs, p. 529.*

(25) *Catel's Memoirs of Langue-doc, p. 531.*

(26) *Mart. Epig. 144. lib. 14.*

(27) *Cordemoi's History of France, p. 506.*

(28) *He speaks in the Margin Paulus Æmilius and Fauchet.*

" Councils, and had seen all the Motions of both
" Armies: They describe not only the Arms of the
" French and Saracens, but also the manner how
" Charles and Aberame drew up their Troops. They
" give us long Speeches, which are neither real nor
" proper: They mention Aberame's Stratagems, the
" Dexterity wherewith Charles hindered them from

" taking effect, and they conclude with the De-
" scription of the different Postures of the dead Bo-
" dies, that were found in the Field of Battle, not
" omitting even the Groans of the dying, and the
" Praises which Charles and Eudes bestowed upon
" one another."

ABDERUS; the Favourite of HERCULES. See the Remark [D] of the following Article.

(a) Herod.
1. 7. c. 109,
326.

(c) See his
Article.

(e) Strab. 1.
24. p. 443.

ABDERA, a Maritime Town of Thrace, near (a) the Mouth of the Nestus. Some say, That it was (b) built by the Sister of Diomedes [A], and that it took it's Name from her; but that it was rebuilt by the Clazomenians; in the 31st Olympiad, and that they gave it their Name. According to Herodotus, they only laid the Foundations of it under the Conduct (c) of Timefus, being driven away [B], and their Designs prevented. The Teians only, properly speaking, built Abdera, when, being upon the Point of falling into the Hands of Harpagus, Cyrus's Lieutenant, they chose rather to abandon their Country, than to live under the Dominion of the Barbarians. They all, therefore, embarked, and went (d) to finish what had been only begun by Timefus. This gave occasion to a (e) Proverb not well understood by Erasmus [C]. I pass over the Opinion of those, who ascribe the Foundation of that Town to Hercules [D]: I rather chuse to take Notice of some remarkable Particulars, which

(b) Solen. c.
10. See also
Mela, 1. 2.
c. 24.

(d) Herod.
1. 7. c. 161.

[A] The Sister of Diomedes.] No Reader can believe what Moreri says, without being persuaded that Abdera, built by the Teians, took the Name of Diomedes, who reigned in it, and that Herodotus gives us this Account of the Matter. But this is only Mistake upon Mistake. For 1st, What concerns Diomedes, relates to the poetical Times; but the Abandoning of Teos, by it's Inhabitants, and their retreat into Thrace, where they built Abdera, is a Fact of the Historical Times, which falls under the 59th Olympiad. 'Tis therefore a strange Oversight to join these two things in such a manner, as to place the Fabulous Times after the Times of True History. If you have a mind to follow Herodotus's Account of the building of Abdera, by the Teians, let us hear no more of Diomedes, who, if ever there was such an Hero, must have been dead many Ages before: Or, if you design to speak of That ancient King of Thrace, give us notice, that you are relating an Opinion different from that, which concerns the Teians. 2. When Herodotus mentions the building of that Town, he does not speak one Word of Diomedes. Lastly, It is not true that Abdera went by the Name of Diomedes. Moreri should have said, that, according to Solinus, The Sister of Diomedes built it, and gave it her Name: From whence Salmastus (1) was in the right to infer, that Diomedes's Sister's Name was Abdera. There is a Medal in Goltzius, which represents the Head of a Woman, with this Legend, (2) ΑΒΔΗΡΑΕ ΚΟΡΑΕ. The most (3) learned Antiquaries understood it of Diomedes's Sister, who founded Abdera.

(1) Salmastus
Exercit.
Plinianæ. p.
160.

(2) The Maid
of Abdera.
κόρη Διομήδεως
pro κόρη.
(3) Pausani-
mi Epist. ad
Laurent. Be-
gerum.

(4) Herod.
1. 7. c. 168.

[B] Being driven away.] Herodotus (4) says so in express Words, ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππασθῶν, expell'd by the Thracians. We shall see in the next Remark a Mistake of Pinedo, in relation to this Story. In all appearance the Printers only are the cause of this other Mistake, Thracibus ejectis, which is to be found in the learned Letter of Mr de Spanheim to Mr Beger. They have put it ejectis, instead of ejectis.

[C] A Proverb not well understood by Erasmus.] The Proverb is, Ἀβδῆρα μάλ' ἔστιν ἀνύστα; Abdera the fine Colony of the Teians: the meaning of which, according to (5) Erasmus, is, If you make me uneasy, I know whither to retire. Hoc ænigmatæ proverbiali significamus, non desse quo confugiamus, si quis præter modum pergat esse molestus. Pinedo, a Portuguese, who was forc'd to fly his Country, to avoid the Pursuits of the Inquisition, understands this (6) Proverb in that Sense: but he adds, that such retreats are not always successful, as he is convinc'd by Experience. " Quo (Proverbio) significabatur non desse quo confugiamus, si nobis contumelias inferantur, ut fecere Teii, sed hoc non semper feliciter solet evenire, & doctus & expertus loquor. The Meaning of which (Proverb) is, That we are never at a Loss for a Place of Retreat, when we are reproachful by us'd; an Instance of which we have in the Teians; but the Event of it is not always fortunate, as I can assure from my own Experience." Had He

(5) Erasmus.
Adag. Chil.
2. Cent. 4.
no 53.

(6) Pinedo
in Stephan.
de Urbib. p.
5.

no better Reason to complain, than he had to assert, in the same Page, That the Teians expell'd Timefus the Clazomenian, who had begun to build Abdera, his Complaints would be very ill grounded. But to return to Erasmus. I shall not so much censure him for his Explication of the Proverb, as for what he adds, That perhaps Cicero alluded to it in his Epistles to Atticus; he quotes two (7) Passages out of them, in which 'tis plain Cicero speaks of Abdera, only to represent it as a Place, where Affairs were manag'd very foolishly, and (as we say) without Rhime or Reason. But if Erasmus, who made use of a periphrasis, is, notwithstanding, liable to Censure; what shall we say to Moreri's positive Assertion, without doubt Cicero alludes? What shall we think of it, when we come to know to what he refers that Allusion? It is not to That Fact, which Erasmus conjectured he meant: That would have been, in Comparison, a light Mistake: But he supposes Cicero alludes to I know not what Lustre, which (says he) it is certain the Clazomenians, being expell'd from Asia, gave to the City of Abdera, which made it so famous, as to occasion the Proverb of the Greeks, ΑΒΔΕΡΑ ΤΗ ΒΕΛΟΥΤΗ. I repeat it again; 'tis plain that Cicero mentions Abdera, only to ridicule the Government of that Place. 'Tis therefore a great Fault to say, That without doubt he alludes to the Lustre, the Glory, and Beauty, of that Town. But besides, it is not true that the Clazomenians were the Cause of this pretended Lustre, which occasioned the Proverb. I own, that, according to Solinus, they rebuilt Abdera, and made it larger than it was before, but this is all that we read of them: And, if we consult Herodotus, we shall find that the Thracians did not give them time to build it. After all, is it not certain that Strabo expressly applies the Proverb to the Teians, who, for fear of being expos'd to the Insolence of the Persians, retir'd to Abdera? Is not the Name of the Teians included in the Proverb? Besides, let Moreri inform us a little, where he has found, that, when the Clazomenians came to build that Town in Thrace, they had been expell'd from Asia. Herodotus and Solinus spoke not one Word of it. Lastly, I find every body understands this Proverb, rather to the Disadvantage than to the Advantage of Abdera. Erasmus himself did not reject the Explication of Evaristus, though not much to the Reputation of that City: " Existimat convenire proverbium ubi quis fortunam tenuemus, sed cum libertate conjunctam, antequam amplius opibus, sed obnoxiois servituti. Cuius sententia non refragor; nam damnatus est Abderitarum aer & item paucæ. He thinks the Proverb is applicable, where any one prefers an humble Fortune, with Liberty, to large Possessions, upon the hard Terms of Slavery. Which Opinion I have no Objection to, for both the Climate and the Lands of the Abderites are condemn'd." See Isaac Vossius, upon (8) Pomponius Mela.

(7) Epist. 16.
1. 4. & Epist.
7. 1. 7.

[D] Who ascribe the Foundation of that Town to Hercules.] Mr de Saumaise proves, only (9) by the Testimony

(8) Pag. 155.
(9) Salmastus,
Exercit.
Plin. p. 160.

- (f) Plinius,
l. 25. c. 8.
(g) Justin.
l. 25. c. 2.

(h) Πανεύ-
ς Ἀβδηρί-
ται ὅτι
τῶν πινυ-
νοειδῶν
ἀναρχῶν
ταί. Sev-
eral of the Ab-
derites are
recorded by
the Index-
Writers.
Stephanus
Byzant. in
verbo
"Ἀβδηρί-
(10) Apol-
lodor. lib.
1. 2.

(11) Ἀνδ' Ἀβδηρίται τὸ ὄνομα
ἱερωνίκου ἀναρχῶν.
Saumaise has rightly observed, that
instead of Ἀβδηρίται, it should
be Ἀβδηρίται, which Name Apol-
lodor. (he says Apollonius) gave
to Hercules's Favourite. Pseudo
and Herodotus say, that Passage
ought to be thus corrected; but
they do not tell us that Saumaise
had said so before them. The
first quotes Apollonius, and was not
aware that it is a Fault of the
Pref. or of Memory, in Saumaise
instead of Apollodor. Philostratus
might have been quoted.

- (12) Apud
Salmat. ubi
supra.
(13) Hyginus
Fab. 3c.

(14) Vige-
nere's An-
notations on the
Sepulchre of
Abderus in
Philostratus.
(15) Philo-
stratus in Icom-
ibid.
(16) Vige-
nere asserts,
falsely, that
Tatian in his
Discourse, a-
gainst the
Gentiles, says,
that Hercules
found Abde-
rus's Laff
eaten.
(17) Pro-
blem. He-
phæst. apud
Plotium p.
484.
(18) Span-
heimii Epist.
ad Beyer.
(19) See
Glareanus,
Justin Vari-
orum u.
Cælius, p.
523.

(17) Pro-
blem. He-
phæst. apud
Plotium p.
484.
(18) Span-
heimii Epist.
ad Beyer.
(19) See
Glareanus,
Justin Vari-
orum u.
Cælius, p.
523.

which have been transmitted to us concerning *Abdera*. The Pasture-Ground about it was of such a Nature, that it (f) made Horles mad. There was such a multitude of Frogs and Rats there (g) in the Time of *Cassander*, King of *Macedonia*, that the Inhabitants were forced to retire to another Place [E]. But either they returned soon after [F], or the Town was supply'd with other Inhabitants. The *Abderites* have been very much decied [G] for their want of Wit and Judgment; and yet their Town has produced many great Men, such as *Protagoras*, *Democritus*, *Anaxarchus*, the Historian *Hecataeus*, (b) the Poet *Nicanetus*, and several others, mentioned in the Catalogues of illustrious Men. Nothing can be more strange than the Dissemper,

Testimony of *Tzetzes*, that the Foundation of *Abdera* was ascribed to *Hercules*. He might have alledged a better Authority; for *Apollodorus* (10) tells us, That *Hercules*, having Rollen the Mares of *Diomedes*, had notice given him, that the *Bisones* had taken up Arms; that, thereupon he gave those Mares to the keeping of a young Man called *Abderus*, whom he loved, and march'd against the *Bisones*; that he kill'd part of them, and put the rest to flight; that he slew likewise *Diomedes*; but that, at his return, he found the Mares had torn *Abderus* in pieces: that he built a Town near the Sepulchre of that young Man, and gave those Mares to *Euryheus*. *Stephen of Byzantium* says only, That the Town of *Abdera* was so called from (11) *Abderus*, *Hercules's* Favourite: He does not say whether it was built by *Hercules*, or by this favourite

Boy. This last Opinion is mentioned by *Marcianus* (12) *Hecataeus*, perhaps the seventh Book of *Strabo*, if we had it entire, would determine the Matter. The Extracts we have of it only tell us, that the Name of the City of *Abdera* was taken from a certain Person, who was eaten up by *Diomedes's* Horles. Observe (13) that *Hyginus* seems clearly to say, That *Abderus* was one of *Diomedes's* Servants, and that he was kill'd by *Hercules*: "Diomedem regem Thra-

ciz & equos quatuor ejus qui carne humana vefcuntur cum Abdero famulo interfecit. He slew Diomedes, King of Thrace, and his four Horles, who were fed with human Flefh, together with his Servant Abderus." Mr de Saumaise observes upon it, that we must not expect to find a great Uniformity in the ancient Fables. His Observation is just: The Writers of the fabulous Times, are full of Contradictions. But perhaps it may be said, that *Hyginus's* meaning is, that *Hercules*, seconded by *Abderus*, kill'd this cruel King of Thrace, who fed his Horles with Man's Flefh. I will not warrant this Confruction. *Vigenere* (14) had already observ'd, that *Hyginus* and *Philostratus* contradict one another. He might also have said, that the latter very much differs from *Apollodorus*; for (15) he says, that *Diomedes* gave up *Abderus* to his Mares; and that *Hercules* coming to rescue his Favourite, found him half devoured, and that, to punish *Diomedes*, he caused him to be eaten up by his (16) own Mares. *Philostratus* does not say, as *Apollodorus* does, that *Hercules* built a Town near the Sepulchre of his Friend; as, on the other Side, *Apollodorus* does not agree with *Philostratus*, that *Hercules* appointed certain Games or Exercises, in honour to the Memory of *Abderus*. I believe there is but one (17) Author, who has asserted, that *Patroclus* was *Abderus's* Brother. Some pretend to prove, (18) by Medals, that the *Abderites* were more willing to ascribe the Name of their Town to *Abdera*, Sister of *Diomedes*, than to the Favourite of *Hercules*.

[E] To retire to another Place.] *Justin* says, That *Cassander* fearing, lest they should invade *Macedonia*, made a Treaty with them, and placed them on the Frontiers. *Cassander's* Fear (19) has been laugh't at: How could a Prince, who kept all *Greece* in awe, be afraid that the Inhabitants of one single Town, who fled from Frogs and Rats, should invade a whole Country against his Will? *Moreri*, who, 'tis likely, never knew that *Justin* was criticiz'd upon that Account, has done all that was requisite to free him from such a Censure; for he declares, That *Cassander* received very kindly the *Abderites* in *Macedonia*. They who depend upon his Dictionary, will not think of criticizing that ancient Historian. *Moreri* adds, that this Kindness of *Cassander* is to be ascrib'd to the Year

of the World 3650, according to *Eusebius's* Chronology. Could any one who reads this, believe that *Eusebius* has not one Word of that Action of *Cassander*, and that he does not compute Time according to the Years of the World? But, to go to the Bottom of the Matter, I assert, that, according to *Justin*, the *Abderites* were placed by *Cassander* on the Frontiers of the Country, before he destroy'd the Sons of *Alexander*: But according to (20) *Cæsius*, he had entirely got rid of them, in the Year of the World 3641. And therefore *Moreri's* Chronology is as false, as this Account of *Cassander's* Kindness is contrary to the only Historian he could follow.

[F] They return'd soon after, or, &c.] What *Lucian* relates concerning the Distemper of the *Abderites*, happen'd under the Reign of *Lysimachus*, and consequently after they were plagu'd with Frogs; for, according to *Justin* (21), this last Adventure preceded the Time wherein *Lysimachus* and *Cassander* assumed the Title of Kings. To which I add, that, under the Reign of the late King of *Macedonia*, the City of *Abdera* was in a flourishing Condition. The (22) Prætor *Lucius Hortensius* plundered it, but he was blamed for it by the Senate of *Rome*; and the *Abderites* were restor'd to their Liberty.

(G) The *Abderites* have been very much decied.] We have already seen how *Cicero* treats them in his Letters to *Atticus*. He is not more complaisant in (23) another Book, wherein, having mentioned an Opinion which he thinks to be ridiculous, he adds, *Quæ quidem omnia sunt patriâ Democriti quam Democritus digniora. Which better suit with the Country of Democritus, than with Democritus himself.* Juvenal, who could not deny that *Democritus* was a Man of much Wit, and great Wisdom, pretends 'tis a Proof that great Men may be born in a thick Air, and in a Country of Fools.

Cajus prudentia monstrat
Sæmpos passio viros & magna exempla daturis,
Fervorem in patria cæffoque sub aëre nati. (24)

Learn from so great a Wit, a Land of Bogs,
With Ditches fence'd, an Heaven fat with Fogs,
May form a Spirit fit to sway the State,
And make the neighbouring Monarchs fear their Fate.

DRYDEN.

Marial did not entertain a much better Opinion of the *Abderites*, when he said,

Si patiens fortisque tibi, durusque videtur,
Abderitanæ pectora plebis babes. (25)

If Thou believ'st this Wretch a daundless Wight,
Thy Judgment speaks the A dull *Abderite*.

Figure (26) grossly mistakes the meaning of this Passage; he thinks the Words are address'd to a Criminal, who represented on the Stage the Action of *Mativ Scævola*, by putting his Hand into the Fire; but they are apply'd to those, who were so silly, as to mistake it for an Act of Courage, since that Criminal did it only to keep himself from being burnt alive.

Nam cum dicatur, tunica præfente molesta,
Ure maxum, plus est dicere, non facio. (27)

For, were he bid to burn his Hand alone,
The Fire prepar'd, and pitchy Garment on,
Shou'd he refuse — I'd swear 'twere bravely done.

Isaac Vossius, who was often particular in his Way of thinking, has given us an Apology of a new Cast for the

(20) Moreri
commonly fol-
lows Cæsius's
Chronology.

(21) Justin
l. 15. c. 2.

(22) Livius
l. 43.

(23) Cicero
de Natur.
Deor. l. 10.

(24) Juvenal
Sat. 10. v.
49.

(25) Mart.
Epigr. 25.
l. 10.

(26) Vigen-
ere ubi supra

(27) Mart.
ibid.

per, which raged for some Months [I] in *Abdera*, in the Time of *Lyfimachus* (i). It was a violent Fever, that came to a Crisis, and so went off, in seven Days; but it so disordered the Imagination of those that were seiz'd with it, that it converted them into Players. They were perpetually reciting Scraps of Tragedy, especially of the *Andromeda* of *Euripides*, as if they were upon the Stage: So that the Streets were full of pale and lean Actors, who were making tragical Exclamations. This continued 'till the next Winter, which proved very cold, and consequently more proper to stop this Raving. *Moreri* gives a very wrong Account of the Matter [I].

Mr Beger

(i) Lucian's Method of Writing History, about the Beginning.

(28) *Iliac.* Vossius in Pompon. Melam. p. 135.

(29) Hippocrat. l. 3. de morbis vulgar.

(30) *Ili. Voss.* ibid.

the *Abderites*. He owns (28), that many of them were born, or became mad; but he pretends 'twas not a Sign of Stupidity, since Madmen seldom seize Blockheads and Fools, but frequently attacks the greatest Wits. As to the Passage of *Hippocrates* (29) who mentions many *Abderites*, whose Fever had been attended with Raving, *Vossius* pretends 'twas not that which occasion'd the Proverb relating to that Town, but rather the pleasing Affection of Mind, which (30) succeeded the Fever. *Ex Affectu juvenitissimo, qui spiritum febrilibus succedere solent, ut testatur Lucianus Scripto de conscribenda Historia*. They became extremely fond of Verses and Music, and acted the Part of Comedians in the Streets: Such a polite Phrensy as this, says he, does not fall upon stupid and phlegmatic People: *Tam elegans insania non cadit in crassos et phlegmaticos; necum in vervecem capta*. That Author should have remembered *Aristotle's* Maxim, *One Swallow does not make a Summer*. Why does he turn into Custom and Habit the Consequences of a Fever that happened but once? What he quotes out of *Lucian* is a single Fact, on which such Proverbs can't be grounded. I shall observe by the way, that *Brahmus* did not rightly apprehend *Cicero's* (31) Meaning; for it must be inferred from the Words of that *Roman*, not that the Inhabitants of *Abdera* were stupid, but that, through a prodigious Roving of their Imaginations, they fell into incredible and groundless Paradoxes. "*Abderitanis natura peculiatem fuisse mentis stuporem* indicat *M. Tull.* in libris de *Natura Deorum*. "*Cicero, in his Book of the Nature of the Gods, 'assures us, that the Abderites were affected with a peculiar Stupidity of Mind,*" says *Erasmus* (32). Some very learned Men (33) quote them as the very Words of *Cicero*: So true it is, that the Collections of Men of Letters, like *Virgil's* Fame, receive continual Additions by removing from Place to Place.

Mabilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo (34)

— Each Moment brings,

New Vigour to her Flights, new Pinions to her Wings.

DRYDEN.

They, who pretend that the Word *abderitis*, which is proverbially used in *Tatian's* Discourse against the *Greeks*, signifies a Teller of idle Stories, do not, by that, confirm the Charge of Stupidity upon the *Abderites*. People are not imposed upon by Fools and Blockheads. Not to say that *Tatian* applies that Word to the Doctrine of *Democritus*, who certainly was no Fool.

[H] *The Distemper, which raged for some Months.* *Lucian*, who has described it's Symptoms, pretends to have found out the Cause of it. *Archebius*, says he, a good Player, having acted *Euripides's Andromeda* before the *Abderites*, in a very hot Summer; many came out of the Theatre in a Fever, and having their Imaginations thoroughly affected with the Tragedy, the Ravings caused by the Fever represented nothing to them but *Andromeda*, *Perseus*, *Medusa*, &c. and so strongly excited in them the Ideas of those Objects, and of the Pleasure they had received from the Representation, that they could not forbear reciting and acting in imitation of *Archebius*. I make no doubt, but the first, who acted this Farce in the Streets, after their Fever was over, injured several, who were growing well. Every thing contributed then to the spreading of the Contagion. The Mind is subject to epidemical Distempers as well as the Body; and nothing more is wanting, than a lucky Beginning, and due Preparation. Let an Heretic, or a Fanatic, start up at such a time, whose contagious Imaginations, and vehement Passions, know how to gain Ground, and they'll infatuate a whole Country in a little time, or at least a great many People.

In other Places, or at other Times, they might not perhaps be able to gait three Profelytes. Recollect the Story of (35) those Virgins of *Miletus*, who were for some time so disguised at the World, that they could not be cured of the Design of killing themselves, but by threatening to expose those stark naked to public View, who should make away with themselves. The very Remedy shews that their Passion was only a Distemper of the Mind, wherein the Understanding had no Share. Something like this was seen at *Lyons* (36) towards the end of the XVth Century. The Difference between these Distempers, and the Plague or Small-pox, is only that the latter are infinitely more frequent. I should be induced to think, the Ravage which the Player *Archebius*, and the Sun (37), made in the Minds of the *Abderites*, was rather a Sign of Vivacity than of Stupidity: However, it was always a Mark of Weakness; for which I appeal to those, who have observed what sort of Men are most affected with the Representation of a Play (38). "*Quos* (terrores et errores) *auxerunt Poetæ; frequens enim confellus theatri, in quo sunt mulierculæ & pueri, movebat audiens tam grande carmen:*

Adsum atque advenio Acherontæ vix via alta atque ardua

Per speluncas faxis structas asperis, pendentibus, Maximis, ubi rigida constat crassa caligo inferum.

"*The Increase of which (Terrors or Mistakes) is owing to the Poets: for a full Audience, among which are Women and Children, are greatly affected with such pompous Numbers, as these.*

*Behold me here, arriv'd from Hell's Abode,
Thro' gloomy Caverns, and rough, hanging, Rocks,
Where Horror dwells, and everlasting Night,
Forcing my dangerous Way!*

[I] *Moreri* (39) gives a very wrong Account of the Matter. 'Tis not true, that the *Abderites* died on the Stage, nor that the Proverb, *Abderitica mens*, was occasioned by the Distemper, they were then affected with. *Moreri* would find it very hard to prove that there was such a Proverb: It is not sufficient to maintain that the *Abderites* were commonly look'd upon as Fools; he should make it appear that these very Words, *Abderitica mens*, were made use of to denote the general Opinion the World entertained of them; but 'tis certain *Erasmus* does not quote any one Author, that used these Words. But I will not insist upon that Incident: nay, I am willing to give up as false the following Reflexion, viz. That a Thing of so short a duration, as that Distemper of the *Abderites* was, which has been only mentioned by *Lucian*, who made use of it with no other design, than to form the Exordium of a Dissertation; such a Fact, I say, is not sufficient to occasion a Proverb, by which a whole People are for ever render'd infamous. For if it be said, that the *sero sapient* *Phrygians* might have proceeded from one single Error of the *Phrygians*, I can shew a great Difference between the two Cases, since it is certain that as soon as the thing became a Proverb, it was not apply'd to the *Phrygians* more than any other Nation: Whereas the Reproach cast upon the *Abderites*, concern'd them literally, and at all times, just as (40) that which is cast upon the *Normans* and *Gascans* concerns them in a most proper Sense. But to consider this as a mere Cavil, and to come close to the Point: *Moreri's* Proverb, *Abderitica mens*, was only designed to charge the *Abderites* with great Foolishness; but the Distemper mentioned by *Lucian* was not Folly; it was a disordered Imagination, and a sort of Madness, which falls rather upon Men of great Wit, than upon Fools and Blockheads.

Moreri

(35) Plutarch de fortibus fact. mulierum.

(36) Bodinus Miscell. l. 5. c. 27.

(37) The common Maxim of the Philosophers, Sol & homo generant hominem. The Sun and a Man beget a Man, was verified here in a particular manner. (38) Cicero. Tullius. l. c. 16.

(32) *Adagi.* Chil. 4. centur. c. 27.

(33) *Cicero, in the Nature of the Gods, says, Abderitani stupori mentis obnoxii sunt.* *Laur.* *Begerus* *Observ.* in Numism. quæd. p. 16. See also *Lloyd and Hofman, in the Word Abdera.* (34) *Virgili* *Æneid.* 4. l. 275.

(39) He has committed many other Faults. See the Remarks [A], [C], and [E].

(40) *Tacitus* says that the Proverb which reflects upon Normandy and Gascony, are grounded upon a slight and trivial Fault, which pass from one Generation to another.

(k) Laurentius Begerus. His Book was printed at Berlin, in 4to. in the Year 1691.

M. Beger (k), who published his Conjectures on a Medal of the *Abderites* [K], which he fancied was struck in memory of this troublesome Distemper, changed his Opinion, after reading the fine Dissertation written to him (l) on that Subject, which contains several things relating to the City of *Abdera*. I shall mention some of them in the last Remark. There was a kind of Ceremony practised in that Town on certain Days, which might be called, in some Respect, an *Auto de Fe*; for it was without doubt an Act of Religion. I think *Ovid* is the only Author that mentions it: 'Tis one of the Imprecations, with which he loads his Enemy:

(l) By Elias Kiel Spanheim. It was printed with Mr. Beger's Treatise.

Aut te devoveat certis Abdera diebus,

Saxaque devotum grandine plura peiant, (m)

A Victim, at *Abdera*, may'st thou bleed,

And all the stony Show'r descend upon thy Head.

(m) *Ovid*. in *Ibid.*, v. 465.

The Commentators are silent upon this Passage. I suppose they cannot find the Origin or Circumstances of that Ceremony. I shall take Notice elsewhere of a (n) Temple of *Jafon* in *Abdera*, which *Parmenio* destroyed.

(n) In the Dutch Edition of his Dictionary.

Moreri is therefore to blame for saying that his Proverb was grounded on the Phrenzy mentioned by *Lucian*. Tho' I name *Lucian*, I am not ignorant that *Moreri* has only quoted *Cælius Rhodiginus*, which (41) he has been already censured for. He had that Quotation from *Charles Stephens*. He, and a great many others, have answered, and do answer every day, the Hopes, which that Italian Author conceived, when he resolved to quote no body. He hop'd to be quoted himself, which he should not have been, if he had put in the Margins of his Book the Names of the ancient Authors, whom he transcribed.

[K] On a Medal of the *Abderites*.] It represents a Griffin on the one side, and on the other a Man's Head without a Beard, crowned with Laurel, with these Words, ΕΠΙΔΙΟΕ ΑΛΙΟΤ. Mr Beger was of Opinion, that this Medal, consecrated to *Apollo*, under the Title of *Jupiter the Inauspicious*, *sub Jove sinistro*, (the same as *sub Vejoce* at Rome) was intended to denote the excessive Influence of the Sun's Heat, which occasioned the Imperfection with which the *Abderites* were reproach'd, and which, notwithstanding, made them good Disciples of *Apollo*. Mr de *Spanheim* understands by that Inscription, the (42) *Prætor*, or Governor, of *Abdera*; and says, That the Griffin having been the Symbol of *Teios*, as appears by many Medals, 'tis no wonder that the Inhabitants of *Abdera*, a Colony of the *Teians*, should have stamp'd the same Symbol on their publick Monuments. It was the constant Practice of the Colonies, with respect to their Mother-Town: The Example of *Syracuse* and *Corfu*, whose Arms were a *Pegasus*, in imitation of *Corinth*, is a Proof of it. As for the Head crowned with Laurel, it represents *Abderus*, *Hercules's* Favourite, or (43) *Tisamenus*, the *Clazomenian*, who was worship'd as a Hero by the *Teians* settled in *Abdera*. *Isaac Vossius* (44) understands by the Inscription of that Medal, *Jupiter Frumentarius*, *Jupiter the Harvest-God*, as if *Ζεὺς ἄριστος* was the same thing with *Ζεὺς ἐπιεικής*; and he grounds his Explication upon the Fertility of the Soil which surrounded the Town of *Abdera*: whence the *Triballi*, being reduc'd to a great Scarcity, flocked thither, according to (45) *Diodorus Siculus*, it being the most fruitful Spot of Ground

they could meet with. Mr de *Spanheim* does not deny; and he mentions another Passage of *Diodorus* (46) *Siculus*, wherein *Abdera* is reckon'd to be one of the most flourishing Towns then in *Thrace*. He mentions likewise another Passage out of a Letter, ascribed to *Hippocrates*, wherein 'tis only said, That *Abdera* is no obscure Town, *οὐκ ὀλίγον ἢ ἀνθρώπων*. But, notwithstanding, he refuses *Vossius* concerning the Meaning of the Medal. Before I make an end of this Remark, I must observe, that it would be very wrong to take for an Instance of little Wit, what pass'd (47) between the Inhabitants of *Abdera* and *Hippocrates*, on *Democritus's* Account. The great Concern they express'd for the Health of *Democritus*, their Fellow-Citizen, is a Sign of their good Judgment. 'Tis true, *Hippocrates* did not confirm the Opinion they had entertain'd of *Democritus*: They took him to be a Fool; but he seem'd to *Hippocrates* to be wiser than his Countrymen. However this proves nothing; for I am sure all the Cities of *Greece* would have judg'd of *Democritus* as his Countrymen did: And we should at present entertain the same Opinion of a Philosopher, who should laugh at every thing; who should say, That the Air is full of Images, who should study the singing of Birds, and shut himself up in Sepulchres, &c. And none but Wits of the first Rank, who guard against all Prejudice, would be able to form a right Judgment of him. But that sort of Men are very scarce at all Times, and in all Places. They are as scarce, and perhaps more, than honest Men, who, in *Juvenal's* Opinion, hardly equal the Number of the Mouths of the Nile.

(45) *Id.* lib. 13. p. 194.

(47) See the Letters written on both Sides upon that Occasion, among the Works of *Hippocrates*.

—rari quippe boni: numerus vix est totidem, quot Thebarum Portæ, aut divitis Ostia Nilæ. (48)

(48) *Juvenal*. Sat. 13. v. 26.

Good Men are scarce, the Just are thinly sown;
They thrive but ill, nor can they last, when grown.
And shoud' we count them, and our Store compile,
Yet Thebes more Gates would shew, more Mouths the Nile.

CREECH.

ABDIAS of *Babylon*, an Author who deserves to be ranked amongst the most impudent legendary Writers. He is an Impostor, who pretends to have seen our Saviour, to have been one of the LXXII Disciples, to have been Witness of the Actions and Death of several of the Apostles; to have followed St *Simon* and St *Jude* into *Persia*; and to have been established by them the first Bishop of *Babylon*. The Work, that goes under his Name, is divided into ten Books, and entituled, *Historia Certaminis Apostolici*. *Wolfgang Lazius* (a) found the Manuscript in a Cave at *Carinthia*; and, though he was a learned Man, he suffered himself to be so much imposed upon by that fabulous Writer, that he prepared to publish it, as an important Piece. He gave credit to the Inscription of that Manuscript, importing that *Abdias*, made Bishop of *Babylon* by the Apostles themselves, had writ in Hebrew this History of their Lives; and that it was translated into Greek (b) by *Eutropius*, and into Latin by *Africanus*. He published it at *Basil* (c) in the Year 1551, with some other Lives

(a) *A* Physician at Vienna in Austria, and Historiographer to the Emperor Ferdinand I. See the Epistle Dedicatory of his Edition.

(b) The Preface of Julius Africanus says, That *Eutropius* was a Pupil of *Abdias*. (c) In Cypricans, Fol.

of the Saints. It was since reprinted several times (A), in several Places. *Fabricius* remarks, that it is a Mistake to suppose it was inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (d). *Laurence de la Barre* inserted it in his History of the Fathers at Paris in 1583 (e). 'Tis not Pope *Gelasius*, as *Moreri* would have it, but Pope (f) *Paul IV.* who rejected the Work of our *Abdias*, as an Apocryphal Piece. Several Writers, both Catholic and Protestant, have acknowledged that 'tis an Imposture. The latter pretend to have undeceived the others [B]: But this is not granted them [C]. After all, there is no great Glory in the Discovery; for this Impostor has had the Assurance to quote (g) *Hegeffippus*, who flourished 130 Years, or thereabouts, after our Saviour's Ascension. He likewise mentions (b) a Disciple of the Apostles, called *Crathon*, who, as he says, wrote a History, in ten Books, of all the Actions and Sufferings of St. Jude in Persia, for the Space of thirteen Years; which History, pursues he, was translated into Latin by Africanus the Historiographer. That *Africanus* can be no other than *Julius Africanus*, who died about the Year 230 (i).

(d) J. Alb. Labr. in Cod. Apocr. N. T. p. 4. 1.
(e) *Abd. not* in 1581, at 13 in More.
(f) L'Abbé de Script. Ecclési. T. 1.
p. 3.
(g) *See Vo-*
lus, de Hist. Gr. p. 20.
(h) *Abd.*
Hist. Cert. Apost. 1. 6.
p. 83.
(i) *Cave's*
Hist. Litt.
p. 72.

[A] Reprinted several times.] Mr du Pin, who mentions the Editions of 1557, 1560, and 1571; and besides, an Edition of *Basil*, in the (1) Year 1532. and one of *Paris*, in 1583. has forgot the first, which deserv'd most to be mention'd. I have not by me his *Bibliothèque de la Paris Edition*; and therefore I dare not affirm, that he takes notice of the pretended Edition of *Basil* in 1532. Now because he mentions but one *Paris Edition*, which is that of 1583, the Reader might very well think, that the others mentioned by him are not of *Paris*: And yet it is certain, that *Abdias* was publish'd there in the Year 1560, in 8vo, with a Preface of a Doctor of the Sorbonne, call'd *John Faber*. The Abbreviator of *Gesner*, and Dr *Cave* mention a *Paris Edition*, 1571, in 8vo. 'Tis fallily said in *Magirus's Eponymologium*, that this Work was printed the first time at *Paris*, in 1551.

[B] To have undeceived the others.] Consult *Rivetus* (2) chap. 6. of the first Book of his *Criticis Sacer*, where, having observed the Prepossession of *Lazius*, and the Authority which *Harding* and *Bellarmine* ascribe to our *Abdias*, he adds; "Ejus nugæ & mendacia non ex quâ operosius persequamur, quia jam oculatioribus Pontificis ita patent EX NOSTRO- RUM ANIMADVERSIONIBUS, ut eos tam putidi commenti pudeat. I move upon myself the parts of a farther Examination of his idle Stories, and Inventions; since the more judicious Catholics are so convinc'd by MY ANIMADVERSIONS, as to be assur'd of so false a Cheat." He quotes *Baronius*, *Molanus*, *Paggin*, and even *Bellarmino*, who thought better of it since; he quotes them, I say, as acknowledging the Imposture of that History of the Apostles.

[C] This is not granted them.] Father *L'Abbé* (3) exclaims in a strange manner against *Rivetus*, on account of the Passage I have just now mention'd. He may be in the right, when he says, the Catholics found out the Imposture, before the Protestants had given them any Insight into the Matter; but he is very much to blame for his sharp and injurious Words; for thus he speaks: "Hæc quiquilias ab otioso bulatore, qui merito jure Pseudo-Abdias dicitur, coniectas interpolatave nullius fidei atque auctoritatis esse apud eruditos, docuerunt jampridem Catholici Traditores, Sixtus Senensis, Joannes Heflessius, Joannes Molanus, Cardin. Baronius, Polleminus, Salmero, Miræus, alique, ut flicam Vossium, Cocum, Rivetum, similesque Heterodoxos Criticos,

"in alienis ab Ecclesia Catholica castris militantes, atque ex Catholicorum duntaxat scriptis & observationibus suffarcinatos. Mentitur enim pro more Andreas Rivetus, qui libro 1. cap. 6. effatur ausus est, oculatioribus Pontificis ex suorum, hoc est, Hæreticorum hominum, animadversionibus edoctis, nugæ & mendacia illius operis deprehendisse, ita ut eos tam putidi commenti pudeat. Sed, amabo, quis Calvinii catulus hoc commentum subodoratus est ante Heflessium, Molanum, Sixtum, ipsumque adeo Paulum IV. Romanum Pontificem, qui inter scripta à se damnata rejicit?—Several Catholic Writers, such as Sixtus Senensis, Joannes Heflessius, Joannes Molanus, Cardin. Baronius, Polleminus, Salmero, Miræus, and others, not to mention Vossius, Cocus, Rivetus, and the like heterodox Critics, who fight under other Banners, than those of the Catholic Church, and are beholden only to the Writings and Observations of the Catholics: All these, I say, have long ago taught, that this Trash, cook'd up by that idle Fabulist, the Impostor Abdias, deserv'd to have no Credit or Weight with the learned. Rivetus, therefore, would impose upon us, according to Custom, when he has the Assurance, in the sixth Chapter of his first Book, to declare, that his own, that is, the Animadversions of an Heretic, had so undeceived the more judicious Catholics, that they were assur'd of so false a Cheat. But, pray, which of Calvin's Writings smelt out this before Heflessius, Molanus, Sixtus, and even Paul IV. Pope of Rome, who has plac'd this Book in his Expository Index?" I believe this Book was condemn'd again at Rome, since the Death of Paul IV. for I don't think that *Claudius Episcopus* means the Condemnation made by that Pope, when he says, "Qualiscunque autor sit Abdias, superiore certè quam hæc scriberemus anno à Romanis Inquisitoribus proscriptus est. Whatever kind of Author Abdias may be, it is certain his Book was condemn'd, by the Roman Inquisitors, a Year ago." Those Words are in the 5th Chapter of the 5th Book of *Continentali*. The Continuator of *Magirus* (4) is in the wrong to conclude from thence, that the Year meant in that Passage is 1568; for that Work about Continence was printed (5) in 1565. Peter Paul Vergerius, a Protestant Writer, who died in 1564, exclaimed against the Imposture of our *Abdias*, in his *Idolum Laurentianum*.

(4) *Epist. mol. Critic.* p. 2.
(5) *See Leou-*
nos, Hist. Collig. Nar-
væ, p. 710.

ABDISSI, [A] Patriarch of Musal in Assyria, beyond the Euphrates, came to Rome in the Year 1562, and having paid his Homage to Pius IV. received the Pallium from him. The Council of Trent being then met, the Cardinal de Mula, Protector

(1) *Pan-*
vinus, *Life* of
Pius IV.
(2) *Thuan-*
Histor. l. 32.
(3) *Aub-*
Miræus, Po-
litic. Ecclési.
l. 2. c. 5. p.
217.
(4) *Thuanus*
calls him Sa-
luta; *Spon-*
danus, *Sul-*
ta; *See the*
Remarks
in the *Index*
Ecclésiast.

Pope *Julius III.* that he was a Man of admirable Learning; that he understood many Languages, and was extraordinarily well versed in the Holy Scriptures. *Thuanus's* Memoirs imported, that he understood the Chaldeæ, the Arabic, and Syriac, and gave pertinent Answers to the Questions propos'd to him. *Pancinius*, *Serius*, and *Spondanus*, affirm the same thing with more Circumstances. He says in his Confession of Faith, as it is set down by them, That he had been a Monk of St Anthony, in the Monastery of St Rochas, and St John, two Brothers. He had very much propagated the Roman Faith, if we may believe *Aubert Miræus*; but his Successors took no Care to keep it up; so that *Leonard Alet*, Bishop of Sister-

Protector of the Eastern Christians, acquainted that Assembly with it. His Letters were read in the XXII Session. They imported that the People under the Jurisdiction of that Patriarch had been instructed in the Christian Faith, by the Apostles *St Thomas* and *St Thaddeus*, and by one of their Disciples, called *Mark*; that their Belief was altogether the same with that of the Church of *Rome*; that they had the same Sacraments and the same Ceremonies; that they had still some Books written from the time of the Apostles; that That Patriarchate reaches into the very Heart of the *Indies*, and comprehends many Nations, some of which are subject to the *Turkish* Emperor, others to the *Sopbi* of *Persia*, and others to the King of *Portugal*. The *Portuguese* Ambassador protested immediately, That the Eastern Bishops, subject to the King his Master, acknowledged no Patriarch. Afterwards *Abdijis* Confession of Faith was read (*a*), bearing date the seventh of *March*, 1562. wherein he promised to observe and teach his Inferiors a perfect and perpetual Conformity of Opinions with the Church of *Rome*. Lastly, they read the Letters he writ to the Council, to excuse himself for not going thither [*B*], and to beseech the Fathers to send him their Decrees, which he promised should be punctually observed. All those things had been read already in a Congregation, without exciting any one's Reflexions; but the Protest of the *Portuguese* Ambassador gave Occasion to take notice of the Absurdities of that Account: Some began to murmur; the *Portuguese* Bishops were ready to speak their Sentiments, when the Proctor, in the Name of the Legates, diverted the Blow. Thus *Fr. Paolo* (*b*) relates the Matter: I shall examine this in another Place (*c*).

(a) *It is to be seen in O-nuphrius Panvinius's Life of Pius IV. in Suri Comment. P. 754. And in Spon-danus, Contin. Annal. ad an. 1562.*

(b) *History of
the Council of
Trent.*

(c) *In the Article Hebrew*

the Pope's Nuncio in those Parts, in the Year 1583, found that the Patriarch *Donba Simon*, who was the second since *Abdiej*, had retired towards the Borders of *Perfia*. The Pope's Affairs were not in a better Condition, when *Peter Strozza*, Secretary to *Paul V.* publish'd at *Rome*, and at *Cologne*, in 1617, his Disputation, *De Chalcæorum dogmatibus* (5).

[B] *To excuse himself for not going thither.*] This shews that *Moreri* is very much millaken, when he says, "That *Abdissi* assisted at the Council of Trent," and presented his *Confession of Faith* in the XXII. "Session." *Aubert Mureau*, committed the same Fault, "qui & Tridentino Concilio interfuit, *quo* was *present likewise at the Council of Trent*," says he (6), speaking of his *Abdissi*. Which is more surprising, is, That *Moreri* quotes *Theanus* and *Spennius*, though the first says not one Word of that Patriarch's pretended Journey to the Council; and tho'

the second expressly says, That they read the Letters, wherein *Abdya* excused himself for not coming to *Trent*. I shall occasionally observe a Fault, which much needs have crept into *Thuanus's* History: He says (7) That Patriarch came " Ad Apollotorum li-
mina Pontificem salutatum, ut ab eo confirmatus "
partem de corpore Sancti Petri acciperet. i. e. "
" He came to the *Apollotical* See, to salute the Pope, "
" that, being confirm'd by him, he might receive part "
" of the Body of St Peter " Any one, who reads these Words, would think that he came to ask an Arm or some other Piece of St *Peter's* Body; for to come to *Rome*, in order to carry away such Presents, is a thing very acceptable to that Court. But I am persuaded that instead of *partem* it should be *pallium*, as we read in *Spondanus*, who uses almost the same Expression with *Thuanus*. We may see this in his Continuation of the Annals of *Barbaria*.

(-) Thom.
l. 32, p. 640
col. 2, v. 10.
Francot.
1245.

(c) See Min-
neap, *ibid.*
p. 210.

[14, p. 217.

ABEL, second Son of *Adam* and *Eve*, was a Shepherd. He brought an Offering to God, of the *Firstlings of his Flock*, at the same Time that his Brother *Cain* offer'd the *Fruits of the Earth*. God accepted the Oblation of *Abel*, but not That of *Cain*: which displeased the latter so much, that *he rose up against the other and slew him*. This is all the Account *Moses* gives us of him (a): But we might greatly enlarge this Article, if we would expatiate upon every Thing, which the Curiosity of human Wit has produc'd upon the Subject. We shall however avoid entering upon the Detail; nor shall we pretend to guess at the Age of *Abel*, when he was slain. It is impossible to arrive at any Certainty in this Matter; because we know not the Duration of the *State of Innocence* [A]; nor how much younger *Abel* was than *Cain* [B];

(2) Post
etiam dict.
contingent

[A] *The Duration of the State of Innocence.* Authors are greatly divided upon this Question: Some assert, that *Adam fell* on the very Day of his Creation; and that he continued in Paradise but fix, seven, or ten Hours (1). Others extend the Time to six, eight, or ten Days; others to thirty four Years. Most of them build their Opinions upon a supposed Resemblance between *Adam* and *Jehus Christ*: For Instance, if *Adam* be supposed to continue in Paradise forty Days, or thirty four Years, the Reason is, because *Jehus Christ* tarryd forty Days in the Wilderness, or lived upon Earth thirty Years (2). The Empiricks of these Reasons is obvious to Men of Sense. There are very strong Objections to the Opinion of those, who restrain the State of Innocence to a few Hours; but much stronger against theirs, who continue it to several Weeks or Years. For, with the good Leave of the *Rabbins*, it is certain from *Moses's* Account, that *Adam* did not know his Wife, till after their Departure from Paradise. Now, why should he defer the Consummation of his Marriage so long? Had he not received the nuptial Benediction from the Mouth of his Creator? Was he not commissioned, in form, to *increase and multiply, and to replenish the Earth?* This most substantial Reason for the Delay of this Consummation till after the Fall, is that of *St Austin* (3).

that "*The Woman was tempted and seduced, almost*" as *soon as formed*. *Mox creata muliere, antequam* "convenient, facta est illa Transgression." The other Reason he gives, namely, that they were obliged to wait the Command of God, is none at all (4); for I have already observed, that this Command had been authentically notified to them. It could be once proved, that the Innocence of the *first Man* continued many Days, it would effectually confirm the Opinion of those, who assert, that, had it not been for the *first-bitten Fruit*, *Adam* and *Eve* would have preserved their Virginity for ever; and that it was in consequence of God's fore-keeping the *Fall*, that they were created of different Sexes. But, be that as it will, we cannot determine certainly at what Age they began to propagate. We shall in another Place (§) regulate the Opinion of some, that *Cain* was not conceived 'till a long time after *Adam's* Transgression; either because his Father obtained from the Pleasures of Matrimony, in Mortification for his Offence; or because he had left *Eve* for some other Woman.

[B] *How much younger Abel was than Cain!* The Narration of *Moses* seems clearly to prove, that *Cain* and *Abel* were not Twin-Brothers: Nevertheless, one of the most judicious Interpreters of the Scripture, believed, with some of the *Rabbins*, that they were.

ventirent:
 Cur enim
 non ad hunc
 rem divina
 expectaretur
 Auctoritas,
 uli nulli
 c. negligenti-
 tiam, inam-
 istum tibi, in
 obedientia
 carnis urge-
 bat illa ibid.
 It may be
 said, that
 God had not
 yet comman-
 ded them to
 a metagather-
 ing, why
 should they
 not quit the
 desire Per-
 son, in a
 Metagather-
 ing, and
 they were not
 prompted by
 any carnal
 desire, and

(1) Perenius
abn. Gen.
B. C. Quail.
I.

(2) *C. roell-*
ia L. p. 102,
at 9. Gen. iii.
23.

3) August.
1. 9. de Ge-
neti ad lit.
p. 4.

nor in what *Year* of the *World* he he was slain by his Brother [C]. For the same Reason I shall not venture any Conjectures upon the Question, Whether he died a *Virgin* [D]; nor concerning the Reason of *Cain's* quarrelling with him. Some say, The Difference between them was a *Religious Dispute* [E]; others, that they quarrell'd about

(6) Corn. à
Lap. upon
Gen. iv. 2.

"Rabbini, & ex is Calvinus, putant ex eodem conceptu Evam peperisse gemellos, Cain & Abel (6).
"The Rabbins, and among them Calvinus, think
"that Eve brought forth Twins, Cain and Abel."

But, tho' we should grant this, the Uncertainty would not wholly vanish; unless we could determine precisely the Year of *Cain's* Birth. But, farther, it does not appear, that *Abel* was the Twin-Brother of *Cain*; neither is it certain, that he was born after him. However we may conclude it highly probable, that *Cain* was born in the first Year of the World, and *Abel* the Year after. The *Revelation* ascribed to *Methodius*, is an apocryphal Piece, and meer Invention. It is said to have been revealed to him from Heaven, during his Imprisonment for the Faith

(7) See the
Author of
Hist. Scho-
last. in Libr.
Hist. Genes.
xxv. in Pe-
rerius upon
Genesis.

(7), that *Adam* and *Eve* left Paradise in a State of Virginity; that they continued in it fifteen successive Years, wholly taken up with lamenting their Fall; that, at the end of this time, they begat a Son and Daughter at once, whose Names were *Cain* and *Calmana*; after which they returned to a State of Continency for fifteen Years more; after which they begat a Son and a Daughter, as before, named *Abel* and *Debara*; and that the Murthor of *Abel* by *Cain* fell out in the one hundred and thirtieth Year of *Adam*; which threw Him and *Eve* into a Fit of Grief, which lasted an hundred Years; after which they begat *Seth*. The Inhabitants of the Island of *Ceylon* pretend, that the *Jalt Lake*, found on Mount *Colombo*, is a Collection of Tears, shed by *Eve*, during an hundred Years, for the Death of *Abel* (8). The *Rabbins* will have it, that *Adam* lamented his Son's Death an hundred Years, in the *Valle of Tears*; near *Hebron*, without any carnal Commerce with his Wife (9); which probably would have continued longer, had not an Angel from God commanded him to cohabit with *Eve*, because the *Messiah* was not to descend from the Family of *Cain*. Idle Tales! The State of the World was so far from requiring such a long fit of Sorrow, that, on the contrary, it demanded, that they should comfort themselves by repairing the Loss: So that it is highly probable, that *Adam* and *Eve* presently mollify'd their Grief by the mutual Satisfaction of procuring themselves another Son, in the room of *Abel*, who was slain. Yet one would hardly believe, how indolently this Fable of *Adam* and *Eve's* long Divorce from the Marriage-bed has been preached up. We shall treat of it under the Article *LAMECH*.

[C] In what Year of the World he was slain by his Brother.] Some have thought it probable, that this Murthor was committed the same Year that *Seth* was born; i. e. in the one hundred and thirtieth of *Adam*: It has been thought probable, I say, because *Eve*, in giving the Name of *Seth* to the Child he had brought forth, assigns this as a Reason: For God hath appointed me another Seed instead of *Abel*, whom *Cain* slew (10). But it must be granted, that this is rather a Proof, that *Seth* was the first Child which *Eve* bore after the Murthor of *Abel*, than that his Death was immediately followed by the Birth of *Seth*. *St Austin* even denies the Right of Eldership to *Seth* over all the Children of *Adam* and *Eve*, born after the Death of *Abel*. He interprets the Words of *Eve* to imply, not the Appointment of another Son, but the restoring of Virtue; i. e. that *Seth* was considered as Successor to the Piety and Sanctity of *Abel*.

(8) See Chev-
reau's History
of the World,
Tom. 4. p.
255. Dutch
Edition, in
1687.
(9) In Sal-
m. Tom. 1.
p. 190.

[D] Whether he died a Virgin.] Some Fathers of the Church have maintained the Affirmative (11); and the Heretics, taken notice of below, who took their Name from *Abel*, are of the same Opinion: but those who believe, that *Abel* lived an hundred and twenty nine Years, think it improbable he should die a Bachelor. The World stood too much in need of being peopled, for Continency to be a Virtue. Father *Salian* makes no Difficulty to declare, that the Celibacy of *Abel* is absolutely improbable; and shews, that *St Jerome* and *St Austin* did not doubt of his Marriage (12); and that *St Ireneus* is not to be charged with the Expression imputed to him by *Genebrard* (20), namely, that *Abel* was a Maid, a Priest, and a Martyr: upon the Account of which three Qualifications the Church is said to begin in him. There is another Author, who ascribes these three fine Qualifications to him (21). But if we may depend upon the Tradition of *Eutychius*, produced below, we can no longer question the Virginity of *Abel*, since, according to that, his Death preceded the Marriage of his two Brothers.

[E] Was a religious Dispute.] The *Targum of Jerusalem* relates, that *Cain* and *Abel* being in the Field, the former asserted that there was no Judgment, nor Judge, nor Life Eternal, nor Rewards for the Good, nor Punishment for the Wicked; and that the World was neither created, nor governed, by the Goodness of God; For, says he to his Brother, my Oblation was not received, but your's was. *Abel* answered him in his own Words, substituting only the Affirmative for the Negative; and, as to his principal Complaint, his Answer was, that His Works being better than those of *Cain*, were the Occasion of the Preference given to his Offering. The Dispute growing warm, *Cain* fell upon *Abel*, and slew him (22). This was the impious beginning of Disputes in Religion; and a fatal Preface of the terrible

(10) Gen.
iv. 25.
(11) *Austin*
attributes to
Adam,
quod, accord-
ing to the
Scripture,
saves the
Words of
Eve.

(12) *August.*
de Civit.
Dei. l. 15. c.
15.

(13) The
Scripture
speaks of but
one Oblat. of
the two Bro-
thers; & that
the Supplic-
ation of *Salian*,
Tom. 1. p.
282. that
Cain did not
perceive, till
after a long
Time, and re-
peated Of-
ferings, that
he was re-
jected, and
his Brother
in favour
with God,
is groundless.

(14) See the
Reference to
the Targum
of Jerusalem,
and the An-
nals of *Euty-
chius* in the
Remark [F].
(15) *Cunga-
sus* de Rep.
Hebr. l. 3.
c. 1.
(16) *St Ro-
mund's* A-
bridg. Chro-
nol.
(17) *Ovid*.
Metam. B.
v. 15.
(18) *St Je-
rome*, *St Ba-
sil*, *St Am-
brose*, in
Corn à Lapi-
de upon Gen.
iv. 2. but *St Sa-
lian*, in his
Annals,
Tom. 1. p.
282. & *St Au-
stin*, that *St*
himself set
out of this O.
(19) *Salian* in
Annals.
(20) *Genebrard*.
B. 1.
(21) The *Ac-
tion* of *Minas*.
Sacr. Scrip-
t. in August.
Tom. 3. B. 1.
chap. 3. *St*
him's *Crea-
tion* of the
Annals,
Tom. 1. p.
134.
(22) *Salian*.
Creation of
Paradise.
Hierol. de
Evangelio.
Tom. 1. p.
188.
See, *Augustine*
Salian, the
Christian
Dissert. of
John B. B.
on a Gen.
iv. 2. B. 1.
p. 224. &c.

killing his Brother. He murthured him, then, before the Age of sixty; for it was in the fiftieth Year of the World, according to *Eutychius*, that *Adam* allotted to his Sons the Manner of Life he intended they should follow. There was time enough, we are told, for Deliberation in this Affair; since, at that time, the Length of Childhood must have been proportionable to the Length of Life. With all my Heart; I shall not dispute it. I will allow, that *Cain* and *Abel* were not capable before the Age of fifty, the one to till the Earth, the other to keep Sheep; but pray let them be capable at that Age. Now, upon this Supposition, can any thing be more natural, than to believe they made their Offerings at the end of two or three Years at latest; and that in a like interval of time the envious and jealous *Cain* got rid of his Brother? Can any thing be more improbable than the common Opinion, that the two Brothers began to exercise their Occupations in the fiftieth Year of the World; that they made their Offerings in the hundredth, and that *Cain* was slain in the hundred and thirtieth? Neither Reason nor Scripture lead us to imagine, that *Cain* stifled his Remorsement for so long a time in his Breast (14). A very judicious Author has fixed the Birth of *Seth* to about an hundred Years after the Death of *Abel* (15). Some Authors place *Abel's* Death in the Year of the World 102 (16). But the Generality are for the Year 130; which is thought to be the same with the hundred and twentieth ninth of *Abel*. I might, in support of this Opinion, refer to *Cajetan*, *Torniel*, *Pererius*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Salian*, and many other Commentators, whose Works may be compared to Children of the same Family;

— Facies non omnibus una,
Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse sororum. (17)

Tho' various Features did the Sisters grace,
A Sister's Likeness was in every Face.

ADDISON.

Thus all Parties, all Bodies, all Societies, have a Variety of Authors, who copy after each other.

[D] Whether he died a Virgin.] Some Fathers of the Church have maintained the Affirmative (18); and the Heretics, taken notice of below, who took their Name from *Abel*, are of the same Opinion: but those who believe, that *Abel* lived an hundred and twenty nine Years, think it improbable he should die a Bachelor. The World stood too much in need of being peopled, for Continency to be a Virtue. Father *Salian* makes no Difficulty to declare, that the Celibacy of *Abel* is absolutely improbable; and shews, that *St Jerome* and *St Austin* did not doubt of his Marriage (19); and that *St Ireneus* is not to be charged with the Expression imputed to him by *Genebrard* (20), namely, that *Abel* was a Maid, a Priest, and a Martyr: upon the Account of which three Qualifications the Church is said to begin in him. There is another Author, who ascribes these three fine Qualifications to him (21). But if we may depend upon the Tradition of *Eutychius*, produced below, we can no longer question the Virginity of *Abel*, since, according to that, his Death preceded the Marriage of his two Brothers.

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about a *Woman* [F]. Nor is there a less Diversity of Opinions concerning the *Manner*, in which this horrid Murthor was committed [G]. But it is not so much controverted, in what Manner they discover'd the Preference which God gave to *Abel's* Offering. The common Opinion is, That Fire from Heaven fell upon *Abel's* Sacrifice [H]; but that nothing of that kind happen'd to the Offerings of *Cain*. But, as we are very apt to fancy we discover the *Marvelous* in every Story of this Kind, some have said (b), that there appeared the Figure of a *Lion*, in the middle of the Fire, which fell upon *Abel's* Sacrifice; which, say they, had relation to the *Lion* of the *Tribe of Juda*, whose coming was then already promis'd. I have thrown together in the Remarks a great Variety of Opinions, in relation to *Abel's* Story. It is indeed a Heap of absurd Notions and Errors; but the Reader, in passing his Judgment upon them, must remember, that such a Collection answers the End and Design of this *Dictionary*: which Caution I here give once for all.

(b) In Sallian, Tom. I. p. 19; and in Badius's Ruiner. II. lib. v. Deced. 11.

Confusions they were to cause in the World. It affords us likewise an Instance of the foolish Vanity of Man; who is never so much led to doubt of a Providence, as when Things do not succeed according to his Wishes. Give him but Prosperity; his Doubts vanish: The Reason is, he thinks he holds too considerable a Rank in the Universe to be overlooked by an equitable and judicious Dispenser of Good and Evil. "Elli's to Superi, ait Status, cum convalesceret a periculo morbo vir extimie probitatis Rutilius Gallicus. At contra, ubi quid contigerat contra quam annum esse conceperat, Deos aut nullos esse, aut crudeles & injustos esse dicebant. — Itaque in morte Titulli Ovidius.

Cum repant mala fata bonas, ignoscite falli,
Solicitor nullos esse putare Deos.

"I acknowledge ye, O ye Gods! cry'd Statius, when
"Rutilius Gallicus, a Man of distinguished Honours,
"had recovered from a dangerous Disease. On the
"contrary, if any thing fell out, which they did not
"like, they either denied the Being of the Gods, or
"charged them with Cruelty and Injustice. Hence
"Ovid, upon the Death of Tibullus,

When, snatched by cruel Fate the Good and Just,
Perish, and seek untimely to the Duſt,
(May I the bill Conſignion be forgiven)
I almost think there are no Gods in Heaven.

This is the Language of one of the best Orators of the XVth Century (23).

[F] Quarrelled about a *Woman*.] *Eusebius*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, tells us in his *Annals* (24) that *Eve* brought forth, together with *Cain*, a Daughter named *Azura*; and, together with *Abel*, a Daughter named *Oswine*; and that, the time of marrying these two Sons being come, *Adam* bestowed *Oswine* to *Cain*, and *Azura* to *Abel*; and treated *Cain* with Severity for desiring his Twin Sister, who was the most beautiful of the two. *Eusebius* adds, that the two Brothers going to present their Offering upon the top of a Mountain, by the Order of *Adam*, who desired they might perform this religious Act before their Marriage, and that the Success of their Sacrifice might decide their Quarrel; the Devil fiercely prompted *Cain* to murder his Brother for the Love of *Azura*; which, preventing his Offering from being agreeable to God, so enraged *Cain* against his Brother, that they were scarce come down from the Mountain, when *Cain*, with a Stone, dashed out his Brother's Brains. The beautiful *Azura*, whom *Cain* immediately after married (25), and carried with him into Exile, was indeed the Cause, but the innocent one, of *Cain's* Crime; and verifies the Assertion of the *Latin* Poet concerning the Antiquity of Wars raised upon the Account of Women;

Nam fuit ante Helenam Cunnus teterima belli
Causa (26).

*E'er Grecian Helen's love, the false, the fair,
Beauty has been the fatal Source of War.*

The *Archbishops* (27), and the *Cabbalists* (28), agree with this Tradition of *Eusebius*. I have read in the Commentary of *Father Merjense* upon *Genesis*, Page the 1431st, and 1431st, that there are some *Rabbins*, who say, that *Abel* had two Twin-Sisters, and that

Cain desired to marry them both. This, say they, was the ground of their Quarrel. The Inclination then to Polygamy, must be very old. Lastly, it appears by the Citation from the *Targum*, and that from the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that the Death of *Abel* ensued immediately upon the Sacrifice, wherein God had declared in his Favour. This Chronology is a thousand times more probable, than that which places thirty Years between the Offerings of the two Brothers, and the Murthor of *Cain*.

[G] The Manner in which this horrid Murthor was committed.] We have seen, that it was with the Blow of a Stone, according to some Authors. Others say, that *Cain* tore him in Pieces with his Teeth. *Hebraeorum nonnulli tradunt cum fuisse morbosus à Cain dilaceratum* (29). Others, that he knocked him down with the jaw-bone of an Ass: The Painters are directed by this Hypothesis. Some pretend, that he made use of a Pitchfork. *St Chrysostom* puts a Sword into his Hand; *St Irenaeus* arms him with a Scythe; *Prudentius* gives him a kind of HEDGE-BILL.

Frater probatæ sanctitatis remulus
Germana curvo colla frangit sarculo (30).

Envious of his Brother's approved Sanctity, he broke his Neck with a crooked Hedge-Bill.

See *Sallian* and *Bisellius*; the one, Page 185 of the first Volume of his *Annals*; the other Page 234 and 235 of the first Tome of his *Histor. Ruiner*. "It is certain, says an Author (31), that *Abel* was "neither drowned, nor strangled; for the Scripture "witnesses, that he died with Effusion of Blood." Some suppose, that he defended himself bravely; and that at first he had the Advantage: that he threw *Cain* upon the Ground, and gave him his Life; but that *Cain* got up, and slew him. *Father Merjense* reports this Dream in the 1431st Page of his *Commentary on Genesis*.

[H] That Fire from Heaven fell upon *Abel's* Sacrifice.] *St Jerom* has preserved this Tradition (32), and confirms it from *Theodotion*, who follows him in his Version of the Scripture. "Nisi illa Interpretatio vera esset, quam Theodotion posuit, & inflammavit Dominus super Abel, & super Sacrificium ejus; supra vero Cain & Sacrificium ejus non inflammavit (33). — If the Interpretation of Theodotion be true, and God sent Fire upon *Abel* and his Sacrifice, but not upon *Cain* and his Sacrifice." It is generally approved of by the Fathers of the Church; and is a probable Opinion, because Fire from Heaven has frequently been the Signal of God's Approbation of a Sacrifice. At the Consecration of *Aaron*, God gave this Mark of his Approbation (34). *Gideon*, *David*, *Salomon*, (some add *Nehemiah*), were honoured with this extraordinary Favour in some of their Sacrifices (35). *Cornelius à Lapide* says, that *Cain* and *Luther* hugg'd at this Descent of Fire from Heaven upon *Abel's* Sacrifice, as a Jewish Fable (36); but Mr *Heldinger* quotes a Passage of *Luther* against him, which plainly proves the contrary. "Eni Moies illud signum, quo Deus cœdedit illi Abel munera grata esse, non ostendit, tamen verisimile est fuisse ignem cœlo demissum, quo oblatio haurita & confumpta in oculis omnium (37). — *Teague Moies does not record by what Sign God declared his Approbation of Abel's Offering, yet it is probable that Fire descended from Heaven, and consumed the Offering in the Sight of all*. The *Presbiter* *Demetrius*

(29) Prudentius in Germania, lib. v. ch. iv.

(30) Prudentius in Germania, lib. v. ch. iv.

(31) Prudentius upon Genesis, ch. iv. ver. 5. and 9.

(32) Hieron. Epist. ad Galat. ch. i.

(33) Hieron. Epist. ad Galat. ch. i.

(34) Leviticus, ch. ix.

(35) 1 Kings, ch. vi. 1 Kings, ch. xiii.

(36) Cornelius à Lapide, ch. vii.

(37) Cornelius à Lapide, ch. vii.

(23) Moretus in editione Vol. 2. (24) Eusebius in Annals. I. lib. v. ch. i. (25) Eusebius in Annals. I. lib. v. ch. i. (26) Ovid. Fast. 1. p. 192. (27) Præcipuus.

(28) Eusebius in Histor. lib. i. ch. i.

(29) Hieron. Epist. ad Galat. ch. i.

(30) Prudentius in Germania, lib. v. ch. iv.

(31) Prudentius in Germania, lib. v. ch. iv.

(32) Hieron. Epist. ad Galat. ch. i.

(33) Hieron. Epist. ad Galat. ch. i.

(34) Leviticus, ch. ix.

(15) See also declare in Clouds for this Hypothesis [38], and some of them are confirmed in it by the Words of one of the Palms (39), which *Clement Marot* has thus translated:

De tes offertes & services
Se veuille souvenir,
Et faire tous les sacrifices
En cendre devenir.

May be remember thy Offerings, and Services, and reduce thy Sacrifices to Ashes.

The Pagans boast of such kind of extraordinary Marks of the Approbation of Heaven in some Places, as we shall show under the Article *EGNATIA*. We know very well that the Devil mimicks the True God.

ABELARD (*Peter*) in *Latin Abalaridus*, was one of the most celebrated Doctors of the XIIIth Century. He was born at *Palais* [A], a Town four Leagues distant from *Nantes* in *Brittany*: and, as he was of a very subtle Genius, there was nothing in his Course of Studies, to which he apply'd himself with greater Success, than *Logic*. He travell'd to divers Places with no other view, than to exercise himself in that Science; disputing wherever he came, throwing about his Syllogisms, and greedily catching at every Opportunity of distinguishing himself against some Thesis. Never did Knight-Errent more eagerly seek occasion to break a Lance in in Honour of the Ladies. *Abelard* finish'd his Studies at *Paris*, where he met with a celebrated Professor in Philosophy, nam'd *William Champeaux* (a). He became soon his favourite Disciple: but this continu'd not long: the Professor found it so difficult to answer the subtle Objections of his Scholar, that he conceiv'd a Disgust and Hatred towards him. Immediately it became Matter of Party: the older Scholars, envious of *Abelard*, seconded their Master's Dislike. This increased the Assurance of the young Logician so much, that he resolv'd to set up for a Teacher himself. He chose a large Theatre to act this Part on; for he erected a School at *Melun* [B], where the Court of *France* resided at that Time. *Champeaux* did all he could to prevent the setting up of this School; but, as he had very powerful Enemies, his Opposition was the principal Cause of his Rival's Success (b). The Reputation of this new Master of *Logic*, made so surprizing a Progress, as to eclipse that of *Champeaux*. *Abelard* was so elevated with this Success, that he remov'd his School to *Corbeil*, in order to press his Enemy close with frequent Disputes; but the great Application, with which he follow'd his Studies, threw him into an Indisposition, which obliged him to retire to his native Air. He stay'd some Years in *Brittany*, and then return'd to *Paris*; where he found that *Champeaux*, who had resign'd his Chair to another, and embrac'd the Religion of the Regular Canons, continued teaching among them. He disputed against him, with such force of Argument, concerning the Nature of *Universals*, that he obliged him to give up his Opinion

(a) Colletmus Campanellensis. He was Aristotelian of Paris.

(b) Quoniam de potentibus terra nonnulli ibidem habebat nemulos; fretus eorum auxilio voti mei compos extitit, & plurimum mihi assensum ipsius invidia manifestata conquirit. *Abelardus Epist. l. p. i.*

As he had, there, some Enemies among the great Men, I succeeded by their Assistance; and his manifest Envy procured me the Approbation of many.

[A] *He was born at Palais.* His Father had applied himself a little to his Studies, before he bore Arms; and took great Care of the Education of his Children, particularly the eldest. Whether *Abelard* was this eldest, is uncertain; for he speaks of this Matter so ambiguously, as to give Occasion to two different Opinions. These are his Words: "Primum genitum suum, quanto chariorem habebat, tanto diligentius erudire curavit. Ego vero, quanto amplius in studio litterarum profeci, tanto ardentius in his inhaesi, & in tanto eorum amore illectus sum, ut militaris gloriae pompam cum hereditate & prerogativa primogenitorum meorum fratribus derelinquens, Martis curiae penitus abdicarem, ut Minervae gremio educarer. — *The more he lov'd his eldest-born, the more Care he took in his Education: For my own Part, the farther Progress I made in my Studies, the greater Desire I had to pursue them; and so fond was I of them, as to leave the Pomp of Military Glory, with the Inheritance and Privileges of Eldership, to my Brothers; and, renouncing the Court of Mars, to be educated in the Bosom of Minerva.*" Pasquier, upon the Authority of these Words, makes no doubt of calling him the eldest Son (1): but others positively affirm, that he was a younger Brother. This is the Opinion of *Father Alexander*. "Militaris Gloriam pompam cum hereditate primogenitis fratribus derelinquens, says he (2), speaking of *Abelard*, i. e. leaving the Pomp of Military Glory, with the Inheritance, to his elder Brothers." Some make him the youngest of the Family (3). If I might chuse, I should not prefer the last Interpretation to the former. Doubtless the Surname of *Palatinus*, which he bore, was deriv'd from *Palatium*, the Name of the Place of his Nativity. He was so well known by the Name of *Peripateticus Palatinus*, that *Johannes Sarrisenensis* never tiles him otherwise (4). Some imagine, that this Epithet was given him on Account of some magnificent Building, where he deliver'd his Lectures (5). But this is without Foundation,

[B] *A School at Melun.* I have not found, in comparing the Relation of *Abelard* with the Abridgment of it, given us by *Pasquier*, that it is abridg'd with great Exactness. The Series of his Adventures, according to the Abridgment, is as follows. *Abelard* went and settled at *Corbeil*, when he first left *Paris*: he returned to *Paris*, when *Champeaux* became a Monk; he was obliged to quit it a second time: and then he retired to *Melun*: he returned to *Paris* again, being informed, that *Champeaux* was gone to reside at his Bishoprick of *Châlons*: *Champeaux*, apprized of his Return, came back to *Paris* to oppose *Abelard*: This latter was at length obliged to quit his Design, and became a Disciple of *Anselm*, Lecturer of Divinity at *Paris*: He became afterwards himself Lecturer of Divinity; and was intreated by a certain Canon to employ one Hour every Day in instructing his Niece. He complied with this Request; and having continued this Occupation for some time, Love made himself of the Party with them. There are many Faults in this Narrative. I. *Abelard* did not settle at *Corbeil* till after he had been at *Melun*. II. When he left *Melun* the second time, *Champeaux* was retired to a Village near *Paris*, and not to his Bishoprick of *Châlons*, which was not yet given him; he being then but a Regular Canon: and I am surprized that *Pasquier* was not sensible how absurd it was to suppose a Bishop should leave his Episcopal See to dispute with a Regent of Philosophy at *Paris*. III. *Abelard* was not conquered in this Dispute; he quitted *Paris* only to pay a Visit to his Mother, who was going into a Convent. IV. *Anselm* read Divinity at *Laon*, and not at *Paris*. V. The Canon did not request that his Niece might be instructed; *Abelard* himself entreated to be entertained in the Canon's House. VI. *Abelard* desired the Enjoyment of *Eloisa*, before he gave her any Lessons. With what Distrust ought we to read a great Number of Books, when *Pasquier* stumbles so often in so plain a Road?

(1) Pasquier's Recherch. de la France. B. 6. ch. 17.

(2) Natal. Alex. Graec. xi. & xii. part 3. p. 2.

(3) De Pin's Biblioth. T. 9. p. 108.

(4) See his Poliraticus, p. 111. and his Metalogicus, p. 745, 802, 814, &c. Leyden Edit. 1639. 8vo.

(5) Jac. Thomassin's Life of Abelard. See below the Citations (13).

nion, which at the bottom was a disguis'd *Spinozism* [C]. This brought the Monk into such Contempt, and rais'd the Character of his Antagonist so high, that *Champeaux's* Logic Lectures were entirely forsaken, and the Professor himself, to whom *Champeaux* had resign'd, thought fit to become the Scholar of *Peter Abelard*. This latter was no sooner in possession of the Chair, than he saw himself expos'd more and more to the darts of Envy. The Regular Canon manag'd it so, that, on pretence of some sinister Management, the Resignation made to *Peter Abelard* was declared void, and a profess'd Enemy appointed to succeed him. Upon this *Abelard* left *Paris*, and retired to *Melun*, to teach Logic there, as before. He continued there not long; for, hearing that *Champeaux* had retired, with his whole Fraternity, to a Village, he came and settled upon Mount *St Genevieve*, and erected his School, as a kind of Battery [D], against the *Parisian* Doctor. *Champeaux*, seeing the Creature of his own raising thus besieged in his School, brought back the Regular Canons to their Convent: but, instead of relieving his Friend, it occasioned all his Scholars to forsake him: This Desertion was follow'd some time after with the Retirement of this poor Philosopher to a Convent. From that time the Contest lay wholly between *Abelard* and *Champeaux*: they alone disputed the ground; but superior Age was not attended with Victory. Whilst this Struggle yet continued, *Abelard* was obliged to pay a Visit to his Mother, who, after the example of her Husband, was preparing to embrace a Religious Life. Returning to *Paris*, he found his Rival made Bishop of *Châlons*: therefore, as he could now give up his School, without the Imputation of flying from the Field of Battle, he determin'd to study Divinity; for which reason he remov'd to *Laon* [E], where his Schoolmaster *Anselm* read Lectures in that Science

[C] *A disguis'd Spinozism.* I appeal for this to the Judgment of those who understand the following Words. "Erat in eâ sententiâ de communitate universalium; ut eandem essentialiter rem totam simul singulis suis inesse aliteret individuis, quorum quidem nulla esset in essentiâ diversitas, sed solâ multitudine accidentium varietas. He was of that Opinion, concerning the Sameness of Universals, which asserts, that the same Thing exists essentially and wholly in every one of its Individuals, among which there is no Difference as to Essence, but only a Variety arising from a Number of Accidents (6)." The *Scotists*, with their universalis formale à parte rei, or their unitas formalis à parte rei, are not wide of this Notion. Now I say, that *Spinozism* is only carrying this Doctrine farther: for, according to the Followers of *Scotus*, Universal Natures are indivisibly the same in every one of their Individuals: The Human Nature of *Peter* is indivisibly the same with the Human Nature of *Paul*. Upon what Foundation do they say this? Why, because the same Attribute of *Man*, which is applicable to *Peter*, agrees with *Paul*. This is the very Fallacy of the *Spinozists*. The Attribute, say they, does not differ from the Substance, of which it is predicated: therefore, wherever the same Attribute is found, there is the same Substance; and, consequently, since the same Attribute is found in all Substances, there can possibly be but one Substance. There is, then, but one Substance in the Universe; and all the Variety we see in the World is but different Modifications of one and the same Substance. *Abelard's* Antagonist had nothing of Weight to reply to this; and I cannot see what Answer the Cordelier *Fraassen* (7), who adheres strictly to the Doctrine of *Scotus*, amidst the Lights of Philosophy, which brighten this Age, could have given to *Spinoza*. But the rest of the Schoolmen had nothing more to do, in order to overthrow this false System, but to distinguish between Identity in Number, and Identity in Species or Likeness. *Peter* and *Paul* have not the same Nature, nor the same Attribute, if by *same* you mean any thing else than like.

[D] *As a kind of Battery.* It will be proper to hear his own Account of this Matter. "Quia locum nostrum ab emulo nostro secerat occupari, extra civitatem in monte S. Genovefæ Scholarum nostrarum castra posui, quasi cum obseffus, qui locum occupaverat nostrum. Quo audito, Magister noster statim ad urbem impudenter rediens, Scholas, quas tunc habere poterat, & Conventiculum Fratrum, ad pristinum reduxit Monasterium, quasi militem suum, quem deseruerat, ab obseffione nostra liberaturus (8). — The Place, I enjoyed, being usurped by my Rival, I encamped my School, without the City, upon Mount *St Genevieve*, as it were to besiege my Successor: upon the News of which, my Preceptor, returning confidently to the City,

"brought back what Schools he could at that time procure, together with the whole Brotherhood, to their former Monastery, as it were to relieve his own Soldier, whom he had deserted, from my Siege." The Life of *Abelard*, published by M. *Thomasius* (9) in Germany, informs me of one Particular, which *Andrew du Cbône*, Francis d' *Amboise*, and perhaps all who have ever spoke of *Abelard*, were ignorant of. It is, that, in the midst of his Troubles and Persecutions, and after he had placed *Eloïsa* in the *Paraclet*, he returned to the Reading of his public Lectures on Mount *St Genevieve*. *Johannes Sarisburiensis* confirms this past a Doubt. "Cum primum, says he (10), adolescens admodum, studiorum causa migrassem in Gallias, anno altero postquam illustri Rex Anglorum *Henricus*, Leo *Justine*, rebus excessit humanis, contuli me ad Peripateticum Palatinum, qui tunc in Monte S. Genovefæ clarus Doctor & admirabilis omnibus præsedebat. Ibi ad pedes ejus prima aris hujus rudimenta accepi, & pro modulo ingenio mei quicquid excidebat ab ore ejus totâ mentis aviditate excipiebam. Deinde, post discessum ejus, qui mihi præproperus visus est, adhuc Magistro *Alberico*, qui inter ceteros Dialecticos ceniebat, & erat re verâ nominalis sectæ acerrimus impugnator. — When I first travelled into France, being very young, in order to prosecute my Studies, a Year after the Death of Henry King of England, the Lion of Justice, I betook myself to the Peripatetic of Palatum (11), who at that time was a celebrated Doctor, and in great Reputation upon Mount *St Genevieve*. There, at his Feet, I was instructed in the first Principles of this Science, and received, to the best of my Abilities, whatever fell from his Lips, with the utmost Eagerness. After his Death, which to me seemed too hasty, I was a constant Follower of the Teacher *Albericus*, who was the most eminent Logician of the Times, and indeed, the most violent Opposer of the Nominal Self." This plainly points out the Year 1136. *Abelard* therefore must have been returned to *Paris* long time after the Council of *Soissons*, and have left it a few Years before the Council of *Sens*.

[E] He removed to *Laon*.] *Orbo* of *Frisingen* has misplaced Facts, when he says, that *Abelard* studied first under *Rozelin*, then under *Anselm* of *Laon*, and *William des Champeaux*, Bishop of *Châlons* (12). The Order of Time is not observed: besides this *William* was not a Bishop, at the time when *Abelard* was his Scholar. I have met with a Book (13), in which the Author supposes, that *Abelard* succeeded this *William* in the Divinity-Chair, in the Year 1119: But first, it does not appear, that this pretended Predecessor taught that Science. And it is farther certain, that *Abelard* read Theological Lectures at *Paris*, before the Year 1119: for it is not possible, that all his Adventures, from his first Lectures to the

(6) *Abelard's* Epist. l. p. 5.

(7) See the *Capucin* Confessor of *Toulouse* in his *Atom.* Peripatet. l. 5. p. 130.

(8) *Abelard's* Epist. p. 6.

(9) He is the Son of *Jacques Thomasius*, Professor at *Leipzig*, Author of this Life of *Abelard*, printed at *Hall*, in 1633. See *Citation* below (13).

(10) *Jn. Sarisburiensis*. *Metaph. lib. 3. c. 10. p. 802.*

(11) i.e. *Abelard*, as the Author himself explains it, p. 814. In hac opinione, says he, deprehensus est Peripateticus Palatinum *Abelardus* notiter.

(12) *Orbo* of *Fris. de Geogr. Frider. l. lib. 1. cap. 47.*

(13) The History of *William* and *Folly*, collected by *Charles Thomasius*, Tom. 1. p. 81. In this see full the Life of *Abelard* mentioned above, viz. that received from *Thomasius* copy.

Science with great Reputation. He was not greatly satisfy'd with this Person's Capacity [F]; and, instead of attending his Lectures, he undertook to read himself to his School-Fellows. He explained to them the Prophecies of *Ezekiel* in so pleasing a manner, that in a short time his new Auditory was crowded. The Jealousy of *Anselm* did not long permit this: he forbid this new Master to continue his Lectures. *Abelard* return'd to *Paris*; explain'd there publicly the Prophet *Ezekiel*; and acquired in a short time as great a Reputation in Divinity, as in Philosophy: besides which he gain'd a great deal of Money. To perfect the Pleasures of Life, he began to think of a Mistress, and cast his Eyes upon *Eloisa*, Niece of a Canon, whom he prefer'd to an hundred other Ladies, whom he had it very much in his Power to charm [G]. This Canon, named *Fulbert*, lov'd Money, and was passionately desirous, that his Niece *Eloisa* should be a Scholar. *Abelard* laid hold of these two Foibles to ensnare him. *Admit me to board with you, says he, and fix your own Price.* The Good Man, imagining he had found an excellent Tutor for his Niece, who, far from being an Expence to him, would pay him well for his Board, ran headlong into the Snare (c). He intreated Master *Abelard* to instruct the young Girl fully, both Night and Day, and gave him permission to use correction, if she did not perform her Lessons. Our pretended Tutor ill answer'd the Expectation of *Fulbert*: he soon began to talk Love to his fair Scholar; and amus'd himself more in toying and kissing her [H], than in explaining an Author to her. He indulg'd

(c) *Eam totam nostram magisterio committens, ut quædam mihi Scholæ revereretur vacaret, tam in die quam in nocte ei docendæ operam darem, & eam si negligentem sentirem vehementer castigarem.*
On going her up entirely to my Auditory, that, as often as she was at leisure, upon my return from the Schools, to receive me, I might instruct her both by Day and Night, and if I found her negligent,
might severely correct her.
Abelard's Epist. p. 11.

the Council of *Soissons*, could have fallen out in two Years: Now there is good Proof, that this Council was called in the Year 1121. Add to this, that *William des Champeaux* was made Bishop of *Châlons* in the Year 1113 (14); and that this Promotion removing him from the Schools of *Paris*, *Abelard* went to *Laon*, to study Divinity there. I see no Foundation for the Assertion of others, that he engaged in this Study at *Châlons* (15).

(14) See Du Chêne's Notes upon Abelard's Narrative, p. 2147.

(15) Dupin's Biblioth. Tom. c. p. 100. Dutch Edition.

[F] *Satisfied with this Person's Capacity.* He was an old Man, who never had any great Genius; in so much, that he was easily non-plus'd, when put out of his Rote. When he was pass'd home, as he frequently was by the acute and subtle *Abelard*, he defended himself with meer empty Words: but his Character will be best known from what I am going to transcribe. "Accessi ad hunc fenem, cui magis longævus usus, quam ingenium vel memoria, nomen comparaverat: ad quem si quis de aliquâ Questione pulsandum accederet incertus, redibat incertus. Mirabilis erat in oculis auscultantium; sed nullus in conspectu questionantium. Verborum usum habebat mirabilem, sed sensu contemptibilem, & ratione vacuum. Cum ignem accenderet, domum suam fumo implebat, non luce illustrabat. Arbor ejus, tota in foliis, aspicientibus à longe conspicua videbatur, sed propinquantiobus & diligentius intuentibus infructuosa reperiebatur. Ad hanc itaque cum accessissem, ut fructum inde colligerem, deprehendi illam esse ficuleam, cui maledixit Dominus, seu illam veterem quercum, cui Pompeium Lucanus comparat, dicens,

— Stat magni nominis umbra,
 Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro.

"I applied myself to this old Man, whom long Practice, not Genius or Memory, had made famous; who always sent an Enquirer back more uncertain than he came. He was the Admiration of his Hearers, but the Contempt of his Examiners. He had a wonderful Flow of Words, but void of Sense and Reason. He was a Fire that filled the House, not with Light, but Smoke: A Tree, that appeared Fair at a Distance, but, on a nearer View, bore nothing but Leaves. When I approached it, in hopes of gathering Fruit, I found it to be the Fig-Tree which was cursed by our Lord, or that old Oak, to which Lucan thus compares Pompey:

Still seem'd he to possess, and fill his Place,
 But stood the Shadow of what once he was.
 So in the Field, with Ceres' Bounty spread,
 Uphears some antient Oak his reverend Head.

Rowe.

This Passage deserves to be copied: It shows *Abelard's* turn of Wit, and is a true Picture of a great many Persons.

[G] *Whom he had it very much in his Power to charm.* Vanity was our Hero's distinguishing Foible:

However, being an handsome young Fellow, and in the Flower of his Age; and having a knack at Poetry, a great Reputation, and Money in his Pocket; it is not so strange that he flattered himself with a kind Reception, wherever he should make his Address: "Tanti quippe tunc nominis eram, & juventutis & formæ gratia præminebam, ut quancumque seminarum nostro dignarer amore, nullam vereretur repulsam (16). — Such was my Reputation, my Youth, and Beauty, that I feared no Repulse from any Woman, whom I should think worthy of my Affections." For a Philosopher, who had lived in great Continence (17), he reasons like a Man of no small Experience in these Matters, when the Conquest of *Eloisa* seems to him more easy, than that of any other Woman; and for this Reason, because *Eloisa's* Learning gave him the Opportunity of a regular Correspondence with her by Letters, in which he could make more open Declarations, than in Conversation. "Tanto facilius hanc mihi puellam consensuram credidi, quanto amplius æque litterarum Scientiam & habere & diligere novebam, nosque etiam absentes scriptis internuntiis invicem liceret præsentare, & pericula audacius scribere, quam colloqui. — The more I found this Girl improve in Learning, and the sonder she grew of it, the greater Hopes I had of her Consent: and it was in our Power to be present, even in Absence, by the Interchange of Letters, and to write more freely, than converse (18)." Love-Letters, and Amorous Verses, are no weak Instruments in Love; especially when the Lover himself can sing the passionate Songs he has composed. *Abelard* in this Manner touched the Heart of *Eloisa*, and fired her so by his charming Pen, and enchanting Voice, that the poor Lady could never overcome her Passion. "Duo, says she to him (19), factor tibi speciales iter iterant, quibus seminarum quarumlibet animos mos statim allicere poteras, discendi & cantandi gratia. — Two Qualifications, I confess, you was particularly Master of, with which you could immediately charm the Soul of any Woman. The pleasing Manner of dictating, and singing, your Verses." See the Remark [F] under her Article, where this Passage, cited more at Length, demonstrates the great Influence of these Things upon that Sex.

[H] *In toying and kissing her.* The better to disguise his Design from the Uncle, he pretended sometimes to make use of the Liberty given him of correcting *Eloisa*. He tells us, that Love, not the Anger of a Teacher, prompted him from time to time to whip his Pupil; but that the Lashes he gave her, were the softest in the World. He has left us the following Plan of the Lectures he gave this young Lady.

"Sub occasione disciplinæ amoris penitus vacabamus, & secretos recessus, quos amor optabat, studium Lætionis offerebat. Aperitis itaque libris, plura de amore, quam de lætione, verba se ingerbant, plura erant oscula, quam sententiæ; Sæpius ad Sinus, quam ad libros, reducebantur manus: crebrius oculos amor in se reflectebat, quam lætio in Scrip-
 turam

(16) *Abelard's Works* p. 10.

(17) *Frana libidinis laxare cepi, quæ antea vixem cunctissem.*
I began to give loose to my Passion, which before had been extremely strict.
Abelard's Works p. 9.

(18) *Ibid.* p. 10.

(19) *Ibid.* p. 46.

this Pleasure the more, as he had never before tasted it. He neglected his public Functions, and employ'd his time in writing nothing but Love-Verfes [I]. His Scholars soon perceived that his Lectures declined, and they presently guess'd the Cause. The last Person, that heard the Report of *Peter Abelard's* Amours, was the good Canon *Fulbert*, at whose House the Scene of them was laid. For some time he gave no credit to it; but at length he open'd his Eyes, and dismiss'd his Boarder from his House. Some time after, his Niece found herself with Child, and writ to her Gallant, who thought it proper she should leave her Uncle. He sent her into *Brittany* to a Sister of his, where she was brought to bed of Son (d); and, to appease the Canon, he propos'd to him to marry *Eloisa* privately. This Proposal was more pleasing to the Uncle, than to the Niece: for *Eloisa*, through an Excess of Passion not common, chose rather to be the Mistress, than the Wife of *Abelard*, as we shall relate elsewhere (e). At length she consented to this private Marriage; but she affirmed, upon occasion, with an Oath, that she was not married. *Fulbert*, who chose rather to cover the Disgrace of his Family, by divulging the Marriage, than to keep his Promise with *Abelard* not to discover it, often express'd his Anger at his Niece, when he perceived her Obstinacy in denying that she was *Abelard's* Wife. Upon this her Husband sent her to the Monastery of *Argenteuil*, and oblig'd her to take the Habit of a Nun, except the Veil. The Relations of *Eloisa* imagin'd, that he was laying a new Scene of Treachery in that place, and were so enrag'd, that they employ'd certain Persons, who enter'd his Chamber by Night, and dismember'd him of those manly Parts, with which he had dishonour'd the Canon's Family. This Disgrace made him retire, and conceal his Misfortune in a Monastick Life; and therefore it was not Devotion but Shame, which prompt'd him to take the Habit of a Monk in the Abbey of *St Dennis* (f). The Disorders of this Abbey, in which the Abbot was as much superior to the rest of the Monks in all manner of Impurities, as in Dignity, were the Cause of *Abelard's* leaving it: he cou'd not forbear censuring them; and render'd himself by this means so odious to them, that they were overjoy'd to get rid of him. He chose his Place of Retreat upon the Lands of the Earl of *Champagne* [K], and erected there a School, where

(d) He was named *Altro-labius*.

(e) In the Article *ELOISA*.

(f) In tam misera me conditio possum confusio, futor, pudoris potius, quam devotio conversionis ad monasticorum latibulum claustrorum compulsi. In this miserable State of Penitence, the Confusion of my Shame, I confit, rather than Devotion, drove me to take Shelter in the Indiscreet of a Monastery. *Abelard's* Epist. p. 18.

"tutam dirigeat: Quoque minus suspicionis habere-
mus, verbera quandoque dabat amor, non furor,
gratia non ira, quæ omnium unguentorum suavita-
tem transcendit. — Under the Pretence of In-
struction we gave a loose to Love, and a Lecture pro-
cur'd us that Privacy, which our Passion desired.
"When we open'd our Books, we talk'd more of Love,
"than of reading; we repeated Kisses oftener than
Sentences; my Hands were employ'd in her Bo-
som, more than on her Books; and Love oftener
turn'd my Eyes on her, than the Intention of read-
ing directed them to the Scripture: And the more to
prevent Suspicion, Love, not Rage, Favour, not
Anger, gave her Labours, which were sweeter than
"the richest Perfumes (20)." But it sometimes hap-
pen'd, that he had recourse to Punishment in good
earnest; either when she was out of humour, or the
Solemnity of a Festival inspired him with some Scruple.
See the Remark [E], under the Article *ELOISA*.
We must not pass by *Abelard's* Reflexion on the Sim-
plicity of the Canon. "Quanta ejus simplicitas ef-
fet vehementer admiratus, non minus apud me ob-
stupui, quam si agnam teneram famelico Lapo com-
mitteret. Qui cum eam mihi non solum docen-
dam, verum etiam vehementer confringendam,
traderet, quid aliud agebat, quam ut votis meis li-
centiam penitus daret, & occasionem etiam non pos-
set, ut quæm videlicet blanditiis non pos-
sem, minis & verberibus facilius flecterem? —
"I was as much astonish'd at his Folly, as if he had
trusted a tender Lamb to the Care of a ravening
Wolf. In committing her not only to my Instru-
ction, but even Correction, what was it but to
"licence my Wishes, and to give us Opportunities, even
against our Inclination; and to put it in my Power,
"if I could not prevail on her by softer Methods, to
force her to Compliance by Threats and Labours." As
this Author often cites the ancient Poets, I wonder his
Thought of the tender Lamb, and ravening Wolf, did
not put him in Mind of these Verses of *Virgil*;

Eheu, quid volui misero mihi? Floribus Austrium
Perditus, & liquidis immixti Fontibus Apros (21).

What have I done? —

The Boar amidst my Crystal Streams I bring,
And southern Winds to blast my flow'ry Spring.

DRYDEN.

(21) *Virg.*
Ecl. 2. v. 68.
Sectæ Nouæ
Litteræ.
against the
Calvin. of
Maimbourg,
p. 41.

[I] Nothing but Love-Verfes.] After he had tasted the Pleasures of Enjoyment, he grew weary of reading Lectures, and stay'd in his Auditory as little as possible. The Night was quite lost to his Studies (22): he was otherwise employ'd: he therefore desired to dedicate the Day to Study. This was the Reason why his School was uneasy to him. He repeated only his old Lectures; and if any new Thought came into his Head, it turn'd, not upon any Philosophical Difficulty, but upon amorous Sonnets, which were sung a long time after, in several Provinces. "Ita negligentem
" & tepidum lectio tunc habebat, ut jam nihil ex in-
genio, sed ex usu cuncta proferrem, nec jam nisi re-
citatior pristinorum essem inventorum; & si qua in-
venire liceret carmina essent amatorum, non Philo-
sophiæ secreta. Quorum etiam carminum, sicut &
" ipse nostri, frequentantur & decantantur regionibus,
" ab his maxime quos vita similis oblectat. — Se-
" carelesus was I, and negligent, in reading, at that
" Time, that I produc'd nothing new, but was satis-
"fy'd with barely reciting my old Compositions; my
" Invention was employ'd on Love Songs, not on the
" Secrets of Philosophy; many of which Songs are still
" Favourites, as you very well know, and sung in the
" Provinces, by those especially, who are delighted
" with the same kind of Life (23)." It is certain then,
that he had a Genius for Poetry; but I cannot be-
lieve, that he was Author of the famous Romance of
the *Rose*, nor that he drew the Picture of his *Eloisa*,
under the Name of the *Beauty*. Yet this is what I
have read in a Book, reprinted in *Holland* (24). I
should rather give Credit to him (25), who has taken
so much pains to collect, and collate, the Manuscripts
of *Abelard*. Now he asserts peremptorily, that the
Romance of the *Rose* was wrote by *William de Loris*,
all but the Conclusion, of which *John de Meun* was
the Author. Other Writers, who were well inform-
ed, declare the same. The History of *Abelard* and
Eloisa was inserted in this Romance.

[K] Upon the Lands of the Earl of Champagne.] This appears, by comparing two Passages. The first is, "Ad Cellam quondam recessit, Scholis more solito
" vacaturus. — I chose a Place of Retreat, that I
" might be at leisure to attend my School as usual (26)." The other is, "Nocte haterent aufugi, atque ad ter-
" ram Comitum Theobaldi proximam, ubi antea in
" Cella moratus fueram, abessi. — I stole away by
" Night, and retreated to the Estate of Earl Theo-
" bald, which lay near, and was the Place of my
" former

(22) The
tum mihi
vehementer
erat ad Scho-
las proceles-
tes, vel in iis
morari pariter
& laborio-
sum, cum
nocturnis
amori vigi-
lias, & diurnas
studio
consecrarem.
It was
both very re-
digious and in-
convenient to me, to
attend in the
School, or to stay in
them; for my Nights
were devoted
to Love, and
my Days to
Study.

(23) Ibid.

(24) The Hi-
story of *Abelard*
and *Eloisa*, in 1693,
in 12mo.
(25) Francis
d'Ambolse.
See the Ap-
pendix to the
Preface at the
beginning of
Abelard's
Works, Paris
1715, in 4to.

(26) *Abelard's*
Works,
p. 19.

where he gain'd so great a Number of Auditors [L], that the Envy of other Masters, who saw themselves deserted by their Scholars, upon his account, began to raise new Persecutions against him. He had made himself two formidable Enemies at Laon (g) who no sooner perceived the Prejudice, which their Schools at Rheims receiv'd from his great Reputation, than they sought occasion to ruin him. This was afforded them by a Book, which he wrote upon the Mystery of the Trinity [M]: they pretended to discover in it a shocking Heresy; and prevail'd, by the Interest of their Archbishop, to have a Council call'd at Soissons, about the Year 1121 [N]. This Council, without giving Abeldard leave to defend himself, condemn'd

(e) Albericus of Rheims, and Rotulphus Lombard. The latter is called Leutaldus Novariensis by Otho of Frisingen.

(27) Abeldard's Works, p. 26.

"former Retirement (27)." Pasquier did not understand the former; which he confutes thus; "retiring to the deepest Cell of a Monastery, he read Lectures, sometimes in Philosophy, sometimes in Divinity." Abeldard by no means erected a School within the Walls of the Abbey of St Denis: if he had, he would not have been more favourable to the Monks, whose Irregularities he censur'd, and which was the Reason they were so desirous of getting rid of him, than he had formerly been. Mr du Cange explains the Word *Cella* very learnedly, as he does every thing. See the Remark [A], on the Article PARACLET, where I explain the different Situations of Peter Abeldard.

[L] So great a Number of Auditors. Concerning the great Number of Scholars, which he had, see the Remark [A] of the Article FOULQUES, Prior of Deuil.

[M] The Mystery of the Trinity. The occasion, which induc'd Abeldard to write upon this Subject, was, that his Scholars demanded from him a Philosophical Account of it. "They were not satisfi'd with Words; they desired Ideas; and declar'd loudly, that it was impossible for them to believe what they did not understand; and that it was an Imposition upon Mankind, to preach up a Doctrine equally incomprehensible to the Teachers and the Hearers; which was as if the Blind should lead the Blind, according to our Saviour himself. — Humanas & Philosophicas rationes requirebant, & plus quæ intelligi, quam quæ dici possent, effragitabant; dicentes verborum superfluum esse prolationem, quam intelligentia non sequeretur, nec credi posse aliquid nisi primitus intellectum; & ridiculosum esse aliquem aliis prædicare, quod nec ipse, nec illi quos doceret, intellexit capere possent, Domino ipso arguente quod cœci essent duces cœcorum (29)." Upon which he set himself to explain to them the Unity of God, by Comparisons drawn from human Things. Pasquier accuses him of maintaining, "That we ought not to believe a Thing, of which we can give no Reason; which, addi'd be, is, in plain Terms, to destroy the general Foundation of our Faith (30)." I do not ask this Author, who told him that a Professor approves all the Conceits of his Scholars, when he is so complaisant as to prevent, to the utmost of his Power, the ill Consequences of them. It is indeed probable, that Abeldard did not disapprove of the Maxims, which he ascribes to his Hearers; but the Passage, quoted by Pasquier, is no Proof of this; we ought rather to found it upon these Words of St Bernard: "Quid magis contra fidem, quam credere nolle quicquid non possis Ratione attingere? Denique exponere vultus (Abeldardus) illud Sapientis, qui credit cito levis est corde, cito credere est, inquit, adhibere fidem ante rationem. — Can any thing be more contrary to Faith, than, to refuse assent to every thing, which Reason cannot reach? Abeldard being to explain the Saying of the Wise Man, He, who believes hastily is light of Heart; to believe hastily, says he, is to give Assent before Reason (31)." The Treatise, which Abeldard wrote upon this Subject, was universally approv'd, except by those of the same Profession with himself; I mean the Divinity-Professors. They were so chagrind, that another had explain'd and illustrat'd what they could not, that they cry'd out, he was an Heretic, and alarm'd the People so much, that Abeldard narrowly escap'd being ston'd.

(29) Ibid. p. 20.

(30) Pasquier's Recherch. de la France. B. 6. ch. 17.

(31) Bernard's Epist. 290.

"Duo illi prædicti Emuli nostri ita me in Clero & Populo diffamaverunt, ut pene me populus paucoque qui advenierant ex discipulis nostris, prima die nostri adventus, lapidarent, dicentes me tres Deos prædicare, & scripsisse, sicut ipsis persuasum fuerat. — My two foremention'd Rivals; so blacken'd me, both to the Clergy and Laity, that, upon the first Day of my Arrival, with a few of my Scholars,

"the People were near stoning us; crying out, as it has been insinuated to them, that I both preach'd and writ, that there were three Gods (32)." Their Cabals were so powerful, as to extort from the Pope's Legate (33), the Condemnation mention'd in the Body of this Article. They made it believ'd, that Abeldard admitted of three Gods: Nevertheless, it is certain that he was very orthodox in the Mystery of the Trinity, and that all the Accusations brought against him in this Affair, were wretched Chicanery, and proceeded either from Malice or Ignorance. The Comparison he fetch'd from Logic (for Logic was his Strong hold) tended rather to reduce the divine Persons to One, than to multiply the Essence of God into Three; and yet he was accus'd, not of Sabellianism (34), but of Tritheism. His Comparison is, that, as the Three Propositions of a Syllogism, are but One Truth; so the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are but One Essence. "Sicut eadem Oratio est Propositionis, Assumptio, & Conclusio; ita eadem essentia est Pater, Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus (35)." The Inconveniences arising from this Analogy, are not equal to, at least do not exceed, those, which flow from a Comparison of the Trinity with the Three Dimensions of Matter. Therefore, as no one disputes the Orthodoxy of Mr Wallis, the Oxonian Mathematician, who laid great Strefs on the Analogy of the Three Dimensions, neither ought we to doubt of Abeldard's, on account of his Comparison of the Syllogism. This is certain, that neither the Syllogism, nor the Three Dimensions, account for the Mystery of the Trinity. Observe, that a certain Protestant Divine made use of the Parallel of the Three Dimensions, in the Year 1685. This appears from the *Novelles de la Republique des Lettres*, Article the 3d, for July; Article the 10th, for August; and Article the 12th, for September. It was answered by another Protestant Divine, in the Year 1694. See the Examen of Mr Jurieu's Theology, by Mr Saurin, pag. 83.

(32) Abeldard's Works, p. 10.

(33) Conan, Bishop of Prebete. He presided at the Council of Soissons.

(34) Otho of Frisingen, in his de Gest. Frider. lays, ne articulo, that he was accus'd of the Heresy of Sabellianism, at the Council of Soissons.

(35) Abeldard's Works, p. 10.

[N] About the Year 1121. Father Alexander (36) proves this strongly, as well against John Picard, a Canon of St Vitor, who places this Council in the Year 1116, as against Binius, who fixes it in 1136. The Chronological Errors of Binius, and some others, have been already censur'd in the Preface to the Works of Peter Abeldard. We are there told, that Platina had plac'd the Synod, which condemn'd Abeldard, under Pope Lucius II; that Binius gave into the Mistake of Platina; that he is guilty of another, in placing the Council of Soissons, and that of Sens, in the Year 1140; and that Genebrard supposes but one Year to have pass'd between these Councils. To prove these to be Mistakes, it is asserted, that the Pontificate of Lucius, which continu'd not a whole Year, is to be referr'd to the Year 1145, and that twenty Years pass'd between the holding of the Councils of Soissons and Sens; and that the Bishop of Prebete, who presided at the Council of Soissons, in quality of the Pope's Legate, left France about the Year 1120, and never return'd thither. We may observe more Mistakes than one, in these Words of Platina, there cited. "Qui (Abeldardus) præsentem etiam Lodovico Rege, rationibus victus, non modo sententiam mutavit, sed etiam monasticam vitam & religionem induit, ac deinceps una cum discipulis quibusdam in loco deserto sanctissime vixit. — Who, (Abeldard) in the Presence of King Lewis, being overcome by Arguments, not only renounc'd his Opinion, but took upon him the monastic Life, and Religion, and afterwards retiring, with some of his Scholars, to a desert Place, liv'd a most holy Life." First, it is certain, that Abeldard became a Monk, before any Council was held against him. In the second place, it was at the Council of Sens, that Lewis VII. assisted, to be Witness of the Transactions in this Heretic's Cause. Now it is false, that Abeldard submit-

(36) Nat. Alexand. Eccl. Hist. Cent. 11, 12, Part 3. p. 43, &c.

denn'd him to throw his own Book into the Fire, and to shut himself up in the Cloyster of St *Medard*. He was commanded soon after to return to the Convent of St *Denis*; where the Liberty, he had taken of censuring the corrupt Manners of the *Abbot* and the *Religious*, had exposed him to the Hatred of them all. He happen'd to say, that he did not believe their St *Denis* to be *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* mention'd in Scripture. This was immediately laid hold of, and carry'd to the *Abbot*, who was greatly pleas'd at it, as having a Pretence to accuse him, not only of *False Doctrine*, but even of *offending against the State* [O], an Artifice, which these Gentlemen never fail to put in practice, the better to secure their Revenge. The *Abbot* assembled his Chapter, without loss of time, and declared that he was going to deliver up to the King's Justice one, who had the Assurance to trample upon the Glory and Crown of the Kingdom. *Abelard*, judging that these Menaces were not to be slighted, made his Escape into *Champagne*, and obtained, after the Death of the *Abbot*, permission to live a monastic Life, wherever he pleas'd. The Political Reasons, which concurr'd to this, are something curious [P]. In consequence of this Per- mission,

ted to the Reasoning of his Adversaries, and abjur'd his Opinions, in this Council. He appeal'd, from the very first, to the Pope. In the third place, it is no less false, that from that time he liv'd in a desert place, with some of his Disciples: for he pass'd the remainder of his Days amidst the Monks of *Clugni*. It is evident, that *Platina* has confounded what pass'd in the two Councils held against *Abelard*. Most of the Errors, which I have rectify'd, are objected to *Bellefret*, in the abovementioned Preface; in which he is farther justly censured for having criticiz'd upon the Epitaph of *Abelard*, as if the extravagant Praises, there given him, were a Proof of his Imprudence, and intolerable Vanity. It is certain, that this Epitaph was compos'd by the *Abbot* of *Clugni*, after the Death of *Abelard*. Many Historians have not rightly distinguish'd between the two Councils, which proceeded against this great Man. *Paulus Æmilius* says, he was examin'd for the first time in that of *Sens* (37): *Du Haillan* confirms this Mistake, and adds several others to it (38); as that *Abelard* was afraid to appear; that all his Works were condemn'd to be burnt; and that, the second time he was summon'd to appear, the Bishops disputed a long time, before they condemn'd him. *Philip of Bergame* maintains, that the Heretic (39) being confuted, in the Presence of King *Lewis*, by the powerful Arguments of the Learned and Catholic Bishops, renounc'd his false Doctrines, became a Monk, and pass'd the remainder of his Life, most Saint-like, in a Desert, with some of his Disciples. We meet with a great many Writers of Chronicles, who have copied the same false Stories. A little Book (40), which I have already quoted, put these Words in the Mouth of *Eloisa*, "What did not those two false Prophets assert, who 'declaim'd so vehemently against you at the Council 'of Rheims?' These two false Prophets were St *Bernard*, and St *Norbert*. *Eloisa* never mention'd their declaiming in any Council; and, if she had, it could not be that of Rheims.

[O] *Of offending against the State.* This Artifice has been so often made use of, since the *Jews* employed it against our *Saviour* (41), that it is strange any one should venture at present to put it in practice. Should it not be expected, that so worn out a Contrivance as this should be incapable of Success? No: The World is too unteachable, to profit by the Follies of past Ages. Every Age behaves, as if it were the first; and, as the Spirit of Persecution and Revenge has hitherto endeavour'd to engage Princes in it's private Quarrels, so will it endeavour to do to the end of the World: and we may apply to this Purpose the Saying of *Salomon*; *The thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new thing under the Sun* (42). Our Posterity may say, as well as we,

*Qui méprise Cotin, n'estime point son Roi,
Et n'a, selon Cotin, ni Dieu, ni Foi, ni Loi* (43).

Who slights *Cotin*, affronts his Master too;
No Pardon to such Insolence is due.
All Crimes into that one *Cotin* can draw;
The Wretch, says he, regards nor God, nor Law.

[P] *Something curious.* *Abelard*, not being able to obtain from the *Abbot* of St *Denis* permission

to retire, had recourse to the Engines of Policy. He knew, that the more the Monks of St *Denis* plunged themselves into Irregularity, the more Authority the Court exercised over this Abbey, and drew the greater Profit from it. He therefore gave the King to understand, that it was not for his Majesty's Interest, that a Religious as he was, who was perpetually censuring the bad Lives of these Monks, should continue long among them. The Meaning of this was understood at half a Word; and Orders were given to one of the great Men at Court, to demand of the *Abbot*, and his Brethren, why they would keep by Force a Monk, whose Life was unsuitable to theirs, and who, for that Reason, could be of no Use to them, and might easily bring upon them some Disgrace. The Consequence was, that *Abelard* had leave to retire. * I remember, upon this Occasion, that I one Day asked a Gentleman, who was relating to me numberless Irregularities of the *Venetian* Clergy, how it came to pass, that the Senate suffered a thing so little to the Honour of Religion, and the State. He replied, that the public Good obliged the Sovereign to use this Indulgence; and, to explain this Riddle, he added, that the Senate was well pleas'd that the Priests and Monks were held in the utmost Contempt by the People, since, for that Reason, they would be less capable of causing an Insurrection among them. One of the Reasons, says he, why the Jesuits there are disagreeable to the Prince, is, because they preserve the Decorum of their Character; and thus, being the more respected by the inferior People, are more capable of raising a Sedition. I could scarce give Credit to so shocking a Disorder. What would become of us, if the Sovereign Power should have Occasion to support itself by such an Expedient, and if the Clergy should become more formidable by their good, than their bad Morals? This Confusion would be a thousand times more terrible, than that mentioned by *Tacitus*, when he says, that under a bad Government, a great Reputation is as much exposed to Danger as an ill one. "Intravit animum militaris 'gloriz cupidus, ingrata temporibus, quibus finistra 'erga eminentes interpretatio, nec minus periculum 'ex magnâ famâ, quam ex malâ. — He was eager 'after military Glory, an Ambition odious to the 'Times; in which an ill-natured Interpretation was 'put upon the Actions of eminent Men, and a great 'Character was as much in Danger as an ill one (44)."

But let us hear *Abelard's* own Words: "Intervenientibus amicis quibudam nostris, Regem & 'Concilium ejus super hoc compellavi, & sic quod volebam impetravi. Stephanus quippe Regis tunc 'Dapifer, vocato in partem Abbate & familiaribus 'ejus, quævisit ab iis cur invitum retinere vellent, 'ex quo incurere facile scandalum possent, & nullam utilitatem habere; cum nullatenus vita mea & 'iporum convenire possent. Sciebam autem in hoc 'Regii Consilii sententiam esse, ut quo minus regularis Abbatia illa esset, magis Regi esse sub- 'jecta & utilis, quantum videlicet ad lucra temporaria. Unde me facile Regis & suorum assensum 'consequi credideram, siquæ actum est (45). — 'By the Interposition of some of my Friends, I ap- 'plied to the King and his Council, and by that 'means obtained what I desired. For Stephen, the 'King's Cup-bearer, demanded of the *Abbot* and his 'Brethren, why they detained me against my Will; 'since

* THE REASON why the Senate of Venice is said to be pleas'd with the Irregularities of the Clergy.

(44) *Tacitus*, in his *Life of Agricola*, c. 5.

(45) *Abelard's Works*, p. 27.

(37) *P. Æmilii* *History of the* *France*, in *Lewis VII.*

(38) *Du Haillan's History of France*, in *Lewis VII.*

(39) *They call him Bailardus in the Supplem. Chron. ante* *Tiar* 1135.

(40) *History of Abelard and Eloisa*, with the passionate Letter, which she wrote to him. *Printed at the Hague*, in 1703, in 12mo.

(41) *Luke* *xxiii. 2.*

(42) *Ecclesi.* *i. 9.*

(43) *Baillet* *Suppl. IX. v.* 345, 366.

(B) Incidi in
Christianos,
atque Mona-
chos, genti-
bus longe
leviores &
piores.
*I fell intire
hands of Chri-
stians, and
Monks, more
cruel, and
more, than
Gentils.*
Abelard's
Epist. p. 31.

(50) Ahe-
lard's *Works*,
p. 39, 40.

(51) T. Ray-
naud. of *Fu-
nuchs*, p. 148.

(52) Virg.
Æn. L. 5.
v. 6.

DRYDEN.

*He knew the stormy Souls of Womankind, &c.
Dire Auguries from hence the Trojans draw.*

(*) See the Life of St Bernard by Henry a Hook of Clairvaux, 1603 3, Ch. c. and the 18th Letter of St Bernard, inserted in the Works of Abelard, p. 272.

(n) Letter the 194th ibid. p. 308.

(o) See this Abbot's Letter to Innocent II. in the Works of Abelard, p. 335.

(p) Plus solito scabie, & quibusdam corporis incommoditatibus gravatur. Abelard's Works, p. 341.

(q) See the Letter of Peter the Venerable to Eloisa, in the Works of Abelard, p. 337.

his Misfortunes, in a Letter yet extant. The Remainder of his Life must be traced in other Writings; the most material Circumstance of which is, that he was prosecuted a second Time for Heresy before the Archbishop of Sens. He demanded leave to vindicate his Doctrine in a public Assembly; which was granted him; and a Council call'd at Sens, at which King Lewis VII. thought fit to assist in Person. It was in the Year 1140. St Bernard was sent thither in the Character of his Accuser. They immediately read before the Assembly certain Propositions extracted from the Books of Peter Abelard; the reading of which so terrify'd the Accus'd, that he interpos'd an Appeal to the Pope. The Council, however, condemn'd the Propositions (m); but they pass'd no Sentence against the Person accus'd, and gave an Account of the Matter to Pope Innocent II. desiring of him to confirm the Condemnation. The Pope did not fail to do it (n): he order'd that the Books of Abelard should be burnt, that he should be imprison'd, and forbid him to teach any more. He was appeal'd soon after, at the Solicitation of Peter the Venerable, who had receiv'd, with great Kindness, this Heretic into his Abbey of Clugni, and had reconcil'd him with St Bernard (o), the Promoter of that Injustice [U], which his Innocence had suffer'd in this Council. The Retirement of Clugni was the last, which Abelard had occasion for. He met with, there, every instance of Charity: he read Lectures to the Monks; he was equally humble and industrious. At length, becoming infirm, and being troubled with the Itch (p), and other Disorders, he was sent to the Priory of St Marcel, a very agreeable Place upon the Saône, near to Châlon. He died there the 21st of April, 1142 [X], aged 63 Years. His Body was sent to Eloisa [Y], who interred it in the Paraclet (q). We shall give some Account of his Writings in the Article of Francis d'AMBOISE; and as to what regards his Errors, and the Persecutions he met with from Councils, we shall take some Notice of them in the Article of BERENGER of Poitiers. It is remarkable, that he made no Secret of his Marriage, tho' he was a Priest, and a Canon (r). I am surpriz'd to find that he never mentions his Master (s) Roscelin [Z], who pass'd for a subtle Logician in those times, and is look'd upon as Founder of the Sect of the Nominals. He was himself likewise a Favourer of this Sect, which he found agreeable to that Vivacity of Temper, and that acute and fertile Wit, which he was Master of (t). By the help of this Science, he so puzzled and confounded People, and made use of such a Variety of Sophistry, and Syllogisms, that he left them not less astonish'd, than incapable of answering him. I am not of Opinion, that he ever engag'd in explaining the Civil Law [AA],

(r) Quid te Clericum & Canonicum facere oportet?

What ought you, who are both a Priest and a Canon, to do? Abelard's Epist. p. 16.

(s) Otho of Freisingen's de Res. Gest. Frid. Book 1. Ch. 47. Aventinus's Annal. Bejor. Book 6.

(t) Naudé's Additions to the History of Lewis XI. p. 160.

as

represent in some sort the Conduct of those, who feared that the Passion of Eloisa might have too great an Influence on the Chastity of her Abelard.

[U] The Promoter of the Injustice. I have considered this in the Article of BERENGER of Poitiers.

[X] The 21st of April, 1142. This shews, that the new Author of the Life of Abelard is greatly mistaken, in supposing him alive in the Year 1170. I mean the Author of a little Book, printed at the Hague, in 1693, where, beside the History of Abelard and Eloisa abridg'd, we find three other little Pieces.

[Y] His Body was sent to Eloisa. Pasquier affirms, that "Abelard, by his Will, ordered, that his Body should be buried in the Monastery of the Paraclet (53)." Francis d'Amboise asserts the same (54); but alleges no other Proof, than the Authority of Pasquier. What inclines me to disbelieve this, is, that Peter the Venerable makes no mention of it in his Letter to Eloisa, wherein he gives her an account of Abelard's last Moments (55). Farther still, the Abolition of Abelard makes it credible, that his Body was sent to the Paraclet, only to gratify Eloisa. Probably she might petition for the Favour. Besides, what right had the Abbot of Clugni to make that a matter of Favour, which was settled by Will? The Calender of the Abbey of the Paraclet is a strong Proof of this; for in that we meet with these Words: "VIII of the Kalends of January, died Peter, Abbot of Clugni, by whose GRANT our Church has the Body of "Peter our Founder (56)." The Silence of Andrew du Chesne, in his Notes upon Abelard's Epistle, in which he relates his Misfortunes, is a strong Reason with me, against Pasquier. Some, without mentioning his Will, say, that the Body of her deceas'd Husband was given to Eloisa, because, in his Letters to her, he had often express'd his Desire that it should (57): but they neither cite such Letters, nor any Writer who had cited them. I have met with such a Passage at the 53d Page of his Works. He was, then, at his Abbey of Ruys, and was in continual Dread of being assassinated. "Quod si me Dominus in manibus inimicorum traderit (writes he to Eloisa) scilicet ut ipsi prævalentes me interficiant, aut quocunque casu viam univerſe carnis abiens à vobis ingrediar, cadaver obsecro nostrum ubicunque vel

"sepultum vel expositum jacuerit, ad cœmeterium vestrum deferri faciat, ubi filie nostræ, imo in Christo sorores, sepulchrum nostrum cæpius videntur ad preces pro me Domino fundendas amplius inviter. — But, if Heaven should be pleas'd to deliver me into the Hands of my Enemies, and to suffer them to prevail over me, or by whatever Accident, in my Absence from you, I may chance to go the way of all Flesh, I intreat of you, that my Body, wherever either buried, or expos'd, may be convey'd to your Church-yard, where my Daughters, rather than my Sisters in Christ, having my Sepulchre frequently in view, may be the oftener prompted to pour out their Prayers to God for me." The Abolition of Abelard is as follows: it was intended to be inscribed upon his Tomb; and it was for that Purpose, that Eloisa desired it of Peter the Venerable (58). "Ego Petrus Cluniacensis Abbas, qui Petrum Abelardum in Monachum Cluniacensem recepi, & corpus ejus furtim delatum Heloise Abbatisse & Monialis Paracleti concessi, autoritate omnipotentis Dei & omnium Sanctorum, absolvo eum, pro officio, ab omnibus peccatis suis. — I Peter, Abbot of Clugni, who admitted Peter Abelard, a Monk of Clugni, and granted his Body to be privately convey'd to Eloisa, the Abbess, and to the Nuns, of the Paraclet, by the authority of Almighty God, and all his Saints, do, as is my Duty, absolve him from all his Sins (59)." Belleforest published a notorious Falshood, when he said, that the Bones of Abelard were dug up, and burnt (60). The Apologetical Preface of the Sieur d'Amboise proves demonstrably the contrary.

[Z] His Master Roscelin. Salabert, Priest of Argen, in his Dissertation on the Sect of the Nominalists (61), leaves it doubtful, whether Roscelin was the Preceptor of Peter Abelard. We shall examine his Reasons under the Article ROSCELIN.

[AA] That he ever engag'd in explaining the Civil Law. Francis d'Amboise seems to be mistaken, when he fancies, that Accursus spoke of our Abelard, in his Gloss upon the Law De quinque Pedum præscriptione. Accursus's Words are, "Sed Petrus Bailardus, qui se jactavit quod ex qualibet quantumcumque difficili litera traheret sanum intellectum, hic

(58) See Abelard's Works, p. 343.

(59) Abelard's Works, p. 345.

(60) Belleforest's Chronicle of France.

(61) The Title of it is, Philosophia Nominalium vindicta, printed at Paris, in 1651, in 8vo.

« dixit,

(53) Recherch. de la France B. 6. ch. 17.

(54) Apolog. Pref. to Abelard's Works.

(55) In Abelard's Works, p. 337.

(56) In Andr. Queret. du Chesne's Notes on the History of Abelard's Misfortunes, in his Works.

(57) Cave's Hist. Litt. &c. p. 52.

as some pretend. The Reader will see in the last Remark a Catalogue of the Mistakes of Mr. Moreri [BB]. You will find in a Work of Father Jacob (u) a long List of Authors who have spoken of *Abelard*.

(u) It is that invid, De claris Scrip toribus Cabi- lounensibus, p. 142.

"dixit, NESCIO.—But Peter Bailard who boasted that he could strike out a good Meaning from the most difficult Expression, upon this occasion confess'd his Ignorance (62). Alciatus commended the Modesty of this Peter Bailard, for so ingenuously acknowledging his Ignorance in this Matter: "Magnus ille Andreas Alciatus in illo, quem de quinque pedum præscriptione scripsit Tractatu, postquam Petrum Bailardum celebrem suâ tempestate Professorem laudavit, quod ingenue fastus esset, eam legem à se non intelligi, &c.—The great Andrew Alciatus in the Treatise which he wrote concerning the Law De quinque Pedum præscriptione, after he had praised Peter Bailard, a celebrated Professor of his Times, for frankly owning, that he did not understand that Law, &c. These are the Words of Francis d'Andouze (63): and he is sufficiently confuted by his own Expressions: for, to make Alciatus reason justly, the celebrated Professor, whom he commends, should have been a Professor of Law. Where is the Wonder, that a Professor of Logic should acknowledge, that he does not understand an intricate Passage of the Code? Besides, we find in Petrus Crinitus, that this Bailard was a Professor of Law: he calls him Johannes Bajardus. We may conclude, that our *Abelard* is out of the Question in that Place; and that Pasquier, who fancied he had remarked what ought not to have been passed over, in applying to him Accursius's Words, had better have said nothing about it (64). He ought, at least, to have observed, that, in the Passage of Accursius, it is not written Petrus *Abelardus*, as he pretends, but Petrus Bajardus. But, if it were true, that this Commentator had our *Abelard* in view, it must be granted, I think, that he was in an Error; for there is no Reason to believe, that *Abelard* ever concerned himself with Law. Consider the Words of Crinitus. "Quæsitum est superiori ætate à viris doctioribus quidnam in Jure nostro Civili præscriptio quinque pedum significaret, qualisque foret in eâ intellectus. Quam rem Laurentius Valla, & alii complures, cum non satis perciperent, hæc unâ ratione se defendebant, quod Johannes Bajardus, inter eos, qui Jus civile Profitentur, consultissimus, ingenue affirmavit, se illud ignorare. — It was matter of enquiry among the Learned of the last Age, what the Præscriptio quinque pedum, in our Civil Law, meant. Which when Laurentius Valla, and many others were at a loss to understand, they had only this to plead in excuse, that Johannes Bajardus himself, the most knowing among the Professors of Civil Law, ingeniously declared his Ignorance of it (65)." Thomasius ought not to have inferred from this Passage, that Peter *Abelard* was sometimes named Bajardus (66).

The following Observation was communicated to me by Mr De La Monnoie, after he had read my Remark [AD]. As I am certain the Reader will be better able to decide this Dispute, by comparing his Thoughts with mine; he will be pleased to have it in his Power to make the Comparison. I am satisfied says he, that Accursius, upon the Law, Quinque pedum, means *Abelard*. I agree, *Abelard* did not profess the Civil Law; but he passed for a general Scholar, and one that allowed nothing to be above his Abilities; qui totum scibile sciebat, who knew every thing that was to be known, as we are told in his Epitaph. Accursius, in the cited Passage, gives us no other Idea than this; and those, who imagine, from the Words of the Commentator, that Petrus Bajardus or Bailardus was a celebrated Professor of Law, are mistaken. There never was one of this Name. Bajardus is no other than *Abelard*, and it is one of the ten or twelve Ways, in which this Author's Name is written. The Italians, who are accustomed to this Manner of Contraction, pronounce Bajardus for *Abelardus*, as Ragona for *Aragona*, Naldo for *Arnaldo*, Berto for *Alberto*, or *Limberto*. At length, it cannot be denied, that James Philip of Bergame, an Augustin Monk, gave our *Abelard* the Name of *Bailardus* (67). This is the Observation of Mr De La Monnoie. I have one thing to add, which eluded me in the first Edition. I am

of Opinion, that *Abelard* died before the Study of the Roman Law was introduc'd into France. It had been reviv'd in Italy, some Years before (68), and we must imagine, that the Infancy of it's new Birth continu'd some time. It is therefore improbable, that recourse should be had to our French Logician, for the Explication of a particular Law, of great Difficulty as to it's principal Point, and but little in use. Men seldom amuse themselves in unriddling such Matters, 'till they have clear'd up those of the greatest Importance, or when they endeavour to improve upon former Interpreters. If it were allowable to apply Mr Menage's Rules, we might say, that the *Bailardus* of Accursius is a Corruption from the Word *Bulgarus*; *Bulgarus*, *Bailgarus*, *Bailgardus*, *Bailardus*. A great Alteration may be introduc'd by Degrees in proper Names, both by transcribing, and by pronouncing them ill.

[BB] The Mistakes of Mr Moreri.] First, It is not true that *Abelard* taught Divinity at Corbeil, and at Melun. zdly, To alledge, that Authors are unanimous in declaring that *Eloïsa* was Niece to the Canon Fulbert, is a very weak Argument against *Papirius Masson*, who asserts that she was the natural Daughter of a certain Canon. Fulbert might certainly have a Sister, imprudent in her Conduct: I say a Sister; for he was *Eloïsa*'s Uncle by the Mother's Side; her Avunculus. I am surpris'd, that Andrew du Clérge (69) could think of confuting *Papirius Masson* by the same Argument, which Mr Moreri had made use of. 3dly, It does not appear, that *Abelard* introduc'd himself into the Canon's House, on pretence of teaching *Eloïsa* Divinity: Why then is he particular in relating what Authors, whom he ought to follow, deliver only in general? The Words, "Erat cupidus ille valde, atque erga neptem suam ut amplius semper in doctrinam proficeret literatiorum plurimum studiosus. — He was very covetous, and at the same Time very desirous, that his Niece should make a Proficiency in Learning (70)" do not imply Divinity, more than any other Science. 4thly, It does not appear that *Eloïsa* had any great Esteem for *Abelard*, before they liv'd together in the same House. 5thly, It is not true, that, upon her leaving her Uncle, he carried her with him into Brittany: he sent her indeed into that Province, but continu'd himself at Paris, to guard, in the best Manner he could, against the Attempts of Fulbert, 'till he could appease him by offering to marry his Niece. Then he went to join her in Brittany, as we find in the Relation of his Misfortunes. The Abridgment of the History of *Eloïsa* and *Abelard*, lately publish'd (71), is not exact in this Point. The Author supposes, that *Abelard* left Paris, at the same time that he quitted the Canon's House; that he return'd thither, as soon as he was inform'd that his Pupil was pregnant, and that he carried her off by Night, in order to marry her privately, 'till her Relations should permit him to espouse her in publick. He had no Intention of marrying her, when he convey'd her away, nor did he ever pretend, that his Marriage was to be made publick. 6thly, *Eloïsa* did not tell him freely, that she intended not by this Marriage to rob the Church of a Doctor, who, in all likelihood, would soon become one of it's most illustrious Prelates. Nothing like this occurs in the long Detail, which *Abelard* has left us, of *Eloïsa*'s Arguments against their Marriage. See the Article ELOÏSA, Remark [X]. 7thly, he does not declare, that he marry'd her for the quiet of his Conscience: Why will Mr Moreri pretend to know *Abelard*'s Motives to this Marriage, better than himself? 8thly, The Marriage, and the Consent of Argenteuil, ought not to have been jumbled together: there was a Space between these two Circumstances. *Eloïsa* was sent to this Convent upon no other account, than the ill Usage of her Uncle, who was angry with her for peremptorily denying her Marriage. 9thly, It is, therefore, a very false account to say, that this Marriage was not so secret but Fulbert had notice of it; for they receiv'd the nuptial Benediction, at Church, in his Presence. "Post paucos dies, nocte secretis orationum vigiliis in quadam Ecclesia celebratis, ibidem fummo mane, avenzulo ejus atque quibusdam nostris vel ipsius amicus at-

(68) See the Article 1R-NERIUS.

(69) His Notes upon the Hist. of *Abelard*'s Misfortune.

(70) *Abelard*'s Works, p. 111.

(71) At the Hague in 1693. 12mo

(62) Fr. d'Amboise's Apology, Pref. to *Abelard*'s Works.

(63) The Words of Alciatus are, Acco autem exilimata est difficultas, ut Petrus Bajardus, non incelebris tempestate sua Professor, ingenue fastus est, eam à se non intelligi. It was thought so difficult, that Peter Bajard, a celebrated Professor of his Times, ingeniously confess'd he did not understand it.

(64) Pasquier's Recherches de la France, B. 6. c. 17.

(65) Crinitus de Honorat. Discept. B. 23. c. 4.

(66) J. Thomasius in his Life of P. *Abelard*, No 3.

(67) See the Article 1R-NERIUS.

" silentibus, nuptiali benedictione confederamur —
 " After a few Days, having privately, in the Even-
 " ing, celebrated Vespers in a certain Church; early
 " in the Morning we were there join'd in Marriage,
 " and receiv'd the nuptial Benediction, in the Pre-
 " sence of her Uncle, and some of our, or his, Friends
 " (72.)" tothly, It is by no Means true, that Abe-

(72) Abell's Hyst.,
 p. 121.

lard read Lectures to a great Number of Scholars in
 Champagne, from the Time that the vitious Lives of
 the Monks of Ruiss, compell'd him to return thither,
 and at the Time that the Abbot Suger expell'd the
 Nuns from Argenteuil. Father L'Enfant has copy'd
 some of these Errors (73).

(73) L'Enfant, a D-
 minator, in
 General His-
 tory of all
 Ages, to the
 2^d of April.
 The World is
 in a Vain in
 12mo. de-
 dicated to
 the day of
 the Year,
 and printed
 at Paris in
 1745.

ABELIANS, or ABELONIANS, a Sect of Hereticks who rose in Cham-
 pagne, near Hippon, and who had been some time extinct in St. Austin's Days. They
 profess'd very odd Principles, and such as were not likely to continue long [A].
 They ordain'd that each Man should be in possession of his particular Woman; they
 thought it improper, and would not allow, that a Man should continue single; it
 was necessary, according to the Statutes of the Order, that he should have a Help-
 meet like unto himself: but it was not permitted him to lean upon this Prop, that
 is, to be corporeally join'd to his Wife: She was to be to him the Tree of the
 Knowledge of Good and Evil, the Fruit of which was forbidden him under severe
 Penalties. These People were for regulating Matrimony upon the footing of the
Terrestrial Paradise, in which Adam and Eve were united only in their Affections;
 or rather they followed the Example of *Abel*: for they pretended that *Abel* was mar-
 ried, but that he died without ever having any Knowledge of his Wife: and from
 him this Sect borrow'd it's Name (a). When a Man and a Woman enter'd into
 this Society, they adopted two Children, a Boy and a Girl, who succeeded to their
 Goods, and who married together upon the same Condition of not getting Children,
 but of adopting two others of different Sexes. They easily met with poor People
 in the Neighbourhood, to furnish them with Children. This Account is given us
 by St. Austin (b); and as he is almost the only Author, who mentions them, we must
 imagine, that this Sect was known but in a few Places, and of but a short Con-
 tinuance. It is believed, that it begun in the Reign of *Arcadius*, and ended in that
 of *Theodosius the younger*. All those, who compos'd, it being at last reduc'd to one
 single Village, re-united themselves to the Catholic Church.

(a) See Bo-
 chart's Sa-
 cred Glogr.
 B. 2. Cl. 16.
 who thinks
 that Adam's
 Concubine,
 during 130
 Years after
 his Death of
 Abel, gave
 rise to the
 Name of
 these Here-
 ticks.

(b) Aug. de
 Hæres. cap.
 87. See
 there Lam-
 bert Danæus.

[A] Not likely to continue long.] Such a State of
 Continency between a Man and his Wife, who had
 every thing else in common, and whose Union was
 effected a true Marriage, was too great a Violence
 offered to Nature, to be of long Continuance. *Nu-
 lum violentum durabile. Nothing violent is lasting.*
 The *Abelians* were only a more moderate sort of
Encratites and *Novatians*: these latter absolutely
 condemn'd Matrimony; the *Abelians* approved of,
 and retained it. It is true, it was barely the Name: they
 preserv'd it's Appearance, but deny'd it's Power.
 " *Hi nomen quidem conjugii & nuptiarum retine-
 " runt, vim autem & effectum earum prorsus sustu-*
 " *lerunt* (1)." Had they looked upon Marriage to
 be a Sacrament, their Opinion, in this Point, would
 have been like that of the *Zuinglians* concerning the
Eucharist: they would have admitted the *Figure*, but
 not the *Reality*; and this must have contributed
 towards extinguishing the Sect. You will find in *Fure-
 tier's* Dictionary (2), that

(1) Danæus
 upon Austin's
 B. 2. de Hæ-
 res. ch. 87.

(2) Fure-
 tier on the Word
 Marriage.

Boire, & manger, coucher ensemble,
 C'est mariage, ce me semble.

*Marriage consists in eating, and drinking, and lying
 together.*

This is the natural Idea of that State: and, in this
 Description, the last Character passes for the prin-
 cipal, and the specific Distinction. This it is, which
 is called the *Consummation* of Marriage: without this,
 the most solemn Contract, the Betrothing, and the

nuptial Benediction, pass for meer Preliminaries,
 which it is easy to be disengaged from. It is this which
 ties the Knot, and renders it indissoluble. It is the
 End, the Mark, and the Crown of the Work: It is
 the *ad plus ultra*. It is therefore very improbable,
 that such Numbers of People, even after the Notion
 became common, should chuse to submit both to
 the Name and the Restraint of Matrimony, and to
 renounce the most shining Honours of *Celibacy*, with-
 out taitling of the Fruits and the Joys of Marriage.
 When, therefore, I said that the Principles of this
 Sect were not calculated for a long Duration, it was
 not necessary, that I should allude to the witty Say-
 ing attributed to *Sixtus* the Fifth: " *Non fit chiava*
 " *in questa Religione, non durara* (3);" as much as
 to say, they would break thro' such a Precept of
 Religion as this, in spite of their Teeth. To adopt
 a Child, among them, supplied the Intention of get-
 ting one; and therefore we cannot apply to the *Abel-
 ians* the Remark of *Florus* on the first Inhabitants
 of Rome: " *Res erat unius ætatis, Populus Viro-*
 " *rum* (4). — *It was an Establishment calculated to con-*
 " *tinue but for one Race, as consisting entirely of Men.*"
 For, if other Causes had not concurred, this Sect
 might have continued to the end of the World.
 " *Per sæculorum millia (incredible dictu) Gens æter-*
 " *na est, in qua nemo nascitur. — They are a*
 " *Race of People, which (incredible to relate!) is*
 " *never extinct, tho' no one is born among them.*"
 This *Pliny* says of the *Essenians* (5), and is every
 Day applied to the Monks.

(3) Carlet,
 Confid. of
 Sancy, B. 1.
 c. 1.

(4) Florus,
 L. 1. c. 1.

(5) Pliny,
 B. 1. c. 17.

ABELLI (*Anthony*) Doctor of Divinity, a *Jacobin*, Abbot of *Notre Dame de
 Livri*, in *Aulnois*, Confessor to the Queen-Mother, and formerly her Preacher, pub-
 lish'd *Sermons upon the Lamentations of Jeremiah*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1582. I only
 copy *la Croix du Maine* and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, and if I do not correct their Er-
 rors, at least I will propose my own Doubts [A]. If Mr *Moreri* had done the same,
 perhaps by this time we might have arrived at the Truth. The Confession of Au-
 thors, that they are ignorant of such or such Particulars, is the surest way to excite
 the curious to communicate their Discoveries to the Public: A Consideration, which
 will frequently engage me to propose my Doubts. Mr *Moreri* had so many Oppor-
 tunities, which I have not, of consulting those, who might rectify such things as these,
 that he ought to have done more upon this Occasion than barely copy *la Croix du Maine*.

[A] I will propose my own Doubts.] It seems to me a
 little strange, that a *Jacobin* should be in possession
 of an Abbey, and receive his Title from it. I know

of no Part of France called *Aulnois*. If it should be
 read *Lannoi*, it is another thing, but still I find no
 Abbey in the Diocese of *Loon* named *Livri* (1). The

(1) See the
 State of
 France,
 a continu-
 ed Table of
 the Abb-
 eys.

(5) Mr de Launoi's *Hist. of the College of Navarre*, p. 372. (3) This is too often the fault of Transcribers of Manuscripts. (4) Claud. Robertus, in his Nomenclatura Abbatum Gallicæ.

Abbey of this Name is in the Diocese of Paris. Lastly, I find, in the Act, by which the University of Paris swore Fealty to Henry IV. Apr. 22. 1594. among those, who subscribed it, one Francis Abely, Abbot of Iuvri, Preacher and Almoner to the King (2). Those, who have Leisure, may consider whether or no what relates to several Persons be not here collected, and applied to one (3).

My Doubts have procured me the following excellent Illustration of this Matter. "Aunoï, or Aulnoï, is very right. There is the Abbey of Notre Dame de Liuri in Aunoï, in Aunoï (4), of the Order of St Augustin, in the Deanery of Chelles, and Diocese of Paris. In order to obtain this Abbey, we must suppose, that Anthony Abelli transferred him-

self from the Order of St Dominic to that of St Augustin, which is very easily done, and practised every Day. As to Francis Abely, Abbot of Iuvri, I suspect it is a Mistake, and that this Francis, who was apparently the Successor of Anthony, ought to be styled Abbot of Liuri, there being no Abbey of the Name of Iuvri in France." This Illustration was communicated to me by Mr De la Monnoie. The Abbot Baudrand has informed me, that the Abbey of Liuri is three Leagues distant from Paris, as you go to Meaux, in a little District named Aulnoy, in which there are ten or twelve Villages, and that he knows nothing farther concerning its Boundaries. These two Accounts sufficiently clear up my Difficulties.

(a) The Measure Gaëlant, of Oct. 1691. (b) The 6th Edition is that of Paris, in 1651. A sixth was published in 2 Vols. in 1720. in 1659.

ABELLY (Lewis) Bishop, and Earl of Rhodés, who died October 4. 1691, aged 88 Years (a), was a Native of Paris, and Rector of St Josse, in that City. He wrote several Works, particularly a Treatise of Divinity, entitled *Medulla Theologica* (b), upon which Account Boileau gives him the Epithet of *Moilleux, Pitby*, or full of Marrow [A], and which differs widely from the Maxims of the *Janseuists* [B]. He

was

[A] The Epithet of *Moilleux, Pitby*, &c.] In reciting this Passage, I shall make no Scruple to begin it a little higher; for besides, that there is no Danger of any one's being displeased with the Length of the Quotation, it will serve to confirm what I shall advance in the following Remark.

If these Verses contain'd nothing more than the Agreement between *Bauni* and *Abelli*, they would sufficiently declare the *Anti-Janseuist* of the latter; but there are other Arrows in this Quiver, which are directed to the same Mark, and carry home. The Author has given us, in the Margin, a Note, to explain the Reason of the Epithet, and it was rightly done. When I reflect upon the Conjectures, which the Critics would form, should the French Language one Day meet with the Fate of the Latin, and the Works of Boileau be preserv'd, I represent to myself a thousand Whims. For, suppose that the *Medulla Theologica* of Mr Abelli were entirely lost, and scarce any Author extant, who takes notice of it, nor any Note in the Margin of the Latin, over against the Word *Moelleux*, what a stir would the Critics make to find out the Reason of this Epithet, and how many Mistakes would they run into (3)? I fancy to myself, that some one of them, ill satisfy'd with the Conjectures of all his Predecessors, would at length pretend to discover, that *Abelli* was distinguish'd by this Epithet, in allusion to the Offerings of *Abel*, which were not dry, like those of *Cain*, but a real Sacrifice of Beasts. Upon this Occasion he would quote the *Sacrum pingue dabo, nec macrum sacrificabo*: he would say, that the Parts of the Victim were not all of equal Efficacy, and that the Fat, under which is comprehended the Marrow, was of singular Use. The more learned he happen'd to be, the farther would he run on from one extravagant Conceit to another, and heap Chimeras on Chimeras. Upon this Occasion, as well as many others, we should see accomplish'd that Expectation in the ninth Satire of Mr Boileau,

(3) Compare what Father Bouchours says in the 4th Dialogue of his *Maniere de bien penser*, p. 399. on the subject of the Words of Boileau, *Profane dans l'Ordre des Côtéaux*.

(4) Nouvelles de la Rep. de Lett. 1684. Art. 6.

1 This Design has been executed since the Death of Mr Bayle, by Mr Brocette. He published in 1715, at Geneva, the Works of Boileau, with Historical Notes, communicated by the Author himself, in 2 Vols. 4to. It was reprinted at Amst. in 1718. in Fol. and 4to. and in 1722 at the Hague, in 4 Vols. 12mo.

(1) The Author means the Abbot Aubert, Canon of St Capell, a famous Molinist, Brother of that Mr Aubert, who wrote the History of Gard. See Suite du Mazarin, p. 8. Edit. Moli.

Alain touffe & se leve, Alain (1) ce savant homme; Qui de Bauni vingt fois a la toute la Somme, Qui possède Abelli, qui fait tout Raconis, Et même entend, dit-on, le Latin d'A Kempis. N'en doutez point, leur dit ce savant Canoniste, Ce coup part, j'en suis sûr, d'une main Janseuiste, Mes yeux en font temoins: j'ai vu moi-même hier Entrer chez le Prelat le Chapelain Garnier. Arnaud, cet Heretique ardent à nous de truire, Par ce ministre adroit tente de le séduire. Sans doute il aura la dans son Saint Augustin Quatrefois Saint Louis erigea ce Lutrín. Il va nous inonder des torrens de sa plume, Il faut, pour lui répondre, ouvrir plus d'un volume. Consultons sur ce point quelque Auteur signale; Voions si des Lutrins Bauni n'a point parlé. Etudions enfin, il en est temps encore, Et pour ce grand projet, tantôt, dès que l'Aurore Rallumera le jour dans l'onde enseveli, Que chacun prenne en main le MOELLEUX ABELLI (2).

(2) Boileau's Lutrín, Canto 4. 169, &c.

Then Allen rose, collected and prepar'd, He regularly bemo'd, then stroak'd his Beard, And claim'd as Prolocutor to be heard. The learned Seer Attention might demand, The only Scholar in the reverend Band. The learned Seer had oft Abelli read, And fill'd with Raconis his muddy Head. Nay, great A-Kempis he could construe too; And all his knotty Passages undo. Then thus he spoke: Believe me, Sirs! I know Some Janseuist must aim this fatal Blow. It must be so; we're in the Prelate's Snare; These Eyes saw Chaplain Garnier enter there. Arnaud endeavours, by this artful Friend, The Prelate to his Purposes to bend. Sirs, be most certainly has somewhere beard, That this litigious Deik St Louis rear'd. Then, grown polemical, he'll proudly think To drown us all with Deluges of Ink. Now 'tis our Duty timely to prepare, And stand a resolute defensor War, Consider then; does Bauni nothing say Of Deiks? None of the Fathers lean that Way? I find this Argument will ask much Oil, Close Reading, indefatigable Toil. Then, till Aurora kindles up the Day, And lights her Lamp, extinguish'd in the Sea; Let each in hand PITBY ABELLI take, And what the learned Diſtor diſputes, speak.

Et deja vous croiez, dans vos Rimes obscures, Au Saumaisiens futurs preparer des tortures.

Thy Rhimes, even now obscure, thro' learned Pains, Prepare the Rack for future Critics Brains,

It were to be wish'd, says some one, that a good Commentary were wrote upon the Satires of this Author (4) †. It is certain such Writings soon grow obscure in many Places. The *Catholicon d'Espagne*, and the *Confession Catholique de Sancy*, are a Proof of this. The Publick is very much indebted to the Author, who publish'd Remarks upon the last of these two Satires, in the Year 1693, and upon the first in 1696. He is a curious and discerning Writer, and very fit for this Work.

[B] From the *Maxims of the Janseuists*.] One of these Gentlemen complains bitterly, that Mr De la Berchere, Archbishop of Aix, had ordered the Director of his Seminary, to follow *Abelly*, and no longer teach the *Moral Divinity of Grenoble* (5). He asserts, that there are three false Principles in *Abelly's Medulla Theologica*, of which, The first overthrows that most certain Direction of a good Conscience, acknowledged by the Heathens themselves, which forbids the doing of an Action, the Lawfulness, or Unlawfulness, of which is doubtful. The second reduces to nothing the greatest of all the Commandments, namely, that which obliges us to love God above every thing. The third is directly repugnant to that Care, which the Cardinal Grimaldi took, to

make Bishops

of Navarre.

was Author likewise of *The Life of Vincent de Paul*, Founder, and first Superior General, of the Congregation of the *Mission*; a Treatise on the *Principles of Christian Morality*; another on *Heresies*; another on the *Tradition of the Church in relation to the Worship of the Virgin Mary, &c.* This last Work, which was printed a second Time at *Paris*, in the Year 1675, gave great Pleasure to the *Protestants*, as it furnish'd them with good Weapons against the *Converters*, who would make them believe, that whatever there might be extravagant in this kind of Devotion, it was owing wholly either to *Monkish Opinions*, or to *Abuses*, which the *Bishops* were every day correcting: The same Book was useful to those of that Persuasion against the *Bishop of Condom's* Work (c). In truth, Mr *Abelly* became the Patron of the most extravagant Conceits, in relation to the Worship of the *Blessed Virgin*. This was destroying the Attempts of another Prelate, and the Intentions of those, who publish'd, or approved, *The wholesome Advice of the Blessed Virgin to her indiscreet Votaries*. Mr *Abelly* was a Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*; he resign'd his Bishoprick to another, when his Age would not suffer him to discharge the Duties of his Office, and retir'd to the House of *St Lazarus*. He discover'd a Secret in the *Life of Mr Vincent*, which was pleasing to many [C].

(c) *Extr. d. An. Exposition de la Doctrine de la Catholique Church.*

secure the Observation of the Rules of St Charles in the Sacrament of Penance, by distinguishing a great Number of Cases, in which the Confessors may either refuse, or defer Absolution. Mr *Abelly* therefore was accused of teaching, First, That one may follow an Opinion less probable and less certain, in doing that which is a Sin according to the contrary Opinion, which seems to us more probable: Secondly, That it is not certain, that the Precept of loving God above all things obliges us always, in virtue of itself, but only by Accident. Thirdly, That one may without Scruple constantly allow those, whose Life is a perpetual Vicissitude of Confinement and Sinning. See the Advertisements to the Reverend Fathers, the Jesuites of Aix, in Provence, concerning a printed Paper, entitled, "A Ball, danced at the

"Reception of the Lord Archbishop of Aix." This Advertisement was published in 1687, in 12mo.

It is easy to see, that Mr *Abelly's* Book is meant in the following Passage of the *Menagiana*. "As they were talking of the Marrow of A— Mr 'L'Abbe le Camus, at present a Cardinal, said, that 'the Man was in the Wane, when he wrote it (6)'" A new Proof of the Contempt, which the *Jesuits* had for this Work.

[C] A Secret — which was pleasing to many] He informed the Public, that Mr *Vincent* had drop'd all Correspondence with the Abbot of *St Cyran*, after having heard him declare, that the Council of *Trent* was only a Cabal, and an Assembly of *Schismatics*, with the Pope at the Head of them (7). Whoever is convinced of this, cannot be a *Roman Catholic*.

(6) *Memo. d'un pape. de la Lib. de la Duch. d'Orléans.*

(7) *Abelly's Lib. d'Hist. ecclesiastique, B. 2. c. 12. See the bound Preface to the second Edition, p. 1. 134.*

ABERDEEN, an Episcopal City of *Scotland*, under the Archbishoprick of *St Andrews*, including an University. It may be considered as separated into two Cities; for there is *Aberdeen* at the Mouth of the *Don*, and *Aberdeen* at the Mouth of the *Dee*. The former is call'd *Old Aberdeen*, the other *New Aberdeen*. They are but a Mile distant from each other. The Bishop's See, and the University, are at *Old Aberdeen*: the other is a richer, and more trading, Place. The University was founded in Year 1480, the Bishoprick in the Year 1100: it was translated from *Murthlac*, as *Hector Boëtius*, a Scotch Historian (a) informs us. This City is call'd indifferently in *Latin* *Aberdonia*, *Aberdonium*, and *Aberdona*. Mr *Moreri* endeavours to refine upon this Article [A], but without Success.

(a) In *Ba- drand's Lex. Xic. Geogr.* p. 4.

[A] Mr *Moreri* endeavours to refine upon this Article. He quarrels with those, who say, that *Aberdonia*, or *Aberdon*, *Aberdonia*, *Aberdona*, or *Devana*, is a City. "There is not a City (says he) in all *Scotland* of this Name; but there are two Towns, one of which is called *New-Aberdeen*, and the other *Old-Aberdeen*: and if these Names are jumbled together, it must be in Books or Maps, that are very incorrect." It would be unnecessary to prove, that, not only in common Speech,

the Distinction of *Old* and *New Aberdeen* is not made use of, but that, even in Books, it is very little observed. For what Authors ever said, *The Bishoprick of Old Aberdeen*, *The University of New Aberdeen*? What Historians are not satisfy'd with barely mentioning *Aberdeen*, when they speak of this Episcopical City? Mr *Moreri* plainly forgot his own Criticism, when under the Article *SCOTLAND*, he says, *St Andrews has one University, and Aberdeen another*; for, otherwise, he ought to have said *Old Aberdeen*.

ABGILLUS (*John*), Son of a certain King of the *Frisons*, led so exemplary a Life, that he gain'd the Surname of *Priestre*, or the *Priest*. He accompany *Charlemagne* in his Expedition to *Palestine*; and, instead of returning to *Europe* with *Charlemagne*, after taking of *Jerusalem*, he advanc'd as far as the *Indies*, made vast Conquests there, and founded the Empire of the *Abyssins*, which from his Name, was called *The Empire of John the Priest* *. He compos'd two Histories, one comprehending the Voyage of *Charlemagne* to the *Holy Land*, the other his own Expedition to the *Indies*. This last Work contains a Description of the Country, and of the different People, which inhabit it. If *Suffridus Petri* (a) was capable of imagining these Histories to have been any other than poultry Romances, compos'd in the Ages of Ignorance, and in which *Charlemagne* is introduc'd with such an extraordinary Bravery, as if he had been one of the imaginary Heroës, *Palmerin of Oliva*, *Huon of Bourdeaux*, or *Geoffrey Great-Tooth*: if, I say, *Suffridus Petri* was capable of conceiving this, he deserves all the hard Words, which *Vossius* has given him (b); for what can be invented more fabulous, than the Conquest of *Jerusalem* by *Charlemagne*?

* We call him in *French*, *Priester John*.

(a) *H. speaks of this Abgillus, and his Works, in the Preface to the Scriptura. Frisica.*

(b) O *Holm-mium v. l. de Fris.*

consequenter dixerim indignum, et vixit ut a publicis commentis haberet fidem! ----- O very great, and I had almost said, superfluous, note.

ABYDUS, a City of *Egypt*. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* calls it a Colony of the *Milefians* [A], which receiv'd it's Name from one *Abydos*. *Strabo* speaks of it, as a very ruinous Town; but he says, that it appears to have been very large, and the principal Town of the Country, next to *Thebes* (a). The famous King *Memnon* resided in it, and built there a magnificent Palace (b). The Temple and Sepulchre of *Osiris* are a great Ornament to this City, and recommend it extremely. The greatest Lords of *Egypt* affected to be buried there, that they might have their Monuments near that of *Osiris* (c). The Oracle of the God *Besa* was no small Ornament to this Place. All the neighbouring People were great Worshippers of this Deity, who gave his Answers in writing to those, who had not the convenience of consulting him in Person. It was sufficient at that time to inform him by Letter of one's Request (d). This Oracle was still in being in the Reign of *Constantinus*, Son of *Constantin* the Great, and was the Cause of great Disorders [B]. *Abydos* was 7500 Paces westward of the *Nile* (e) but a Canal was cut, which conducted the Waters of that River to it (f). It was above *Diospolis* and *Tentyris* (g), and below *Ptolemais* (b), which was the largest City of *Thebais*, and as big as *Mempbis*. The Inhabitants of *Abydos* had an Aversion to the Sound of Trumpets [C]. There has been much talk of certain Thorns, which grew in their Territory (D), and which are said to have constantly born Flowers of the Shape of a Crown. The Name of it is thought to be at present *Abutich*. *John Leon* does not say, what Mr *Moreri* ascribes to him, that it stood in the place, where the Patriarch *Joseph* was buried [E]. There was a City, called *Abydos*, upon the Side of the *Hellepont*, of which I shall take no Notice at present, tho' *Moreri*'s Dictionary wants to be set right upon this Article.

(a) Strabo, L. 17. p. 559. Edit. 1587.

(b) Memnonis Regiæ & Osiris Templo in-elytium. Famosus for the Palace of Memnon, and the Temple of Osiris. Plin. L. 5. c. 9. Strabo, L. 17. p. 559.

(c) Ptoarch of Iris and Osiris, p. 35.

(d) Amm. Marcellinus. L. 19. c. 12. p. 227, 228.

(e) Plin. L. 5. c. 9.

(f) Strabo, L. 17. p. 37.

(g) Plin. L. 5. c. 9.

(h) Strabo, L. 17. p. 57.

[A] *A Colony of the Milefians*. This is not clear. I allow that they settled Colonies in *Egypt*; but it was near the Mouth of the *Nile*: Their Power consisted at that time in Naval Force; and their Trade did not require a Situation so distant from the Coast, as *Abydos* was. Besides, They did not settle in *Egypt* till the Reign of *Cyaxares*, King of *Media* (1): Whereas *Abydos* was a considerable City before that time; since *Memnon* not only kept his Court, but built likewise a magnificent Palace, there.

[B] *Was the Cause of great Disorders*. The Manner how is as follows: Those, who consulted the Oracle by writing, sometimes left their Letter in the Temple, after they had received their Answer (2). There were People so malicious as to send some of these Letters to *Constantinus*; who, being of a mean, suspicious, credulous, and capitious Disposition, threw himself into a terrible Passion. "Qui ut erat angustî pectoris, obfuscatâ in aliis etiam nimium feris, in hoc titulo ima, quod aiunt, auricula mollior, & fuscipax, & minutus, acri felle concaluit (3)." Immediately he signed a Commission for prosecuting those who were guilty, on pretence, that many of them had consulted their Deity concerning the Life of the Emperor, and the Name of the Person, who was to succeed him. The Head of the Commission, a violent and avaritious Person, found Means to involve whom he pleased in this Prosecution. This gave Occasion to numberless Acts of Violence, as you may read in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

[C] *Had an Aversion to the Sound of Trumpets*. This we may learn from *Ælian*, provided we correct him according to the Conjecture of *Berkelius* (4). Ἐδὸν ἡγοῦντο ἵκεν βδελύσσονται θυσίαι, καὶ Ἀβυδοῦς ἡ Ἀγυρτία (it is in the Editions of *Ælian* Ἀβυ ἡ Ἀγυρτία) καὶ Ἀδύων πάλιν. — The Buzirizæ, and the Egyptian Abydos, and Lycopolis, abhor the Sound of a Trumpet (5). *Strabo* confirms this Conjecture, when he says, that the Use of Music, both

vocal and instrumental, was forbidden in the Preludes to the Sacrifices, which were offered to *Osiris* in the Temple of *Abydos* (6).

[D] *Thorns, which grew in their Territory*. *Athenæus* mentions this (7): but we must substitute the Word Ἀβυδοῦς for Ἀβυδὼν in that Place, according to the very probable Conjecture of *Berkelius* (8). The Matter of Fact, according to *Athenæus*, is this. The Thorns, which grew about the Temple of *Tyndium*, were thought to be always in Bloom: but the Foundation of this Notion, according to *Hellanicus*'s Remark (9), was that, whenever the People assembled in this Place, the Thorns were covered with Wreaths of Flowers of various kinds. *Demetrius* relates, that such kind of Thorns grew about *Abydos*, and that it was currently reported among the *Egyptians*, that the *Ethiopian* Soldiers, whom *Tibron* sent to King *Priam*, having heard that *Memnon* was slain, threw down their Chaplets of Flowers, before *Abydos*, upon these Thorns, whence it came to pass, that the Flowers, which they produced, resembled Crowns (10).

[E] *The Patriarch Joseph was buried*. Mr *Moreri* quotes *John Leon*, p. 8. At first Sight, one would think he meant *Page the eighth*; but we are to look for his Quotation in *Book the eighth*. Now what we meet with there is this: that it is a Mistake to believe, that the City *Mesre Hatichi* was the Residence of the Kings of *Egypt* in the Days of *Joseph* and *Moses*. He confutes this Opinion by alledging, that these ancient Kings dwelt on the West Side of the *Nile*; which he proves by two Arguments; the first is, the Situation of that City, which, the Scripture tells us, the *Jews* built for *Pharaoh*: the second is, the Situation of a very ancient Building, which is said to be the Sepulchre of *Joseph*. He remarks a few Pages after, that the Town, where this Sepulchre is, stands upon an Arm of the *Nile*, and is at present called *El Fium*. I do not find that he makes any mention of our *Abydos*.

(6) Strabo, L. 15. p. 62.

(7) Athen. L. 15. c. 7.

(8) Berkelius upon Steph. de Urbibus, p. 14.

(9) Upon the *Ægyptiaca*, in Athen. B. 15. c. 7.

(10) Demetrius upon the *Ægyptiaca*, in Athen. B. 15. c. 7.

(1) Strabo, L. 16. p. 552.

(2) Amm. Marcellinus. L. 19. c. 12. p. 227, 228.

(3) Amm. Marcell. at the Year 359.

(4) Berkelius upon Steph. de Urbibus, p. 24.

(5) *Ælian*. de Animal. L. 10. c. 23.

ABIMELECH, King of *Gerar*, in the Land of the *Philistines*, was cotemporary with *Abraham*. This Patriarch, being retired with his Family, into the Land of *Gerar*, his Wife *Sara*, tho' Ninety Years of Age (a), found herself expos'd to danger: she was taken away by *Abimelech*, who thought her so fair, as to desire to make her his Wife. *Abraham* might have avoided this Accident, by declaring himself to be *Sara*'s Husband: but, fearing to be slain, he pretended, that she was his Sister, and desired her to say, that he was her Brother (b). This was the second Time he made use of this Artifice (c); which certainly does not deserve the Encomiums, bestowed on it by *St Chrysostom* [A]. It is believed, that the *Philistine* King was struck with a Distemper,

(a) See the last Remark on the Article *SARA*.

(b) Gen. xx.

(c) He made use of it, Gen. xii.

[A] *The Encomiums, bestowed on it by St Chrysostom*. We shall point out in another Place (1), what is blameable in this Dissimulation of *Abraham*. Every one may judge, as he pleases, of his second Fall. The

Danger which *Sara*'s Honour was expos'd to the first Time, seems, at first sight, to render a Repetition of the Fraud more inexcusable; but, on the other Hand, does it not seem more justifiable to make use

(1) In the Remarks on the Article *SARA*.

Distemper, which render'd him *impotent* [B]: but, however that be, it is certain that Divine Providence permitted him not to satisfy the Passion which he had conceiv'd for *Sara*. He was inform'd in a Dream, that she was married to a Prophet, and that he should die, if he did not restore her to her Husband. He fail'd not accordingly to restore her to him, and to reproach him for his Deceit. *Abraham*, in excuse for himself, among other Reasons, alledg'd that he was really the Brother of *Sara*, born of the same Father tho' of a different Mother. Thus the Scripture makes him excuse himself. Mr *Moreri* very improperly supplies the sacred Text with the Words of *Josephus*, who falsely supposes, that *Abraham* pretended, that *Sara* was his Brother's Daughter (d). He follows the same Author, in relation to a Fact, of which the Scripture speaks not a word; I mean, the pretended Alliance contracted between *Abraham* and *Abimelech*, upon the Restitution of *Sara*. The Scripture is content to say, that *Abimelech* made great Presents to this Patriarch, and offered him the Liberty of sojourning in what part of his Country he pleas'd. It is true, there was an Alliance between them; but it was not contracted till some Years after (e): I mean the Treaty of *Beerseba*. *Josephus*, as if he were possess'd of Me-

moirs

(d) Joseph.
Antiq. B. 1.
c. 11.

(e) Genes.
xxi. 31, 32.

(2) ὁ μὲν
τοὶ δικαίως
ἐστὶν ἀλλοί-
ων καὶ πάντα
τοῖς ὅσιν
αἰς ἔργον
τὴν μοιχίαν
ἐν βίῳ καὶ
Χριστῷ.
Homil. 32.
ὑπερ-Genes.

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Πάντα
τοῖς ὅσιν
τὸ δῶμα
λαλοῖν.
She did eve-
ry thing she
could, that
the Fiction
might be
conceal'd.
Id. ib.

(5) Τὸ κατ'
ἀντὶν
ταύτων ἰ-
πτικόν ἐστιν.
ἡ δὲ ματὶ
τοσαύτην
καὶ ἐν ἡλί-
κῃ τοιαύ-
τη, ὅταν
τὸ πέν δι-
κασθὲν δια-
σπῇται, ὅ-
σον εἰς τὴν
οὐρανὸν ὑψο-
μην καὶ εἰς
μοιχίαν.
ἐαυτὴν ἑξ-
ῶθεν, καὶ
συνοχὰς
ἡννοχίας
βαρβαρι-
κῆς. Id. ib.

(6) Ambros.
de Abraham.
lib. 1. c. 2.

their Virtue, and all their Zeal, should be ignorant that it is unlawful to save either one's own Life, or another's, at the Expence of a Crime.

[B] Of a Distemper, which render'd him impotent.] To extinguish the Ardour of his Lust, God sent him a Disease, which put all the Physicians Art to a stand. God admonish'd him, in a Dream, to have nothing to do with the Wife of this Stranger. *Abimelech*, finding himself a little better, some time after, declared to his Friends the Cause of his Distemper, and restored *Sara* to *Abraham*. Thus *Josephus* relates the Affair (7); little solicitous, according to Custom, to adapt his Narration to that of *Moses*; or rather, bold enough to give him the Lie. For does not *Moses* say, that *Abimelech*, after his Dream, rose early in the Morning, and call'd all his Servants, in order to communicate to them, what he had learnt in his Sleep (8)? Could he have done this, had he been given over by his Physicians? *Josephus* was sensible of the Difficulty; but, in order to remove it, he boldly supposes, against the Authority of the Scripture, that this Prince did not communicate his Dream to his Friends, till his Distemper was a little abated, some time after his Dream. Some think *Abimelech* was not afflicted in his own Person, but in those of his Women (9): and that, when the Scripture relates that God heal'd him, it only means his taking off the Seal, which he had fix'd to all the Wombs of the House of *Abimelech* (10). I could soon be prevail'd upon to approve of this Interpretation; because I see no trace of *Abimelech's* Distemper in the whole 20th Chapter of *Genesis*, except these Words, *God heal'd Abimelech, and his Wife, and his Maid-Servants, and they bare Children*. But as the following verse mentions only the Affliction of these Women, it is sufficiently probable, that all the Evil, which God sent upon *Abimelech*, consisted in that. I shall, in another Place (11), answer a Question, which may be put to me: *Why this Prince, if he was in perfect Health, did not gratify that Passion, which had prompted him to take away Sara*. I am not surpriz'd at the fabulous Accounts, which the Jews have published, upon this Story: nor should I wonder at their Conduct, if they had invented a thousand Chimeras concerning our *Abimelech*. They say, that all the Channels of the Body were stop'd up, both of Man and Beast, both of Male and Female, so that nothing could either enter, or come out (12). They could no longer eat, nor drink; they could no longer void their Excrements, &c. The Men, besides, were seiz'd with such a Frigidity, that *Abimelech* was incapable of discharging the Duty of a Man, either to *Sara*, or to any other Woman. A celebrated Proteitant Divine (13) adopts this Tradition, as far as concerns the latter Part, and rejects the rest, as ridiculous, or superfluous. He says, that, as the Devil sometimes (14), by his Impediments, prevents married People from paying their conjugal Duty, it is not improbable, but that God might send such a kind of Affliction on the Family of *Abimelech*, for a good and holy Purpose; which was to preserve the Chastity of *Sara*, and to make it appear very evident, that she had received no Stain in the House of *Abimelech*. He believes, therefore, that the Domesticities of *Abimelech* were struck with the Disease of Barrenness: the Men, by an Impotency like that occasioned by Witchcraft; the Women, by an entire shutting up of

(7) Joseph.
Antiq. B. 1.
c. 11.

(8) Genes.
xx. 8.

(9) Sallian's
Annals, T.
1. p. 469.

(10) Genes.
xx. 18.

(11) In the
Roman A. C.
of the Antiquities
SARA.

(12) Mer-
curius. See
Riveti Exer-
cit. in Genes.
Opusculum,
T. 1. p. 395.

(13) Rivet.
Heldburg.
Falsus in
Steps. Hist.
Pat. iarch.
T. 2. p. 165.

(14) It is
said in
Sallid Nouer
l'egillatelle.

moirs preferable to those of *Moses* [C], ventures to place this Treaty before the Birth of *Isaac*, whereas the Scripture places it after the Rejection of *Ismael*, which did not come to pass, till after *Isaac* was weaned. Mr *Moreri* has follow'd the same Guide, when he assures us, that *Abimelech* shew'd great Kindness to *Isaac*, who had retired into the Land of *Gerar*. It is not indeed impossible, but this might be the same *Abimelech*; but it is more probable it was the Successor of him, who took away *Sara* [D]. It is certain that *Isaac*, on account of a Famine, which arose, re-

retired

the Gates of Life, or by a Contradiction of the Parts, which rendered them incapable of Conception. That's too much by half, some one may say, it was sufficient to the Design of Providence, that the Men were bewitch'd. But it must be reply'd, that the closing up of the Parts of the Women being a Fact, which *Moses* expressly mentions, it must by no means be drop'd as superfluous. This matter is explain'd two ways; neither of which entirely clears it up. Some say, that *Moses's* Meaning is, that the Wife and the Maid-Servants of *Abimelech* could not bring forth, when their Time was come: they had violent Pangs, and difficult Labour; but this must be at the time of which the Prophet *Isaiah* speaks: *The Children are come to the Birth, and there is not strength to bring forth* (15). Others say, that his Meaning is, that they did not conceive. The first Interpretation cannot be reconcil'd with *Genesis*, unless we can suppose that all the Women, which belong'd to *Abimelech* were with Child, when *Sara* was taken from her Husband (16): which is not likely. The other supposes *Sara* to have staid longer in this Prince's House, than she really did; for it could not be known in a very short time, whether so great a Number of Women had all lost the Faculty of Conception. This Difficulty oblig'd a very skillful Interpreter to say, that the Punishment, which God sent upon the Family of *Abimelech*, was known in a Manner, of which we have no Notion (17). Lastly, The *Rabins* make but little Difference between the personal Affliction of *Abimelech*, and the personal Affliction of the first Ravisher of *Sara* (18). They say of this latter, that he was seiz'd with the Disease *Ratan*, which is the most troublesome of all Ulcers, and the most destructive of the Joys of Love (19). *Solomon* *Yarchi* will have it, that the King of *Egypt's* Plague, was a Disease in his Head, caused by a Worm, bred in his Brain: "Morbus perturbati cerebri ob innatum ipsi Vermiculum, quo qui laborant, iis gravis sit concubitus, & liberi gignuntur ulcerosi" (20). —

(16) *Isaiah*

xxxvii. 3.

(15) *Gad* had entirely clos'd up EVERY womb of the House of *Abimelech*. Gen. xx. 18.

(17) *Mercerus* in *Rivetius*, Oper. Tom. i. p. 395.

(18) *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*.

(19) *Mercerus*, ubi *supra*.

(20) *Heidegger* Hist. Patriarch. T. 2. p. 154.

"The Disease of a disturbed Brain, caused by a Worm bred in it; which whoever is troubled with, finds it difficult to perform the matrimonial Duty; and his Children are born ulcerous." Some think, these last Words spoil all; for they imagine, that, for the Honour of *Sara*, the Plague of *Pharaoh* must have render him absolutely impotent. See the Remark upon the Article of this holy Woman.

[C] *Memoirs preferable to those of Moses*. I have a long time conceived an Indignation against *Josephus*, and those who excuse him upon this Head. One, who made an open Profession of *Judaism*, the Belief of which is founded upon the Divinity of the Scripture, has yet the Assurance to relate things otherwise, than he must have read them in *Genesis*: he alters, he adds, he drops Circumstances; in a Word, he sets himself up in Opposition to *Moses*, in such a Manner, that one of the two must be a false Historian. Is this to be born, and ought we not to conclude, either that he did not scruple to scandalize his Nation, or that he thought the particular Opinion he entertained of the Falsity, and consequently of the Non-Inspiration of *Moses*, was common among the Jews? He deserves the following Rebuke of *Theodore Beza* very justly. "Hoc ego semel pronuncio, quod tu nunquam falsum esse ostendes, si verus est multis locis *Josephus*, mentium esse multis locis *Mosen* & sacros omnes Scriptores. Sed nos potius ipsos pro veris ipsius Dei interpretibus, illum vero pro sacerdote rerum sacrarum valde imperito, atque etiam negligente & prophano Scriptore, habebimus. — I pronounce this once for all, which you can never disprove, that if, in many Places, *Josephus* be in the right, *Moses* and all the sacred Writers must be in the wrong. But we will rather esteem them the true Interpreters of God himself, than him a very unskillful Priest of sacred Things, and even a care-

less and prophane Writer (21)." I am of Opinion, that all the ancient Historians have taken the same Liberty with regard to old Memoirs, which they consulted. They have tacked Supplements to them; and, not finding the Facts unfolded and embellished to their Fancy, they have stretched and dressed them up as they pleas'd; and this is what at present we receive for History.

[D] It was the Successor of him, who took away *Sara*. I do not build upon the long Life, which we must allow to *Abimelech*, if he was alive at the time when *Isaac* came to *Gerar*. This Journey was later than the Purchase, which *Jacob* made of the Right of Eldership: we may suppose therefore, that *Isaac* was then eighty Years old; for he was sixty when *Ejau* and *Jacob* were born: and *Ejau* was already a great Hunter, when he sold his Birth-Right. On the other side, *Abimelech*, who took away *Sara*, was a King, and married, before *Isaac* was born: He must then, at least, have been a good hundred Years old, when *Isaac* journey'd to *Gerar*. But is this much? Did not Men at that time live to above an hundred and fifty Years (22)? One would scarce believe one's own Eyes, that learned Men (23) should be capable of objecting these Words of *The Preacher*, *Omnis potentatus vita brevis* (24): As if, supposing the Canonical Authority of this Book, it was contrary to Revelation, that a Man's Reign should continue an hundred Years. Who does not see, that if this Passage has that Weight, which is attributed to it, we must deny the Truth of all Histories, which inform us, that there have been Reigns which continued upwards of fifty or sixty Years? What then is it which induces me to believe, that *Abimelech*, who took away *Sara*, was not the same who entered into Alliance with *Isaac*? why it is this: This latter *Abimelech* readily believed, upon *Isaac's* Word, that *Rebecca* was but his Sister; and when he was undeceived, not by the Words, but by the Actions, of *Isaac*, he reproved him mildly for his Deceit, without saying to him, *You follow your Father's Example*; *Abraham* heretofore played me the same Trick. Now is it probable, if he had been already imposed upon by *Abraham*, that he would have again fallen into the same Snare, or if he had, that he would not have pass'd a severe Rebuke upon *Isaac*, on Account both of his Father's, and his own Hypocrisy? He would hardly have forgot *Abraham's*, which drew such Misfortunes upon him. St *Chrysostom* thought this so likely, that he boldly declared from the Pulpit, that *Abimelech* actually did reproach *Isaac* with *Abraham's* Dissimulation. "Rex, adhuc habens recentem memoriam eorum, quæ tempore Patriarchæ rapta Sarâ tulerat, increbatur eum, & reumque argens dicebat, cur hoc fecisti? — Hanc deceptionem & olim sustinimus a patre tuo (25). — The King, having fresh in his Memory what he suffered for the Rape of *Sara* in the Patriarch's Time, reproached him, and charging him with his Guilt, said unto him, What hast thou done? — Thus was I heretofore deceived by your Father." But all this has no better Foundation, than Rhetorical Licence, which is sometimes carried as far as that of the Poets and Painters,

(21) *Beza's Answer to Balmain*. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 222.

(22) *Abraham* liv'd to 175. and *Isaac* to 180.

(23) *Perronius* upon *Gen. l. xxvi. Pref. to Sallustian's Annals*, T. 1. p. 52c.

(24) *The Geneva Version* renders it, All Tyranny is of short Continuance.

(25) *Chrysostom's* 119 and 120 Homilies.

(26) *Hor. Art of Poetry*, vers. 9.

— Pictoribus atque Poëtis

Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas (26).

Poets and Painters equally may dare;

In bold Attempts an equal Power they share.

CREECH.

Two things seem to favour *Moreri's* Opinion. First, The King of *Gerar*, both in *Abraham's* and *Isaac's* Time, had the same Name; and there was a General of his Army, whose Name was *Picol*, at both these Times. Secondly, *Rebecca*, beautiful as she was, was

not

(f) Turc-
lin, in his
Epist. Hist.
p. 10. Edit.
of Francker,
in 1792,
is gaily
misquoting
the Words,
Isaac, going
to Gerar, for
Com. by the
Providence
of God, pre-
serv'd his
Wife's Cha-
stity from
the Lust of
Abimelech.

(g) Genes.
xxi.

tired into the Land of *Gerar*, where one *ABIMELECH* then reign'd. The Beauty of *Rebecca* occasioned her Husband's making use of the same Policy, which *Abraham* had had recourse to, on account of *Sara's* Beauty. *Isaac* fearing to be slain, if it should be known that he was the Husband of the beautiful *Rebecca*, made her pass for his Sister. *Abimelech* discover'd the Cheat, by observing, as he look'd through a Window, a certain Sport [E] which pass'd between them; and having sent for *Isaac*, said to him, Behold of a surety she is thy Wife, and how saidst thou, she is my Sister?—What is this thou hast done unto us? one of the people might lightly have lien with thy wife [F], and thou shouldst have brought guiltiness upon us. At the same time, he forbid his Subjects, on pain of death, to offer the least Injury to *Isaac*, or *Rebecca*. This Remonstrance, and this Decree, must have been sincere; and we Moderns ought to be careful not to misrepresent these Matters (f). The Prosperity of *Isaac* caus'd a change in the Friendship of *Abimelech*. For, perceiving the great Wealth, which *Isaac* acquired, he very freely gave him to understand, that he must depart. He obey'd; and continuing to prosper, notwithstanding the Opposition made to him in several places, on account of the Pits, which he dug, his Alliance was courted by *Abimelech*, whose Offers were favourably receiv'd (g).

not taken away, as *Sara* had been; the Reason of which might be, that *Abimelech* was grown old, and remembered likewise the ill Consequences of the Rape of *Sara*. I answer, first, that the Kings of certain Countries affect'd all to take the same Name; as the Kings of *Egypt* did that of *Pharaoh*. Why then might not *Abimelech* be the common Appellation of all the Kings of *Gerar*? *Pisot* might perhaps be the Name of a particular Employ. Perhaps too this Employ might have descended from Father to Son. Secondly, I reply, that *Isaac's* *Abimelech* might not be a young Man, tho' he was not the same, who took away *Sara*. I frankly own, I believe he was a good old Man; because he form'd no Design upon the beautiful *Rebecca*, tho' he did not believe her to be married; and because he does not tell *Isaac*, that he had been in Danger from him, but from his Subjects; and, as these People were so debauched, that every beautiful Stranger, who was thought not to be married, was in great Danger; I can see no Reason more probable for *Abimelech's* Continuity towards *Rebecca*, than his old Age. There is a Time (say youthful Libertines) when one is too wise.

[E] A certain Sport.] Some have imagin'd, that the Scripture intended, under the Word *Sport*, to express, modestly, the conjugal Duty, which *Isaac* happen'd to be paying his Wife, at a Time when *Abimelech* was looking out of Window. "Putant quidam honestè significari eo vocabulo copulam carnalem. Sed non fit verisimile prudentissimum & sanctissimum virum tam incautè rem habuisse cum uxore, ut id per fenestram prospicere, ut Scriptura inquit, Rex posset Abimelech. Credibilis igitur est eo vocabulo significatos esse tales jocos & blanditias in amplexando & osculando, quales inter conjuges agitari turpe non est: extra conjugium vero nefas est (27).—Some think, that carnal Copulation is modestly hinted at under that Word: but it is not likely, that *Isaac*, a prudent and holy Man, would have to do with his Wife, in so unguarded a Manner, that King *Abimelech*, according to the Scripture, could behold it from his Window. It is more probable, that that Word implies only such kind of sporting and toying, by embraces and kisses, as is decent between married People, but out of Wedlock unlawful." Others will not hear of this sort of Explanation; they say, that *Isaac* was too wife, and too prudent, to take his Measures so ill; and that, upon such Occasion, he took care to be in a Place, where the Neighbours could not overlook him from their Windows. "We must therefore understand, say they, by the Word *Sport*, a certain Past-time, which, though it was not the last Act of the Play, was yet too familiar between Persons not married, however they might be otherwise a-kin." This *Past-time* must mean something else, than talking familiarly, jesting, and laughing together; for a Brother and Sister may do all this very modestly, and without giving occasion to such a Conclusion as *Abimelech* drew from the sporting of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. This Explication appears to me incomparably more

reasonable, than the former: and, yet, it must be allowed, that Fondness might sometimes hinder *Isaac* from observing that great Precaution, which rigid Moralists would have exacted from the Patriarch: for, in short, it cannot be denied, that *Abimelech*, looking through a Window, surpriz'd him diverting himself with *Rebecca* at a certain Game, whence he could not but certainly conclude they were Man and Wife. Take notice, that they had been marry'd forty Years: *Isaac* was, then, eighty Years old. St *Austin*, in his Book against *Faustus* the Manichean, a great Exploder of the Patriarchs, defends *Isaac* in a solid Manner (28); and, indeed, it is too rigorous to expect, that a Patriarch, or a Bishop, if he is married, should not recreate himself a little with his Wife, without closing all his Window-Shutters. For we must have this good Opinion of their Prudence, that if Nature inclines the greatest Men to a little indulgence, they will walk so cautiously upon this slippery Road, as to take care that no Observation shall be made of them from their Neighbour's Window. *Cornelius à Lapide* does not know what it is he is confusing, when he sets himself against the first Explication. "Jaded

"impuri, says he, jocum hunc intelligent copulam conjugalem. Sed apage hos Cynicos! Quis eredit Isaac publicè, & spectante Rege, tam inverecundum, lubricum, & cynicum fuisse (29)?—The unchrist Jews understand this Sport of matrimonial Copulation. But away with these Snarlers! Who can believe, that *Isaac* was so immodest, lewd, and brazen, publicly, and in the King's Sight?" This is not the thing: no one pretends, that *Isaac* was, then, in the middle of the Street: he was in his Chamber; and had not sufficiently fasten'd his Window-Shutters: This is the whole Matter; and, if this is too much, you will be obliged to condemn the Patriarch, and to act the *Cato* against him. It is well known that *Cato* expell'd one *Manlius* from the Senate, because at noon Day, and in the Presence of his Daughter, he had given his Wife a Kiss (30). This *Manlius* would have been Consul, probably, the next Election. Some pretend to discover an allegorical Mystery (31) in this Sport of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, of which certainly neither they, nor the sacred Historian, in the least dreamt. I shall not place these Errors among those which I am compiling. It would be an Attempt like that of drinking the Sea dry. It were to be wish'd, that the greatest part of these mysterious Conceits had been unknown to the World.

[F] One of the People might lightly have lien with thy Wife.] The *Philistines* must have been furious Folks in Love-Matters; since *Abimelech*, their King, is surpriz'd, that no one had lain with *Rebecca*, who pass'd only for *Isaac's* Sister. We learn from hence, at the same time, their great regard for Marriage. As for unmarried Women, they seem, in this Country, to have thought they were the first Comer's Right. Witness *Dina*, the Daughter of *Jacob*, who was decoy'd by them, as she was taking a Walk. She was first enjoy'd, and then demanded in Marriage (32).

(28) *Andrieu* agens *Faust.* B. 22. Ch. 46. Mr Thien quotes part of this Passage, in the 4th Part of his *Transit of Sports and Diversions*.

(29) *Corn. à Lapide* upon Gen. xxvi. 8.

(30) *Plutarch* in his *Cato Major*, p. 316.

(31) See *Pererius* upon Genes. ch. xxvi.

(32) *Genes.* xxvii.

ABLANCOURT (NICOLAS PERROT, Lord of) See PERROT.

ABRABANEL (*a*) (ISAAC) a celebrated *Rabin*, was born at *Lisbon* [*A*], of a Family which pretended to be deriv'd from King *David* [*B*]. He push'd his Interest very far in the Court of *Alphonso* V. King of *Portugal*, and was there honoured with the highest Offices; which he enjoy'd till the Death of that Prince: but he found a great Alteration under the new King. *Abraham* was Forty five Years old [*C*], when *John* II. succeeded his Father *Alphonso*. All who were concern'd in the Management of Affairs in the preceeding Reign, were turn'd out; and, if our *Rabin* is to be credited, there was a secret Design of putting them to death, under pretence, that they had been contriving to betray the Crown of *Portugal* to the King of *Spain*. He was not appriz'd of this, when, in obedience to the Orders he had receiv'd to wait upon the King, he went to *Lisbon* with all haste; but being inform'd upon the Road of the Plot, which was hatching against his Life, he retir'd with expedition into the King of *Castile's* Dominions. All his Estate was confiscated, upon the Return of the Soldiers, who had Orders to bring him dead or alive. He lost, upon that occasion, together with all his Books, the beginning of a *Commentary upon Deuteronomy*, which he was much concern'd at. Some Christian Writers [*D*] do not agree, that the Cause of this Disgrace was so little owing to his Misconduct, as he pretended. They are of the same Opinion, in relation to his other Persecutions [*E*]. Be that as it will, being settled in *Castile*, he apply'd himself to teaching and composing. He wrote, in the Year 1484, his *Commentary on the Books of Joshua, Judges, and Samuel*: after which he was sent for to the Court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and had Employments conferr'd upon him during eight Years, namely till the *Jews* were driven out of the Territories of the Catholic King, in 1492. He did all he could by his Prayers and his Tears [*F*] to avert this dreadful Storm; but he did not succeed, and was obliged, as well as the rest, to depart with his Wife and Children. He retir'd to *Naples*, and there compos'd, in 1493, his *Commentary on the Books of Kings*. As he was a Courtier, he did not forget to recommend himself, by the Knowledge he had acquir'd in the Courts of *Portugal* and *Arragon*; insomuch that he insinuated himself into the good Graces of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and afterwards of *Alphonso*. He follow'd the Fortune of the latter, when *Charles* VIII. King of *France* drove him from *Naples*; for he pass'd over with him into *Sicily* [*G*]. After the Death of *Alphonso*,

(a) He is called Isaac
Abrahamiel,
Abaraniel,
Abarinel,
Abravanel,
Avravanuel,
Abarbenel.

[*A*] Was born at Lisbon.] His Ancestors were of *Castile*. "E majoribus Castellam Hispaniæ, ex patribus Olyssiponem Lusitaniam agnovit patriam.—" He claimed *Castile* of Spain as the Country of his Ancestors, and Olyssipon Lusitania as the Country of his Parents." Thus the Journal of *Letipic* informs us (1). *Don Nicolas Antonio* will have it, that the Family of *Abraham* was settled at *Seville* for many Ages (2). He had it from *Bartoloci*; and he quotes the *Rabin Solomon ben Virga* (3), who has asserted almost the same thing in his *History of the Jews* (4), translated into Latin by *Gentius*, and quoted below.

[*B*] Pretended to be derived from King *David*.] *Abraham* has in part declared (5), that at the time of the Destruction of the first Temple, two Families of the Race of *David* passed into Spain, one of which settled at *Lucene*, and the other at *Seville*, where it left a Posterity. In another Place (6) he gives us the History of this Transmigration. The *Rabin Solomon ben Virga* introduces one *Thomas*, who makes a long Deduction of the same Story to *Alphonso* King of Spain, and relates, that the Family of *Abraham* descended from the Kings of *Juda*; but *Alphonso* would believe nothing of it, and raised insurmountable Difficulties against these Genealogies (7). The *Jews*, to get over the Difficulty, suppose, that *Abraham* lost his Genealogical Books in the Hurry of his Removal (8). Mr *Huet* relates (9), that *Manasse ben Israél* affirms in his *Conciliator*, that these two Families, sprung from *David*, retired into Spain, after the Ruin of the second Temple. This *Rabin* had a very particular Interest in this ridiculous Story; for his Wife was of the Family of *Abraham* (10). Farther, it is not easy to know who this *Alphonso* is, who converses so long with this *Thomas*, in the Book of *Solomon ben Virga*. Some call him a King of *Portugal* (11); and as they insist that the *Abraham*, whom *Thomas* mentions, is our *Rabin*, we cannot doubt but they take him for King *Alphonso* V. and that this *Alphonso* is the last King of *Castile*, who bore that Name (12). He might speak upon good Grounds thus far; but he is guilty of an Error, when he places near two Centuries between this King and our *Rabin*; for this latter was born in the Year 1437, and that King died in 1350, aged 38 Years.

[*C*] Forty five Years old.] *Nicolas Antonio* has inserted, at the end of his *Bibliothèque d'Espagne* what *Father Bartoloci* had told him concerning *Isaac Abraham*, correcting his Article of *Abraham*, upon the

Abraham. He has by that corrected some Faults which had been before printed in the Article of this *Rabin*: but he seems to me not to have express'd himself with Exactness, when he says, "Juvenis adhuc, sed bene doctus, in Castellæ regnum transit, cum Johanni II. Portugallie Regi parum esset gratus. — He was yet a Youth, but a good Scholar, when, being disagreeable to John II. King of Portugal, he went into the Kingdom of Castile (13)." He talks in that Place of an Age, which generally cannot have afforded time enough to acquire much Learning. This is what cannot be applied to forty five Years of Age. It is certain then, that the Author of the *Bibliothèque d'Espagne* believed that the *Rabin* was much younger than that, when he fled into *Castile*: he was therefore in an Error.

[*D*] Some Christian Writers.] They say that *Abraham* deserved the Treatment he met with; and that he would have been punished more severely, upon the Discovery of his ill Designs, if the good-natured Disposition of King *Jehn* had not been satisfied with banishing him. They add, that Remorse of Conscience made this *Rabin* take the Resolution of quitting *Portugal*, and eluding by Night into *Castile*, with an extraordinary Readiness (14).

[*E*] They are of the same Opinion, in relation to his other Persecutions.] They say, that he intruded himself into the Court of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, by means of a Bank which he established in the Kingdom of *Castile*; that he amass'd great Treasures, by making use of all the Artifices of his Nation: that he tyrannized over the Poor, that he was very furious; that he had the Vanity to aspire to the most illustrious Titles, and those which solely belonged to the great Families of Spain; and besides that, being a sworn Enemy of the Christian Religion, he contributed more than any one else to the Storm, which overwhelmed him and all his Countrymen (15).

[*F*] By his Prayers and his Tears.] He himself relates in one of his Books (16) what he did upon this Occasion. *Solomon ben Virga* gives an Account of it in his History of the *Jews* (17), with a tragical Description of the terrible Miseries, which fell upon three hundred thousand *Jews*, who were obliged, in one Day, to depart out of the Dominions of the Catholic King.

[*G*] He passed over with him into Sicily.] *Nicolas Antonio*, correcting his Article of *Abraham*, upon the

(13) Id. T. 2. p. 686.

(14) Afta
Lipf. Nov.
1686. p. 620.
See likewise
F. Bartoloci's
Bibl. Rabin. T. 3. p. 874.

(15) Ibid.

(16) His
Comment.
on the Books
of Kings, in
Nic. Anton.
Bibl. Hifp.
T. 1. p. 627.

(17) Nic.
Ant. Bibl.
Hifp. Ibid.

(1) Afta.
Lipf. for the
Month of
Nov. 1686.
p. 529.

(2) (5) N.
Ant. Bibl.
Hifp. Tom.
1. p. 627.
&c. Tom. 2.
p. 686.

(4) Or Sche-
veth Jehuda.

(5) (6) Com-
ment. upon
Zech. xi. p.
293, and
upon 2 Kings
xxv. p. 305.
in the Afta
Lipf. Nov.
1686. p. 528.

(7) In Sche-
veth Jehuda,
§. 11, &c.
in the Afta
Lipf. Nov.
1686. p. 528.

(8) Afta
Lipf. Nov.
1686. p. 528.

(9) Huet's
Demonstr.
Evang. p.
708. Edit.
Leipf. Ann.
1694. 4to.

(10) Id. Ib.

(11) Afta
Lipf. 1686.
p. 529.

(12) Nicol.
Anton. Bibl.
Hifp. T. 1.
p. 627.

Alphonso, he retired to *Corfou*, and there began his *Commentary on Isaiah*, in the Year 1495. He had the Satisfaction of recovering, by what Accident I know not, what he had formerly wrote upon the Book of *Deuteronomy*. He came back into *Italy*, the following Year, and went and settled at *Monopoli* in *Puglia* (b), where he wrote many books. He finish'd his *Deuteronomy*, and compos'd his *Sevach Pefach* (c) and his *Nacalatb Avotb* (d), in the year 1496. The following year, he compos'd his *Majene Hajebua* (e); and in 1498, his *Majchmiab Jeshbua* (f) and his *Commentary on Isaiah*. Some time after, he went to *Venice*, to make up the difference, which had arisen between the *Venetians* and *Portuguese*, concerning the Spice-Trade, and he shew'd so much Prudence and Ability, that he gain'd the Esteem and Favour of the great Men. At *Venice* he compos'd his *Commentary on Jeremiah*, in the year 1504. Some say, that he compos'd, likewise, at that time, his *Commentary on Ezekiel* and the twelve lesser Prophets. In the year 1506, he compos'd his *Commentary on Exodus*; and died at *Venice* in the year 1508, [H], aged 71 years. He left three Sons, *Juda*, *Joseph*, and *Samuel* [I]. The eldest was a Physician and a great Poet, and compos'd many Verses in Honour of his Father. It is said, that *Samuel* embrac'd Christianity at *Ferrara*, and receiv'd the Name of *Alphonso*, which was That of the Duke. *Abraham* wrote many other Books [K] of which we cannot determine the Date, and of which

(1) *Chavers*, that he came to Corfu in the year 1495. Bartolucci Bibl. Rabini. T. 3. p. 875.

(c) i.e. the Sacrifice of the Passover.

(d) i.e. The Inheritance of the Fathers.

(e) i.e. The Springs of Salvation.

(f) The Precious of Salvation.

the Conferences which he had with Father *Bartolucci*, says that this *Rabin* followed King *Ferdinand* into *Sicily*, whom *Francis* had dethroned, and that, after the Death of this Prince, he retired to *Corfou* (18). Here is certainly a Mistake; the Author takes *Ferdinand* for *Alphonso*: it was with *Alphonso* (19) that *Abraham* went into *Sicily*, as Father *Bartolucci* remarks (20), and not with *Ferdinand*. He continued at *Messina* till the Death of *Alphonso* in the beginning of the Year 1495, and then he went to *Corfou* (21). It was there he began his *Commentary on Isaiah* in 1495. If he had not pass'd over into this Island till after the Death of *Ferdinand*, we may be sure he could not be there in 1495. Thus the *Appendix* of *Nicolas Antonio* stands in need of another *Appendix* to correct it.

[H] In the Year 1508, Father *Bartolucci* gave *D. Nicolas Antonio* the Hint of this Year, who had already printed, that our *Rabin* was Professor of the Hebrew Tongue at *Padua*, about the Year 1510. We have here a Proof of Mr. *Moreri's* Negligence. He had by him this Author's *Spanish Dictionary*, and yet did not take the Pains to consult the *Appendix*, which makes a considerable Part of it, and which clear up, and correct, many Passages of the Work. Thus he has preserv'd the Mistake relating to this Professorship of *Padua*, without observing that the Author himself had corrected it at the end of his Book, and excus'd himself, as having been misled by *Buxtorf*: "Venetias inde profectus me moratur, ex qua urbe in Germaniam aut in Præfationem Patavinam Hebraicæ Lingux, quod Buxtorfium et alios secuti nos literis in Bibliotheca nostra mandamus, potuit conferre sc. Constat autem Venetis cum Septuaginta (22) annos natum superioris seculi anno octavo diem suum obiisse. Quo cum non bene convenit quod circa annum decimum Professorum, ut ibidem diximus, Patavinum egerit (23). — He is said to have gone from thence to Venice; whence he might proceed either to Germany, or to his Hebrew Professorship at Padua, as I have related in my Dictionary, upon the Authority of Buxtorf, and others. But it is certain, that he died at Venice, aged Seventy, in the eighth Year of the last Century; which does not agree with the Account I have there given of his discharging the Office of Professor at Padua, in the tenth Year." Thus *Nicolas Antonio* excuses himself. He does not absolutely deny this Professorship at *Padua*; he is satisfied with saying, that he had not exactly marked the Time. Mr. *Moreri* therefore ought not to have told us, that, in 1510, *Abraham* taught the Hebrew Tongue at *Padua*.

[I] He left three Sons, *Juda*, *Joseph*, and *Samuel*. At first sight he seems to have left four, if it be true what *N. Antonio* reports (24), that *Leon*, who wrote the Dialogues of Love, was his Son. But we must observe, that the Author of these Dialogues may very well be the same with *Juda*, the eldest Son of *Abraham*. This *Juda* was commonly call'd *Majer Leone* (25). His Book of Love is very well known: *Denis Sauvage*, and *Pontus de Tiard* having translated it into French. The Author is generally quoted under the Name of *Leo Hebraeus*. He is call'd *Mestre Leon Abrahanel Medico Hebraeo*

in a *Spanish Translation* printed at *Venice* in 1568, in 4to.

Juda *ABRABANEL* left his Father, when the French conquered the Kingdom of *Naples*; and retired to *Genoa* to practise Physic there (26). *Samuel* *ABRABANEL* was alive in the Popedom of *Julius III.* as appears by a Petition, which he presented to Cardinal *Sirlet*, Protector of the *Neophytes* (27). He left *Naples* in 1540, and carried with him the Value of two hundred thousand Crowns (28). His Father dedicated to him the *Commentary on Pirke Avotb*, which he compos'd in the Year 1496 (29).

[K] *Abraham* wrote many other Books. The following are set down in the *Leipfic-Journal* (30): *Commentaries* on *Genesis*, *Leviticus*, and *Numbers*; *Rafch Amara* (31) *Sepper Jeshbuot Mejbico*, a Work on the Traditions concerning the *Messiah*; *Zedek Olamim*; this relates to the Rewards and Punishments of another Life: *Sepper Jemotb Olam*; it is an History from *Adam*: *Masmar Macbif Schaddai*; it is a Treatise of the Prophecy and Vision of *Ezekiel*, against the *Rabin Maimonides*: *Sepper Ateretb Skenim*: *Miphalab Elobim* (32): *Sepper Schamaim Chadaschim*: *Lakakatb Nebhim*. The *Sieur Theophilus Spizelius* remarks, that *John Buxtorf*, the Son, had shown him a great many Dissertations taken from the Words of *Abraham*, which he had translated into *Latin* (33). They must be like those of the same *Rabin*, which the same *Buxtorf* has translated and published with the Book *Cefri*. He shew'd him likewise other Translations, which he had made from some Books of this *Rabin*. The *Commentary* on *Haggai* was translated into *Latin* by *Adam Scherzererus*, and inserted in the *Trifolium Orientale*, publish'd at *Leipfic*, in 1663. In the same Town was publish'd, in 1686, the *Commentary* on *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *Samuel*. See what is said concerning this Edition, in the *Leipfic-Journal*, whence I have borrowed this Article. In the same Year, 1686, they printed at *Leyden* the *Commentary* on *Hosea*, with a *Preface* on the twelve lesser Prophets; the whole translated into *Latin*, with Notes, by *Francides Hufen*. *M. de Veil*, a converted Jew, publish'd at *London*, in 1683, *Abraham's Preface* to *Leviticus*. See the *Leipfic-Journal*, for the Month of *January*, 1684. *N. Antonio* will furnish you with the Titles of several other Works of this *Rabin*, sometimes with the Time and Place of the Impression, as far as the *Rabbinical Dictionary* of *Plantavitus* would inform him. Mr. *Moreri* ought not to have said, that *Abraham* wrote a *Commentary* on the *Talmud*, but a Piece of the *Talmud*, entitled *Pirke Avotb*. *N. Antonio*, his only Source, might have so well explain'd this to him, as not to suffer him to mistake. Father *Simon*, who tells us many curious Particulars relating to *Abraham's* Books, observes that the Book compos'd by this *Rabin*, under the Name of *Nabalat Avotb*, *Profession of the Fathers*, is a *Commentary* on the *Treatise Pirke Avotb*, and that both the one and the other were printed at *Venice*, in 4to, in the Year 1545: that there is a very learned *Preface* of this Author, at the beginning of his Book, *Nahalat Avotb*, in which he explains the Succession of Tradition among the Jews, which is a very obscure point (34).

(26) Ibid. p. 381.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid. p. 688. from R. David Ganz.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Act. Leip. Nov. 1686. p. 531.

(32) i.e. the Head of Faith, from translated in Latin by W. Vorstius, and printed with his Notes, at Amsterdam, in 1653. N. Ant. Bibl. Hip. Tom. 1. p. 629.

(33) i.e. the Works of God. It treats the Creed of the Christian of the World, and contains a notice of Moses and all that he has written in the Book of Genesis. Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament.

(34) Spizelius's Specim. Bibl. Univ.

(18) He was the friend of this Name. He married Ferdinand's Daughter, and died for Succession, Ferdinand II.

(19) Bartolucci Bibl. Rabini. Tom. 2. p. 875.

(20) Ibid.

(21) He was the friend of this Name. He married Ferdinand's Daughter, and died for Succession, Ferdinand II.

(22) N. Antonio Bibl. Hip. Tom. 1. p. 630.

(23) Ibid.

(24) Bartolucci Bibl. Rabini. Tom. 2. p. 875.

(34) Celsus's History of the Old Testament.

which some have not yet been printed. Many of the *Noble Venetians*, and the chief of the *Jews*, solemniz'd his Funeral with great Pomp. His Body was interr'd at Padua, in a Burying-Ground without the City. A little while after, the *Rabin, Juda Mentz*, Rector of the University, was buried in the same Place. The Siege of 1509 so destroy'd every thing about that Place, that this Burying-Ground was no longer to be distinguish'd. *Abraham* was Master of great Talents: he was upon a level with the famous *Maimonides*; and some even rank him above him. The *Jews* pretend, that he entirely overthrew all the Arguments and Objections of the *Christians*. These latter, justly condemning what he wrote in the *Jewish* Controversy, yet greatly esteem his other Interpretations. They find him to be a subtle, clear, learned, and honest, Commentator. He does not canonize the Opinions of his Masters; and censures very freely the Plagiarism, and other Faults, which he found them to be guilty of. His great Weakness was his being too sensible of the Persecutions, which the *Jews* suffer'd, and in which he bore a considerable part. The Memory of this Misfortune animated him with such Fury against the *Christians*, that he treated them with the utmost Indignation. He has scarce wrote one Book, in which his Anger and Thirst of Revenge is not to be trac'd; and the wretched Condition of his Nation is uppermost in every thing he compos'd. He hop'd by this means to revive the expiring *Synagogue* (g); and I suppose he found it a Relief from that Oppression of Choler, which would have choak'd him, had he not discharg'd it upon Paper. Nor is he the only one, who has found Relief from this Remedy. We know some, who have stood in great need of it, tho' they were not ignorant, like him, of the Precepts of the Gospel. I do not meet with his Professorship at Padua [L], nor his Journey to the East [M]. These are Facts in which Mr *Moreri* is grossly mistaken, as he is in what he relates concerning his Travels into Germany [N].

(g) From the Acta E-rudit. Lipf. for the Month of Nov. 1686. p. 528, &c.

Abraham was indefatigable in his Studies: he spent whole Nights in it; and was capable of fasting a long time. He wrote with great Ease: the implacable Hatred, which he shew'd in his Writings against the *Christians* [O], did not hinder his living with them in a civil, chearful, soft, and obliging manner.

[L] I do not meet with his Professorship at Padua. See the Remark [H]. The learned Gentlemen, who have given us an historical Abridgment (35) of the Life of *Abraham*, and who have trac'd him almost Year by Year, from his leaving Spain, to his Death, would not sure have pass'd over to remarkable a Circumstance: Whence I conclude, that, since they make no mention of it, the Author himself had said nothing of it. Now it is not probable, that, having mentioned so many things not so much to his Honour, as a Professorship at Padua, he should say nothing of this Employ, if he had been actually invested with it. And if other Writers had mention'd it upon any good Grounds, I believe the *Leipfic* Gentlemen would not have been ignorant of it, or pass'd it by in Silence. It is therefore a Fact a little apocryphal, to say no worse.

Add to this, that Father *Bartoloci*, who has given us an exact Series of this Rabin's Adventures, takes no notice of it.

[M] Nor his Journey to the East. I look upon it to be false, for the abovementioned Reason; namely, the Silence of these Gentlemen: Nay, though this Journey were real, Mr *Moreri* has still advanc'd a great Falshood. He supposes, first, that *Abraham* taught Hebrew at Padua, in 1510; and, in the second place, that the eager Desire he had to shew his hatred to the *Christians* induc'd him to go into the East, to live there with those of his own Sect, and that it was there he compos'd that great Number of Books, which are still extant. We have seen that he died in 1508; which is enough to convince us that all this is meer *Chimeras*.

[N] These are Facts in which Mr *Moreri* is grossly mistaken as he is in what he relates concerning his Travels into Germany. I did not dare to treat this as false, whilst I was perused, that D. *Nicolas Antonio*, had faithfully cited *Buxtorf*; for, supposing his Quotation just, we must believe, that *Abraham* had mention'd his own Travels into Germany, in his Commentary on *Pirke Avoth*. "Profugus ergo in Germaniam venit, quod ipse ait in Commentariis ad librum Talmudicum *Pirke Avoth*, — Buxtorfio teste, in tractatu de Abbreviaturis Hebraeorum, p. 100 (36). In his Exile, he retired to Germany, as he tells us himself, in his Commentaries on the Talmudic Book, *Pirke Avoth*, — according to Buxtorf, in his Treatise de Abbrev. Hebr. p. 100." All I could say, therefore, upon this Supposition, was, that, at least, it was certain, that *Abraham* did not visit Germany, after his Banishment from the Territories of the Catholic King: because, upon leaving

them, he embark'd for the Kingdom of Naples, and arriv'd there soon after. I discover'd likewise *Moreri* to be in an Error; *Abraham*, says he, was in the Number of the Exiles: He retired, first, to Germany; and then to Italy. And I had the more Reason to be surpris'd at this Mistake, as I knew that D. *Nicolas Antonio* had corrected it, upon better Information, from Father *Bartoloci*. But, upon consulting the Book quoted, I found that the Author takes no notice, that *Abraham* mention'd his own Travels into Germany: See what *Buxtorf* says: "Hic titulus (Morenu, i. e. Doctor Noster) novus est, infra ducentos annos natus in Germania, inde in Italian traductus, quod valde miratus fuit Don Isaac Abraham ex Hispania in has terras veniens, ut ipsemet scribit in Commentario *Pirke Avoth*, cap. 6. (37) — This Title (Morenu, i. e. our Doctor) is new, having arose in Germany, within these two hundred Years, and from thence transplanted into Italy; whic Don Isaac Abraham was very much surpris'd at, as he himself writes in his Commentary on *Pirke Avoth*." I could no longer doubt, that D. *Nicolas Antonio* mistook *Buxtorf's* meaning; and it is an Error, which he does not retract in the Place where he informs us, what Father *Bartoloci* had told him concerning *Abraham*. Observe, that this Father proves demonstrably the Falshood of these suppos'd Travels into Germany, which, says he (38), some mention upon the Authority of *Buxtorf*. I doubt not but this will stop the Course of this erroneous Quotation.

(37) Buxtorf de Abbrev. Hebræ. Tom. 3. p. 115; Edit. 2.

[O] Which he shew'd in his Writings against the *Christians*. His Commentaries on the Scriptures, but chiefly those he made upon the Prophets, are so full of Venom against *Jesus Christ*, the Church, the Pope, the Cardinals, the Clergy, and all *Christians* in general, particularly the Roman Catholics, that Father *Bartoloci* was of Opinion, that the *Jews* ought not to be suffer'd to read them (39). Upon which he remarks, that the reading of the Commentaries on the lesser Prophets had been forbidden them, and that they dared not to keep them, "In his etiam pluribus in locis canino dente Christianum Religionem mordet & lacerat, indeoque merito illorum lectio & retentio Judæis interdicitur est, nec eos apud le retinere audent, publicè saltem & palam, propter metum Christianorum (40). — For in many Passages of these he tears to pieces the Christian Religion, in so enrag'd a Manner, that the reading and keeping of them is forbidden the Jews, nor dare they be in Possession of them, at least openly, for fear of the Christians."

(38) Bart. Bibl. Racin. Tom. 3. p. 688.

(39) Bibl. Rab. Tom. 3. p. 876.

(40) Id. ib. p. 878.

(35) A. B. Lipf. Nov. 1686, p. 528, &c.

(36) N. Ant. Bibl. Hip. Tom. 1. p. 623.

both in *Chaldæa*, and the City of *Haran* [C]? How many Sciences [D], and how many Books [E] have not been attributed to him? The *Jews* ascribe to him the Privilege

both Sides, he ordered him to be thrown into the middle of the Flames, saying, *Let your God deliver you.* *Haran*, Brother of *Abraham*, waited impatiently for the Event, resolving in himself to follow the Party which got the better; to be of *Nimrod's* Religion, if *Abraham* was burnt, and of *Abraham's* Religion if he was not. *Abraham* came out whole and untouched from the middle of the Flames; and *Nimrod* thereupon having demanded of *Haran*, in whom he believed, and receiving this Answer, *I believe in the God of Abraham*, commanded him to be thrown into a Furnace. *Haran* was so roughly handled there, that he died soon after in the Presence of his Father (10). The Reason, why the Fire had such Power over him, was because his Faith was not so lively as that of *Abraham*, and that he was not predestinated to great Things, as *Abraham* was (11).

This is by no means a new Tradition; for *St Jerom* reports it; and he seems even to adopt it, as far as relates to the miraculous Preservation of *Abraham* in the midst of the Fire (12): For, as to the superstitious Cruelty of *Terah*, in acting the Part of an Informer to the Holy Office against his own Son, he says nothing of it. *St Epiphanius*, who is likewise silent as to this Matter, maintains on the contrary, that *Terah* surviv'd *Haran*, as a Punishment for his Blasphemy in making Gods of Clay; and, that before him, no Father had ever seen his Children die a natural Death (13). The Ambiguity of the Word *Ur* (14), may have given Occasion to these Fables. Those, who lay a Stress on the Words of God to *Abraham*, *I am the Lord, that brought thee out of Ur of the Chaldees* (15), imagine that he saved him from some great Persecution, because he makes use of the same Phrase at the beginning of the *Decalogue*, to signify the Deliverance from *Egypt* (16). But this is to search for Myteries unnecessarily. We meet with no Footsteps of this Persecution in Scripture; and therefore we may proportionably rank in the same Class of imaginary Notions the Fire, which did no Injury to *Abraham*, and that which *Maimonides* borrows from (17) a certain Treatise of the Agriculture of the *Egyptians*.

We find there, that *Abraham*, having maintained in a public Dispute against the Idolaters, that Fire was not worthy of Divine Honours, was thrown into Prison, despoil'd of his Effects, and condemned to Banishment. The King was afraid, lest the Authority and Eloquence of so great a Man should convert his People from the Adoration of Fire. *Cerdrenus* ascribes the Death of *Haran* to a very unlikely Cause; pretending that it was for endeavouring to snatch the Idols of *Terah* out of the Fire, which *Abraham* had thrown in. This Attempt must be vain, since he himself perished by the Flames.

[C] *And the City of Haran.* It is pretended, that he became there a Converter; and that, whilst he was labouring to make Profelytes among the Men, *Sara* was doing the same among the Women (18); and that we must understand in this Sense the Words of *Genesis*, where it is said, that *Abraham* went out of *Haran*, with *Sara* his Wife, *Lot*, his Brother's Son, all the Riches they had acquired, and all the Souls they had gotten (19). They will not have us understand this of the getting of Children, but of propagating the Faith: And they confirm this Explanation by a Metaphor, which the Apostle *St Paul* makes use of, at the 19th Verse of the 4th Chapter of his Epistle to the *Galatians*. *My little Children, of whom I am in travail again, until Christ be form'd in you.* It is more probable, that the Souls, which they had gotten, were the Slaves which they had purchas'd, together with the Children, who were born of these Slaves; not but that *Abraham*, without doubt, endeavour'd to instruct the Infidels, as far as his Zeal and his Prudence would permit him; and, if he converted any, they probably follow'd him into the Land of *Canaan*.

There are, who think, that his Father did not serve false Gods, till after his arrival at *Haran* (21). But this seems absurd: for, as it is very probable, that (22) this Family abandon'd *Chaldæa*, to avoid a Persecution, which it had reason to fear, on account of it's deserting Idolatry; it would be very strange, if it's Head should not have been tainted with it, till in that very Country, to which they fled for Refuge.

[E] *And how many Books.* There is a Book of the Creation, which was for a long time ascrib'd to him (32). It is mention'd in the *Talmud* (33): The Rabbins *Chanina* and *Hoschaia*, were accustom'd to read it on the Eve of the Sabbath. The Author of a Book, entituled *Cosiri*, says, that this Work of *Abraham* is very profound, and stands in need of a long Interpretation; that it teaches the Unity of God; that, in one light, it seems to contradict itself, but, in another, that it is very consistent. All the *Jews* do not attribute this Book to this great Patriarch. Some of them declare loudly, that it is a spurious Work, and condemn the boldness of the Rabin *Abi-*

But the worship of Idols, of which *Abraham* had cur'd *Terah*, before they left their Country, might possible revive in the Mind of the good old Gentleman: for, in those times of Ignorance, few Men had Strength enough to master their natural Inclination to Idolatry entirely. It is even believ'd, that *Nachor*, the third Son of *Terah*, was never quite converted, but that, however, he left his Country, in order to join his Father at *Haran* (23). Perhaps it might be he, who reviv'd the Veneration for Idols, in the Mind of the old Man, which *Abraham* had effac'd. It is certain that *Laban*, Grandson of this *Nachor*, was an Idolater. Some of the Fathers of the Church have thought, that *Terah* was neither a Believer in his Life time, nor at the point of Death. See the 31st, and 37th Homilies of *St Chrysostom*. How will they prove this? And how shall the contrary be proved to them? The History of *Abraham* is attended with numberless Difficulties, in which both Sides of the Question do not want for Reasons. But poor Father *Bolduc*, who believ'd that this Patriarch built Monasteries at *Haran*, and carry'd with him into *Palestine* only the youngest of the Monks (24), is not one of those, who can allege any Reason for his Opinion.

[D] *How many Sciences.* They say, he understood *Astronomy*. This is what *Berosus* relates of him, without naming him, if we may believe *Josephus* (25). Some will have it, that he taught Arithmetic and Astronomy to the *Egyptians*. *Josephus* affirms this (26); and *Nicolas Damascenus* would have confirm'd it, had he said that *Abraham* taught Geometry and Arithmetic to the *Egyptians*; but he says no such thing. *Mr Heidegger*, at the 144th Page of his second *Tome*, cites the 4th Book of *Nicolas Damascenus's* History, as if this were to be found there; but he mistakes the Words of *Josephus* for those of *Nicolas*, in the 16th Chapter of the 9th Book of *Eusebius's* *Præparatio Evangelica*. This Patriarch communicated Astronomy to the *Phœnicians*, and *Egyptians*, according to *Eupolemus*, and *Artapan* (27); but, after all, these Things are not Articles of Faith. The Authors, who attribute such sort of Things to him, weaken the Force of their own Testimony, by the Fallshoods which they mix with them. One says, that *Abraham* reign'd at *Damas* (28); another, that he sojourn'd twenty Years in *Egypt*, with his whole Family, in the Court of King *Pharathon* (29); a third does him the Injustice to think, that the Motive of his Journey into *Egypt*, was a Desire to be acquainted with the Opinions of the *Egyptians*, concerning the Deity, with a Design of following them, if they were better than his own, or to undeceive that People, if their Belief was erroneous (30). Some Moderns think, that he did not teach Mathematics to the *Egyptians* (31); but the Reason they give appears to me to be false. They say, that the Detention of *Sara* by the King of *Egypt*, made *Abraham* so uneasy, that he was not capable of reading Lectures on such abstract Sciences as these, which, like Poetry, require ease and freedom of Mind:

Carmina secessum scribentis et otia querunt.

From Noise and Care the Poet must be free.

But we must carefully observe, that *Josephus* has well distinguish'd the Times; he says that *Abraham's* Conference with the wise Men of *Egypt* was after the Restoration of *Sara*, and when he was contented in his Mind, as well on account of the Favours, which *Pharaoh* heap'd upon him, as because he was satisfy'd that his Wife had brought back her Honour untouched.

[E] *And how many Books.* There is a Book of the Creation, which was for a long time ascrib'd to him (32). It is mention'd in the *Talmud* (33): The Rabbins *Chanina* and *Hoschaia*, were accustom'd to read it on the Eve of the Sabbath. The Author of a Book, entituled *Cosiri*, says, that this Work of *Abraham* is very profound, and stands in need of a long Interpretation; that it teaches the Unity of God; that, in one light, it seems to contradict itself, but, in another, that it is very consistent. All the *Jews* do not attribute this Book to this great Patriarch. Some of them declare loudly, that it is a spurious Work, and condemn the boldness of the Rabin *Abi-*

(10) They found this Circumstance upon Gen. xi. 28.

(11) The Jews, in *Lyræus*, and *Tostatus*, in *Sallian's* Citation, Ann. Tom. 1. p. 402.

(12) Hieron. *Hebr. in Gen. c.*

(13) Epiph. *Hebr. B. 1. p. 8.*

(14) It is the proper Name of a Town, and signifies likewise, Fire. In *Eldas* B. 2. c. 9. the Latin Version says, *Qui elegit cum de igne Chaldeorum.*

(15) Gen. xi. 7.

(16) Paulus *Burgensis*, in his Add. to the Postil. of *Lyræus* upon *Genesis*.

(17) Ibid. See his *Mor. Nevochim*, Pars 3. c. 29.

(18) See *Onkelos*, the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, and *Fagius*, who translates it.

(19) Gen. xli. 5.

(21) Tell. in *Pererius* upon *Gen. xi.*

(22) This is built upon the Testimony of *Josephus*, and the Book of *Judith*, ch. v. *St Austin* affirms it in his de *Civit. Dei*. Lib. 16. c. 13.

(23) See *St Austin*, *Ibid.*

(24) See *Heidegger's* Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 38.

(25) Antiq. B. 1. c. 7.

(26) Ibid. c. 8.

(27) Alex. Polyhist. cited by *Eusebius*. *Præp. Ev.* c. 17, 18.

(28) Nic. Damasc. in *Joseph. Antiq.* B. 1. c. 7. *Justin* says the same, B. 36. c. 2.

(29) Artap. in *Eusebius*. *Præp. Ev.* B. 9. c. 18.

(30) *Joseph. Antiq.* B. 1. c. 8.

(31) See *Sallian*, *Tom. 1. p. 44.*

(32) See *Remiz A.* of the *Antiq. AKIBA*.

(33) See *St. Heidegger's* Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. p. 143.

(c) J. Hottinger's Oriental Hist. B. 1. c. 6.

vilege of having been born circumcis'd (c), and to have had the same Soul with *Adam* (f). They believe that this Soul belong'd afterward to *David*, and that it will be That of the *Messiah*, as *Bartoloci* remarks in his *Rabbinical Dictionary*. The *Mabometans* likewise have related several idle Stories concerning this Patriarch, as may be seen in *Al-Koran*, and in one of their principal Authors, named *Keffeus*. They make him take a Journey to *Mecca*, and pretend, that he began there to build a Temple [F]. See the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of Mr d'*Herbelot*, from page the 12th to the 16th; we meet with many curious Particulars there. If we had the Book, which *Hecataeus* compos'd, about *Abraham* (g), we should perhaps see many things, which at present have never been heard of. The Christians resolv'd not to be the only Persons, who have invented no idle Stories concerning *Abraham*; they have made him plant Trees of a singular Virtue [G].

(g) Joseph. Antiq. B. 1. c. 7.

I shall here mention a few more of the Dreams of the Rabins. They say, that the *Egyptian* Bondage was a Punishment for some Faults which *Abraham* had committed; for he had constrained the *Disciples of Wisdom* to take up Arms, and had suffer'd Persons instructed in the Law of God to relapse into Idolatry. Thus they understand those Words of the Scripture, where it is said, *He arm'd his trained servants, which were ere born in his house, three hundred and eighteen* (b); and that he restor'd the Persons (i), which the King of *Sodom* demanded back (k). Father *Bartoloci* makes a great Bustle about this matter, but does not confute it well [H]. They say likewise, first, that the fight of a precious Stone, which hung about *Abraham's* Neck, cur'd all Diseases; and that God hung this Stone in the Sun, after the Death of *Abraham* (l): secondly, That this Patriarch taught his Children Magic, whom he had by his Concubines (m).

(b) Gen. xiv. 24.

(i) Ibid. 21.

(b) Bartol. Bibl. Raban. Tom. 3. p. 529.

(i) Ibid. p. 502.

(m) Ibid. p. 594. Tom. 3. p. 703.

(34) Abr. Zachut. in the Book Ju. chafin. p. 52. in Heidegg. ibid.

(3) Preface of Zohar. Mantuan. in Heidegg. ib.

(36) Epiph. Hærel. p. 256.

(37) Origen. Homil. 35. upon Lu. c. 11. in Heidegg.

(30) Kircherus's Traktat de Biblioth. p. 14. Paris Edit.

(40) It should be four.

(41) Spizel. Specim. Biblioth.

(42) Pocock's Notes upon the Specim. Arab. Hist. p. 115.

ba, whom they look upon to be the real Author of the piece (34). "Quis dedit Potestatem Aquibæ scribendi librum Jézira, nomine Abrahami Patris nostri (35)? — Who gave Aquiba the Liberty of writing the Book Jézira, under the Name of our Father Abraham?" The Supplement to *Moreri* has a very curious Article upon this Subject, taken from the Critical History of Father *Simon*. Consult it, at Page 48, and 536, of the *Rotterdam* Edition. In the first Ages of Christianity, the Heretics, the *Setbians*, vented an *Apocalypse of Abraham*, as *St Epiphanius* remarks (36). *Origen* has quoted a pretended Work of this Patriarch, in which a good and a bad Angel are introduc'd disputing concerning his Salvation, or Damnation (37). The Library of the Monastery of *St Croix*, upon Mount *Amara* in *Ethiopia*, contains, they say (39), the Books, which were compos'd by *Abraham*, in the Valley of *Mamre*, where he taught *Pythagorism* to those, by whose help he had defeated the foe (40) *Kings*, who had taken Lot his Nephew. The Work of the *Creation* was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1552, translated into *Latin* by *Poffel*, with Notes. *Rittangel*, a converted Jew, and Professor at *Konigsburg*, gave a *Latin* Translation of it, with Notes, in 1642 (41).

[F] That he began there to build a Temple.] They contend, that *Adam*, being driven from Paradise, begg'd of the good God, to permit him to build a House on the Plan of that which he had seen in Heaven; a House, I say, which might be a Place for him to direct his Prayers to, and about which he might march in Devotion. Upon which God let fall a Tent, resembling the House, which *Adam* had seen. *Adam* apply'd this Tent to the Uses he desir'd. After his Death, *Setb* built a House of Stone and Mud, upon this Model; the Deluge destroy'd it; but *Abraham* and *Ismael* rebuilt it, by the Order of God. Others successively repair'd it, in proportion as it fell to decay; and, at length, *Hejazus*, in the Year of the *Hegira*, 74, put it into the Condition it is now in; and it is the Oratory of the Temple of *Mecca* (42). See the Remark [I] of the Article *AGAR*.

[G] Of a singular Virtue.] *Gresler* testifies, that he read in a Greek Manuscript, in the Library of *Augsbourg*, that *Abraham* planted a *Cyprus*, a *Pine*, and a *Cedar*; which united themselves into one Tree, each, nevertheless, retaining it's proper Root and Branches: That this Tree was cut down, when they were preparing Materials for *Solomon's* Temple; but that they could not possibly fit it to any Part: That

Solomon, seeing this, resolved to make a Bench of it: that a *Sybil*, being brought thither, would not sit upon it; and prophcy'd that the Redeemer of Mankind should die triumphantly on this Wood: That *Solomon* encompass'd it with thirty Crosses of Silver; and that it continued in this Situation 'till the Death of *Jesus Christ* (43). This puts me in mind of the Oak of *Mamre*, under which *Abraham* is said sometimes to have cooled himself. This Oak, they tell you, was standing in the Reign of *Constantinus* (45). "Drys, i. e. Quercus *Mambre* juxta Hebron, in qua, usque ad ætatem infantie, meæ & Constantii regis imperium, terebrynthus monstrabat peretvus, & annos magnitudine indicans, sub qua habitavit Abraham. Miro autem cultu ab Ethnicis habita est, & velut quodam insigni nomine consecrata (46). — The Oak of Mamre, near Hebron, where not many Years ago, when I was a Child, and in the Reign of Constantius, was stem'd a Turpentine-Tree very old, and declaring it's Age by it's Bulk; under which Abraham dwelt. The Heathens bore a surprising Veneration for it, and distinguish it by some honourable Appellation." And some have carried the Matter so far, as to say, that it has been seen within these three hundred Years. We must not they say, distinguish it from that *Reed of Setb*, which the Traveller *Mandeville* (a rare Evidence I saw near the Town of *Hebron* (47)).

[H] But does not confute it well.] He pretends that these Words of the King of *Sodom*, Give me the Persons, and take the Goods to thyself (48), signify in the literal and true Sense, Suffer those, whom you have instructed in your Belief, to return to the Worship of Idols; but that *Abraham* protested before the People, that he would not do it. The Author quotes the 22d, and 23d Verses of the 14th Chapter of *Genesis*; and then he accuses the *Talmudists* of Impudence and Blaphemy, in saying that the Patriarch agreed to the Request of the King of *Sodom*. He had reason to condemn them for supposing, that this Prince demanded back Persons converted to the true Religion; for he did not require the Domestics of the Patriarch, but only those Subjects, whom the four Kings had taken in the Pillage of *Sodom* (49). But Father *Bartoloci* is greatly mistaken in supposing that *Abraham* did not restore them. What he quotes from Scripture is manifestly against him.

(f) The name of the Soul of the Jews, which was the same as Adam's.

(b) Bartol. Bibl. Raban. Tom. 3. p. 529.

(i) Ibid. p. 502.

(m) Ibid. p. 594. Tom. 3. p. 703.

(43) Cædric of the Crs. B. 1.

(45) Ibid. B. 17. c. 7. in Bonifacio's Hist. Ludic. p. 285. He had better have cited St Jerom, as I have done.

(46) Hieron. in Locis Hebr. Litt. D. See Remark [G], of the Article BARCHUS-CHEBAS.

(47) See Bonifacio's Hist. Ludic. p. 289. His Book was printed at Venice, by Balconius, in 1652, in 4to. and reprinted at Brussels, for John Mummartius, in 1656. in 4to.

(48) Gen. xiv. 21.

(49) It is said at the 16th Verse, that Abraham brought back Lot his Brother, and likewise his Wife, and the People.

ABRAM (NICHOLAS), a *Lorrain* Jesuit, born in the Diocese of *Toul*, in the Year 1589, enter'd into the Society in 1606; and profess'd the fourth Vow in 1623. He was a polite Scholar; and appear'd to his Superiors so good a Divine, that he was rais'd to the Professorship of Divinity, in the University of *Pont-a-Mousson*. He exercised this Employ seventeen Years; and died the seventh of September 1655. He taught the *Belles Lettres*, before he enter'd upon the Study

Study of Divinity (a). He publish'd several Books [A]. It is something strange, that, being an Author of Distinction, he should be so little known in foreign Countries [B].

(a) Taken from Nathan. Sorel's Bibl. Script. Societ. Jesu. p. 622a

[A] He published several Books.] Notes on the Paraphrase of the Gospel of St John, compos'd in Greek Verse by Nonnus: A Commentary on some of Cicero's Orations: A Commentary on Virgil: A Collection of Theological Tracts, entitled, *Pharus veteris Testamenti, five sacrarum questionum, Libri XV. Maxims of a Christian Life*; and a Hebrew Grammar in Latin Verse. He translated into French, from the Italian of Bartoli, *The Life of Vincent Caraffa, The Man of Letters*, and *The Contented Poverty* (1). His Commentary on Cicero is a Work of great Labour; his Analysis of Logic is good and exact; the Notes are filled with much Learning; but as he has scattered with great Profusion the Fruits of his Lucubrations, he has fallen into a Prolixity, which is tiresome to the least lazy. This Commentary comprehends only the last Volume of Orations, as far as the second *Philippic* inclusively; and yet it is in two Volumes in Folio. They were printed at Paris in 1631. The Commentary on Virgil is much shorter; which makes it more useful for Schools. We find, at the end of his *Pharus Veteris Testamenti*, a long Treatise of Truth and Falshood (2); in which he does not give into the Maxims of the rigid Casuists.

Mr De la Monnoie has informed me, First, That this Jesuit has supplied, in seventy one Greek Verses, after his manner, the *History of the Adulteress*, which was wanting to the eighth Chapter of Nonnus's Paraphrase (3): Secondly, That Reinsius speaks of this *Nicolas Abram*, in the 155th Page of his *Letters to Hoffman and Rupert*. I have consulted that Place, and I find there this Elogium: "Si me cum tot rationibus audire hic noles, vel hujus (Nic Abram) auctoritati cede. Est enim sane quam doctissimus, & maxime idoneus explicando Tullio.—If you will not listen to these many Reasons of mine, at least submit to the Authority of this Author (N. Abram). For he is indeed a very learned one, and the best qualified to explain Tully."

ABSTEMIUS (LAURENCE) born at Macerata, in the Territory of Ancona, applied himself to the Study of the *Belles Lettres*, and made a considerable Progress therein. He taught them at Urbino, and was Librarian there to the Duke of Guido Ubalde (a); to whom he dedicated a little Book, in which he explain'd some difficult Passages of Antient Authors (b). It was in the Pontificat of Alexander VI. that he publish'd this Work; and another entitled *Hecatomythium*, dedicated to Octavianus Ubaladini, Count of Mercatelli. The reason of this Title was, that the Work was a Collection of an hundred Fables. In the Sequel to it he doubled the Number. They have been frequently printed [A] with those of the Antient Fabulists, *Ejop, Phaedrus, Gubrius, Avienus*, &c. which Nevelet has collected in a body with Notes. *Abstemius* did not always confine himself to an Imitation of those Antient Originals; he mixes sometimes among his Fables some Droll Tale, and does not always spare the Clergy [B]. We meet with his Conjectures on some Passages of the Antients in the first Volume of Gruterus's *Critical Thesaurus*; we meet with them, I say, under the Title of *Various Annotations*. They are but few in Number, and fill but 15 Pages. There is a Preface of his at the beginning of *Aurelius Victor*, in 1505 (c). I know not whether he surviv'd this Edition long. He is one of those, whom *Laurentius Valla* has censur'd.

Take notice of the Remarks communicated to me [C] since the first Edition.

[A] They have been frequently printed.] Gesner takes notice of the Edition of Strasbourg in 1522. That, which Nevelet made use of, is more modern by eighty eight Years. The Notes, which he has added to it, are but few: and certainly it is not for their sake, that the Impression has been so often repeated. He wrote none upon *Abstemius's* Fables; as they wanted none.

[B] And does not always spare the Clergy.] The following is a Proof of it. The 104th Fable is this: A certain Priest was intrusted by his Bishop with the Care of a Convent, where there were five Nuns, by each of which he had a Boy at the Year's end. The Bishop, hearing this News, was in a great Passion, sent for the Priest, chid him severely, and called him Traytor, and a sacrilegious Wretch, for daring to defile the Temple of the Holy Ghost. My Lord, says he, you intrusted me with five Talents; and lo, I have gained five others. The Bishop was so well

Add to this Testimony that of another learned Person of the same Country. "Ad intelligendas, atque ad usum transferendas, Orationes Ciceronis sufficit Commentarius Jo. Thomæ Freigii, nisi quis addere malit prolixos Commentarios Nic. Abrami Jesuitæ, multâ rerum varietate intrudidos (4). — The Commentary of Jo. Thomas Freigius is sufficient for the understanding and applying of Cicero's Orations, unless any one chuses to add the long Commentaries of Nic. Abraham the Jesuit, which are fraught with a great Variety of Matter."

[B] So little known in foreign Countries.] His Notes upon the Paraphrase of Nonnus were printed at Paris, for Stephen Cramoisi, in 1622; and it does not appear, that Heinsius had any Knowledge of them, when, in 1627. he published the same Paraphrase with a large Commentary. It is that, which he calls *Aristarchus facer*. Neither had Mr Cave heard of this Jesuit's Notes, since he takes no Notice of them in that Passage, wherein he reckons up the several Editions of Nonnus (5). Aubert le Mire and Father Oudin are as silent concerning them: the one, in his *Auxilium de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, printed in 1639; the other, in his *Supplementum de Script. Ecclef.* printed in 1686. The Manner, in which Mr Simon often quotes this Work of Father Abram (6), shewed that he esteem'd it, and that it is a Book, which does not deserve to be unknown. But there is something still more remarkable. Martin Schoockius, whose principal Employ was an immense and prodigious Reading, declared in his old Age, that he had never before heard of such an Author, as Nic. Abram. "Hanc si tuitus fuisset nescio quis Nic. Abramus (jam primitus cum nosse incipio) prolixo examine haud opus fuisset (7). — Had one Nic. Abram (this is the first time I ever heard of him) seen this, it would not have stood in need of a long Discussion."

(4) J. And. Boetius, de Prædientia & Eloquentia comparanda, p. 400.

(5) Hist. Liter. p. 290... London Edit. in 1688, in Folio.

(6) Hist. Crit. of the Commentary on the New Testament, ch. 23.

(7) Sch. de Fænoterunciariorio, p. 107a printed in 1668.

(a) See Græter's Thes. Crit. Tom. 1. p. 878.

(b) Censuræ Nonnullis locis obscuris. See the Epistle dedicatory of his Hecatomythium.

(c) Epist. Bibl. Gesneri.

(1) Fabula indicat, peccata, cum ratione nequeant, urbane diluenda. Abstem. Fab. CIV.

(2) See the Quæstion (b) of this Article.

[C] The Remarks communicated to me.] "The Conjectures of *Abstemius*, inserted in the first Volume of the *Thes. Crit. of Gruter*, are only an Extract of a Work, entitled *Obscurorum locorum* (2), dedicated to the Duke of Urbino. Gruter, who has given us this Extract, has placed at the beginning a little marginal Note, in which he says, that *Laurentius Valla* had critic'd upon *Abstemius*.

"*Abstemius*. I doubt much of the Truth of this; there not occurring any Footsteps of this pretended Criticism in the Works of *Laurentius Valla*, whom besides *Abstemius* has greatly praised in the Preface to his second *Hecatomymbium*, and with whom he could not have much Contention, as

"he surviv'd him at least forty eight Years. He is the first, I believe, who wrote the Fable of the *Multiply'd Talents*. *Le Bandel*, *Verville*, and others, have related it after him." This is taken from a Letter sent me by Mr *De la Monnoie*.

ABUCARAS (THEODORE) was a Prelate [A] very zealous for Orthodoxy, which he shew'd in more than forty Dissertations which he wrote, either against the *Jews* or the *Mabometans*, or the *Hereticks*, or in general on Religious Subjects. *Genebrard* translated into Latin, and publish'd, fifteen of these Dissertations. *Gretser*, adding these to the rest [B] which Father *Turrien*, or himself, had translated, publish'd an Edition, which seem'd complete (a). But he forgot something; for Mr *Arnold* printed at *Paris*, in 1685, a Treatise by *Abucaras*, which had never yet appeared from the Press. He found it in the *Oxford Library*. He did not accompany it with Notes, not daring to meddle with the grand Mysteries, which the Author examines in that Treatise (b): viz. the Incarnation, and the Hypostatical Union. It is uncertain when *Abucaras* liv'd. The Jesuit *Turrien* believes he was the Disciple of *Johannes Damascenus*. This places him in the VIIIth Century. *Gretser* places him a little earlier [C], not distinguishing him from that *Abucaras*, who was so far engaged in the Troubles of the Church of *Constantinople*, in the Time of the Patriarch *Ignatius* and of *Photius*. This *Abucaras* followed the Party of *Photius*, and undertook to go upon an Embassy for him, with *Zachary*, Bishop of *Chalcedon*, to the Court of the Emperor *Lewis II*. His Business was to present to this Prince the Book, which *Photius* had composed against Pope *Nicolas*, and to exhort him to shake off the Pope's Yoke. But he had scarce began his Journey, when *Basilus* the *Macedonian*, who had usurp'd the Empire, after having murder'd the Emperor *Michel*, recalled him, and commanded him to stir no farther in the Affair. Two Years after (c) he appeared before the Council of *Constantinople*, and humbly begg'd Pardon for having been in the Interests of *Photius*, and protested that he was drawn in to espouse them by Violence and Artifice. He gained his Ends: the Patriarch reconciled him to the Church, and gave him a Place in the Assembly (d). Mr *Arnold* was acquainted with a learned Man in *England*, who believed that *Abucaras* liv'd in the VIIth Century (e). The Works of this Author were inserted in the Supplement to the *Paris* Edition of the Collection of the Fathers, in 1624.

(a) It is in Greek and Latin, and printed at Ingolstadt, in 1606, in 4to.

(b) Arnold's Preface.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Nicet. Paphlag. in the Life of Ignatius, in Cave's Hist. Liter. p. 557.

(e) In 869.

[A] A Prelate.] Some stile him Archbishop of *Caria* (1), others Episcopum *Carie*, Καπὼν Ἐπίσκοπος, Bishop of *Caria* (2). Mr *Arnold* thinks, that *Abucaras* was Bishop of *Charron* in *Mesopotamia*: this was likewise the Opinion of *Jofas Simler* (3). *Photius* had design'd him for the Bishoprick of *Laodicea*, as Mr *Cave* observes.

[B] *Gretser*, adding these to the rest.] The *Journal des Savans* gives us a wrong Notion of this Jesuit's Edition. *Genebrard* (say they) has translated and published fifteen Dissertations of this Author, and *Gretser* had added them to his Collection of the Works of *Anastafius* the Sinaite, in two Manuscripts in the *Bavarian Library*. Had they understood the Latin of Mr *Arnold*, they would not have been guilty of this Mistake. "Theodori Abucaræ Dissertationes quindecim jam diu Latine vertit & edidit Genebrardus, deinde Theodorum Anastasio Sinaitz ob argumenti similitudinem conjunxit Jacobus Gretserus, deditque ex duobus codicibus Manuscriptis Ducis Bavarie Maximiliani. — *Genebrard* had, some time before, translated into Latin, and published fifteen Dissertations of Theodorus Abucaras; afterward Jacob Gretser joined Theodorus with Anastafius the Sinaite, on account of the Resemblance between their Subjects, and published them from two Manuscripts of Maximilian Duke of Bavaria (5)." There are three Particulars in this Passage: First, That *Gretser* publish'd the Works of *Abucaras*, after the Publication of fifteen of the Pieces by *Genebrard*: Second, That *Gretser* published them from two Manuscripts

of the Duke of *Bavaria*: Third, That he joined them with *Anastafius* the Sinaite. There is nothing of all this in the *Journal de Savans*. We are not there told, that *Gretser* published more Pieces than *Genebrard*, nor that the *Bavarian Manuscripts* were affixing to the Editions of *Abucaras*: it only says, that they were of use to the Edition of *Anastafius*, of which Mr *Arnold* made no mention. Farther, we must not imagine, that all the Works of *Anastafius* the Sinaite were published with *Theodore Abucaras*: there is only the Treatise, entitled *Omnes, The Guide*, added to the Works of *Abucaras*, in *Gretser's* Edition.

[C] *Gretser* places him a little earlier.] In reading Mr *Arnold's* Preface, one is almost convinc'd, that this Jesuit did not dare to advance any thing concerning the Age of *Abucaras*. "Gretserus vero, quis fuit erit Abucaras, quo sæculo floruit, ab Antonio Velfero, S. S. Theol. D. Ecclesiæ Frisingensis Canonico, Præposito Spaltenfi, cujus honori librum suum dedicavit, discere volebat (6). — But *Gretser* desired to be inform'd, who *Abucaras* was, and when he flourish'd, from Antony Velferus, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of the Church of *Frisingen*, and Prouost of *Spalta*, to whose Honour he dedicates his Book." Mr *Arnold*, by saying nothing more of *Gretser*, plainly insinuates, that we need look no further in the Preface of this Jesuit. But we find it otherwise: namely, that *Abucaras*, whom he mentions in the Life of St *Ignatius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, is the same who compos'd the Dissertations.

(6) Arnold's Preface.

ABUDHAHER. It is the Name of the Chief of the *Karmatians* [A], under whose Conduct they profaned and laid waste *Mecca*, in the Year of the *Hegira*

[A] The *Karmatians*.] It is the Name of a Sect, which rose in *Arabia*, about the Year of the *Hegira* 278 (1). The first Head of this Sect was a Blasphemer, and an Impostor; who, drawing to his Party those among the Inhabitants of the Fields and Deserts, who had least Religion, gain'd an absolute command over them.

We meet with several Etymologies of the Name *Karmatians*, in *Pocock* (2). The Sect was but small at first; but it made an incredible Progress. They possess'd themselves of the greatest Part of the Provinces of *Eraki*, and *Hejazi*; and spread themselves over *Syria*, and as far as the Gates of *Grand Cairo* (3).

(1) According to us, the Year 894.

(2) *Pocock's Notes on Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 371. This Specimen was printed at Oxford in 1650.*
(3) Ibid.

Hegira [B] 317. They robb'd the Pilgrims, and murder'd 1700 of them, within the very Walls of the *Caaba* (a) whilst these poor superstitious Wretches were marching round this sacred Oratory, as their Form of Prayer directed them. The *Karmatians* were not satisfy'd with this Slaughter; they carry'd away out of the Temple a piece of black Marble, which was had in Veneration there, as a Present from Heaven (b); they pull'd down the Gate of the Temple, and fill'd the Pits *Zamzam*, one of the most sacred parts of the Place, with the dead Bodies. To encrease the Calamity, *Abudhaber* affronted the *Mabometan* Religion many ways; he led his Horse to the Entrance of the *Caaba*, that he might lay his Dung there; and he told the *Mabometans*, they were Fools to call that Building by the Name of God's House; for, added he, if God had any regard to this Temple, he would have immediately crush'd me with a Thunder-bolt for profaning his House in so outrageous a manner [C]. The Veneration of the *Mabometans* for this Temple was not lessen'd upon that Account: they continu'd to go in Pilgrimage thither every Year. When the *Karmatians* were inform'd of this, they determin'd to send back the black Marble, which they had kept twenty-two Years. Some time after they rallied the Folly of their Devotions: This People, said they, believe they are in possession of the black Marble: but we sent them another in it's room: the Object therefore of their Veneration is a false and supposititious Being. They had a more important Design [D] in these Words, than the bare Pleasure of an Insult. They receiv'd for answer, that they need only be witness of the Proof, and that, if the Stone swam upon Water, they might be convinc'd it was genuine. Accordingly it did float in the presence of the *Karmatians*; and by this means all those Doubts and Scruples, which the jesting of these prophane Wretches might raise, were remov'd (e). This is a little Specimen of the Legends of the Eastern People. You will meet with many curious Particulars relating to *Abudhaber*, and the *Karmatians*, in the *Oriental Dictionary* of Mr d'Herbelot (d). He calls them *Carmatians*, and he writes the Name of their Chief *Abu-Taber*.

(a) The Name of a Part of the Temple design'd for Adoration and Prayer.

(b) See the Remark [K] of the Article AGAR.

(c) Pocock's Notes upon Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 118, 119. from Abulfeda, and Ebn Yusef.

(d) In the Article C. A. R. M. A. T. H. p. 256, &c.

[B] *The Year of the Hegira, 317.* *Abulfeda*, and *Abmed Ebn Yusef*, point out this Year; and say, that the Stone was not recover'd, till 339: But *Saffoddin* shortens the Time: he places this carrying away of the Stone in the Year 319, and the Relitition of it, in 335 (4).

[C] *In so outrageous a Manner.* *Abmed Ebn Yusef* says, that the *Mabometan* Religion never suffered a Calamity comparable to that (5).

[D] *A more important Design.* They were in Hopes of inviting the Caravans of Pilgrims to them; imagining, that these good People would go where the Stone was kept. This is the Reason, why they

would not accept of a Ransom for it: they were deaf to Prayers and Promises. But, finding that *Mecca* was as much frequented as ever, and that no one came to pay their Devotions to the Stone, which they preserv'd, they return'd it. This they did, with a Reserve of some Right in it to themselves; for, when they gave it out that they had return'd only a counterfeit Stone, they intended without doubt to raise Scruples in Mens Minds, and to share the Pilgrimages, at least, sooner or later. The People of *Mecca* foresaw the Consequence; and thought proper to give it out, that the Stone had been put to the Proof, and it's Genuineness confirm'd.

(4) Pocock's Notes upon Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 139.

(5) Ibid.

ABULFEDA, (ISMAEL) Prince of *Hamab*, a City of *Syria*, succeeded his Brother, in the Year of the *Hegira*, 743 [A], which answers to the Year of *Christ* 1342, and died three Years after, at about the Age of 72 Years (a). He was a Lover of Study, and particularly that of *Geography*, as may be gather'd from a Work entitled, *Chorasmie & Mawaralnabre, hoc est, Regionum extra fluvium Oxum descriptio, ex tabulis Abulfede Ismaëlis, Principis Hamab*; i. e. *A Description of Chorasmia, and Mawaralnahre, or the Regions beyond the River Oxus, from the Tables of Abulfeda Ismaël, Prince of Hamah* (b). It was printed at *London* in 1650. The Author quotes a great many *Arabian* Writers. It was compos'd long before he ascend'd the Throne; for it is remark'd at the end of the Book, that it was finish'd in the Year of the *Hegira* 721, which is the 1321 of *Christ*. We are oblig'd to the learned *John Gravius* for the *London* Edition. He added to the Original, which is in *Arabic*, a *Latin* Translation, and a Preface, in which he informs us, that he consult'd five different Manuscripts;

(a) Pocock in his Notes on Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 363. says that he was born in the Year of the *Hegira* 672.

(b) The Arabic Title signifies Canon, or rather Rectificatio Terrarum, according to Gravius. For Arabic reason König was not in the wrong to say that Abulfeda wrote a Geographical Work entitled Directorium Regionum.

[A] *The Year of the Hegira 743.* This we are assured of from the *Arabian* Author of a Book entitled *Al Sacerdan* (1). Therefore the Jesuit *Blancanus* was mistaken, when he places *Abulfeda* in the IVth Century of Christianity (2). This Error ought to have kept him from another Mistake, in giving this Geographer the Title of Prince of *Syria*, *Affria*, and *Perfia*. A little Attention might have shewn him, that an *Arabian* Author and a *Mabometan* could not be King of *Perfia* 400 Years after *Christ*. *Vossius*, having related the Opinion of *Blancanus*, is content to say, that *Abulfeda* was not so antient by a great deal: but, for the rest, he allows him the Style and Title of Prince of *Syria*, *Affria*, and *Perfia* (3). He comes pretty near the Truth, as to his Chronology: when he says that it is three hundred Years since *Abulfeda* flourish'd (4). Instead of this, Mr *Moreri* charges him with believing, as *Blancanus* did, that this Prince of *Syria* liv'd in the IIIrd or IVth Century: But it is certain, adds Mr *Moreri*, that he lived much later; perhaps in the VIIIth or IXth, or even in the Year

1200. He might have omitted the Word *perhaps*; he might have asserted, that he liv'd in the XIVth Century; since his Work was finish'd in the 721st Year of the *Hegira*, as is declared at the end of it. There is a false Print in the *Dutch* Edition of *Moreri* in this Place. They make *J. Gravius* say, that our *Abulfeda* lived in the beginning of the XIIIth Century; and yet he has placed the Death of this Prince in 1345. What I am most concerned at is, that the learned *E. Pocock* asserts, that *Abulfeda* took possession of the Government of the Province of *Hamab*, in the 710th Year of the *Hegira* (5). This cannot be reconcil'd with what *J. Gravius* has asserted. It is more reasonable to depend upon this latter, than the other, because *Abulfeda* is *Gravius*'s principal Subject; whereas *Pocock* speaks of him only by way of a short Digression. But is it not very hard, that we cannot depend upon Men of such great Abilities in the Eastern Learning, as *Pocock*; and that at the same time that they publish any thing, one of their Colleagues shall shew the Fallacious of it?

(1) *Gravius*'s Preface.

(2) He calls him *Abulfeda* in his Chronol. Mathem.

(3) *Vossius* de Mathem. Discipl. p. 250.

(4) He calls him *Abulfeda*, and *Abulfedzes*. See the Epitome. Bibl. Gell.

(5) *Pocock*'s Notes on the Specim. Hist. Arab.

(c) It follows from hence, that Fabricius, in his Specimen-Ling. Arab. p. 99, was wrong in saying, in Konig, that Schickard had transferred into Latin a Work of Abulfeda. Spizelius in his Specim. Bibl. cites the same Fabricius, as saying, that Schickard had transferred all this Work.

manuscripts; the first is *Erpenius's* Transcript from the Copy in the *Palatine Library*; the second is the same Copy, which is now in the *Vatican*; two others belong'd to *Pocock*; the fifth was bought at *Constantinople*. We learn farther in this Preface, that *Ramusius* is the first, who commended this Work of *Abulfeda*, and pointed out the Use of it; that afterward *Casaldus* made use of it to correct the Longitudes and Latitudes of several Places; that *Ortelius* often mentions it in his *Theſaurus Geographicus*, not as having seen it, but upon the Authority of *Casaldus*; that *Erpenius*, out of concern that no one had given it to the World, resolv'd to publish it, and would have done it, if Death had not taken him off in the middle of his Design; that *Schickard* was the first, who borrow'd from it several Remarks of profound Learning, and 'till then unknown, which he insert'd in his *Tarich Persicum*: but as the Copy belonging to the Imperial Library, which was lent him by *Tengnagelius*, was not legible in several Places, he left the greatest part of the Pains and the Honour to *John Grævius* (c). It is surprizing, that Mr *Moreri* could heap together so many Mistakes in one Article [B], as he has done in this of *Abulfeda*. *Spizelius* did not know in 1668; nor *Konig* in 1678, that *Abulfeda* had been in *England* (d).

(d) Spizel. Specim. Bibl. Univ.

[B] Mr *Moreri* could heap together so many Mistakes in one Article.] We have already seen some of them. The rest are as follows. First, When he says, that some are of Opinion, that *Abulfeda* was of *Nubia*, he manifestly confounds him with the Author of the *Geographia Nubiensis*, of whom we shall treat in his proper Place. At least, he betrays his Ignorance that these two Authors ought to be distinguished; for, had he known it, he would not have related this Opinion, and let it pass uncensured. Secondly, He confirms this first Observation, by adding that *Abulfeda* dispos'd his *Geography* into *Climates*. This agrees better with the Author of *Geographia Nubiensis* than with *Abulfeda*. This latter has given us only a Description of some Parts of *Asia*, situated beyond the *Oxus*, which he places under the 25th and 26th Climates. The *Nubian Geography* is dispos'd in a very different Manner. It makes but seven Climates, and adheres to this Division of the Antients; referring all the Description it gives of the known World to That. Let me observe by the way, that *Abulfeda* fixes his first Climate in *Arabia*, and not, as the *Nubian Geography* does, on the most western Coast of the *Atlantic Ocean*; and that his first Meridian passes thro' Cape St Vincent. Thirdly; We have seen, says Mr *Moreri*, at present, but the first Climates of *Abulfeda*; we are put in Hopes of the remaining ones this Year: This is a downright Falshood: what is published of *Abulfeda* relates not to the first Climates, but to the 25th and 26th. Fourthly; An Author should not make use of so indeterminate a Phrase as *This Year*; for his Reader, at the end of ten Years, will not know what Year he means; he must have

recourse to the Date of the first Impression: this is to be met with but in few Books: and, where it is to be found, it is not always a good Guide, since there often pass many Years between the Composition and the Publication of a Book. This is an Instance of the Difficulty, into which a Reader is led by the Expression *this Year*. Where is the Person, who, in reading *Moreri*, can guess in what Year the other Climates of *Abulfeda* were promised? It is a very long Year; it has reigned to the sixth Edition inclusively. Fifthly, *William Postel* was the first who brought this Work into Europe, of which he published an Abridgment in Latin. Here are two new Errors of *Moreri*. *Simler* is the only Author he quotes, who has any Relation to this. But all that *Simler* says, is, that *Postel*, having brought this Work from the East, left an Abridgment of it, which he had translated at *Venice*, with *Ramusius* (6), who had a Design of publishing the second Tome of his *New World*. There is a great deal of Difference between bringing a Book from the East, and being the first who brought it from thence; between publishing a Book, and leaving the Manuscript for another's Use. It is certain, that *Ramusius* did not publish what *Postel* left with him; and if it be true, that *Abulfeda*, which was in *Arabie* in the *Palatine Library*, as *Moreri* observes, had been brought into Europe by *Postel*, and that this was the first Copy we had in the West, this does not acquit Mr *Moreri* of ascribing more to Authors than they really say; and we have reason to complain of such Falsifications. They deserve to be particularly censured.

(6) *Simler* calls him *Rhamnusius* by mistake; and *Spizelius* the same.

ABULPHARAGE (GRZOOBY) the Son of a Physician named *Aaron*, was himself likewise a Physician, and acquired a great Reputation in this Art; inasmuch that they came to consult him from the most distant Countries. He was of *Malatia* [A], near the *Euphrates*, and would at this time have been but little known, had he confin'd himself to the Knowledge of Medicine: but he understood History; and there is a Work of this kind, after his manner, still extant, which does honour to his Memory. Not that our Age judges so favourably of it, as the Eastern People do. They are extravagant in their Commendations, either because they have but few truly learned Men among them, or because it is to their Taste. However that be, there are an hundred Historians in the West, whose Compositions are not inferior to those of *Abulpharage*, whom no one has yet thought fit to dignify with such Titles, as are given him [B]. He liv'd at the end of the XIIIth Century, and profess'd Christianity

[A] He was of *Malatia*.] I have in vain looked for this Town in *Pocock's* Prefaces, in *Ortelius's* Theſaurus, and Mr *Bouquet's* Geography. But Chance has been more favourable to me than Enquiry; for in turning over, with other Views, that which is called the *Nubian Geography*, I found, that *Malatia* is a fortified Town, fifty one Miles from *Samosata*, towards the Sources of *Euphrates* (1).

(1) Geogr. Nub. Clim. 4. p. 5, & 297.

Mr *Bouquet* has informed me, that he mentions this Town under the Word *Mellon* and *Mellene*. It is true: he places it in lesser *Armenia*, upon the *Euphrates*, and says, it is called at present *Malatinah*.

[B] Such Titles, as are given to him.] *Pocock* met with this Passage at the beginning of a Copy of *Abulpharage*, wrote in the gooth Year of the *Higira*:

"Dixit Dominus noster, Pater Sanctus, eximius, doctrina & eruditione insignis, doctorum Rex, excellentium excellentissimus, temporum suorum exemplar, sæculi Phoenix, sapientium Gloria, Doctor divina ope fultus, Mar. Gregorius Abulpharai, filius excellenter sapientis Aaronis, Medici Malatensis. — These are the Words of Mar. Gregory Abulpharai, (Son of the excellently-wisè Aaron, Physician of Malatia) our Lord, and Holy Father, most excellent of the Excellent, famous for Learning and Knowledge, King of the Learned, Pattern of his Times, Phoenix of the Age, Glory of the Wise, a Teacher favoured by Heaven." At the end of another Copy he met with the following: "Pater & Dominus noster, Rex doctorum, & corona virtutum

Christianity [C]. This did not hinder several Mahometans from studying under him [D]. The current Report of his abjuring his Religion, when he found himself near Death, ought to be rank'd among the numberless Fables of this kind, which are rais'd among all Sects [E]. He has divided the History, which he compos'd in Arabic, into *Dynasties*. It is an Abridgment of *Universal History* from the beginning of the World to his own Time. The Division consists of ten Parts. The Subjects of each may be seen in the Supplement to *Moreri*. Edward Pocock (a) publish'd this Book of *Abulpharage*, with a Latin Translation, in 1663. He added to it a Supplement, which contains a short Sequel to this History with regard to the Eastern Princes. He had before publish'd, in 1650, a short Extract from the ninth Dynasty of this Author, with many learned Notes. The Title of it is, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum, sive Gregorii Abul Farajii, Malatensis, de Origine & Moribus Arabum succincta Narratio*: i. e. *A Specimen of the Arabic History, or a succinct Relation of the Origin and Manners of the Arabians, by Abulpharage, of Malatia*. *Abulpharage* could not be so exact in the Affairs of the Greeks and Romans, as those of the *Saracens* and *Tartar-Moguls*. This latter piece is the best of the Work. It relates, in a very instructive and credible manner, the prodigious Conquests of *Zingis-Chan*. All that *Abraham Zacutus* says of them, in his *Juchasin*, is stoln, together with other Matters, from the History of *Abulpharage*. We cannot guess why *Abraham Ecchellenensis* (b) gives our Author the Name of *Gregorius Bar Hebraeus Syrus* (c) [F].

(a) Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and Arabic Lecturer.

(b) Prof. Biblicus. Polygraphus, Paris.

(c) Pocock's Preface.

"rorum virtute præstantiam, dubiorum in Theologia occultorum." *Ἐνδούρειν, Christianorum Princeps primarius, scilicet Jacobiticæ Medulla, Mar. Gregorius, dominus, Pater, unicum avi decus, & sæculi Phoenix. — Our Lord and Father, King of the Learned, and Crown of the Virtuous, Solver of Doubts in Divinity, Chief Head of the Christians, Marrow of the Jacobite Sect, Mar. Gregory, Lord, Father, sole Glory of the Age, and Phoenix of the Times.* Add to these what he met with at the beginning of a *Syriac Grammar*, compos'd by this Author: "Pater noster sanctus, Rex Doctorum, Mar. Gregorius, Doctor Orientis, qui idem est Abul-Pharai, filius Ahronis, Medici Malatimensis, i. e. Malatensis.

[C] *Professed Christianity.* He was, we see, of the Sect of the *Jacobites*. This is more probable, according to Pocock, than what a learned Jew has advanced, that *Abulpharage* was of the Sect of the *Melchites*. "Cui potius fidem habemus, quam docto cuidam Judæo, qui eum vocat Ebnol Koff, Christianum Malatensem, secta Melchitum (2).

[D] This did not hinder many Mahometans from studying under him.] One of Pocock's Copies contains these Words of a Mahometan: "Author Libri est Abul-Pharai Ebn Hocima, vir multæ lectionis varique Scientiis instructus, & penitus imbutus, præcipue autem medicinæ gloriâ sæculo suo clarus, adeo ut ad eum de plagis Orientalibus frequenter conducerent. Christianus erat, à quo tamen didicerunt multi à Muslemorum eximie doctis. Ferunt ipsum morti propinquum à fide Christiana deservisse. — The Author of the Book is Abul-Pharai Ebn Hocima, a Man of great Reading, and thoroughly vers'd in many Sciences, but particularly famous in his Time for his Skill in Physic; inasmuch that People came in Crowds to him from the Eastern Countries. He was a Christian; and yet many of the learned Muslem were his Disciples. He is reported to have renounced the Christian Faith, when he was near Death." Ebn Chalecan, a famous Author, who wrote the Lives of illustrious Men, was the Writer of these Words, if we may believe the Remark written by another Hand in the same Place of the Copy (3).

[E] Which are raised among all Sects.] We have mentioned the Report concerning the last Hours of *Abulpharage*. The *Mahometans* could scarce believe, that so great a Man was inwardly a Christian; they chose rather to think, that he concealed his real Sentiments, 'till the Approach of Death put an end

to his Reasons for dissimbling them. This Prejudice universally prevails. Every one imagines, that the Truths of his Religion are so clear, that the Men of Genius of another Party cannot but be convinced of them; and that it is only worldly Motives which prevent their making an open Profession of them. They flatter themselves, that at the fatal Hour, when the eternal Doom affects the Mind most strongly, these Dissimblers will give Truth the Glory, and throw aside the Mask.

Dii longe noctis, quorum jam numina nobis
Mors infans majora facit (4)!

Ye Deities of everlasting Night,
Whose Forms, in Death, rise larger to the Sight!

For, according to *Lucretius*,

— Veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur persona manet Res (5).

Truth then breaks forth, extorted by our Fears,
And all the Man, without Disguise, appears.

It is from this wrong Principle so many idle Stories arise, which are inserted in *Moreri's Dictionary*, relating to *Peter du Maslin, Joseph Scaliger*, &c. It is likewise the Source of I know not how many Discourses, in which certain Persons are made to say, *The Religion I profess is the best for this World, but not in the Article of Death*. See the Remark [DD] of the Article *MAHOMET*.

[F] The Name of *Gregorius Bar Hebraeus Syrus*.] Upon this Occasion, I shall make this short Remark. Pocock repeats two Passages, in which our Author is named *Mar Gregorius*; and one, in which he is called *Mar Gregorius*; he makes no Reflexion upon the first of these Names; he never says, that *Abulpharage* was called *Mar*. Upon which I say, the Supplement to *Moreri* must be mistaken, in saying that the Name of this Author was *Mars Gregory*. The Word *Mar*, which is a Title of Honour as *Mr* in our Language, might be mistaken for the Christian Name *Marc*. I observe the same Fault in the *Perpetuity of the Faith defended* (6): the Patriarch of *Babylon*, who renounced himself to the Church of *Rome*, under Pope *Paul V.* is there styl'd *Marc Elias*; but the Author, cited for it, calls him *Mar Elias* (7).

(4) Dido in *Silius Italic.* lib. 8. v. 140.

(5) *Lucret.* lib. 3. ver. 57.

(6) B. 5. c. 10.

(7) *Petrus Strouza, de Chalcedon. Dogm.* See *Acta Miraculorum Polit. Eccles.*

ABUMUSLIMUS (a) General of the Army under the first Caliphs of the Race of *Abbasi*. The Province of *Cborasan* surrender'd to *Abbasi* in the Year of the *Hegira* 125 (b). He accepted it, and died the same Year. *Ibrahim*, his Son and Successor, sent *Abumuslimus* into this Country, at the Age of Nineteen. These tender Years did not hinder him from driving out *Nafrus*, who govern'd the Province in the Name of Caliph *Merwan*. After the Death of *Ibrahim*, which came to pass in the Year of the *Hegira* 131, *Saffabus*, his Brother, was raised to the Dignity of Caliph. He left the Government of the Province of *Cborasan* to *Abumuslimus*, and made use of him

(a) *Mr d'Herbelot, who makes a long Article of him, calls him Abou-Moslem.*

(b) It is *742*.

(2) Pocock's Pref. to Specim. Hist. Arab.

(3) Pocock's Pref. to Compend. Dymek.

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him to get rid of his Counsellor *Abumuslimus*, who became suspected by him. He died in the Year 136, and was succeeded by *Almanfor*, his Brother, who, after he had receiv'd the most important Services from *Abumuslimus*, treacherously caus'd him to be murthur'd. *Abdalla* had revolted in *Syria*: *Abumuslimus*, being sent against him at the Head of a gallant Army, entirely routed him. *Almanfor*, more touch'd with the Scandal he pretended *Abumuslimus* had utter'd against him, than with the Importance of the Victory, sent for him, in order to put him to death. *Abumuslimus*, justly distrustful him, refus'd to wait upon his Master; but, suffering himself to be deceiv'd by the Caresses made to him, he put himself into the Power of *Almanfor*, who threw him into the *Tigris*. This was in the 137th Year of the *Hegira*, which answers to our 754. It is computed, that *Abumuslimus* caus'd the death of 600 Persons. He pass'd for one a little vers'd in Magic, and he was of a Sect, from which That of the unfortunate *Spinoza* was not very different [A]. *Erpenius* did not understand the Words of *Elmacin* upon this Subject [B]. What I have here advanc'd (c), and the two Remarks below, are what I will not pretend to warrant. I report them on the Authority of another. Only the Parallel of *Spinozisme* is my own; and I am not over satisfied, that he who criticizes *Erpenius*, knows more of the Point in question, than *Erpenius* himself.

(c) Taken
fr. m. Elma-
cin's Hist.
Saracen. B.
2. c. 1, &c.

[A] *Spinoza was not very different.* The Sect, which *Abumuslimus* professed, taught a kind of *Metempsychosis*, but not like that of *Pythagoras* (1). His did not destroy the Soul; it only sent it from one Body to another; but the other *Metempsychosis* is thus described by the famous Traveller *Peter de la Valle*, in the Place, where he mentions certain *Mahometan* Heretics, who called themselves *Ehl Elrub-kik*, Men of Truth and Certainty. "They believe (say; be) no other God, but the four Elements — that there is no Rational Soul, nor another Life after this; but that every Man is but a Mixture of the four Elements, of which he is compos'd during his Life, joined together and animated by that strict Union, which keeps them connect'd together, and which, upon his Death, is dissolved and dispers'd among the four simple Elements, and consequently returned to God, out of which it was created; and the same, with regard to every thing else in the Earth, and in the Heavens: in a Word, that the four Elements are the whole of every Thing, even God and Man;

"and consequently the elements are Eternal, and the World, with all it's Vicissitudes and Changes, is eternal (2)." Whatever Difference there may be between this Opinion, and the System of *Spinoza*, the Foundation of them both is the same: It is maintained on both Sides, that the Universe is but one single Substance, and that all That, which we call Generation and Corruption, Life and Death, is nothing more than a certain Combination, or Dissolution of Modes. *Elmacin* calls the *Metempsychosis*, which *Abumuslimus* believed, the *Metempsychosis of Resolution*.

[B] *Erpenius did not understand the Word, of Elmacin upon this Subject.* He makes him say, that *Abumuslimus* follow'd the Sect of the *Descending Succession, profitebatur sectam successione descendente* (3). He ought to have said, that he follow'd the Sect, which taught the *Metempsychosis of Resolution, profitebatur sectam eorum quæ credunt Metempsychosim resolutionis*. It is thus, the *Sieur Belpier* ventures and corrects the Translation of *Erpenius* in this Place (4).

(2) Peter de
la Valle, T.
3. p. 39.
cited by Bel-
prier tom. 1.

(4) Elmacin
Hist. Arab.
B. 2. c. 3.
p. 100.

(4) Belpier's
Remarks on
Ricaux's
State of the
Ottoman
Empire, p.
665.

ACACIA or AKAIA (MARTIN). See AKAKIA.

ACAMAS, Son of *Theseus* (a), follow'd the rest of the *Grecian* Princes to the Siege of *Troy*. He was deputed with *Diomedes*, on an Embassy to the *Trojans*, to demand back *Helen*. This Embassy was fruitless, as to the principal Design of it; but it turn'd to the Advantage of *Acamas*, in what is call'd Good Fortune in Affairs of Gallantry. *Laodicea*, Daughter of *Priam*, fell in Love with him, and having in vain summon'd to her Assistance Honour and Modesty, was obliged to open her Mind to *Philobia*, Wife of *Perseus*, and to beg her Assistance in an Affair of the utmost Importance (b). *Philobia*, touch'd with Compassion for her, entreated her Husband to procure *Laodicea* the Completion of her Desires. *Perseus* took pity on the poor Lady; and, being besides desirous to oblige his Wife, he made a Friendship with *Acamas*, and obtain'd a Visit, from him in the City, of which he was Governor (c). *Laodicea* did not fail to be present there, attended by some *Trojan* Ladies. There was a magnificent Feast; after which *Perseus* put her to bed with *Acamas*, pretending to him, that she was one of the King's Concubines. *Laodicea* return'd home very well satisfy'd; and, at the end of nine Months, was deliver'd of a Boy, which was brought up by *Æthra*, Aunt of *Acamas* by the Mother's Side [A]. This Child was call'd *Munius* [B]: we shall see in the Remarks what became of him (d).

Acamas

(1) Schol-
ast. Euripid.
in Herculi.
See Pau-
sanias, l. 10.
p. 342.

(2) Quintus
Calaber, lib.
23. v. 496.
See Paulani-
us, ib.

(3) Tzetzes
in Lycoph.
cited by Me-
tastasis, on
Ovid's E-
pistles, p.
143.

[A] *Was brought up by Æthra, Aunt of Acamas by the Mother's side.* You must know that *Castor* and *Pollux*, making an inroad into *Attica* to recover their Sister *Helena*, took the City of *Aphidna*, where that fair one was sent by her Ravisher. *Æthra*, the Mother of *Theseus*, had been sent there at the same time. They took her Prisoner, and brought her to *Lacedæmon*. She was there when *Paris* carried *Helen* away, and was sent from thence to *Troy*. *Demophoon* and *Acamas* follow'd the (1) other *Greeks*, chiefly to deliver the good old Lady, either by paying her Ransom, or by taking the City. They met her in the Streets, during the ransacking (2) of *Troy*; and having understood who she was, they mutually embrac'd each other. It was then that *Æthra* (3) made *Munius* known to his Father *Acamas*. She had edu-

cated him; for *Laodicea* had trusted her with the Secret of what had pass'd in *Perseus*'s House. *John Cornarius* made a gross Mistake in his Translation of *Parthenius*: He render'd those Words, *ἐν ᾧ αἰδοῦσα τραπεζῇ παρὰ Τροίας ἀνακτὴν διαδουλοῦσιν ἐν οἴκῳ*, by these, quem sub dio enutritum post Trojæ captivitatem transportavit in domum. i. e. whom, having been brought up in the open Air, he carry'd home, after the taking of *Troy*. He ought to have said, having been educated by *Æthra*. We shall cite *Plutarch* presently, who says, That some have called all this a fabulous Story.

[B] *This Child was call'd Munius.* He follow'd his Father into *Thrace*, where he died by the bite (4) of a Serpent. *Plutarch* calls him *Munycus*, *Μυνυκος*, in the Life of *Theseus*; but, since *Parthenius*, *Lycophron*, and *Tzetzes* call him constantly *Munius*, *Μι-
νιός*

(a) Pausan.
lib. 1. p. 5.
& lib. 10.
p. 343, &
343.

(b) Παρθε-
νίου το
ἀντιφάσι
ἐν τῇ
ἀποστολῇ
τῇ Παρ-
θενίᾳ Ερ-
otic. c. 16.

(c) It was
called Dar-
danus.

(d) Taken
fr. m. Hege-
stipp. de Ro-
bus Miel.
lib. 1. cited
by Parthen.
in his Erot.
c. 16. and
from Tzet-
zes upon Ly-
cophron.

(4) Parthen
in Eroticus,
c. 16.

Acamas was one of the Heroes, who were hid in the wooden Horfe (e). He had, afterwards, an Adventure in *Thrace*, something like the former, but attended with very unfortunate Consequences. *Phyllis*, the King's Daughter, fell in love with him: He immediately offer'd her Marriage: the *Fair* was promis'd to him, with the Dowry of a Crown. He demanded permission to return home. *Phyllis* oppos'd it with the utmost Intreaties; but obtaining only an Oath from him, that he would return, she presented him with a Box, consecrated, as she said, to *Rhea*, Mother of the Gods. She recommended to him not to open it, till he should have no Hopes of seeing *Thrace* again. *Acamas* landed in the Isle of *Cyprus* [C], and resolv'd to settle there. *Phyllis*, upon this, hang'd herself, uttering imprecations against the Traytor. He open'd the Box, and found himself seiz'd with strange Visions. He mounted his Horfe, and spurr'd him so unluckily, and in so violent a manner, that they were both thrown to the Ground, and *Acamas* accidentally fell upon his own Sword. *Tzetzes* relates this Story (f); but he has confounded *Acamas* with *Demophoon* (g); for, it is with the regard to the latter, that all Authors relate the Fate of the unhappy *Phyllis*. See her passionate Letter to *Demophoon*, invented by *Ovid*. It appears by this Epistle, that their Marriage had been consummated:

Turpiter hospitium lecto cumulasse jugali
Pœnitet, & lateri consenuisse latus (b).

But, to admit thee loosely to my Breast
Is Treason, fatal to my present Rest.

Mr E. LLOYD.

We must not forget, that one of the Tribes of *Athens* was named *Acamantis* [D] from the Name of our *Acamas* (i), and that by the Appointment of the Oracle. *Stephen* of *Byzantium* makes him the Founder of a City in *Phrygia the Greater* [E], and makes him

wtot; it must be believ'd that *Plutarch's* Text has been alter'd in that Place, or that the Author did not well remember the true Pronunciation of that Word. Does it not happen daily, that when we cite any Author by Memory, we confound sometimes one or more Syllables in his Name? I shall consider this farther in the Article *EPHORUS*. I do not know whether it ought not to be imputed to forgetfulness what *Plutarch* says, that it was *Demophoon* who lay with *Laodice*. But perhaps he had read it in some Author unknown to us. *Tzetzes* too might have found in some of these Authors, which are lost, that the Adventures of *Phyllis* related to *Acamas*: However it be, neither of the Brothers have been Loofer, at the Foot of the Account; for if, on one Side, *Plutarch* takes from *Acamas* the delightful Moments he pass'd with *Laodice*, and bestows them on *Demophoon*; *Tzetzes*, on the other Side, deprives the latter of the agreeable Nights he pass'd with *Phyllis*, and gives them to *Acamas*. But, to be serious; if *Meursius* had well weigh'd the Passages, where the Son of *Laodice* is called *Munitis*, he would not have made (g) use of *Plutarch's* Words, to prove that the Harbour of *Munychia* had not taken it's Name from *Munychus* the Son of *Pantacles*, as is commonly said, but from *Munychus* the Son of *Demophoon* and *Laodice*. *Plutarch's* Words are (6), *Οὐ δὲ καὶ τὸ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ διαβέλλουσι, καὶ τὴν παρὰ Μυνυχὴν ἀνδολεῖαν, ὅν ἐν Ἀμφισθενὶ Λαοδίκης πρόβα τεινὴς ἐν Ἰλίσσῳ συνεκρίψαν τὴν Ἀδραν λέγουσι. i. e. some reject this Verse, ('tis that where *Homer* says that *Helen* brought *Æthra* with her to *Troy*) as also the Story of *Munychus*, who, being the spurious Child of *Demophoon* and *Laodice*, is said to have been brought up at *Troy*, under the Care of *Æthra*.*

[C] *Acamas* landed in the Isle of *Cyprus*.] There was a Mountain in that Island, which was called *Acamas*, from the Son of *Thesclus*. *Hesychius* attests it, and remarks, That the River *Bocarus*, which pass by *Salamina*, had it's Source in that Mountain. Geographers (7) speak of Cape *Acamas*, very famous in thence, that his Chastity was so extraordinary, as to procure him divine Honours? If all those on whom *Homer* bestows the Epithet *θεοειδής*, God-like, had been Deified, what would have become of poor *Atlas's* Shoulders?

[E] *Stephen* of *Byzantium* makes him the Founder of a City in *Phrygia the Greater*.] He calls it *Acamantium*. Geographers say nothing at all of it. The Abbeviator of that Writer, or the Copyists, have main'd

(c) Tryphiodorus de Excid. Troie. See also Paulan. lib. 1. p. 21.

(f) Up'n Lycophon.

(g) Who was likewise the Son of Theclus.

(b) Ovid. Phyll. ver. 57.

(i) Paulan. lib. 1. p. c. & lib. 10. p. 32. See likewise Suidas, and Stephen of Byzant.

(10) The other Faults that were mark'd in the first Edition are suppress'd here. As these Faults occur in most of the Editions of *Meursius*, it is thought proper to let them down in this place. They are as follow: 1st. he cites the 14 Book of Strabo, in relation to the Promontory *Acamantis*, in the Isle of *Cyprus*: where it is ought to have cited the 14th. 2dly, he calls *Acamante* the Son of *Theclus*. 3dly, he says, that *Suidas* mentions one *Acamantides*, a *Philopoleis* of *Eliopolis*; whereas *Suidas* calls him *Acamantium*.

(11) *Illad*. lib. 6. v. 7.

(12) See *Ilad*. lib. 4. v. 474.

(13) *Juven.* Sat. 13. v. 47.

CREECH.

(c) Meursius, lib. 1. c. 14. left. Atticer. cited by Meursius. who repeats the same Mistake in his Comment. on *Ovid's* *Epistles*, p. 144.

(6) *Plut.* in *Thebes*, sub fin. p. 16.

(7) *Strabo*, lib. 14. *Prot.* lib. 5. c. 14. *Plin.* lib. 5. c. 31.

(8) *Philonides* apud *Plin.* *ibid.* *Stephanus* on the Word *Κυπρος*.

(9) *History* of *CYPRUS*, p. 4. & 29.

him war with the *Solymeans*. I will not pretend to determine, whether *Phædra* or *Ariadne* [F] was the Mother of *Acamas*, upon which point Mr *Moreri* behaves as usual.

maim'd that Passage in such a Manner, that no Sense can be made of it, without supplying something. But supply it as you please, you will be never the better inform'd by it of the War between *Acamas*, and the *Solymeans*.

[F] *Whether Phædra or Ariadne.* I find two learned Men of a contrary Opinion in this Question. *Meziriæ* (14) affirms that *Acamas* was the Son of *Phædra*; but all the Proof he seems to give for it, is, That *Demophoon* the Brother of *Acamas* was the Son of *Phædra*; which he proves by the Letter that *Sa-*

linus writ to *Phyllis* under the Name of *Demophoon*. Mr *de Valois* (15) pretends, That *Ariadne* was the Mother of *Acamas*, and cites the Scholiast (16) of *Homer* for it; he adds, that *Demophoon* was the Brother of *Acamas*, according to that Scholiast; and that *Euripides* (17) confirms it. Neither of those Gentlemen remark'd, That it signifies nothing to the Question, whether *Acamas* and *Demophoon* were Brothers; for they might be so, altho' the one was the Son of *Ariadne*, and the other of *Phædra*.

(14) *Henr. Valefius in Harpocrat. P. 4. & 5.*
(15) In O. *ducc. O.*
(16) In lo. *na.*

(14) On Ovid's *Epil.* p. 137.

(a) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 317.
(b) Id. ib. p. 318.

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Strabo, lib. 10. p. 317.

(e) Macrobius, Saturn. lib. 1. c. 12. p. 242.

ACARNANIA, a Country situated on the *Ionian Sea*, between *Ætolia* and the Gulph of *Ambracia*. It is said that the *Tapbians* and the *Teleboans* were the first Masters of it; and that *Cephalus* conquer'd it, after he was establish'd in the Lordship of the Islands near *Tapbos*, by *Ampbitryon* (a). They add (b), That *Alcmeon*, the Son of *Ampbiaraus*, made himself Master of it, after the second *Theban War*; and that he gave it the Name of his Son *Acarnan*. He had associated himself with *Diomedes*, and they had conquer'd *Ætolia*, which fell to the share of the latter. Some time after, they were summoned to accompany the Expedition to *Troy*: one of them, viz. *Diomedes*, went to join the other *Greeks*, but *Alcmeon* kept himself quiet in *Acarnania* (c). This was of service to the *Acarnanians* several Ages after; for they made a great Merit of it at *Rome* [A], having represented there, that, among all the *Greeks*, their Ancestors alone did not go to the Siege of *Troy*. This notable Reason was alludg'd by the People of *Rome*, when they embrac'd their Party against *Ætolia* [B]. So true it is, that, on certain Occasions, Policy does not refuse to make use of the most ridiculous Pretences. The *Ætolians* and the *Acarnanians* kept (d) a long time united, either to repulse the *Macedonians* and the other *Greeks*, or to maintain their Liberty against the *Roman Arms*; but at last they were tired, and lost their Courage. The Year consist'd of but six Months (e) in *Acarnania*. The Inhabitants of that Country were very lascivious, if we may believe some Dictionaries [C]. It is more

(1) Strabo lib. 10. p. 318.

(2) Id. ib. (3) *Horre* describes only their Country, and does not mention it by the Name of *Acarnania*.

(4) *Justin.* lib. 28. c. 1. *See La Mothe Le Vayer* Letter 95. Tom. 2. p. 325.

[A] They made a great Merit of it at Rome.] The Historian *Ephorus* furnished them undesignedly with an Opportunity of doing this: for, being informed of what he related concerning *Alcmeon*, they ingeniously turn'd it to their own Advantage with the *Romans*, who pretended that the Founder of *Rome* descended from *Æneas*. This is *Strabo's* Conjecture (1): *Τὸν δ' ὡς εὐχὸς τοῖς Λόγοις ἀπαλοῦνται τὰς δὲ Ἀκαρνάνων ἐπιθέσεις λέγονται Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἰσχυρὰν παρ' αὐτὸν ἱκανοῦσθαι λέγοντες, ὡς ἡ μετέσχεον μὲν τῶν ἐν τῇ προέροντι τῇ ἑαυτῶν κρατίας, ὅτε γὰρ ἐν Ἀιτωλῶν καταλόγῳ φησὶντο, ὅτι ἰδίᾳ αὐτοὶ γὰρ ὅλως τὸν μὲν τῶν ἐμφέροντο ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν.* It is probable the *Acarnanians*, taking the Hint from this Story, artfully prevailed upon the *Romans* to allow them the free Use of their Country Laws; pretending, that they alone were not concerned in the War against the Ancestors of the *Romans*, as not being mentioned either in the *Ætolian Catalogue*, or separately, or indeed at all in *Homer's Verses*. But this Pretence was groundless; for *Strabo* (2) shews by the Catalogue (3) in the second Book of the *Iliad*, that the *Acarnanians* supply'd their Quota for the Expedition to *Troy*.

[B] Was alludg'd by the People of Rome, when they embrac'd their Party against Ætolia.] After the Death of *Alexander*, the Son of *Pyrhus*, King of *Epirus*, *Acarnania* had every thing to fear from the *Ætolians*, and did not confide much in that Prince's Widow, who was Guardian of her two Sons; wherefore they implored the Assistance of the *Romans*, which was not refused them. Word was sent to the *Ætolians*, that they should not molest a People, who alone had not assisted the *Greeks* against the *Trojans* (4). "Acarnanes quoque diffusi Epirotis adversus Ætolos auxilium Romanorum implorantes, obtinuerunt à Romano senatu, ut legati mitterentur, qui denuntiarent Ætolis, præsidia ab urbibus Acarnaniz deducere; paternitque esse liberos, qui soli quondam adversus Trojanos, auctores originis suæ, auxilia Græcis non miserint. — The Acarnanians, distrustful the Epirotes, implored the Assistance of the Romans against the Ætolians, and obtained from the Senate an Embassy to be sent to the Ætolians, to demand of them, that they should withdraw their Garrisons from the Cities of *Acarnania*, and suffer a People to enjoy their Liberty,

who alone gave the *Greeks* no Aid against the *Trojans*, from whom the *Romans* were descended." *Plutarch* reports two as ridiculous Facts as this (5). *Agathocles* the Tyrant of *Syracuse* — laugh'd at those of *Corfu*, who ask'd him, for what Reason he ravaged their Island; Because, said he, your Ancestors formerly received *Ulysses*. And when the Inhabitants of the Island of *Ibica* complained to him, that his Soldiers took their Sheep: And your King, said he to them, being arrived in our Country, did not only take our Sheep, but also put out our Shepherds' Eye. But the following Account is more ridiculous still (6). "Maborn, the second of that Name, Emperor of the *Turks*, in a Letter to *Pope Pius* the Second, said, I wonder the *Italians* should league against me, seeing we have our common Original from the *Trojans*; and that 'tis my Interest, as well as theirs, to revenge the Blood of *Hector* upon the *Greeks*, whom they favour against me." Thus chimerical Evils, forged by the Poets, have served as an Apology for real Evils.

[C] Very lascivious, if we may believe some Dictionaries.] We shall quote Mr *Lloyd* first, "Molliciter & lascivie notati leguntur (Acarnanes) teste Luciano in Dial. Meretricibus, unde proverbium Porcellus Acarnanians in lascivos. i. e. The Acarnanians, as *Lucian* witnesses in his Dialogue of Harlots, are branded in History with Effeminacy and Wantonness, whence that proverbial Character of the Lascivious, An Acarnanian Swine." Mr *Hofman* transferred this whole Passage into his Dictionary; and *Moreri's* Account is this: "The Acarnanians were accused of being too lascivious and too finical. This was the cause of that reproachful Proverb of the Antients, Porcellus Acarnanians." You may meet with the same Account in *Pinedo's* Notes (7) on *Stephen* of *Byzantium*. I have consulted the Dialogue of the Courtizans of *Lucian*, and do not find there that the Inhabitants of *Acarnania* past for voluptuous and effeminate. It is true, the Courtizan *Mufarium*, in answer to her Mother, who reproached her for making no Advantage of the Favours the granted *Chereas*, and who thought it very strange that she should not hearken to a Peasant of *Acarnania*,

(5) *Plutarch* de fera Nummis vinctis.

(6) *Montagne's Esquisses*, B. 2. c. 36. p. 763.

(7) *The de Pinedo* in Steph. Byzant. p. 300.

sisted these Temptations a long time, in consideration of the Sweetness he enjoy'd at *Sienna*: But the Attack was renew'd so often, that he was at last overcome, and prevailed upon not to persist in the Resolution he had taken to die in his first Post: A Resolution scarce to be parallell'd among Persons of his Character [A]. It was *Rainuccio Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, who made him yield to the Temptation, by adding to the Promises he made him, and to the Glory of succeeding *Sforza Oddus*, and *Philip Marini*, the Title of His Counsellor, wherewith he honour'd him. The Great Duke would not suffer *Accarisi* to continue long in the Service of another Prince, but made him soon return [B], by giving him the first Professorship in Law in the University of *Pisa*; so that *Accarisi* left the Duke of *Parma*, and went to exercise the Employ which was given him at *Pisa*, in which he continu'd 'till his Death, which happen'd four Years after; he died, at *Sienna*, *Oct. 4. 1622*. The Author (b), who furnishes me with this Article, and who is the only Person cited by Mr *Moreri*, does not say that *Accarisi* writ divers Treatises of Law, nor that *Rainuccio Farnese* endeavour'd in vain to draw him to him. They are two Mistakes of Mr *Moreri*; who besides did not understand the meaning of *IV. Non. Octobris*, which he interprets to mean the 26th of *September*. We take notice of another Mistake of his in the second Remark.

(b) Janus
Nicius Ery-
threus Pila-
coth. 2. c.
25.

[A] Scarce to be parallell'd among Persons of his Character.] One of the most common Faults among Professors is their not fixing in the Universities where they have their first Employ. Instead of looking upon that first Vocation as a kind of Marriage, they consider it only as a transient Engagement, as an *Interim*, and a resting Place: They only stay there in expectation of something better: They have no more Affection for the second Call than for the first, and are not for pitching their Tents for the last time, 'till they have attained the best Professorships. It has been said of some Persons, that they make the Tour of all Religions in a little time; others run through all the Universities as soon as they can. Some of those who do not remove, take care to be well paid for their Constancy. It costs those, who desire to retain them, a considerable Addition of Wages. *Tacitus*, who doubtless comprehended many Defects under the Phrase *Professoria lingua* (1), would not have excluded him, of whom I speak, if he had known him. Churchmen are not exempt from this little Infirmary; we know the Complaints of rigid Moralists against certain Prelates, who, beginning with a Bishoprick of a mean Revenue, rise by Degrees to the most eminent Metropolis Cities. This is a Spiritual Polygamy, or something worse: For according to the Sense of the ancient Canons (2), a spiritual Marriage is contracted between the Pastor and his Flock. The Christian Societies, which belong to the smaller Benefices, are sensible of the Effects of this Humour.

Parcius ista viris tamen obijcienda memento (3).

(3) Virgil.
Ecc. 3. ver.

See the Remark [H] of the Article *ALCIATUS* (ANDREW).

[B] But made him soon return.] This was the Success of all that Solicitation and Bribery, which the Duke of *Parma* made use of to procure *Accarisi*. I confess he gained him at last, but he was soon taken from him again by the same Means he had made use of to take him from others. Yet Mr *Moreri* says, that *Accarisi* did not go to the Duke, and that he would have done too much Violence to his Inclination, if he had left his Country; where he was detained by the Favour of *Ferdinand*, Great Duke of *Tuscany*. A new Fault, which cannot be excused! for we read in *Nicius Erythreus*, that when *Accarisi* went to serve the Duke of *Parma*, it was at least twenty Years since the new Office, which the Great Duke *Ferdinand* had caused to be created in the College of *Sienna*, had been bestowed upon him. We read also in the same Author, that *Accarisi* was Professor but four Years at *Pisa*, whither he was called a little after his Engagement at *Parma*. But he died in 1622. four Years after he had accepted the Professorship of *Pisa*; so that the Duke of *Parma* must have compassed his Design about the Year 1616. at which time there was no Great Duke of the Name of *Ferdinand*. Mr *Moreri* says himself, in his Article *MEDICIS*, that *Ferdinand I.* died in 1609, and that *Ferdinand II.* succeeded him in 1621.

(1) Annal.
lib. 13. cap.
24.

(2) Ne Vir-
ginalis pau-
perculæ So-
cietate con-
tempta di-
ctoris adul-
teræ querat
amplexus.
Hieron. Ep-
ad Oceanum,
Tom. 2. p.
744.
See the Au-
thor of a
French Book,
entitled, A-
vice to the
Jesuits of
Aix on an
Interlude, p.
37.

(3) Aub.
Mireus.
Script. Eccl.
Sæc. 17. p.
251.

ACCARISI (JAMES) a Native of *Boulogne*, and Doctor of Divinity. I have but two Particulars to add to Mr *Moreri*'s Account of him. The first is, that the *Speeches*, which he has published, are Compositions, recited by himself at *Rome*, *Cologne*, *Mantua*, and other Places: The other, that he was four Years Professor of *Rhetoric* at *Mantua*, in the University founded by Duke *Ferdinand*, *Ann. 1627* (a).

(a) Jovius
in Eleg.
ch. 16.

(b) Vola-
terr. B. 21.

(c) Jovius
in Eleg. c.
26.

(d) Varillas
Anecd. de
Florence. p.
169.

(e) Jovius
in Eleg. ch.
16.

(1) Vossius
de Hist. Lat.
p. 624.
(2) Konig.
Bibl. Vet.
Nov. p. 4.

ACCIAIOLI (DONATO) a Person celebrated as well for his Learning, as the great Offices he discharged at *Florence*, the Place of his Nativity. He flourished in the XVth Century. This great Man would have been more eminent for Learning, if the public Affairs had permitted him to dedicate more Time to his Studies, and if the Tenderness of his Constitution had not shortened his Life (a). There can be no greater Proof of his Honesty and Disinterestedness than the small Patrimony he left to his Children. His Daughters were portioned for Marriage at the public Expence (b), as were formerly those of *Aristides*; which demonstrates, at the same time, how well satisfied the Public was with the Services he had done it. He was sent into *France* to demand Succours against Pope *Sixtus IV.* who extremely harassed the *Florentines*; but he died, before he had passed the *Alps* (c), at *Milan*, in the Month of *August*, 1473, in the 39th Year of his Age (d). His Body was carried to *Florence*, and interr'd in the Church of the *Carthusians* (e). The Inscription on his Tomb is in the Style and Manner of *Politian*. His Works are principally *A Translation of some of the Lives of Plutarch* [A] into Latin; *The Life*

[A] Some of the Lives of Plutarch.] He should be the Author of *Four*, if *Vossius* (1) and *Konig* (2) are to be credited; namely, those of *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, *Alcibiades*, and *Demetrius*: but as it does not appear, that *Plutarch* compos'd either the Life of *Scipio*, or that of *Hannibal*; it is more probable, that *Acciaiolus* was originally

of Charlemagne; and Commentaries on Aristotle's Ethics and Politics. This Life of Charlemagne, being sometimes join'd with those of Plutarch, has led George Wicelius into a surprizing Blunder. He speaks of this Life as if it were the Work of Plutarch himself (f); so wholly taken up was he in the Learning of the Times. Some have accus'd Acciaoli of Plagiarism [B] in his Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics: others, on the contrary, are extravagant in the Praises [C] they bestow on him for this Work. He was highly esteem'd by the Cardinal de Pavia, as appears by the Letters he receiv'd from him, which are to be found in a printed Collection of the Cardinal's Letters.

The Reader will find below a considerable Supplement to this Article [D].

(3) Poccian-
tius de
Script. Flor.
p. 51. says
expressly,
dictavit pro-
prio Marte
viam Anni-
balis & Sci-
pionis.

He had no
Assistance in
writing the
Lives of
Hannibal
and Scipio.

(4) See the
Journal des
Savans,
Sept. 2.
1697. p.
654.

(5) Sim. Si-
monii Com-
ment. in A-
ristot. Ethic.

(6) Naud.
Bibliogr.
polit. p. 16.

(7) Voss. de
Hist. Lat. p.
624.

(8) Conring.
Introd. in
Polit. Arist.
p. 649, 659.
in Thomae-
sus's Plag.
Literar. p.
253.

nally the Author of the Lives of these two famous Commanders (3), than that he translated them from the Greek. Vossius does not seem to be aware of this. He was plainly misled by the Abridger of the Bibliotheca of Gesner. Father Menétrier is positive, that Acciaoli impos'd upon the Public, in pretending to have translated the Life of Hannibal, from the Greek (4).

[B] Some have accus'd Acciaoli of Plagiarism. It is asserted, that he borrow'd his Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics, without acknowledging the Debt. "Scripta, quæ sub nomine Acciaoli ea de re circumferuntur, non Acciaoli commentaria, sed Argropyli Prælectiones Florentinæ habitæ, & ab Acciaoli descriptæ: editæque, à peritæque existimantur. — It is generally thought, that the Commentary, which is bandied about under the Name of Acciaoli, is not his own, but transcrib'd, and publish'd, from the Lectures of Argropyli, deliver'd at Florence." After this manner Simon Simonii speaks of it in his Dedication to a Book, printed in 1567 (5). Gabriel Naudé renew'd this Accusation a long time after in very positive Terms. "Argropylius Byzantinus, says he (6), cuius Prælectiones, Florentinæ habitas, non absque manifesto plagii crimine, sibi postea vendicavit Donatus Acciaoli. — Argropylius, the Byzantine, whose Lectures, read at Florence, Donatus Acciaoli claim'd to himself, not without the manifest Guilt of Plagiarism." Mr Moreri has confounded the Ethics of Aristotle, with the Commentary upon them. "It has even been thought, says he, that the Ethics of Aristotle, address'd to Nicomachus, which Donatus has publish'd, were in the Style and Manner of the same Argropyli; though Volaterran maintains the contrary." Observe this Author's Skill in translating the easiest Latin, I mean the Latin of Vossius. He had read these Words in Vossius; "Imo, Commentaria illa in Nicomachia Aristotelis multi arbitrantur non ipsius esse Acciaoli, sed Prælectiones esse Argropyli, ab Acciaoli autem descriptas, inque lucem emissas. Nihil tamen de eo Volaterranus (7). — Nay, many are of Opinion, that Acciaoli himself was not the Author of the Commentary on Aristotle's Piece to Nicomachus, but that he compos'd, and publish'd it from the Lectures of Argropyli. Yet Volaterran mentions no such thing." This is doubly to confound Things: it is to take the Commentary for the Text; and to confute the Silence of an Author into a formal confutation of a Charge. The learned Conringius has justifi'd Donatus against Naudé: not by shewing, that Argropyli did not furnish Materials for the Work, but by alleging, that Acciaoli acknowledged to whom he was indebted (8). Can we desire a more authentic Confession, than the following? "Johannes Argropylius Byzantinus, cum Florentinæ inter cætera Philosophiæ opera Aristotelis libros, qui ad Nicomachum de moribus scribuntur, misisset esset complexus, eos tuo nomine Latinos fecit, publiceque deinde explicuit, non sine magna audientium approbatione: habent enim libri duo summam dignitatem, admirabilemque doctrinam, ordinem vero prope singularem. Itaque si accurata & exquisita quædam explanatio accedat, magnum auditoribus afferret fructum; quod ego jam inde ab initio mecum considerans una cum plerisque aliis, qui huius quoque præceptoris disciplinam sequuntur, in his audiendis præcipuam curam diligentiamque adhibui. — Postea vero cum viderim hos libros à te, & ab his omnibus, qui ingenio vehementer excellent, libentissime legi, ulterius progrediendum ratus, EXPOSITIONEM HUIUS DOCTORIS, accommodatam præcipue menti Philosophi, literis mandare constitui, ut ii, qui adesse non potuerunt — hæc, quæ nos ex ejus ore accepimus, percipere & ipsi pro arbitrio possent; quare translationem

"illius ac ordinem explicandi pluribus verbis secuti sumus, lata interdum & diffusâ oratione utentes, ut explanatio aperta magis magisque omnibus esset communis (9). — John Argropylius, the Byzantine, having, at Florence, among other Philosophical Works, finely introduc'd the moral Writings of Aristotle, address'd to Nicomachus, translated them, under your patronage, into Latin, and afterwards read public Lectures upon them, not without great Applause from his Hearers; for the Subject of these two Books is very noble, the Instruction admirable, and the Method almost peculiar to them. And therefore the Hearers must receive great Benefit from them, when accurately and judiciously explain'd; which Consideration, from the beginning, induc'd me, and several other Pupils of the same Master, to attend his Lectures, with the utmost Care and Diligence. — But afterwards, when I perceiv'd that those Books became in great Request with you, and all Men of exalted Sense, I determin'd to publish this great Master's EXPLANATION, accommodated chiefly to the taste of Philosophers; that they, who could not attend his Lectures, might, whenever they thought fit, understand what we RECEIV'D FROM HIS OWN MOUTH. I have therefore given his Translation, and method of Explanation at large, making use frequently of a copious and diffuse Style, to render his Interpretation the more intelligible and familiar." If Vossius had ever heard of this Passage, would he have been satisfi'd with opposing the Silence of Volaterran to the Accusers of Acciaoli? He might have read it in Gesner's Works (10). Is it not very strange, that a poor Author, who has so solemnly declared in his Preface, that he publishes only a paraphrastic Translation of the Lectures of Argropylius, should for so long Time be accus'd of Plagiarism?

[C] Extravagant in the Praises. This appears by comparing the Text of Paul Jovius, with the Paraphrase of Mr Varillas. "Eruditi & pereleganti Moralibus Aristotelis, explosis scilicet sophistarum Interpretum ineptiis, quàm, Eustratii Græci placita, secutus, certiore ubique vestigio niteretur (11). — He is thought to have given great Light into Aristotle's Ethics, by a very learned and elegant Commentary: in which he explodes the foolish Glosses of the Schoolmen, and follows the Opinions of Eustratius the Greek, as the more certain Foundation." This is the Text; the Paraphrase is as follows: "He did not fail to translate the Morals of Aristotle, with much greater exactness, than his Predecessors in that Work; and so clear them of those ridiculous Interpretations, which both the ancient and modern Schoolmen had put upon them. This he did in an excellent Commentary ||, in which he shew'd, that, whoever engages in this Labyrinth with any other Guide †, than the famous Eustathius, cannot avoid going out of his Way (12)." I need not apprise the Reader, that the Author of the Anecdotes goes farther than his Original, as well with respect to Acciaoli, as Eustratius (13); and that, instead of paying a Compliment to the latter, as was his Intention, he degrades him to the lowest Rank of Interpreters: he should have said, avec un autre, not sans un autre. Besides, what would Father Bouhours say to his par un admirable Commentaire? These Words are so ill plac'd, that one would think the Schoolmen had given their ridiculous Interpretations, by an excellent Commentary.

[D] The Reader will find below, a considerable Supplement to this Article. I may venture to give it this Character, since it is a Memoir communicated to me by a very able Writer (14). "The Treatise, which Matthew Palmieri has left, of the Origin of the Family of the Acciaoli, may be of considerable

(f) Hagio-
log. fol. 178.
apud Voss.
de Hist. La-
p. 624.

(9) Don-
Acc. Prof.
to Cofm-
Med. Com-
ment. in
Eth. Arist.
ad Nicho-
mach.

(10) Gefu.
Biblioth.
fol. 216.

(11) Jovius
Rel. cap.
16.

|| The Con-
struction of
the French
is, — Inter-
pretations
ridicules,
que les So-
phistes leur
avoient don-
nées, par un
admirable
Commen-
taire —

† The French
of Varillas,
by mistake,
says, sans
un autre
guide —

(12) Varill.
Anecd. de
Flor. p. 169.

(13) So it
ought to be
written, and
not Eusta-
chius.

(14) Mr de
la Monnoie.

"Use in rectifying and supplying the Article of *Donato Acciaoli*. This Treatise, written in Latin by *Matthieu Palmieri*, was translated into Italian by *Donato Acciaoli*, Knight of Rhodes. The Original has not yet appear'd; the Translation alone was printed at Florence, in 4to, in the Year 1588, by *Bartholomæus Sernatelli*, as an Appendix to the History of the *Ubaladini*, and the Life of *Nicolas Acciaoli*, great *Senschal* of the Kingdoms of Sicily and Jerusalem. We are there told that our *Donato* was born in 1428; that he was buried at the public Expence; that *Christopher Laudin*

"spoke his Funeral Oration". The other Particulars are too long to be repeated. — *Sabellius*, in his *Dialogue de Reparatione Linguae Latinae*, (a Dialogue, by the way, commonly cited as the Work of an anonymous Author) and *Vives*, in his 5th *Book de tradendis Disciplinis*, have spoken with Commendation, of the Life of *Charlesmagne*, by *Donato Acciaoli*. The Florentine History of *Leonard d'Arezzo*, translated from Latin into Italian by this *Donato*, was printed at Venice, in Folio, in 1473, according to Father *L'Abbe's* Account, p. 341. of his *Supplem. Nov. Biblioth. M.SS.*"

* Porcianus de Script. Flo. p. 51.

ACCIAIOLI (ZENOBIUS) a Florentine, and Monk of the Order of St Dominic, distinguish'd himself by his public Writings. His Office of Librarian of the Vatican under Pope *Leo X.* proves him to have been a Man of Letters. He continu'd in this Employ from the Year 1518 to his death, which happen'd in 1520. He liv'd 58 Years. He was skill'd in Greek and Hebrew, and has translated some Pieces of the ancient Fathers into Latin: viz. *Olympiodorus on Ecclesiastes*; the *Treatise of Eusebius against Hierocles*; the twelve Books of *Theodoret de Græcarum Affectionum Curaione*; and *Justin Martyr*. As he was both a Poet and an Orator, he has exercis'd his Talent of Panegyric on every thing, both in Verse and Prose. There are extant his Poems, and Sermons on the Epiphany, besides Verses and Orations in Honour of *Leo X.* There are publish'd likewise some Letters, which he writ to *Picus of Mirandola*; a Treatise entitled *de Laudibus Urbis Romæ*; A Panegyric on the City of Naples, deliver'd in a general Chapter of the Order; and A Chronicle of the Convent of St Mark at Florence. He collected likewise in one Volume the Greek Epigrams of *Politian*, and publish'd them in the Year 1495. (a)

(a) Taken from Ambrosio d'Altamura Biblioth. Ord. Præd. cæc. p. 243.

Ambrosio d'Altamura, whom I have follow'd Step by Step in this Article, has evidently transgress'd the Laws of Accuracy, as appears from the following account of Mr de la Monnoie. Of all the Works of Zenobius Acciaoli there are extant only the Translation of Eusebius's Book against Hierocles, That of Olympiodorus upon Ecclesiastes; and Theodoret's Cure of the false Opinions of the Gentiles. The pieces of Poetry, mention'd by Gyraldus, whether Greek, or Latin, were never printed. Some think he did not dye till the Year 1537, because Jerome Alexander, his Successor in the place of Librarian of the Vatican, did not enter upon his Office till that year; in like manner as Zenobius began his employ in the Year 1518, after Philip Beroaldus the younger, who died the same Year.

ACCIUS (LUCIUS) a Latin Tragic Poet, Son of a Freed-Man [A], was born, according to the Chronology of St Jerom, in the Consulship of Hostilius Mancinus, and Atilius Serranus, in the year of Rome 583. But it will appear below, that this Authority is not to be depended upon [B]. He distinguish'd himself before the death

[A] Son of a Freed-Man.] The more I consider these Words of *Moreri*, "*Marcinus and Serranus*, "whom ancient Rome saw rais'd to the Dignity of "Consuls, were his near Relations," the more difficult I find it to assign any other Reason for his Blunder, than this. He had read in *Charles Stephens* the following Words, "*Natus parentibus libertinis, Marcino & Serrano Consulibus*," and, not sufficiently attending to the Terms *parentibus* and *libertinis*, he thought he might affirm, that the Poet was related to these two Consuls. He ought, however, to have chang'd *Marcinus* into *Mancinus*. See how St Jerom expresses himself. "*Lucius Accius, Tragediarum "Scriptor clarus, natus, Mancino & Serrano Consulibus, parentibus libertinis* (1). — i. e. *Lucius "Accius, a famous Tragic Poet, born in the Consulship "of Mancinus and Serranus, of free Parents*." Father *Briet* attributes to *A. Gellius* two or three Particulars relating to *Accius*, which St Jerom has a right to (2).

(1) In Chron. Eusebii, the 2d Year of the 26th Olympiad.

(2) Brietius de Poët. Lat. p. 50.

[B] That this Authority is not to be depended upon.] I say this, without having demonstrative Reasons against this Chronology: I have only Difficulties to alledge on both Sides. *Cicero* often convers'd with *Accius*. This I prove in Remark [H]. Now *Cicero* was born in the Year of Rome, 647; and it is not likely that he had convers'd much with this Poet before the Age of 20. *Accius*, therefore, must have been alive in the Year of Rome 667. He should be at that time 84 Years of Age, according to the Chronicle of *Eusebius*. I confess there is nothing impossible in this; but there is little Appearance of Probability; since *Gyraldus* could not believe, that the Poet, with whom *Cicero* had so often convers'd, was the same *Lucius Accius*, so many of whose Tragedies are quoted. He thinks these were two Poets of the same

Name. Add to this, that *Corradus*, who allows not this Distinction, scruples to carry the 20th Year of *Cicero*, higher than the 70th of *Accius*: inasmuch, that, on account of a Passage in *Cicero*, he places the Birth of *Accius* 40 Years later, than St Jerom has fix'd it (3). But this is not all: *Cicero*, in his First Philippic, informs us, that one of *Accius's* Tragedies was perform'd during the Celebration of the Games, which *Brutus* had given, and at which he was not present, having retir'd from Rome, upon the Murthor of *Julius Cæsar*. This Piece was greatly applauded; but the People's Approbation was more in favour of *Brutus*, than *Accius*. The Applause was too distant in Time, to belong to the Poet; "*Nisi forte Accio "tum plaudî & hexagesimo post anno palmam dari "putabatis, non Bruto*. — Unless you thought, that, "after an interval of 60 Years, *Accius*, and not "Brutus, received the Applause and the Palm." If you reckon these 60 Years from the Death of *Accius* (4), he must have died in the Year of Rome 650; and, consequently, we are not to believe *Cicero*, when he pretends to have heard some things from *Accius's* own Mouth. If you count them from the Time, when this Piece first appear'd upon the Stage, you will make the Orator a very weak Reasoner, in supposing that a good Performance on the Stage is never applauded but at the first Representation; which is entirely false. However this Side of the Dilemma is more eligible, than to fix the Death of *Accius* to the 3d Year of *Cicero*. If then the Passage in the First Philippic does not prove, that *Accius* died before the Year of Rome 667, let us extend the Poet's Life to that Period; but, as we have no sufficient Assurance (5) of St Jerom's Accuracy, let us not scruple to assert, that *Accius* might then be between sixty and seventy Years of Age; and that, if he liv'd to the

(3) Corrad. upon Cicero's Brutus. p. 198.

(4) P. Minucius upon the first Philippic, owns it; having first what *Cicero* says of his Conversations with *Accius*, Observe by the by, that the Opinion reported in the Judgements of Savans, &c. Tom. 2. p. 10. is false; namely, that *Accius* died in the Year of Rome 618, in the 6th Olympiad.

(5) See the Remark [O].

death of *Pacuvius*; one of his Plays being acted the same year that *Pacuvius* [C] brought a Performance of his own on the Stage. This latter was then eighty years old, the former but thirty. The name of *Accius's* Play, which was presented that year, is not recorded; but some Authors, who have quoted this Poet (a), have furnished us with the Names of Several of his Tragedies. He made choice of the noblest Subjects, that ever appear'd on the *Atenian* Stage; such as *Andromache*, *Andromeda*, *Atræus*, *Chlyemnestra*, *Medea* [D], *Meleager*, *Philoctetes*, *The Siege of Thebes*, *Tereus*, *The Trojan Matrons*, &c. He did not always borrow the Subject of his Plays from the Greeks: He compos'd one, the Story of which is entirely *Roman*: It was call'd *Brutus* [E], and treated of the Dethronement of *Tarquin*. If it be true, that He was Author of a Piece entitled *The Wedding*, and another call'd *the Merchant* (b) we shall have reason to rank him likewise among the *Comic Writers* [F]. His Genius was not confin'd to the Stage. He wrote some other Books, particularly *Annals*, which *Macrobius*, *Priscian*, *Festus*, and *Nonnius Marcellus*, refer to. His Friend and Patron was *Decimus Brutus*, who was Consul in the year of *Rome* 615, and who gain'd several Victories in *Spain*, which procur'd him the honour of a Triumph some time after (c). This *Brutus* was so fond of the Verses, in which *Accius* celebrated him, that

(a) Nonnius Marcellus, Varro, A. Gellius, &c.

(b) Volturnus de Poet. Lat. cites these two pieces, and refers them upon the Authority of Varro: but I have not been able to find it in Varro.

(c) In the Year 633. See the Fall of Sigonius.

Age of *Pacuvius*, there is no reason why we should not apply to him and *Cæsar*, the Story related by *Valerius Maximus*. "Is (Poeta Accius) Julio Cæsari amplissimo & florentissimo viro in Collegium Poëtarum venienti, nunquam affurrexit, non majestatis ejus immemor, sed quod in communium studiorum comparatione aliquanto superioriorem se esse confideret. Quapropter insolentem crimine caruit, quia ibi voluminum non imaginum certamina exercebantur" (6). — When Julius Cæsar came into the College of Poets, he (the Poet Accius) refus'd to rise from his Seat, though to the most renown'd Hero of the Age; not that he forgot the Respect due to his high Rank, but because he was conscious of some Superiority over him, in their common Attainments. This Behaviour, therefore, was not thought insolent, because in that Place they did not contest the Prize of Birth, but of Learning." This last Thought is not unlike that, which the Author (7) of the *Satire against the French Academy* (8) makes use of. I confess, that there is some Difficulty in extending the Life of the Poet *Accius* to the height of *Julius Cæsar's* Prosperity; and it is this which oblig'd *Corradus* to suppose, that *Valerius Maximus* meant in this Passage *Sextus Julius Cæsar*. But why may we not suppose him to mean that *Caius Cæsar*, who was kill'd by *Marius's* Soldiers, and who had to great Credit, though but an *Edile*, that his Disputes with *Sulpicius the Tribune* rais'd a Civil War (9)? He was one of the principal Orators of his Times, and a good Tragic Poet. But, however that be, let it be remembered, that *Cæsar* had a happy Genius for Poetry. "Fecuratur & a puero & ab adolescentulo quadam scripta, ut *Laudes Herculis* & *Tragedia Oedipus*" (10). — He is said to have been the Author of "some Pieces in his younger Days, as *The Prailes of Hercules*, and *The Tragedy of Oedipus*."

[C] The same Year that *Pacuvius*. *Cicero* relates it upon the Authority of *Accius* himself. "Ut Accius iisdem *Adilibus* ait se & *Pacuvium* docuisse Fabulam, cum ille octoginta, ipse triginta annos natus esset (11). — As *Accius* reports, that he and *Pacuvius* taught *Dramatic Poetry* in the same *Edileship*, the latter being eighty, himself but thirty Years of Age." *Cicero's* Words are iisdem *Adilibus*; but, some Manuscripts giving a false Reading, it has been asserted, that these two Poets published their Works in iisdem *Adilibus*, in the same House, paucis quidem annis interpositis, a few Years the one after the other (12); which is manifestly a double Mistake. *Corradus* thinks, that *Accius* mentioned this Circumstance of his Life in his *Annals* (13); but *Vossius* is of Opinion, that it was in a Work entitled *Didascalica* (14). The Reason he gives for it is, that *Accius* in this Work expressly treated of Poets and Poetry, as may be gathered from what *Charissus* and *A. Gellius* have cited from it. But this Reason is of no Weight: *Vossius* in proving against *Corradus*, relieves himself. This Writer had recourse to the *Annals of Accius*, because, says he, a Poet never speaks of himself in a *Dramatic Piece*. But *Terence's* Prologues prove the contrary. How came *Vossius*, who alleges this Reason, not to see, that *Accius* might very naturally acquaint his Audience in a Prologue, that a Play of his was brought

upon the Stage, at the same time with one of *Pacuvius's*? Add to this, that, besides his *Annals* and *Didascalica*, *Accius* was the Author of some Books, which had no Relation to the Stage.

[D] *Medea*. The Conjecture of *Father Lescapier*, that the Verses, quoted by *Cicero*, in the second Book of *The Nature of the Gods*, are borrowed from the *Medea* of our Poet, is highly probable (15). These Verses describe the Astonishment of a Shepherd, who, having never seen a Ship, discovered, from the top of a Mountain, That which carried the *Argonauts*. The good Father *Crinitus*, in consequence of this Passage, imagined that *Cicero* had quoted a Tragedy of *Accius* entitled *The Argonauts* (16). But, though this Poet had compos'd such a Tragedy, *Crinitus* is still to be blamed for building upon to uncertain a Foundation. The Author, whose Conjecture I have just mentioned, need not have proved to us, from the Testimony of *Crinitus*, that the Grammarians mention the *Medea of Accius*: he might at once have quoted *Nonnius Marcellus* for it. I have found, in the Fragments of the *Tragic Poets*, collected by *Scrivenerius*, that the Lines relating to the Ship *Argo*, belong to a Tragedy called *Medea*.

[E] It was called *Brutus*. *Manutius* without Reason believes, that it was acted at the Celebration of the Games of *Apollon*, at which the Brother of *Marce Antony* presided in the Room of *Brutus*, who absented himself from *Rome* (17); but it is plain, from *Cicero's* Epistles, that it was the *Tereus of Accius*, which was then represented (18). It is surprising, that the greatest Part of the Commentators on *Cicero* should be ignorant of this. *Maturantius* thinks they acted the *Atræus*: *Beraldus* and *Higendorn* are for the *Brutus*.

[F] Among the *Comic Writers*. *Donatus*, the Grammarian, will not suffer us to doubt of it: for he reckons it among the Perfections of *Terence*, that he was content to write *Comedies* without falling under the Temptation of becoming a *Tragic Poet*; Which, among other things, adds he, was above the Reach of *Plautus*, *Afranius*, *Accius*, and almost all the great *Comic Writers*. As I have not servilely translated my Author Word for Word, it may be proper to let him speak for himself. "Hæc cum artificiosissima Terentii fecerit, tum illud est admirandum, quod et morem retinuit, ut Comœdium scriberet, et temperavit affectum, ne in Tragediam transiret, quod, cum aliis rebus minime obtentum esse, à *Plauto*, & ab *Afranio*, & ab *Accio*, & multis fere magnis Comicis invenimus (19)." We may gather from hence, that, at first, *Accius* confin'd himself to *Comedy*; but, his great Reputation arising from his Tragedies, *Donatus* seems not to have been so accurate as he should have been, in ranking him among the *Comic Poets*. Mr *Dacier* knew very well that he was a *Tragic Poet*, and has expressly asserted it in his Remark on this Verse of *Horace*:

Nil comis Tragicæ mutat *Lucilius* Atti (20)?

Notwithstanding which he translates it after this Manner: *Lucilius* — ne proceps-t-il rien à changer dans les Comédies d' *Attius*? — Does *Lucilius* find nothing to alter in the Comedies of *Attius*?

[G] *Hung*

(*) *Valer. Maximus*, lib. 3. c. 79.

(-) *St Erremont*, according to some. See the Hist. of the Fr. Acad. p. 69. but in the *Chevreana* this *Satire* is ascribed to the Count d'Étalon.

(8) *Enriched* The Comedy of the Academics: in which *Godeau* having said to *Colletet*, I perceive you to be an excellent Musician; responded thus Answer, We are all equal, being the Sons of *Apollon*.

(9) *Afron. Ped.* in his Orat. pro *M. Scuro*.

(10) *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Cæsar*.

(11) *Cicero* in *Bruto*.

(12) *Crinitus* de Poet. Lat. ch. 5. *Cyndorpi*. *Onomast.* p. 3.

(13) *Corradus*, apud *Cicero's* *Brutus*.

(14) *Vossius* de Hist. Lat. p. 30.

(15) See *Lescapier*. *Commentar.* in *Cicero*. de *Nat. Deor.* p. 382.

(16) *Crinitus* de Poet. Lat. lib. 24. ch. 7.

(17) *P. Manutius* upon *Cicero's* 1st Epistle.

(18) *Cicero's* Epistle to *Atticus*, B. 16. Epist. 2, 54.

(19) *Donatus* de *Trag. & Comed.*

(20) *Horat.* Sat. x. lib. 1. ver. 53.

that he hung them up at the entrance of the Temples, and Monuments [G], which he built with the spoils of the Enemy. This might, indeed, be owing to a Principle of Vanity rather than of Friendship, and may prove, that, if he was fond of the Poet, he was more so of the Praises he bestow'd upon him: but, in any light, it shews that *Decimus Brutus* thought *Accius's* Poetry excellent. Besides, he was a Person well qualify'd to judge of this kind of Writing [H]. I do not find, that *Cicero* accuses *Accius* of *Harshness*, and too much *Affectation* in his *Stile*: this relates to another Poet [I]; as Mr *Moreri* might easily have perceiv'd, had he not servilely copied after others. Not that *Accius*, who, in other respects, was greatly esteem'd as a Poet, (d) was never reproach'd with *Ruggedness* of *Stile*. *A. Gellius* has a very just Reflexion in answer to this Cavil [K]. The Answer he return'd those, who ask'd him, why he did not plead at the Bar, since he met with such success upon the Stage, carries

(12) See Remark [N].

[G] Hung them up at the Entrance of the Temples.] *Cicero* and *Valerius Maximus* relate this. "Decimus quidem Brutus, says the former (21), summus ille vir & imperator, Accii amicissimi sui carminibus templorum & monumentorum aditus exornavit suorum.

"That great Commander, Decimus Brutus, adorned the Entrance of his Temples and Monuments with the Verses of his dear Friend Accius."

Valerius Maximus gives this Account: "Similiter honoratus animus erga Poetam Accium D. Bruti, suis temporibus clari ducis, exitit, cujus familiari cultu & prompta laudatione delectatus, ejus versibus templorum aditus, quæ ex manubus consecraverat, adornavit (22). — Decimus Brutus, a famous General of his Times, shew'd great Favour to the Poet Accius, with whose easy Address, and ready Talent at Panegyric, he was so well pleas'd, as to adorn the Entrance of the Temples, which he consecrated with the Spoils of War, with this Poet's Verses." — *Scrivener* has quoted another Passage in the following Terms:

"Amatus etiamnum in tantum Attius, a Decimo Bruto fuisse dicitur, ut Attiani versibus templorum & monumentorum frontes & aditus exornare consueverit (23). — Decimus Brutus was so fond of Attius, that he was wont to hang up his Verses as Ornaments to the Fronts and Entrances of his Temples and Monuments." These he gives us for the very Words of *Cicero* in his *Brutus*; but I am sure they are not to be found there. Very likely some modern Author deceived him in this manner. He had quoted *Cicero's Brutus* in relation to the Age of *Pacuvius*, and *Accius*; then he had reported what relates to *D. Brutus*, and had contented himself to express the Sense of *Cicero's* Words, and had cited for it *idem Cicero*. Hereupon *Scrivener*, I suppose, imagined that *Cicero's* own Words were cited; and that they were taken out of the same Book which was quoted before; without taking the trouble of examining into the Truth of the Quotation. Thus you see how the most laborious and the most ingenious Compilers love to find their Work done to their Hands. *Vossius* (24), being doublets deceived by *Scrivener*, cites *Cicero pro Archia* & in *Brutus*, in relation to this Action of *D. Brutus*. The Illusion is perhaps still more ancient than this: *Scrivener* might not have it at first Hand. How careful soever he was to collect all that has ever been related of *Accius*, yet he forgot the Passage of *Colamella*, which we shall produce presently (25).

[H] Qualified to judge of this kind of Writing.] *Paterculus* (26) has given a great Encomium of this *Brutus* in few Words, in relation to his Military Virtues: But the following is *Cicero's* Eulogium on his Learning: "D. Brutus M. filius, ut ex familiari ejus L. Accio poeta sum audire solitus, & dicere non inculte solebat, & erat cum literis Latinis, tum etiam Grecis, ut temporibus illis, satis eruditus (27). — Decimus Brutus, the Son of Marcus Brutus, was wont to express himself with great Politeness, as I have been inform'd by his intimate Acquaintance, the Poet Accius; and was well versed (considering the time he lived in) both in the Learning of Rome and of Greece."

[I] This relates to another Poet.] To wit, *Attilius*, whom *Cicero* mentions not only in one of his Letters to *Atticus* (28), *Hoc enim Attilius, poeta durissimus*, but also in another place. That other Passage deserves to be produced at length, because it shews what Judgment ought to be pass'd upon those who despise their own Tongue, and the Authors of

their own Nation (29). "A quibus tantum dissentio, ut cum Sophocles vel optime scripserit Electram, tamen male conversam Attilii mihi legendam putem, de quo Licinius,

(29) Id. de Finib. lib. 1.

Ferream scriptorem opinor, verum scriptorem tamen Ut legendus fit (30).

"Rudem enim esse omnino in nostris poetis aut in eritissimæ segnitie est, aut fastidii delicatissimi. Mihi quidem nulli satis eruditi videntur quibus nostra ignota sunt. — With whom I so far differ in Opinion, that, however beautiful the Electra of Sophocles may be in the Original, I still think the ill Translation of it by Attilius deserves to be read; whom Licinius called An harsh Writer, indeed, but a Writer worthy of being read. If our Poets are rough and unpolish'd, it proceeds either from the most slothful Neglect, or the most delicate Niceness. For my own part, I think no Man Scholar enough, who is unacquainted with our own Authors." *Suetonius* mentions the *Electra* of *Attilius*, as we shall make appear in that Poet's Article. Doubtless the *Electra* was a Tragedy; yet *Attilius* is only counted in the number of Comic Poets in the Catalogue of (31) *Volatius Sedigitus*; and, according to *Vossius's* Remark, the Fragments, which *Cicero*, *Varro*, and *Macrobius* (32) cite of him, relish more of the Sock, than the Buskin. Whoever should pretend to make a difficulty of this, would be greatly deceived. Are not *Corneille* and *Racine* Tragic Poets only and absolutely? yet they have compos'd Comedies; and if *Moliere* had taken it into his Head to compose a Tragedy, as it is said *Starron* had a Mind to do at last, would he immediately have ceased to be a Comic Poet? A majori parte sumitur denominatio. — A Thing takes it's Name from that, which particularly distinguishes it. See the Remark [F]. But to return to the pretended Accusation against *Accius's* Style: It must be observed, that *Cicero* cited this Poet often; and that in his Oration pro *Sextio* he considered him as a great Poet: *Summi Poeta ingenium non solum arte sua, sed etiam dolore exprimebat. — He expressed the Genius of this great Poet not only by his Art, but by his Concern.* The Passage is curious: We learn from it, that the famous Actor *Eso* made use of *Accius's* Verses which had some Relation to *Cicero's* Exile; I say he made use of them to make the People sensible of that Injustice. The Romans were very apt to apply particular Sentiments of a Play to the present Times. See *Suetonius* (33), and the first and the tenth *Phlippic* of *Cicero*: They teach us that while a Tragedy of *Accius* was performing, the People did not cease to testify the Friendship they had for *Brutus* by their Applauses.

[K] A very just Reflexion, in answer to this Cavil.] *Accius*, going into *Asia*, pass'd through *Tarentum*, where he saw *Pacuvius*, who was retired thither in his old age. He shew'd him the Tragedy of *Atreus*, which he had in his Pocket, and read it to him. *Pacuvius* found it to be partly very sublime and poetical, and partly very rough and indigested. *Accius* acknowledg'd the friendly Criticism, and promis'd himself from thence Success in his future Productions; the Minds of Men being like Apples, which are never good, if they are not hard and green, before they are ripe. But it is better to weigh the Words of the Original (34). "Tunc Pacuvium dixisse aiunt sonora quidem esse quæ scripsisset & grandia, sed videri

(30) Vossius de Poët. Lat. p. 7. places the Words of Licinius in this order.

(31) Apud A. Gell. lib. 15. c. 24.

(32) I believe that Vossius de Poët. Lat. p. 8. is deceiv'd in what relates to Macrobius.

(33) Sueton. in Cæs. c. 14.

(34) A. Gell. lib. 13. cap. 2.

(21) Cicero pro Archia Poët. cap. 11.

(22) Valer. Maxim. lib. 8. cap. 14.

(23) Scrivener. in Testim. de Attio.

(24) Vossius de Poët. Lat. p. 7.

(25) In the Remark [N].

(26) Vell. Patercul. lib. 2. cap. 5.

(27) Cic. in Brut. p. 197.

(28) Id. E. p. 14. ad Attic.

carries no less good Sense with it [L]. Tho' he was short of Stature, he caus'd a very large Statue of himself to be erected in the Temple of the Muses (c). The Respect paid to him was so great, that a Player was punish'd [M], only for mentioning him by Name upon the Stage. We shall see, in the Remarks, whether *Valerius Maximus's* Account of one *Accius*, a Poet, who refus'd to rise, and pay his Compliment to *Julius Cæsar*, in an Assembly of the Poets, be applicable to our *Accius*. *Cicero* speaks very contemptibly of one *Accius*, who wrote an History; and, as our Tragic

(c) Notatum ab auctoribus & L. Accium Poëtam in Camenarum æde maximam formam Statuam sibi posuisse, cum brevissimum fuisset. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. 34. cap. 5. Charles Stephens is mistaken, in saying that Dec. Brutus erected this Statue to him. Lloyd and Hoffman have adopted this Mistake.

Poet

videri ea tamen sibi duriora paulum & acerbiora. Ita est, inquit, Accius, uti dicis, neque id sanè me pœnitet, meliora enim fore spero quæ deinceps scribam. Nam quod in pomis est, itidem, inquit, esse aiunt in ingeniis, quæ dura & acerbata nascuntur, post sunt mitia & jucunda: sed quæ gignuntur statim vieta & mollia atque in principio sunt uvida, non matura mox sunt, sed putria. Relinquendum igitur visum est in ingenio quod diè & atque ætas mificet. This puts me in mind of a piece of Advice *Lipsius* gave to young Men. The extravagant Fondness he had conceiv'd for I know not what consciousness of Style, which disgusts the Readers of that great Man's Letters, or makes them laugh, did not hinder him from condemning those young Men, who affect Brevity. He said it was the direct Road to a meagre, thin Style; and that they ought to have many Superfluities at that Age, which might be pruned, as they advanc'd farther in Years (35). "Adeo

(35) Lipsius in Epist. Inuit. Epist.

"juventutem ad brevitatem non voco; ut etiam absterream, five quia tuo adfumere vix potest; & brevitas imitatio facillimè ætatem hanc decipit: five quia nec utiliter potest, & juvenili illo brevitas studio aridus plerumque & exsiccus stilus evadit, nec facile ad laudatam illam temperiem venit, nisi initio ubertas quædam & luxuries sit quam ætas paulatim depascit. — I am so far from advising Youth to Brevity, that I deter them from it as much as possible; either because it is unsafe, and apt to deceive tender Years; or because it is useless, and by this juvenile Affliction of Brevity, a Style becomes dry and insipid; nor is it easy to arrive at that happy Temperament in Writing, unless at first there be some redundancy and luxuriancy of Style, which Time, by little and little, may wear off." Balzac

(36) Balzac in Epist. select.

(36) was of the same Opinion. "Amputanda plura sunt efflorescenti illi ætati, quam inferenda; facillime est remedium ubertatis; sterilia nullo labore superantur. — That Age requires more pruning; that cultivating: Redundancy is easily remedied, but Barrenness with great Difficulty." But to return to *Accius*, it has been well observ'd in the Dictionary of *Charles Stephens*, and in those that were built on the same Foundation, That *Quintilian* excus'd him, by laying the Blame on the Time in which he liv'd (37). "Tragediæ Scriptores Accius atque Pacuvius clarissimi gravitate sententiarum, verborum pondere & autoritate Personarum. Cæterum nitor & summa in excolendis operibus manus magis videri potest temporibus quam ipsi desuisse. Virium tamen Accio plus tribuitur, Pacuvium videri doctorem, qui esse docti affectant, volunt. — Among the Writers of Tragedy, Accius and Pacuvius are the most famous, for the Weight of their Sentiments, the Energy of their Expressions, and the Dignity of their Characters. The want of Polishing and Finishing was owing rather to the Times, than to the Poets themselves. The Learned attribute more of Genius to Accius, and of Learning to Pacuvius." One would think that *Quintilian* copies these Verses of *Horace*:

(38) Horat. Epist. 2. lib. 2. ver. 55.]

Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, autest Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti (38).

When Accius and Pacuvius are compar'd, Both are esteem'd; both meet with great Reward. Pacuvius all the Critics Voices gains For Learning, Accius for his lofty Strains.

CREECH.

There is a Passage of *Ovid*, which seems to charge I know not what of Savage and Brutal upon *Accius's* Style; but, everything considered, I should rather understand by it the cruel Actions describ'd by him in his Tragedies. *Ovid's* Sentiment is, that if one were to judge of a Man's Manners by his Writings, *Accius* must be accounted Brutal; *Terence* a Lover of good Cheer; and

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those who treat of warlike Matters, brave and valiant Men.

Accius esset atrox; convivæ Terrentius essent, Essent pugnaces, qui sæta bella canunt (39).

For Cruelty would Accius censur'd be, And Terence prais'd for Mirth and Jollity. Who Wars alarms, and Martial Deeds indite, Of course must be the Dev'l and all in Fight.

[L] Carries no less good Sense with it.] *Quintilian* has preserv'd this little Circumstance. "Aiunt (40) "Accium interrogatum cur causas non ageret; cum apud eum in Tragediis tanta vis esset, hanc reddidisse rationem, quod illic ea dicerentur quæ ipse vellet, in foro dicturi adversarii essent quæ minime vellet. — In my own Tragedies, answered he, I say what I please, but at the Bar, I am oblig'd to bear what I dislike." I know a Man of Wit, who made use of a like Reason, to divert his Son from the Study of the Law, and to encourage him to the Study of Divinity. "What is more convenient, said he to him, than to speak before Persons who cannot contradict you? This Advantage have Preachers. And what more inconvenient than, when you have done speaking, to hear yourself confuted, and oblig'd, without Mercy, to give an Account of all you have said? This the Condition of an Advocate." This puts me in mind of a Thought of Mr *Montagne*: "As for the Gift of Eloquence (41), says he, some have a Facility and Readiness, and which may be called Gift of Utterance, so easy that they are ready upon every Occasion: Others are slow, and speak only what is premeditated and elaborate. — If I were to give my Opinion in these two different Advantages of Eloquence, of which Preachers and Lawyers now a-days make the chief Profession, the slow speaker seems to me the best qualify'd for a Preacher, the other for a Lawyer; because the Employment of the former gives him as much time, as he pleases to prepare himself; and he goes on with the Thread of his Discourse, without any interruption: But the Lawyer is oblig'd to enter every Moment into the Lists, and the unforeseen Answers of his Adversary disconcert his Measures in an Instant (42). — The Advocate's Business is more difficult than the Preacher's, and yet we find more tolerable Advocates; in my Opinion, than Preachers, at least in France.

(39) Ovid. Trist. lib. 2.

(40) Quintilian. Institut. Orat. lib. 5. cap. 15.

(41) Montagne's Essays, B. 1. chap. 10. at the beginning, p. 52, 53.

(42) The same, p. 54.

[M] A Player was punish'd.] Being brought before the Judges to give Satisfaction for this Injury, he said in defence of himself, that it was lawful to name a Man who gave his Pieces to be represented on the Stage. *Publius Mutius*, before whom the Cause was try'd, condemn'd him. The satyric Poet *Lucilius*, had not the same Success; for the Comedian, who had offended him, by naming him on the Stage, was acquitted. So true is it, that all Judges are not of the same Humour, or that some Persons are more considered than others. The Author, who reports these two Cases, expresses himself thus (43): "Mimus quidam nominatim Accium poetam compellavit in scena: cum eo Accius injuriarum agit: hic nihil defendit, nisi licere nominari eum cujus nomine scripta dentur agenda. — Caius (44) Coelius judex absolvit eum injuriarum qui *Lucilius* poetam in scena nominatim læserat, *Publius Mutius* eum, qui L. Accium poetam nominaverat, condemnavit. — A certain Player mention'd the Poet Accius by Name, upon the Stage: Accius sued him for Damages: the other only pleaded in his Defence, that it was lawful to name a Person, who wrote for the Stage. — Caius Cælius, the Judge, acquitted him, who had affronted the Poet *Lucilius*, by naming him on the Stage; *Publius Mutius* condemn'd him, who had offered the same Insult to Accius." *Glandarius* did not know where this Story

(43) Autor Rhetoricor. ad Herenn. lib. 1.

(44) Ibid. lib. 2.

Poet compos'd *Annals*, some will have it, that *Cicero* abus'd him in this Place. Others deny it [N]. At the same time liv'd an Orator; of no ill Reputation, named *Accius*, against whom *Cicero* defended *Cluentius*. He was of *Pisaurum*; which might make him pass for one of our Poet's Relations [O]. It is not true, that *Cicero* speaks likewise of another celebrated Orator of this Name, surnam'd *Navius*. Mr *Moreri* blunders here. He did not consider, that this *Accius Navius* is no other than a famous *Augur*, whom he takes notice of, a few Pages after, under the Article *ACTIVS NÆVIUS* (f). He is no less deceiv'd, when he distinguishes between the *Tragic Poet*, and the *Analist*, cited by *Macrobius*. What he adds, that *Aulus-Gellius* speaks likewise of *Accius the Historian*, distinct from the *Writer of Tragedies*, ch. 9. Book 3. is doubly false. This Author mentions no *Accius*, in that place; and wherever he speaks of *Accius*, he must be understood to mean the *Tragic Poet*. Some Authors have expos'd themselves to Ridicule for having imitated, or admir'd, the *Latin* of this *Accius* [P], in an Age, when the Language was in much greater Purity.

(7) Cic. de Divin. lib. 1. mentions him. Moreri cites lib. de Divin. in Verr. but he is a false Reporter.

(45) Glind. Oroniat. p. 3.

(46) Catullus, from whom Glindorp does not cite the Passage; but it is found in the Commentary on Plin. 3. Epist. lib. 5. p. 291.

(47) In the Remark [K].

Story was to be met with, but (45) reports it only on the Credit of a (46) modern Author, whose false Gloss he copies, to wit, that the Defendant was condemn'd, because he had not prefix'd any Titles of Honour or Respect to *Accius's* Name. *Sine præstatione honoris nominaverat.*

[N] Others deny it. I am inclin'd to be of their Opinion; for, besides that *Cicero*, who was so often nam'd, and so often cited our *Accius*, either with Commendation, or, at least, without blaming him, would, with an ill Grace, abuse him in his 11th Book of *Legibus*; I observe, that these Abuses are altogether opposite to the Character of him, who is the Subject of this Article. Elevation, Grandeur, and Force, were the Character of *Accius*; and we have seen (47) the Testimony of *Horace* and *Quintilian*, concerning him; to which we may add two Verses of *Ovid*, and a decisive Decree of *Paterculus*.

Ennius arte carens, ANIMOSIQUE Accius oris
Casurum nullo tempore nomen habent. (48)

(48) C. 14. Amer. lib. 1. Eleg. 15. ver. 19.

Ennius, the Artless, Accius the SUBLIME,
Shall stand, unmot'd, the rude Attacks of Time.

(49) Paterc. lib. 2. cap. 5.

" Clara (49) etiam par idem ævi spatium fuere ingenia, in togatis Afranii, in Tragediis Pacuvii atque Attii usque in Græcorum comparisonem EVECTI, magnique inter hos ipsos facientis operi suo locum; adeo quidem ut in illis limæ, in hoc pene plus videatur fuisse SANGUINIS. — About the same time flourish'd, in Oratory, Afranius, in Tragedy, Pacuvius, and Accius, whose Reputation rival'd that of the most famous Greeks; inasmuch that there seem'd to be more Correctness in the latter, but more Life and Spirit in the former." If this new Evidence, which I have produc'd, be as strong as the foregoing; this, which follows, goes beyond all I have already reported; for here *Accius* is preferred to the great *Euripides*; " Accius poeta (50) suo ingenio præcellit Euripidem, qui fuit altus et ingenio sublimis. — The Poet Accius had a Genius superior to That of the lofty and sublime Euripides."

(50) Acron. upon Horace, Epist. 1. L. 2.

(51) Columella de Re Rustica, lib. 3. Præf.

Another (51) celebrates *Accius* and *Virgil* for the two most excellent Poets of *Rome*: " An Latine Musæ non solos adytis suis Accium & Virgilium recepere, sed eorum & proximis & procul à secundis sacras concessere sedes? — Did the Latin Musæ receive not only Accius and Virgil into their Temple, but even Poets of an inferior Class?" Is it likely that such a Man wrote an History worthy of this Censure of *Cicero* (52): " Nam quid Accium memorem, cuius loquacitas habet aliquid argutiarum, nec id tamen ex illa erudita Græcorum copia, sed ex librariis olis Latinis? In orationibus autem multus & ineptus, ad summam impudentiam. — Why should I mention Accius, in whose wordy Style there is indeed some Wit; but a Wit borrow'd from the trifling Productions of the Latins, not from the learned Græcian Stores? Besides, in his Speeches he is tedious and impertinent, even to the biggest Degree of Assurance." Observe well, that the *Annals* of the *Tragic Poet Accius* were in Verse; and that *Cicero* speaks here only of those who had writ Histories in *Latin Prose*; for he says nothing of *Ennius*. Our best Critics think that this Passage of *Cicero* is corrupted; and that we must not read *Accium*, but *Macrum*. So that the Censure will fall on the Historian *Licinius Macer*. *Vossius* (53) embraces this Opinion; but when he brings for a Proof the Friend-

ship that was between *Sisenna* and him, whom *Cicero* abus'd, when, I say, he concludes from thence, that *Cicero* did not speak of *Accius*, he is mistaken; for, by his good leave, *Accius* and *Sisenna*, were very near of the same Age. (54) *Sisenna* was old after the Civil War of *Marius* and *Sylla*; that is to say, about the Year 672 of *Rome*, and *Accius* was not dead in 665.

[O] Pass for one of our Poet's Relations.] St *Jerome* observes (55), speaking of the Poet *Accius*, That he was carried to *Pisaurum*, when the *Romans* sent a Colony there; and that there was a spot of Ground near the City, called *Fundus Accianus*. It was his Share of the Land, which was divided among the Inhabitants of That new Colony. *Scaliger* observes (56) upon this, That the Colony of *Pisaurum* was not settled 'till four Years after that of *Bologna*; that is, in the Year of *Rome* 568, fifteen Years before *Accius* was born. We may say, therefore, that St *Jerome* was mistaken. *Rome* was a proper place of Residence for a Poet, who was the Glory of the Theatre in those Times, than a Colony: But we must not imagine this Mistake to be without any Foundation. Perhaps the Father of *Accius* follow'd those, who conducted the Colony to *Pisaurum*; and perhaps The Patron to whom he ow'd his Liberty, was one of the chief Commissioners of That new Settlement. Now (supposing he follow'd his Patron, he might have had That Land to his share, which was afterwards call'd *Fundus Accianus*, and, among other Children, he might have left the Father of the Orator *Accius*. See how *Cicero* (57) speaks of This Orator. " T. Accium Pisaurensem, cujus accusationi respondi pro A. Cluentio, qui & accurate dicebat & latius profuse, eratque præterea doctus Hermagoræ preceptis, quibus etiam ornamenta non satis optima dicendi, tamen ut huius velutibus amentate, sic apta quadam & parata fingulis causarum generibus argumenta traduntur. — Titus Accius of Pisaurum, to whose Accusation I answer'd, in Defence of A. Cluentius; who spoke accurately and fluently enough, and was besides vers'd in the Precepts of Hermagoras, which, though destitute of the Pomp of Rhetoric, yet, like the Darts flung by light-arm'd Soldiers, furnish us with apt and ready Arguments, in every kind of Cause." *Scaliger* does not censure St *Jerome*, for having confus'dly (58) placed the great Reputation and Death of *Pacuvius*, in the third Year of the 156th Olympiad, and the great Reputation of *Accius*, in the second Year of the 160th Olympiad. This can only serve to confound those, who know that *Pacuvius* was fifty Years older than *Accius*. For if it should be suppos'd, that *Pacuvius* died about 90 Years of Age, in the Year in which St *Jerome* speaks of his Death, it must be said that *Accius* was about 40 Years of Age, in the third Year of the 156th Olympiad; and yet, according to St *Jerome*, he was born in the Consulship of *Mancinus* and *Serranus*, which falls under the second Year of the 152d Olympiad. So that, as I hinted in the second Remark, we must not depend entirely upon That Chronologist in this Case.

[P] The Latin of this Accius.] *Perfius* and *Martial* were very severe upon People. (59)

Est nunc (60) Brizii quem venosus liber Acci,
Sunt quos Pacuviusque & verrucosa moratur
Antiopa, ærumnia cor ludificabile fulta.

Some fond are grown of Fustian Accius' Rage,
Or love Pacuvius' antiquated Page.

(53) Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 1. c. 10.

(54) Vell. Patercul. lib. 2. c. 9.

(55) In Chron. Eccles. n. 1876.

(56) Scalig. Anim. in Ensch. lib. 1. ex Patercul. lib. 1. cap. 15.

(57) Cicero in Brut. c. 3. See also the Orator pro Cluentio.

(58) Pacuvius' Reputation was not made a fine Writer of Tragedies: He liv'd at Rome, was a little profuse in Pointing and Dramatic Poetry. Afterwards returning to Tarentum, he died about 90 Years of Age. Ensch. Chron. n. 1685.

(59) Perf. Sat. 1. v. 76.

(60) Casaubon upon this Passage says, that it should be read Brizii, and that it was the Title of a Tragedy of Accius. Scriverius, in Testimonium de Attio, it mischance in bel. eving, that Perfius does not speak of the Tragic Poet.

*So great Antipain's Grief appears,
The Tragic Tale dissolves them into Tears.*

Here what *Marital* says of them in the 91st Epigram of the 11th Book.

*Attonitufque legis Terrai frugiferai,
Accius & quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.*

You are extremely fond of obsolete Expressions, such as Terrai frugiferai, and whatever Accius and Pacuvius pour forth.

Had they imitated those old Authors, in the manner our finest Wits imitate *Marot* at present, and the other Poets of the XVth Century, in Fables, Ballads, Pindaric Odes, Stanzas, &c. compos'd designedly in their antiquated Style, I do not see that any Body could reasonably have found Fault with them. But I suppose they made use of that obsolete Style in good earnest, and took it for a Standard of Eloquence, either entirely adopting it, or mixing it with the Language of their own Times. See (61) the good Advice which *Phavorinus* gave a young Man in this Way of thinking. We are not subject at present to this Distemper. More Persons are disgusted even with a common Expression, or run too eagerly after new coin'd Words, than affect to retain obsolete Expressions (62). Whenever the old Language is made use of, it is by way of Pleasantry in Salles of Wit, and Burlesque Works. It is only in Latin, that Authors are yet found, who are fond of the oldest Phrases. Doubtless there was another sort of Men among the ancient Romans, when Latin was come to it's Perfection. There were perpetual Admirers of the old Poets, without using, or intending to make use of, their superannuated Expressions; their Attention was

only to mortify the Writers of their own Time, by extolling those of Antiquity above them. *Horace* apprehended their Design perfectly, when he said,

*Sic fautor veterum, ut tabulas peccare vetantes,
Quas bis quinque viri sanxerunt, fœdera regum
Vel Gabii, vel cum rigidis æquata Sabinis,
Pontificum libros, annosa volumina varum
Disstitet Albano Mufas in monte locutas.*

*Jam Saliare Numæ carmen qui hædat, & illud
Quod mecum ignorat, solus vult scire videri,
Ingenii non ille facit, plauditiq; sepultis,
Nostra sed impugnat, nos nostraque lividus odit.* (63)

*So fond of all that's ancient are we grown,
Nothing, forsooth, of modern Date will down.
Or's the Decemvirs Laws devout we pore,
And ancient Leagues, with Sabines made, adore.
The Augur's Leaves transported we admire,
And Bards, grown obsolete, can never tire.
These flow'd not, sure, from any human Skill:
The Muses gave them from th' Aonian Hill.*

*When Numa's Song above our Verse you raise,
And, what you understand not, dare to praise,
'Tis not, that fond of ancient Bards you're grown;
Every forbids you to applaud our own.*

This is a Distemper from which our Age is also exempted. We are contented to place Greece and ancient Rome above our own Age; but we do not prefer the Speeches and Poems of the XVth and XVIth Centuries, before those which are made at present.

ACCO. *Charles Stephen* reports that she was an Old Woman, who ran mad with Vexation, by seeing in a Looking-glass how homely old Age had made her. He cites the 15th Chapter of the 6th Book of *Cælius Rhodoginus*, but (a) nothing like it is to be found there. The Continuator of *Moreri* adds, That this Woman pleas'd herself with speaking to her Image before a Looking-Glass; and that oftentimes she seem'd to refuse, what she most desired. *Plutarch* adds, continues he, that Mothers us'd to frighten little Children, and keep them to their Duty, with her Name. He cites the 16th Book of *Cælius Rhodoginus*, and *Cicero's* Second ad *Atticum*. I shall criticise on this Passage [A] below. In the mean time let us hear what *Rhodoginus* says in a Passage, which is not (b) cited. *Acco* doated in such a manner, that when she look'd in her Glass, she entertain'd herself with her Reflexion, as if it had been another Woman; she was seen to make use of Signs, Promises, Threats, Smiles, and of all that is practised in Conversation. Others write, that she endeavour'd sometimes to drive a Nail with a Sponge as if she had held a Hammer. *Rhodoginus* says no more of her. As for *Plutarch*, he (c) only says, that *Chryssippus* did not approve of frightening us from our Sins by the Divine Justice; For, said he, we don't want Arguments against what is said about Divine Punishments, which shew that such Discourses resemble those of good Women, who frighten little Children with *Acco* and *Alphito* [B], to binder them from idling away their time. *Plutarch* shews afterwards that *Chryssippus* contradicted himself.

[A] Criticise on this Passage.] First, None of the three Authors mentioned have said, That *Acco* ran mad with Vexation, for having seen herself ugly in a Looking-glass; and that she seem'd to refuse what she most desired. This is ascribed to *Plutarch* by Name, and for this Reason, because, after having reported *Acco's* Folly, her being deceiv'd by her own Image, and her Dissimulation, the next Words are, *Plutarch* adds.—But I. This is to assert that *Plutarch* reported these three Facts; and consequently is to deceive the World, since that Author only relates what I have cited of him. II. How careless is it to cite only *Cicero* 2d ad *Atticum*? Does he mean the 2d Letter or the 2d Book? must the Reader be left to guess which? Must he be at the trouble to examine what Letter, what Book it is? They, who shall have the Patience to look for it, will yet lose their Labour. They will find in the 19th Letter of the 2d Book. *Cerri sumus perijisse omnia: quid enim benequædam tam*

diu? My third Censure is, that *Cicero* is falsely cited; He says nothing of *Acco*. The Greek Word he made use of, and which many other Authors use to signify what we call wheedling, evading, raising Difficulties about things, which we heartily wish for; that Word, I say, which *Erasmus* (1) plac'd among his Proverbs, gave occasion to suspect that *Acco* was an Hypocrite; but it is only a Conjecture; and it ought not to be permitted an Author to cite *Plutarch*, or *Cicero*, or *Cælius Rhodoginus*, for Conjectures which other Persons have advanc'd.

[B] Who frighten little Children with *Acco*, and *Alphito*.] I do not believe there is any Country in the World where there is not the like Custom. I have heard it condemn'd by very ingenious Doctors. The ancient Romans had their *Manducus*, wherewith they threaten'd Children, as I shall observe under that Word.

ACCORDS (*STEPHEN TABOÛROT*, Lord of) Advocate of the Parliament of *Dijon*, and afterwards the King's Advocate of the Bailiwick and Chancery of the same Town, was born in the Year 1549 (a). He was a Man of Wit and Letters, but too fond of Trifles. This appears from a Work of his, entitled *Bigarrures* (The Miscellaneous),

(61) *Horat.*
Epist. 1. lib.
2. ver. 23.

(a) *Lloyd*
altered no-
thing, ex-
cept that he
cites *Rhodo-*
ginus at the
16th Book,
chap. 2.

(b) The 2d
chap. of the
16th Book.
He says, that
he read this
in the Epi-
tome of the
Adages of
Tarræus and
Dydimus.

(c) *Plutarch.*
de *Stoicorum*
repugnanti-
p. 1040. B.

(1) See *Ac-*
cittare, in
Adag. chil.
2. cent. 2.
n. 99.

(a) It ap-
pears from an
Inscription
found in
France, that
in 1584 he
was 35
Years of Age.

(b) See the Table of Matters in the Word ACCORDS

Miscellany), the first Edition of which is of Paris, in 1582 [A]. I have quoted it upon some occasions (b). This was not his first Performance; for he had printed some Songs (c): which *la Croix du Main*, and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, were not aware of. His Work, which he calls *Les Touches* (*The Touches*), was printed at Paris in the

Year

(c) See the 4th Book of his Miscellany, the Paris Edition, for Maucroy, in 1662, in 12mo. p. 477.

[A] A Work of his, entitled—*The Miscellany, the first Edition of which is of Paris, in 1582*.] He points out this Year in the Preface to the second Edition, and he ought rather to be believed, than *La Croix du Main*, and *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who place the first Edition of the Miscellany, in 1583. The first Book of the Miscellany is divided into twenty two Chapters, which treat, among other Matters, of the *Rebus's* of *Picardie*, of *Puns*, of *Antistrophes*, of *Allusions*, of *Acrostics*, of the *Eccho*, of *Leonin Verses*, and other Sorts of Measure, pleasantly and ingeniously contrived, of *Epitaphs*, &c. All these are full of Mirth and Gaiety, as *La Croix du Main* assures us (1). The Printer does not diffeble, that he published this Work without the Author's leave, "Who de-

(1) Biblioth. Fr. p. 80.

(2) A. Pasquier's Advertisement to the Reader, at the beginning of the Miscellany.

(3) The Author's Preface to the Edit. of the Miscellany. It is dated at Veronney, Sept. 15, 1584.

(4) The same, fol. A. v.

clared publicly, (*says he*) (2) that Age, Time, and his Profession, had altered his Humour and Inclination; and that it would ill become him to lay claim to what he composed in his early Years, and in the Flower and Gaiety of his Youth; being then scarce eighteen Years old; and that, when he shall have given proof of his Abilities, in some noble and learned Subject, he would advise not to strangle his natural and illegitimate Offspring, got out of Marriage; for so he used to call his three first Books. Whence I judged that he was only looking about for an Excuse; which determined me to publish this Copy." Our Author, on his part, does not fail to pretend Ignorance. "I was very much surprized, *says he* (3), when I saw the first Impression of this Book, the Memory of which I thought was extinct. But, upon reading it again, as a new Work, not having seen it these fourteen Years, I presently discovered my own Genius and Style, at a time, when I composed it, first, for my own Diversion, and afterwards for that of others; in which I observed no Method, but threw together my Thoughts, without Connexion, as Whim and Fancy directed. The Book consists of loose detach'd Pieces, written upon Scraps of Paper, adjust'd together at different Times, a great part of which I always believed was lost. But, as every one is fond of his own Work, I had some Thoughts, at that time, of sending the Remainder of my Papers, which have increased since that time, together with those, which had been omitted." Notwithstanding this He adopts and owns this second Edition. "Upon which account, *continues he* (4), I have read over this idle Book from one end to the other, which I never did before, in order to re-publish it according to my own true Conception of it. And as since that time I have recollected some little Pieces of a curious Nature, and others have been kindly communicated to me by one of the most learned Men in France, on the same Subject, I have added them to it in the Manner of an Appendix by the Author."

Pasquier disapproved of *Talbourot's* making Additions to his *Miscellany*. It was staying too long, he thought, in places which ought only to be pass'd by; and which ought to be considered as a Traveller's Inn, not as his Lodging. Such a Work should be looked upon as an Excursion, not as a fix'd Abode. Youth is an excuse for spending a few Hours in such Trifles; but if, some Years after, an Author applies himself to retouch them, and to make Additions, it seems as if he intended *tantum ad Sirenium scopulos consensuere*, to grow old at the *Sirens* Rocks. After this manner Pasquier express'd himself in a Letter to the *Sieur Talbourot*, in the Year 1584. "I have read over your entertaining Miscellany, and I read it with Pleasure, not only on account of that Friendship I bear you, but likewise for that genteel and lively Wit, with which it abounds; or rather because it is something whimsical, and diversify'd with a great Variety of fine Strokes. I could wish there had been no Additions made to the first Impression. If I judge right, many of the Additions do not relish of your Wit; and I should easily be persuaded, that some other Hand has bestowed these ill-tim'd Alms up-

on you. We should consider such Subjects as matter of meer Diversion, not as a Duty incumbent on us, and which requires our whole Attention. You will find by this, that I love and honour you, since I take the Liberty, for the first time, to address myself thus freely to you (5).

I believe *Des Accords* did not regard this Advice; and that he made still farther Additions to his Miscellany, when he reprinted it. I have the Paris Edition of 1614, where we find not only the fourth Book of the Miscellany; but likewise the facetious *Tales of the Sieur Gaulard*, &c. collected by the *Sieur Des Accords*. This fourth Book is not preceded either by a second or third; nevertheless the Author gives many Reasons why he calls it the fourth (6), and, among other things, says, that "this whole Volume would not have been new and uncommon enough, if he had followed the Example of the generality of Authors." He confesses, that he added the *Tales of the Sieur Gaulard* to promote the Sale. "They, *says he* (7), who have purchased only the first Book, in order to laugh and be merry, will be induced to buy this likewise for the sake of the entertaining Pieces I have mixed with it; such as the Apophthegms, or designed Blunders, or absurd Reflexions of Mr Gaulard; which have been imitated by several others in France; but it is unjust to rob our *Burgundian* of the Glory of the Invention. By this means I act like the Widow of a certain *Capitain*, who would not sell his Horse, without his Cat.

Observe, that the fourth Book of the Miscellany is more serious than the first. It is divided into three Chapters. The first contains certain Observations useful in the Education of Children; the second relates to the Change of the *Sir-Name*; the third contains many particular Remarks on the French Poetry. The Work ends with a Discourse on pretended Sorcerers, and their Impostures. The whole abounds with curious Matters, and may be read with profit. This particular Character of the fourth Book is one of the Reasons, which the Author alleges in justification of his having published it before the second or third. It will be proper to produce his own Words. They will convince us, that he had not given up his ludicrous way of writing, upon Pasquier's Letter to him, since he apologizes for continuing it. "I did this (8), *says he* (9), chiefly with a Design of shewing by the Stile of this Book, that my Mind is disposed to other Subjects, as well as Burlesque ones, and to stop the Mouths of a Set of ignorant Detractors, who have maliciously objected this to me. And as to those who disapprove, that a Man of my Profession should descend to such Trifles both in Prose and Verse, I refer them to the learned preliminary Letter of the great Pasquier's French Epistles, who has shewn, as well from strong Reasons, as Examples, that we ought not to confine our Genius so obstinately to one single Profession, as never to allow it to unbend itself in more lively and gay Studies. I certainly commend those, who, like the *Germans*, can restrain themselves from following more than one Profession at once; but we must not therefore blame others, who, having a Genius for several, are able to manage them so well, as in every one to be little, if at all, inferior to the particular Professors of each. It is well known, that the French Genius is full of this Vivacity and Variety, and it is against our Inclinations when we are tied down to one Science. Why then should it be thought wrong in me, that I spend That Time (which others trifle away) in this honourable Employ, which is not empty and fruitless if we examine it nearly?

But he gives another Reason, which particularly shews, that he submitted but a little time to the Attacks of his Critics, and that he had no Intention to suppress the second Book, tho' a little too loose. "In the second, *says he* (10), I treat in the same manner of *Periphrases*, *Hyperboles*, *Metonymies*, *Metaphors*, *Synecdoches*, &c. and That in the perfect French Terms I could choose, and with such entertaining

(5) Pasquier's Letters, B. 3. Tom. 1. p. 472, 493.

(6) Preface to the 4th Book of the Miscellany.

(7) The same, fol. A. iii.

(8) i. e. publishes the 4th Book before the 2d and 3d.

(9) Preface to the 4th Book of the Miscellany, fol. A. ii.

(10) Pref. to the 4th Book of the Miscellany, A. iii.

Year 1585 [B]. It is a Collection of ingenious Pieces of Poetry, it must be confess'd; but for the most part on obscene Subjects, which he handled too freely, according to the vitious Practice of those Times. The same Vein runs thro' his *Miscellany*. He was reproach'd with this, which oblig'd him to justify himself [C]. Some ascribe to him A *Dictionary of French Rhimes* [D]. Lastly, *The Lordship of Accords* is an

"entertaining Examples, as must give the Reader Pleasure. At present I shall take no notice of what may appear in it too loose and offensive to the Ears of our present squeamish Critics, as well as those formerly; and shall pass on directly to the fourth, in order to satisfy those of a more serious turn of Mind, who will have reason to thank me for some Discoveries never touched on, I believe, before."

[B] *His Work which he calls* — The Touches; was printed at Paris, in 1585.] He divided it into three Books and dedicated the first to a Prelate, namely *Pontus of Tyard*, Lord of *Blissy*, and Bishop of *Chalon*. He boasts of having compos'd them (11) in two Months, at *Verdun* upon *Saone*, in the Year 1585 (12); and tells us they are a kind of *Epigrams*, to which the Name of *Touches* is properly apply'd; "For it is a kind of light Fencing, in which with my Foil I give only a Touch, which scarce scratches the Skin, and cannot wound the Flesh" (13). In another place he tells us (14), "That the *Touches* is a Term borrowed from Fencers, who call the Thrust given with their Foils a Touch, the Mark of which appears upon the Cloaths of him that was hit, by reason of the Chalk; with which the Foil is whiten'd, &c." The *Touches* of *Des Accords*, which are generally printed at the end of the *Miscellany*, are different from those I am here speaking of.

[C] He was reproach'd with this, which oblig'd him to justify himself. I have quoted his Apology (15) in another place; and shall add here, that his Printer has thought fit to confirm it. "I have published, says he (16), the whole Copy, not caring any of those Expressions, which may be thought too loose and indecent, provided they were witty; for, notwithstanding the Author would have regard paid to chaste Ears, and would designedly have suppress'd several Passages, yet, having heard him hint, that it was *ipsum evitare Priapum*, and that an infinite Number of fine Strokes would lose all their Beauty, without this Liberty, I chose rather to follow his Opinion, than his Advice. He will pardon me for diving so far into his Thoughts; and let the following Lines of *Catullus* apologize for me;

Castum esse decet piūm Poētam
Ipsum, vericulos nihil necesse est;
Qui tum denique habent salem & leporem,
Si sunt Molliculi, & parum Pudici *

*Chaste must the Bard in every Action be,
Whilst his gay Muse from this Restraint is free.
Then only Verse can Wit and Humour know,
When wanton and scarce chaste the Numbers flow.*

"And I will venture to affirm, that this ought to be so far from offending any Person (some Hypocrites excepted) that, on the contrary, it will serve to put our Youth in mind, not to amuse themselves so much in these curious Enquiries, since they are to be met with in such Abundance, as is enough to create a Disgust towards them; and will occasion their applying themselves to the reading of good Books, whence they may reap Advantage: for I am fully perswaded, that the Multiplicity of Books, which we have at present, must prevent the mind from examining into, and carefully perusing, the best; even tho' we were sure to meet with Authors, who could teach us to find out a Hare's Form, or tell us where ready-chaw'd Meat was to be had. As to the *Smut*, I cannot imagine it will be so offensive, as *Virgil's Priapeia*, the *Epigrams* of *Catullus* and *Martial*, *Ovid's Amours*, *Terence's Comedies*, *Petronius Arbiter*, and

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"in short, the finest Pieces of Antiquity, which are propos'd to our Youth as Patterns of Excellency; whereas our Author's Immodesty can never be consider'd in such a Light. But farther, every thing in this Book is curious, genteel, and ingenious; and the Author need not apologize for himself, by alledging the Levity of the Subject." The meaning of all this is, that *Des Accords* did not take this Liberty, in order to favour the Passions of the Heart, but purely to amuse the Imagination, and not to rob his Poetry of that Seasoning, which would render it more agreeable and high-flavoured, according to the Taste, which prevailed for many Ages. He was not ignorant of the Maxim, that coarse *Smut* is less dangerous than that which is delicate: for thus he applies it, in his own Vindication.

"Des Amadis (17).

"Qui voudra voir ces Ecrits,
Les life aupres de Samie,
Car ils donneront envie
A tous deux d'être lascifs.

Of The Amadis.

*You who would know the Force these Lines impart,
Read them before the Mistress of your Heart,
The tender Tale the melting maid will move,
And both dissolve in Extacies of Love.*

D'un Lecteur d'Amadis, qui blâmoit les Bigarrures

Toi, qui permets les lectures
D'Amadis, & ne veux pas
Qu'on life les Bigarrures,
Cautelement tu as
Appercu que les mot gras
N'entrent vivement dans l'ame,
Pour suborner une dame,
Comme les mignards appas.

On a Reader of the *Amadis*, who found fault with the *Miscellany*.

*Whilst you with wanton Amadis engage,
But shun the Miscellany's sportive Page,
Wisely your nice Discernment you approve,
That coarse Expressions less the Passions move,
Than those soft Touches, which the Fair inspire,
Spight of themselves, with loose and warm Desire.*

This puts me in mind of a Thought of *Sorel*. "The Poets, says he (18), who compose Works liable to the Censure of the Magistrate, and which are usually burnt by the Hands of the Executioner, are very great Fools, in imagining, that they are pleasing to Debauchees; whereas it is impossible to read their obscene Collections without desiring to quit the Sport, they being so leud and wicked, as to create Horror in the Reader." But, not to disseminate any part of his Sentiment, I must observe, that he qualifies this a little. "But, when I give this as my Opinion, *parlez* he (19), I am aware, that it may be said, that we ought not then to forbid the reading of them, since they inspire Men with a hatred to Vice. But generous Minds only find the Effect: and we ought not to enjoin such Penances, as expose Men to Temptation. There are but too many, who take a Pleasure in being conversant with Filth."

[D] Some ascribe to him A Dictionary of French Rhimes.] *La Croix du Main* had made him Author of a Book, entitled *French Rhimes* (20); but he corrected himself, and acknowledged (21) that it ought to be ascribed to *John le Fevre*, a Native of *Dijon*,

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(17) *Des Accords* in the *Touches*, printed with the *Miscellany*, at Paris, for Maucroix, in 1662. 12mo pag. 82.

(18) *Sorel's Remarks* on the Extravagant Shepherd, B. 11. p. 379. Edit. of Roüen, in 1646. in 2 Vol. 8vo.

(19) *The same*, p. 379.

(20) *Biblioth. Francoise*, p. 156.

(21) *The same*, p. 222. and observe, that he says, this Dictionary of French Rhimes was printed at Paris for Gallot du Pre, 1572.

(11) In the Epistle Dedicated.

(12) This is a Proof that he did not regard Pasquier's Preface.

(13) Epistle Dedicated.

(14) Adversus the Touches, printed with the *Miscellany*.

(15) In the Remark [M] of the Article M A R O T.

(16) Andr. Palaequet.

* Carm. 16. ver. 5.

(4) See la Croix du Main, p. 151.

(5) See his *Epitaph* in his *Sonnet* Miscellany.

(22) Bignures, B. 4. c. 3. p. 494.

(24) Pref. to the Dictionary.

an imaginary Fief, founded upon a Device of his Ancestors [E]. Observe that WILLIAM TABOUROT, his Father, who was Advocate of the Parliament of Dijon, King's Council, and Master extraordinary of the Chamber of Accounts, is much commended by Peter of St Julian, in his Work *Of the Origin of the Burgundians* (d). He died the 24th of July 1561, in the 46th Year of his Age (e).

(24) Pref. to the 4th Book of the Miscellany.

(25) Ibid. c. 2. B. 4.

Secretary of the Cardinal de Givri; and Canon of Langres. This Retraction is just; for *Des Accords* declared, that this Work did not belong to Him. These are his Words, at the end of his Chapter on French Poetry: "I shall hereafter, says he (22), give my Opinion more fully, in the Collection I am preparing of the French Poetics; in which I find the way smooth'd for me, with great Learning and Labour, by *Pelletius*, divinely and much to the Purpose by *Ronsard* (as he does every thing), and with great Address (considering his Time) by *Quintil* the Critic, and several others: whose Affiance I shall make use of, mentioning their Names, and referring to their Text, in compiling a *Sequel to the Dictionary of French Rhimes*, by my Uncle, Mr *Le Fevre*, which I shall shortly publish." What inclines me to believe he kept his Word, is a Passage which I meet with in the *Dictionary of French Rhimes*, printed at Paris, in 1596, by the Heir of *Eustace Vignon*, in Octavo. The Author begins thus: "At first, says he (23), I collected this Dictionary, by way of Amusement, almost as it is at present, as to the Quantity of Words, being desirous to affix the Defect of a treacherous Memory. Afterwards meeting with That of the *Sieur Des Accords*, enriched with several Remarks upon Rhime, I was prompted to review my own, and to philosophize a little upon this Subject; which I have not done without Success." [E] The Lordship of Accords is an imaginary Fief, founded upon a Device of his Ancestors. Let us hear his own Account: "Since in my Discourse, says

he (24), on changing the Sir-Name (25), I blame those who do it; and since, by assuming the Title of Lord of Accords, I declare myself worthy of the same Censure; I must inform you, that my Name is composed of the first Letters of the several Chapters of my first Book, by way of Acrostic (26); and after the same manner the second Book informs you of it's Age, and the Place where it was composed. But to raise the Subject, I did not put my real Name, but a Lordship framed upon a Device of my own, which was a Drum * (27), round which I put these Words *A tous Accords*, which had been constantly my Father's, Grand Father's, and Great Grand Father's Motto. In the Chapter of particular Remarks on the French Poetry; you will find the Occasion of erecting this Device into a Lordship." It is proper to produce what he relates in the Chapter to which he refers us. He had sent a Song to a beautiful and virtuous young Lady, Daughter of the late learned President of Bourgoigne, Mr *Begat*, who, says he (28), did me the Honour to be in Love with me. — And whereas, continues he, I had subscribed the Sonnet only with the Words of my Device *A tous Accords*, she was the first, who, in her Answer, christen'd me *Seigneur des Accords*, as her Father often afterwards called me; for which Reason, in all my Writings since that time, I have made choice of this Sir-Name, and even in these Books." He gave himself likewise, by way of Anagram, the Name of *Torvobatus*, as Mr *Baillet* assures us (29).

(26) The 1st Letter of the 1st chapter is an E; that of the 2d an S; and so on to the 1st of the 16th chap. which is a T; and all together they make ESTIENNE TABOUROT (Stephen Tabourot). This had been done by others before. See Mr *Baillet*, in his Disquisition on the Author, pag. 442, 446.

* In French Tambour.

(27) It was then a Speaking Device, and a plain Allusion to his real Name Tabourot.

(28) Miscellany, B. 4. c. 3. p. 491. 492.

(29) Ubi supra, p. 442, 607.

ACCURSIUS, Professor of Civil Law in the XIIIth Century, was a Florentine. He acquired a very great Reputation by the Comments he composed on the Body of the Law. It is said that he begun but late to study the Law; and that he was 40 Years of Age [A] when he first attended the Lectures of the famous Azo. He had applied himself before that time to other Studies. The Progress he made in the Civil Law was so great, that he became a famous Professor in that Science, which he taught at Bologna; and, afterwards burying himself in Retirement, he compos'd *A Perpetual Comment on the whole Law*, which appeared so convenient and useful to young Students, that the former Glosses were no more spoken of, which doubtless were not so well disposed, nor so compleat. Some think that the Contradictions, which are observ'd in *Accursius*, do not proceed from his Inconstancy, or a Defect of Memory, but from this, viz. that in reporting the different Opinions of those, who had preceded him, he had distinguished them only by the initial Letters of their Names: Which Letters disappearing in several Places, was the Cause of his Readers taking that for His Opinion, which he only produced in Proof of another's Sentiments. His Authority was formerly so great [B], that some call'd him the Idol of the

(31) Pancir. de clar Leg. Interpr. lib. 2. cap. 29.

(2) Pope Blount's Conf. Celeb. Autor. p. 236.

(3) Fortier's History of the Civil Law, lib. 3. c. 12.

(4) Raphael Fulgo'us de Action. & Oblig. apud Fr. Hortmannum, Pref. Conf. Morum.

[A] And that he was 40 Years of Age. Others say that he was but 28. "Jam quadragenarius, vel, ut 'alli scribunt xxviii. annos natus ius civile ab Azone' audivit. — At the Age of 40, or as others write 'xxviii, he learnt Civil Law from Azo.'" These are *Pancirallus*'s Words (1), in the 147th Page of his second Edition, which is That of Venice, 1655. Sir Thomas Pope Blount (2), citing *Pancirallus*, and *Koenig*, puts 37, and not 28 Years. The Citation of *Koenig* is good, but that of *Pancirallus* is not, unless my Edition differs from the first. *Forster* would have been more properly cited (3); for he reports, that *Accursius* became a Disciple of Azo, at 37 Years of Age. See the Remark [F].

[B] His Authority was formerly so great. I cannot cite any thing more proper or entertaining, in this Place, than a Passage quoted by one of the modern Civilians, with whom the Glossographers were least in Esteem. "Nostris (4) quanta fit autoritas glossatoris. 'Nonne heri dixit Cyn. Glossam timendam propter preceptum Idololatrum pro Advocatis, significans quod sicut Antiqui adorabant Idola pro Diis, ita Advocati adorant Glossatores pro Evangelistis. Volo enim potius pro me Glossatorem quam Textum; nam si allego Textum, dicant Advocati diversimodum

'partis & etiam Judices, credis tu quod Glossa non ita viderit illum Textum, sicut Tu, & non ita bene intellexerit, sicut tu? Ego recorder (& sit illud pro novo) quod dum essem Scholaris, eram satis acutus, & dum semel essemus multi Socii in una collatione, ausus fui unum Textum allegare contra sententiam Doctoris mei: tantum audaciam habui. Dixit unus Socius, Tu loqueris contra Glossam, quae dicit sic. Et ego respondi, est Glossa dicit sic, ego dico sic; ignarus auctoritatis Glossatorum. Credebam enim quod essent quales sunt in libris Grammaticae, sicut super Virgilio & Ovidio, sed tamen non ita est; fuerunt enim Glossatores maxime scientiae viri & auctoritatis. Magis ergo standum est eis qui viderunt totum corpus Juris, quam nobis qui non vidimus. — 'You know the great Authority of a Commentator. Was it not said yesterday by Cyn. that a Comment was a terrible thing, on account of That Idolatry always paid to it by the Advocates; intimating, that as the Antients adored Idols for Gods, so the Advocates adored Commentators for Evangelists. I had much rather have the Comment, than the Text, favour my Opinion; for, if I appeal to the Text, the Advocates, on the other side, and even the Judges, cry out, Do you think

(a) Taken out of Pancirollus, lib. 2. cap. 2. de claris Legum Interpret. p. 147. &c.

the Advocates (a). Most Interpreters have taken as much (b) or more (c) Care to explain his Gloss, as to comment on the very Text of the Law. Some Critics, great Lovers of polite Language, have exclaim'd with great vehemence against the barbarous Style of this Author [C], but the general Opinion is, that he was a great Genius; and that his Defects proceeded from the Age wherein he liv'd [D]. He liv'd very much at his ease, having both a fine City and Country-House, and two Sons, who were very studious, as we shall see presently. Some Persons say, that he had a very learned Daughter [E], and initiated in the Profession of the Civil Law. He died in the Year 1229, at 78 Years of Age [F]. His Tomb is to be seen at Bologna, in the Church of the Cordeliers, with this (d) very short and plain Inscription, *Sepulchrum Accursii Glossatoris Legum, & Francisci ejus filii.*—The Tomb of Accursius, the Commentator of Law, and his Son Francis. He said there was no need of Theology [G] to teach us Divine Things, since the Roman Laws sufficiently instructed

(b) Arth. Duck of the Life and Authority of the Roman Civil Law, lib. 1. cap. 1. in Pope Blount's Cent. celebr. Autor. pag. 286.

(c) Forster's History of the Civil Law, lib. 3. c. 12.

(d) Pancirollus lib. p. 149.

"think the Comment did not see the Text, and understand it, as well as you? I remember, that, when I was a School-Boy, I was very acute; and that, many of us being together at the same Lecture, I had the Courage to cite one Text, against the Opinion of my Master. One of my School-fellows immediately said, You speak against the Comment, which says thus. I reply'd, Though the Comment says so, I say otherwise; so ignorant was I of the Authority of the Commentators. For I considered them in the same Light, as the Commentators upon Grammatical Books, such as Virgil and Ovid: but the Case is otherwise; for the Commentators were Men of the greatest Learning and Authority. It must therefore be safer to rely upon their Authority, who had a full View of the whole Body of the Law, than upon our own Judgment, who have not." Hottomanus cites some other Passages of the same Author, which confirm the same thing; and informs us, that the Comment, put in Balance against the Opinion of any two Doctors, carried it always before the Judges. Si sententia Glossatoris duobus Doctoribus est contraria, profecto in judicis prævaleret sententia ipsius Glossæ (5).

[C] Exclaim'd with great Vehemence against the barbarous Style of this Author.] Ludovicus Vives (6) was one of them. See Bernardus also in his Treatise of the Profit that reading of History brings. Many Authors have been found among the Civilians of the XVth Century, who have censur'd This Barbarity of Style. It seems Alciatus rous'd them up, and gave them the first taste for uniting Polite Literature with the Civil Law. Budæus, one of the warmest Censurers of Accursius, contributed also to it (7). It cannot be denied, but that the Ignorance of good Literature, made the Commentators fall into divers Mistakes. Albericus Gentilis declar'd himself much their Partizan; he (8) would not own that Accursius put this Maxim in use, *Græcum est, non potest legi*, with which he (9) was reproach'd. He believes that those Words are no where to be found in this Commentator; and makes him more learned in the Greek Tongue, than is generally thought. However it be, the Proverb *Græcum est, non potest legi*, passes for having deriv'd it's Original from these Commentators. It is pretended that, when they met with a Greek Word, they pass'd it over, and gave for a Reason, that it was Greek; and could not be read; and having thus leap'd over this Ditch, they refus'd the Explication of the Latin.

[D] That he was a great Genius, and that his Defects proceeded from the Age wherein he liv'd.] I shall only cite two Authors (10). "Hanc significationem in animo habuit Fr. Accursius, Glossatorum veterum Coryphæus, homo ingenii profusus stupendi, qui in tantis disciplinarum tenebris ipsam disciplinarum disciplinam accuratissime intellexit; cum non jurisditionem, sed jurisdictionem scribendum censuit. — This was the Sense of Francis Accursius, the Coryphæus of antient Commentators, a Man of a prodigious Genius, who, in such a dark Age of Learning, thoroughly understood all the Principles of Literature; for he was of Opinion it should be wrote Jurisdictionem, not Jurisdictionem." This is the Testimony of a German: let us hear a Frenchman next (11). "Antiqui (Interpretes juris) inter quos Accursius & Bartolus principatum tenent, de sermone non valde anxii, rerum quas tractant curam solam habuerunt: quas cum nolissent, quantum in illa barbarie & codicum depravatione nosse poterant, explicare nisi inconditè & barbarè nequiverunt, quod non

"tam eis quam sæculo illi tribuendum, quo linguæ & bonæ literæ profusus jacebant. — The Ancients (the Commentators on Law) among whom Accursius and Bartolus claim the Precedence, regardless of the Language, employ'd their whole Concern upon the Matter of their Compositions; which as they understood no farther, than That Age of Barbarity, and corrupt Copies of Books, permitted them; it was impossible they should explain otherwise, than in a rude and barbarous Manner; but this is not so much to be ascribed to them, as to the Age, in which Languages and Learning were at a very low Ebb." Note, that Barthius gives Accursius the Christian Name of Francis, and he is not the only (12) Person that does it: I follow'd these Authors in the first Edition, but I reject their Authority in this.

[E] A very learned Daughter.] Pancirollus (13) mentions her only by hear-say. "Filiam quoque habuisse dicitur, quæ jus civile Bononiæ publice docuit. — He is reported likewise to have had a Daughter, who taught the Civil Law publicly at Bononia." When a Fact of this Nature is doubtful, it is very likely to be false; for such Things are too remarkable to remain in uncertainty, if true. So that I do not give much Credit to what I have just now read in the *Theatrum of Paul Freherus* (14), that Accursius had Daughters, who for their excellent Erudition, were employ'd to read publick Lectures at Bologna. I hope Freherus will not take it ill that I should distrust *John Frauenlobius*; of whom he cites a German Book.

[F] He died in the Year 1229, at 78 Years of Age.] You see nothing like it in the *Theatrum* (15) of Paul Freherus, which was compil'd with so much Labour, and during such a long Time. But you will find, on the contrary, that Accursius flourish'd in the Year 1236, that he died in the Year 1279, and that he wrote a Comment on the *Authenticæ*, in the Year 1236. He is himself cited for this last Particular, by (16) *John Fichardus*, in his Lives of the Civilians.

But that Citation is false, as appears from the following Observation communicated to me from good Hands (17). "Volaterranus says (18), That Accursius began to study the Law at 40 Years, and that he died in the Year 1279, in the seventy eighth Year of his Age; from whence it should follow; that he was born in the Year 1201. In the mean time Accursius himself informs us, in the *Authenticæ*, *Ut præp. nom. Imper.* at the Word *inditiones*, that he actually writ in the Year 1220. and on the last Law but one in the Code *De Accusationibus*, that he writ in the Year 1227. which he could not have done, if the Calculation of Volaterranus were true: Otherwise Accursius must have profess'd the Law a long time before he studi'd it. These Epochs of 1220, and 1227, exclude that of 1236, which is faulty, and cannot be admitted by those, who place Accursius's Death in 1229."

[G] There was no need of Theology.] Conringius (19) censur'd him for it, as he ought to do; these are his Words: "Ridiculus est Accursii gloriatio in gl. ad l. 10. sect. 2. ff. de j. & j. nihil opus esse Theologie studio ad cognoscenda divina, ut quæ ex legum Romanarum libris affatim quaerit peti. — Accursius's Boast (in gl. ad l. 10. sect. 2. ff. de j. & j.) that the Study of Theology was of no use towards the Knowledge of Divine Things, they being abundantly contained in the Books of the Roman Laws, is very ridiculous.

[H] Mr

(5) Raphaël Fulginius, Id. ib. ubi supra.

(6) Ludov. Vives, de cautis corrupti artium, lib. 7. p. 52. & lib. 7. p. 206. See also Brancianus inter Epistol. Eobani Heili.

(7) See Paquier's Recherch. de la France, l. 9. c. 39. p. 901. ubi gives the first Place to Budæus, and the second to Alciatus.

(8) Alb. Gentilis de Juris Interpretibus, fol. 29.

(9) See Siches in præf. ad Cod. Theod. & Alciatum, cap. 10. l. 2. Disputat.

(10) Barthius in Animadv. in Claudian Rustin. lib. 2. v. 85. pag. 1200. & 1201.

(11) Rolandus Marcius Epist. 40. lib. 1. p. 176, 177. Edit. Lips. 1687.

(12) Arth. Duck, ad Pope Blount do it also. See Pope Blount, ubi supra.

(13) Pancirollus ubi supra, p. 149.

(14) Paul. Freher. Theatr. Erudit. pag. 784.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Apud Freher. ib.

(17) Mr de la Monnaie.

(18) Volat. lib. 21. pag. 781.

(19) Conringius de Civili Prudent. c. 3. in Pope Blount, ubi supra.

(*) Albericus Gentilis in his *Disputatio de Juris Interpretibus*, fol. 6c.

frustrated us in them. Mr *Moreri* is very much out in quoting [H] the *Sieur Catel*. *Francis Hotomanus* had no reason to say that *Odofred* taught *Azo* and *Accursius*, for *Odofred* and *Accursius* were both Scholars of *Azo*, and afterwards Professors at the same time at *Bologna*. *Albericus Gentilis* remark'd this Mistake of *Francis Hotomanus* (e).

(*) Catel's *Memories of the History of Languedoc*, p. 295.

[H] Mr *Moreri* is very much out in quoting.] Let us compare these two Authors Texts with each other, which will be sufficient to demonstrate the Mistake. *Catel* having said that *Montpellier* was one of the principal Cities of France (20), in which the Roman Law was read publicly, adds, "For we find that the great and ancient Civilian *Placentinus*, who lived before the Commentator *Accursius*, read the Law publicly in the City of *Montpellier*, of which he makes frequent mention in his *Summa*, which he composed (he tells us in the *Institutes*) during his abode at *Montpellier*, as those have observed who wrote his Life. He died at *Montpellier* the twelfth of February 1192, and lies buried in 'St Bartholomew's Church-yard.'" Now hear *Moreri*. The *Sieur Catel* maintains that *Accursius* died

at *Montpellier* in 1192. That which he adds stands in great need of Correction; "Others, says he, as *Fiscardus* and *Tribemius*, place him in the following Century; nay, the last says, that he professed at *Bologna* in 1240. But they may be mistaken, in confounding that Great Man with his Son *Francis Accursius*, who was a Man of Merit and Learning; and who was Professor of Law at *Bologna*, and Counsellor to *Richard* King of England." The Father ought to have been placed in the XIIIth Century, and then they would not have been in danger of confounding him with the Son: So that Mr *Moreri*'s Doubt is very ill grounded: There was no King of England at that time, whose Name was *Richard*.

(*) Panciroli de clar. Leg. Interpret. lib. 2. c. 19.

(*) Id. ibid.

ACCURSIUS (CERVOT) Son of the Foregoing, was more in haste to take his Degree than his Father: For he desired to be Doctor of Law before the Age of Seventeen Years, and obtain'd his Request, after it had been a long time discuss'd, whether the Laws (a) permitted it. He apply'd himself to composing Comments, and added them to those of his Father; but they were not much esteem'd. *Deterior Interpretes ineptas glossas, & longe à vero distantes, paternis addidit; quæ Cervotianæ vocatae ut plurimum rejiciuntur*, (b)—Being a worse Interpreter, he added his own Glosses to those of his Father: they were call'd from him Cervotian, and are generally rejected.

(*) Ex Panciroli. Ibid. p. 147.

ACCURSIUS (FRANCIS) elder Brother of the Former, was so esteem'd by the *Bolognese*, that when they heard, that he intended to follow the King of England into France, to teach the Law, they forbid him to absent himself, and threatened to confiscate all his Estate, if he went out of their City. He thought he had outwitted them, by selling all his Estate to a Friend; but his Cunning prov'd ineffectual, for they confiscated it nevertheless. This oblig'd him to return; and he obtain'd the Restitution of his Estate. He had taught at *Toulouse*, and found himself one Day very much puzzl'd on the Subject of Interests. *James of Ravenna*, one of the most learned Civilians of his Time, crept in among his Auditors incognito, pretending to be one of the Scholars, and urged such Objections to him, as were not easily answered. Some have said that *Accursius*, at his return to *Bologna*, was Professor of Law there with *Bartolus*, and that having had a Dispute with him on the reading of a certain Law, they sent to consult the ancient Manuscript of the *Pandects* at *Pisa* about it. But what probability is there, that he lived 'till the Time of *Bartolus*'s being Professor [A] (a)?

(*) Panciroli de clar. Leg. Interpret. cap. 67.

(*) Id. ib. cap. 23.

(*) Id. ibid. cap. 42.

[A] 'Till the Time of *Bartolus*'s being Professor.] *Bartolus* was born in the Year 1133, and was admitted Doctor of Law at the Age of twenty one Years; that is, in the Year 1154 (1). So that *Accursius*, the Son, must have lived at least 120 Years, if he had seen *Bartolus* in his Profession; for he had been (2) emancipated by his Father. Let us suppose, that he was but fifteen Years of Age, when he was emancipated, and that the Year of his Emancipation was the last of his Father, yet we shall find that in 1134, he must have been 120 Years old. *Panciroli*'s Conjecture is probable enough; (3) which is, that *Accursius*, who was *Bartolus*'s Colleague, was the Son of one *Accursius*, who taught the Law at *Reggio*, his native Country, about the Year 1273, and that he taught likewise at *Padua*. *William Duranti* makes frequent mention of him.

Let me add here another Observation of Mr *De la Monnoie*. "*Antonius Augustinus* speaks in several Places (4) of his Emendations on that Dispute of *Bartolus* in relation to the reading of a certain Word in the last Paragraph of the Law *Si creditor* at D. de *Disposit. pign.* and is inclined to believe, that *Bartolus* had that Dispute rather with *Baldus*, than with *Francis* the Son of *Accursius*. *Alexander of Imola*, cited by the same *Antonius Augustinus*, believed also, that the Contest happened between *Baldus* and *Bartolus*. But *Bartolus* himself having positively declared in Writing, that it was with *Francis* the Son of *Accursius*, the Expedient, which *Panciroli* had found out, seems rather to be admitted: and I own myself of the same Opinion.

(*) Particularly in the 17th chapter of the 4th Book.

ACCURSIUS (MARIANGELUS) was one of the Critics, who lived in the XVth Century: He was of *Aquila* [A], in the Kingdom of *Naples*. His ruling Passion

[A] He was of *Aquila*.] Besides the Testimony of *Toppi*, approved by the Silence of *Leonard Nicodemus*; the following Verses confirm this,

Ut volucrum Regina supervolat æthera, & alti
Immotum lumen solis in orbe tenet;
Sic illa genitus Mariangelus Urbe —
Alite quæ à Jovia nobile nomen habet,
Felicis ingenio solers speculatur. —

As, soaring high in Air, with steady gaze,
The Queen of Birds the Sun's bright Orb surveys,
So Mariangelus,

Sprung from That Town, which bears the Eagle's Name,
On Learning's Wings soars to Immortal Fame.

They are to be met with in a Piece of *Francis Arfilius* (1), printed at the end of a Collection of Verses, entitled

(1) Leonard Nicodemus mistakes in calling him *Aquilus*. Addis. alla Bibl. Napol. p. 172.

Passion was to search for and collate old Manuscripts, in order to correct the Passages of the Ancients. The *Diatriba*, which he printed at Rome, in Folio, in the Year 1524, on *Aufonius*, *Solinus*, and *Ovid*, shew his Capacity in that kind of Learning. He had taken a great deal of Pains about *Claudian* [B], but That Work was not publish'd, though the Author assures us he had corrected above seven hundred Passages of it from the Ancient Manuscripts. *Barthius* (a) has express'd his Concern, that a Work of this nature was not printed, nor the others (b) reprinted. He does not think *Accursius* contemptible on the score of Wit, and finds him often to be very judicious. This Critic compos'd *Latin* and *Italian* Verses [C]; he understood likewise both *Music* and *Optics*, and he travell'd to the *North* [D]. They who inform us of this, might add, That he understood the *French*, *Spanish*, and *German* Languages (c) perfectly: That he collected a great number of *Antiques*, which were reposit'd in the *Capitol*, and that he spent 33 Years in the Court of *Charles V.* to whom he was very agreeable, and from whom he receiv'd many Favours. It must not be forgot that his Edition of *Marcellinus* (d) is larger [E] by five Books than the preceding. That Edition is of *Ausburg*, 1533. He pretends to have corrected five thousand Faults in that Historian (e). In the same Year, and in the same City, he publish'd the Letters of *Cassiodorus* in Twelve Books, with the *Treatise of the Soul* added to it; and we are (f) oblig'd to him for the First Edition of That Author. As there were some *Latin* Writers in his time, who affect'd to make use of the most antiquated Terms, he ridicul'd them very pleasantly in a Dialogue [F], which he published

(a) Barthius upon Statius, Tom. 2. p. 399. Tom. 3. p. 1602. upon Claudian, p. 826. See also the 18th Clasp. of the 20th Book of his Adversaria.

(b) It was done with regard to Aufonius, in the Edition of Arn. 1671. b. 1 not according to the Extent of the Title, which permits Notae integras Accursii; etc. emere Notes of Accursius.

(c) He was a German, whose Name was Coritus, according to Mr. de la Moignon.

(3) Lib. 4. Amorur, apud Leon. Nicodemum ubi supra.

(4) Ipse Salustii civis, Amiternum nempe, Barth. in Stat. Tom. 2. p. 399.

(5) Mariang. Accursi in Teftitudine.

(6) Accursius's Diatribe in Aufonius. These Words are reprinted in the Edition of Aufonius of 1671.

(c) Nicolo Toppi Biblioth. Napolet. p. 226.

(d) Henry Valefius's Preface to Ammian. Marcell.

(e) Teppi, ubi supra.

(f) Leonard Nicodemus's Addition to the Biblioth. Napolet. p. 170.

entitled *Coryciana*, which was published at Rome in the Year 1524. There is in that Collection, a Protreption of our *Accursius* ad *Coritium* (2), which contains eighty seven Verses. The Title of *Arifullus's* Piece is, *De Poëtiis urbanis ad Paulum Jovium*. *Picrius Valerianus*, cotemporary with *Accursius*, firnames him *Aquilanus*, not only in his Commentary on the 12th Book of the *Æneid*, but also in some *Latin* Verses, which he addresses to him (3). We may be certain therefore, that *Barthius* was mistaken in the native Country of *Accursius*. He supposed him to be born at *Amiternum* (4). *Konig*, not being aware of this Mistake, adopts it all along. What led *Barthius* into the Mistake, was the following Sentence of *Accursius*: "Nec placuit reticere, ne quis (quod *Salustius* civis ait meus) modestiam in conscientiam duceret (5). — I thought proper not to conceal it, lest (as my Fellow-Countryman *Salust* says) any one should construe my Modesty into "Diffimulation." The Reason why *Accursius* called *Salust* his Countryman, *Salust*, I say, who was born at *Amiternum*, is, because the City of *Aquila* rose upon the Ruins of *Amiternum*, and was in some manner substituted in its Place. It is but five Miles from the Ruins of *Amiternum*. Consult Mr *Bau-*

"unworthy of a Philosopher to play on the Violin, and understand Music; and how furiously they attack'd me for joining Optics to the study of Letters, and the Poetry of our own Language to that of the Latin." He says likewise, that he was writing the History of the House of *Brandenburg* from the Memoirs with which he was supply'd.

[D] And he travell'd to the North.] We have already heard his own Account of the great Number of Passages, which he corrected on his Saddle, as he cross'd Germany and Poland. That, which follows, will inform us, that he remarked the most trifling Things, even the Songs with which Children were lulled to sleep; but he drew no very good Consequence from them; as we shall see: "Nuper non in Pannonia solum, atque adeo apud septentrionales plerique populos, verum etiam ultra Sauromatas, non sine admiratione audivimus ad suadendum nutricio more infantibus somnum dici Li lu, Li lu, tum & La lu, La lu, & La la, La la; Quod nostrates fere Nan na, Nan na, & Ni na, Ni na, etiam mora quadam vocem suspenderes, passim dicere confueverunt. Movit porro nos majori quadam admiratione quod infantes ipsi & horriduli & sordiduli vix dum fari incipientes mammam atque tatum Latine balbutiunt, ipsis quoque matribus non intellecti. Ut videri possint & hæc quoque voces naturales magis quam arbitrarie (7). — Lastly, says he, not only in Pannonia, and among most of the Northern People, but even beyond the Sauromatæ, I have been surpris'd to hear Children lulled asleep by their Nurses, with a Li lu, Li lu, and La lu, La lu, and La la, La la; which those of our own Country every where call Nan na, Nan na, and Nin na, Nin na, with a short Pause of the Voice. But what surpris'd me more was, that the little dirty Brats, scarce beginning to speak, hiss'd out, in Latin, Manima and Tata, which is not understood even by the Mothers themselves: whence it should follow, that these Words are Innate, and not Arbitrary." He was in the wrong to think, that the Mothers did not understand what their little Children would say, for it was they who taught them these Words.

(7) Id. ib.

[E] He had taken a great deal of Pains about *Claudian*.] Since the Fatigue of his Travels in Germany and Poland did not hinder him from correcting near seven hundred Faults in That Poet, we may imagine, that he apply'd himself, with great Diligence, to the same Task, at his more leisure Times. "TALIS, says he (6), non ALES, legitur in codicibus CLAUDIANI etiam novissime recognitis. Qui tantum abest ut non etiam nunc veribus sint claudi ac deforme, ut eos ex vetustis exemplaribus, dum Germaniam Sarmatiamque nuper peragravimus, septingentis fere mendis inter equitandum elucimus. — We read it TALIS, not ALES, in all the Editions (of *CLAUDIAN*) even the latest revis'd; as an Author, so mutilated and deform'd, even at present, in his Versification, that, in my Passage thro' Germany and Sarmatia, I corrected near seven hundred Faults out of the ancient Manuscripts, as I travell'd on Horse-back."

[C] Latin and Italian Verses.] Hear what *Accursius* himself says of this Matter, in a Fable entitled *Tessudo*, which he added to his *Diatriba*. He relates in it the Persecutions he suffer'd at Rome from his Detractors, who imputed the most innocent Things to him as a Crime. Addressing himself to two young Princes of the House of *Brandenburg*, to whom he dedicated his Book, he says, "Novissis ipsi principes, quam mihi vestitum prope militarem probro verterint; tum sibus scire, muscen callere, philosopho indignum prædicant, quantumque infastrint, quod & Opticen cum literarum studiis, vernaculofque cum Latinis numeris, conjunxerim. — Your Highnesses know, how they even reproach'd me with the Military Garb I wear; then they cry'd, it was

[E] His Edition of *Marcellinus* is larger.] Toppi had no good Memoirs relating to this Fact: He has omitted what he ought to have said, and advanced what he ought not to say. He has not said that *Accursius* added five new Books to those which were already printed, and mentions only the sixth. But it is not true that the sixth was found; the thirteen first Books of that Historian are yet wanting. *Leonardo Nicodemo* censur'd *Nicolas Toppi*, as he deserv'd, for it (8).

[F] In a Dialogue which he published in the Year 1531.] Because all those who will have my Book may not have that of *Leonardo Nicodemo*, let us copy the Title of that Dialogue at large: "Osco, Volscio, Romanoque, Eloquentia, interlocutoribus, Dialogus ludis Romanis actus. In quo ostenditur verbis publica

(8) Leon. Nicodem. ubi supra.

A C H Æ U S, Cousin German of *Seleucus Ceraunus*, and of *Antiochus the Great* [A], Kings of *Syria*, became a Powerful Monarch, and held the Dominions, he had seiz'd, a considerable time; but at last his Usurpation was punish'd in a terrible manner. At first he serv'd his Master with wonderful Fidelity; for having accompanied *Seleucus Ceraunus* in his Expedition against *Attalus* (a), he caus'd the two Captains, who had kill'd *Seleucus*, to be put to death, and regain'd all the Provinces, which *Attalus* had conquer'd, and refus'd the Title of King, which the Suffrages of his Troops, and Favourable Circumstances, put into his Hands. He resisted those Temptations generously, and would only conquer for the Lawful Successor of the Monarch, whose Death he had revenged; that is, for *Antiochus*, the younger Brother of *Seleucus*. But his Good Fortune blinded him; for, as soon as his Victories had made him Master of all *Attalus's* Dominions, except only the City of *Pergamus*, he assum'd the Title of King. He maintained this Usurpation with much Prudence and Courage, and no Prince on this side the *Taurus* made himself so much feared, as He (b). The Great and Noble Provinces, which he possess'd on this side of That Mountain, did not satisfy his Ambition; He projected likewise the Conquest of *Syria*, when he heard that *Antiochus* was gone to make War upon *Artabazanes* (c). He was in hopes either that *Antiochus* would perish in That Expedition, or that it would continue so long, that He should have time to take *Syria*, before the return of that Monarch. He relied also much on the Rebellion of some Provinces which had but just revolted. He departed, then, from *Lydia* with a great Army, and in his March he writ to the Subjects of *Antiochus*; but when he drew near *Lycaonia*, he perceived that his Soldiers refus'd to bear Arms against their Ancient King. This made him declare to them, that he would desist from his Enterprize. He returned back, and, having plundered *Pisidia*, he distributed such a considerable Booty among them, that he entirely regained their Affection (d); we may infer from hence by the way, that those, who say, that he declared himself King of *Syria*, speak without exactness. *Antiochus*, having gloriously finish'd the War against *Artabazanes*, sent Ambassadors to *Achæus* to complain of his taking the Title of King, and openly favouring the *Egyptians* (e). This Reproach was not altogether ineffectual; for we find, that *Antiochus* (f) made a Truce with their Prince, because he knew that *Achæus*, his Ally in appearance, was really in their Interest. This shews, that the Usurper had some regard to the Complaints of *Antiochus*, and that he made a shew of joining with him against *Ptolemy King of Egypt*. This latter endeavoured in vain to include him in the Treaty of Peace; for *Antiochus* always reject'd the Proposal, and could not bear, that the King of *Egypt* should plead in favour of Rebels (g). As soon as he was at Liberty, he apply'd himself diligently to recover the Dominions, which *Achæus* had usurp'd: He gain'd his point, and oblig'd the Usurper to take Shelter in *Sardes*, where He block'd him up, and after a long Siege made himself Master of the City (h). *Achæus* fell into his Hands by Treachery: Being prevailed upon to fall out of the Citadel of *Sardes*, He was delivered up to *Antiochus*, who caus'd him to be cruelly and ignominiously put to death. He cut off the Extremities of his Members, and afterwards his Head, which was sew'd in an Ass's Skin, and ordered the remainder of his Body to be hung on a Cross (i). This happened in the Year of *Rome* 540. It was a fit Example to be made, and doubly useful [B]. I shall not remark *Mr Moreri's* Faults; they may be easily known by only comparing his Narrative with mine; but I shall distinctly point out the Mistakes of *Francis Patricius* [C].

(a) It was towards the end of the 130th Olympiad, and in the Year of Rome 533. Calvisius Chronol. p. 276.

(b) Taken out of Polybius, lib. 4. cap. 13. p. 322.

(c) A Prince, whose Dominions were situated near the Caspian Sea. See Polybius, lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 418.

(d) Polyb. lib. 5. cap. 13. pag. 409.

(e) Id. ib. p. 409.

(f) Id. ib. cap. 15. pag. 416.

(g) Id. ib. pag. 418.

(h) Id. ib. 7. cap. 3.

(i) Id. ib. 8. cap. 5. & 6.

(j) Id. ib. 8. cap. 6. p. 532.

(k) Id. ib. 8. pag. 518. Edit. Caub.

* Homo sum, Humanum nihil me alienum put. Ter. Adelphi.

(l) Francis Patricius, lib. 4. de Regis Institutione, tit. 9. pag. 242.

(x) Polyb. lib. 4. cap. 23. pag. 324. & lib. 8. cap. 6. pag. 531.

(2) Id. lib. 4. cap. 3.

(3) Id. lib. 8. cap. 6. p. 531.

(4) Id. lib. 15. cap. 17. pag. 525.

[A] Cousin German of *Seleucus Ceraunus*, and of *Antiochus the Great*.] He was the Son of *Andromachus*, who was the Brother of *Laodice*, Wife of *Seleucus Callinicus* (1), and Mother of those two Princes. Let us observe, that he was a good Son, for knowing that *Andromachus* was imprison'd in *Alexandria*, he forgot nothing to release him out of that Captivity. The *Rhodians*, knowing his Disposition, sent Ambassadors to King *Ptolemy*, to demand *Andromachus* of him. Their Design was to make a Present of him to *Achæus*, to engage him to break the Promise he had made with the *Byzantines* to assist them. There was at that time a strong War between the *Rhodians* and the *Byzantines*. The King of *Egypt* made some Difficulty to give up *Andromachus*; he knew that such a Prisoner might be useful to him in Time and Place, for he was yet embroil'd with the King of *Syria*, and he was not ignorant of the great Power of *Achæus*. But at last, to oblige the *Rhodians*, he was willing to deliver up his Prisoner to them, that, if they judg'd it fit, they might send him to his Son, which they did. And by this, and some other means, they procured *Achæus's* Friendship, and took from the *Byzantine* the chief Foundation of his Hopes (2). Note that *Achæus* was married (3) to *Laodice*, the Daughter of King *Mitridates*, who had been very well educated by *Logobolus* (4), an Inhabitant of *Selge*, a City of *Pisidia*. This Lady maintained the Siege of *Sardes*, with her Husband, and

was constrained to surrender herself, after he was put to Death (5).

[B] It was a fit Example to be made, and doubly useful.] For it was a Lesson to Men, not to be too credulous, nor to abuse the Favours of Fortune. We will transcribe the Words of *Polybius*, the Author of this Piece of Morality. (6) Κατὰ δύο πρότερος ἐν ἀνιστοῦσι ἀνδράσι γινώσκουσιν τοῖς ἀποβάνουσιν, καὶ ἕνα μὲν πρὸς τὸ μὴδὲν περὶ τὴν τύχην, καὶ ἕτερον δὲ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐν ταῖς ὑπερλίαις. αὗτοι δὲ προειδοῦν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας. — An Example of double Use to Posterity; teaching us, first, not to give Credit hastily to any one; and, secondly, that we should not be too much elevated with good Fortune, but expect every thing, as we are Men*.

[C] I shall distinctly point out the Mistakes of *Francis Patricius*.] He pretends, that the Subjects of *Achæus*, overburthen'd with Taxes, revolted, and murdered him, with all his Family, and cast his Body into the *Pactolus*, in order to make him drink Golden Waters (7). "Acæus, *Lydiæ* *Mæonizque* Rex, gentilitio avaritiæ crimine ardebat: is squidem crebra ac gravia populis tributa semper imperabat, in quibus exigendis sævus, improbus atque inexorabilis erat: verum cum tantam injuriam diutius populi ferre nequirit, nocturna tessera inter se data, subito hominum concursu illum cum omni familia trucidaverunt, & regia incensa ejus cadaver unco tractum in *Pactolum* flumen demerserunt, ut

"ut auriferas aquas semper potaret. — Achæus, King of Lydia and Mæonia, was very avaritious, a Vice peculiar to his Family: he imposed frequent and heavy Tributes upon his People; in collecting of which he was cruel, unreasonable, and inexorable: but his Subjects, unable to bear such injurious Usage any longer, conspired together by Night, and the Multitude, surrounding him on a sudden, massacred him and his whole Family, and, setting fire to the Palace, dragged his dead Body, and threw it into the River Pactolus, that it might drink Golden Waters for ever." Observe first that he is mistaken in pretending that our Achæus was a Lydian issued from the ancient Kings of the Country, and Heir of their Avarice. He had in his Thoughts the Riches of Cræsus, and the Request of Midas (8). He had better have remembered that Achæus was a Syrian. But this Fault is small in comparison of the rest; for all the Circumstances of this Narrative are false. Mr de Boissieu is persuaded that the bad Interpreters of these Words of Ovid,

(8) See Ovid's Metamorph. lib. 11. v. 103.

*Morte vel intereas capti suspensus Achæi,
Qui miser, aurifera teste, pendens, aqua (9).*

(9) Cvidius in Ibin, v. 301.

Or base Achæus's Sentence mayst thou share,
Suspended on a Gibbet, high in Air,
Whom rich Pactolus from his Banks beheld
Aloft exalted o're the Lydian Field.

ACHÆMENES was the Father of Cambyſes, and Grandfather of Cyrus, first King of Persia, if we may believe Herodotus (a). There are other Passages, wherein That Author seems to speak of an Achæmenes much antecedent to the other; for he says that the Persian Nation (b) was divided into different Families, whereof the most Illustrious were composed of the Pasargada, under which were comprehended the Achæmenide, from whom the Kings of Persia descended. In another Place (c) he introduces Cambyſes, the Son of Cyrus, exhorting the Chief Lords of Persia, on his Death-bed, and above all the Achæmenide, not to suffer the Medes to recover the Kingdom. This seems to give us the Idea of an Achæmenes, the Stock of those Achæmenide, much antecedent than the Grand-father of Cyrus. Stephen of Byzantium makes mention of one ACHÆMENES, the Son of Ægeus, who, he pretends, gave his Name to a Province of Persia, call'd Achæmenia. Others say (d) that this Achæmenes was the Son of Perſeus; others infer it from the Kings of Persia being descended from Perſeus [A]. Almost all the Commentators of Horace are unanimous in asserting, that the Achæmenes, whom he mentions in the 12th Ode of the 2d Book, as a very wealthy Person, was a King of Persia [B]; but if so, he must have reigned before the Medes had subdued the Persians; for from the Foundation of that great Monarchy by the Medes, which was the second distinguished by the Name of Universal, we do not meet with any King of this Name amongst them. Cyrus passes constantly for their first King; and They, who pretend there were Two before him (e), distinguish them very plainly both from his Father Cambyſes, and from his Grand-Father Achæmenes. However it be, the Epithet of Achæmenians is often given the Persians in the ancient Latin Poets; and even at this time Persia is call'd Azemia (f), and the Persians Agemis (g).

[A] The Kings of Persia being descended from Perſeus. Mr Chevreau (1) gives it as Herodotus's Opinion, "that the Persiæ, that is, those of the House of Perſus, or Perſeus, were descended from the Achæmenide, Allies of the Pasargada." He assures us in the same Page, "that, according to the Testimony of Herodotus, the Kings of Persia came from Perſeus or Perſus, and that the Persiæ were descended from the Achæmenide, that is, from the first who had the Name of Achæmenes in that Family." This is a very confused Account. Herodotus does not say in general, that the Persiæ descended from the Achæmenide; he says (2) it only of the Kings of Persia, that is, of (3) Cyrus, and of those who reign'd after him. He distinguishes the Persians into different Classes, one of which he particularly distinguishes by the Name of Persians; another he calls Pasargada, under which he places the Achæmenide. He says in another Place (4) indeed, that the Persians acquire'd that Name, from the time that Perſeus, the Son of Jupiter and of Danaë, left them his Son Perſeus, whom he had by Andromeda; but he does not say, as Mr Chevreau supposes, that the Kings of Persia were descended from Perſeus. Mr Chevreau's Argument proves thus far, That Cyrus was not inferior in Birth to the Kings Media, or to the Kings of Persia, seeing these descended from Achæmenes, as well

as Cyrus; he proves that they descended from him, because the Persiæ did. Besides the Mistake I have already remark'd, he supposes farther, That the first, who bore the Name of Achæmenes, was antecedent than Perſeus the Son of Jupiter. Mr Dacier perfectly retain'd what he repeated from his Memory only of this Passage of Mr Chevreau (5). [B] Was a King of Persia. Mr Moreri says in plain Terms, That Achæmenes was the first King of the Persians; and that all the Princes, who governed that Monarchy to Darius, were descended from him. But first of all I would ask him, Why, in speaking of Cyrus, he attributes the first Foundation of the Persian Monarchy to him, and why in giving us a List of the Kings of Persia, he does not place Achæmenes before Cyrus, but the latter before all the rest? Besides, I would fain be inform'd, of what Darius he speaks; for there were two or three Kings of that Name in Persia. Does he mean him, who was conquered by Alexander the Great? In That Case he would be too decisive; the Ancients do not agree that That Darius was of the Royal Family. If he means Darius, the Son of Hyſtaſpes, he expresses himself improperly; the Phrase all the Princes is not proper, when we would speak but of two Persons out of more than twelve. I cannot tell why Mr Dacier (6) limits the Epithet of Achæmenide to the

(10) Dionys. Salvaſt. Notæ in Libellum Ovidii in Ibin, p. 63.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) Paterculus, ib. p. 243.

(a) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 11.

(b) Id. lib. 3. cap. 125.

(c) Id. lib. 3. cap. 65.

(d) Nicolaus, lib. 2. Histor. apud Magni Eymol. Autorem.

(e) Marſham, Chron. Can. p. 605. Edit. Lipſ.

(f) Bizarus Hist. Pers. lib. 1. p. 5.

(g) Teixeira in Itiner. Indiar. cap. 6. apud Pinedo in Steph. pag. 143.

(1) Chevreau's Hist. of the World, Book 1. ch. 5. p. 95. 96. Edit. of Holl. 1687.

(2) Herod. lib. 1. cap. 125.

(3) Plato in 1. Alcib. pag. 440.

(4) Herod. lib. 7. cap. 61.

(5) Dacier on Horace, Tom. 2. p. 243.

(6) Dacier, ib.

ACHÆMENES. ACHERI. ACHILLES. 73

the time of *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*; when he says, That the Descendants of *Achæmenes*, King of *Persia*, bore his Name unto That *Darius*. I do not question but they bore it after him. For, besides that his (7) Son *Xerxes* carries up his Lineage in a direct Line to *Achæmenes*; we meet with one *Tigranes*, General of the *Medes* (8), distinguished by the Appellation *Achæmenides*; and we find an *Achæmenes*, mention'd above, who was the Brother of *Xerxes*. I say nothing of *Sapor*, called *Achæmenes* in *Ammianus Mar-*

cellinus (9); it is a corrupted Passage. Mr *Chevreaux*, wondering, without doubt, to see five Generations between This *Xerxes* and *Cyrus*, believ'd that This Prince counted his paternal Ancestors on the one Side; and his maternal on the other; inasmuch that he pretended to descend from *Achæmenes* only by the Mother's Side; but this is not to be found in *Herodotus*; unless we alter the *Greek Text*, according to a very probable Conjecture of Mr *de Saumaise* (10).

(9) See *Valesius upon Amm. lib. 19. cap. 2.*

(10) *Sal. maf. Exerc. Plinian. p. 113.*

(7) *Herod. lib. 7. cap. 11.*

(8) *Ib. cap. 62.*

ACHÆMENES, the Son of *Darius I.* of that Name (a), King of *Persia*, and Brother of *Xerxes* (b) by Father and Mother, had the Command of *Egypt* (c) after *Xerxes* had again reduc'd it under the Yoak of Obedience, which it had the Boldness to shake off. Some time after he commanded the *Egyptian Fleet* (d), in the famous and fatal Expedition against *Greece*. We do not find what other Employments he had during the Life of the King his Brother; but we find that, *Egypt* being again revolted, after the Death of that Monarch, *Achæmenes* was sent thither to reduce it. This Undertaking was unfortunate; for he was beaten by *Inarus*, Head of the Rebels, assisted by the *Athenians*.

(a) *Herodot. lib. 7. cap. 97.*

(b) *Ib. c. 7.*

(c) *Ib. c. 97.*

(d) *Ib. lib. 3. cap. 12. Died. Sicul. lib. 11.*

ACHERI (*LUKE* de) a Benedictine of the Congregation of *St Maur*, was Born at *St Quentin* in *Picardy*, in the Year 1609. He made himself Famous by the Publication of several Books, which lay hid a long time in Manuscript in the Libraries. He began, in 1645, with the Edition of the *Epistle* attributed to *St Barnabas*. Father *Hugh Menard*, Monk of the same Congregation, had a Design to publish This *Epistle*, and had already illustrated it with several Notes; but, Death preventing him from executing his Resolution, Father *Luke d'Acheri* undertook it. So that, by his Care, the *Epistle* of *St Barnabas* was printed in *Greek* and in *Latin*, with Father *Menard's* Notes in the year 1645. At Three Years end Dom. *Luke* publish'd the *Life*, and *Works*, of *Lanfranc*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Chronicle of the Abbey of *Bec*. In 1651, he publish'd the *Life* and *Works* of *Guibert*, Abbot of *Nogent*, with some other Treatises. Having afterwards collected several rare and curious Pieces, and hoping to get a great many more such, he formed the Design of publishing a most ample Compilation of them that he could, under the modest Title of *Specilegium*. He publish'd his first Volume in the Year 1655. That Volume was followed by Twelve others; the last whereof was printed in the year 1677 (a). That Collection, in thirteen Volumes in *Quarto*, is very much esteemed by those, who endeavour to clear up Ecclesiastical Matters in every particular: But we meet with no Pieces in it, but such as have been composed since the Decay of the *Roman Empire* in the West. The same Author publish'd the Rule of the *Solitarians*, composed by the Priest *Grimlaic*; and some *Ascetic Works* [A]. His Prefaces, and small Notes, shew that he had some Learning. He had a hand in the critical Work, which appeared in the first Volume of the *Acts of the Saints of St Benedict's Order*; and it is to him, and to Father *Mabillon*, that the Title of those Acts attributes the Labour of having Collected and Publish'd them. *Luke d'Acheri* died at *Paris* the 29th of *April* 1685, in the Abbey of *St Germain's*, where he had been Library-Keeper (b).

(a) See in the *Journal de Savans* of Feb. 28. 1678, why *Tissot's* *Specilegium* was not continu'd.

(b) See the *Journal des Savans* of Nov. 26. 1685, and Mr *Bailler*, Tom. 3. of his *Judgement des Auteurs*, p. 318.

[A] And some *Ascetic Works*. He did not put his Name to the Collection, which he published of them, and of which I am going to give the Title, as I find it in the *Bibliotheca Bibliotecarum* of Father *L'Abbé*, "Asceticorum, vulgo spiritualium, opusculorum, quæ inter patrum opera reperiuntur; Indiculus Christianæ pietatis cultoribus ab *Asceta Benedictino Congregationis sancti Mauri digestus, Parisiis*

"in 4to. 1648. — An Index of the *Ascetic*, commonly called *Spiritual Tracts*, which are found among the Works of the Fathers; digested for pious Christians, by a Benedictine *Ascetic* of the Congregation of *St Maur*. Paris, in 4to. 1648." Mr *Tejssier* says, in his Additions to that Work of Father *L'Abbé*, that *Luke d'Acheri* publish'd the *Life* of *St Augustin* at *Paris*, in the same Year.

ACHILLES. There have been several of this Name. The first who bore it, had no other Mother than the Earth, and did *Jupiter* a very good Office; for having received the Goddess *Juno* in his Cave, when she fled from the Amorous Pursuits of that God, he entertained her with such persuasive Discourses, that she consented to consummate the Marriage [A]. We are not informed in what manner she testified her Gratitude to her Host, who had inspired her with such Tractableness; but we know that *Jupiter*, in Acknowledgment of this Service, promised *Achilles*, that thenceforth whoever should bear his Name, should be famous. For which Reason, the Son of *Thetis* became an Hero. The Name of the Preceptor of *Chiron* was **ACHILLES**; and from thence it was that *Chiron* gave the Name of **ACHILLES** to the Son of *Thetis*, his Pupil. This is sufficient to overthrow all those cold and forced Etymologies of the Word **ACHILLES**, which depend on the personal Qualities of the Son of *Thetis* [B]. The Inventor of the *Ostracism* among the

(1) Father Schottus translated them wrong by ad Jovem redire.

[A] That she consented to consummate the Marriage. These Words of *Photius*; *εὐκαταβέτο τῷ Διὶ*, signify so much (1), as appears by what follows; *καὶ τῷ τῷ μαιῶν Ἡραὶ καὶ Διὶ; ταύτης γίνεσθαι φασί.* — And it is

said, that This was the first time that *Jupiter* enjoy'd *Juno*.

[B] Etymologies — which depend on the personal Qualities of the Son of *Thetis*. It is diverting enough

(1) See the
end of the Tab
book of Pro-
lomy the Son
of Hephaes-
tion, Novæ
ad variam
eruditionem
Historicæ a-
pud Photi-
um, n. 196.
page 488,
489.

the *Albanians* was named **ACHILLES**. A Son of *Jupiter* and of *Lamia* bore that Name. He was so handsome a Man, that, by the Sentence of the God *Pan*, he carried the Prize of Beauty, which was disputed with him. *Venus* being displeased with that Judgment, caused *Pan* to fall in Love with *Eccho*, and metamorphosed him in such manner [C], that he became a frightful Object. Another **ACHILLES**, the Son of *Galata*, was born with white Hair. There were fifty four others of the Name of *Achilles*, all very famous; two of which were remarkably brutish (a). I am going to make a separate Article of the most celebrated Person of this Name.

(2) *Græca
mundi.*
Juven. Sat.
10.

to read the Inventions of *Greece* on that Subject. It not only deserves the Epithet of *lying* (2), and (3) *fabulous* upon that Account, but also That of *male feriata*, which the *French* Term *oiseuse* does not fully come up to.

(3) *Mytho-
logia* Eran-
dæ, Græcæ
et Latine de
Fœlis. N. in
Dionys. lib.
1.

Ask the *Greek* Grammarians, why This Hero was called *Achilles*; some will answer you, because he was very troublesome to his Mother, and to his Enemies: Others, because he haras'd the *Trojans* greatly: Others, because, having learned the Secrets of Physic, he quieted Pain: Others, because he had but one Lip: Others, because he was qualified to command: Others, because he had never fuck'd; and others, because he went away from his Preceptor *Chiron*, without ever having eat of the Fruits of the Earth. If we were to shew by what *Analysis* of Grammar they found so many Etymologies in the Name of *Achilles*, we should make this place, as it were, stand an end with *Greek*. For which Reason, I refer the Reader, if he pleases, to the great *Etymologicum*, to *Eustathius* (4), to *Tzetzes* (5), &c. *Mellicurs Lloyd* and *Hofmann*, who, following the Examples of *Fuggerus*, and others, have enrich'd the Article of the Son of *Peleus* with their Etymological Observations, ought at least to have appriz'd us, that much Pains had been taken in vain by those, who will have it, that the Word *Achilles* depends on the personal Qualities of the Hero of the *Iliad*. They might have refuted that Pretension, by shewing that there were *Achilles's* before him, and given us a Reason a thousand times more natural than all the rest, why this Hero was called *Achilles*; I mean That which I have already reported, to wit, that the Preceptor of his Preceptor was called by this Name.

(4) *Eustath.
in lib. 1. I-
liad.*

(5) *Tzetzes
in Lycophon.*

(6) *Photius
Bibliothecæ.
n. 196.*

[C] And metamorphos'd him in such manner. *Photius* (6), who preserv'd some Fragments of the seven Books, which *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Hephaestion*, has filled with the most curious Trifles of fabulous Antiquity, has named what regards *Achilles*, the Son of *Jupiter* and of *Lamia*, in such manner, that a Man must give himself the trouble of guessing that it was with the Goddess *Venus* he contested the Prize of Beauty. This Conjecture is grounded on the Indignation of *Venus* against the Judge, who conferred the Prize on *Achilles*. *Venus*, to punish that Judge, made him in love with *Eccho*, and withal so ugly, that his Figure alone made him the Object of Hatred. Thus *Schottus* understood the Text of *Photius*. But *Mr de Meziriac* (7) divides the Effects of *Venus's* Anger, between *Pan* and *Achilles*; the former became in love, and the latter the ugliest Fellow in

the World. It signifies nothing to consult the Original, to know whether the Translation of *Andrew Schottus* is preferable to that of *Meziriac*: For if, on the one side, it may be said, that the Rules of exact Grammar are in favour of *Schottus*, it may be said, on the other side, that the *Greek* Authors do not subject themselves to such Rules; and that it is no uncommon thing, when several Persons are concern'd in the same Period, for the Pronoun *He, Him*, to relate indifferently, either to the remotest, or to the nearest Person. The *Latin* Authors are not more scrupulous in this Particular. The Grammar of the *French* Tongue is most wonderfully exact in this Matter; for it requires the same proper Name to be repeated two or three times in a few Lines, rather than to leave the Reader's Mind in suspense. If we consult Reason, either for or against *Meziriac*, and Father *Schottus*, we shall hardly know how to determine the Point. A Person, who has lost his Cause, may, perhaps, revenge himself only on his Judge. Thus *Apollo* was satisfied with punishing *Midas* (8), who had blamed the Sentence of Superiority pronounced in favour of *Apollo*, and in prejudice of *Pan*. Upon this Supposition *Meziriac* would lose his Cause: But a Person may revenge himself sometimes, both on his Judge, and his Rival (9); and upon this footing Father *Andrew Schottus* should be mistaken in his Translation; for, according to him, *Venus* being displeased, takes no Revenge on him, who obtains the Victory. It is true also, that, according to the other Interpreter, she does no great harm to the unjust Judge: she is satisfied with making him in love with a Nymph, who, according to the Tradition of the Ancients (10), had a Daughter by him. When all is done, it seems as if *Meziriac* were in the wrong; and if he were not, *Photius* or his *Ptolomy* would be to blame, for not having declared, that the same *Venus*, who had made *Pan* in Love with *Eccho*, made him unfortunate in his Love. That Circumstance ought particularly to have been mentioned; and there would not have been wanting some, whose Opinion would have confirm'd it; for this Nymph's Rigour towards the God *Pan* has been mentioned by some Authors. Of all the Labours of the Pen, That of abridging well, is, perhaps, the most difficult; it requires more than a common Discernment, to judge what are the Circumstances, the Suppression whereof makes an Abridgment obscure or not. *Justin* is not the only Person that wanted This nice Discernment. I have made use of this Thought in some other parts of this Work.

(8) *Ovid.
Metam. lib.
11.*

(9) *Arche-
ne, Marcius,
Thamyris,
the Daughters
of Pierus,
are a Pr. of
that Revenge
is also some-
times taken of
a Conqueror.*

(10) There
was a diffe-
rent tradi-
tion from
this; I shall
take notice of
it in the Ar-
ticle PAN.

(7) *Meziriac's
Commentary
on the
Epistle of
Achilles, p.
253.*

In the former Edition I have prefix'd a kind of Preface to the following Article, which I suppress with Regret. It contained an Elogium of the late *Mr DRELINCOURT*, Professor of Physic at Leyden. It was the general Opinion, that I had offended so strangely against Custom, and had introduced this Piece so improperly, that, in order to put a stop to so general a Censure, I am obliged to blot it out. But I declare it my Intention, that this Testimony of my Gratitude and Esteem be considered as given in this Place, in the same manner as if it were repeated Word for Word.

(a) *Servius
in Æneid.
lib. 2. ver.
197.*

(b) See the
Remark [A]
Numb. V.

(c) *Dionys.
Cret. lib. 2.
Dares Ptole-
maeus He-
phaest. lib. 6.
apud Phot.
ubi supra.
Eustath. in
Odyss. 11.*

ACHILLES, the Son of *Peleus* and *Thetis*, was one of the greatest Heroes of Ancient *Greece*. He was born (a) at *Phthia* in *Thessaly*; and in his Infancy was dipt in the Waters of *Styx* to make him invulnerable: and he would have been so in every part, if his Mother had had the Precaution to hold him by one Heel, after having held him by the other (b), but, as she forgot that, one of her Son's Heels remained capable of being wounded; and it was in that place that Death seized him. Yet we must not imagine, that all Authors agree in this Story; for we meet with some, who mention several Wounds receiv'd by *Achilles*, in different parts of his Body (c). I shall mention another Precaution of *Thetis* in the Remarks; which is, that, to make her Son immortal, she anointed him with *Ambrosia* (d), and put him under live Coals. He was educated under the Care of the Centaur *Chiron*; it was the best School in the World in those Ages. *Chiron* educated him in a very singular manner; since,

(d) See the
Remark [A]
Numb. V.

instead

instead of Milk, or Bread, or such kind of Food, he fed him with Lions Marrow [A], or

[A] Fed him with Lions Marrow, or with that of some other Beasts. Libanius (1) in three Places, and Priscian (2) in one, speak only of Lions Marrow: Gregory Nazianzen (3) adds the Marrow of Stags; the Scholiast of Homer (4) that of Bears: The Author of the great Etymologicum (5) mentions only the Marrow of Stags: Apollodorus (6) speaks of that of wild Boars and Bears, and adds the Entrails of Lions to it: Statius (7) joins the Entrails and Marrow of Lions together; or according to the reading of some old Manuscripts, the Entrails of Lions, and the Marrow of She-Wolves. See Num. II. below. Philostratus (8) adds to Milk and Honey, the Marrow of Fawns of Hinds, and the Marrow of Roe-Bucks. Tertullian (9) speaks only of the Marrow of wild Beasts in general. Eusebius (10) expresses himself in a more indefinite manner, speaking only of the Marrow of Beasts. Suidas (11) says only Marrow.

Words of Priscian (13), as a further Confirmation of the matter of Fact: "Deinde sequitur victus, ut in 'Achille, quod MEDULLIS LEONUM pastus esset. This Evidence is as strong, as That, which Mr de Girac produces to prove, that Achilles was brought up with another kind of Food.

It must not be dissembled, that Barthius deprives us of Statius's Evidence for the Marrow of Lions: For instead of *lubens*, he pretends it must be read *lupæ*, in the Passage, where Achilles speaks thus:

Dior &, in teneris & adhuc crescentibus annis,
Theſſalus ut rigido senior me monte recepti,
Non ullas ex more dapes habuisse, nec alnus
Uberibus faſſiſſe famem, ſed ſpiſſa leonum
Viſcera, ſemianimeſque lupæ (14) traxiſſe medullas.

Nurs'd in a Cave by the Theſſalian Sage,
No common Food ſuſtain'd my tender Age;
Nor Mother's Milk did e'er my Thirſt allay:
But the fierce Lion's Entrails, raw in Blood,
And the Wolf's Marrow, were my ſavage Food.

What Mr de Girac makes Plutarch ſay, diſcovers to us, that he did not conſult the Greek: and as he alledges ſome of the Remarks, which Vigenere made uſe of in his Notes on Philoſtratus, it is very probable he was miſled by theſe Words of That Author (15): Plutarch ſays that Chiron nurs'd Achilles, from his Birth, with things, which had no Blood (16). Meziriac ſhewed, many Years ago, that Amiot had led Vigenere into this Miſtake; and that inſtead of ſaying with Amiot (17), But this Philinus, like a new Chiron, feeds his Son, in like manner as Achilles was brought up, from his Infancy, with Food, from which no Blood was drawn; to wit, with the Fruits of the Earth, it ſhould be ſaid, But this new Chiron nourishes his Son in a manner quite different from That, in which Achilles was brought up (*ἀντιπρόσθετος τῷ ἀναστά*) to wit, with Meat without Blood. Xylander may be involv'd in the ſame Miſtake; for his Latin Tranſlation imports, *Noſtrum autem, quo paſſo Achillem Chiron nutrebat iſte ſtatim à natalibus SANGUINE CARENTIBUS*. There is an *Hiatus* in the Paſſage of Plutarch; but the Word *ἀντιπρόσθετος* muſt ſtill be underſtood to mean CONTRARY, a Senſe commonly given to it by the Lexicons.

What I have urg'd in proof of the Validity of St Gregory's Teſtimony, ſhews that Mr de Girac cited *Ælian*, *Pliny*, and *Ariſtote*, to no purpoſe, to ſhew that Lions have no Marrow; or that if they have any, it is the leaſt imaginable. He might have appeal'd to *Galen* likewiſe, in his 11th Book of *Uſu Partium*, Cap. 18. And this Faſt ſhould ſeem paſt Diſpute, ſince the Moderns ſeldom call the ancient Naturaliſts to account for it, even when they are accuſing them of ſeveral Miſtakes, in relation to Lions. Conſult *Voffius*, in the 52d Chapter of his 3d Book, de *Origine & progreſſu Idololatriæ*: *Franzius & Bochart* in their Treatiſes, de *Animalibus ſacris Scripturæ*: Father *Hardouin*, in his Commentary on the 37th Chapter of the 11th Book of *Pliny* (18), &c. If *Voffius* were to be credited in this Matter, we might pretend that *Athenæus* found fault with *Ariſtote* upon this Subject. But when *Athenæus* (19) himſelf is conſulted, it appears, that he makes no mention of Marrow; and that he only attacks the pretended Hardneſs of Lions Bones, which *Ariſtote* made ſo great, that Sparks of Fire, he ſays, fly from them, upon Colliſion, as from a Flint. This might be denied, without diſputing whether they were deſtitute of Marrow. The Text, then, might be certain; and Mr *Furetiere* ſhould have inferred it among his other Remarks, under the Word LION, if the contrary had not been incontestably prov'd. *Borrichius* (20) mentions two Skeletons of Lions, anatomiz'd at *Copenhagen*, the one ſixteen, the other two Years before; and he affures us, that there was a great Quantity of Marrow, *capiſſimæ medullæ*, found in the Bones of that Animal; and he quotes *Severinus*, who relates, that *Tiberius Cæſar* brought up a Lion, whoſe Bones were found hollow and full of Marrow, like thoſe of other Beasts. But though it were certain, that Lions have no Marrow, Mr de Girac ſhould not have had recourſe

(13) In Progym. Rhetoricæ ex Hermogena.

(1) Progym. p. 70. D. p. 97. C. p. 129. A, &c.

(2) In Præexercit. Rhetor.

(3) Orat. 2. pag. 324. C.

(4) In Iliad. lib. 16.

(5) In 'A-τολλογ.

(6) Lib. 3.

(7) Achill. lib. 2.

(8) In Heroic. pag. 705. B. & in Icon. 2. pag. 781. C.
(9) De Pallio; See below Number VIII. (10) In Iliad. lib. 1. pag. 11.
(11) In *ῥαλλ.*

I. It is ſo common a Tradition among the Ancients, that Chiron fed Achilles with the Marrow of Lions, that we cannot enough wonder, that ſo learned a Man as Mr de Girac ſhould accuſe Mr Coſſar (12) of a groſs Ignorance, for having made uſe of theſe Words: *You was nourish'd from your Infancy with the Juice, the Subſtance, and the Soul of good Beasts, in like manner as Achilles was with the Marrow of Lions*. Mr de Girac upon this puts a Queſtion unbecoming an exact Critic, ſeeing it alters the State of the Queſtion, and imputes to Mr Coſſar more than he really ſaid. *Where did he find*, ſays he, *that Achilles was nourish'd only with Lions Marrow?* But what follows is worſe ſtill. Having alledg'd among other Reaſons to ſupport his Opinion, that according to Plutarch, Achilles was fed with things which have no Blood; he adds, that he does not believe that any Author of Credit ever affirm'd, that Achilles was nurs'd with the Marrow of Lions: And yet, immediately after, he himſelf cites St Gregory Nazianzen, who remarks, that St Baſil had not, like Achilles, A Centaur near him, to preſent him with the Fabulous Marrow of Lions and Stags. Which ſhews, continues Mr de Girac, that St Gregory look'd upon it as a ſiſtitious and impoſſible Story. Be it ſo: He will ſtill be a credible Witneſs for all that. For to be ſo in things of this Nature, it is neither neceſſary we ſhould be convinc'd of the Truth of the Faſts we report, nor that they ſhould really exiſt, nor even that they ſhould be poſſible; it is enough that we are not ourſelves the Inventors of the Story. Now without doubt this is St Gregory Nazianzen's Caſe: he does not affirm what he relates of the Centaur Chiron and of Achilles, without having read of any ſuch thing. I will allow farther, that he does not believe it; but ſtill he did not invent the Story; and this is ſufficient to make him worthy of Credit. Neither the Moral nor the Physical Truth is to be inquired into upon this occaſion, but only the Truth of the Relation. Mr de Girac, who will have it that the Marrow of Stags was the only Food of Homer's Hero, according to the common Opinion of the Ancients, doubtleſs eſteem'd the Authors, who reported it, worthy of Credit, altho' there is no Reaſon to think either that they firmly believed it, or that the thing is true. He has certainly plac'd St Gregory Nazianzen upon the ſame foot, with regard to the Marrow of Stags: He cannot therefore reaſonably except againſt him, in relation to that of Lions: And conſequently he himſelf produces a Witneſs worthy of Credit, immediately after having ſaid, That he did not believe there were any.

II. His quoting St Gregory Nazianzen upon this occaſion, is not ſo much to be wonder'd at, as his Ignorance of what two Modern Authors, who are in every body's Hands, have put beyond all Doubt. One is Mr de Meziriac, who has prov'd, by the Teſtimony of the Scholiſt of Homer, on the 16th *Iliad*, by That of Libanius, in his two Speeches, the One For, and the Other Againſt, Achilles; and by that of Statius, in the 2d Book of his *Achilleid*, that this Hero was fed with the Marrow of Lions. The other is Barthius, who, upon this Paſſage of Statius, beſides the double Teſtimony of Libanius, cites theſe

III. A Paſſage of Plutarch ill tranſlated.

(15) Vigenere's Comment. on Philoſtr. of Achilles's Food, Edit. in 4to pag. 544.

(16) Comment. on the Epithela of Briceſis, pag. 249.

(17) Plutarch's 4th Book of *Life* Converſation, ch. 1.

IV. Property of the Bones of Lions; Whether it be true that they are without Marrow.

(18) Obſerve, That Hoffman's Continuat. Lexici Univerſ. Tom. 1. p. 1003. attributes this only to the Lions Teeth, as alſo the producing Sparks of Fire by Colliſion.

(19) Athen. Deipnoph. lib. 8. cap. 11.

(20) In his Treatiſe, de Hermetico, & Chymico-rum Sapientia, printed at Copenhagen, 1672.

or with that of some other wild Beasts. The Etymologists have not neglected their Interests

to that Reason, since Facts, borrow'd from the *Pagan Mythology*, are not to be confuted in that manner, especially when it is affirm'd, that no Author worthy of Credit speaks of them. The Testimony alone of some ancient Authors is sufficient to make Him lose his Cause, even though the Naturalists should assure us of the Impossibility of the Thing.

V. *A Remark against Barthius.* Decifus Autibus find themfelves lead into a Scare. From whence it appears, That *Barthius* engages himself in a superfluous Refutation, when, in commenting on the Verses of *Statius*, which I have cited below, he cries out very seriously; *It is a strange Fable, ingens fabula, since a Child who should take in any such Food, only by sucking, would die: every thing in Lions, their very Breath, being poisonous, especially to such an Age:* in consequence of which he cites a Passage of *Aristotle*, importing that Lions have no Marrow. All this is Labour lost; since the Ancients themselves, who had examin'd things a little, considered these Stories only as Sallies of Wit and Imagination. Would not a Man have little to do, who should spend his time in confuting, from Principles of Philosophy, the Stories of the same *Achilles's* Heel, and his burnt Lip? It is fabled, that his Mother, having plung'd him in the Waters of *Styx*, to render him invulnerable, could not procure that Advantage to his Heel, because she held her Son by it. *Fulgentius*, in the 7th Chapter of his 3d Book, and the Scholiast of *Horace*, on the 13th Ode of the 5th Book, remark, that she held him by the Heel. Those, who say that he died of a Wound in the Heel, as *Hyginius*, in his 107th Chapter, and *Quintus Calaber*, at the 62d Verse of the 3d Book, agree upon the whole with the other two. *Servius*, on the 57th Verse of the 6th Book of the *Æneid*, says in general, that he was invulnerable, *excepta parte qua à matre, tentus est. That part excepted by which his Mother held him.* Others have reported, that, to consume all that was mortal in her Son's Body, she laid him every Night under live Coals, and that in the Day she anointed him with *Ambrosia*, and that but one of the Child's Lips was burnt; which was occasioned by his having lick'd that Part.

(21) *Apollo-dorus*, lib. 3. Scholiast. *Homeri Iliad.* v. 36. Scholiast. *Aristoph.* p. 184. A. Many (21) Authors mention This Conduct of *Thetis*; and say farther, that she had destroy'd, by this means, six of her Children; but her Husband, having surpriz'd her in it, was the Cause that *Achilles*, who was the seventh, escap'd. Nevertheless *Tzetzes* (22) condemn'd this Story as false, and says, *that he does not know from whence Lycophron borrow'd this Lie, that Thetis had seven Children by Peleus.* This is another Example, which may be added to that of *Mr de Girac*, to shew the Danger, to which an Author exposes himself by too decisive a Confidence: for *Mr de Meziriac* cites four very grave Authors, who all agree to what *Lycophron* writes. There is good Reason to say, when we hear mention made either of some extraordinary Phrase, or of some uncommon Fact, that it is a good Bait to draw in Wagers, that is, your rash Scholars, who are always ready, on such an Occasion, to lay Wagers that such a thing is not to be found in any Author; and they seldom fail to lose. But what is most astonishing, is, they sometimes deny things the most easy to be met with. I shall give several Examples of this Behaviour in This Dictionary.

(23) *Barth.* Comment. in lib. 2. *Achill.* vol. 3. p. 1754. But we must not take our leave of *Barthius* (23), without observing that he pretends, that the reading *Lupæ*, instead of *Lubens*, does *Statius* much Honour, who, by this means, does not contradict *Aristotle*, and observes the same Distinctions with *Apollo-dorus*; the latter having affirm'd that *Chiron* made *Achilles* feed upon the Entrails of Lions, and the Marrow of wild Boars and Bears. But *Barthius*, taking upon himself once more the Air of Confutation, rejects the Marrow of the *She-Wolf*, as a manifest Absurdity; and says he is convinc'd, that if a Child should take that kind of Food but once, he would die before the next Day. Wherefore, adds he, *Gregory Nazianzen* reconciles it better, by adding the Marrow of Stags, to that of Lions. *Barthius* here seems to be inconsistent with himself, having said, in the foregoing Page, that the rejecting of the Marrow of Lions was a sign of Judgment in *Statius*, and that the approach of Lions is very dangerous to Children.

VI. *The Fable of Achilles being fed with Lions Marrow* must be proper Fictions.

It must be remark'd, That the Reason, why *Apollo-dorus*, and some others, have rather mentioned the

Entrails, than the Marrow, of Lions, as the Food of *Achilles*, seems to be owing to their Opinion, that these Creatures have scarce any Marrow; for otherwise, Marrow was a more suitable Diet, considering the Character, under which the Poets represent him. It is not so much under the Idea of Valour, though they ascribe This to him in an eminent Degree, as under That of an Invincible Anger. *Homer* proposes to himself this Character of him in the *Iliad*, where, according to the Observation of *Horace*, he takes for his Theme,

— gravem
Peleidæ stomachum cedere necesse (24).

The fierce Pelides' baughty Rage,
Who knew not bow to yield.

CREECH.

And begins his Poem thus,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος,
Ὀλομένην, ἣ μήτι' Ἀχαιοὺς δάγῃ ἔθηναι.

Achilles' Wrath, to Greece the direful Spring
Of Woes unnumber'd, Heavenly Goddess sing.

POPE.

Now it is certain, that in order to trace this Character to it's Source, in the marvellous Fictions of Antiquity, nothing could be better imagin'd, than Lion's Marrow, for the Nourishment of this Hero; since it is the most juicy, and, as is pretended, contains the specific and feminal Parts of the Animal. *Homer* hints to us in the Example of little *Astyanax*, that it was the favorite Moriel of an indulged or spoiled Child:

Ἀστυάει, ὃς πρὶν μὲν ἢ πατρὸς γένειος
Μυαλὸν ἄν' ἔθηναι καὶ δῶν τίνα θηρῶν (25).

(25) *Hom.*
Iliad 22.
ver. 500.

Astyanax —
He, who with tender Delicacy bred,
On Marrow, and the choicest Dainties fed.

And *Jesters* tell the Mothers sometimes, that it is a Son-in-law's Bit. Besides, there is no Beast so angry as the Lion; and it is supposed, that it was from him *Prometheus* borrowed the Principle, which subjected the first Man to Anger:

Fertur Prometheus addere principi
Limo coactis particulam undique
Defectam, & infani leonis
Vim stomacho appoluisse nostro (26).

(26) *Hor.*
Ode 16. lib.
1. ver. 13.

When bold Prometheus first began,
As Story goes, to make a Man,
From every thing he snatch'd a Part,
To furnish out his Clay,
And to compleat his rude Essay;
And plac'd the Lion's Fury in his Heart.

CREECH.

Not but that it would have serv'd the Purpose as well, to have given *Achilles* a Lioness for his Nurse. *Virgil* followed This Idea, in some Reproaches of Cruelty:

— duris genuit te cautibus horrens
Caucasus, Hyrcanæque admorunt ubera Tigres (27).

(27) *Æneid*. lib. 4.
See *Macrob.*
Saturn. lib.
5. cap. 11.

False as thou art, and, more than false, forsworn,
Not sprung from noble Blood, nor Goddess-born,
But born from burden'd Entrails of a Rock;
And rough Hyrcanian Tygers gave thee suck.

DRYDEN.

And the *Brigadochio* in the Comedy of the *Visionaries*, is not far from it in this Rhodomontade:

Le Dieu Mars m'engendra d'une fiere Amazone,
Et je sucai le lait d'une affreuse Lionne,

I was begotten by the God Mars upon a Warlike Amazon, and suck'd the Milk of a horrid Lioness.

By

Interests on this occasion; they have made their Advantage of this Tradition, for they pretend that the Name of *Achilles* is derived from it [B]. He was not contented to inure his Body to the most laborious Exercises, but he adorn'd his Soul with a great Variety of useful Knowledge. But if we may believe *Homer*, it is to *Phanix*, and

VII.
Whence the
Fiction of the
Marrow of
a Stag.
Swiftneſs of
Foot was
formerly an
Heroic Qua-
lity.

• Or Run-
ning-Foot-
man. The
People of
Biscay were
ſam'd for
Swiftneſs.

(28) See the
prodigious
Swiftneſs,
which Virgil,
Æneid. 7.
v. 817, gives
a young A-
mazon called
Camilla;
and Faſter la
Cerdà's Ob-
ſervations
upon it.

(29) Homen-
liad. 7.
ver. 228.

(30) Vige-
nere's Com-
ment on Phi-
loſtrati de
Nutrim. A-
chilli.

VIII.
Faults of
ſome of Ter-
tullian's In-
terpreters.

(31) Ed-
mund Ri-
cher, who
publiſh'd his
Verſion at
Paris, in
1600, 8vo.

(32) Salma-
ſius approves
of thoſe who
read Conci-
lium.

(33) Not.
Critic. in
Tertull. de
Pall. p. 77.
Facit 1614.
8vo.

(34) Lucret.
lib. 4.

(35) In his
Poem on the
Wedding of
Theſis and
Pelæus,
which is
thought to
have preced-
ed that of
Hefiod on the
ſame Subject.
Neither Voſ-
ſius nor Lo-
renzo Craſſo
make any
mention of
this Poet.

(36) Salmaſ.
in Tract. de
Pall. p. 281.
Edit. 1656.

By this Key we are led to the Reason, why ſome choſe to prefer the Marrow of Stags, before any other, for the Food of *Achilles*: Becauſe they were ſtruck with the Tradition, which aſcribes to him great Swiftneſs in running, and which induced *Homer* to honour him continually either with the Elogy of πῖδας ἄνδρ, *swift-footed*, or ſome other Epithet of the ſame Signification, πωδάρης, πωδάριος, πῖδας ταχὺς, πωδὶ ταχέϊον, πρᾶντοίς, &c. With us, at preſent, this is but the Merit of a *Bisſaſian Lacquey**, but anciently (28) it was an heroic Quality: And therefore *Homer's* only Fault in the uſe of it is, His patching up his Verſe too frequently with it. It was therefore thought neceſſary to ſeign, that an Hero of an extraordinary Swiftneſs was nourished with the Marrow of Stags; and the Ancients were ſo fond of this Notion, that they did not take notice, that the Marrow of ſuch a timorous Animal was otherwiſe very Improper for This Thunderbolt of War, This Lion-bearded Hero.

Ἀχιλλεύς μὲν ἄνδρ' ἀνδρείοντα θυμολόντα (29)

who, ſhewing the utmoſt Diſdain for the General of the Army, among other opprobrious Expreſſions add'd;

Va ſac à vin, yeux de chien, cœur de cerf.

So *Vigenere* (30) translates this Verſe of the 1ſt Book of the Iliad,

Οἷνεβασις, κυνὸς ὀμματα ἔχων, πρᾶντον δ' ἰλαφείᾳ

O Monster, mix'd of Insolence and Fear,
Thou' Dog in Forehead, but in Heart a Deer!

P O E.

I do not think that, if the Matter were to be decided by a Majority of Voices, it would be judg'd that *Achilles* was fed with the Marrow of Stags, nor that Mr de *Girac* could ſupport his haſty Aſſertion, that Marrow was the only Food of *Homer's Hero*, according to the common Opinion of the Ancients. But if this ſhould be true, an old (31) French Tranſlator of the *Treatiſe de Pallio* would not be excuſable, for having reſtrained to this Marrow, what *Tertullian* ſaid of That of wild Beaſts in general. Tranſlators have no ſuch Right. "Ille ferarum medullis educatus, unde & nominis (32) conſilium, quando quidem labiis "vacuerat ab uberum guſtu: — He having been "fed with the Marrow of Stags, from whence he had "his Name, as having never ſuck'd at the Breſt with "his Lips, &c." *Theodorius* (33) *Martilius* ſtumbled likewiſe at theſe Words, pretending, that *Tertullian* hints at the Etymology *ſine chilo*, ἄνω χυλός, which is viſibly falſe, as *Salmaſius* obſerves. I might have remark'd another Miſtake of the ſame Author, as follows: He ſays that *Achilles*, according to *Vellius Longius*, cited by *Cassiodorus*, had his Name from the Word χυλός, as being one of thoſe Perſons who are called *Chilones*, or *Labiænes*, that is *Thick-lip'd*. *Lucretius* calls them (34) *Labiæſ*, and obſerves that a Lover, who would excuſe the Imperfections of his Miſtreſs, ſays, *labioſa, φιλώμα, great Lips are large and ſpacious Fields for Kiſſes*. But it is falſe, that *Achilles* had his Name from χυλός, a Lip, upon this account: he was rather ſo called, becauſe he was maim'd in that Part, although *Salmaſius* denies it, notwithstanding an expreſs Paſſage of *Phobius*, which I have already mentioned, and what *Agameſtor* (35), an old Poet, cited by *Tzetzes*, poſitively ſays of it; *Salmaſius's* Words are (36), "Si chilones dicti à mag- "nis & improbis labris, Achilles dictus fuerit quaſi "ἄνω χυλῶν, non quod fine labris fuerit, ſed quod "laborum miniſterio non uſus fuerit infans. — "If the Chilones are ſo called from their large and "monſtrous Lips, Achilles is ſo called quaſi ἄνω χυλῶν, not that he had no Lips, but becauſe he made "no uſe of them in his Infancy." I do not deny, but that *Apollodorus* ſays, that the Son of *Thetis*, whoſe firſt Name was *Ligyron*, was called *Achilles* by *Chiron*, becauſe he had never apply'd his Lips to the

Breſt (37). Ὅτι τὰ χυλῶν μαζῶν αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, quod mammis labra minime admooviſſet,

[B] That the Name of *Achilles* is derived from it.] I have taken Notice of the Etymologies of this Name in the Remark [B] of the foregoing Article; but I muſt ſpeak particularly of That before us at preſent. It always accompanies the Tradition, which ſays that *Achilles* was fed with nothing but the Fleſh and Marrow of Animals. The Connexion between theſe two Things ariſes from the Greek Word χυλός, which properly ſignifies the Nurture, which the Earth ſupplies us with. But ſome Authors build a pleaſant Opinion upon this. I ſhall give it in the proper Terms of Father *Gautruche*, in his Poetical Hiſtory. I rather chuſe This Work, than any other, becauſe it has been printed ſeveral Times (38), and in ſeveral Languages, and is eſteem'd a Book fit for every Body's reading. Now no Faults ought more carefully to be remark'd, than thoſe, which may miſlead the greateſt Number of Readers. Father *Gautruche* ſays (39), *Inſtead of Milk and other common Food, Chiron nurſed him only with the Marrow of Lions, or of wild Beaſts, in order to produce in his Pupil the Courage and the Strength of theſe Animals, Whence, according to the Opinion of ſome, being nourished without any kind of Meat, he was called Achilles, that is to ſay, WITHOUT CHYLE*. Though the laſt Period of this Paſſage does not appear in the laſt Edition, yet I ſhall remark, I. That it is an Error, to ſay that a Perſon is nourished without Meat, when he is only fed with the Marrow of Beaſts; for the Marrow is unqueſtionably comprehended under the Word Meat, and is not comprehended among thoſe Viands, which are permitted in Lent. II. That it is not true, that Marrow is not converted into Chyle, or that whoever is fed only with Marrow, muſt neceſſarily be without Chyle. Theſe Remarks will not ſeem ſuperfluous to thoſe, who ſhall conſider, that this Doctrinè of Father *Gautruche* is in a great many Copies of his Works, and in other Writers (40), and that in the Edition, where his Faults are dropp'd, we are not told, why they were ſuppreſſ'd.

The Foundation of this Miſtake ariſes from the Term χυλός, (which *Euphorion* made uſe of in ſome Verſes, cited by the Author of the great *Etymologicum*, and by *Euphathius*), being taken for that ſoft and whitith Subſtance, into which the Stomach converts the Aliments, and which the Phyſicians call Chyle, from the Greek Word χυλός: Whereas by χυλός ought to be underſtood, as Mr de *Maziriac* (41) took it from *Euphathius*, the Nurture we receive from the Product of the Earth. *Natalis Comes* (42) has wrong tranſlated *Euphorion*; for he makes him ſay that *Achilles* had taſted no Milk. *Vigenere* and *Fungerus*, depending upon the Authority of St *Gregory Nazianzen*, have not been more ſucceſſful. They attribute to St *Gregory* that, which is but in the Latin Tranſlation of the Commentaries of *Nicetas Serronius*, Archbiſhop of *Heraclea*, in the XIth Century, on the Orations of that Father, printed with his Works (43). *Fungerus* concludes, that *Achilles* was nurſ'd ſine cibo, becauſe his only Diet was the Marrow of Stags. The other will have it (44), that χυλός ſignifies Gravy, and that *Achilles* was nourished without Juice, becauſe he was not fed with the common Food of Men, but with the raw Fleſh of Savage Beaſts. *Francis Alunno* adopts one half of this laſt Error. "Fu nutrito, ſays he (45), "nel monte Pelio da Chirone Centauro, ne mai in "quel tempio mangio cibo cotto, perche fu nominato "Achille, perche à in Greco ſignifica ſenza, & chilos "CIBO COTTO. — He was brought up on Mount "Pelion; by Chiron the Centaur, and having never "ſed upon any thing but raw Fleſh, he was called "Achilles, from Alpha, which in Greek ſignifies "Without, and Chilos, DRESS'D MEAT." Some, taking the Word χυλός ſimply for Nurture; ground the Etymology of *Achilles* (46) on this, that his Preceptor *Chiron*, after a certain time, neither provided for him the Marrow of wild Beaſts, nor any other kind of Food, ſo that he was oblig'd to ſupport himſelf by the Fortune of the Chace. But was this to live without Nurture? This is, perhaps, the worſt Account of them all.

(37) Apol-
lor. lib. 3.
p. 235.

(38) An E-
dition of it
was publiſh'd
at Utrecht
in 1690. to
which was
added the
Tranſlation
in Latin and
Dutch. The
Latin Tran-
ſlation had
already ap-
peared by it
ſelf. The
English pub-
liſh'd it in
their Lan-
guage in the
Year 1671.

(39) Poetical
Hiſtory, B.
2. chap. 15.
p. 158. Edit.
of the Hague,
1681. which
is the 4th.

(40) Among
others, in the
Hiſtorical
Dictionary
of Juſtè.

(41) Comm.
on the Epistle
of Briliens,
pag. 248.
where the
Poet Eupha-
tion is miſ-
called Eu-
phorion.

(42) My-
thol. lib. 9.
cap. 12.

(43) This
Verſion is
print'd with
the Works of
St Gregory.

(44) Com-
ment. on Phi-
loſtrati. of
the Nature
of Achilles,
pag. 543.

(45) In his
Fabrica del
Mondo,
which
is a Dictio-
nary on Boc-
accio, Dante,
Petrarch,
&c. printed
at Venice in
1588. Folio.

(46) Comm.
on Alcibiades;
Emblems, p.
624. of the
Edition of
Thuliſius at
Padua, 1667.
in 4to.

and not to *Chiron* [C], that the Quality of *Achilles's* Preceptor, and Foster-Father is to

(47) Decimator in the *Theſaurus Linguarum*. Leipzig 1606. in F. 8o.

[C] If we may believe Homer, it is to *Phœnix*, and not to *Chiron*. Many Persons are not aware of this. *Decimator* (47) says, that *Achilles*, after having been educated by *Chiron*, who taught him the Military Art, Music, and Morality, was put under the Direction of *Phœnix*, who taught him both to Speak and Live well, as he boasts of it himself. He proves this, as to Music and Morality, from these Verses of *Ovid*, in the 1st Book de *Arte amandi*.

Phyllirides puerum citharæ præfecit Achillem,
Atque animos molli contudit arte feros.

*Chiron his Pupil to the Lyre inclin'd,
And humaniz'd, by Sounds, his savage Mind.*

I set them down without altering any thing, either in the Orthography, or in the *Citharæ præfecit*, which ought to be changed into *Citharâ perfectit*. Every body may see, that there is not a Word of the Study of Morality in those Verses. His Proof, as to *Phœnix*, are these Words of *Homer*:

(48) *Homer*. *Iliad*. lib. 9. ver. 442.

Τυνηά με πρίνῃσι διδάσκει μὲναι τάδε πάντα,
Μύθεο το γένῃσι ἱμῶνα, πρῆτῃσι το ἔργον. (48)

*He had me teach thee all the Ways of War,
To shine in Councils, and in Camps to dare.*

POPE.

* Mr. Pope has omitted the true last Lines, as unworthy of *Homer*, and too nauseous to be translated.

(50) The first Author of the *Theſaurus* is called *Basilus Faber Soranus*: He was Rector of a College at Erford, and he published his Book in the Year 1571.

after having employed 36 Years in teaching the Latin Tongue. The Work was reprinted in 1625, with the Corrections and Additions of Buchnerus, who died in 1611. at the Age of 70 Years, after having been Professor in Poetry 45 Years, and in Eloquence 30 Years, at Wittenberg. He also corrected and augmented that Dictionary for the Edit. of 1616. Lastly, Christopher Cellarius corrected it again, for the Edition of the Year 1686, and afterwards for that of 1692.

(51) *Paraphr.* ad *Robinson*, lib. 2. c. 11.

But provided we read with Attention the Book of the *Iliad*, from whence this Authority is borrowed, it will appear, that *Decimator* is mistaken. The Expressions of *Phœnix* testify, that he was the first Preceptor of *Achilles*. *You would eat nothing*, represents he to that Hero, unless I first took you on my Knees, and carved your Meat. *The Wine which you discharged into my Bosom, in your troublesome Infancy, has often fully'd my Cloaths*.

--- ἔστι δ' ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ
Οὐτ' ἐς δαῖτ' ἵκαναι. δ' ἐν μαγάρῳι πέσσεσσι
Πρὶν γ' ἔτι δὲ δ' ἐ' ἐ' ἡμεῖς ἐν γένεσσι καίεσθαι.
Ὅψα τ' αἰσῆσι προσημῶν, καὶ ἔσθον ἑταίρων.
Πολλὰ μοι κατὰ βόσιν ἐν γαστρὶ αἰσῆσιν (49)

*Thy infant Breast a like Affection show'd,
Still in my Arms, (an ever-pleasing load)
Or, at my Knee, by Phœnix wouldst thou stand,
No food was grateful, but from Phœnix' Hand.*

POPE.

It was necessary to produce the Greek; for it conveys to filthy an Image, that it might else have been thought I had not fairly translated it. See the 11th Paragraph below. But however it be, this shews, that, if we will make use of the Authority of *Homer*, with respect to *Phœnix*, we must renounce what others report concerning *Chiron*; or that at least we must not give *Chiron* the first Education of *Achilles*, and less still make it continue, until he had taught his Scholar the Military Art, Music, and Morality. When a Person is arriv'd at an Age fit for Instruction in these Sciences, he eats no longer on his Foster Father's Lap, nor throws up his Wine on his Cloaths. Add to this that they, who suppose that *Achilles* was brought up by *Chiron*, say that he was taken away from under his Discipline, to be sent, disguised in a Female Dress, to the Court of King *Lycomedes*, where his Disguise soon procured him opportunities of conversing familiarly with the King's Daughter, as appeared by the Child he brought into the World. Now it is not likely that they appointed him a Tutor after he became a Father; and consequently there is no room for placing the Guardianship of *Phœnix* after that of *Chiron*. The Faults of *Decimator* are to be found in the *Theſaurus Scholasticæ Eruditionis* of the last Edition, tho' that Work was often corrected by learned *Humanists* (50). (51) *Dempster* has likewise said, that *Achilles*, having been instructed by *Chiron* in his Infancy, was educated by *Phœnix*, when he was of a more advanced Age. Observe, that I do not intend to deny, that, after *Achilles* became a Father, *Phœnix* was ordered

to teach him (52) how to conduct himself in the Trade of Arms, and the Councils of War: But I do not call this appointing him a Tutor.

I cannot tell whether *Malherbe* ever took notice of this; but it is certain that he expressed himself like one, who was well satisfied, that *Achilles* had but one Preceptor. For thus he speaks of that Warrior in the fourth Book of his Poems, p. 106.

On de *Phenix*, ou de *Chiron*,
Il eût fait son apprentissage.

Whether he serv'd his Apprenticeship with Phœnix or Chiron.

We must allow him only *Phœnix*, if we are to be determined by *Homer*, who makes no mention of the Preceptorship of *Chiron*; and only *Chiron*, if we follow the Crowd of Authors. Yet Mr. *Ménage* has said, in his Notes on this Passage of *Malherbe*, That *Chiron* was the first Tutor of *Achilles*, and *Phœnix* the second. I do not rely on the Authority of *Tzetzes*, who, by an Allegorical Explication of what he had read in some Authors, that *Phœnix*, blinded by his own Father, was brought to *Chiron*, who restored him to his Sight, pretends that the meaning of this is, that *Chiron* gave the young *Achilles* to his Care; for, besides that there is nothing more cold, or forced than this Thought; it is certain that *Tzetzes* by no means proves the Fact. By his pretended Allegories he endeavours to reconcile *Homer* with *Lycophron*; but how will he reconcile *Homer*, who says, that *Achilles*, yet a little Child, was under the Conduct of *Phœnix*: I say, how will he reconcile him with those who suppose *Achilles* to have been educated by *Chiron* from six Years of Age (53), to Manhood, 'till he had not only learnt to sit astride on the Back of his (54) Preceptor, but also till he had injured himself to (55) the most violent Exercises; without reckoning many other things, which *Chiron* taught him; as the Military Art, Music, Morality, (as *Decimator* informed us before) and Physick, but particularly Botany and Law, as an ancient Author called *Staphylus* (56), and others inform us? *Statius*, in the second Book of his *Achilles*; *Claudian*, in his Panegyric on the third Consulship of *Honorius*; and *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in his ninth Poem, specify what *Achilles* learnt of *Chiron*. Note, that on the pretended Testimony of *Homer*, they ascribe to *Chiron*, in the Commentaries on the Emblems of *Alciatus*, what belongs only to *Phœnix*. Nothing is more frequent among Authors than these *quid pro quo's*.

I said, that *Homer* has taken no notice of *Chiron's* Preceptorship. You will ask me then, what mean these Words of *Eurypius* to *Patroclus* in the eleventh Book of the *Iliad*,

--- ἐπὶ δ' ἦντα Φαρμακὰ παρὸν
Ἐπὶ δὲ, τὰ οὐ προτὶ Φαειν Ἀχιλλῆος δοδὶδύχασι,
Ὅν Χαίρων ἰδὶδατὶ δυνάστητος Κανταίρων. (57)

*With healing Balm; the raging Smart alloy;
Such as sage Chiron, Sire of Pharmacy,
Once taught Achilles, and Achilles Thee.*

POPE.

I answer, That they do not signify, that *Chiron* was the Preceptor of *Achilles*, but only that he taught him Physic. Every one sees the Difference of these two Things. *Menecmus*, in his Travels, names an hundred Persons, who taught him Receipts and Secrets for Cures; yet those People had not been his Schoolmasters, nor had educated him in his Youth. Professors in Physic, who teach their Auditors an hundred good Remedies in public, or communicate some very rare Receipts to distinguish'd Friends in particular, are they therefore what we call Young Master's Tutor or Governor? And, without going farther than this Passage of *Homer*, do we not see that *Achilles* imparted to *Patroclus* Remedies, though he was not his Preceptor? To enter then into *Homer's* Thought, we must say that *Achilles* was educated by *Phœnix* from three or four Years of Age, 'till he was capable of learning to Discourse well, and perform fine Actions; but yet that, during that time, and afterwards, he did not fail to attend the Lectures of *Chiron*. It

(52) *Iliad*. lib. 9. p. 445.

(53) *Pindar*. *Nem. Ode*. 3.

(54) Τὸ αὐτὸ εἶπε καὶ Ἰδωκὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Περσέως, λέγων, ὅτι ὁ Περσεύς ἔσθον ἐκ τοῦ Περσέως, ὡς καὶ ὁ Περσεύς ἔσθον ἐκ τοῦ Περσέως. (55) *Greg. Numb.* anzen. O. rat. 20.

(56) *Stall*. *Achill. lib.* 2. ver. 322.

(57) He is cited by *Natal. Comen.* lib. 9. c. 11. and in the *Commentaries* on *Alciatus's* Emblems.

IX. Examination of a Passage where *Homer* speaks of *Chiron*.

(57) *Iliad*. 11. ver. 229.

to be given. The Uneasiness of *Tbetis* did not permit her to leave her Son in *Chiron's* Cave, so long as she desired; she (e) took him from thence when he was but nine Years of Age, and disguising him in a Woman's Habit, hid him among the young Ladies in the Court of *Lycomedes*, King of the Island of *Scyros*, as soon as she was inform'd of the Preparations, which were making against the *Trojans*. The Reason of her Conduct was this; she knew, on the one side, that if her Son went to *Troy*, he would never return from thence; and, on the other, that *Calchas* had foretold that the City of *Troy* should never be taken without *Achilles*. The Device of *Tbetis* stood her in no stead; the Seer *Calchas* discover'd to the *Greeks* (f) where *Achilles* lay hid, whom they had fought for in divers Places without finding him: Upon this *Ulysses*, being deputed to the Court of *Lycomedes*, easily discover'd *Achilles* [D], and brought him away

(c) Apollodor. lib. 3. p. 235.

(f) Statius, Achill. lib. 1. ver. 493, &c.

is thus a certain Scholiast took *Homer's* Thought: For he observes, that *Apollonius*, who feigns, that *Chiron* went to the Sea-side to with the *Argonauts*: a good Voyage, and that his Wife attended him, holding *Achilles* in her Arms, and shewing him to *Peleus*, follow'd the Poets, who came after *Homer*, and supposed, with them, that *Chiron* nursed the little *Achilles*; a Thing never mentioned by *Homer*. *Ἡρόδοτος* δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς τοῖς μετ' Ὀμήρου ποιηταῖς ὡς ἑλπίωνος λέγουσιν τὸν Ἀχιλλεὺς τραπεζῆαν. Ὀμήρου δὲ δὴν τούτου λέγει. (58).

(58) Schol. Apollon. lib. 2. ver. 558.

X.

Authors who have mentioned the Preceptorship of Chiron, and that of Phoenix.

(59) Argon. ver. 378.

(60) Nem. Od. 3.

(61) Iphig. in Aul. ver. 209, 709.

(62) Senec. Troad. Act. 3. ver. 333. Stat. Silv. lib. 2. ver. 39.

Achill. lib. 2. ver. 156.

Autonius Ptolept. ver. 30.

(63) De Venat. pag. 9. 3. A. & 974. C.

(64) Hipp. Tom. 1. p. 371. cap. 3. de Repub. Tom. 2. p. 391. B.

(65) Lib. 3. (66) Lib. 25. cap. 5.

(67) Sympos. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 660. F. & de Music. pag. 1246. A.

(68) In Lacon. p. 197.

(69) Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 306. B.

(70) In Heroic. p. 682. A. & 705. A.

(71) Prolegom. pag. 71. A.

(72) pag. 97. C; pag. 129. A; pag. 142. C; pag. 143. A; & Declamat. 4. pag. 259. D.

(73) Eustath. in Homer. pag. 11. 34. & 340.

Scholiast. Homer. in Iliad. lib. 1. ver. 50. & lib. 16. ver. 14. & 36.

(74) These are the Names of the principal Scholiast. Homer. Iliad. 9. ver. 168, & 448. Dictys, lib. 2.

Xenophon, Conv. pag. 897. A. Plato 2. de Repub. Tom. 2. pag. 390. E. Cicero 3. de Orat. n. 15.

Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 297. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 3.

Stat. Silv. 3. lib. 5. ver. 191. Plutarch. Tom. 2. pag. 4. 26. & 2.

Lucian. Dial. Mort. Philostr. Lemn. p. 136. Libanius, Prolegom. pag. 99.

Apollonius is very excusable, since he only followed the Crowd; for who has not spoke of *Chiron*, as having educated *Achilles*? Is it not what *Orpheus* (59), *Pindar* (60), *Euripides* (61), and so many other Poets have sung (62)? *Xenophon* (63), *Plato* (64), *Apollodorus* (65), *Pliny* (66), *Plutarch* (67), *Pausanias* (68), *Clemens Alexandrinus* (69), *Philostrophus* (70), *Libanius* (71), *St Gregory Nazianzen*, (72), and several others less ancient (73), have they not said the same thing? But, on the other side, they (74), who have mentioned the Preceptorship of *Phoenix*, are not fewer in Number. We ought not, then, to be very much surprized, if, according to some ancient Authors, *Phoenix* and *Chiron* are both represented as having been the Preceptors of *Achilles*: We can only say, that these Authors had not examined the thing narrowly enough, or that they had no regard to the Inconsistency, which results from the Circumstances of the Preceptorship of *Phoenix*, and the Circumstances of the Preceptorship of *Chiron*.

Valer. Flaccus, lib. 1. ver. 254. & 407. Autonius Ptolept. ver. 30. Claudian. de 3. Consul. Honor. ver. 61. (63) De Venat. pag. 9. 3. A. & 974. C. (64) Hipp. Tom. 1. p. 371. cap. 3. de Repub. Tom. 2. p. 391. B. (65) Lib. 3. (66) Lib. 25. cap. 5. (67) Sympos. lib. 4. cap. 1. p. 660. F. & de Music. pag. 1246. A. (68) In Lacon. p. 197. (69) Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 306. B. (70) In Heroic. p. 682. A. & 705. A. (71) Prolegom. pag. 71. A. (72) pag. 97. C; pag. 129. A; pag. 142. C; pag. 143. A; & Declamat. 4. pag. 259. D. (73) Eustath. in Homer. pag. 11. 34. & 340. Scholiast. Homer. in Iliad. lib. 1. ver. 50. & lib. 16. ver. 14. & 36. (74) These are the Names of the principal Scholiast. Homer. Iliad. 9. ver. 168, & 448. Dictys, lib. 2. Xenophon, Conv. pag. 897. A. Plato 2. de Repub. Tom. 2. pag. 390. E. Cicero 3. de Orat. n. 15. Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 297. Quintil. lib. 2. cap. 3. Stat. Silv. 3. lib. 5. ver. 191. Plutarch. Tom. 2. pag. 4. 26. & 2. Lucian. Dial. Mort. Philostr. Lemn. p. 136. Libanius, Prolegom. pag. 99.

I had therefore Reason to deny, in my Plan, that *Statius*, speaking of *Phoenix* and of *Chiron* as of two Preceptors of *Achilles*, was in the least favourable to *Decimator* and his Party; for besides that *Statius* does not tell us, whether they exercised this Employ both together, or one after the other, or which of the two was the first, he cannot be reconciled with *Homer*, who, in case of Competition, ought to carry it from him with an high hand. Consider these two Passages well:

Non tibi certasset juvenilia fingere corda
Nestor, & indomiti Phoenix Moderator alumni,
Quique, tabas acres lituorque audire volentem,
Æciden alio frangebatur carmine Chiron. (75)

In forming thee, nor Nestor would employ,
Nor Phoenix, Tutor of th'unconquer'd Boy,
A Guardian's Care; nor He, who would'st remove,
With softer Notes, Achilles' warlike Soul;
The Martial Music was the Hero's Choice,
And his Heart sounded as the Trumpet's Voice.

This is the first: The other is,

— tenero sic blandus Achilli

Semifer Æmonium vincebat Pelea Chiron.
Nec senior Peleus natum comitatus in arma
Troica, sed caro Phoenix hærebat alumno. (76)

Thus, for his Pupil, Chiron's flattering Tale
O'er the reluctant Father could prevail.

The Sire refus'd the Grecian Arms to share,
But sent Achilles to the Trojan War,
Trusting the darling Charge to Phoenix' tender
Care.

Xenophon (77) and *Lucian* (78), who allot these two Preceptors to *Achilles*, are exposed to the same Battery as *Statius*; and besides they differ from *Homer*, whom *Decimator* alledges: Observe that, tho' *Statius* (79) says, that *Phoenix* accompanied *Achilles* to *Troy*, it does not follow from thence that he supposes he was *Chiron's* Successor; for he says clearly enough, that *Phoenix* had had the Care of *Achilles* before that Voyage; for he calls the latter the *Alumnus* (the Pupil) of *Phoenix* (80). As for *Tzetzes*, who tells us, in his Commentary on *Lycophron*, that *Peleus*, having brought *Phoenix* to *Chiron's* Cave, where *Achilles* was educated, said to him, Behold your Son; tutor him as a good Father ought to educate his Child; he proves nothing against me; nor is he in the least favourable to those who have recourse to the Distinction of Governor and Preceptor, which is so clear in *Plutarch*; with regard to the Son of *Philip* King of *Macedon*. See the Article *LYSIMACHUS*. The Poets, I believe, cannot shew us the same Distinction in those remote Ages; and, however it be, it does not appear that *Peleus* joined *Chiron* in the Tutelage of his Son with *Phoenix*. And if *Tzetzes*, expressing himself very ill, meant so, he deserves no Credit. He is too modern an Author to deserve to be followed in a Matter of Fact, which can neither be reconciled with *Homer*, nor with the ancient Authors, who have attributed the Education of young *Achilles* to *Chiron*.

I shall put an end to this Remark, already too long, with a bold Stroke, which I cannot forbear. I dare affirm, that we need only read the Speech of *Phoenix*, in the ninth Book of the *Iliad*, to admire at those, who at present admire That Poem. For is that Speech worthy the Majesty of *Epic* Poetry? And *Horace*, who, according to Mr *Moreri* (81), boasts in the sixth Satyr of the first Book, that he had learned the *Iliad* by heart, had doubtless forgot that Speech full of a thousand Impertinencies, when he gave the Author of the *Iliad* this Elogy, that he always runs directly to the Mark, that he *bassens to the Event's* *semper ad Eventum festinet* (82). If so, would he amuse a Deputy of the *Greek* Army, who had a very important and pressing Commission; I say, would he amuse him with old Wives Stories, and with a Recital of his former Adventures?

[D] Easily discovered Achilles.] Mr *Moreri* pretends, with little Exactness, that *Ulysses* discovered him, by causing a Merchant to present him with Toys and Arms; for if we adhere to what *Ulysses* himself says of it (83), in his Speech to the Generals of the Army, it was He, who not only presented those Toys and Arms to *Achilles*, but also to all the young Ladies of the Court. If we refer it to *Hyginus*, and *Philostrophus* the younger, it is *Ulysses* again, who presented them, being one of Ambassadors of the *Greeks*, sent to *Lycomedes* to demand *Achilles* of him. If we leave it to *Statius*, it may be said indeed, that it was not *Ulysses* himself, the Chief of the *Greek* Embassy, who presented the Toys, but that he employed a Merchant to do it. Some Moderns (84) say, that he did it himself in the Disguise of a Merchant.

(76) Id. lib. 2. Silva 1. ver. 33.

(77) In Cor. viv.

(78) In Dial. Achill. & Ant.

(79) Ubi supra. & lib. 3. Silv. 2. ver. 96.

(80) Mewrius and Canterus understand by the Word, αλγος, which *Lycophron* made use of to denote *Phoenix*, that the latter had been *Achilles'* Father.

XL
Homer censur'd for the Speech of Phoenix.

(81) In the Article HORACE, but in it a Mistake.

(82) Horat. de Arte Poet. vet. 148.

(83) Ovid. Metam. lib. 13. ver. 175.

(84) Tzetzes, Ophion. lib. 2. cap. 32. Nat. Comes Mythol. lib. 6. cap. 1. Vicerone on Philostr. in the Summary of Achilles' Narrative: Pomey in Pantheo Mythico, &c.

(75) Stat. lib. 5. Silva 3. ver. 191.

away without Trouble, tho' he was so much in Favour with the Princess *Deidamia*; the King's Daughter, that she suffer'd herself to be with Child by him [E]. From hence sprung *Neoptolemus*, or *Pyrrhus*, as shall be observ'd in it's proper Place. *Achilles* fought an infinite Number of fine Battles, during the Siege of *Troy*, and before they encamp'd before the City. The great Quarrel, which arose between *Him* and *Agamemnon* about their Mistresses, (for (g) *Agamemnon* having restor'd *Cbryseis*, who was His, took *Briseis* away, who belong'd to *Achilles*) obliged the latter to keep in his Tent, without troubling himself any more with the War; and nothing was able to make him change his Resolution, but the Death of his dear Friend *Patroclus*, to whom he had lent his Armour (b), of which *Hector* deprived him, as well as of his Life. Upon which, *Vulcan*, at the Request of *Thetis* (i), made a new Suit of Armour for *Achilles* [F]. The Death of *Patroclus* was soon after reveng'd [G]; *Achilles* fought

(g) Homer, II. 1. v. 323, &c.

(b) Ib. l. 16. v. 818.

(i) Ib. l. 18. v. 462, &c.

(84) U/m Cicero de Amicitia, cap. 20.

chant. I dare not maintain that this is forged; but it very certain, that it is not built upon good Authority. *Langius* pretends (85), that *Lycomedes* did what he could by his Tears and Prayers, to hinder *Achilles* from following *Ulysses*, and accuses *Cicero* for having taken the Son for the Father, in these Words: "Nec enim — Trojam Neoptolemus capere potuisset, si Lycomedem apud quem erat educatus cum multis lacrymis iter suum impediementum audire voluisset. — Nor could Neoptolemus have taken Troy, had he suffered himself to have been prevailed upon by the Tears of Lycomedes, who would have prevented his Expedition." *Langius* is mistaken, and not *Cicero*. See the Remark [A] of the Article *PYRRHUS*, the Son of *Achilles*.

[E] Suffered herself to be with Child by him.] *Achilles* was so young at that time, that there are but few Examples of such a forward Generative Faculty as his. And yet good Instruction was then more early; nor was there room for the Complaint of *Montagne* in the twenty fifth Chapter of the first Book of his *Essays*, when he says, *They teach us to live when Life is past. An hundred Scholars have had the Veneral Distemper, before having attained to Aristotle's Lessons of Temperance.* But, if I had mind to moralize on the Poetical History, I should say to *Montagne*, that this Adventure of the Son of *Peleus* is an Admonition, that though Education be implanted never so early, it will sink under the Weight of Nature.

I shall observe by the way, that the Fictions of the Ancients would be more tolerable than they are, had they taken care not to contradict each other so much; but it seems they looked on their fabulous History as a Country, wherein every Body did what he pleased, without any Dependence on others. *Apollodorus* says, that *Achilles* was but nine Years of Age (86), when he was carried into the Isle of *Seyros*, and that they had began already to talk of the Expedition to *Troy*. According to *Statius*, the Preparations of the Greeks had already continued a Year, when *Ulysses* was sent to the Island of *Seyros* to fetch *Achilles* from thence.

When *Ulysses* came there, *Achilles* was already a Father (87): Judge then whether Nature had been slow in granting him the Abilities of a Man, and whether he long deferred the Exercise of them on young *Deidamia*. *Statius* durst not keep to the Calculation of *Apollodorus*, for he gives *Achilles* (88) at least twelve Years before the taking of him out of *Chiron's* Cave. I cannot tell how *Barthius* could find (89), that, according to the Calculation of *Statius*, the Son of *Achilles* must be above a Year old at the Time of *Ulysses's* Embassy; for though the young Hero had enjoyed the Fair one the very first Day, his Son could have been but three Months old at the Arrival of *Ulysses*.

Some have said (90), that he repeated the Dole to his Mistresses, after her first Lying-in, and that he had another Son by her. But, seeing he was born (91) before the Voyage of the *Argonauts*, between which, and the Expedition of *Troy*, the Chronologers (92) place at least thirty Years, judge whether the ancient Poets adjusted their Chronology well.

[F] Made a new Suit of Armour for Achilles.] No body ought to object that *Charles Stephens* and *Lloyd*, *Hofman*, *Moreri*, &c. speak of the impenetrable Armour, which *Thetis* caus'd *Vulcan* to make for her Son, for the Expedition of *Troy*. For though she had rendered his Body already invulnerable, by plunging it in the River *Styx*, we know that few Precautions seem superfluous to motherly Fondness. *Malherbe* designed to specify these two Precautions of *Thetis*, when he said:

Bien que sa mere eût à ses armés
Ajoute la force des charmes (93).

Though to the youthful Hero's Arms
His Mother adds the Force of Charms.

But yet he did not particularize them, because his Expression rather inclines one to think, that *Thetis* gave her Son enchanted Armour, than that, besides having charmed his Body, she presented him likewise with Armour of Proof. Mr *Ménage* (94), who justly censures the Ambiguity of the Expression, acknowledges moreover, that *Thetis* made use of this double Expedient; which in the main does not clash with probability. It is not the Business of a *Discreet Writer* to suppress a Thing under Pretence that it was unnecessary. It is sufficient that he finds it in Authors; being at Liberty, however, if he thinks proper, to arm us with his Philosophical Reflexions. Now it is certain, that an ancient Author called *Philarchus*, or *Phylarchus* has left in Writing, That *Thetis*, finding she could not hinder *Achilles* from going to the Siege of *Troy*, supplicated *Vulcan* to make him a Suit of Armour (95), proof against all human Force. *Vulcan*, having forged the Armour, declared that he would not deliver it, until he had obtained of *Thetis* the greatest Favour she could grant him. She excused herself from it, offering to testify her Acknowledgment by any kind of Service: But, finding he required a Personal Acknowledgment, she promised to pay him with her Person, provided the Armour fitted *Achilles*, which was to be tried upon herself, who was of her Son's Stature. *Vulcan*, satisfied with the Bargain, gave *Thetis* the Armour, who put it on, and ran away with it; the poor Cripple, not being able to overtake her, threw his Hammer after her, and hurt her in the Heel.

It may then be said in general, that *Thetis* caus'd impenetrable Armour to be made for her Son's first Campaign. But since *Homer* is the chief Source, from whence every thing relating to this Article should be drawn, it ought not to have been forgot, that, after the Death of *Patroclus*, from whom *Hector* had taken *Achilles's* Armour, *Thetis* obtained another from *Vulcan*. It is one of the finest Episodes of the *Iliad*, and it served *Virgil* as a Model for one of the best Passages of the *Æneid*. It deserved therefore to be touched upon. Observe, that, according to *Servius* (96), the Armour, which *Patroclus* wore when he was killed, was made at *Peleus's* Cave.

[G] The Death of Patroclus was soon after revenged.] *Moreri* had reason to say, That *Achilles* soon resumed the Arms, which the Loss of *Briseis* had made him lay down. In effect, since the *Iliad* comprehends the Actions of but one Year, according to the Sentiment of Father *Mabruun* (97) in his Treatise of *Epic Poetry*, few Months only must have pass'd between the Retreat of *Achilles*, and his Return to the Army, after the Death of *Patroclus*. Therefore *Malherbe* fell into a strange Mistake, when he reported as a certain Fact, that *Achilles* had been nine Years before the City of *Troy* without fighting.

Achille à qui la Grece à donné cette marque,
D'avoir eu le courage aussi haut que les cieux,
Fut en la même peine, & ne put faire mieux,
Que soupirer neuf ans dans le fond d'une barque (98).

So Great Achilles, fam'd for warlike Might
Thro' Greece, and equal to the Gods in Fight,

(93) Malherbe, lib. 3. P. 75.

(94) *Ménage's Observations on Malherbe*, p. 372.

(95) *Apollodorus's Mythology*, lib. 9. cap. 12. *Tzetzes in Lycophron*, pag. 36. takes some Notice of it. *Whet I report, and is not given us by Natalis Comes, in the Scholiast of Pindar. in Rem. Od. 4.*

(96) *Servius in Æneid.* lib. 1. ver. 843.

(97) Mr *Ménage*, in his *Observations on Malherbe*, p. 441, believes that it comprehends much less.

(98) *Malherbe*, Poëf. l. 5. p. 123.

fought with *Heſtor* (k), and having kill'd him, faſten'd him to his Chariot, and dragged him round the Walls of *Troy* [H]. *Priam* went in Perſon (l) to beg the Body of him, and obtain'd for it a great Ranſom. There are various Opinions concerning the Death of *Achilles*; ſome ſay that *Apollo* killed him (m), or that he (n) aſſiſted *Paris* to kill him, by directing his Dart to the Part, which was not invulnerable; others ſay that *Paris* (o) killed him treacherouſly in a Temple, where *Achilles* was gone to treat about his Marriage with *Philoxena*, the Daughter of *Priam*. The Greeks made a magnificent Funeral for him, of which *Moreri's* Dictionary has mentioned ſome Circumſtances, with very little Exactneſs [I], to ſay no worſe.

They

*Nine Years conceal'd within his Veſſel lay,
And for his Miſtreſs ſig'd the Hours away.*

Sarrazin, being probably deceived by this Place of *Malherbe*, whom he intended to imitate, has ſaid in a very fine Ode,

*Achille, beau comme le jour,
Et vaillant comme ſon épée,
Pleura neuf ans pour ſon amour,
Comme un enfant pour ſa poupée*

*Nine Years, Achilles, fair as Day,
And valiant as his Sword in Battle,
Cry'd for his Miſtreſs, ta'en away,
Like little Maſter for his Rattle.*

(99) *Menage*, as a *Nov.* But Mr *Menage* (99) corrected this Fault in the Edition he procured of *Sarrazin's* Works; he cauſed *Neuf Mois*, *Nine Months*, to be put inſtead of *Neuf Ans*, *Nine Years*. Finally, the Compariſon of *Achilles* to a Child, that cries for it's Baby, has it's Foundation in the *Iliad*; where we ſee that *Achilles*, having loſt his Concubine *Briſſis*, runs all in Tears to make his Complaint to his Mother, and that the good Lady comforts him, as if he were a little Boy.

*Χαλὴ τὴ μὴ νύκτατος, ἔτος τ' ἔπος' ἐν τ' ἐνθάδῃ.
Τίμων, τι κλάεις; τι δὲ σε θρήνη; λόγοι πένθος;
Ἐλευδα, μὴ μὴδ' ὧς τοι ὀδυρὸν ἔμψυ (100).*

(100) *Homer. Iliad.*
lib. 1. ver.
361.

*She seiz'd his Hand -----
And thus the Sorrow of his Soul explores.
Why grieves my Son? Thy Anguiſh let me ſhare,
Reveal the Cauſe, and traſt a Parent's Care.*

POPE.

The Majesty of the *Epic* Poëſy ſuffered theſe Meanneſſes in thoſe Times. Therefore let us not regard them. Let us agree that *Homer* was a fine Genius, let us be pleaſed with the Fruitfulneſs and Eloquence of his Muſe, but let us add,

(101) *Horat.*
Sat. 2. lib. 1.

— Sed ille,

Si foret hoc noſtrum fato delapſus in ævum, &c. (101).

(102) *Æn.*
lib. 1. ver.
483.

— But He,

Were he to live in theſe correſter Times, &c.

(103) *Iliad.*
lib. 23. ver.
23. & lib.
24. ver. 16.

[H] *Dragged him round the Walls of Troy.* Perhaps no Poet, before *Virgil*, ever aſſerted, that the dead Body of *Heſtor* was dragged three times about the Walls of *Troy*:

(104) In *Aſſaſſe*,
ver.
1045.

Ter circum *Iliacos* raptaverat *Hectora* muros (102).

(105) In *Androm.*
ver. 108,
399.

*Thrice round the Trojan Walls Achilles drew
The Corps of Hector, whom in Fight he flew.*

DRYDEN.

(106) *Metam.* lib. 12.
ver. 501.
Amorium,
lib. 2.
Eleg. 1. ver.
32. & in *I-*
bis, ver.
333.

The Number of Turns, remarked by *Homer*, relate only to the Sepulchre of *Patroclus*; and it is very probable, that *Virgil* converted the three Circuits about the Sepulchre, of which *Homer* (103) had expreſſly made mention, into three Compaſſes round the Walls; I ſay, that he changed them in that manner, either through a Defect of Memory, or for the ſake of the Verſe. The Liberty taken in this Alteration has ſcarce been imitated by any Body; you no more find the three Circuits round the Walls in the Authors who lived after *Virgil*, than in thoſe who preceded him. *Sophocles* (104), *Euripides* (105), *Ovid* (106), *Seneca* (107), *Statius* (108), *Diſſy. Cretenſis*

V O L. I.

(109), *Plato* (110); *Cicero* (111), *Hyginus* (112), *Philoftratus* (113), *Libanius* (114), *Serculus* (115), *Tzetzes* (116), *Eufathius* (117), mention indeed of the dragging of *Heſtor*, but not the Number of Turns. As much as I can remember, there is only the Author of the *Leſſer Iliad*, in *Latin Verſe*, who mentions three Courſes round the Walls, and three round the Tomb. This Author's Name is *Pindarus Torbanus*; he was cited by the old Scholiaſt of *Statius*, which *Veſſus* did not know (118). *Barthius* has mentioned him often in the great Volume of his *Adverſaria*, and elſewhere (119). I know that *Auſonius*, in the Summary of the twenty ſecond Book of the *Iliad*, declares that *Heſtor* was dragged three times round the Walls of *Troy*; but I know alſo that he was cenſured for it (120), and that this Error made one of his Commentators believe, that *Auſonius* was not Author of all the Summaries which we have under his Name. Finally, the Treatment of the dead Body, the Diſcourſe which *Achilles* had with *Heſtor*, ready to expire, the Liberty he granted to every one of inſulting and ſtriking the dead Body, that Venal Soul, which ſuffered itſelf to be at laſt perſuaded, by rich Preſents, to ſend *Priam* the Body of his Son, are Things ſo far remote, I will not ſay from Heroic Virtue, but from the moſt Common Generoſity, that it muſt neceſſarily be judg'd, either that *Homer* had no manner of Idea of Heroiſm, or that he had only a Deſign to deſcribe the Character of a meer Brute. He repreſents *Achilles* to us, as wiſhing himſelf ſavage enough to eat *Heſtor's* Fleſh raw.

*Δὲ γὰρ πὺς αὐτὸν μὴ μόνος καὶ θυμῷ ἀνίη
Ἦμ' ἀνταμύμενον πρὶν ἔσθηναι (121).*

*Could I myſelf the bloody Banquet join!
No! — to the Dogs thy Carcaſe I reſign.*

POPE.

The Poet did not ſo much as comprehend, that, to do more Honour to his Hero, he ought not to have aſcribed to his Enemy ſo much Cowardice and Weakneſs as he does.

[I] *Funeral* — which *Moreri's* Dictionary has mentioned ſome Circumſtances with very little Exactneſs.] This Author has ſaid, that the Gods lamented the Death of *Achilles* ſeventeen Days; but he ought not to have cited *Homer*, without quoting the Place, where he ſpeaks of it. Now it cannot be in the *Iliad*, for he ſtrictly obſerved the Rule, which forbids to bury the Hero of an *Epic* Poem, in the Poem itſelf. *Virgil* obſerved it alſo. He ought to have ſaid then, that *Homer* ſpeaks of *Achilles's* Funeral in the twenty fourth Book of the *Odyſſey*, where he introduces that *Epiſode* on the Occaſion of *Penelope's* Suitors, killed by *Ulyſſes*. They have done wrong in the Edition of *Amſterdam*, to put the Continuators on *Homer* in the Place of *Homer* himſelf. But this is not all: They ſhould not have ſaid *The Gods* in general, without ſpecifying what *Homer* particularly mentions, to wit, That *Thetis*, accompanied by the Sea Goddeſſes, came to the Camp of the *Greeks*, to ſolemnize the Funeral Rites of her Son jointly with them, and that the nine Muſes aſſiſted with their mournful Elegies. He might have cited *Pindar* for this laſt Circumſtance.

*Τὸν μὲν ὅτε θένοντ' ἀνιῶν
δαίμον' ἄλλὰ εἰ
παρὰ τε πυλῶν τάφου
δ' ἑλαινίαι παρβίνοι
ἔσαν, ἡνὶ ὀρήντο το-
λῶμαίον ἔχουσαν. ἔδο-
ξεν δ' ἄρα δ' ἀθανάτους
ἑλὼν γε φῶτα κὶ φθιμένον δ'
μῦθος ὅθιν διδοίμαν (122)*

X

(1) *Virgil.*
Æn. lib. 6.
ver. 47.
Ovid. *Met.*
lib. 12. ver.
530.
(6) *Diſſy.*
Cr. lib. 4.
Direc. *Phyſi-*
cus, *Hig-*
gus, G. 110.
Servius in
Æn. 6. ver.
57.

(103) Lib. 3.
(111) De
Republ. lib.
3. Tom. 2.
pag. 391. B.
(112) Tuſ-
cul. I.
(113) Cap.
120.
(114) In *He-*
roic. pag.
697.
(115) Pro-
pyma. pag.
100. D.

(116) P. 75.
(117) In *Ho-*
mer. lib.
2. ver. 401.
(118) De
Hiſtor. Lat.
pag. 819.
(119) See *his*
Commentary
on *Statius*,
Tom. 1.
pag. 340, &
Tom. 2. p.
393. 1603.

(120) See the
Diſtribut. of
Marianus.
Accurſ. *upr*
Auſonius.
(121) *Iliad.*
lib. 22. ver.
346.

(122) *Pin-*
dar. lib. 1.
O. 5. pag.
715.

In

he

(134) In
Heroic. pag.
705. C. Sc.
also Ælian.
Hist. div.
lib. 14.
cap. 23.

(140) Kuh
sius in *Æ*
lian *ibid.*

(143) Philostratus in Heroic. pag. 704. calls them τῆς

ἄλκιμος
 ἄλκιος Vige-
 nere tran-
 slates, The
 Ancients,
 who were
 in the same
 Age with
 Achilles.
 This is very
 ambiguous; be-
 lie had better
 use the
 Word Cen-
 tury than
 Age, and
 doubtless
 Philostratus
 did not mean
 that they
 were cotem-
 porary with
 Achilles,
 but that they
 were so with
 each other.

(148) A-
chill. lib. 1.
ver. 335.
See al d
Diçlys Cret.
lib. 1.

That the
Shade ap-
peared first
of the Height
of seven Cu-
bics

(141) Stati
Achill.
lib. 2. ver
442.

No greater Toil, than when the Lyre I str
And Heroes were the Subject of my Song.

(g) Printed at Leyden in 1693. See the History of the Works of the Learned, May 1693, pag. 511.

he lov'd them as well on his side [O]; and it is even said that his Amours extended to Persons of his own Sex [P]. We shall see in the following Article what he did after his Death, and a Miracle he wrought, which *Tertullian* has taken Notice of. I refer you to the *Homerique Achilles* (g) of the late Mr *Drelinchourt*, as a Collection of the most compleat Literature that can be met with in Relation to this Hero of *Paganism*.

cites, gives This Hero a fine and tall Stature, and a Face that shot forth Rays, a Nose neither Aquiline nor hooked, but such as it ought always to continue. Thus *Vigenere* translates it, apparently from the Latin Version: I should choose to render it, *such as it ought to be*, and give This Signification to the Verb *μᾶλλον*.

[O] *He loved them as well on his side.* The Incontinency of *Achilles* was both a forward and a lasting Fruit: We have seen, that he got *Deidamia* with Child at ten Years of Age: And his future Achievements of this kind were answerable to this early Beginning. It was not long before *Iphigenia* experienced his Abilities (152), in the same way; and if *Diana* believed that they offered her a Virgin-Sacrifice in the Person of this Daughter of *Agamemnon*, she was deceived. *Achilles* had taken Care, that, if the worst came to the worst, *Iphigenia* should not go out of the World without having tasted both the Joys of Conception, and the Pains of Labour. He saw *Helen* on the Walls of *Troy*, and became so furiously in love with her, that he had no Rest, and was forced to have recourse to his Mother (153), and to beg of her to procure him by some means or other the Enjoyment of this Beauty. A fine Employ for a Mother! *Thetis* accepted of it, and invented a kind of Pimping, which consisted in making her Son believe, that he enjoyed the Fair One: But it was a meer Dream; and yet This imaginary Repast appeased *Achilles's* Appetite. Though he lost *Briseis*, he did not lie alone; he was too careful in providing for his Bed. He could find *Relays* at Home in case of Necessity; *Diomedes* (154) supplied the Place of *Briseis*. He had no sooner seen *Polyxena*, the Daughter of *Priam*, than he desired to make her his Wife; and not being able to satisfy this Desire in his Lifetime, he required that, after his Death, she should be sacrificed to him (155), that he might enjoy her in the *Elysian* Fields. He had so well deserved in this World to be called (156) *ἀφρονικός, ἀκατάχρηστος, ἀφρονικός* (*Amorous, Incontinent, &c.*) (157), that it was thought he would stand in need of Women, even in the other, and therefore they married him there both to *Medea* and *Helen*. He was accused (158) of having fallen in love with the *Amazon*

Penthesilea, after he had taken her Life away, and of having gratified his Passion on her dead Body. We shall take Notice of this in the Article *THERSITES*. See also the Article *TENES*.

[P] *Persons of his own Sex.* Some will have it (159), that *Troilus*, the Son of *Priamus*, died smothered in the Arms of the lascivious *Achilles*, who would have violated him, but found too much Resistance. A very malicious Turn is given to the Choice, which *Ajax* suggested to *Menelaus*, when he advised him to cause the News of the Death of *Patroclus* to be carried to *Achilles* by the handsome *Antilochus*. *Philoftratus* (160), who says plainly enough what sort of Acquaintance there might be between the Hero and the Messenger, who was chosen, is mistaken in relation to the Author of this Choice; for it was not *Menelaus*, as he says, who cast his Eyes on *Antilochus*; it was *Ajax* (161), who propos'd it to *Menelaus*. But it is chiefly with respect to *Patroclus*, that they have given a criminal Turn to the Passion of *Achilles*. *Plato* (162) takes his part upon this against *Eschylus*. *Xenophon* (163), is of *Plato's* Opinion in it. *Sextus Empiricus* (164) handles the Matter like a Man of his Profession, I mean Pyrrhionically. But *Lucian* and *Philoftratus* (165) declare him guilty of it: One of them pretends that *Achilles* was not enough upon his Guard in lamenting his Friend's Death, and that he suffered the Truth to escape him in these Words.

Μηδὺν τοὺν οὖν εὐνοῦντος ἡμίλιν
καλλίω. (166)

*Femur tuorum sancta conversatio
Melior,*

What shall we say of this Distich to the 44th Epigram of the 11th Book of *Martial*?

*Briseis multum quamvis averfa jaceret,
Æacidae propior levis amicus erat.*

*What tho' Briseis lay not by his Side,
His smoth-fac'd Friend her Absence well supply'd.*

A CHILLEA, an Island of the *Euxine* Sea, called also the *Island of Heroes*, the *Island Macaron* (a), or the *Island of the Blessed, Leuce, &c.* was, according to some, over against the *Borysbenes*, and, according to others, over against the *Danube*. The Name of *Achillea* was given it, because the Tomb of *Achilles* was to be seen there (b), and because it was consecrated to that Hero. *Tbetis* (c) or *Neptune* gave it him, and he obtained Divine Honours there, a Temple, an Oracle, an Altar, Sacrifices, and the like. Some speak of this Island (d) as if it were uninhabited, and that it was unsafe to pass the Night in it; which obliged Persons, who went on Shore there, to return on Board toward the Evening, after having seen the Antiquities of the Place, the Temple, and the Gifts, which were consecrated to *Achilles*. This Hero was not there alone; the Souls of many other Heroes had likewise their Abode there [A]; and as for *Achilles*, he must necessarily have been present both in Body and Soul; for he married *Helen* there (e), and had a Son by her, whose Name was *Euphorion*, whom *Jupiter* loved criminally, and without Success, and whom he killed with a Thunderbolt, to punish him for his Refusal. Others say (f), that *Achilles* had *Iphigenia* to Wife in this Island, whom *Diana* had transported thither, after having communicated to her the Gift of Immortal Youth, with a Divine Nature. Lastly, others pretend, that the Wife, whom he married in the other World, was the famous *Medea* (g); but the most common Opinion gives him *Helen* to Wife. It

[A] *The Souls of many other Heroes had likewise their Abode there* (1). This appears from a Passage of *Pausanias* (2), where he relates that *Leonymus*, General of the *Crotenians*, having been at the Island of *Leuce* to be cured of a Wound, reported, That he had seen there *Achilles*, the two *Ajax's*, *Patroclus*, *Antilochus*, &c. I wonder *Ammianus Marcellinus* forgot this in the Passage, where he tells us, that this Island was a dangerous Place: "In hac Taurica Infula *Leuce* sine Habitatibus ullis *Achilli* est dedicata; in quam si fuerint quidam forte delati, visis

"antiquitatis vestigiis templaque & donariis eidem
"heroi consecratis, vesperi repetunt naves; aiant
"anim non sine discrimine vitæ illic quemquam per-
"nocitare (3). — In this Tauric the uninhabited I-
"sland of *Leuce*, is consecrated to *Achilles*; at which,
"whoever happen to arrive, after having viewed the
"Remains of Antiquity, the Temple, and the Gifts
"consecrated to That Hero, go back to their Ships
"at Night: for they say, that no one can pass the
"Night there, without endangering his Life."

Temple, was not the least. That which relates to the Flight of Birds [F], is misrepresented by Mr *Moreri*, who moreover gives us a separate Article of a Fountain called ACHILLEA [G], wherein *Achilles* was wont to bathe himself, and which had a wonderful Quality. *Achilles* was not the only Person, who wrought Miracles in the Island of *Leuce*; his Wife *Helen* shar'd this Reputation with him (k), as we shall

(k) See the Remark [D].

stroyed them on the spot, and they fell stone-dead under the Trees. Whereupon the Amazons, crowding about the Temple, fell a spurring their Horses; but *Achilles* giving them a furious Look, as when he rufled on Scamander before Troy, so terrify'd their Horses, that their Fright proved stronger than their Bridles. So that prancing and curvetting, and imagining that what they carried on their Backs was a new and extraordinary Weight, they threw down the Amazons, and, like wild Beasts, trod them under foot; their Mains standing erect through Fury, and their Ears prick'd up; and thus, like cruel Lions, they tore them to pieces, devour'd their Arms and Legs, and made a most horrid Carriage of their Bowels. When they were glutted with this Feast, they fell a prancing and galloping through the Island, full of Rage and Fury, with their Jaws bloody, till they came to the top of a Cape, from whence perceiving the smooth Sea, and taking it for a fine large Plain, they ran headlong into it, and so perish'd. As for the Ships of the Amazons, an impetuous Whirlwind falling upon them (when they were empty and destitute of all their Rigging) caus'd them to dash one against another, as it were in a Sea Fight; so that they were broke to pieces, especially those whose Sides were attack'd by the Beaks and Prows of other Ships, as commonly happens to Vessels which have no Pilots. So that all the Wrecks meeting together near the Temple, where there were many Bodies half dead, and breathing still, and several Limbs horribly scattered up and down, with the Flesh, which the Horses, being not used to such Food, had reject'd, That holy Place must needs have been very much prophaned. But *Achilles* soon purged and expiated it; as it was an easy thing to do, in an Island of such small extent, against which the Sea beat on all Sides. *Achilles* having therefore let in the Waves, every thing was washed and made clean in a trice.

[F] That which relates to the Flight of Birds. What *Moreri* ascribes to *Pliny*, namely, That no Bird is seen to fly there, is misrepresented. *Pliny's* Words are: "Perdices non transvolant Boeotiae fines in Attica, nec ulla avis in Ponto, infula quæ sepultus est *Achilles*, sacratam ei zædem (18). — That is, Partridges; do not fly beyond the Frontiers of Boeotia in Attica; nor any Bird beyond the Temple of *Achilles*, which is in an Island of the Euxine Sea." *Salmastius* pretends, that by these Words must be understood, that no Bird ever soar'd above this Temple; and he proves by a Passage of *Antigonus Carysius*, that this was anciently believed (19). And, whereas he proves from an express Passage of *Arrian*, that the Birds came into the Temple every Morning to scatter the Water, with which they had wetted their Wings, and to sweep the Temple afterwards with them (20); he insults *Solinus* for having said, That no Bird comes into the Temple of *Achilles*; and that if any one happens to come near it, he flies from it again as fast as he can. *Salmastius* says, That *Solinus* has nothing but what he borrowed from *Pliny*; and that the latter had said the same thing with *Antigonus Carysius*; but it is more likely, that *Pliny* had not the Thought of *Antigonus Carysius* in view, and that *Solinus* had read the Fact elsewhere, adorned with more particular Circumstances, than those of *Pliny*. For what Negligence would it not be in the latter, if, intending to inform us, that Birds did not fly over the Temple, he should make use of an Expression which signifies, that they never flew beyond it? These two things are so little alike, that there is nothing more easy than never to go over a House, and yet to leave it behind; as it is not more difficult to fly above a House, without passing beyond it. Besides, the Ancients were so fond of diversifying their Miracles, that it is improbable, after what had been related from the time of *Antigonus Carysius*, that the Story of the Birds flying away at the sight of the Temple of *Achilles*, should not be broached till the time of *Solinus*. However it be, it cannot be proved from *Pliny* against *Solinus*, that the Birds came into it; and after all, Mr *Moreri* will be found to have imputed to *Pliny* more

than he really said, and to have suffered himself to be deceived by these Words of *Charles Stephens*, in the two above-cited Editions (21). *Achilles infulam nulla avis transvolat*. — i. e. No Bird flies over *Achilles's* Island. *Plin.* 10. 29. 10. But he will take his Revenge with Usury on Mr *Hofman*, who attributes the same thing to *Strabo* also. It was owing, no doubt, to his seeing that Mr *Moreri* cited *Strabo* immediately after *Pliny*, and for want of taking notice, that That Citation from *Strabo*, with that of *Pomponius Mela*, which follows it, relate to other Matters contained in the Article. *Nullam hic avem volare*, says he, *Plin.* l. 10. c. 19. habet & *Strabo*, l. 13. (22).

[G] A separate Article of a Fountain called ACHILLEA. This Article appeared to me at first Sight worthy of Criticism; it seemed to me, that this Fountain was not called so Substantively; but by way of Epithet, or Adjectively, in common with every thing, which belonged to *Achilles*. In a Word, *Fons Achilleus*, and the Fountain of *Achilles*, appeared to me the same thing. Now as it would be ridiculous to make an Article of the Word *Jacobean*, in giving an Account of That Well of *Jacob*, spoken of in the fourth Chapter of *St John* (23), which a Latin Translator might call *Fontem Jacobeanum* if he pleas'd; I could not help thinking, that the Epithet *Achilleus*, which *Freinbemi*us makes use of, speaking of the Fountain of *Achilles*, ought not to be made a separate Article. But, after having consulted *Athenæus* (24), I found that this Criticism would be precarious, because it appeared to me that it might be contested, whether this Fountain was called *Ἀχιλλέων* Substantively, or Adjectively, and whether it might not appear in it's alphabetical Order, with as much Reason as the Island *Achillea*. It is to be found in the Geographical *Theſaurus* of *Ortelius* (25), under the Word *Achilleum*, and afterwards under the Word *Achilleus fons*; which is however better than the *Achillea, fons Miletii*, of Mr *Hofman*.

I shall not examine, whether *Freinbemi*us has well explained the Passage of *Athenæus*, which regards the Singularities of this Fountain (26). I am satisfied with observing, that *Athenæus* ought at least to have been cited, according to *Freinbemi*us, that is to say, at his sixth Chapter, and not at the second, of the second Book. Mr *Hofman* follows Mr *Moreri* in quoting, and they were both shewn the Way by *Ortelius*. But this is nothing in Comparison of *Moreri's* Blunder, who gives us *Aristobolus* the Son of *Cassander*, instead of *Aristobolus* Native of *Cassandria*.

We cannot complain too much of the Negligence of those who make Supplements to Dictionaries; for very often they tack certain things to them, which contradict those already there, and generally they forget to accommodate the Addition in such manner to the Foundation on which they build it, that no Dissonance may result from it. It is *Horace's* Rule,

Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet imum (27).

The Piece must be consistent with itself.

For Example, those who enlarged the Dictionary of *Charles Stephens*, made no Difficulty under the Word *Achillea*, to insert these Words of *Ortelius*, crude as they were, and without the least Alteration, "Video à Nebriffensi Caccariam, & à Carolo Stephano Caccariam in suis Dictionariis poni, sed pro ponti infula, quam dicunt apud Melam Collifaria dici, ex depravata fortè lectione, &c. — I find Caccaria in the Dictionary of *Nebriffensis*, and Caccaria in that of *Charles Stephens*; but they both appear to be a false reading for an Island of Pontus, which in *Mela* is said to go by the Name of Collifaria." Which is odd enough; for it makes *Charles Stephens* speak of his own Dictionary, in the Dictionary itself, as if he cited another Work; and yet he seems uncertain, in citing himself, of what he had advanced without any Appearance of Doubt in the Passage, which he quotes.

[H] *Athen.*

(18) *Plin.* lib. 10. cap. 29.

(19) *Salmast.* Exercit. *Plinian.* in *Solin.* cap. 29. pag. 215.

(20) In *Periplo Ponti Euxini*. *Philostrophus* has said almost the same thing. In that Island (says he, according to the Translation of *Vigenere*, Tom. 2. fol. 337.) there is a certain Species of white Birds, which are aquatic, and smell of the Sea, which *Achilles* makes use of to cleanse his sacred Grove, sweeping it with the Wind of their Wings, and sprinkling it with their Feather, wetted with Sea-water; for which they fly but very little above the Ground.

(21) In the Remark [L], of the Article ACHILLES, towards the Middle.

(22) *Hofman* upon the Word ACHILLEA.

(23) *Tioje* *ponto translatu* it; there was a Well of *Jacob* there, would do better to render it *Jacob's* Well was there, or as the Port-Royal has it, There was a Well there which was called *Jacob's*.

(24) *Ἐν Μελίτρον ὑπὸ τῶν εὐξίνων ἔστιν ἡ Ἀχιλλέων πηγή.* *Athen.* lib. 2. cap. 6.

(25) *Edit.* *Hanov.* 1611, in 4to.

(26) *Freinbemi*us. Supplement. in *Ortel.* Curt. 2. 7. 24. *ADVICE* to those who make Supplements to Dictionaries.

(27) *Horat.* de Arte Poët. ver. 154.

shall observe under the Article STESICHORUS. *Abundance* is here more dangerous than *Scarcity* [H].

[H] *Abundance is here more dangerous than Scarcity.* If the Reader finds in this Work several Relations of Prodiges, and Miraculous Traditions, he must not imagine, that it is my Intention to put them off for true; I fear no Accusers on this Head. If this were my Design, I would relate but very few of them. I am very sensible that in these Subjects; Credulity is the Source of Abundance (28); but at length it runs into such excess, that it generally cures those who are not incurable. CREDULITY is a Mother, whose own Fruitfulness destroys her sooner or later in the Minds of those, who make use of their Reason. So that it would have been the Interest of the Pagans, who intended to deify their Heroes, to have attributed but few Miracles to them. The Maxim *πλὴν ἡμιον πάντος, The Half is more than the Whole*, and That other, *ne quid nimis, Too much of one thing is good for nothing*, are applicable here. They, who have so multiplied the Sacred Winding Sheets, the Pictures of the Holy Virgin painted by St Luke, the Hairs of the same Saint, the Head of St John Baptist, the Fragments of the true Cross, and an hundred Things of this Nature, ought to reflect on these two Maxims; for, by encreasing the Dose, they have weakened the Force of it, and have administered both the Poison and the

Antidote at once; *Ipse sibi obstat magnitudo* (29). — *It's own Bulk is it's Ruin.* Achilles had the same Fate in the Island of *Leuce*, as at *Troy*: The same Miracles, which might deceive the Reader, are sufficient to undeceive him; as the same Spear, which wounded *Telephus*, served him as a Balm to heal the Wound.

Vulnus Achillæo quæ quondam fecerat hosti,
Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit (30).
Nysus & Æmonia juvenis qua cuspidis vulnus
Senferat, hac ipsa cusptide sensit opem (31).

*Ev'n in his Foe a Friend the Trojan found,
And the same Spear both gave and heal'd his Wound.*

But I forget that the Number of those, who are undeceiv'd by the multiplication of Prodiges, is so small, in comparison of those who are not, that it is not worth my while to alter my Course, and to take the two Maxims above for my Polar Star, when I trade in this Merchandise (32). We shall find a Mistake of *Camerarius* in the Remark [2] of the Article P.Y.RRHUS, King of *Epirus*, concerning a pretended Miracle of our *Achilles*.

ACHMET, the Son of *Seirim*. He wrote a Book of the Interpretation of Dreams, according to the Doctrine of the *Indians, Persians, and Egyptians*. It was translated from *Greek* into *Latin*, about the Year 1160, by *Leo Tuscus* (a), who dedicated it to *Hugo Echerianus* [A]. It was published in *Latin*, in the Year 1577 (b), from a very mutilated Manuscript, found in the Library of *Sambucus* (c); but it was said to be a Work of *Apomajares* (d). The learned *Leunclavius* inform'd the Public (e) of this Mistake, in his *Annals* of the *Turks*. Mr *Rigault* is the first who published this Work in *Greek*. He added it to *Artemidorus*, on account of the Similitude of the Subjects, and published them together at *Paris*, in the Year 1603. He alter'd nothing in the *Latin* Translation of *Leunclavius*, and made no Notes on the Text (f). He believes that *Achmet*, the Son of *Seirim*, is the same whom *Gesner* mentions. But the *Achmet* of *Gesner* was the Son of *Habramius* (g), and a Physician, and Author of a Work divided into seven Books, entitled, *Peregrinantium Viatica*, which was in *Greek*, in the Library of Don *Diego Hurtado de Mendoza*, the Emperor's Ambassador at *Venice*, when *Gesner* compos'd his Book. *John Anthony Sarrazin* was in possession of the same Work (h), as he assures us, in his Notes on *Dioscorides*. The two *Greek* Copies of the King of *France's* Library, from which Mr *Rigault* published his Book of Dreams, do not import that the Author called himself *Achmet*, the Son of *Seirim*. It is true, that, as the Beginning is wanting, it may be conjectured, that when they were whole, the Author's Name might appear at the Head. But lastly, these are but Conjectures, which may receive Strength from another Consideration; which is, that the Name of *Achmet* is writ with a fresher Hand on one of the two Copies. That Name did not appear in the Copy, which *Leo Tuscus* made use of in the XIIIth Century, in composing his Translation: This is inferred from the *Italian* Translation of that Work, compos'd by *Tricasso* (i). Mr *Rigault* took the Exordium, and gave it in *Latin*; though he supposes that it was not *Achmet* himself, but *Leo Tuscus*, who compos'd it (k). *Barthius* had the Translation of this *Leo*, and believes that his Copy was written in that Translator's Time (l). The Specimen he gives of it makes it appear, that it was not translated literally, and that many Passages of it were omitted. What is most remarkable is, that the Names of *Achmet* and of *Seirim* are in the Title of the Manuscript with those of *Syrnacham, Baram, and Tarphan*. The first of these three last Persons was Interpreter of Dreams (m), at the Court of the King of the *Indies*; the second at the Court of *Saanisan*, King of *Persia*; and the third, at the Court of *Pbaraob*, King of *Egypt* (n). *Barthius* conjectures from hence, that *Achmet* and *Seirim* were also two Interpreters of Dreams in some Barbarian Court. However it be, the Work was compiled by a Christian; for the Author begins it in the Name of the Holy Trinity (o). Mr *Rigault* looks upon the *Greek* Text only as an antient Translation of the Work. The Original was in *Arabic*.

Lambecius makes *Achmet* to flourish in the IXth Century, at the Court of *Mamoun*, Caliph of *Babylon*. Mr *du Cange* is not of that Opinion. See his *Greek Glossary*, at the Word *μαμούν*.

[A] To *Hugo Echerianus*.] *Barthius* calls him *Hugo Eterianus*, and says that he was an Excellent Author, *Scriptorem ævo suo luculentum* (1). There is a false Print in *Barthius*, as well as in these Words of Mr *Rigault*, *Hugoni Echeriano dedicavit*. It ought to have been *Hugo Eterianus, Hugoni Eteriano. Allatius*, in the eleventh Chapter of the second Book de per-

petuo consensu *Ecclesiæ Occidentalis & Orientalis*, is mistaken in citing *Hugo Eiberianus*. *Baronius, Bellarmine*, and many others, write *Hugo Eterianus*, but *Eterianus* is more correct. It is the Name of an Ecclesiastical Author of the XIIth Century. This was communicated to me by Mr de la Mennoie.

(29) Florus in Præm.

(30) Ovid. Remed. Amor. lib. 1.

(31) Propert. lib. 2. eleg. 1.

(32) I beg pardon for this far fetched, or, if you will, non-jesical Figure.

(28) Prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata sunt, quæ quo magis credebantur simplices ac religiosi homines, eo etiam plura nuntiabantur. Liv. lib. 34. cap. 45. — i. e. That Year many Prodiges were said to have happened, and the more they were credited by foolish and superstitious Persons, the more they were esteemed.

(a) Rigault's Pref. to Achmet's Book.

(b) Leunclavius, at Frankfurt, in 8vo.

(c) Barthius, Advers. lib. 31. cap. 14.

(d) Toot is, Abumathar, or Albumathar. See the Catal. Oxoniens. pag. 35.

(e) Rigault. ubi supra.

(f) Titi's said he did, in the Catalogue of Oxford. pag. 5.

(g) Gesn. Biblioth. fol. 2. verso.

(h) Rigault. Ubi supra.

(i) Patrice Tricasso des Curatiers, de Mantua. See the Biblioth. of Du Verdier, pag. 94c.

(k) Ex Pref. Rigault.

(l) Ubi supra.

(m) Syrnacham, in the Edit. of Rigaltius.

(n) This appears by the beginning of the 2d, 3d, and 4th Chapters of the Book.

(o) See the end of the 2d Chapter.

(1) Barth. Advers. lib. 31. cap. 14.

ACIDALIUS (VALENS) would have been one of the best of the modern Critics, if a longer Life had permitted him to bring the Talents he had received from Nature to Perfection (a). He was born at *Wistock*, in the Frontiers of *Brandenburg*, and having visited several Universities of *Germany, Italy*, and of other Countries, where he made himself much beloved [A], he resided at length at *Breslaw*, the Capital of *Silesia*. He waited a long time for an Employ in this place; but, not succeeding, he went over to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, where he soon met with the Rectorship of a School [B]. It is said, that four Months were hardly expired, when a very strange Accident happened to him. He was following the Procession of the Holy Sacrament, and on a sudden fell into a Phrenzy. He was carried home, and died soon after. Some gave out, that he had killed himself [C]. His Death was a great Loss, for he had Wit, and was a very industrious Person. His great Application to Study was the cause of his Death, if we may believe *Tbuanus* (b), who says, that by sitting up too late, while he was composing his *Divinations* on *Plautus* [D], he contracted a Distemper [E], of which he died in three Days, on the 25th of *May*, 1595. He was just entered into his 29th Year [F]. We have several Books written by him (c). A little Tract, printed in 1595, to shew that *Women were not rational Animals, mulieres non esse homines*, was falsely ascribed to him [G]. I have

(a) Adolefcens summæ Spei & Eruditionis. A Youth of the greatest Hopes and Learning. Thuan. lib. 113. p. 68.

(b) Ibid.

(c) See the Remark [D].

[A] *Where he made himself much beloved.* The Esteem, which the illustrious Persons of *Italy* had for him, may be seen by the Literary Correspondence, which he held with *Vincenz Pinelli, Jerom Mercurialis, Antony Ricciolini, Alcanius Porcius*, &c. He resided three Years in that Country (1).

[B] *The Rectorship of a School.* *Barthius* affirms this: *Rektor Scholæ Neufanæ factus* (2); says he, *He was made Rector of the School of Neufan*. I believe he ought to have said *Neiffanæ, or Niffanæ*. *Neiffe*, which *Acidalius* always calls *Niffa* in his Letters, is three or four Leagues from *Breslaw*. The Bishop of this Name resides there (3). He, who was then in that See, had *John Matthew Wacker* for his Chancellor, a Patron of Learning, and the Learned. He invited *Acidalius* to *Neiffe*, and lodg'd him at his House. See *Acidalius's* Letter (4). I have not observed in those, which he writ from that Place, that he ever mentioned the Rectorship of the School.

[C] *That he had killed himself* (5). *Christian Acidalius*, the Brother of *Valens*, durst not speak out plain, when he complained of the Calumnies which were spread abroad concerning his Brother's Death; but it must be no longer questioned, after what *Barthius* writ in one of his Books, that the Subject of his Complaint was the Report which was spread, that *Acidalius* had killed himself; a Theme of great Outcry from the Pulpit. Let us hear how *Christian Acidalius* speaks of it, after having said that his Brother was pompously buried. "Ut mirari satis nequeam calida multorum in judicando nimium præcipit tantum & temerarium ingenia, qui, & ipsius morbi & loci etiam sæpe ignari, quicquid maledicendi libido dictavit, vel fama, quæ

Tam fidi pravique tenax quàm nuncia veri,

"de obitu ipsius sparsit, propagare porro in externas etiam regiones & propugnare, imo nescio quas tragedias etiam in concionibus ad plebem, ubi regnare solent, excitare non erubuerunt. — So that I cannot sufficiently admire the rash and hasty Judgments of certain Persons, who were not ashamed to propagate in foreign Countries, the false Reports, which Calumny, and Fame,

Alike the Voice of Falshood and of Truth,

"had spread concerning his Death, and to dress up I know not what Tragical Story, in their Harangues to the People, whose Passions they command (6)." He does not deny that his Brother was disordered in his Brain, which deprived him of his Reason. "Gravissimum illud febrium acutatum symptoma Paraphrenitidem aliquoties sensit, quod extremum malorum animam etiam sua sede ejecit (7). — He was sometimes taken with a Paraphrenitis, that worst Symptom of Acute Fevers, which shakes the very Soul itself from her Seat." But he maintains that very able Physicians, and Mr *Wacker's* Family, at whose House Mr *Valens* lay sick, assisted him 'till he died. Perhaps there is nothing in which Fame oftener deceives us, than in relating the Sickness and Death of illustrious Persons; wherefore Preachers, and all Moralists in general, ought

to be very reserved in their Reflections on them. One cannot too much distrust the rash Credulity, or artful Malice of this kind of Newsmongers.

[D] *His Divinations on Plautus.* On the one side he had the Satisfaction to see them promised in the Catalogue of *Frankfort* (8); and on the other, the Vexation of being obliged to make an hundred Complaints against the Slowness of his Bookseller. In a Word, they were not published 'till after his Death. *Barthius* set a Value on that Work; "Pauci cum Comici locum affectu sunt — solus Acidalius rectum sensum percipit, ut alia multa in Comico (9). — Few (says he) have hit the Poet's Sense in that Passage — Acidalius alone discovered it, as he did in many others." Mr *Teiffier* says, That the Commentary of *Acidalius* on *Quintus Curtius* is much esteemed (10). He dedicated it to the Bishop of *Breslaw*, who rewarded him well for it, as it appears from the Author's Thanks in his eighty ninth Letter. He wrote *Notes* on *Tacitus*, on the twelve *Panegyrics*, and on *Velleius Paterculus*, besides *Specimens, Letters, and Poems* (11). This last Work inserted in the Delights of the *German Poets*, contains *Epic Verses, Odes, and Epigrams*, which *Borrichius* thought to be of little Value (12). His Dissertation de constitutione carminis *Elgiaci*, pleases *Barthius* (13).

[E] *He contracted a Distemper.* *Tbuanus* does not say what that Distemper was; but we learn from another Hand that *Acidalius* heated his Blood in such manner, by sitting up late, whilst he was commenting on *Plautus*, that from that time he became subject to Fevers. This we learn from his Brother.

[F] *He was just entered into his twenty ninth Year.* *Uratislavie*, quæ *Silesiorum* Metropolis, per seque annum plus minus utrumque se mihi præstitit, (preceptorum & patrem) donec inde Nyssam evocatus familiaris morbo suo, quem ex nimis vigiliis in adornandis Plautinis Divinationibus suis, contraxerat, FEBRI SCILICET ACUTIS- SIMA opprimeretur (14). — During his *Acidalius* bode, for half a Year, or thereabouts, at *Breslaw*, the Capital of *Silesia*, I found in him both a Preceptor and a Father; 'till being invited to *Nyssa*, he was there seized with, and died of, that fatal Distemper, which he had contracted by too great an Application to his Divinations on *Plautus*. I mean A MOST ACUTE FEVER." He was more than once dangerously ill in *Italy*, and he informed his Friends in his Letters, that a Fever was his common Disorder in that Country. See Page 97 and 112 of his Letters.

[G] *A little Tract — was falsely ascribed to him.* *Geisler* cleared him from this false Imputation, as appears from these Words of *Placcius*; "Prioris auctor quomodo non ex vero sit habitus Valens Acidalius, vide apud Geislerum decadis 3. n. 8. (16). How

(8) Valens Acidali. Epist. pag. 317, 326.

(9) Barth. in Statium, Tom. 1. pag. 239.

(10) Teiffier's *Elgiaci*, taken from Mr de Thous Tom. 2. pag. 315.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Borrich. Differt. de Poët. pag. 125.

(13) In Claudian. apud König. Biblioth. pag. 6.

(14) Christ. Acidali. ubi supra.

(15) Baillet's Jugement sur les Poët. n. 1346.

(16) Pbeccius de Anonymis. l. 2. c. 16.

(1) Valens Acidali. in Epist. pag. 209, 215.

(2) Apud König. Biblioth. pag. 6.

(3) Niffa ad fluvium eognominem, Episcopatus Wratislaviensis sedes. Niffa, upon the River of that Name, see See of the Bishop of Breslaw. Bano in Cluverii Intr. d. lib. 3. cap. 15. pag. 106. Edit. Amstel. 1697.

(4) P. 228, 318.

(5) Barthius quotes this with his own Hand, in his Copy of Acidalius's *Premi*. See König. Bibl. Vet. & Nov. pag. 6.

(6) Christian Acidalius's *Prolegomena* of Valens Acidalius, p. 100. t. 1. Nov. c. 1.

(7) Id. ibid.

I have read somewhere, that he was a Physician [H], and that he intended to have wrote Notes upon *Aulus Gellius*, if he had lived longer. *Nisi juveni illi fata quietem miserabiliter properassent.*—*Had not Death snatched him away suddenly (d).* It appears from his Letters, that he was preparing an Edition of *Apuleius*. Mr *Baillet* places him among his *Famous Children*, and says that *he illustrated Plautus at seventeen or eighteen Years of Age, not to mention several Latin Poems, which are extant, and which he composed at that same Age.* One of his first printed Works is *Velleius Paterculus*, publish'd by himself at *Padua*, in the Year 1591. He himself says, That he was ashamed of this early Production of his Pen, and he was surpriz'd when he heard that it had been reprinted in *France (e)*. *Lipsius*, who writ some Letters to him (f), wherein he expressed his Love and Esteem for him (g), was of Opinion that he would prove a great Man: *Ipse Valens (non te fallam augur) gemmula erit Germania vestra, vivat modo.*—*Valens himself (I certainly foresee) if he lives, will become an illustrious Ornament of your Germany.* This he wrote to *Monavius* in 1594. as may be seen in the beginning of *Acidalius's* Letters.

(d) Sciopp. de Arte Crit. pag. 18.

(e) Val. Acidal. Epist. pag. 70, 78, 127.

(f) Ibid. p. 160, 161, 299, 255.

(g) The Xth and XXVth of the Centuria ad Ital. & Hisp.

(17) That is the Dissertation to prove that Women are not rational Animals.

(18) Ut id genus hominum lucrum cupidi sunt, cum aviditate ejus emolumentum Editionis non satis respondisset, quædam persequere de iactura sua. As they are a Set of Men eager of Gain, because the Profits of the Edition did not answer his Expectation, he then complain'd of his Loss. Val. Acidal. Epist. Apolog. ad Calcem Epistol.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid.

“adhuc esset fabula illa in Apologetica epistola satis refutata, quæ multorum animis altè nimis insederat, ut facile esset improbis quidvis in invidiam trahere, &c. (21) — Which Scandal arose from hence, that this Story, which I have sufficiently refuted in my apologetical Epistle, was yet fresh, and had taken so deep root in the Minds of many; insomuch that it gave a handle to unreasonable Men to blacken my Reputation.” To conclude; I shall observe, that he affirms this Dissertation had been handed about for a considerable time, and that in all likelihood it was written in *Poland*.

Few will wonder, that *Acidalius* was afraid of coming off by the work, if he brought the Clergy upon his Back; for, as it is very natural, to entertain an ill Opinion of one's Neighbour, these Gentlemen are very often compar'd to *Æolus*:

Æole, namque tibi Divum Pater atque hominum Rex

Et mulcere dedit fluctus, & tollere ventos (22).

O Æolus! for to thee the King of Heaven

The Power of Tempests; and of Wind has given.

Thy Force alone their Fury can restrain,

And smooth the Waves, or swell the troubled Main.

DRYDEN.

But there is this difference in the comparison, that they are more expert at raising, than appeasing a Storm. This latter Effect demands Men of Consequence and Weight:

Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem Aspergere, silent—

Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet (23).

If then some grave and pious Man appear,

They hush their Noise, and lend a list'ning Ear.

He sooths with sober Words their angry Mood,

And quenches their innate Desire of Blood.

DRYDEN.

The other Effect is more easily produc'd.

[H] That he was a Physician.] *Scioppius* calls him so (24). Indeed he took his Doctor's Degree, but it was only ad honores; for he never practis'd Physic, nor ever design'd to do it. “Medicum τὴν πάσιν nec ago, nec agere propositum unquam fuit: certò consilio tamen inter ejus artis candidatos nomen dedi, nec pœnitet, &c. (25) — I neither practise Physic, nor was it ever my Intention so to do; though, for certain Reasons, I thought proper to rank my self among the Candidates of that Science.” He had said a little before, “Dabam illis me τὸς Ἀκαυαρύδας, quorum sacris & in Italia fueram initiatus: — It was there I enroll'd my self among the Sons of *Æsculapius*, into whose Mysteries I was initiated even in Italy.” What he says in another Place imports something more, “Inde rediens cum solenni illorum studiorum (Medicinæ) honore (26). — Returning thence with the solemn Honour of that Science (Physic).”

(21) Christ. Acidal. in Præf. Epist.

(22) Virgil. Æn. lib. 11 ver. 65.

(23) Ibid. ver. 151.

(24) Sciopp. de Arte Crit. pag. 13.

(25) Val. Acidal. Ep. pag. 215. See also pag. 194, 209.

(26) Ibid. pag. 249.

ACINDYNUS (ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙ) a Greek Monk of the XIVth Century. He associated himself with *Barlaam*, who, after he had embraced the Greek Religion, made it his Business to extirpate the *Hesychastes*, whose Number was very much increased

(a) See the *Authors quoted* by Maimbourg, in his *History of the Schism of the Greeks*, lib. 5. pag. 147, 150. of the Dutch Edition.

(b) Orthod. Græc. Tom. 1. from pag. 759, t. pag. 773.

(c) In Book 2. cap. 16. de Confeſſu. in the Appendix to Cam's *History*. Liter. Script. Eccl. pag. 34. Consult that Appendix about this Article.

among the Monks of Mount *Albos*. The *Hefycastes* were contemplative Votaries, whose Name is a sufficient Proof, that, even in those Days, there were *Quietists* in the World. In the Rapture of their Devotion they pretended, that they saw a Brightness, resembling that which appeared about *Jesus Christ*, when he was transfigured on Mount *Tabor*, and affirmed this Light to be *Uncreated*, tho' altogether distinct from the Essence of God (a). *Acindynus*, seconding the ardent Zeal of *Barlaam*, wrote against the Illusions of these Fanatics, and was one of the Sticklers against them in the Council of *Constantinople*. But he had the Misfortune to meet with Antagonists, who had more Credit and Interest than either he, or *Barlaam*, and who drew upon them several Censures and Condemnations in several Councils. The ill Success he met with in That of *Constantinople*, about the Year 1337, did not deter him from charging openly with Heresy the Favourers of *Gregory Palamas*, for which he was cited by the Patriarch of *Constantinople* in 1341. He appeared before the Council, and was obliged to hold his Tongue, upon Pain of Excommunication. Six Years after he was yet more vigorously pursued, because *John Cantacuzenus*, who was become Emperor, had a Kindness for *Palamas*. The Censures and Excommunications, which at several times fell upon *Acindynus*, reduced him at last to a more sedate, and altogether obscure, Life. *James Gretzer*, a German Jesuit, publish'd at *Ingolstadt* in 1616, *Acindynus's* two Books, *De Essentia & Operatione Dei*. *Leo Allatius* has also published a Poem (b), and some Fragments of the same Author (c), who having had the Fate to pass for a Heretic [A] a considerable time, has found at last more learned and more equitable Judges [B].

[A] To pass for a Heretic.] As in the heat of a Dispute we are only intent upon pressing our Adversaries, we are often blinded to such a degree, as not to perceive, that we pass from one Extrem to another; or at least that we stretch our Arguments so far, that they prove too much. I make no doubt, but this was the reason, why *Barlaam* and *Acindynus* laid themselves open to their Adversary *Palamas*, and that, being orthodox at the bottom, they often argued like Heretics. *Præteolus* has not fail'd to place them in his Catalogue; but it is impossible to make any thing of the Sentence of their Condemnation, in the manner he relates it. What we find least obscure in his Book concerning *Barlaam* and *Acindynus*, is, That the Council, which was called in order to condemn them, was held in the presence of the Blessed and most famous Emperor *Michael Andronicus Palæologus*, and *John* his Son, in the Reign of *Henry VII.* Emperor of Germany, *John XXII.* being Pope of Rome, in the Year of our Lord 1313 (1). This whole Passage swarms with Errors: For first of all, in the Century

here in question (2), there was no other Emperor of *Constantinople* who could be distinguished by the Title of Blessed by a Roman Catholic, but *Michael Palæologus*, who was reconciled to the Holy See, and died in Communion with it. Now he was neither called *Michael Andronicus*, nor had he a Son called *John*; and besides he died in 1283. Secondly, the Emperor, whose Son's Name was *John*, had no other Name but that of *Andronicus Palæologus*, and began to reign in 1328. so that neither *John XXII.* nor *Henry VII.* were his Contemporaries. Lastly, It is false that *Acindynus* was condemned about the Year 1313. *Father Gualtier*, in his Chronological Tables, does not forget *Barlaam* and *Acindynus*, whom he ranks among the Heretics, upon the Authority of *Præteolus*.

[B] Has found at last more—equitable Judges.] See the Authors quoted by Mr *Moreri*; I mean *Pontanus* and *Spondanus's* Annals. See likewise those of *Beovius*, *Father Gretzer* (3), *Father Maimbourg* (4), and the Authors cited by him in the Margin.

(2) The Word Century is taken here in a General Sense for the Space of 100 Years, beginning with one pleases

(3) Gretzeri Note in Cantacuz. & in Editione Acindyni.

(4) Maimbourg's Hist. of the Greek Schism, B. 5.

(1) *Præteol.* in Elench. Hæret. pag. 86. Edit. Colon. 1605. in 4to.

ACINDYNUS (SEPTIMIUS) was Consul of Rome with *Valerius Proculus*, in the same Year that *Constantine*, Son to *Constantine the Great*, was kill'd, near *Aquileia* (a). He had been Governor of *Antioch*, and during his Government there happened an Event, mentioned by *St Austin* (b), which deserves to be taken notice of. A certain Man, not paying into the Exchequer a Pound of Gold, at which he had been assess'd, was committed to Prison by *Acindynus*, who swore withal that he would cause him to be hang'd, if he did not pay that Sum upon a certain Day, which he appointed. The limited Time was near expiring, and the poor Fellow still unable to satisfy the Governor: He had indeed a beautiful Wife, but who was bare of Money as well as himself; and yet it was from her alone he began first to be in Hopes of Liberty. A very rich Man being desperately in love with this Woman, offer'd her the Pound of Gold, on which her Husband's Life depended, and asked no other Recompence for it but a Night's Lodging (c). She, being instructed by the Scripture, that *She had no Power over her own Body, but her Husband*, communicated to the Prisoner the Offer of this Gallant, telling him withal, that she was ready to accept of it, if he would give his Consent, he who was the true and lawful Master of his Wife's Body; and if he thought his Life worth redeeming at the Expence of a Chastity, whereof he had the sole Disposal. He thank'd her for it, and gave her leave to lie with her Lover. She obey'd; giving her Husband the Use of her Body, not in the common way of gratifying the Appetite of the Flesh, but to indulge the Desire he had to live (d). The Spark gave her a Purse with the promised Sum of Money, but stole it afterwards cunningly from her, and imposed upon her another Purse filled with Earth. The Good Woman, returning home, (for she had met her Gallant at his Country-House) no sooner found out the Cheat, but she complained of it publicly, and demanded Justice of the Governor, to whom the very ingenuously related the Fact. *Acindynus* began with accusing himself, as having by his Severity and Menaces drove these innocent People to such desperate Remedies, and first of all condemned himself to pay the Pound of Gold into the Exchequer; afterwards he adjudged to the obedient Wife That Piece of Ground, out of which the Earth had been taken, which was

(a) In 340. according to Calvinus.

(b) *Augustin* on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount, B. 1. c. 16.

(c) *Pollicens* pro una Nocte, si ei miſereri vellet, se auri libram daturum. *Id. ib.*

(d) *Ille* Corpus non nisi marito dedit, non concubere, ut solet, sed vivere cupienti. *Id. ib.*

found

found in the sham Purse. *St Augustin* dares not decide [A] whether this Woman's Conduct be right or wrong, and inclines rather to approve than to condemn it [B]; which is somewhat surprizing [C]. We have observed before (c), the same loose Principle of Morality in *St Chrysostom*, in relation to *Abraham* and *Sarah's* Conduct.

(c) In the Remark (1) of *ABIME-LECH*.

[A] *Dares not decide.* This is plain from these Words: "Nihil hic in alteram partem disputo; liceat cuique æstimare quod velit (1).—I do not decide upon this Question, let every one judge as he pleases." In another place he questions whether a Woman's Chastity would be violated, in case, to save her Husband's Life, and by his own Order, she should lie with another Man;—"Scrupulosius disputari potest utrum illius mulieris pudicitia violaretur, etiam si quicumque carni ejus commixtus foret, cum id in se fieri pro mariti vita, nec illo nefeciente sed jubente, permitteret, nequaquam fidem deferens conjugalem, & potestatem non abnuens maritalem (2).—It is a nice point to be determined, Whether that Woman's Chastity would be violated, even tho' she should be carnally known by another, who should submit to this for the sake of her Husband's Life, and that by his own Consent; in which she neither deserts her conjugal Faith, nor denies the Authority of her Husband." *Rivetti*, having quoted these Words, adds (3), That *St Augustin* relates, that the same Case happened under the Emperor *Constantine* (4), when *Acindynus*, &c.

[B] *Rather to approve than to condemn it.* This evidently appears by these Words: "Non ita existimandum ut hoc etiam femina, viro permittente, facere possit videatur;—Quamquam nonnullæ causæ possint existere ubi & uxor mariti consensu pro ipso marito hoc facere debere videatur.—Nihil hic in alteram partem disputo.—Sed tamen narrato hoc facto, non ita respuit hoc sensus humanus, quod in illa muliere viro jubente commissum est, quemadmodum antea, cum sine ullo exemplo res ipsa poneretur, horruimus (5).—We are not to imagine in general that it is lawful for the Wife to do this, even with her Husband's Permission—tho' there may happen Cases, in which such a Liberty may be allowed.—I pronounce nothing in this point.—However, now I have mentioned this Fact (to wit, the Case of the Wife, whose Husband was imprisoned by *Acindynus*) this Woman's Behaviour, in Obedience to her Husband, is not so contrary to the general Sense, nor shocks us so much, as at first sight it may do, when the Question is proposed without any Instance." I know not what Grounds the Protestant Divine, whom I have quoted in the foregoing Remark, has for his Assertion, when he assures us, that *St Augustin* rather inclines to condemn than to justify the Woman. "Quo facto *Acindyni* explicato, liberum unicuique permittit *Augustinus* æstimare quod velit, quamvis in eam partem propensior videatur, quod id fieri non liceat (6).—After laying down this Story of *Acindynus*, *St Austin* gives every one leave to judge as he thinks fit; tho' he seems more inclined to condemn the Lawfulness of the Action."

[C] *Which is somewhat surprizing.* So great a Divine as he was, ought surely to have known, that our Life, which is but a temporal and a perishing Good, ought not to be so dear to us, as to be thought worthy of being redeemed by our Disobedience to the Law of God. For as Disobedience is a Sin, which makes us liable to eternal Punishment, and a Moral Evil, which offends an Infinite Being, it is no less against common Prudence, than the Dictates of sound Reason, to chuse to commit a Sin, rather than lose one's Life. I say nothing of those wide Abysses of Corruption, which are opened every where under our Feet, by asserting, that an Action, which would be criminal, if done without a design to save one's Life, becomes innocent, when done to prevent Death. *Acindynus's* Prisoner would have acted the shameful Part of a Pander, no doubt, and consented to the Act of Adultery, properly

ly so called, if he had suffered his Wife to lie with the Spark merely to gain a Pound of Gold; but because he consented, only to save his Life, it ceases to be a Consent to Adultery; nay, it becomes a lawful thing. Who does not see, that if this Morality took place, there is not one Precept in the Decalogue, to which the Fear of Death might not dispense with our Obedience? Where are the Exceptions in favour of Adultery? If a Woman may be dispensed with for violating the Command of not defiling her Body, when by that means she may rescue her Husband from Capital Punishment, she will likewise be free to transgress it, when her own Life comes in question; for God no where exacts from us, that we should love another more than ourselves. Therefore we may with Impunity, it seems, violate the Law of Chastity, in order to avoid Death. And why will not the same Reason make Murder, Theft, Perjury, the abjuring of one's Religion, &c. lawful? The greatest Men are apt to mistake and lose their Way, even in the smoothest and most beaten Roads. Is it so difficult to find, that *St Paul* did not pretend, that a Husband had Power to dispose of his Wife's Body to whom he pleased; when he said, *that the Wife has no power over her own Body, but her Husband*? Nevertheless you see that *St Augustin* puzzles himself with these Words of the Apostle, and that he lays great Stress upon the Distinction, *marito jubente, potestatem non abnuens maritalem*. We shall take notice elsewhere (7) that he has made use of this Doctrine of *St Paul* to justify *Abraham* and *Sarah* in relation to *Agar's* Concubinage. Let us now hear a Divine, who tho' he lived several Ages after This Father of the Church, yet proves a better Casuist in this Point.

"Qua in re (that is, concerning the Adventure of the Wife whose Husband was *Acindynus's* Prisoner) mirum est talem ac tantum virum potuisse dubitare, cum ex sacra Scriptura constet aptissime malum aliquod pœnæ nunquam esse redimendum malo culpa, & vitam potius esse deponendam, quam ut eam nobis aut aliis servemus id facientes ex quo Deus offenderetur. Nullo modo itaque censendum est licitum esse adulterii remedium vel marito, vel uxori, vitandæ alterius necis causa; quin potius mortem expectare convenit, imo vero ultro expetere, quam alterutrius castitatem prodere, ob cuius conservationem multæ pudicissimæ feminae non solum ab aliis occidi sustinuerunt, sed etiam (quod tamen probare nolum) fide ipsi vim intulerunt, non solum inter Ethnicas, sed etiam inter Christianas (8).—It is strange, that so great a Man should hesitate in this Matter, when it is plain from the sacred Scriptures, that no Evil of Punishment is ever to be bought off at the Expence of the Evil of Sin, and that we should rather part with Life, than preserve it for ourselves or others, by doing what will offend God. And therefore we must by no means think, that either the Husband or the Wife is at liberty to have recourse to the Remedy of Adultery, in order to save either's Life: they ought rather to await Death, nay even voluntarily to seek it, than betray each other's Chastity; for the sake of preserving which many the most chaste Women, not only among the Heathens, but even Christians, have not only submitted to die by the Hands of others, but have violently destroy'd themselves; which latter Action, however, I by no means approve." He quotes the Example of *Sopronia*, of whom in it's Place. Consult the *Amænitates Juris* of Mr *Ménage* in the Chapter, entitled, *De mariti lenocinio: Adulterarum viros ordinare non potuisse*. 'Tis the 10th Chapter of this Work; See the 52d Page of it, in the *Leipsc* Edition of 1680, in 4to.

(7) In the Remark (1) of the Article of *SARA*.

(8) Rivet. Ubi supra.

ACONTIUS, (JAMES) a Philosopher, Civilian, and Divine, born at *Trent*, in the XVIth Century (a). He embraced the Reform'd Religion, and going over into *England* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, he received many Instances of That Prince's Bounty, as he acknowledges himself in the Frontispiece of the Book [A], which

[A] In the Frontispiece of the Book, which he dedicated to her.] Instead of an Epistle Dedicatory, he contented himself with a Canonizing Inscription,

which begins with, *DIVÆ ELIZABETHÆ ANGLIÆ, FRANCIÆ, HIBERNIÆ REGINÆ*. He declares, that he inscribes his Book to

(a) More fully places him in the XVth Century.

(1) *St Augustin*, in his *Tractatus de Sermone*, lib. 1. cap. 10.

(2) *Idem*, in *Tractatu*, lib. 22. cap. 35.

(3) *Rivetti* Exercitationes in Genesim, Oper. Tom. 1. pag. 251.

(4) It is *Constantinus*, in the Book of *St Augustin*, which I have quoted.

(5) *St Augustin*, Ubi supra.

(6) *Rivet*. Ubi supra.

he dedicated to her. I mean the famous Collection of the *Stratagems of the Devil*, which has so often been translated, and reprinted. The first Edition of it is That of *Basil*, in 1565. soon after which the Author died in England (b). *James Grasserus* procured a second Edition of it in 1610. wherein we find indeed *Acontius's* Letter, *de Ratione Edendorum Librorum*, containing very wholsome Cautions to those, who design to set up for Authors; but the Editor has omitted his *Treatise of Method* (c); which is a good Piece [B], tho' the Author only published it as an Essay (d). He had compos'd in *Italian* a Book of Fortification, which he himself turn'd into *Latin* during his Stay in England (e); but I think it was never printed. He was also writing a System of Logic (f), which I suppose Death hindered him from finishing. 'Twas great Pity, for he was a Man of a just way of Thinking, and great Discernment and Penetration. He had fram'd to himself the most rational Idea of such a Work, and thought himself oblig'd to bestow the more Pains and Care upon it, because he foresaw, that an Age more refined, than that he liv'd in, was advancing [C]. His Conjecture was well ground'd [D]. His Principles in Religion were not the same with those of *Calvin*; he had a great Inclination to Toleration, and held in general certain Tenets, which have render'd him very odious to some Protestant Divines [E]. I have met with but few Particulars of his Life. He says of himself, by the

(b) *Grasserus's* Epistle to the Reader before *Strategemata Satanae*.

(c) See the Title of it, at the End of the Remark [B].

(e) Id. ib.

(f) Id. ib.

(d) Post illud tempus, quo excidit nobis inchoatum illud de Methodo opusculum, scis me his sedem ac locum, mutasse. — Since the time that this imperfect Work of Methodo came out of my hand, you know that I have twice chang'd my Situation. Acontii Epist. ad Joh. Wolfium Tigurinum de Ratione edendorum Librorum, pag. 410.

to her, as a Testimony of his Gratitude: "In figuram memoriamque grati animi ob partum ejus liberalitatem, quum in Angliam propter Evangelicæ veritatis professionem extorris appulisset, humanissimeque exceptus esset, literarum otium. — As the Sign and Memorial of a Mind full of grateful Sentiments for That Tranquillity, which her Bounty afforded his Studies, when, exiled for professing the Protestant Religion, he took Shelter in England, and was received with the greatest Humanity." In his Letter to *Wolfius*, he says, That his Pension relieved in some measure his Indigence, and afforded him leisure to Study. "Ut autem quicquid est operæ id ipsam in artem (munierendum oppidorum) conferrem, ex parte privatis sum rationibus adductus, etenim in hoc voluntario meo exilio inopiam UTCUNQUE sublevari, & otii ad alia studia fuppediat NONNIHIL, impetrato mihi ab hujus sapientissimæ atque optimæ Reginæ liberalitate honesto stipendio (1). — "I am induc'd, partly by private Reasons, to cultivate this Science (Fortification) as far as I am able; since, in this my voluntary Exile, it procures me a KIND OF MAINTENANCE, and affords me some Leisure for other Studies, by obtaining for me an honourable Pension from the Liberality of this Wife and Good Queen." What Restrictions are here! And how well they shew the Difficulty of satisfying the Expectations of Refugees? Observe, that he obtained this Pension, not as a Divine, but as an Engineer, which appears by the Reason he himself alleges, why he spent his time principally in the Study of Fortification.

[B] Which is a good Piece.] This is the Judgment which a learned *Cartesian* gave of it (2), in a Letter which he wrote to Father *Mersennus*, soon after the Publication of *Des Cartes's* Meditations. "He said, he relish'd above all things the Method which Mr *Des Cartes* had made use of in handling his Subject; he admir'd it's Usefulness, and extoll'd it's Excellencies above That of the Schools: More particularly he esteem'd his Judgment, and the Reasons he had to prefer the *Analytical* or *Resolutive Method*, to the *Synthetical* or *Compound*, as well in teaching, as demonstrating. He had not till then met with any thing like it, except the little Book *De Methodo*, compos'd by *James Acontius*, who, besides that excellent Treatise, has also given a fine Specimen of the *Analytical Method*, in his Book of the *Stratagems of the Devil*, which he recommends to the Perusal of all those, who love the Peace of the Church; though *Acontius* plainly discovers in it the Prepossession of his Sect, and intended by it to Favour those of his own Party (3). That little Piece of *Acontius*, under the Title of, *Methodus sive recta investigandarum tradendarumque arrium ac scientiarum ratio*. — (The Method, or right Rule, of investigating and delivering Arts and Sciences), was insert'd in a Collection of *Dissertationes de Studiis bene instituendis*, printed at *Utrecht*, in 1658.

[C] That an Age more refined — was advancing.] We must hear what he says himself, after having mentioned the other Reasons which rendered his Design very difficult in the Performance: "Intelligo etiam

"me in seculum incidisse cultum præter modum, nec tam certe vereor eorum qui regnare nunc videntur judicia, quem exorientem quandam seculi adhuc paulo cultioris lucem pertimesco. Esti enim multos habuit habetque ætas nostra viros præstantes; adhuc tamen videre video neicio quid magis futurum (4). — I am sensible too, that I am fallen into an extremely polite Age; and yet I am not so apprehensive of the reigning Geniuses, as the approaching Brightness of still politer Times; for though the present Age has produced, and continues to produce, many Great Men, yet I fancy I foresee an Era of superior Politicness arising upon us."

[D] His Conjecture was well ground'd.] I am of opinion, that the XVth Century produced a greater Number of Learned Men, than the XVIIth, and yet the former was not so enlightened as the latter. Whilst the Reign of *Criticism* and *Philology* continued, every Part of Europe produced Prodiges of Erudition. The Study of the new Philosophy, and of modern Languages, having introduced another Taste, That Universal and Profound Literature has disappeared; but in recompence, a certain Genius more refined, and accompanied with a more exquisite Discernment, has spread itself over the Commonwealth of Learning: People are now-a-days less learned, and more subtle. Therefore *Acontius* had Reason to foresee, at a Distance, an Age, which would be a more formidable Judge of the *Logis*, he intended to write, than That wherein he liv'd. However, I would not be thought so presuming, as by my own Authority to adjudge the Superiority to our Age; for in this I do but conform myself to the Opinion of the most acute and refined Critics. "We live in an Age, says one of them (5), wherein People attend more to good Sense and Reason, than any thing else; and it may be said in our Commendation, that we are already better acquainted with the Character of ancient Authors, and more intimately familiar with their Genius, than those, who went before us. The Difference between them and us, is, That, in the last Age, People were more ambitious of Erudition than they are at present. 'Twas the Genius of those times, wherein nothing was more in Vogue than a vast Capacity, a great Memory, and profound Literature. They studied Languages to the bottom; applied themselves to reform or restore the Text of ancient Authors by far-fetched Interpretations; cavilled about an equivocal Word; laid stress upon a Conjecture, in order to establish a Correction; in short, they stuck to the literal Sense of an Author, because they had not Force enough to raise themselves up to his Spirit, and to be thoroughly acquainted with him, as we have at present, because we are more Reasonable, and less Learned; and set a greater Value upon plain good Sense, than an extensive, but perverse, Capacity."

[E] Odious to some Protestant Divines.] That I may not be arraigned for advancing this without any Ground or Proof, I shall quote the Words of a Minister of the *Hague* (6): "Jacobus Acontius (de quo jure quod de Origine dici solet, ubi bene nemo melius, ubi male nemo pejus) — fuit — vir verè doctus, sed ingenui, ut acris quidem, ita & elatioris,

(4) Acont. ubi supra, pag. 412.

(5) *Pere Rapin's* Preface to the *Comparaison* of *Thucydides* and *Livy*.

(6) *Saldernus* de libris, pag. 337, 338.

(1) Acontii Epist. ad Wolfium, de Edendorum Librorum ratione, pag. 411.

(2) *Houlinet's* Letter is dated Aug. 29. 1641. apud Baillet, *Life of Des Cartes* Tom. 2. pag. 138.

(3) Baillet, ubi supra.

the by, that he had bestowed a great part of his Life in the Study of *Bartolus, Baldus*, and such like barbarous Writers, and many Years at Court (g). *Acontius's* Letter, which was published in 1696 (b), shews a clear and exact Genius; and which was acquainted with sound Logic. It is dated from London the 5th of June 1565. and serves to illustrate a thing which he had advanced concerning *Sabellius*, and which had been censured. Note, That tho' most Protestant Divines look upon this Man with Horror, yet some amongst them have very much commended him [F].

(b) By Mr. Crenius. p. 131, &c. of the 2d part of his Animadversiones Philologicae & Historicae.

"*elaticiis, & iusto liberalioris: quin à nescio quali*
scepticismo & indifferentissimo in ipsam Theolo-
giam introducendo haudquaquam alieni, quod tracta-
tu suo de Stratagematis Satanae testatum satis fecit;
libello, (Simone Goulartio iudice) omnium malo-
rum pessimo". Voetius et adscribit t quod
vel imperite vel subdole communem confessionis
conceptum molitus sit, sub cuius vexillo militari
passunt & ipsi Ariani. — James Acontius (to
whom may be applied what is generally said of
Origen, that where he did well, no one did
better, where he did ill, no one worse) was a
truly learned Man, but of a Genius too Elate and
Free, and too Spectial in Matters of Religion, as
appears by his Treatise de Stratagematis Satanae: A
Book (according to Simon Goulartius) of all bad
Books the worst. Voetius charges him with cun-
ningly, or unskillfully, drawing up a Confession
of Faith, under whose Banner the Arians them-
selves might fight." What is here mentioned of
Simon Goulart is not to be found (as far as I know)
in any of his Books; I believe it is taken from Uy-
tenbogaardus, who says in one of his Works, that,
when he studied at Geneva, he was censured by Simon
Goulart for reading Acontius, who told him, that his
Book of the Stratagems of the Devil, was the worst
Book in the World, esse librum omnium malorum pes-
simum (7). I have met with another Passage of Vo-
etius concerning this Matter, wherein that Doctor
places Acontius among the Heretics, who came out
of Italy, under Pretence of Reformation (8), and
assures us, that if the Venom which lies hid in some
Places of his Book, had been taken notice of, he had
either been Excommunicated, or constrained to sign
a Confession of Orthodoxy. "Iudicetur quis anguis
in herba latuerit, quod hic vir in fundamentalibus
assertionibus nunquam à quodam trium personarum
statuerit, nec adversarios, Samosatenum, Photinum,
Arrium, Eunomium, Pneumatomachos, aut eorum
errores rejecerit, contentus solos illos rejectos, qui
negarent filium non esse alium à patre (9). —
"Judge what a Snake is concealed in the Grass, when
this Author, in his Fundamental Assertions, never
lays down the SAMENESS of ESSENCE of the Three
Persons, nor rejects the Errors of Samosatenus, Pho-
tinus, Arius, Eunomius, and the Pneumatomachi",
being contented with disclaiming only those, who de-
nied, that the Son is not distinct from the Father."
[F] Some amongst them have very much commended
him." Mr Crenius furnishes us with Proofs for both
these Assertions. He observes (10), That Conradus
Bergius declares, that Acontius argued prudently and
piously. This Bergius was Minister and Professor of
Divinity at Bremen. The Book, wherein he speaks
to this Purpose, is entituled, Praxis Catholica divini
Canonis contra quosvis hereses & schismata, &c.
and printed at Bremen, in 1639. in 8vo. Rivetus,

being in Possession of one of these Books, *ex dono*
authoris, wrote in it some Remarks, of which I shall
 mention That, which relates to *Acontius*. "Miror
 "cur, p. 524. tanti faciat vir doctus judicium Acon-
 "tii, hominis ambiguae fidei & Socinianorum vel
 "prodromi, vel commilitonis, cuius rei gratia ab
 "Arminianis toties reculus est & commendatus, etiam
 "in varias linguas vulgares translatus. Huic homini
 "scopus fuit, ut ex toto libro apparet, ad tam pauca
 "necessaria doctrinam Christianam ardere, ut om-
 "nibus sectis in Christianismo pateret aditus ad
 "mutuam communionem. Vellem doctissi, & pium
 "virum à talibus laudandis & imitandis abstinuiss-
 "(11). — I wonder this Learned Author, at
 "his 524th Page, should so highly extol the Judg-
 "ment of Acontius, a Man of ambiguous Principles,
 "and either the Fore-runner or Fellow-Soldier of the
 "Socinians; upon which account he was so great a Fa-
 "vourite with the Arminians, that they reprinted his
 "Work many Times, translating it into several Vul-
 "gar Languages. This Gentleman's Aim, as appears
 "from his whole Book, was to reduce the Christian
 "Doctrine to so few Fundamentals, as to open the
 "Door to a general Communion of all the Sects in
 "Christendom. I wish this learned and pious Au-
 "thor had abstained from commending and imitating
 "such Writers." The Book, whence I had this Pas-
 "sage, informs me farther, that *Isaac Junius* (12), Mi-
 "nister at Delft, plac'd *Acontius*, the Remonstrants, and
 "Socinus, in the same Class, and look'd upon the first
 "as a Man, who had a mind to reduce all Sects into
 "one, and enclose them in the same Ark, as *Noah* did
 "all sorts of Animals in his, wherein they were pre-
 "served, though sustain'd by different Food. We see
 "in the same Book, the Account which *Peltius* gave of
 "*Acontius*, which is, that by reducing to a small Num-
 "ber the Points necessary to Salvation, and requiring
 "a Toleration for the particular Opinions, which were
 "against the other Articles, he opened a wide Door to
 "all manner of Heresies (13). Lastly, we find in the
 "same Book, that not only *Arminius* and *Grevinchovius*
 "have given great Commendations to our *Acontius*, but
 "also that *Amesius* and *George Pauli* (14), two Reformed
 "Divines, have very much applauded him. "Ja-
 "cobe Arminio tamen in Respons. ad Excerpta Theol.
 "Leidenf. p. 65. *Acontius est divinum prudentiae ac*
 "*moderationis lumen, — (Acontius is a divine Lumi-*
 "*nary of Prudence and Moderation). Amesio præ-*
 "*fat. ad Puritan. Anglicanos & Grevinchovium in Ab-*
 "*sertione calumnia. Smoutii, p. 125. apud B. Hul-*
 "*semannum in Dedicat. Supplementi Breviarii Theo-*
 "*logici, p. 6. idem Acontius est divinus pater de rui's*
 "*graculis, qui sementem Ecclesiae Anglicanae calore*
 "*& rore caelesti fovit sedulo. — (The same Acontius*
 "*was very mighty in the Scriptures; and one, who*
 "*diligently cherished the Growth of the English*
 "*Church, with Warmth and Heavenly Dew (15)."*

(11) Rivet. apud Crenium, ibid. p. 3.

(12) Isaac Junius in Examine Apologie Remonstrantium, p. 4. apud Crenium, ibid.

(13) Peltius in Dedicatio- ne Harmonie, apud Crenium, ib. p. 31.

(14) In Reformatione Augustino, seu Apologia pro dictatis suis de Aug. Confess. See Crenius, ibid. p. 32.

(15) Cren. ibid. p. 34.

ACOSTA (URIEL), a Portuguese Gentleman, was born at Porto about the end of the XVIth Century. He was educated in the Romish Religion, which his Father sincerely profess'd (a), though descended from one of those Jewish Families, which were constrain'd to receive Baptism. He was educated like a Person of Quality, and, after several Studies, apply'd himself at last to Civil-Law. Nature had endow'd him with good Inclinations [A], and Religion had made so deep an impression upon him, that he ardently desir'd to fulfil all the Precepts of the Church, in order to avoid Eternal Death, which he very much dreaded. Therefore he diligently apply'd himself to the reading of the Gospel, and other spiritual and godly Books; and

[A] Nature had endow'd him with good Inclinations.] He was so tender-hearted and compassionate, that he could not forbear shedding Tears at the recital of any Misfortune, that had befallen his Neighbour; and Modesty had taken so deep Root in his Soul, that he feared nothing more than what might offend it, and put him to the Blush. He was courageous,

and susceptible of Anger on a lawful Occasion, and check'd the Insolence of those rude Men, who take delight in insulting others, still chusing to side with the weaker. This is the Character he gives of himself. *Infirmorum Partes adjuvare cupiens, says he (1), & illis potius me socium adiungent.*

(1) Uriel Acosta in his Exemplar Vitae Humanae, p. 340.

(g) Id. ib.

* Trigland. Hist. Eccles. p. 232.

† Voet. Polit. Eccles. part. III. in Indice, & pag. 31. & 338.

(7) Uytenbogaardus in his History written in Belgie, cap. 1. pag. 7. Edit. in 4to.

(8) Voetius's Theological Disputations, Tom. 1. p. 495.

¶ Pag. 114, 123, 341. Edit. Basil. 1610.

(9) Voetius, ubi supra, pag. 501.

* Opposers of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

(10) Thom. Crenius's Philological and Historical Animadversiones, part. 2. pag. 32.

(a) Pater meus verè erat Christianus. — My Father was truly a Christian. Uriel Acosta in his Exemplar Vitae Humanae, infered by Mr. Limborch, at the end of his Friendly Conference with a Jew, concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion.

(b) *The Dignity of a Treasurer of a Collegiate Church.*

and often consulted the Decisions of Casuists about the Heads of Confession; but the more Enquires he made, the more he found his Scruples and Difficulties increase, till, at last, they entangled him to such a Degree, that, being unable to get out of the Labyrinth; he fell into most terrible Agonies of Mind. He did not think it possible for him punctually to discharge the Duty and Conditions, which Absolution requires, according to sound Casuists, and thus he despair'd of Salvation, in case it could not be obtain'd any other Way. But, because it was difficult for him to abandon a Religion, to which he had been accustom'd from his Infancy, and which had taken deep Root in his Mind, thro' the Force of Persuasion, all he could do in his Condition was to examine, whether All the Notions he had imbibed of a Future State were not meer Fiction, and whether They were agreeable to Reason. He fancy'd that Reason incessantly suggested to him Arguments against Them. He was then 22 Years of Age, and This was the Course he took: He first turn'd *Sceptic*, and afterwards concluded, that the Road, into which Education had led him, would never carry him to Salvation. In the mean time, he studied the Law, and obtain'd a Preferment (b), at 25 Years of Age. Now, being unwilling to be without Religion, and the Profession of the *Roman Catholic* Religion affording him no Rest, he apply'd himself to the Reading of *Moses* and the *Prophets*, and, having found them more satisfactory than the *Gospel*, he was at last persuaded, that *Judaism* was the true Religion; but, not being permitted to profess it in *Portugal*, he resolv'd to leave his Native Country. Accordingly he resign'd his Place, and embark'd for *Amsterdam* with his Mother and Brothers, whom he had the Courage to catechise [B], and whom he had effectually brought over to his Opinions. As soon as they arriv'd there, they were admitted into the Synagogue, and were circumcis'd according to Custom: upon which he chang'd his Name of *Gabriel* into that of *Uriel*. It was not many days, before he found that the Manners and Customs of the *Jews* were not conformable to the Laws of *Moses*: He cou'd not forbear censuring this *Nonconformity*; but the Chief of the Synagogue gave him to understand, that he must follow their Tenets and Customs in all Points, and that if he receded from them never so little, they would excommunicate him. These Threats did not discourage him; He thought it would not become a Man, who had abandon'd the Conveniences of his Native Land for Liberty of Conscience, to yield to Rabbies who had no Authority [C]; and that it would argue want of Spirit and Piety, if he should

(2) *Ibid.* pag. 347.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) *Ibid.*

[B] *Whom he had the Courage to catechise.* He does not forget the Circumstances, which were proper to heighten the Sacrifice he made to his Religion. He observes that he relinquish'd a profitable and honourable Post, and a fine House, which his Father had built in the best Part of the City (2). He adds the Dangers of embarking; for the Descendants of *Jews*; cannot go out of the Kingdom, without the King's particular Leave. *Navem adscendimus non sine magno periculo: non licet illis qui ab Hebræis originem ducunt a regno discedere sine speciali Regis facultate* (3). Lastly, he says, That if it had been known, that he entertained his Mother and Brothers with his Thoughts about the *Jewish* Religion, it would have been his utter Ruin; but his Charity made him overlook the Danger. *Quibus ego fraterno amore motus ea communicaveram, quæ mihi super religione visa fuerant magis consentanea, licet super aliquibus dubitarem, quod quidem in magnum malum meum poterat recidere, tantum est in eo regno periculum de talibus loqui* (4). We may here observe by the Way, that the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* have omitted nothing, that the subtlest and severest Politics can invent, to maintain a Party. They have made use of every Method, for the Support of *Christianity*, and the Destruction of *Judaism*; and they cannot be accus'd, without Injustice, of having committed the Church to the Protection of Heaven, with a temper of Mind, dispos'd patiently to expect every thing from the Efficacy of their Prayers. On the contrary, one would think they followed the Advice which the Heathen Poet has given in an Affair relating to Agriculture,

Non tamen ullo magis præsens fortuna laborum est,
Quam si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum.
Ulcere os: alitur vitium, vivitque tegendo;
Dum medicas adhibere manus ad vulnera pastor
Abnegat, aut meliora deos fedet omina poscens (5).

(5) *Virgil. Georgic. lib. 3. vers. 452.*

*Receipts abound; but, searching all thy Store,
The best is still at hand, to lance the Sore,
And cut the Head; for, till the Core be found,
The secret Vice is fed, and gathers Ground:
Whilst, making fruitless Moan, the Shepherd stands,
And, when the launcing Knife requires his Hands,
Vain Help, with idle Prayers, from Heaven demands.*

DRYDEN.

Or else one would be apt to say, that they have squared their Conduct by the Reproaches which *Cato* made to the *Romans*, when he blamed them for confiding solely in the Assistance of the Gods, who, added he, never hear the Prayers of the Slothful, for Sloth is a Sign of the Anger of Heaven. "Vos — inertia & molitia animi alius alium expectantes cunctamini, videlicet diis immortalibus confisi, qui hanc rempubl. in maximis sæpe periculis servavere. Non vultis, neque supplicibus muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, prospere omnia cedunt. Ubi socordiae tete, atque ignaviae tradideris; nequicquam Deos implores: irati infestique sunt (6). — Unactive and Effeminate in Mind, you stand idly gazing on each other, relying on the Assistance of the Immortal Gods, who have often preserv'd this Republic in the greatest Danger. But be assured, that the Assistance of Heaven is not to be obtained by Wishes, and womanish Supplication: Success attends alone on Vigilance, Action, and wise Councils. If you give yourself up to Sloth and Idleness, it is in vain to implore the Gods; they are angry and unpropitious." Lastly, one may say, that the Lesson which they are most apt to practise, is the latter part of the Axiom, which a Modern has set down in these Words: *We must, as it were, so wholly abandon ourselves to Providence, as if all human Prudence were useless; and we must so govern ourselves by the Dictates of human Prudence, as if there were no Providence* (7). Without doubt they would laugh at an Author, who should blame them for using *Christianity* like an old Palace, so much decay'd, that it wants Props on every Side; and *Judaism*, like a strong Fortress, which one must cannonade and bombard continually, in order to weaken it. We may justly condemn certain Methods of supporting the *Good Cause*; but after all, as good as it is, it stands in need of Support; and *Distrust* is the Mother of Safety. See the Remark [E], of the Article *LUBIENIETSKI*, and the Remark [B], of the Article *DRA-BICIUS*.

[C] *To Rabbies who had no Authority.* There is certainly a great Difference between the Tribunal, which our *Acosta* stood in fear of in his own Country, and the Tribunal of the Synagogue of *Amsterdam*. This

(6) *Salust. in Bello Catilin. pag. 160.*

(7) *Cotin, Oeuvres Glorifiantes, Tom. 2. in his Discourse on the Truth of Dreams, p. 260.*

should betray his Sentiments upon this Occasion; wherefore he persisted in his former Course. Accordingly he was excommunicated, which had such an effect, that his very Brothers, I mean those, whom he had instructed in the *Jewish* Religion, durst neither speak to him, nor so much as salute him, when they met him in the Streets. Under these Circumstances he compos'd a Book in Justification of himself; wherein he shewed that the Rites and Traditions of the *Pharisees* were contrary to *Moses's* Writings. He had scarce begun this Book, when he embrac'd the Opinion of the *Sadducees*; for he was fully persuaded, that the Punishments and Rewards of the Old Law respected this Life only; grounding His Opinion principally upon this, that *Moses* makes no mention either of the Joys of Heaven, or of the Torments of Hell. When his Adversaries were inform'd, that he had embrac'd this Opinion, they were extremely pleas'd, because they foresaw it wou'd be a good Plea in justifying to the Christians the Proceedings of the Synagogue against him. This was the Reason, why, even before his Book went to the Press, they publish'd a Treatise concerning the Immortality of the Soul, compos'd by a Physician (c), who forgot nothing, that might contribute to brand *Acosta* for an Atheist: Nay They even encourag'd Children to abuse him in the Streets, and to throw Stones at his House. Nevertheless he publish'd a Book against the Physician, wherein he strenuously oppos'd the Immortality of the Soul (d). The *Jews* had recourse to the Tribunals of *Amsterdam*, and impeach'd him, as a Person who overthrew the Principles both of *Judaism* and *Christianity*. He was imprison'd, and admitted to Bail in 8 or 10 days. The Impression of his Book was confiscated, and the Author fin'd 300 *Gilders*. All this did not stop him: Time and Experience push'd him on much farther. He examin'd whether the Law of *Moses* came from God, and fancied he had found sufficient Reasons to be convinc'd, that it was a meer Contrivance of Human Wit; but instead of concluding from thence, *Therefore I ought not to return to the Jewish Communion*, he drew this Consequence, *Why should I obstinately remain separated from it all my Life-time, expos'd to so many Inconveniencies, and a Stranger as I am, in a Country, the Language whereof I cannot speak?* Having consider'd all these things he return'd to the Pale of *Judaism* 15 Years after his Excommunication, recanted what he had said, and subscrib'd whatever they pleas'd. Some days after, a Nephew of his, who lodg'd in his House, inform'd against him. This was a Youth, who had taken notice, that his Uncle did not observe the Laws of the Synagogue, either in point of Diet, or otherwise. This Accusation was attended with strange Consequences: For one of *Acosta's* Relations, who had reconcil'd him to the *Jews*, thought himself obliged,

(c) In the Year 1623.

(d) Entitled, Examen Traditionum Philosophicorum ad Legem Scripturam. The Philosophical Traditions compared with the written Law. [Perhaps Philosophicorum is a Mistake for Phariſaicum.]

This latter can only inflict Canonical Punishments, whereas the *Christian Inquisition* can put a Man to Death, for it delivers over to the Secular Sword all those it condemns. Therefore I do not wonder, that *Acosta* was less afraid of the *Jewish* Inquisition, than of that of *Portugal*: He knew that the Synagogue had no Tribunals, which intermeddled with any Process, Civil or Criminal, and therefore look'd upon their Excommunications as a meer *brutum Fulmen*; he did not find this Canonical Sentence attended either with Death, Whipping, Prison, or a pecuniary Mult. Wherefore he thought, that since he had Courage enough not to betray his Religion in *Portugal*, he ought, with much more Reason, have the boldness to speak, according to his Conscience, among the *Jews*, even at the Peril of Excommunication from them; which was all he had to fear from Men, who have no Magistrates of their own. "Quia minimè decebat, ut propter talem metum terga verteret, ille qui pro libertate natale solum, & utilitates alias contemplant; & succumbere hominibus, præsertim JURISDICTIONEM non habentibus, in tali causa nec pium nec virile erat; decrevi potius omnia perferre & in sententia perdurare (8). — "As it was unbecoming a Person to turn his Back thro' such a Fear; one who had forsaken his native Land, with all it's Conveniencies, for the sake of Liberty; and as, in such a Case, it was neither pious nor manly to submit to Men, especially such as had no JURISDICTION, I determine rather to bold it out to the last, and to persist in my Opinion." But it fared with him as with most People, who judge of complicated Evils. They imagine 'tis in the Union of two or three Punishments that a Misfortune consists; and that a Man would deserve but little Pity, should he suffer but one of them; but They Experience the contrary, when Providence exposes them to but one of these two or three Disgraces. They feel it much heavier than they imagined it would prove. The Inquisition of *Portugal* seem'd dreadful to the *Jew Acosta*: Why so? Because he beheld it join'd with the Power, either mediately or immediately, of imprisoning, torturing, and burning, Cri-

minals: If he had consider'd it only with relation to it's Excommunication, he would not have been much afraid of it. This was the Reason of his contemning the Menaces of the Synagogue of *Amsterdam*. But he was sensible, by Experience, that the bare Power of Excommunication is very terrible, tho' altogether unaided by the Secular Sword. Every body look'd upon him as a Monster after his Excommunication: His very Brothers avoided meeting him, and durst not take notice of him. *Ipsi Fratres mei, quibus ego Præceptor fueram, me transibant, nec in plateâ salutabant, propter metum illorum* (9). The Boys hooted at him in the Streets, and loaded him with Curfes; they gathered in Crowds about his House, and threw Stones at his Windows; *jamque faces & saxa volant*, He could not be quiet either at home or abroad. *Pueri islorum, à Rabinis & parentibus edocti, turmatim per plateas conveniebant, & elatis vocibus mihi maledicebant, & omnigenis contumeliis irritabant, hæreticum & defectorem inclamantes. Aliquando etiam ante fores meas congregabantur, lapides jaciebant, & nihil intentatum relinquebant ut me turbarent, ne tranquillam etiam in domo propria agere possem* (10). The Evils, to which his Excommunication subjected him, were so violent, that at last he found himself unable to support them; for as great an Aversion as he had to the Synagogue, he chose rather to return to it by a seeming Reconciliation, than to be openly separated from it. For this Reason, he said to certain *Christians*, who had a mind to turn *Jews*, that they did not know what Yoke they were going to submit their Necks to. *Nesciebant quale jugum suis verticibus imponerent* (11). But how great was his Perplexity, when, having refus'd to undergo the ignominious Penance impos'd on him by the Synagogue, he saw himself still detained by the Bonds of Excommunication? Those, who met him in the Streets, spit at him, and Children were taught to do the same. *Multi eorum transeunte me in plateâ spuebant, quod etiam & pueri eorum faciebant ab illis edocti: tantum non lapidabant, quia deerat facultas* (12). His Relations persecuted him, and no body would attend him, when he lay sick. To be

(9) *Acosta*. Exempl. Vitæ Humanæ. pag. 347.

(10) *Ibid*,

(11) *Ibid*. pag. 343.

(12) *Ibid*. pag. 349. short.

(8) *Uriel Acosta*, ubi supra.

obliged, in Honour, to prosecute him with the utmost Severity [D]. The Rabbies; and all the People under them, were acted by the same Spirit, especially when they heard that our *Acosta* had dissuaded two Christians, who were come from *London* to *Amsterdam*, from turning *Jews*. He was summon'd before the grand Council of the Synagogue, who declar'd to him they would excommunicate him a second time, if he did not give them the Satisfaction which they shou'd require of him. He found the Terms of it so very hard, that he answer'd, He cou'd not submit to them. Whereupon they resolv'd to drive him from their Communion; and 'tis impossible to relate the many Insults offer'd him from that time, and how much he was persecuted by his Relations. Having past seven Years in this sad Condition, he resolv'd to declare, that he was ready to submit to the Sentence of the Synagogue; for they had given him to understand, that, by means of this Declaration, he would easily come off, because the Judges, being satisfy'd with his Submission, would mitigate the Severity of the Discipline. But he was deceiv'd, and made to undergo with the utmost Rigour the Penance, which they had at first impos'd upon him [E]. This is what I have extract'd, without any Disguise or Alteration, (and without pretending to warrant the Truth of the matters of Fact) out of a small Piece compos'd by *Acosta* (e) and publish'd and confuted by Mr *Limborch* (f). 'Tis thought he writ it some few days before his Death, having first resolv'd to lay violent hands upon himself. He executed this strange Resolution a little after he had fail'd in his attempt of shooting his principal Antagonist as he pass'd by his Door (g); for, his Pistol missing Fire, he lock'd himself up, and with another Pistol shot himself (h). This happen'd at *Amsterdam*, though in what Year is not certainly known [F]. This Instance favours those, who condemn the Liberty of philosophizing in Matters of Religion; for the principal stress of their Arguments lies in this, that such a Method leads a Man infensibly either to *Atheism* or *Deism* [G]. I shall just mention the Reflexion, which

(c) *Exemplar Humane Vitæ.*

(f) See the Citation (a).

(e) *It was after his Brother or his Cousin, Limborch in Pref. ad Exemplar Vitæ.*

(b) *Limborch, ibid.*

(13) *Acosta, ubi supra, pag. 347.*

short, they tormented him to such a Degree, that at last they extorted from him the Submission they desired. *Duravit pugna ista per annos septem, intra quod tempus incredibilia passus sum* (13).—*This Struggle continued for seven Years, during which I suffered incredible Persecutions.* We shall see in the Remark [E], what kind of Punishment they impos'd upon him. He was then more than ever sensible, how terrible even those People are, who, without any legal Jurisdiction, inflict the Laws of Discipline.

I am cautious of declaring my Approbation of the Reasons of the *Independants*; who think it so unjust, that the Church should arrogate to herself the Power of Excommunication, that is, of inflicting Punishments, which are sometimes more ignominious and defaming than a Branding-Iron; and which exposes a Man to more temporal Misfortunes, than the afflictive Pains which the Civil Magistrate imposes. The Sentence of the Judge does not set aside the Acts and Offices of Humanity, much less the Duties of Consanguinity. But Excommunication often arms Fathers against their Children, and Children against their Fathers; it stifles all the Sentiments of Nature; it breaks the Bonds of Friendship and Hospitality; and reduces People to the Condition of such as are infected with the Plague, nay sometimes to a worse and more abandon'd State.

[D] *One of his Relations — thought himself obliged, in Honour, to prosecute him with the utmost Severity.* These are the ill Offices he did him: *Acosta* was upon the point of marrying a second Wife; he had a great many Effects in the Hands of one of his Brothers, and it concerned him very much to continue his Partnership with him. Now this Relation cross'd him in all these Particulars; for he broke off the March, and engaged *Acosta's* Brother to detain all his Effects, and to have no more Dealings with him. This Procedure ought to be considered as one of the Reasons, which confirm'd *Acosta* in his Impiety; for without doubt he perswaded himself, that this Violence and Injustice was authorized by some Passages of the Old Testament, wherein the Law commands Brothers, Fathers, and Husbands, not to spare the Lives of their Brothers, Children, and Wives, in case of Apostasy (14). And we must take notice, that he made use of this as a Proof against the Law of *Moses*; for he pretended that a Law, which overthrew Natural Religion, could not proceed from God the Author of that Religion (15). For, argued he, *Natural Religion establishes a Bond of Amity among Relations, &c.* See how Mr *Limborch* has answered this Sophism (16).

[E] *With the utmost Rigour the Penance, which they had at first impos'd upon him.* His own Account of

it is as follows. A great Crowd of Men and Women being assembled in the Synagogue, to see this Spectacle, he entered the Place, and, at the time appointed, went up into the Pulpit, and read with a loud Voice a Paper, wherein he acknowledged that he had deserved Death a thousand Times, for not keeping either the Sabbath-day, or his promis'd Faith, and for having dissuaded the Conversion of certain *Christians*, who were inclined to embrace *Judaism*: That, in Atonement for these Crimes, he was ready to suffer whatever they should decree, and that he promis'd never to relapse into the same Faults. Being come down from the Pulpit, he was ordered to retire to one of the Corners of the Synagogue, where he stripp'd himself naked, from the Waste upwards, and pulled off his Shoes; then the Door-keeper tied his Hands to one of the Pillars; after which the Master-Chanter gave him thirty nine Stripes with a Whip, neither more nor less; for in these Ceremonies they take care not to exceed the Number, which the Law prescribes. Next came the Preacher, who ordered him to sit on the Ground, and declared him absolved from his Excommunication, and that *the Doors of Paradise were not shut against him as before. Et ita jam porta cali mibi erat aperta, quæ antea fortissimis ceris clausa me à limine & ingressu excludabant* (17). *Acosta* put on his Cloaths again, and went and laid himself down flat on his Belly, at the Door of the Synagogue, and all that went out trod over him. I thought the Reader would be pleas'd to find here this small Specimen of *Jewish* Ceremonies (18).

[F] *Though in what Year is not certainly known.* 'Tis very probable that he kill'd himself soon after the Ceremony of his Abolution, enraged at the Treatment he had received, contrary to the Hopes he had entertain'd of a mitigated Punishment. But this will not precisely determine the time of his Death, because it is not known in what Year he performed this Penance. If it were known how long he had been under Excommunication, when the Physician's Book was published, in 1623, it would not be difficult to make an exact Computation, since he observes, that his first Excommunication lasted fifteen Years; that the second continued seven, and soon followed the other. It is suppos'd, in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, that he killed himself in the Year 1647 (19), but others say it was in 1640 (20).

[G] *That such a Method leads a Man insensibly either to Atheism or Deism.* *Acosta* serves them for an Example. He would not acquiesce in the Decisions of the Catholic Church, because he did not find them conformable to his Reason; and he embraced *Judaism*, because he found it more agreeable to his Natural Notions. Afterwards he rejected an infinite

(17) *Acosta, ubi supra, pag. 350.*

(18) Taken from the *Exemplar Humane Vitæ* of Uriel *Acosta*, pag. 349, 350.

(19) *Bibliothèque Universelle* Tom. 7, pag. 327.

(20) *Joh. Helvicus Willemorus in his Philosophical Dissertation concerning the Sadducees, pag. ult. He querit Judæism, Proleg. pag. 71.*

(14) See Deuteronomy, xiii.

(15) Uriel *Acosta*, ubi supra, pag. 352.

(16) Philip a *Limborch* in his Confutation of Uriel *Acosta*, pag. 361, 362.

which *Acosta* made on the *Jews* endeavouring to render him the more odious, by affecting to say, That he was neither *Jew*, *Christian*, nor *Mahometan* [H].

Number of *Judaical* Traditions, because he thought they were not contained in the Scripture; nay, he rejected the Immortality of the Soul, upon pretence that the Law of God makes no mention of it: And lastly, he denied the Books of *Moses* to be divinely inspired, because he thought that natural Religion did not agree with the Ordinances of That Legislator. Had he lived six or seven Years longer, he would, perhaps, have denied Natural Religion itself, because his wretched scanty Reason would have puzzled him with Difficulties about the Hypothesis of Providence, and of the Free Will of the Eternal and Self-existent Being. It is certain, that Mankind, even in making use of their Reason, stand in need of Divine Assistance; without which it will prove a blind and erroneous Guide: And we may compare Philosophy to certain Powders so very corrosive, that, having consumed the proud and spongy Flesh of a Wound, they would corrode even the quick and sound Flesh, rot the Bones, and penetrate to the very Marrow. Philosophy is proper at first to confute Errors, but if she be not stopped there, she attacks Truth itself; and when she has her full Scope, she generally goes so far, that she loses herself, and knows not where to stop. This must be imputed either to the Weakness of Man's Understanding, or to the ill use he makes of it's pretended Force. By Good Fortune, or rather through a wise Dispensation of Providence, there are few Men, who are capable of thus abusing their Reason.

[H] *Affecting to say, that he was neither Jew, Christian, nor Mahometan.* This Accusation, answered he, carries both Malice and Ignorance with it; for, had he been a *Christian*, they would have looked upon him as an abominable Idolater, who, together with the Founder of Christianity, deserved to be punished by the true God, as an Apostate. If he had followed the Religion of *Mahomet*, they would not have made him less odious: Therefore he had no way of escaping the Lash of their Tongues, but by devoutly addicting himself to the *Pharisaical* Traditions. Let us consider his own Words: "Scio ad-
"versarios istos, ut nomen meum coram indocta plebe
"dilatant, solitos esse dicere, iste nullam habet re-
"ligionem, Judæus non est, non Christianus, non
"Mahometanus. Vide prius, Phariseæ, quid dicas,
"cœcus enim es, & licet malitiâ abundes, tamen sicut
"cœcus impingis. Quæso, dic mihi, si ego Chri-
"stianus essem, quid fuisses dicturus? Planum est,
"dicturum te, fœdissimum me esse idololatram, &
"cum Jesu Nazareno Christianorum doctore pœnas
"vero Deo iolaturum, à quo decesseram. Si Maho-
"metanus essem, norunt etiam omnes quibus me ho-
"noribus fuisses cumulaturos: & ita nunquam lin-
"guam tuam possem evadere; unicum hoc effugium
"habens, nempe ad genua tua procumbere, fœdi-
"ssimos pedes tuos, tuas inquam nefarias & puden-
"das institutiones, oculari (21). — I know that
"my Adversaries, in order to blacken my Name in
"the Sight of the ill-judging Vulgar, were wont to
"say, This Man has no Religion; He is neither Jew,
"Christian, nor Mahometan. Consider first, thou
"Pharisee, what thou sayest; for thou art blind, and,
"in spite of thy abundant Malice, thou stumblest like
"a blind Man. Pray tell me, if I were a Christian,
"what would you say? It is certain you would call
"me a vile Idolater, and condemn me, together with
"Jesus of Nazareth, the Teacher of the Christians,
"to expiate by Punishment my Apostasy from the
"True God. Were I a Mahometan, every one knows
"with what kind of Honours you would load me. Thus
"I could never escape your Censure: One way indeed
"there is; namely to fall down at your Knees, and kiss
"your filthy Feet, I mean your wicked and shameful
"Institutions." He makes use of another Answer:
For he asks his Adversaries, whether, besides the
three Religions they have mentioned, (and of which
the two last were, in their Opinion, not so much
Religion, as an Apostasy from God) they acknow-
ledge any other? He supposes that they acknowledge
Natural Religion as true, and as a Means of rendering

us acceptable to God, and sufficient to save all Na-
tions, the *Jews* excepted. 'Tis That, he tells them,
which is contained in the *Seven Precepts*, which *Noah*,
and his Descendants down to *Abraham*, observed.
Then, said he, according to yourselves, there is a
Religion, on which I may depend, although I descend
from the *Jews*; and if my Prayers cannot engage you
to give me leave to mingle with the Crowd of other
Nations, yet I shall not fail to assert this Liberty
to myself. Upon which he launches out in the
Praises of Natural Religion.

By the first of his Answers we may plainly see;
that the Objection of the *Jews* was more specious
than strong; more glittering than solid; more pro-
per to serve their own Ends, than agreeable to the
exact Rules of Argumentation; and at the bottom
somewhat fallacious. What makes it look plausible
and specious is This: The Mind of Man is so con-
trived, that, at the first Impression, a *Neutrality* in
the Worship of God is more shocking to him than
a False Worship; and therefore, when he hears of
any one's abandoning the Religion of his Fathers,
without embracing another, he is seized with more
Horror, than if he were told that such an one had
quitted a better Religion for a worse. This first Im-
pression dazzles and affects him to such a Degree,
that he makes it his Standard to judge of such Per-
sons by; and his Repentment is thereby proportion-
ably raised. He does not allow himself time mature-
ly to examine, whether in reality it is better to lift
one's self under the Devil's Banner, in some of those
False Religions, which That Enemy of God and
Man has introduced, than to observe a *Neutrality*.
Therefore we may imagine, that the *Pharisees*, who
persecuted *Acosta*, laid so much stress upon their Ob-
jection, only because they found it proper to startle
and confound the People, and to engage the *Chris-
tians* in their Quarrel. I confess they would not
have made so much Bustle, had he embraced Chri-
stianity at *Amsterdam* or *Mahometanism* at *Constan-
tinople*; but, in effect, they would not have ac-
counted him less abandoned, less damned, or less an
Apostate: Their Temper would have been owing to
their Policy, and the effect of their just Fear of the
Repentment of the Religion *Established*. If we judge
from the first Impressions of Things upon us, there
are but few Protestants who, upon the News that
Titius had left the Profession of the Reformed Reli-
gion, without embracing any other Persuasion,
would not assert that he was more criminal than if
he had turned Papist: But I would fain ask these
Protestants, Have you good Ground for This? Have
you well examined what you would say, in case he were
become a great Bigot to Popery; if you should see him
loaded with Relicks, running mad after Processions,
and, in short, practising all the Extravagancies of
Idolatrous and Superstitious Monks? Could you an-
swer, that you would still say the same, if you should
be informed that he was turned Jew or Mahometan,
or a Worshipper of the Pagods of China? To repeat
it once more, the Mind of Man is thus contrived;
the first thing, that strikes it, is the Rule of it's Pas-
sions: We lay hold of the present Circumstance,
and do not consider what we should say in another
Conjuncture. This private Person has left us, and
has embraced no other Sect: we must attack him
on this side. — His Indifference is now his
greatest Crime; but if he were turned Heathen, we
should attack him on that side too, and we should
say, at least we should think, if he had but stood
Neuter, and attach'd himself in general to the Re-
ligion of Nature, it were something; but, as it
is, &c.

By the second Answer, *Acosta* deprived his Adver-
saries of a great Advantage; for he sheltered him-
self against that strong Battery, It is better to be of
a false Religion than of none. However, upon the
whole, we must conclude, that he was of a detestable
Character, and a Genius so ill turned, that he mi-
serably lost himself in the Labyrinths of his mistaken
Philosophy.

How much
the Notion
of Neutra-
lity in Mat-
ters of Reli-
gion, offends
and provokes
the Minds of
Men.

(21) *Acosta*,
ibid. pag.
351.

ACRONIUS (JOHN), taught *Mathematics* and *Physic* at *Basil*, with a great
deal of Reputation, and compos'd some Books, *De Terræ motu*; *de Sphæra*; *de A-*
strolabii & Annuli Astronomici constructione. He was of *Friesland*, and died at *Basil* in
VOL. I. NO. IV. B b the

(a) He makes no mention of him in his Book De Scientiis Mathematicis.

(b) Theobor-
nus Scree-
hus.

the Flower of his Age, in the Year 1563. This Author has escap'd the Diligence of *Vossius* (a) though *Swertius*, and *Valerius Andreas* had given him a Place in their *Bibliotèque* of the *Netherlands*; wherein however they have forgot to insert another **JOHN ACRONIUS**, who was a Minister, and perhaps a Native of the same Province with the former. This Minister was of a Restless, Seditious, Spirit; he abandon'd the Congregation of *Wesel*, at a time when she was threatened with an imminent Danger; They found, at *Deventer*, that they could not chuse him Pastor of their Church, without admitting at the same time a very disagreeable Member into their Society; He left the Church of *Groningen* with disgrace; and at *Francher* he discover'd his want of Abilities to discharge the Trust of Professor of Divinity, into which he had intruded. Lastly, he was Minister at *Haerlem*, where he behav'd himself as usual; that is, he contradicted, oppos'd, and censur'd every one, without distinction. The Historiographer of That City does not deny him the Character of a very Learned Man, but gives him at the same time That of a Turbulent Spirit (b). Some have compared him to *Heshufius*, against whom the following Distich was handed about,

Quæritur, Heshufi, quarta cur pulsus ab urbē?
In promptu causa est, seditiosus eras.

The Cause, Heshufius, of thy Exile's known;
Thou wert a Mover of Sedition grown.

(c) See Martin Schoe-
nius. Exerc.
citat. lxx.
pag. 255.
Edit. in 4to.

Acronius wrote in *Flemish* a Book *de Jure Patronatus*, wherein he inserted several Quotations from the Canon-Law (c). I am inclin'd to ascribe to him the *Elenchus Oribodoxus pseudo-religionis Romano-Catholicæ*, printed at *Deventer* in 1615. He may very well be the Author of the Treatise, *De studio Theologico*, which Mr *Komig* attributes to Him, who wrote about the *Sphere*. The same *Komig* speaks of one **RUARDUS ACRONIUS**, who publish'd some *Catechetical Expositions* in 1606. He might have added, that, in the beginning of the Troubles of *Arminianism*, he wrote something against the *Arminian* Hypothesis, concerning the Power of Magistrates in Matters of Religion; and that 'twas He, who publish'd a Sermon, which *Uytenbogaerd* had preach'd at the *Hague* before the Troubles, much different from the Doctrine, which he afterwards maintain'd, in relation to the same Question (d). *Ruardus Acronius* was one of the six Advocates for the Reform'd against the *Arminians*, in the Famous Conference held at the *Hague* in 1611.

(d) Ex Voe-
tit Polit.
Ecclesiæ Tom.
1. pag. 125.

(a) Charles
Stephens in
his Histori-
cal Dictio-
nary.

(b) Scholi-
ast on Ho-
mer. in ll.
18.

(c) Eustath.
in Iliad. 1.
Schol. Apol-
lon. in lib.
4.

(d) Scholi-
ast on Pind.
in Olymp. 9.

(e) Eustath.
in Iliad. 2.

(f) Hygin.
cap. 14.

ACTOR [A] is the Name of several Persons mention'd in *Fabulous History*. I. It is the Name of one of *Hercules's* Companions in the *Amazonian War*, who having receiv'd a Wound, resolv'd to return home, and died by the way (a). II. It is also the Name of *Patroclus's* Grandfather; for *Menetius*, *Patroclus's* Father, was Son of **ACTOR** and *Ægina*. This *Actor* was a *Loctian*, according to some (b), but he settled himself in the Island of *Oenone*, after having married *Ægina*, Daughter to the River *Alopus*; by whom he had *Menetius*. Others say, that he was a *Theffalian*, Son of *Myrmidon*, who was Son of *Jupiter* (c); and that the Nymph *Ægina* having already had a Son by *Jupiter*, call'd *Æacus*, went into *Theffaly*, where *Actor* made no scruple to marry her, notwithstanding the Apprenticeship she had serv'd in Matters of Love (d). He had by her several Children, who conspir'd against him, which oblig'd him to send them into Exile, and bestow his Kingdom upon *Peleus*, with his Daughter *Polymele*. *Peleus* was Son to *Æacus*, and consequently *Ægina's* Grandson, and had fled for Sanctuary to *Pthia*, where *Actor* reigned; thither, I say, he fled, after he had kill'd his Brother *Phocus*. III. There was likewise one **ACTOR**, Son of *Hippasus*, who sail'd with the *Argonauts* (f). IV. Another, who was Son of *Neptune* and *Agamede* [B], Daughter of *Augeus* (g). V. Another, who was Son of *Axeus* [C], and

(g) Id. cap.
157.

[A] **ACTOR**. Mr *Moreri* has, without any reason, changed this Word into *Altarius*; but this is a small Fault in comparison of that, into which he falls some few Lines after, when, by these Words, *Quæ fuit Actoride cum magno semper Achille*, he pretends to prove, that *Ovid*, from whom he quotes them, has made mention of one *Actorius*. How came he not to see, that there is no mention made in that Passage of any Person call'd either *Actorius* or *Actoride*, but only of *Patroclus*, whom the Poets, for the sake of Verification, are used to denote by the *Patronymic* **ACTORIDES**, i. e. descended from **ACTOR**?

[B] Son of *Neptune* and *Agamede*.] *Munkerus* in his Commentary upon the 157th Fable of *Hyginus*, pretends that *Homer's* Scholiast makes this *Actor* Son of *Neptune* and *Molione*; but the Scholiast says no such thing. *Homer*, in the 749th Verse of the 11th *Iliad*, mentions two Brothers whom he calls *Antropus* and *Molone*, *Actorionas Molionas*. Whereupon his

Scholiast says, that by these Words we must understand *Cteatus* and *Eurytus*, Sons of *Actor* and *Molione*; or, according to some, of *Molione* and *Neptune*. *Homer* thought them Sons of That God, for he adds, That they would have been slain, had not *Neptune*, their Father, succoured them in the Engagement, by covering them with a thick Mist.

Ἐν τῇ σφύρῃ πατρὸς εὐρυπύλου Ἑὐρύχιδου
Ἐν τοῖσιν ἰσθμοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις ἄνδρ' ἄλλας (1).

Neptune, their Sire, to save his Offspring, shrouds
The youthful Heroes in a Veil of Clouds.

[C] Who was Son of *Axeus*.] *Homer* calls him *Axeus*,

Ὀὐς τῶνδ' Ἀχαιῶν δῖον Ἀχαιοῖς Ἀχιλλῶ (2).

Meziriac remarks a Fault (3) of the Author of the Great *Etymologicum*, who thought that the same

(1) *Homer*.
Iliad. lib. 11.
ver. 750.

(2) *Id. Iliad*.
lib. 2.

(3) Upon *Ovid's* *Epigiles*
pag. 44.

Father of *Astyoeb*, (D), by whom the God *Mars* had two Sons, who at the Siege of *Troy* commanded the Forces of *Aspledon*, and *Orchomenus*, two Towns of *Bæotia*. VI. Another ACTOR, Son of *Porbas*, built a Town in *Elis*, his Native Country, which he call'd *Hymene*, after his Mother's Name (i). *Augias* King of *Elis*, who according to some, was his Brother (k), and whose Stables, clean'd by *Hercules*, have made so much noise, associated both him and his two Sons in his Kingdom (l). His two Sons were call'd *Earytus* and *Cleatus*, and poetically *Molionides*, because their Mother's Name was *Molone*; see the Article *MOLIONIDES*. VII. Lastly, there was one ACTOR, describ'd as an Hero of the first Race among the *Aurunci* (D).

Actor, mentioned here by *Homer*, was the Father of *Patroclus*. 'Tis what *Homer* never meant. He speaks of one *Actor* a *Bæotian*, Grandson to *Erginus*, and Great-Grandson to *Clymenus*. *Meziriæ* quotes for this Pedigree *Eustatius* upon the second *Iliad*, and *Paulanias* in his *Bæotica*; but *Paulanias* makes *Clymenus* Grandfather to *Actor*, but not Great-Grandfather (4).

(D) One *Actor*, describ'd as an Hero of the first Race among the *Aurunci*. He is thus describ'd by *Virgil*, in the twelfth Book of the *Æneid*:

Vociferans: Nunc O nunquam frustra vocatus
Hæsta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus Actor,
Te Turni nunc dextra gerit — (5).

He said the Loane Aruncan Actor wore;
Which with such Force he brandish'd in his Hand;
The tough Asb trembled like an Osier Wand.
Then cry'd, O pond'rous Spoil of Actor slain,
And never yet by Turnus to'd in vain,
Fail not this Day thy wanted Force. —

DRYDEN.

ACTUARIUS [A], a Greek Physician, of whom there are extant several Works [B]. *Ambrosius Leo* of *Nola*, who has translated some of them, and gives him great Commendations, owns that he could not discover who he was, nor of what Country (a). *Peter Castellan*, in his *Lives of Illustrious Physicians*, and *Wolfgang Jussus* in his *Chronology of Physicians*, confess the same thing (b). Mr *Moreau*, in his *Treatise of Bleeding in the Plurisy*, believes that he liv'd about the Year 1100 [C].

[A] Actuaris.] Some call him *John*, Son of *Zacharias* (1); others chose rather to make him Son of *John Zacharias* (2). *Vossius*, who approves the latter, in the thirteenth Chapter of his Book, *De Philosophia*, mentions a little after one *John Actuaris*, who lived in the Time of *Constantine Ducas* (3), as is infer'd from his having a Sister, upon whom *Michael Psellus* compos'd a Monody. If it should happen, that this *John Actuaris* did not differ from the Physician here in question, *Vossius* will have been in the wrong to distinguish them, and not to give the Physician the Name of *John*: But by the Remark [C] it will appear, that there's little likelihood of their being the same Person. Mr *Du Cange* shews, that the Title of *Actuaris* denotes a particular Dignity belonging only to the Physicians at the Court of *Constantinople*; and he confesses he is ignorant of the Reason of it, notwithstanding all the Enquiries of *Father Postelins*. He owns also, that he does not know, whether our *Actuaris*, whom he calls *John*, Son of *Zacharias*, was in possession of that Dignity (4).

[B] Of whom there are extant several Works.] They were printed at *Paris*, in a Volume in *Folio*, by *Henry Stephens* in the Year 1567. having been printed before in another Place in three Volumes in 8vo. They have likewise been printed singly more than once. The chief of them are, *De actionibus* &

affectibus spiritus animalis ejusque nutritione, Libri II. *De Urinis*, Libri VII. first translated into Latin by *Ambrosius Leo*, and printed at *Venice* in 1519. and afterwards revised and illustrated with Notes, by *James Goull. De Medicamentorum Compositione*: *Ruel* has translated this Treatise. *Methodi Medendi* Libri VI. translated by *Henry Matbiasus of Bruges*, and printed at *Venice* in 1554 (5).

[C] That he lived about the Year 1100.] Mr *du Cange* durst not place him in the Reign of *Alexis* (6), although his Book, *De affectibus Spiritus Animalis*, is dedicated to *Josaph Ratenyter*; and though *Nicetas*, in the third Book of the History of *Alexis*, n. 5. speaks of one *Ratenyter*. He approves what *Lambertus* decided concerning this Physician's Time (7), which is, that he lived in the Reign of *Andronicus* the Elder; because in the Manuscript of one of his Books, which is in the Emperor's Library, there is a Title, which shews that it is dedicated to *Apocauchus*. But we know that *Apocauchus* lived under That *Andronicus*. Mr *du Cange* observes, that *Actuaris* relates in the beginning of his *Method of Cures*, that the Emperor his Master sent him to the *Hyperborean Scythians*. Mr *Moreau* is therefore a little out in his Reckoning; for *Andronicus* the Elder did not begin his Reign before the Year 1332.

ACUNA (a) (CHRISTOPHER) a Spanish Jesuit, born at *Burgos*, enter'd into the Society in the Year 1612, at 15 Years of Age. After having spent some Years in Study, he went into *America*, and labour'd to convert the Natives of the Kingdoms of *Chili*, and *Peru*, and was Professor of Moral Divinity. He return'd to *Spain* in the Year 1640, and gave the King his Master an Account of the Commission he had receiv'd to examine the River of the *Amazons*. The following Year he publish'd a Relation of that River at *Madrid*. He was sent to *Rome* in the Quality of Procurator of his Province; and having pass'd into *Spain*, honour'd with the Title of *Qualificator* of the Inquisition, he return'd to the *West Indies*. He was at *Lima*, when *Father Sotuel*, from whom I have extract'd this Account, publish'd the *Bibliotheca* of the Jesuit Authors at *Rome* in the Year 1675. The Relation of our *Acuna* is entituled, *Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de las Amazonas. A New Description of the great River of the Amazons*. The Author was ten Months successively on that River, and had Orders to inform himself exactly of the State of it, that the King might be enabled to make the Navigation of it easy and commodious. For this purpose, he embark'd at *Quito* (b) with *Peter Teixeira*, who had advanc'd thus far up the River, and whom they thought proper to send back again thither. They embark'd in the Month of February 1639 [A], and did not arrive at *Para*, till the Month

[A] In the Month of February 1639.] I own *Christopher de Acuna*; and therefore I take this Date freely, that I have not by me the Relation of Father from Mr *Chevreau*, and prefer it to the Month of D. Nic. Antonio, that

the Spaniards do not put an Apostrophe between the Article de, and a proper Name which begins with a Vowel.

(2) *Homer. Iliad*. 2. *Paulan.* in *Bæot.*

(7) *Paulan.* lib. 2. pag. 148.

(4) *Paulan.* lib. 9. pag. 311.

(4) *Apollo-dor. Bibl.* lib. 2. pag. 138. *Edic. Salmur.*

(7) *Paulan.* ubi supra.

(5) *Virgil. Æneid.* lib. 12. pag. 95. &c.

(a) *Apud Gesner.* Bibl. fol. 3. verso.

(b) *See Mercklin.* in *Lindenst.* renovato, pag. 6.

(1) *Hyde's Catal. Bibl. Oxon.* & *Mercklinus* in *Lindenst.* renovato.

(2) *Gesner's Bibl.* and *his Abridg.* etc.

(3) *He began to reign* in 1059.

(4) *Glossat. Græc.* pag. 46.

(5) *See Mercklinus* in *Lindenst.* renovato, pag. 6, 7.

(6) *Hemans*, but he had done better to have examin'd it, *Alexis Angelus* who began to reign in the Year 1195.

(7) *De Bibl. Cesar.* lib. 6. pag. 113.

(a) It is pronounced *Acuna*, but the Spaniards call it *Acuna*.

(b) It is a City of *Peru*.

* I don't call him *d'Acuna*; for I have observ'd in D. Nic. Antonio, that

(c) See the Preface to the French Translation.

(d) In 1682, in 12mo.

(e) Of the 19th of April, 1683.

(1) A 7a E. in it. Lips. Ann. 1683.

(2) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 452.

(3) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16. I take the Duration of the other Reigns from him.

(4) Strabo, & Diodor. ibid.

(5) Arrian. lib. 1.

(6) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 17. Strabo, ibid.

(7) Plutarch. Alexandr. pag. 677.

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16.

(2) Chevr. Hist. du Monde, Tom. 4. pag. 33. Edit. Holl.

(3) See the Summary of this History.

(4) Valefi in Plutarch. pag. 99.

Month of December following. It is believ'd that the Revolutions of Portugal, which made the Spaniards lose all Brazil, and the Colony of Para at the Mouth of the River of the Amazons, were the cause that the Relation of this Jesuit was suppress'd (c), for fear that, being useless to the Spaniards, it might become servicable to the Portuguese. The Copies of it became very scarce, insomuch that the Publishers of the French Translation at Paris (d) declar'd that there remain'd no more of them, except that which the Translator had made use of, which is perhaps That of the Vatican. Mr de Gomberville is the Author of this French Version, but it was not publish'd till after his Death; and a long Dissertation is added to it, which deserves the perusal. The Relation itself likewise is well worth reading. Those who have it not, may meet with a Specimen of it in the Journal of Paris (e), in that of Leipsic (f), and in Mr Chevreau's History (g).

January, noted in the Journal of Leipsic; because the Faults, which the Printers of that Journal have committed in the foregoing Page, give me some Reason to distrust them. I find at Page 324. of That Journal, that the Governor of Brazil called Peter Teixeira to go up the River of the Amazons in the Year 1639. and that Teixeira could not arrive at Quito in less than a Year's time (1). He did not

therefore embark again at Quito in the Month of January 1639. as is asserted at Page 325. Mr Chevreau is more to be credited, when he declares, that Peter Teixeira departed in the Month of October 1637. and gave an Account of his Voyage to the Viceroy of Peru (2), in September of the Year 1638. Mr Chevreau (3) does not name the Author of the Relation right, for he calls him Christopher d'Alcuna.

(f) Pag. 323. Annus 1683.

(g) In Tom. 4. pag. 1-1. Edit. of Holland.

(2) He was called the Count de Chincon.

(3) Chevr. History of the World, Tom. 4. pag. 171.

ADA, Daughter of Hecatomnus (a), and Sister of Artemisia, Queen of Caria, married her own Brother Idrieus, and reign'd with him in Caria, after the Death of Artemisia, who surviv'd her Husband Mausolus but two Years (b). Idrieus reign'd seven Years [A], and died of a Distemper, without leaving any Posterity. His Widow, having reign'd about four Years, was dethron'd, by Pexodares her younger Brother (c), who, to maintain his Usurpation, allied himself to a Persian Lord, whose Name was Orontobates, to whom he gave his Daughter in Marriage [B]. Her Name was Ada, as was That of the dethron'd Queen; and her Mother's Name was Apbneis, Daughter of Synnefis, King of Cappadocia. Orontobates succeeded his Father-in-Law in the Kingdom, at the end of six Years, and defended Halicarnassus against Alexander (d). The Revolutions of those Times were favourable to Ada. She implor'd that Conqueror's Protection against the Usurper, deliver'd the City of A-linda to him, which continu'd faithful to her, and promis'd to endeavour to make him Master of many others (e). Alexander gave her a very kind Reception, and re-establish'd her in her former Authority over all Caria, after having subdued the City of Halicarnassus. Out of Gratitude for his Favours, she sent him all kind of Refreshments, Comfits, Pastry, and delicate Meats, with the best Cooks she could find: But he return'd her for answer, that he had no occasion for such Things, and that his Governor Leonidas had already provided him with more excellent Cooks, in teaching him, that to dine with Appetite, he must rise early and walk; and that to make a good Supper, he must eat but a slender Dinner (f).

[A] Idrieus reigned seven Years. Diodorus Siculus tells us this (1). Mr Chevreau, who has converted the Years into Months (2), would perhaps have had more Reason to lengthen the time, than he had to shorten it; for Idrieus was yet living, when Isocrates wrote his Philippiac. Now if we believe Hermippus (3), he compos'd it a little before his own Death, and That of Philip: So that Philip must have lived 'till the tenth Olympiad, seeing Isocrates died a few Days after the Battel of Cheronea, which was fought in the second Year of the tenth Olympiad, about two Years after the Death of Philip. Because therefore the Reign of Idrieus did not begin 'till about the third Year of the hundred and seventh Olympiad, (for I have shewn in the Remarks on the Article ARTEMISIA, that her Husband Mausolus, whom she surviv'd two Years, did not die 'till the end of the hundred and sixth: the seven Years which Diodorus gives him, are not sufficient. Yet I believe his Chronology is more to be depended upon than that of Hermippus. Where would Hermippus place the Reign of Ada, and that of Pexodares, whereof the one continu'd four Years, and the other six, and both of which preceded the Expedition of Alexander?

[B] He gave his Daughter in Marriage. Valefius thought that Philip King of Macedon demand'd this Daughter of Pexodares for his Brother Arideus, and cites Plutarch for it (4). But that Historian does not tell us, whether the Daughter of Pexodares, of whom he makes mention, was called Ada; but it may very

well be infered from his saying, that she was the Eldest (5), for we know besides, that Orontobates, having married a Daughter of Pexodares, thought himself lawful Possessor of the Kingdom of Caria. So far then Valefius seems to me to be in the right; but he had no reason to say, that Philip desired that Alliance for his Brother Arideus; Pexodares first offer'd it, and sent Ambassadors to Philip for that Purpose. On the other side, Arideus was not the Brother, but the Son of Philip. Plutarch says it expressly. He adds a Circumstance, which affords us a remarkable Instance of the Intrigues of Courts. Alexander's Friends alarm'd him on the Proposals of Pexodares's Ambassador: They suggest'd to him, that Philip's Aim in this Alliance was to put Arideus in a better Capacity of succeeding to the Kingdom. Alexander, to ward against this Blow, dispatch'd a Person to Pexodares, to represent to him, that he ought rather to cast his Eyes on Alexander, than on Arideus, who was a Bastard, and almost a Fool. Pexodares did not hesitate in his Choice; but Philip, discovering what was carrying on, reproved Alexander sharply, telling him he would shew himself unworthy of being his Successor, if he was satisfied with the Daughter of a Carian, and Vassal of a Barbarian Prince. At the same time he exil'd all his Son's Confidants, and writ to the Corinthians to send him the Messenger, bound Hand and Foot, whom Alexander had sent to Caria. He was a Comedian, whose Name was Thestylus.

(5) Plutarch. in Alexandr. pag. 669.

ADAM, the Stock and Father of all Mankind, was produc'd immediately by God on the Sixth Day of the Creation. His Body having been form'd of the Dust of the Earth [A], God breath'd into his Nostrils the Breath of Life; that is to say, he animated him, and made him that Compound Creature, which we call *Man*, comprehending an Organized Body, and a Rational Soul. The same Divine Being, which produc'd *Adam*, plac'd him a fine Garden (a); and, to give him an opportunity of imposing Names on the Brute Creation, he caus'd them all to appear before him. Afterwards he caus'd a Deep Sleep to fall on *Adam*, and took out of him a Rib [B], of which he form'd Woman. *Adam* knew that This Woman was *Bone of his Bone, and Flesh of his Flesh*; and liv'd with her, without any Shame on account of their being naked. There was a Tree in the Garden, of which God had forbid them to eat, on pain of Death. Yet the Woman, seduced by a Serpent (b), did not abstain from eating of it, and persuaded *Adam* to eat of it likewise. From that time they perceived that they were naked [C], and made themselves Aprons with Fig-leaves sewed together. God came and pronounced on them the Punishment, which he resolv'd to inflict upon them, drove them out of the Garden, and made them *Cloaths of Skins*. *Adam* called his Wife *Eve*, and consummated his Marriage. He became the Father of *Cain*, and of *Abel*, and afterwards of *Setb*, and of many other Sons and Daughters, the Names whereof are not known, and died at the Age of 930 Years (c). This is all that is certain in this matter. A great number of other things, which have been related of him, are either very false, or very uncertain; it is true, we may judge of some, that they are not contrary to the Analogy of Faith, nor to Probability. I place in this rank what is said of his prodigious Knowledge [D]: We read indeed nothing in *Genesis*, but what is less proper

(a) It is commonly called the Terrestrial Paradise, and the Garden of Eden.

(b) See the Remarks on the Article EVE, concerning this Serpent.

(c) See the first Five Chapters of *Genesis*.

[A] Of the Dust of the Earth. If we may believe Father Garasse (1), Photius reports, the Egyptian Tradition, That Wisdom laid an Egg in the Terrestrial Paradise, out of which came our first Parents like a couple of Chickens. I believe Photius has said no such thing, and I am much mistaken, if it be not a licentious Paraphrase of that Jesuit, forged on what Photius relates concerning a certain Mariner, whose Name was *Oi*, whom some made to issue in *τὸ ἀποροῦν* (2), that is, according to Father Garasse in another Book (3), of the Race of the first Man, whose Name was *Oon* (Egg). Or, according to Father Schottus, à primo parente *Ou*. Many Enquiries might be made about this Egg, which served, according to the Doctrine of the Ancients, for the Generation of Things, when the *Chaos* was reduced into order. We shall touch upon some Particulars of it under the Word *ARIMANIUS*.

(1) Garasse's *Curious Doctrines*, pag. 332.

(2) Phot. ex Helladio, Biblioth. pag. 183; A. 279.

(3) Theological Summary, pag. 26.

where he reports this with many Alterations.

(4) Daniel Francus, de indicib. Libror. prohib. Epist. Dedicat.

(5) His Name is Florentine Schilling, Regular Clerk of St Paul, and a Barnabite.

(6) August. de Civit. Dei. lib. 14. cap. 17.

(7) Ibid. & lib. 11. de *Genesis* ad litter. cap. 31. & lib. 1. de Nupt. & Consuec. cap. 5. & lib. 1. Locutionum in *Genes.* n. 9. & lib. 2. de Peccat. Merit. & Remiss. cap. 22.

(8) Ibid. de Civit. Dei. lib. 14. cap. 17.

"their Bodies; whence Nakedness became indecent; and which excited their Attention, and put them to the blush."

[D] What is said of his prodigious Knowledge.]

Mr Moreri is not contented with affirming in general, that *Adam* had a perfect Knowledge of Sciences, and chiefly of Astrology, of which he taught his Children several curious Secrets; he adds also, that *Josephus* says, that *Adam* engraved some Observations he had made on the Course of the Stars on two different Tables. I have search'd for this in *Josephus*, but find only, that the Descendants of *Setb*, the Son of *Adam*, invented Astronomy, and caus'd their Inventions to be engraven on a Pillar of Brick, and a Pillar of Stone, to preserve them from the general Destructions, which, according to the Predictions of *Adam*, were to happen, once by Fire, and once by a Deluge (9). When a Person is capable of falsifying in this Manner an Author, whom he cites, he seldom regards the Words of his Evidence so closely, as to make them say nothing, but what they really depose; so that I do not wonder, that Mr Moreri attributes to our first Father the Imposition of Names on Plants; I say I do not wonder at it, though the Scripture makes him only Author of the Names of Beasts. They, who infer from this Imposition of Names, that *Adam* was a great Philosopher, do not deserve to be refuted. To return to the prodigious Knowledge attributed to *Adam*; I say, that, according to the common Opinion (10), he knew more the very first Day of his Life, than any Man besides can learn by long Experience. Scarce any thing, besides future Events, the Thoughts of the Heart, and one Part of individual Beings, escap'd his Knowledge. *Cajetan*, who ventures to rob him of the perfect Knowledge of the Stars, and of the Elements, was much censured for it. Some, having made it a Question, whether *Solomon* ought not to be excepted out of the general Position, which gives the Preference to *Adam*'s Knowledge, above That of all other Mortals, have been reduced to acknowledge, That *Adam* was more knowing than *Solomon*. It is true, *Pinedo* excepts *Politics*; but no Regard is paid to his particular Opinion; and it is determined, that the speculative Understanding of the first Man was endow'd with all the Philosophical and Mathematical Knowledge, which human Nature is naturally capable of; and that his practical Understanding possess'd a consummate Prudence, with respect to every thing which Men ought to do, either in a private or public Capacity; and, besides, contain'd all moral Sciences, and all the liberal Arts, Rhetoric, Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, Agriculture, Writing, &c. Every one knows, with what Emulation Mankind have strove to heap Praises upon *Aristotle*. Every Idea, and every Comparison had been exhausted, when a good *Cartesian*, being willing to outdo the most extravagant of all his Panegyrist, maintained, That

(9) *Josephus* Antiquitat. lib. 1. cap. 2.

(10) See Sallust's Annals Tom. 1. pag. 107, 113.

[C] They perceived that they were naked.] The Scripture says, that their Eyes were opened. This Expression made some People believe that *Adam* and *Eve* were blind, till they had transgress'd the Commandment of God. "Neque enim cœci creati erant, ut imperitum vulgus opinatur (6).—For they were not created blind, as the ill-judging Vulgar think." St *Augustin* refutes this Mistake very strongly, in several Parts of his Writings (7), and tells us, that this opening of our first Parents Eyes consist'd in their being sensible of certain corporeal Motions, which they were ignorant of before; and that it was this, which inspir'd them with Shame. "Exstitit in motu corporis quædam impudens novitas, unde effudit indecens nuditas, & fecit attentos, reddiditque confusos (8).—There was a certain impudent Novelty in the Motion of

(d) So God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him, Male and Female created he them. Gen. i. 27.

to give us this Notion, than the contrary; and yet it is very probable, that *Adam* came out of the hands of his Creator endued with innate Science, and that he did not lose it by Sin; as the bad Angels are not become less knowing since their Fall, and as the Crimes of Learned Persons do not deprive them of that Knowledge they enjoy'd before. What some affirm concerning the Beauty of *Adam* [E], may be also plac'd in the rank of probable things; but it is altogether false that he was created of both Sexes [F]. It is a gross mistake of the words of Scripture (d) to imagine any such thing. The Revelations of *Antoinette Bourignon* [G], would be improperly

(11) Henry de Hafia. He lived in the beginning of the XVIIth Century.

(12) See Rivinus's Serpent. seduct. pag. 50.

(13) Idem, pag. 49, 56, 57.

(14) Ibid. pag. 56.

(15) Eugubius in Cosmopoeia apud Salian. Annal. Tom. i. pag. 106.

(16) Id. ib.

(17) Id. ib.

(18) Salian. Tom. i. p. 106.

Aristotle's Learning was as extensive as That of *Adam* (11). Some Rabins have been satisfy'd with equalling the first Man to *Moses* and *Solomon*, in point of Learning (12); but others have maintained, that he excelled the Angels themselves, and have alleged the Testimony of God himself, in proof of it (13). They say, that the Angels having spoke of Man with some Disdain, when God consulted them on his Creation, God answered them, That Man was more knowing than they; and to convince them of it, he presented all kinds of Beasts to them, and ask'd them their Names. They could not tell what to answer; and then he ask'd the same Question of Man, who named them all after each other; and being interrogated, what should be his own Name, and what was God's Name; he answered right, and gave to God the Name of *Yehovah*. According to the same Rabins, the meaning of this Aphorism of their Doctors, that *Adam's* Stature extended from one end of the World to the other, is, that he knew all things (14).

[E] Concerning the Beauty of *Adam*.] If some Authors had been contented to say, that he was a fine Person, and well made, they would have said nothing but what was probable; but instead of this, they have fallen into the Gaeties of Rhetoric, and Poetry, and even into visionary Notions of this Matter. It has been fabled, that God, intending to create Man, assumed a perfect, and beautiful, human Body; and that he formed the Body of *Adam* on that Model, whence God might say, in relation to this Body, that he made Man after his own Image. They add, That this Apparition of God, under an human Form, was the first prelude to the Incarnation; that is, that the second Person of the Trinity clothed himself with the Appearance of the same Nature he was one Day to assume in the Flesh, and that, under the likeness of the finest Man that ever was, he laboured in the Production of *Adam*, whom he made a Copy of that great and divine Original of Beauty, which he had assumed. "Hanc speciem divinatque pulchritudinem clementissimum formosissimumque assumens, quam erat post multa tempora usque ad carnem & ossa assumpturus, creabat hominem, largiens ei speciem hanc tantam, ipse primus Archetypus, speciosissimus ipse speciosissime proles creator (15). — The most Clement and Fair, assuming this divine Form and Beauty, which he was in process of time to cloath himself withal, even to Flesh and Bones, created Man, bestowing on him this noble Form, himself the Original Archetype, the most beautiful Creator of a most beautiful Creature." It can be no wonder, after this, that these Exclamations should be made; "Quantum qualemve credas fuisse primi hominis illius venustatem? quantum in ore decus, quas gratias inelidisse (16)? — What, and how great, must be the Beauty of the first Man? And what Charms must dwell in his Countenance?" For in short, the Form, which the WORD assumed, was like That, which was seen by St Peter on Mount Tabor, and by *Moses* on Mount Sinai, and like That, which *Moses* and *Elias* appeared in on the Day of the Transfiguration. But what is still more wonderful is, That *Adam* himself saw his own Maker, and the manner how his Body was formed by the fair Hands of it's Author. "Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas apexit, ambrosiolique vultus illos, pulcherrima brachia cor-pus suum fingentia, singulorūque artus ducentia (17). — When Man was created, he beheld those divine Hands, that ambrosial Countenance, and those beautiful Arms, which form'd his Body, and fasten'd every Member of it." A very learned Man published these airy Notions (18); and there are People enough, who approve, at least, one part of them.

[F] That he was created of both Sexes.] Many of the Rabins believed that *Adam's* Body was created double, Male on one Side, and Female on the other; and that both these Bodies were joined together by

the Shoulders; the Heads looking towards places directly opposite, like the Heads of *Janus* (19). Now they pretend that, when God made *Eve*, he only divided This Body into two: That, which was of the Male Sex became *Adam*, and That, which was of the Female, became *Eve*. *Manasseh Ben Israel*, the most learned Rabbi of the XVIIth Century, maintained This fantastical Opinion, if we believe *Heidegger* (20). The learned *Maimonides*, the Honour and Glory of the Jewish Nation, had (21) already maintained it, if we may believe the same Witness. *Eugubinus* varied from it, only as to the Situation of the two Bodies; for he pretends that they adhered together by the Sides, and that they resembled each other in all things, except the Sex. The Male Body was on the right, and embraced the other by the Neck with his left Hand, while the other did the like to him with the right Hand. Both were animated; both fell into a deep Sleep, when God intended to form *Eve*, that is, separate her from the Male Body. We need only be able to read the Scripture, to confute all those chimerical Notions. Before I pass on to other Matters, I shall just take notice of those *Androgynes*, of which *Plato* has spoke so largely (22). They were Hermaphrodites, with four Arms and four Legs, and two Faces turned towards each other on one Neck. This duplicity of Members gave them much Force, and made them very insolent upon that account; so that they thought on nothing less than making War with the Gods. A Consultation was held in Heaven on the manner of reducing them to Reason; and *Jupiter's* Opinion was followed, which was to divide them afunder. Each of the Parts preserved a strong Inclination to a Re-union; and this is the Origin of Love, according to this Philosopher. But some Alterations were necessary to be made in the Situation of certain Members, in order to make their Re-union fruitful. I shall observe by the way, that they, who speak of these *Androgynes* of *Plato*, seldom report the Matter as it really is. They make him say, that Men, in general, were of this kind at first; but his Account relates only to certain of them: He acknowledges that there were also Males and Females, of the same kind with those at present. See the Remark of the Article *SALMACIS*. The Author of a Book entituled, *The New Visionary* of Rotterdam (23) assures us, that, according to the Rabins, *Adam* and *Eve* were both Hermaphrodites before their Fall (24). He is the only Author I know of, who ascribes this Opinion to the Rabins.

[G] The Revelations of *Antoinette Bourignon*.] This Lady's Works prove, that she had very particular Opinions; but perhaps she advance'd nothing more strange, than what concerns the first Man. She pretends that, before the Fall, *Adam* had the Principles of both Sexes in himself, and the Power of producing his Likeness, without the help of a Woman: And that the Necessary, which both Sexes are under, at present, of uniting for the sake of Propagation, is a Consequence of the Alteration Sin made in the human Body. "Men, says she (25), think they were created by God as they are at present, though it is not true; seeing Sin has disfigured the Work of God in them, and instead of Men, as they ought to be, they are become Monsters in Nature, divided into two imperfect Sexes, unable to produce their like alone, as Trees and Plants do, which in that Point have more Perfection than Men or Women, incapable to produce by themselves, but in Conjunction with each other, and accompany'd with Pain and Misery." The Particulars of this Mystery are explain'd in another Work, as it was revealed from God to Mrs *Bourignon* (26). She believed that she had seen, in an Extacy, how *Adam* was made before Sin, and in what manner he was able alone to produce other Men. Nay, she believ'd she had learn'd, that he had put this rare Fecundity in practice,

(19) See *Heidegger's* Histor. Patriarch. Tom. 1. pag. 128.

(20) Conciliat. in Genesim apud *Heidegger*. ibid. See *Hoornbeek* who refutes him in the first Chapter of the fourth Book de conversione judæis.

(21) In *Moræ Nevoch*. pag. 2. cap. 30. and *Heidegger*. Tom. 1. pag. 128. But observe, as Mr Van Dale has informed me, that *Heidegger* does not give a faithful Account of the Opinion, which *Maimonides* ben *Israel* and *Maimonides* have most approved.

(22) *Plato* in *Convivio*, pag. 118 c. Edit. Francof. 1602.

(23) It was printed in the Year 1686.

(24) P. 56.

(25) Preface of the Book entitled, *The New Heaven and the New Earth*, Amst. 1679.

(26) Continuation of the Life of *Mrs Bourignon*, pag. 375.

(6) *The Jews*
object this.
See Bartol-
oci Bibl. Ra-
bin. Tom. I.
pag. 291.

perly allעד'd in confirmation of this false Gloss. The romantic Narrations of *James Sadeur* [H] might as well be employ'd for that Purpose. Neither is it more true that *Adam* was produc'd with Circumcision (e), and that, being displeas'd at it, he committed the Fault of those, whom *St Paul* mentions in one of his Epistles (f). We may place likewise in the rank of *Fable*, what has been said of his gigantic Stature [I], his

(f) 2 Cor.
 vil. 18.

practice, by the Production of the human Nature of *Jesus Christ*. Though the Passage is somewhat long, yet I shall beg leave to transcribe it, as it will shew us to what Extravagancies the human Mind is liable.

"God represented to her in a Vision, without the Assistance of corporeal Eyes, which could not have endured such Brightness, the Beauty of the first World, and the manner how he form'd it out of the original *Chaos*: All was bright, transparent, and radiant, with an ineffable Light and Glory. In the same spiritual manner he made the first Man *Adam* appear to her, whose Body was more pure and transparent than Crystal, all light and flying, in appearance; in and through which were seen Vessels and Streams of Light, penetrating from the inside to the outside, through all his Pores; Vessels, which contained most lively and diaphanous Liquors of all Sorts and Colours, not only of Water and Milk, but also of Fire, Air, &c. His Motions were wonderfully harmonious; every thing obey'd him; nothing resisted nor could annoy him. He was of a larger Stature than Men are at present; his Hair short and curl'd, inclining to black; his upper Lip covered with small Hair: And, instead of the bestial Parts not to be named, he was made like as our Bodies shall be restored in eternal Life, after a manner which I know not whether I dare reveal. In this Region of his Body, was situated the Structure and Resemblance of a Face; which was a Source of admirable Odors and Perfumes: From thence likewise Men were to spring, whose Principles he had all within himself: for there was a Vessel in his Belly, which bred small Eggs, and another Vessel full of Liquor, which impregnated the Eggs. And when Man grew enflamed with the Love of his God, the Desire he had that there should be other Creatures, beside himself, to praise, love, and adore the divine Majesty, made that Liquor, by the Fire of God's Love, to spread itself on one or more of these Eggs with unconceivable Delight; which, being impregnated, came out some time after from the Man, by the forementioned Canal, in the form of an Egg, and a little after hatch'd a perfect Man. After this manner there will be an holy and endless Generation in the Life eternal, quite different from that which Sin produc'd by the means of the Woman, whom God form'd of the Man, by taking that Vessel out of *Adam* which contained the Eggs, which the Woman now possesses, and from which Men proceed at present, according to the new Discoveries in Anatomy. The first Man, whom *Adam* produc'd by himself in this glorify'd State, was chosen by God to be the Throne of the Divinity, the Organ and Instrument by which God would communicate himself eternally with Mankind; that is, *Jesus Christ*, the First-Born, united to the human Nature, both God and Man (27)."

I wish the Author of *The New Visionary* of Rotterdam had not insulted, in so gay a manner, the Visions of this Maid, and those of the Minister, whom he attacks. He might have turn'd the latter into Ridicule, for his Notions concerning *Adam* and *Eve's* Marriage, without playing the Buffoon so much upon the Subject. I only add two short Remarks. The first is, that *Antoinette Bourignon* ought not to have expected her own Resurrection: for, according to her Principles, the gross Matter, which was added to Man's Body after the Fall, and which rots in the Grave, will not rise again (28); and the Resurrection is nothing else but the re-establishing of Man in his State of Innocency: A State wherein, according to the fine Revelations of *Antoinette*, there were no Women. An Heretic, whose Name was *Amaury*, was formerly condemn'd at Paris (29), for maintaining, among other Errors, That at the end of the World both Sexes shall be re-united together in one Person, and that this re-union began in *Jesus Christ*; and that if Man had continued in the State, wherein God produc'd him, there would not have been any distinction of

Sexes (30). *Faber Stapuleus* believ'd, that, in the State of Innocency, *Adam* might have begotten a Man like himself, without the help of a Woman (31). So that *Mrs Bourignon* was not the first who broach'd this Opinion, though she has added much of her own to it; for instance, That perpetual Propagation, which, she says, will be in Paradise, in the same manner that Man would have multiply'd, if he had preserv'd his Innocency. What shall we say to *Paracelsus*, who believ'd that our first Parents had not the necessary Parts of Generation before they sinned, but that, after the Fall, they came out of them, like Excrescences, or Tumours in the Throat? *Negabat primus parentes ante lapsum habuisse partes generationi hominis necessarias, postea accessisse ut frumam gusturi* (32). My second Remark is, that this Lady attributes to *Jesus Christ*, born of *Adam*, all the Apparitions of God, spoken of in the Old Testament; and that she believes, that when he resolv'd to cloath himself with the Corruption of our Flesh and Blood, in the Womb of the Holy Virgin, he enclos'd his Body there, either by reducing it to the smallness it had at it's first Conception or Birth, or some other way inconceivable to our gross Reason (33).

These two Reflexions, which were sufficient in the first Edition of this Work, are not so in this; for there are Persons so captious, as to object, that my Article of *ADAM* contains intolerable Obscenities, I answer, that They are too nice and scrupulous; and that they are ignorant of the Privileges of History. They, who write the Life of a wicked Man, may and ought to represent, in general, the excesses of his Debauchery; and what choice soever they make of Words, they must necessarily relate impure things, and such as fully the Imagination. This is inevitable. All they can do is to avoid Particulars, and too gross Expressions; and this I have done. They likewise, who write the History of Sects, whose Doctrines or Actions have been impure, find themselves under the same Necessity. The most cautious Style can never hinder them from presenting filthy and obscene Images to their Readers. That which justifies me in particular, is, that I relate Absurdities contain'd in a Book, which is publicly sold. Besides, I have the Example of the ancient Fathers on my side, who have inserted the most shocking Impurities of Heretics in their Works.

[H] *The romantic Narrations of James Sadeur.* It is a pretended relation of certain Hermaphrodite Nations of *Terra Australis*. See the Article *SADUR*.

[I] *His gigantic Stature.* *Philo* believed that *Adam* exceeded the size of all other Men both in Body and Soul (34); but the *Talmudists* go much farther; they affirm, that *Adam* was extended from one end of the World to the other, when God first form'd him; that after he had transgress'd, the Hand of the Lord was heavy upon him, and reduc'd his Stature to the Measure of an hundred Ells (35). Some say that God did it at the Request of the Angels, who were afraid of so gigantic a Creature; but they suppose that God left to the first Man the height of nine hundred Cubits. See the first Volume of the *Rabbinical Dictionary* of *Father Bartoloci*, pag. 65, 66. *Barcephla* takes notice of certain Authors, who say, that the Terrestrial Paradise was separated from our World by the Ocean, and that *Adam*, being driven out of this Paradise, cross'd the Sea on foot, to come into our World, and that he found it every where fordable; his Stature was so enormous (36). This is just the *Orion* or the *Polyphemus* of the Poets;

— — — — — quam magnus Orion

Cum pedes incedit mediis per maxima Nerei

Stagna viam fecidens, humero supereminet undas (37).

— — — — — He stood,

Like tall Orion, stalking o'er the flood:

When with his brawny Breast he cuts the Waves,

His Shoulders scarce the topmost Billow laves.

DRYDEN.

summo

(30) *Protocli*
Elench.
Heret. in
the Word
Almaicium
& Dofeaf.
Relat. de
Burign. in-
feried in the
Acta Erudit.
Lipf. pag.
150.

(31) *Apud*
Cornel. à
Lapide in
Genef. cap.
ii. ver. 24.

(32) *Paracel-*
us apud Vos-
sum de Phil-
osophia, cap.
9. pag. 71.

(33) *Conti-*
nued Life of
M. Bourig-
non, pag.
317.

(34) *Philo*
de Opific.
Mundi.

(35) *In the*
Book Sanhe-
drim.

(36) *In his*
Treatise, de
Paradiso.

(37) *Virgil.*
Æneid. lib.
10. ver. 765.

(27) *The*
June.

(28) *Preface*
to the New
Heaven.

(29) *In the*
beginning of
the XIIIth
Cent. 17.

his Books [K], his Sepulchre [L], and of a Tree planted on that Sepulchre [M], &c. But we must be careful not to doubt of his Salvation, as the Abbot *Ruperius* did (g), and least of all to believe him condemn'd to Infernal Flames, as the *Tatiamies* did (b). Nor are we oblig'd to adopt the Opinion of *Origen*, *St Augustin*, *St Athanasius*, and others, that *Adam* was one of the first of those, who rose from the dead with *JESUS CHRIST* (i); and we are yet less oblig'd to believe, that his Repentance would have kill'd him with Grief, if God had not sent the Angel *Raziel* to comfort him (k). But Reason requires us to believe; that his Faith and his Prayers obtain'd Mercy for him, and that he made a very good End; without imagining at the same time, that he made a Speech to his Children before his Death, and recommended to them particularly to honour their Mother, and to bury her near him. It is

(g) *Ruperii* Comment. in Genes. cap. xxxii.

(b) *Epiphanius* Hæres. 46. Eusebii Hist. lib. 4. cap. 27.

(i) Apud Corn. à Lapide in Genes. cap. v. vers. 5.

(k) See Reuchlinus de Art. Cubal. pag. 8. & Heidegger's Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 1. pag. 16c.

— — — summo cum monte videmus
Ipsum inter pecudes vasta fe mole moventem,
Pastorem Polyphemum, & litorea nota petentem (38).

(38) *Virgil. Æneid. lib. 3. ver. 655.*

— — — When, on the Mountain's Brow,
We saw the Giant-Shepherd stalk before
His following Flock, and leading to the Shore.

(39) *Id. ib. ver. 664.*

— — — graditurque per æquor
Jam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit (39).

— — — Thro' Seas he strides,
And scarce the topmost Billows touch'd his Sides.

DRYDEN.

The *Arabians* have no less an Idea of the Stature of our first Parents, than *Moses Barcephas's* Authors. The following is a Narrative of Mr *Monconis*. "My *Arabian* told me how the Caravan of *Cairo* arriv'd "first at *Mecca*, and how, after having offer'd their "Prayers, they went to the Foot of the Mountain, "which is a League distant from thence, to wait "for the other Caravans of *Damascus* and of *Bagdad*, "which came the following Days to *Mecca*; and "that being all arriv'd on the ninth of the twelfth "Moon, which is *Diel Heghe*, at the end, I say, of "the ninth Day, which is *Affer*, all the three Caravans ascended to the top of the Mountain, on the Summit whereof (which is very low, like those "Hillocks, which stand alone in the midst of Plains) "they believe that *Eve* laid her Head, when *Adam* "knew her the first Time; and that her two Knees "were two Muskets shot distant from each other, "on two other Hillocks in the bottom of the Plain; "on each of which places they have erected a round "Pillar, between which (to be a good *Agè*, that is, "Pilgrim) you must pass, both ascending and descending the Mountain, on the top of which is "a Mosque, made like a Niche, into which but seven or eight Persons can enter (40)." I find that one *John Lucius* is cited, who believed that *Adam* was one of the greatest of all Giants (41), and who used to prove it by these Words of Scripture, according to the Vulgar Translation, *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariatharbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est* (42). Upon the Authority of this Passage, *St Jerom* fancies that *Adam* was buried at *Hebron* (43). But it was proved to him, that neither the *Hebrew* Text, nor the Translation of the LXX, make mention of *Adam*; or of any Sepulchre (44). The *Geneva* Translation renders it, the Name of *Hebron* before was *Kariath-Arbah*, which *Arbah* had been a very great Man among the *Hanaksins*. The *Englisb* Version renders it after the same manner. There is a Mountain in the Island of *Ceylon*, called the Peak of *Adam*, because, according to the Tradition of the Country, it was the place of his Residence (45). The prints of his Feet are yet to be found there, above two Palms in length. *Pythagoras* would not infer such a gigantic Stature from thence, as that which others attribute to *Adam*; I say, *Pythagoras*, who judg'd of *Hercules's* Stature by the length of that Hero's Foot (46). It is also said that there are some Remains on that Mountain, of the Tears which were shed for the Death of *Abel*; but others say, that *Adam* and *Eve* lamented his Death in a Cave in *Judæa*, where their Beds of Stone are to be seen of thirty Foot length (47).

(40) *Monconis. Travels, part 1. pag. 372. 373. Edition of Lyons.*

(41) *John Lucius, lib. 1. de Eminent. dat. Temp. cap. 4. apud Pererium in Genes. lib. 4. quest. 3.*

(42) *Joshua, cap. xiv. vers. ult.*

(43) *Hieron. in Matth. cap. xxvii.*

(44) *Pererius ubi supra.*

(45) *Ludov. Romanus Patrius in sua Navigat. apud Biffellum illust. Ruinar. Decid. 1.*

(46) *A. Gellius Noct. Att. lib. 1. cap. 1.*

(47) *Apud Salden. Oria Theol. pag. 346.*

(48) *Heidegger. Hist. Patri. Tom. 1. pag. 481.*

(49) See *Salian. Tom. 1. pag. 230.*

Jeus, reports, that *Abraham* being gone into the Country of the *Sabæi*, open'd *Adam's* strong Box, wherein he found his Books with those of *Setb*, and *Edris* (50). This last Name is that which the *Arabians* give to *Enoch*. They say that *Adam* received twenty Books fallen from Heaven, which contain'd divers Laws and Promises, and Threatnings, from God, and Predictions of many Events (51). Some Rabbies attribute the 92d Psalm to *Adam*, and there are some Manuscripts, where the *Chaldean* Title of that Psalm imports that it is a Song of Praise, recited by the first Man on the Sabbath-day (52). The good *Eusebius Nierembergius*, who was Credulity itself, reports two Canticles, which he faithfully copied out of the Revelations of the ever blessed *Amadeus*, in the Library of the *Escurial* (53). It is said, that *Adam* was the Author of these two Pieces; he made the one the first time he saw *Eve*; the other is the penitential Psalm, which he and his Wife sung after their Fall.

(50) See *Stanley's Eastern Philology, B. 3. cap. 3.*

(51) *Hoefting. Hist. Orient. pag. 22. cited by Lyserus in Polygamia Triumphata pag. 145.*

(52) *Gaspard Schoetus Technic. Curios. pag. 556.*

(53) *Lib. 2. cap. 13. de Orig. Sacre Scripte. cap. 15. apud Schoetum, ibid.*

(54) See *Salian. Ann. Tom. 1. pag. 225. where he shows that St Jerom himself says that common Opinion is false.*

[L] His Sepulchre.] We have already seen, that *St Jerom* imagined, without any ground; that *Adam* was buried at *Hebron*; but we have as much Reason to be of his Opinion in that, as to think with many others, that *Adam* was buried upon Mount *Calvary* (54). I confess the latter Opinion is preferable per la predica, for the Preacher's Use; for it is much more fertile of Allusions, Antitheses, moral Application, and all kind of Rhetorical Figures: But such a Reason is fit for little else, than to serve as an Answer to those, who may ask, why *St Jerom's* Opinion had fewer Followers than the other. But, Comparisons aside, it is enough for us to be informed, that the Fathers generally believed, that the first Man died in the Place, where *Jerusalem* was built afterwards, and that he was buried on a neighbouring Hill, which was called *Golgotha*, or *Cakary*; which is that where *Jesus Christ* was crucified. If you ask me how *Adam's* Grave could redit the Waters of the Deluge, and how his Bones could maintain their place, in order to receive the sprinkling of the Blood of our Lord; for there lies the Mytery;

Hic hominem primum suscepimus esse sepultum,
Hic patitur Christus: pia sanguine terra maderit,
Pulvis Adæ ut possit, veteris cum sanguine Christi
Commixtus, stillantis aquæ virtute lavari (55);

Here Tradition says the first Man was buried; Here Christ suffered: The pious Earth is wet with Blood, that the Dust of *Adam*, mixt with the Blood of Christ, might be wash'd with the Virtue of the dissolving Water:

(55) *Tertullian. Carm. contra Marcion. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

If, I say, you put this Question; *Barcephas* will quote a Doctor upon you, very much esteem'd in *Syria* (56), who said that *Noah* dwelt in *Judæa*; that he planted the Cedars, wherewith he built the Ark, in the Plains of *Sodom*, that he took *Adam's* Bones with him into the Ark; that, after he was come out of the Ark, he divided them among his three Sons; that he gave the Skull to *Schem*; and that the Offspring of *Schem*, having taken possession of *Judæa*, buried this Skull in the same Place where *Adam's* Grave had been.

(56) *Dom. Jacobus Orrohaia (five Edelers) St Ephrem wrote 1st in the 13th Century was his Disciple. See Salian, pag. 226. Corn. à Lapide, p. 13.*

[M] A Tree planted on that Sepulchre.] *Cornelius à Lapide* says, that the *Hebrews* have a Tradition, that by the Command of an Angel *Setb* put some of the Seed of the forbidden Tree into *Adam's* Mouth, who was already buried; and that it produc'd a Tree, of which the Cross of *Jesus Christ* was made; and that it was but just that the same Wood, which had caus'd *Adam* to sin, should be That, on which *Jesus Christ* should expiate *Adam's* Sin (57). That *Jesuit* refers us to *Pinedo*, who

(57) In *Genesim. cap. ii. ver. 9. pag. 74.*

is giving one's self too much Liberty, to forge such direct Speeches [N]. We have related elsewhere (l) the Opinions concerning the Duration of his State of Innocence.

(l) In the Remark [A] of the Article ABEL.

who related this Fable at length. But what does he mean by the Hebrews? Doubtless he means the Jews. Now, do the Jews own that Jesus Christ expiated Adam's Sin by the Punishment of the Crows, to which their Nation condemn'd him under Pontius Pilate? When an Author is full of a thing, he thinks others are so too, and does not always perceive the Absurdity of attributing his own Thoughts to them. Lastly, this Fable has been variously reported; for we find in a Rabbi, who liv'd long before Jesus Christ, and whose Work is entituled, *Gale Rafejab* (58), that the Angels brought to Adam, in the Desert, a Branch of the Tree of Life, which Seth planted, and that it became a Tree, whereof Moses made good Use; for, after having made out of it the Rod, with which he wrought so many Miracles, he sweetened the bitter Waters with it, and

(58) See concerning this Rabbi, and his Works, the Nouv. Liter. for July 1686. Art. 3. pag. 770. taken from Mabius of the Brazen Serpent.

erected likewise the Brazen Serpent on part of it. Some say that Adam sent Seth to the Gate of the Garden of Eden, to desire the Angel's who defended the Entrance, to grant him a Branch of the Tree of Life, which they comply'd with (59).

[N] To forge such direct Speeches. I have Salian in view, in this Censure. Not contented with the Speech, he made a long Epitaph for Adam, wherein he denotes his own Name by these three Letters, J. S. P. (60). He made Epitaphs also for Abel, Abraham, and Sarah, &c. In truth this is scarce pardonable, except in Authors, who are just come from teaching Rhetoric; and I am fully persuaded that the *Sirmonds*, the *Petavius*'s, the *Hardouins*, and the rest of the great Authors of the Society of the Jesuits, will judge of it, as I do.

(59) See Salien's Oria Theolog. pag. 608.

(60) See *Trey* *flavij*, Jac. Salianus' Po-suit.

ADAM, Archdeacon of the Patriarchal Chamber, and Superior of the Monks of *Cbaldaa*, was sent to Rome at the beginning of the XVIIth Century, by *Elias*, Nestorian Patriarch of *Babylon*. This Patriarch, having caus'd the Profession of Faith, which Paul V. had sent him, to be examin'd by his Bishops, commission'd Adam to present it to That Pope, with the Alterations he had made in it; but order'd him at the same time to correct what the Pope should find amiss in it. This Embassy of our Adam was an Embassy of Obedience. This Monk, being come to Rome, acquitted himself of his Commission with all imaginable Care. He had brought a Writing with him, wherein he pretended to reconcile the Faith of the Eastern Churches with That of the Church of Rome, and to make it appear that their Differences were but a Verbal Dispute [A]. He had first shew'd this Writing to his Patriarch, and afterwards, by his order, to all the Bishops of the Party, and he had employ'd a whole Year in going from City to City to procure the Approbation of those Bishops. Peter Strozza, Secretary to Paul V. was order'd to answer this Writing. The Answer favour'd more of Inflexibility than Condescension; for he explain'd every thing with the utmost Rigour; and the Legate of the Patriarch was not only oblig'd to submit to the Doctrines, but to the very Expressions of the Church of Rome. He sign'd whatever the Pope propos'd to him, and, not satisfy'd with abjuring all the Errors of his Nation, he wrote several Books, and address'd them to his Countrymen, to communicate to them the new Lights he had acquir'd at Rome. He departed from thence after an abode of Three Years; and carry'd with him a Brief from Paul the V. to his Patriarch *Elias*, rejecting all the Terms of Accommodation, which that Patriarch had propos'd, and obliging him to condemn every Expression, which might cover any Error (a). Adam was accompanied by two Jesuits (b), who had Orders to labour at the entire Re-union of that Sect.

(a) Taken from the 10th Chapter of the 5th Book of the Perpetuity of the Faith defended. Mr. Arnaud cites the Treatise of Peter Strozza, de Dogmatibus Chaldaeorum.

(b) Nic. Goddign's lib. 1. de Rebus Abassinorum apud Aub. Miræum, de Statu Relig. Christi. pag. 226.

[A] Their Differences were but a verbal Dispute.] The *Sieur de Moni*, in his *Critical History of the Levant*, seems fully persuaded, that the Patriarch *Elias* had reason to maintain, that there is but a mere verbal Difference between the Nestorians of the present Time, and the Catholics. The Nestorianism of the present Time, says he (1), is but an imaginary Heresy; the Difference of their Opinion consists only in Equivocations; the Nestorians understanding the Word Person in another Sense, than the Latins. Why then did they not acquiesce in the Explanation, which the Patriarch of *Babylon* gave of their Notions? The Reason was, because, in order to keep up a Decorum, and out of a false Puntillo of Honour, it was necessary to main-

(1) Moni's Critical History of the Levant, and Customs of the Nations of the Levant, pag. 93.

tain that Nestorianism was a dangerous Heresy; otherwise they would have prostituted the Honour of the Oecumenical Councils. This is what the *Sieur de Moni* would have said in a free Country; but in France he was obliged to qualify his Expressions; The Councils, says he (2), having condemn'd the Heresy of Nestorius, it seem'd necessary to make it appear at Rome, that Nestorianism was a true Heresy, since it had been condemn'd by the Church in a general Council. He adds, with the same caution, That some might infer, from the very Acts of the ancient Councils, that Nestorianism is but a nominal Heresy; and that if Nestorius and St Cyril had understood each other, they might have reconcil'd their Opinions (3).

(2) Id. ib.

(3) Id. ib.

ADAM, (JOHN) a French Jesuit, was a famous Preacher of the XVIIth Century [A]. He was of *Limousin*, and enter'd among the Jesuits in the Year 1622, at 14 Years of Age (a). His Superiors, finding him qualify'd to succeed in the Pulpit, apply'd him to it, after he had taught Humanity, and Philosophy. He exercis'd the Trade of Preaching Forty Years, and was follow'd in the chief Cities of France, and in the Lowre itself (b). He began, as it was reasonable he should, in the Provinces; but when he had sufficiently signaliz'd himself in them, he was sent to Display his Talents on the grand Theatre of the Kingdom. The Circumstances of the Times favour'd him, the Disputes of *Jansenism* having already heated the People; and never was Man more fit than Father Adam, being a rash Adventurer, to be let loose against That Party. He was hot and undaunted, and had all the Qualifications of a great Declaimer. The Sermons, which he preach'd in *Lent* at Paris in St Paul's Church in the Year 1650, made a great Noise. The Preacher push'd Matters so far, that,

(a) Sotuel, Biblioth. Societatis Jesu, pag. 397.

(b) Id. ib.

[A] Was a famous Preacher of the XVIIth Century.] See the Letter which Mr de Balzac writ to him on the 15th of January 1643, after having read the fifteen Sermons, which that Jesuit had sent him (1).

(1) It is the 15th of the 3d Book of the 1st part of the Letters Choities, pag. 109. &c. of J. Holl.

that, had it not been for powerful Patrons, they would have forbid him the Pulpit [B]. He had Honesty enough to acknowledge [C], that St *Austin* was no ways favourable to *Molinism*; and was very angry with that Ancient Doctor. The *Jansenists* did not pass by this Affront [D]. They publish'd an Answer to his Sermon, and were not satisfy'd with apologizing for St *Austin*; but refuted some other Propositions of that Jesuit, and particularly That, which related to the Inspiration of the Canonical Writers [E]. Father *Adam* had no regard to the Complaints, which were made

[B] They would have forbid him the Pulpit.] This we learn from a Letter of Guy Patin, written the twelfth of April, 1650; Our Archbishop, says he, has forbid the Pulpit to Mr Brouffell, a Doctor of Navarre, and Canon of St Honore, who is a great Jansenist, for having preached within these three Days a little too boldly. Father Adam, a Jesuit, would have felt the same rigour, for having preached against St *Austin* in St Paul's Church, and for having called him the hot African and the petulant Doctor, if the Credit of the Jesuits and of the Capuchins had not diverted the Archbishop from it (2).

(2) Patin's Letter 3^o.
Page 172.
Of the 1st part, Edit. of Geneva, 1691.

[C] He had Honesty enough to acknowledge.] This must be understood, cum grano salis, with some Restriction; and we should be deceived, if we imagined, that this Jesuit retained nothing of the Artifices of those, who pretended that St *Austin* is neither favourable to the Calvinists, nor to the Jansenists: For in the same Sermon, which raised such an outcry, and which he divided into two Parts, he designed by the second to shew from the Doctrine of That Father, that Jesus Christ died for all Men, without Exception; and he had already published a Book, entitled, Calvin defeated by himself, and by St *Austin*'s Weapons, which he has unjustly usurped in his Doctrines of Grace, Free-will, and Predestination (3). Now he made no Difficulty to say, that Jansenius and Calvin taught the same thing in the Doctrine of Grace; and a few Days after his Sermon, he replied to one, who reproached him for it, I fear nothing; no one can attack my Sermon, nor my Book about Grace, without undertaking at the same time to support Calvin (4). What are we to understand then by the Honesty which I ascribe to him? Why, that the Liberty he took in giving his Opinion of St *Austin*'s Errors, plainly intimated, that he did not esteem him a proper Model of Faith in those Matters.

(3) Defence of St *Austin* against Father Adam.

(4) The same.

[D] The Jansenists did not pass by this Affront.] A few Days after, they published a Pamphlet of sixty Pages in Quarto, entitled, A Defence of St *Austin*, against the Errors, the Calumnies, and the scandalous Invektives which Father Adam, the Jesuit, preached in St Paul's Church on the second Thursday in Lent, on this Text of the Gospel, "I am not sent but to the lost Sheep of the House of Israel." They accused him of having said, "I. That St *Austin* was intricate and obscure in his Writings; that, being an African, violent and full of Heat, he was often too passionate, that he ran into Extremes, and had exceeded the Bounds of Truth in opposing the Enemies of Grace; as it happens sometimes, that a Man, who designs to strike his Enemy, does it with such Violence, that he dashes him against a Tree, and gives him a Counter-Blow contrary to his Intention. II. That St *Austin* himself, in establishing Original Sin, against the Pelagians, was carried away to an excess of Error, in saying that Original Sin was punished in Children, who died without Baptism, with the Torments of Fire, and with Damnation. III. That St *Austin* was not steady in his Notions, since, according to the Observation of Mr *Garnache*, he changed his Opinion three times about the Doctrine of Grace." These Reproaches, and some others of the same kind, had already appeared in a Book of Father Adam. Those, who have not that Book, may find them in a Work, which is easy to be consulted; I mean the *Vindicie Augustiniane*, wherein Father Adam is the first of St *Austin*'s modern Adversaries, whom Father Norris refuted.

[E] Which related to the Inspiration of the Canonical Writers.] "It is not surprising, that Father Adam should assert in his Sermon, that St *Austin* was carried too far by the Ardor of his Zeal, since, in a naughty Book, full of Falsities and Errors, he has laid it down *. That this Weakness is not so criminal, but that God suffers it in those Authors,

* Third Part, cap. 7. pag. 622.

whom he inspires, and whom we call Canonical - - - and that the Natural Fire of St Paul was likewise apt to incline him to Expressions of this nature - - - To prove that there are some Frailties in Canonical Authors, and that they follow their own Imaginations in expressing the things which God has revealed to them, he says, That when the Prophet Elias complained of the Impiety of the Age, he said to God, that Faith was extinguished in the Hearts of all Men, and that he alone remained of all who adored him on the Earth. — David affirms, that there was never more Corruption and Disorder seen, than in his Time, that there was not one Man to be found who would perform a good Action." This is the Doctrine which Father Adam's Censurers reproached him with. The result of it is, that the inspired Doctrine, and the Expressions of those who are inspired, are two different things; that God is the Author only of the first, but that he left the other to the Imagination of the Person inspired, and that this did not hinder his Imagination from exceeding the Dictates of the Holy Spirit. Without doubt this was Father Adam's Sentiment; for the Examples of Elias and David, which he alleges, would not serve the Purpose of one, who believes, that it was revealed by God, that Elias was the only Worshipper of the True God, and that in David's Time there was not one good Man on the Earth. Whoever therefore makes use of such Examples must be convinced, that God only revealed, that the Number of good Men was small. Thus the Imagination of an inspired Author may make that universal which is given him with Restriction; and thus he may fall into the Sophism, à dicto secundum quid ad dictum simpliciter: In a Word, This is to adulterate Revelation, to deceive the Church, to lie. The Jansenists did not fail to exclaim against this Doctrine, as being impious, and opening a Door to a thousand Attempts against the Authority of the Scripture (5). "For, said they (6), if God suffers any Frailty in the Canonical Authors, whom he inspires, if there is a Natural Fire in St Paul, which is not from God; every thing, which the Libertine or Heretic finds in Holy Writ contrary to his Sentiments, he will say proceeds from the Frailty or Natural Fire of the Writer, and not from the Spirit of God. - - - To allow of any Infirmary, or any Influence of meer Natural Disposition in the sacred Writers, is to give every one the Liberty of judging of This, and of throwing out of the Scripture what he pleases, as proceeding rather from the Weakness of Man, than the Spirit of God. - - - The Libertine will deny the Eternity of Hell Torments, and when St Matthew says, Go ye cursed into everlasting Fire, he will say it was an extravagant Expression denote the long Continuance, and Greatness of the Torments prepared for the Wicked, proceeding from "to the Imagination of the Evangelist (7)." Those Gentlemen pretended that Father Adam only made use of this Doctrine, that he might shift off the Force of St Paul's Expressions, which seemed hard to him, and contrary to his Sentiment, and to teach us the Art of playing with the Words of the Apostle of the Gentiles about Grace and Divine Predestination, as well as with those of St *Austin*. If he finds himself pressed by the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, where St Paul says, that God will have Mercy, on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will he hardens; he may answer, that St Paul's Natural Fire carried him into Expressions of this Nature; that it is a Frailty which God suffers in Canonical Authors; that it is the Expression of a thing revealed after the Imagination, Disposition, and Temper of St Paul (8).

I omit their Answer to the Instances of Elias and David; and shall only observe, that they found a great Mistake in matter of Fact in the first of those Citations; for the Canonical Author, who relates

(5) Ibid. pag. 11.

(6) The same.

(7) Pag. 16.

(8) Compare this with what is said pag. 374. in the Advice to the Refugees.

made against his Sermon, and against a Book, wherein he had thrown out several Expressions concerning St *Austin*, which gave great Offence. He retracted nothing, and continued writing in the same Strain. The *Jansenists* renew'd their Complaints, and their Writings; and a particular Conflict arose between them and Father *Adam*. They criticiz'd the Books, which he publish'd, some of which he compos'd for the use of pious Minds, in Opposition to those Gentlemen. To this end, he publish'd the *Psalms of David*, the Hymns and Prayers of the Church in *Latin*, and in *French*. Every body knows that the *Jansenists* endeavour'd to recommend themselves by their *French* Translations of those Books. They attack'd likewise the Poetry of Father *Adam*; I mean the Translation, which he had made, of the Hymns in *French Verse* [F]. But this Paper War continued but a very little time between them. His Writings began in 1650. and ended in 1651 [G]. It is plain, they found that he did the Church and the Society more Service by his other Talents, than by his Pen. He was therefore sent to *Sedan* to settle a College of Jesuits there. He would have found it very difficult to succeed in this Design, had the *Marshal de Fabert* liv'd, who was of all Men the least a Bigot, and most firmly settled in the Principles of Honesty. The *Protestants* were very easy under his Government; but the Scene was chang'd after his Death (c). They met with great Molestation from This Jesuit, and were oblig'd to pay large Sums of Money, and to establish Funds, which put him in a Capacity of founding the College he had projected. He publish'd a Scheme to which *Mr de St Maurice*, Professor in Divinity at *Sedan* (d), return'd an Answer which remain'd without Reply. He liv'd some Years at *Sedan*, where he promoted the Interests of his Order, and the business of making Profelytes, to the utmost of his Power.

(c) Which happened in the Month of May 1662.

(d) He liv'd at Maelricht, upon his leaving France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, till his Death, which fell out in the Year 1700, Aug. 20. Father Adam laid many Snare in his way, but he found an Adversary, who avoided them ingeniously.

relates *Elias's* Complaint, does not mention it as the Expression of a Man inspired, but as the Expression of a Man who was deceived, and to whom God revealed that he was in an Error. Therefore that Author did not deviate from the utmost Historical Exactness in reporting this False Complaint of *Elias*. These Gentlemen put the Public in mind, "That among the Propositions extracted from the Public Lectures of the Jesuits of *Leuven*, acknowledged by them, and censured by the Faculties of *Lowain* and of *Douay*, in the Year 1588. are the two following: I. To constitute Holy-Scripture, it is not necessary that the Words should be inspired by the Holy Ghost. II. It is not necessary that the sacred Authors should be immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost, with every Truth and every Sentiment, contained in their Writings." But, whatever Appellation these two Propositions deserve, yet they are very different from the Doctrine of Father *Adam*, and much less dangerous (9).

I have enlarged upon this, because I observed that it was an unknown Fact to those who, on Occasion of the *Sentiments of some Divines of Holland*, have lately wrote so much concerning the Inspiration of the sacred Books. All Communions have their Father *Adam*; there are Writers to be found every where to whom the same Lecture ought to be read, which was read to that Jesuit. The following are the Words of *Mr Saurin*, Minister of *Utrecht*, to *Mr Jurieu*, Minister of *Rotterdam* (10). "The Comparison which *M. J.* made between the Imagination of the Prophets, which received Impressions from above, and a Wheel, which, being set a-going, continues in Motion, though the Hand, which impelled it, be removed (11), is another Phorphanation. For though he did not apply it to the greater Prophets, it will necessarily lead to them; unless he can shew that their Imaginations, when wrought upon, did not run beyond the Impression, by their own Impetuosity, like the Wheel, which is put in Motion, as he says happened to other inspired Persons, in whom God produced these extraordinary Motions for Signs and Prodigies, and who often went farther, than they ought to do. By what Mark would he have us distinguish those Prophets, whom God sends for Signs, if their Imagination, being once stirred, confounds what comes from God with their own Folly, and if they report Truth and Falshood together, under the external Appearance of Persons out of their Senses, and disordered in their Imaginations? This Mixture of Divine Inspiration, and Extravagancy concealed under the exterior Resemblance of Madness, is inconsistent with the Idea which we have of the Wisdom of God (12)." Some Persons are of so warm an Imagination, that they never report any thing that is told them without improving upon it: They only retain the thing, and never remember

the Expressions of him, who related it to them: They substitute others in their room, clothed with all their Fire, and consequently an unfaithful Representation of what was told them. These Persons easily believe that the Prophets and Apostles treated in the same manner the Ideas which the Holy Ghost communicated to them.

[F] The Translation, which he had made, of the Hymns in *French Verse* (13). What is to found in relation to this in the ninth Part of the Difficulties proposed to *Mr Steyaert*, deserves to be reported: "No Liturgy, for these many Years, has been more esteemed than that whereof the Title is: 'The Office of the Church, and of the Virgin,' in Latin and French, with the Hymns translated into Verse; otherwise called *les Heures de Port-Royal*; or, the *Port-Royal Primer*. Four Editions were published of it in one Year; which gave so much Jealousy to the Jesuits, that they left nothing undone to cry it down. They made silly Objections against it, which were immediately answered. They opposed to it Father *Adam's* Prayer-Book, under the Name of *les Heures Catholiques*, the *Catholic Primer*, as if the other was Heretical. The Hymns in it were also translated into Verse, but so ridiculously, that it only served to raise the Credit of those of the *Port-Royal*. Lastly, they informed against them to the Inquisition of Rome, and made use of all their Credit to have them condemned there (14)." Cardinal *Spada* intimated to *Mr de St Amour*, that if that Work of Father *Adam* was presented to the Tribunal of the Inquisition, they would condemn it. *Mr de St Amour* answered, That if the *Primer*, which he defended, was to be decried. . . . they might as well condemn it without that of Father *Adam*: And that he did not think it proper to accuse those Fathers to compose a silly Book, whenever they saw a good one appear, which did not please them, in hopes of having them both condemned, under pretence of bolding the Balance even, and of keeping both Parties in Peace (15).

[G] Begun in 1650. and ended in 1651.] Father *Sotuel* mentions but five of Father *Adam's* Works. The last is his Answer to a Letter of *Mr Duillé*, which came out in 1660. These are the Titles of his other Books: *Calvinus à seipso & à S. Augustino propositus*, (Calvin defeated by himself and St *Austin*) Parisiis 1650. in 8vo. *Psalmi Davidici Latine & Gallice cum Cantici undecim quibus utitur Ecclesia*, (The *Psalms of David* in Latin and French, with eleven Hymns used by the Church) Parisiis 1651. in 12mo. *Fidelium regula ex Sacra Scriptura & sanctis Patribus deprompta*, (A Guide to the Faithful, extracted from the Sacred Scriptures, and the Holy Fathers) Parisiis 1651. in 12mo. *Preces Catholice Latine & Gallice*, (Catholic Prayers in Latin and French.) Parisiis 1651. in 8vo. and 12mo.

[H] An

(9) See *Mr Simon's* Answer to the Opinions of some Divines of Holland, cap. 12. and his Critical History of the New Testament, cap. 25. the Bibliothéque Universelle, Tom. 10. pag. 132. Tom. 11. p. 80. and Tom. 19. pag. 499.

(10) In 1692.

(11) See the 20th *Pajlo-*ral Letter of 1689.

(12) *Saurin*. Examination of *Mr Jurieu's* Doctrine, designed as an Answer to a Libel entitled, *Mr Jurieu's* Second Apostasy, pag. 21.

(13) See *Mr Duillé's* Reply, Part 2. pag. 19. and Part 3. pag. 234. & 242.

(14) Difficulties proposed to *Mr Steyaert*, part 9. pag. 42.

(15) Ibid. pag. 45.

Power. At length, the Government itself was disgusted at him; and, whether it was that they dreaded his bold and intriguing Spirit, or that they perceiv'd, that his Manner of Preaching had not all the Gravity requisite in a Place, where there was a *Protestant* University, they were pleas'd that his Superiors recall'd him: I have been told, that some Instances were made for it. He had been sent to preach at *Loudun*, while the *Protestants* held a National Synod there, about the end of the Year 1659. It is likely, this engag'd him in the composing of a Work, which made him known to the *Protestants of France*, more than any thing else, and more than many Authors of the First Rank are known to them. A Minister of *Poitiers* (e) having chang'd his Religion, a little after the breaking up of that Synod, wrote a Letter, wherein he maliciously censur'd the Fast, which That Assembly had enjoyn'd all the Reform'd Churches of the Kingdom to keep (f). Mr *Daille*, who had been Moderator of the Assembly, answer'd his Letter. The other reply'd; Father *Adam* would engage in the Controversy, and publish'd an Answer to Mr *Daille*'s Writing in the Year 1660 [H]. Mr *Daille* reply'd to them both in one Book. Perhaps he never succeeded better than upon this Occasion, nor was any Piece so much read by all sorts of Persons among the *Protestants*; which is the Reason, why Father *Adam*, who appears almost in every Period in it, and often under such a Character as makes an Impression, is more known to them than an hundred Authors, who surpass him. This Work of Mr *Daille* remain'd without Reply [I], and it is not to be wonder'd at: They, who ought to have answer'd it, were inferior to such an Adversary, who could have triumphed over them even in a bad Cause. I do not know in what Year Father *Adam* was Procurator of the Province of *Champagne at Rome*; the *Bibliothèque* of the Jesuits does not remark it (g); but it informs me, that in 1674. he was Superior of the *Maison Professe* at *Bordeaux*. I think he died in that Employ about the Year 1680. He publish'd some Controversial Sermons on the *Eucharist*, which was the *Gospel of the Day* all over *France*, during the Quarrel between Mr *Arnaud* and Mr *Claude*; I say, he publish'd them since the Impression of Father *Sotuel*'s Work, and I think he preach'd them in the height of the Contest. They are not ill turn'd, but they are a little too Dramatic, Mr *Claude* being sometimes introduc'd as speaking in them. I say this only upon hear-say. Father *Adam* pass'd through the hands of Father *Jarrige*, but met with a milder Treatment, than from many others, and came off at a small Expence [K]. He was not the first who spoke

(e) His Name was Mr Corti.

(f) See Mr Daille's Life pag. 33, &c.

(g) Rexit Collegium Sedanense in Provincia Campanie, à qua electus est Procurator ad Urbem. . . . He govern'd the College of Sedan in the Province of Campanie, from whence he was elected Procurator for the City. Sotuel Biblioth. Soc. Jesu, pag. 397.

[H] An Answer to Mr *Daille*'s Writing in the Year 1660. Father *Sotuel* entitled that Work, *Responsum ad Epistolam D. Allii Ministri Charentonensis Heretici*. This is to latinize Mr *Daille*'s Name after a wretched manner, and is a Sign that Father *Sotuel* read but few Books of Controversy. For is there any Controversist, to whom Mr *Daille*'s Latin Works are unknown, and who consequently does not know that That Minister's Name in Latin is *Dallæus*? They, who have a confused Notion, that there was a Minister of *Charenton*, whose Name was Mr *Allix*, would believe without Meditation, that Father *Adam* wrote a Book against him, if they had no other Light than what the Article of that Jesuit affords in the Continuator of *Aligambus*; and thus the least Mistake in Proper Names is enough to lead the Reader into an Error. Any one, who should once mistake Mr *Allix* for the *Allius* of that Continuator, might very well give him a place in the Catalogue of the *Famous Children*, and send him to Mr *Baillet* (16) as an Additional Article; for he would imagine that That Book was printed in the Year 1660. and refuted by a famous Jesuit.

[I] This Work of Mr *Daille* remained without Reply. The Curious will be glad to see here what the Son of that Learned Minister observed concerning This Book. He says, "It is in every body's hands, and was so well received, that two Editions have already been made of it. Those of our Communion, for whom it was chiefly compos'd, find, with Satisfaction, most of our Controversies treated in it after a manner very proper to instruct them, and our Religion cleared from every thing which it's Enemies commonly charge it with. And if we may draw any advantage from the Silence of our Adversaries, it seems as if they had condemn'd themselves, seeing hitherto neither of them have oppos'd any thing against it; tho' they often promis'd the contrary, and have been reproach'd for it several times (17)". Mr *Daille*, the Son, has mention'd one thing, which clearly insinuates, that Father *Adam* was the Converter of the Minister *Corti*. It ought, therefore, to be taken Notice of, as one of the great Actions of the Hero of this Article: Let us hear then Mr *Daille*'s Historian once more. "Not only the new converted Roman, who was the

"Party concerned, defended himself by publishing a large Answer; but as if his Cause had not been secure enough in his own Hands, a famous Jesuit came to his Assistance, of whom some of his Communion said, that he was the first Man of the World only by his Name. The Reader will easily see, that Father *Adam* is meant by this, who to defend his *PROSELYTES*, published a second Answer at the same time, of the same Size, and Force with his.

The Phrase, *First Man*, made use of in the above Passage, supply'd me in the first Edition of this Dictionary, with a Marginal Note, which shall make, at present, part of the body of this Column. It is as follows: "I have heard say, that the Queen-Mother having asked a great Lord, who attended her to one of Father *Adam*'s Sermons, what he thought of it; he thanked her for his having been so well convinced by it of the Hypothesis of the *Præ-Adamites*. Being desir'd to explain this Riddle, he answered, *This Sermon convinces me that Adam is not the first Man of the World*." You will find this Story in the Continuation of the *Menagiana* (18); and you will farther be inform'd, that the great Lord, who gave the Queen this Answer, was the Prince de *Guemont*, and that the Sermon which gave occasion to the Jest, was very ill received both by the City and the Court (19). Father *Adam* made a very odious Comparison in it between the Parilians and the Jews, who crucified our Lord. He compar'd the Queen to the Virgin; and Cardinal *Mazarine* to St John the Evangelist. Note that others ascribe this Witticism to *Benjérade*. Read his Life before the last Edition of his Works (20).

[K] Came off at a small Expence. I find three Passages relating to this, in the Works of the *Ex-Jesuit Jarrige*. The first is as follows: Father John *Adam*, one of the best Preachers they have, interpreted the Treatise of Generation to one Utensile of the Convent of St *Macaire*, and gave as exact a Description of the Parts, which contribute to the Procreation of Children, as the *Sieur du Laurens* in his *Anatomy* (21). The second contains these Words; *All those who were of the College of Poitiers in the Year 1646, know the Quarrel between John Adam and James Biron. They attacked each other in such an hostile manner,*

(18) Page 20. of the Edition of Holland.

(19) It was a Sermon on the Passion, preach'd by Father *Adam* at St Germain de l'Auxerois.

(20) That of the Year 1697.

(21) *Jarrige*, the *Jesuit*, placed in the *St. Foix*, cap. 1.

(16) He publish'd a Book in 1688. entitled, Of the Children which became famous by their Studies or their Writings.

(17) Abridgement of Mr *Daille*'s Life, printed in 1670.

spoke disrespectfully of St *Austin* [L], and who endeavour'd to persuade, that St *Paul* often carry'd his Subject farther than it wou'd bear [M], thro' too lively an Imagination.

ner, that, by the Providence of God, all their Impurities came to Light, and James Biraot remained convicted, &c. (22) The third informs us (23), that John Adam, the most excellent of their Preachers, was the Son of a Taylor. Of these three Passages, the first alone can hurt the Memory of Father Adam; for the second makes the Impurities, which were discovered in consequence of their Quarrel, fall on Biraot's Head alone. Thus all, that the scandalous Chronicle, and private Memoirs, had revealed to Father *Jarrige*, concerning Father Adam, is reduced to some Lectures of Anatomy read to a Nun, on the Generation of Children. Once again, this is to come off cheaply out of the Hands of *Jarrige*. This will be allowed me by any one, who reflects but the least on the Character of that Author's Works. If he had told us the Nun's Age, we might form a better Judgment of the Nature of the Offence. To discourse on such Points before a young Nun is doubtless a great Sin, because it is morally impossible but that such a Conversation must excite in her impure Thoughts; but I would willingly have a Casuist of good Sense, who is neither of too loose, nor too rigid Morals, examine this Question; would a Nun of such an advanced Age, that she could bear a Lecture of Anatomy on the Organs of Generation, with the same Indifference as an Explication of the Parts of the Ear, commit a Sin by her Curiosity in hearing such a Lecture? I believe it will be granted me, that it is very lawful for a Woman, of what Condition soever, to be acquainted with all that is said concerning the Circulation of the Blood: It is no Sin for her to know that the most subtle Parts of the Chyle pass from the Intestines into the Laëal Veins, and from thence successively into the Reservoir of the Chyle, into the Ductus Thoracicus, into the subclavian Vein, into the hollow Vein, into the right Ventricle of the Heart, into the Artery of the Lungs, into the Vein of the Lungs, into the left Ventricle of the Heart, and into the great Artery. There is no harm in her understanding the opening and shutting of the Valves, which are at the Extremities of the Veins and of the Arteries, the Anastomoses, the Secretion of the Urine, &c. Why then would it be criminal in her to finish her Course of Anatomy, and to acquaint herself minutely with the Structure both of the Internal and external Parts, designed for the Procreation of Children? The Crime cannot consist in the bare Knowledge of these things; it must consist then in the impure Thoughts which might accompany, precede, and follow such a Study: But I suppose, in the present Case, the Person to be as calm, as if she was studying the Anatomy of the Ear. This is the point, on which the Argument must turn. I do not set up here for a Casuist, but leave the Question to be decided by those, to whom it properly belongs; and shall only remark, that, for the greater Security of their Virtue, it is better, that Persons, who are not of a Profession, which obliges them to know these things, and chiefly those, who have made a Vow of Chastity, should never have such a Curiosity, or ever satisfy it: So that Father Adam could not have owned the Fact, without acknowledging that he had committed a Fault. The most charitable Construction is, that his Pupil had a mind to apply this Maxim: *Amare licet, si potiri non licet. Dum caremus veris, gaudia falsa iuvent.* — We may love, tho' we can't enjoy; and, whilst we are deprived of real Pleasures, let us divert our selves with imaginary ones.

[L] He was not the first, who spoke disrespectfully of St *Austin*.] Mr Sarrau in a Letter to Mr de Saumaise in 1646, tells him that the Jesuits affirmed every day from the Pulpit, that St *Austin* was not a Rule of Faith, and that he had advanced many things indifferently, to clear himself from the Objections, which were made to him. *Non est hic Pater regula fidei. Ut se expediret ab argumentis hæreticorum sui temporis multa liberius & inconsideratus dixit quibus non teneretur* (24). Father Adam, four Days after his Sermon, confessed to a Person, who represented to him the Prejudice his Sermon might cause, That Gabriel à Porta, a Jesuit, said often, that it were to be wished that St *Austin* had never wrote concerning Grace (25). Some Divines had very freely declared, long before the Birth of *Janfenius*, that St *Austin* had pushed

things too far, and that when he determined to oppose certain Errors, he receded so far from them, that he generally ran into the opposite Extrem: For Example, when he opposed the Error of the *Pelagians*, he seemed to incline too much towards that of the *Manichees*; and, in opposing the *Manichees*, he seemed to adopt the Heresy of *Pelagius*. An Irishman, whose Name is Paul Leonard, cites *Generard*, *Cornelius Musfus*, Bishop of *Bitonto*, *Cajetanus*, and *Sixtus Sinenfis*, for this (26). But Father *Annat* cites many others in the same Book; wherein he endeavours to prove that St *Austin* is not of *Janfenius*'s Opinion (27). See what Father *Norris* answered to that great Cloud of Witnesses, produced against the great Bishop of *Hippo*. Some Protestants are not far from the same Thought, that St *Austin* over-strained things. I do not speak of the *Philosophical Commentary* (28), wherein Father Adam's Judgment is approved in some measure; nor of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (29), wherein St *Austin* is represented just as Father Adam could have desired it: I speak of Mr *Dailly*, who not only involves St *Austin* in the general Accusation he raises against the Fathers, of seeming to fall down one Precipice, when they would shun another (30), but charges him likewise with having treated his Subjects too much after the fluctuating manner of the *Academic Philosophers* (31). A little Book was published some time ago, entitled, *An important Advice to Mr Arnaud, on a Project of a new Bibliothèque of Janfenist Authors*; which speaks of a third Party then forming, which was to be neither *Janfenist*, nor *Molinist*, and which would place St *Austin* between Heaven and Earth, neither too high, nor too low. Such a Medium would reconcile Animosities, if People would but be reasonable. Upon this Scheme, every one would be at liberty to be *Janfenist* or *Molinist*, as he pleased. Ought it not to suffice the Jesuits that St *Austin* is not a Rule of Faith? Or do they require more in the Books, out of which the Deputies of the *Janfenists* extracted above an hundred Propositions levelled against the Authority of this Father? (32)

[M] To persuade, that St *Paul* often carried his Subject farther than it would bear.] There is a Passage of Father *Cassini* in the Censure of Father Adam's Sermon (33) where St *Paul* and St *Austin* are compared to "two great Seas, which pour so violently over one Shore, by the impetuosity of the Wind, that they seem as if they would leave the other dry for a while; but as the Ocean after having spread itself largely on one side, returns within the Bounds prescribed to it by God; so these, after having launch'd out against the rebellious Spirits, which rise against the Truth, return to a peaceable Equality, to edify the House of God." This is that Wheel which takes more Turns than it is commanded, to which we have seen that Minister compare the prophetic Spirit (34). St *Paul* and St *Austin* overflow their Banks sometimes, but, like the Tide, they return afterwards to the Bounds which God has set them. A fine way of answering all the Passages of St *Paul* which displease! It is but saying he had then overflowed all the Country, and that his Return must be expected into the Channel, which God had allotted him. Sir *Edwin Sandis* informs me of a thing, which is too much to the Purpose to be omitted here. He says (35), I have it from very good Hands, that in Italy they have such a lively Jealousy against some Parts of the Scripture, and chiefly against the Epistles of St *Paul*, that not long ago some Jesuits, exalting St *Peter* as an excellent Man, in their public Sermons, and among their Favourers in private Conversation, censured St *Paul* as a Person of a petulant and hot Brain, who in most of his Disputes had suffered himself to be carried away so immoderately by the Sallies of his Zeal, and the Arrogancy of his Spirit, that no great account was to be made of his Assertions; and that the reading of him is very dangerous, securing of Heresy in divers Places; and perhaps it had been better that he had never writ. In conformity to which I have heard Roman Catholics say many times, that they have already often consulted among themselves about censuring and reforming St *Paul*'s Epistles. Though, to speak my Sentiments, I cannot give credit to it; the

(22) Ibid.

(23) *Jarrige*, Answer to James Beauséant, cap. 14.

A Doubt proposed to the Casuists on an Anatomical Curiosity.

(26) Paul Leonard's Answer to the Expositione contra Scientiam mediam, pag. 117, 118.

(27) Annati Augustinus vindicatus à Bajaniis.

(28) Part 3. pag. 4. See also the Supplement, p. 2.

(29) Tom. 14. pag. 287.

(30) Dailly of the Use of the Fathers, pag. 153.

(31) Ibid. pag. 393.

(32) In 1633. See the Historical Memorial concerning the five Propositions, p. 82.

(33) Pag. 17.

* In his Holy Court, Tom. 3. Maxim 6. of Predestination.

(34) Above, towards the end of the Remark [E].

(35) Account of Religion, chap. 26. pag. 215.

(24) See Sarrau's Letter, pag. 196.

(25) Defence of St *Austin* against Father Adam, pag. 24.

Undertaking in itself being so blasphemous and abominable, and the Scandal so desperate in these Times. But, however, it is certain, that they esteem St Paul below all the sacred Writers: And I can affirm from my own Knowledge and Hearing, that some of them teach in their Pulpits, that that holy Apostle had no other

Affurance of his Doctrine, than the Conferences he had with St Peter; and that he durst not publish his Epistles before St Peter had approved them. Behold the Absurdity of these Men! If the Epistles of St Paul were approv'd by St Peter, they are as authentic as can be desired.

(a) Under the Word ADAM, he says look for MELCHIOR ADAM; but when we turn to Melchior, we meet with nothing about him.

(b) This I wrote in June 1698.

(c) Melch. Adam in Epist. Dedicat. German. Theol.

(d) Joach. Bergerus. See the Epistle Dedic. of his German Philosophers.

(e) Henn. Witte, Divinum Biogr.

(f) See König, Bibl. Vet. & Nov. pag. 8. who refers to Henningus Witte, Præfat. Memor. Theologor. pag. 17, 18.

(g) Morhofius Polyhist. pag. 392, 399.

ADAM (MELCHIOR) liv'd in the XVIIth Century. The indefatigable Care he took to collect, frame, and publish the Lives of a great number of learned Persons, deserves, that somebody should do him the like Office; and yet I think no body has yet done it. Mr Moreri undertook to record him, but he forgot his Promise when the Time of performing it presented itself (a). The Promise and the Non-performance have subsisted hitherto in all the Editions of his Dictionary (b). One would think it difficult to forget a Writer, to whom we are oblig'd for so many Articles. As for me, who find my self very much indebted to his Labours, I would testify my Gratitude to him by giving the Particulars of his Life at large, but I can no where find the necessary Materials for it. All that I have met with is as follows: MELCHIOR ADAM was born in the Territory of *Grotkau in Silesia*, and perform'd his Studies in the College of *Brieg*, where the Dukes of that Name took great Care to encourage Literature, and chiefly the Reform'd Religion (c), I mean that, which a Roman-Catholic would call *Calvinism*. The young Man learn'd to be a good Protestant in that School. To continue his Studies, he had his Share in the Bounty, which a great Lord (d) bestow'd for the Maintenance of a certain number of Scholars. He became Rector of a College at *Heidelberg* (e), and it was in that City that he publish'd the first Volume of his *Illustrious Men* in the Year 1615. The first Volume, which contain'd the *Philosophers*, and, under that Name, the Poets, the Humanists, the Historians, &c. was follow'd by three others: That, which contain'd the *Divines*, was printed in the Year 1619. That of the *Civilians* follow'd it; and lastly, That of the *Physicians*. These two last were printed in 1620. All the Learned, whose Lives we see in these Four Volumes in 8vo. liv'd in the XVIth. Century, or in the beginning of the XVIIth. and are *Germans* or *Dutchmen*; but there is a Series of twenty Divines of other Countries, whose Lives our Author publish'd separately in the Year 1618. All his Divines are *Protestants*. Although he compos'd but few Lives, yet he bestow'd much time on that Work, and took great pains with it, because he abridg'd the Writings, which furnish'd him with the Materials; whether they were Lives properly so call'd, or Funeral Orations, Programmas, Elogies, Prefaces, or Family Memoirs. I say nothing of the Summaries, which he plac'd in very great numbers in the Margin. He omitted some Persons, who were no less considerable, than many of those he has taken notice of [A]. The *Lutherans* are not pleas'd with him (f): they find him too partial, and will not allow his Collection to serve as a Rule to judge of the *German Literati* by (g). He died in the Year 1622. He compos'd other Works [B]. Consult Mr *Baillet*, in the 177th and 178th pages of the 2d Tome of his *Judgment of the Learned*.

[A] He omitted some Persons, who were no less considerable, than many of those he has taken notice of.] He acknowledges this himself; but he declares that there was no Affectation in it, and that a want of Memoirs was the only Cause of it. He propos'd to himself to supply this Defect in some other Volumes. These are his Words; "Quædam mihi monendus aut rogandus es, mi lector. Primum ne præteritis aut omisissis non paucos queraris, haud indignos, qui hoc in theatro apparent. In eo mea, mi lector, culpa nulla est: sed penuria fecit historię: quam nancisci nullam uspiam potui. Malui itaque prorsus tacere de multis præstantibus viris; quàm, ut ille de Carthagine, pauca dicere, & trita illa Natus est; obiit; scribere. Suppleri tamen poterit hic defectus, volente Deo, & mutuas operas tradentibus bonis patriæque amantibus; si hujus Voluminis tomus secundus fuerit adornatus. Quod idem dictum volo, de reliquis fuit Jurisconsultorum & Politicorum, Medicorum, ac Philosophorum (1). — I have some things, Reader, to inform you of, and some things to request of you. First, that you would not complain of the Omission of many Persons, not unworthy to appear upon this Stage. The Fault, Reader,

"is not my own, but is owing to the want of Materials, which I could by no means procure. I chose therefore to say nothing of many excellent Persons, rather, than like him of Carthage, to say but little, and to write down the thread-bare Account. He was born & he died. However, this Defect may be supplied, God willing, and by the Assistance of good Men, and Lovers of their Country: when the second Tome of this Work shall be prepared. Which Notice I desire may be understood to regard the other Lives of Civilians, Politicians, Physicians, and Philosophers."

[B] He compos'd other Works.] To wit, *Apographum monumentorum Heidelbergensium. Notæ in Oratorem Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Erasmus. Parodia & Metaphrasæ Horatianæ* (2). It is not true, as is asserted in the Catalogue of Oxford, that he was the Author of an *Historia Ecclesiastica Ecclesiæ Hamburgensis & Bremensis*. It is the Work of a Canon of Bremen, whose Name is Adam, who lived in the XIth Century. *Conringius* and *Puffendorf*, who placed him in the Xth, are mistaken. See *Müllerus*, at the 65th Page of the first part of the *Jagege ad Historiam Chersones Cimbricæ*.

(2) Ex Dianæus Blog. Henn. Witte

(1) Melch. Adam. Præfat. Theol. Germanor.

(a) St Austin gives them the Name of Adamians, after St Epiphanius, who calls them Adamians.

(1) Theodoret. Hist. Fab. lib. 1.

(2) Baron. ad Ann. 175. num. 33.

ADAM, a Joyner of *Nevers*, and a French Poet. Look for BILLAUT.

ADAMITES (a), a ridiculous Sect, which, according to some Authors, was a Branch of the *Carpocratians* and *Valentinians* (b). *Theodoret* assigns one *Prodicus* as it's Founder [A]. St *Epiphanius* pretends, that they deriv'd their Name of *Adamites*

(b) See Dancus upon August. de Heres. cap. 31.

[A] *Theodoret* assigns one *Prodicus* as it's Founder (1). *Barnabas* places him in the Year 120, and makes him more antient than *Valentinus*; which induces him in another place (2) to censure those, who

reckon him among the Disciples of *Valentinus*. If this be true, *Lambertus Daneus*, whom I have cited, deserves no Credit: I shall speak of this *Prodicus* in a separate Article.

subsisting. *Evagrius* makes mention of some Monks of *Palestine*, who, thro' an excess of Devotion, and to mortify their Bodies, went, Men as well as Women, into solitary Places, quite naked, excepting those Parts, which Modesty forbids to name; where they expos'd themselves in a very strange manner [E] to the Extremities both of Heat and Cold (g). We shall speak of the *Modern ADAMITES*, under the Article *PICARDS*. I find, that both Catholics and Protestants reproach each other [F] with having *Adamites* among them: but perhaps neither Party has more reason than the other for this Charge. If I had no other Authority, than that of *Lindanus* (b), I shou'd scarce believe, that, in the year 1535, *Adamites* were seen in *Amsterdam*, among the richest and most noble Families, who ran about stark naked; some of whom were fanatical enough to climb up on Trees, where they waited in vain for Bread to fall from Heaven to them, till they fell themselves half dead to the ground. I shall quote an Author (i) in another place (k) who attests part of these Facts.

(g) *Evagr.*
Hist. Eccl.
lib. 1. c. 21.
21.

(b) *Lindan.*
Dubitantii
Dial. 2.
pag. 171.

(f) *Lambert.*
Hortens. in
Hist. Tu-
mult. Ana-
baptist.

(k) In the
Remarks of
the Article
PICARDS.

[E] In a very strange manner.] They outdid the other Monks, whom the same *Evagrius* mentions; who, having no Garment of their own, (since the same, which one Monk wore one Day, served another the next Day) had, at least, the use of some Garment (14). The Solitaries, of whom I speak, were satisfied with wearing only a Girdle, and as for the rest, they renounc'd Humanity as much as they could; they would not eat of the Food which serv'd other Men; but fed like Beasts, and eat but just as much as would keep them alive: At last they became like Beasts; their Figure alter'd, and their Sentiments also. When they saw other Persons, they ran away, and if they found themselves pursued, they fled, as far as they could, to some inaccessible Hole. Some of them appeared in public again, and pretended to be Fools, to shew the greater contempt of Glory. They went to eat in public Houses; they entered into the public Baths; they convers'd, and wash'd, with the other Sex; but with so much Insensibility, that neither the Sight, nor Touch, nor even the embraces of a Woman, caus'd any Emotion in them. They were Men with the Men, and Women with the Women; they would be of both Sexes. *Μετὰ ἀνδρῶν καὶ θύρας σῶναι, μετὰ γυναικῶν τε αὐ γυναικας, ἑκατέρως τε μετρίσθαι ἰδίαις ὄρεσιν, καὶ μὴ μᾶλλον σῶναι* (15) — Cum viri quidem viri sunt, feminae vero cum feminis; non enim unus, sed utriusque simul sexus, esse cupiunt. It is likely they had not much trouble in counterfeiting the Fool, and that they were so in reality; we may, at least, apply to them what *Rutilius Numatianus* said, though unjustly, of all kinds of Solitaries:

(14) *Evagr.*
Hist. Eccl.
lib. 1. c. 21.

(15) *Ibid.*

Quænam perversi rabies tam stulta cerebri
Dum mala formides, nec bona posse pati (16) ?

(16) *Rutil.*
Itiner. lib.
1. ver. 445.

What Madnes 'tis, whilst Evil you avoid,
To fly the Good, and leave it unenjoy'd ?

Lastly, Their Nakedness was very contrary to the Principles of those Religious, of whom I shall speak in the following Remark, neither would it agree well with the Doctrine of *Father Sanchez*.

[F] Reproach each other.] Mr *Moreri* assures us, that there are *Adamites* in England, who bold their Assemblies by Night, and teach only these Words, Swear, Forswear, and do not discover the Secret. It was proper to inform him, in the Edition of *Amsterdam*, that there were no such People in England, that the Civil Government there is too good to suffer an Infamy of that nature, which could not be concealed, and that it is likewise very improbable, that there are any in Poland; for he had said, that there are still remaining some of these mistaken People in that Country. He could not defend himself, by saying that he does not pretend, that these People shew themselves naked in public, but only that they undress themselves in their Nocturnal Meetings, which the best Government may be ignorant of; I say, he could not alledge this in his Justification, since he just before mentioned the *Adamites* of *Bohemia*, who went always naked, as is pretended. So that, if Mr *Moreri* understood what he said, he must assert, that there are yet People in

England, both Men and Women, who go always naked, out of a Principle of Religion. Now this is what the Government would not suffer, and cannot be ignorant of. Behold here a Catholic who maintains, that there are *Adamites* in Protestant Countries. I say nothing of those idle and ridiculous Stories concerning *Holland*, which are to be seen in the *Sorberiana*, pag. 17. Let us produce, on the other side, a Minister who says there are Monks in Italy call'd *Adamites*, who go naked, in consequence of the Vow they make, and in compliance with the most sacred Rules of their Order. "Ac ne nunc quidem, sicut be (17), nomen ejus (hæresis Adamianorum) extaret, nisi Monachi quidam, qui se falso pietatis & vitæ austeritatis prætextu commendant, horum hæreticorum impudentes proflus mores retinuisent, & inter sanctissima ordinis & regulæ suæ præcepta posuissent, quales ii qui etiam nunc hodie Adamitæ dicuntur, vigentque plurimum in Italia — Vivunt, enim nudi, non necessitate quidem adaacti vel inopia vestimentorum, sed ex voti professione. — The very Name of this Heresy (of the *Adamites*) would be extinct, did not certain Monks, who recommend themselves under the false Pretence of Piety and Austerity of Life, retain the very impudent Manners of these Heretics, and place them among the most sacred Precepts of their Order and Institution; such as are those, who even at this time are called *Adamites*, and flourish chiefly in Italy. — For they live naked, not compelled by Necessity, or for want of Garments, but in compliance with their Vow."

I wish he had been more eager to prove this Fact, than to make a Comparison between the Conduct of these People, and that of the ancient Monks, who never saw themselves naked (18), and who said, that a Man of their Profession could not contemplate his own Nudity, without behaving unworthy of himself (19). A modern Casuist, who is none of the most rigid (20), counts it nevertheless a venial Sin, propria verenda aspiciere ex quadam curiositate absque alia mala intentione; and a mortal Sin, aspiciere verenda alterius sexus, aperta vestibus ita subtilibus, ut parum aspectui obfist (21). To see a Person, of a different Sex, swim naked, is, according to him, a mortal Sin. Two Men of a grave Character, as two Bishops, who should look upon each other naked, commit, says he (22), a mortal Sin. *De Bernia* tells us of a Man, who never handled his *Pudenda* without his Gloves (23). Why might not a Casuist require, that a Man should abstain from touching them naked, as well as from contemplating them naked? An ancient Philosopher, thro' an Affectation of Chastity, never touched them with, or without a Glove; he receeded in that respect very far from the Principle of *Anacharsis* (24). This ancient Philosopher was the severe *Xenocrates*. *Aristoteles*, irridens *Chalcædonium Xenocratem*, quod mejendo virilibus non admooveret manum, inquit, "puræ quidem manus at inquinata mens (25)."

We shall prove in the Remark [N] of the Article *HADRIAN VI*, that *la Motte*, le *Vayer* ought not to have taken the Passage of *Bernia* in a literal Sense.

(17) *Lamb.*
Danzon in
Aug. Her.
cap. 31.

(18) *Apud*
Socrat. Hist.
Eccl. lib. 4.
cap. 23. &
Sozomen.
lib. 1. c. 13.

(19) See in
the Historia
Indiana of
Belthazar
Bonifacius,
pag. 181.
Sæpe St. Je-
rome main-
tain'd, that
a Virgin
ought to kiss
at seeing her-
self naked;
and I see
Examples
of this
guar'd by
Theodoret.

(20) *Sanchez* de Ma-
rimon. lib.
9. Disputat.
46. n. 27;
28.

(21) *Ibid.*
n. 25, 26.

(22) *Ib.* n.
27, 28.

(23) *Apud*
la Motte
le *Vayer*,
Heram.
Rust. pag.
79.

(24) See
Plutarch de
Garrulitate,
pag. 505, &
Clemens
Alexand.
lib. 5.
Stromat.
pag. 568.

(25) *Athen.*
lib. 12. p.
530.

(a) See the Article MYRRHA.

(b) Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. v. 337.

(c) Hygin. cap. 164.

ADONIS, Minion of the Goddess *Venus*, was the Son of *Cinyras* King of *Cyprus* [A]. The Poets have pretended, that *Myrrha* (a), that King's Daughter (b), became so desperately in Love with her Father, that she caus'd her self to be introduc'd into his Bed, without his knowing who she was. Some say she made use of the Artifice of *Lot's* Daughters (c). *Adonis* was the Fruit of this Incest. He was perfectly beautiful, and appeared so lovely in the Eyes of *Venus*, that she stole him away [B], and devoted herself wholly to his Company. Heaven itself seem'd an unpleasant abode to her in Comparison of the Hills and Woods, where she follow'd *Adonis*, who was a great Hunter [C]. Judge whether the Poets did not exert all the Figures of their Art (d), to represent the inexpressible Grief, which seized the Heart of that Goddess, when a wild Boar had kill'd her dear *Adonis* [D]. Never was a Mourning

(d) Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. Bion. (136AA. a- See also Theocritus, 1136AA. ad. and among the Moderns Mr Menage in his Greek Poems, pag. 167.

(1) See Meursius of the Island of Cyprus, lib. 2. cap. 9.

(2) Apollod. lib. 3. pag. 238.

(3) Metam. lib. 10. ver. 480, & 513.

[A] *The Son of Cinyras King of Cyprus.* Almost all Authors agree that *Cinyras* reigned in that Island (1), though some have said, that he first reigned in *Affyria* (2). See the Article *BYBLUS*. *Ovid* makes him to be born in the Island of *Cyprus*; but he says, That *Myrrha*, flying from her Father who would have killed her, after he had discovered her Incest, travelled through *Arabia*, and was delivered of *Adonis*, in the Country of the *Sabei* (3). He would have done well to have remarked in few Words, that *Cinyras* had past from the Island of *Cyprus* to *Arabia*, or that *Myrrha* had embarked in that Island. When *Adonis* was born, his Mother had been already metamorphos'd into the Tree, from whence *Myrrh* distills. We understand from *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephestion*, That *Venus*, seeking *Adonis*, of whose Death she had heard, found him at *Argos*, a City of *Cyprus*, in the Temple of *Erebian Apollo*. Whence some have affirmed, that he was killed in that Island. *Propertius* is of this Number, when he says in the thirteenth Elegy of the second Book,

Tellis, qui niveum quondam percussit Adonim
Venantem Idalio vertice, durus aper.

Witness the cruel Boar, fated to kill
Adonis, hunting on th' Italian Hill.

There was a Temple of *Adonis* and *Venus* at *Amathus* in the Island of *Cyprus* (4). *Strabo* says, that *Byblus* was the Residence of King *Cinyras*, and that there were some Temples of *Adonis* to be seen there (5). Note, That *Antoninus Liberalis* relates, that *Myrrha*, whom he calls *Smyrna*, was born on Mount *Libanus*, and that her Father's Name was *Theias* (6). *Phnyasis* plainly gave him the same Name, and not that of *Thoas*, as we read at present in *Apollodorus* (7). We read the same likewise in *Probus*, on the tenth Eclogue of *Virgil*, with this additional Circumstance, that the said *Thoas* was King of *Syria* and *Arabia*: *Probus* borrowed this from *Antimachus*.

[B] *She stole him away.* This Fact was but little remarked by the ancient Writers: I wonder at it; for it was universally known. The Painters made it the Subject of their Pictures, as they did the Rape of *Ganymede*. This *Plautus* informs us of.

ME. Dic mihi; numquã vidiſti tabulam pictam in pariete,
Ubi aquila catamitum raperet, aut ubi Venus Adoneum?

(8) Plaut. in Menæchmis Act. 1. Sc. 2. v. 34.

ME. Tell me; did you never see a Picture on a Wall, where the Eagle carries away the Catamite, or Venus Adonis?
PE. Often.

[C] *An unpleasant Abode to her in comparison of the Woods, where she followed Adonis, who was a great Hunter.* Read this Passage of *Ovid*:

Abſinet & cœlo: cœlo præſertur Adonis:
Hunc tenet: huic comes eſt: aſſuetaque ſemper in umbra
Indulgere ſibi, formamque augere colendo,
Per juga, per ſilvas dumoſaque ſaxa vagatur (9).

(9) Ovid. Metam. lib. 10. ver. 532.

Ev'n Heav'n itſelf with all it's Sweets unſought,
Adonis far a ſweeter Heav'n is thought.
On him ſhe bangs, and ſonds with every Art;
And never, never knows from him to part.

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She, whoſe ſoft Limbs had only been diſplay'd
On roſe Beds beneath the Myrtle Shade,
Whoſe pleaſing Care was to improve each Grace,
And add more Charms to an unrivall'd Face,
Now, buſkin'd, like the Virgin Huntreſs, goes
Thro' Woods, and pathleſs Wilds, and Mountain
Snows. EUSDEN.

Virgil represents *Adonis* under another Idea than that of a Hunter,

Nec te peniteat pecoris, divine poeta,
Et formoſus oves ad flumina pavit Adonis (10).

(10) Virgil. Ecl. 10. ver. 18.

The Sheep ſurround their Shepheard, as he lies:
Bluſh not, ſweet Poet, nor the Name deſpiſe:
Along the Streams his Flock Adonis fed,
And yet the Queen of Beauty bleſt his Bed.

DRYDEN.

Few Authors, I think, have represented this Favourite of *Venus* under the Character of a Shepherd. *Servius*, upon this Paſſage, relates ſome Particulars no leſs different from the common Tradition, than This. Some have ſaid, that he was inſpired by the Muſes with this Inclination for Hunting (11). It ſeems they bore a Grudge to *Venus*, for cauſing ſome of them to fall in Love with Mortals. To be revenged of her, they ſung ſeveral Airs before *Adonis*, which gave him a violent Paſſion for Hunting. Perhaps he became odious to *Diana* upon this Account: for two of a Trade ſeldom agree. Whence ſome have ſaid, that *Diana's* Anger was the Occaſion of a wild Boar's killing this Boy (12).

(11) Teetates on Lycophon.

[D] *When a wild Boar had killed her dear Adonis.* *Theocritus* ſeigns, that *Venus*, having cauſed the wild Boar to be brought before her, chid him roughly; but that he alledged in his Excuse the violent Paſſion, which had ſeized him at the Sight of ſo fine a Thigh: that he was eager to kiſs it; but did it in too paſſionate a manner; that he was ſo diſpleaſed with himſelf for what he had done, that he thought his Tuſks deſerved to be cut off, and that he burnt them himſelf (13). Thus a learned and polite Writer (14) explained the laſt Verſe of that Idyll of *Theocritus*. The Editions have it *ἵνα τὴν ἰπῶρα, exuſſit amores*; but he believes it ſhould be read *ὀδύρας, dentes*, inſtead of *ἰπῶρα*. This cruel Kiſs puts me in mind of a Thought of the Chevalier *Marini*: He introduces the God *Pan*, who boalts that the Spots which are ſeen in the Moon, are Impreſſions of the Kiſſes he gave it. Surely he attacked her very forcibly. What Careleſs! by adding a little more to them, they would be like thoſe of Apes, who, it is ſaid, ſmother their young ones ſometimes with embracing them. What would *Horace* have ſaid to this, ſince upon a much ſlighter Occaſion, he expreſſes himſelf thus,

(12) Apollod. lib. 3. pag. 238.

(13) Theocritus 1136AA. 31, or 30. according to other Editions.

(14) Mr de Longe-Pierre: See his Tranſlation of Bion, pag. 47. Edit. of Paris 1686.

ſive puer furens
Impreſſit memorem dente labris notam.
Non ſi me ſatis audias
Speres perpetuum dulcia barbæ
Lædentem oſcula, quæ Venus
Quinta parte ſui neſtaris imbuſit (15).

Or, when the ruſſing amorous Youth
Hath preſſ'd thy Lips with eager Toſſ,
And left a Mark behind:

(15) Horat. Od. 13. lib. 1.

(k) Scholiast. Theocrit. in Syracul. fide Etyl. 15.

(l) Selden. de Dis Syris. lib. 2. cap. 11. pag. 250. and the Remark [I].

(m) See the Remark [G].

(n) Scholiast. Theocrit. Etyl. 15.

(o) Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 21.

(p) See the title of Volume of the Bibliotheca Universelle, pag. 7. Berkeleyus in Stephani's Byssant. in the Word *Ἀμύθος*.

assures us, that *Adonis* was beloved by *Jupiter* (k); and that *Proserpine* fell in Love with him in Hell [G]. Yet she had some Compassion for her disconsolate Rival, who earnestly desir'd the Restitution of her Lover (l): She consented to his Absence for six Months, in favour of *Venus*. It was reported, then, that *Adonis* pass'd six Months with *Venus*, and six Months with *Proserpine*. The Scholiast, whom I have cited, contradicts himself hereupon [H]; and some do not speak so advantageously of *Proserpine's* Complaisance (m). This division of the Year has been allegoris'd; as if we were to understand by it either the successive Stages of the Seed, which at first lies under ground, and afterwards rises above the Surface of the Earth (n), or the Period of the Sun's alternate Revolution thro' the Southern and Northern Signs of the Zodiac (o). These Explications seem not so solid to me, as the Sentiment of those, who reduce the Fable of *Adonis* to the History of *Osiris* (p). The Ancients do not agree about the Country, where the Scene of *Adonis* was laid; some placing it in Syria, others in the Island of Cyprus, or in Egypt, as will appear in the Remarks. Two things are related of *Hercules*, very opposite to each other, in relation to our *Adonis*; one is, that he was in love with him, and that Jealously made *Venus* direct the Centaur *Nessus* how he might lay an Ambush for *Hercules* (q): The other, That this Hero, seeing many People come out of a Temple, in a City of Macedonia, had a mind to enter and perform his Devotions there; but, hearing that *Adonis* was the Divinity of the Place, he ridicul'd the Worship paid to him (r). Some report, that *Adonis* was born of *Jupiter*, without the concurrence of a Woman (s). St *Jerome* believ'd, that the Prophet *Ezekiel* spoke of the Festival of *Adonis* [I]. Lastly, It is difficult

(g) Prol. Heplid. apud Photium, pag. 473.

(r) Scholiast. Theocrit. ad ver. 21. Etyl. 6. See also Zennobius & Apollonius in Proverbiis.

(s) Val. Probus in Ecl. 10. Virgil. ex Philo. Stephano.

Ἦ Κινύρα βασιλεὺς Κυπρίων ἀνδρῶν δαυπρώτων,
Παῖς σοι κάλλιπος μὴν ἔγω θαυμαστότατος τε
Πόντων ἀνθρώπων, δῖο δ' αὐτὸν δαίμων ἔχων
Ἦ μὴν ἱλαυνομένη λαθρίως ἱερταῖς, ὃ δ' ἱλαύνων.

A Son, O Cinyra, is given to thee,
Who fairest of the Human Race shall be:
Two Deities his Favours shall contest;
One he shall press, by other shall be press'd.

Albenus adds, that *Venus* and *Bacchus* are meant in these Lines; for both of them were in love with *Adonis*. *Plato*, the Comic Poet, had reported this Oracle (27). He is not the only Poet, who has taken notice of this Amour of *Bacchus*. We find two Verses in *Plutarch*, which tells us, that *Bacchus*, having seen the Fair *Adonis*, in the Island of Cyprus, fell in love with him, and carried him away (28). What *Plutarch* adds, is curious, and may serve upon occasion for a Lesson to those, who give us so many Oriental Genealogies of the Pagan Religion, and Mythology. One of the Personages of *Plutarch's* Dialogue maintains very seriously and gravely, That *Adonis* and *Bacchus* are the same Divinity, and that the Jews abstained from Swine's Flesh because *Adonis* was killed by a wild Boar. Now he pretends, that their Religion, their Feasts, their Ceremonies were much the same with those practis'd in Greece to *Bacchus*; and he says likewise, that their Levites were so called from *Ἀδώνης*, *Ἐως*, *Lyfius*, *Evius*, two Names of that Deity. *Aufonius* declares, that *Bacchus*, *Osiris*, *Adonis*, &c. were one and the same God (29). *Macrobius* goes yet farther (30).

[G] *Proserpine* fell in love with him in Hell. If we may believe *Apollodorus* (31), she did not stay so long before she fell in love with him; she was enamoured of him in his very Cradle. *Venus*, being charmed with the Beauty of this Child, put him in a strong Box, and shewed him only to *Proserpine*; who protested that she would keep him. *Jupiter* was obliged to decide the Quarrel; and this was his Sentence: That *Adonis* should be at his Liberty the first four Months of the Year, and that he should stay the next four with *Proserpine*, and the last four with *Venus*. It had been better to have placed *Adonis's* Portion in the middle of the Year; and perhaps it was so before the Abbreviators or Copiers of *Apollodorus* had put his Book into the Condition we now find it in. However it be, *Adonis* refused the Vacation which *Jupiter* allotted him, and renounced it in favour of *Venus*; for he presented her with his own four Months. Others say (32), I. That the Mule *Calliope* being charged with the Decision of the Dispute by *Jupiter*, ordained that *Adonis* should belong six Months to *Venus*, and six Months to *Proserpine*. II. That *Venus*, angry that she was not allowed to engross his whole Time, inspired all the Women of Thrace with so violent a Passion for *Orpheus*, the Son of *Calliope*, that each endeavouring

to take him from the other, tore him in Pieces. One of the Complaints, which *Venus* makes of her Son, in the Dialogues of *Lucian*, is, That he sends her sometimes to Mount *Ida* in search of *Archifis*, and sometimes to Mount *Libanus* for the fair *Asprian*, half of whom he had robbed her of, by the Care he had taken to make *Proserpine* in love with him (33). *Arnobius* (34), and *Clemens Alexandrinus* (35), mention this Goddess's Passion for *Adonis*; and it is without Reason that *Sylburgius* would place in the Greek Father *Ἀἰδωνά* instead of *Ἀδωνά*; for if we should read *Ἀἰδωνά* we should make *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirm a Falshood, to wit, that *Proserpine's* Love for *Adonis* was an Adultery. *Meziriac* is the Author of this last Remark. See the 403d Page of his Commentary on *Ovid's* Epistles. *Calliope's* Judgment puts me in Mind of these two Verses:

Et vitula tu dignus & hic, & quisquis amoris
Aut metuet dulces, aut experietur amarus (36).

So nice a Difference in your singing lies,
That both have won, or both deserve the Prize.
Rest equal happy both, and all who prove
The bitter Sweets and pleasing Pains of Love.

DRYDEN.

[H] *Contradicts himself hereupon.* He tells us, on the one side, and with little Probability, That *Adonis* abode six Months with *Proserpine*, and six Months with *Venus*, without touching them, they having separate Beds. *Ἀνεῖν τὰ συγκαθεύδον καὶ προσεμύκειν* (37); and, on the other side, that he pass'd six Months in the Arms of *Venus*, and as many in the Arms of *Proserpine*. *Ἐξ ὧν αὖτε ἐκείνην ἐν ταῖς ἐγκύλαις τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὅσων καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐγκύλαις τῆς Περσεφόνης* (38). Observe, that the like was related concerning the Agreement between *Ceres* and *Pluto*; namely, that *Proserpine* should remain six Months with Him, and that she should go and finish the Year with *Ceres*. The Ancients had not variety enough of Invention: they apply'd the unravelling of their Fables to too many Subjects. Besides, *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and the Island of Cyprus, which were the Scenes of *Adonis*, are not distant enough from the Sun, from the Month of September, to the Month of March, to induce one to say, That *Adonis* is then in the Grave, or in the Shades below: And I wonder what Mr *Moreri* meant by his six Months, in which the Days are so short, and the Nights so long. For in the Countries, which I speak of, the Difference of the longest and shortest Day of the Year, gives no room for this Expression. Many more things might be corrected in the *Adonis* of that Author.

[I] *That the Prophet Ezekiel spoke of the Festival of Adonis.* St *Jerome* thought that the Tammuz in these Words of *Ezekiel*, *Then he brought me to the Door of the Gate of the Lord's House, which was towards the North, and behold there sat Women weeping* for

(33) *Lucian*, Dial. Veeris & Lunæ.

(34) *Arnob.* lib. 4. pag. 145.

(35) *Clemens Alexandr.* in Protrep. pag. 21.

(36) *Virgil.* Ecl. 3. v. 99.

(37) Scholiast. Theocrit. ad v. 21. Etyl. 5.

(38) *Id.*

(27) In *Adonide*, apud Athen. lib. 10. cap. 22. pag. 456.

(28) *Plut.* Sympos. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(29) *Aufon.* Epigr. 30.

(30) *Macrobi.* Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 13. & 21.

(31) *Apollod.* Bibl. lib. 3. pag. 240.

(32) *Hygin.* Astronom. lib. 2. cap. 7.

difficult to comprehend why the Ancients feign'd that *Venus* hid, or buried her Favourite under Lettuces [K], since they observ'd, that that Plant causes Impotency. Perhaps their Allegory may be explain'd, by supposing they meant, by it, that *Venus* had exhausted her Favourite, and pass'd him so often thro' the Alembic, that he was only fit to be compar'd to the *Terra Damnata*, and the *Caput Mortuum* of the Chymists: But they do not hint at any such Meaning. They do not all agree, that he died of his Wound [L]. There was a River near *Byblus* call'd *Adonis*, which descended from Mount *Libanus*; it became red once a Year, because the Winds drove a large quantity of Duft into it of the Colour of Vermillion. They thought this a proper time to lament *Adonis*; it being the season, when they suppos'd he was wounded on Mount *Libanus*, and his Blood ran down into the River (1).

(1) Lucian.
de Dea Syria.

(30) Ezech.
viii. 14.

for *Tammuz* (39), is *Adonis*. He did not forget to remark the two Faces, under which this Festival appeared: First of all they bewail'd *Adonis* as dead; and afterwards they sung, and celebrated him as restored to Life. *Plangitur à mulieribus quasi mortuus, et postea reviviscens canitur atque laudatur* (40). St Cyril relates several Particulars of this Feast: He says, That it was still celebrated in *Alexandria* (41); and, when he explains these Words, *Woe to the Land* — that sends Ambassadors by the Sea, even in Vessels of Butyrus upon the Waters (42); he will have it to be understood of the Letters, which were sent to make known the Arrival of *Adonis*.

(4-) Hieron.
Comment in
Ezech. lib.
3.

(41) Cyril.
in Ezech.
lib. 2.

(43) Isaiah
xviii. 1, 2.

(45) Cyril.
ubi supra.

“ They took, says he (43), an earthen Vessel, and writing a Letter to the Women of *Byblus*, as if *Adonis* were really found again, and putting it into the Vessel, they seal'd it up, and cast it into the Sea, after having used some Ceremonies. “ This Vessel, as they asserted, came of itself to *Byblus*, on certain Days of the Year, and certain Women, favour'd by *Venus*, having received it there, “ ceased from weeping, after having open'd the Letter; as if *Venus* had found her *Adonis* again.” *Lucian* says, That he saw the Past-board Head at *Byblus*, which the *Egyptians* sent thither every Year, without any other Ceremony, than casting it into the Sea. The Winds carry'd it directly to *Byblus*, in seven Days, which was the usual time spent in going from *Egypt* to that City. *Procopius Gazæus* relates this as well as St Cyril (44). According to the latter, the *Greeks* believed, that *Venus* descended into Hell to recover *Adonis*; and, it being known, said they, at her return, that she had found him (45), it was proper that the mournful Beginnings of the Feast should terminate in great Rejoicings.

(44) Procop.
Gaz. Com-
ment in I-
saiah xviii.

(45) Ἀνα-
στάσις δὲ
τῆς Ἀδὸν καὶ
μὴν καὶ ἡ-
ρησθαι Ἀ-
γάθης τὸν
ζητῶμενον
συνήσθαι
καὶ ἀνα-
κιστῶν.
Cyrill. ubi
supra.

(46) Apud
Athenæum,
lib. 2. cap.
23. pag. 69.

(4-) Apud
Athen. ibid.

[K] Under Lettuces. It is *Callimachus* who tells us, That *Venus* hid *Adonis* under Lettuces (46). According to *Cratinus* she did the same by *Phaon*, of whom she was greatly enamour'd. What had *Athenæus* done with his Wits, when he advanc'd, that the Poets intended to signify by this Allegory, that Lettuces cause a kind of Impotency in those, who commonly eat of them? Would *Venus* have made choice of them to cover her Favourites with, had they had such an Efficacy? Would she not have abhorrd the very Name and Sight of them? Would she not have fear'd, that the very touch of them would have been attended with ill Consequences? Observe a Difference between *Callimachus* and *Eubulus*; the latter said, That, when *Adonis* was dead, *Venus* buried him under Lettuces; from whence he infers, that That Plant is of no use but for the Dead (47). The Original of all these Stories might very well proceed from the Report, That *Adonis*, having eaten of a certain Lettuce, which grew in the Island of *Cyprus*, was kill'd by a wild Boar. They, who consider in what part the Boar wounded him, will easily find the unravelling of all this. *Adonis* was become impotent, from having eaten too many of those Lettuces: This is the Reason why it is feign'd, That afterwards he receiv'd a mortal Wound in the Groin. So that the Word *καταφυγὼν* ought not to be substituted in the room of *καταφύγων* (48); and it is much more reasonable to think that *Nicanor* spoke of this Lettuce, as having been the Food of *Adonis*, than to think, that he spoke of it as of an *Alyssum*, which *Adonis* sought, to escape the Boar.

(48) In the
Passage of
Nicanor,
reported by
Athenæus,
ibid.

I must acquaint my Reader, that Mr de la Monnoie is not of this Opinion. He was pleas'd to communicate to me the following Remark upon this Subject. “ The *καταφυγὼν* of the Manuscripts is much to be prefer'd before the *καταφύγων* of the printed Copies. *Nicanor*, in the Place, which *Athenæus* cites, speaks of a kind of Lettuce, under which, he says, *Adonis* took Shelter, when the Boar kill'd

him. This makes very good Sense; whereas there would be little Sense in saying, That *Adonis* had eat too much of that Lettuce, when the Boar kill'd him; the Expression would not be clear, nor coherent, and it would only be a confus'd Mixture of Allegory and Fable. Moreover it must be considered, that *ῥιδαὶ* being of the Feminine Gender, there should be *ῥε* or *ῆν καταφύγων*, because *ῥ* is then adverbially taken for *quo*. “ It is certain, that *Casaubon* prefer'd *καταφύγων* to *καταφύγων* (49). He confirm'd his Opinion by the Words, which are found in the same Page of *Athenæus*, *ἐν καλαῖς ῥιδαῖσιναῖς ἀπορύφας* (50), *in pulchris lactucis abdidit*: But he should have observed that *Athenæus* does not report them, till after having quoted a long Passage of a Poet, who said, That if any one eats of these Lettuces, he can do nothing with a Woman (51). Observe well, that this Poet's Words follow immediately upon what *Nicanor* said. Now it is a sign that *Athenæus* did not write *ῥ καταφύγων*, but *ῆν*, or *ῥε καταφύγων*. And it is a more evident sign of it, because we see, that That Author, having cited *Callimachus*, who said, That *Venus* hid *Adonis* under Lettuces, observes that it is an Allegory, designed to shew that those who commonly eat of that Herb, become weak and impotent with regard to *Venus*. Ἀλληγοῦνται τὸν ποιητὴν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ αἰεὶ πρὸς ἀφορμὰς ἐν συνεχῶς χρόνῳ ῥιδαῖς. *En quidem allegoria Poetis innuuntibus qui assidue lactuca vescuntur ad venerem esse invalidos*. It is of no Importance, that *Nicanor* has confounded Allegory with Fable: The Poets are full of such Mixtures. Besides it is observable, that he misunderstood the Word he would explain. Ἐρῖθιν λέγουσιν Φοῖνι παρὰ Κυπρίους ῥιδαῖς (52). *Lactucam à Cypritis dicit vocari Brentbin*. He mistook a Fir-Tree for a Lettuce (53). This Mistake induced him to alter the Tradition; for he was sensible, that it would be ridiculous, to suppose, that *Adonis* hid himself under a Lettuce; and therefore he says, that he fed upon it.

(41) Casaub.
in Athen.
lib. 2. cap.
27. pag.
144.

(42) Casaub.
ibid. says,
καταφύ-
γων: Which
makes the
same Sense.

(43) Am-
plius in Sa-
lemo.

(42) Athenæ
ubi supra.

(43) See the
Bibliothèque
Universelle,
Tom. 3. pag.
28.

(44) Pag.
31.

(45) Apud
Ptolemæum,
Pag. 472.

Κοκυτὸς μῦθος τὸν ἀφαικῶνα νύκην Ἀδωνί,

Cocyus only wash'd Adonis' Wounds;

was not understood. It signifies quite another thing, from what it is generally thought to imply; for it informs us, that one *Cocyus*, a Disciple of *Chiron*, had cur'd *Adonis* of his Wound, receiv'd by the wild Boar. The Ceremonies of the Festival, may convince us, that *Adonis* did not die of it. His Votaries mourn'd at first, as if he were really dead, and afterwards rejoic'd, as if he were return'd into the World again. “ It is obvious to conjecture, that this Fable “ was built upon some strong Expressions of the *Egyptians*, or the *Phœnicians*, who used to say, that “ They, who recover'd from a great Fit of Sickness, “ or escap'd any imminent Danger, were rais'd again “ out of the Grave. Many Examples of it are found “ in the *Psalms* (56).” Add to this, “ That it was the “ Custom of the Oriental Nations, to consecrate “ Golden Figures of the Parts of the Body, in which “ they had suffer'd any Inconvenience. We find an “ Instance of this in *1 Sam. vi. 4*. *Adonis* having been “ wounded in the Groin, and being cur'd of his “ Wound, consecrated a Golden *Phallus* — They “ had a very great respect for that Figure in the My- “ series of *Osiris* (57).” We find here a Confirmation of the foregoing Remark; The Clouds vanish, and

(46) Biblio-
thèque Uni-
verselle,
Tom. 5.
pag. 31.

(57) Ibid.
Pag. 33.

and the Day begins to appear. *Venus* thought she had lost for ever, not the Life, but the Sex of her Husband; whether it was that a wild Boar had actually injured him in That; or that Witchcraft, or some other Principle, unknown to us, had brought a fatal Mortification upon those Parts. *Hinc illa lacrimæ*; This was the Cause of her Tears. But the Wound, being heal'd, or the Charm remov'd, *Venus* was persuaded, that her Husband reviv'd again, and that he return'd to her from the lowest depths of *Erebus*; and this was the Occasion of her Joy: And, in order to preserve the Memory of all this more mysteriously, and more honourably, the Festival of *Adonis* was ordered to be celebrated every Year, in such and such a manner. It would be easy to adapt the

Explications of *Macrobius* to this Hypothesis; his *Sun* descending to the inferior Parts of the Zodiac, and remounting afterwards to the superior Parts; his wild Boar, the Image of Cold, and consequently of those, who are included in the *Canon-Law* under the Title *De frigidis & maleficiatis*; his *Venus* despairing, because she was the Widow of her Sun; and afterwards rejoicing at the return of that beautiful Luminary, which rendered her fruitful. Every body sees, that it would not be difficult to make a proper use of the Agreement between *Venus* and *Proserpine*; I mean those Seeds concentrated in the Bosom of the Earth for some Months, out of which they spring afterwards for the Propagation of the Species.

ADRASTUS, King of *Argos*, the Son of *Talaüs* and *Lyfianassa* (a), the Daughter of *Polybius*, King of *Sicyon*, acquir'd a great Reputation in the Famous War of *Thebes*, wherein he engag'd to maintain the Rights of his Son-in-Law *Polynices* [A], who was excluded from the Crown of *Thebes* by his Brother *Eteocles* (b), notwithstanding the Agreement pass'd between them. *Adrastus*, being followed by *Polynices*, and *Tydeus* his other Son-in-Law, by *Capaneus*, and *Hippomedon*, his Sister's Sons, by *Amphiaraus*, his Brother-in-Law, and *Paribenopeus* (c), march'd against the City of *Thebes*; and this was the Expedition of the seven *Wortbies*, so much sung by the Poets: They all perish'd in it, except *Adrastus*, whom his Horse sav'd. It was a Horse of consequence, whose Name was *Arion*; we shall speak of him in his place. This first War was follow'd by some others; for *Adrastus*, not having been able to obtain the Bodies of the *Argians*, who were kill'd before *Thebes*, had recourse to the *Abenians* (d), who, under the Conduct of *Thebeus*, constrain'd the new King of *Thebes* (e) to comply with *Adrastus*'s Request. This Satisfaction did not put an end to the War; for the Sons of those, who had succeeded to ill in the first Expedition, wag'd a second War, ten Years after, which was call'd the War of the *Epigones* [B], and ended with the taking and plundering of *Thebes*. None of the Chiefs perish'd in it (f), except *Ægialus*, the Son of *Adrastus*. It was a kind of Compensation, some times practis'd by Fortune (g). This Loss touched *Adrastus* so sensibly, being moreover weakened by old Age, that he died with Grief [C] at *Megara* (b), as he was leading the victorious Army back, which had taken the City of *Thebes*. It is a Proof, that he was personally present in the second Expedition [D], which, nevertheless, but few Writers have taken notice of. Those of *Megara* greatly honour'd his Memory; but it was nothing in comparison of what those of *Sicyon* did [E]. There built him a Tomb in the most conspicuous part of their City, and instituted Feasts and Sacrifices to him, which they celebrated every Year with great Shew and Magnificence. We may see in *Herodotus* in what manner *Callisthenes*, Tyrant of *Sicyon*, abolish'd

(a) Pausan. lib. 2. pag. 50.

(b) Ibid. lib. 9. pag. 286.

(c) Hygin. cap. 7. Apollod. lib. 3. Diodor. Sicul. lib. 5. cap. 6.

(d) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 37.

(e) Eteocles and Polynices kill'd each other.

(f) Hygin. cap. 7.

(g) See the Remark [H].

(b) Pausan. lib. 1. p. 42.

(1) Pausan. lib. 9. pag. 286.

(2) It is in the *Scythia* of Euripides, ad Phoeniss. ver. 41. See Statius *al.*, *Theb.* lib. 1. ver. 39.

(3) Hygin. cap. 60. Apollodorus, lib. 3. says, "That one of them bore the Head of a Boar on his Shield."

[A] *The Rights of his Son-in-Law Polynices.* Pausanias says, that *Adrastus* had married his Daughter to *Polynices*, before the Dispute about the Succession of *Thebes* (1); but others pretend, that this Marriage was not made, till *Polynices*, excluded by his Brother, had retir'd to *Adrastus*. They relate, that *Tydeus* fled for Refuge thither at the same time, and that the latter of these two Refugees was cover'd with the Hide of a Boar, and the former with the Hide of a Lion; which was the reason of *Adrastus*'s giving them his Daughters in Marriage; for he recollected the Oracle (2), which had commanded him to marry them to a Boar, and a Lion (3). The Supplement of *Moreri* says falsely that *Tydeus*, being ask'd why he wore the Hide of a wild Boar, answer'd, that it was because his Father *Oeneus* was the Conqueror of the wild Boar of *Calydonia*. He did not give this Answer; and it was not *Oeneus*, but *Meleager* who kill'd that furious Boar. The Oracle, which was given to *Adrastus*, is likewise mis-reported in that Supplement.

[B] *The War of the Epigones.* Had they been aware, in the composing of the third Volume of *Moreri*, that this War was only ten Years later than the first, they would not have translated the Word *Epigones* by, *they, who were born after the Siege of Thebes*: they would only have said, *they, who surviv'd their Fathers*: or, in general, the *Descendants of the first Chiefs*.

[C] *That he died with Grief.* The Supplement pretends that he cast himself into his Son's Funeral Pile, and cites *Hyginus*, Fab. 242. and *Herodotus*, Lib. 5. Now it is observable, that *Herodotus* says nothing of *Adrastus*, which has been taken notice of in that Article of the Supplement. The only thing, which may be suspected to have been borrow'd from *Herodotus*, is at the Beginning of the Article in these Terms: *Adrastus was obliged to retire to King Polybius, in the City of Sicyon, who gave him a good Reception, and*

his Daughter *Amphitea* in Marriage; but this does not agree with the Account of *Herodotus*, who says that *Polybius* left his Kingdom by his Will to *Adrastus* his Daughter's Son. See the following Remark. The Citation of *Hyginus* is yet worse; for *Hyginus* does not speak of our *Adrastus* there, but of another, who was the Father of *Hipponous*, and who cast himself into the Fire to obey an Order of *Apollo*. *Hipponous* did as much, upon the same Principle. The Author of the *Index of Hyginus*, in the Edition of of *Amsterdam* in 1681. gives to *Hercules* for Sons the *Adrastus*, and *Hipponous*, we are here speaking of; and yet he pretends, that the same *Adrastus* is the Father of *Ægialeus*, of whom *Hyginus* speaks in the 71st Chapter, and who is manifestly the Father-in-law of *Polynices*, and the Son of *Talaüs*. He mistook the Sense of these Words: "Hercules Jovis filius ipse sese in ignem misit. Adrastus & Hipponous ejus filius ipse se in ignem jecerunt ex responso Apollinis (4). — Hercules, the Son of Jupiter, threw himself into the Fire. Adrastus, and Hipponous his Son, threw themselves into the Fire, in Obedience to the Oracle of Apollo."

[D] *That he was personally present in the second Expedition.* I can add a second Evidence to Pausanias; I mean *Pindar*, who asserts positively, that *Adrastus*, having collected, and taken away his Son's Bones, brought back his Army safe to *Argos* (5). He does not, then, suppose he died by the way at *Megara*, as Pausanias does; but still these are two consistent Authorities to ground the present Fact on, namely, that *Adrastus* was at the second War of *Thebes*.

[E] *In comparison of what those of Sicyon did.* The Scholiast of *Pindar* (6) reports, that *Dioutichides* maintains, that they had only the *Cenotaph* of *Adrastus* at *Sicyon*, and that his real Tomb was at *Megara* (7).

(4) Hygin. Fabul. cap. 242.

(5) Pindar. Pyth. Od. 8.

(6) Schol. Pindari in Od. 9. Nem.

(7) Dioutichides, lib. 5. Hist. Megarica.

(i) Herod.
lib. 5. cap.
67.

(h) Id. ibid.
See also Pau-
san. lib. 2.
pag. 50.

(l) Pindar.
Nem. Od. 9.

(m) The Scio-
list of tat-
tism apud
Barthium,
Tom. 2. p.
361. upon
these Words
of the The-
baid, lib. 2.
ver. 1-9.
Quis te so-
lio Sicyonis
avitice
Excitum
infensum
componere
legibus Ar-
gos
Neciat?

(8) Pindar.
Nem. Od. 9.

(c) Diodor.
Sicul. lib. 5.
cap. 6.

(10) Apol-
lod. lib. 3.
pag. 187.

(11) Barth.
in Stat.
Tom. 2.
pag. 170.
See also pag.
914.

(12) He
should have
said three
Daughters
and two
Sons.

lith'd these Ceremonies, out of Hatred to the *Argians* (i). You must understand, that *Adrastus* was King of *Sicyon* (k), in virtue of the Will of *Polybius*, his Grandfather by the Mother's side, to whom he once fled for Refuge, being constrain'd to depart out of *Argos* [F]; and that, during his Reign, he made the City of *Sicyon* very famous (l), by the *Pythian Games*, which he establish'd there (m). Some Writers remark, that his Hereditary Kingdom was that of *Sicyon*, and that he obtain'd that of *Argos* by Election; the Mildness of his Nature occasioning the *Argians* to invite him [G], to come and civilize their barbarous Manners. *Homer* does not say so much; but only, that he reign'd first at *Sicyon* (n). *Servius*, on *Æneid*. Lib. 6, gives the same account; and we read the same thing in *Pindar* (o), and in his old Scholiast. They give him commonly but two Daughters, *Argia*, the Wife of *Polynices*, and *Deipila* the Wife of *Tydeus* (p), but he had besides two Sons, *Ægialeus* and *Cyanippus*: and a Daughter, whose Name was *Ægialea*, who married *Diomedes*, the Son of *Tydeus*, and gave him great uneasiness by her immodest Behaviour. Some say, that he was the first, who built a Temple to the Goddess *Nemesis*, and that upon that account she had the Name of *Adrastea* [H]. But I am certain they confound him with another *Adrastus*. He, who built the first Altar to that Goddess, erected it on the River *Ælepus* in *Phrygia* (q). We do not find that our *Adrastus* was ever in *Asia*; and yet we meet with a King of that Name in *Phrygia*, at the time of the Siege of *Troy* (r). There is more reason, therefore, to attribute the Establishment of the Worship of *Nemesis* to an *Asiatic Prince*, whose Name was *Adrastus*, than to a King of *Argos* of that Name. *Herodotus* speaks of an *ADRASTUS*, who fled to the Court of *Cræsus* King of *Lydia*, and who kill'd that King's Son by an Accident (s). The Article of that *Adrastus* in *Moreri's Dictionary* is tolerably good [I].

(n) Homer.
Iliad. lib. 2.
ver. 79.

(o) Pindar.
ubi supra.

(p) Statii
Theb. lib.
2. ver. 333.

(q) Antima-
chus apud
Strabo. lib.
13. pag. 405.

(r) Homer.
Iliad. lib. 2.
ver. 337.

(s) Herod.
lib. 1. cap.
35. & seq.

[F] Being constrained to depart out of *Argos*.] It is said, in the Supplement to *Moreri*, that *Adrastus* was driven out of the Kingdom of *Argos* by his Brother-in-law *Amphiaraus*, and obliged to retire to the City of *Sicyon*; but, by an inexcusable neglect, they have not cited any Authority for this. The Reader must traverse a great deal of Ground to meet with Evidences. I have searched so long, that at last I have discovered the Source in *Pindar*, where I find that *Adrastus* left *Argos*, and retired to *Sicyon*, by reason of *Amphiaraus's* Attempts, and the overthrow of the Family of *Talaüs*, which were no longer in possession of the Sovereign Power (8). That Poet adds, that *Adrastus* stopped the Course of this Evil; and that the Marriage of *Eriphyle* with *Amphiaraus* was the Bond which re-united the contending Parties, and quieted the Troubles. *Amphiaraus* was not therefore the Brother-in-law of *Adrastus*, when the latter was obliged to retire to *Sicyon*. *Pindar* does not say, that this Fugitive Prince married King *Polybius's* Daughter, nor that *Talaüs* was killed by *Amphiaraus*; but both these Facts, the former of which is so contradictory to *Herodotus*, are in the Scholiast of *Pindar*. *Diodorus Siculus* says, That the Marriage of *Amphiaraus* with *Eriphyle* the Sister of *Adrastus*, did not appease the Differences, since a little before the Wars of *Thebes*, the two Brothers-in-law were yet contending for the Crown (9). They were divided on another Point; *Amphiaraus* was unwilling to be of the Expedition, and *Adrastus* passionately desired that he might. *Eriphyle* was chosen Arbitress of their Dispute, and gave the Cause for her Brother. *Apollodorus* says partly the same Thing, though confusedly enough (10). *Bartbius* has misrepresented what *Diodorus Siculus* says; for he supposes, that *Eriphyle* was the Daughter of *Adrastus* (11). The Latin Translation of that Historian, printed at *Basil* in 1548. says falsely, That *Eriphyle* adjudged the Crown to her Husband.

[G] The *Argians* to invite him.] If Mr *Moreri* had known this Particular, he would have taken care not to have affirmed, That *Adrastus* quitted the City of *Sicyon* after four Years' Reign, without any body knowing the Reason of it, and came to reign at *Argos*, where he had two Daughters, &c (12). How-

ever it be, here is a Subject for Historical Pyrrhonism; namely the Disagreement of the Ancients about the two Kingdoms of *Adrastus*; I mean in relation to the Title, and the Order of Succession. See the Article *TALAEUS*.

[H] And that upon that Account she had the Name of *Adrastea*.] The Scholiast of *Pindar* says, That this Name was given to the Goddess *Nemesis*, on account of the Compensation I have taken notice of. *Adrastus* was the only Chief, who survived at the first Siege of *Thebes*, and his Son was the only Chief, who was killed at the second. The Balance is much more just, according to the Hypothesis of those, who ascribe the whole Conduct of the second War to the *Epigones*; but they who pretend that *Adrastus* was present, and who give him the Glory of leading back the Victorious Army, necessarily suppose that he commanded there. He should have perished, therefore, in this second Expedition, to make the Balance even between Him and the six Colleagues who accompanied him in the first.

[I] The Article of That *Adrastus* in *Moreri's Dictionary* is tolerably good.] I only find these small Faults in it. I. He makes *Adrastus* to be the Son of *Gordias*, instead of making him the Son of *Midas*, and Grandson of *Gordius*, conformably to the Latin Translation of *Herodotus*. I know very well that the Greek Text imports that he was the Son of *Gordius*, and Grandson of *Midas* (13); but I am certain likewise on the one side, that *Moreri* had not Abilities to rectify Translations by the Greek Originals; and on the other side, that there is a Greek Reading agreeable to that Translation. II. He should not have omitted, that *Cræsus* used such Expiatory Ceremonies in favour of *Adrastus*, as were used for the Purification of involuntary Homicides. III. It ought not to have been said, That *Adrastus* killed himself on the Body of the Son of *Cræsus*, but on his Tomb; for *Herodotus* notes, That *Cræsus*, having excused and comforted the Murderer, caused his Son to be buried. IV. Lastly, he ought not to have cited *Chio*, or *Li*. The Names of the Mules, given to the Books of *Herodotus*, are of no use in Quotations, especially when a French Book is composed for such Popular Use as *Moreri's Dictionary*; however he ought to have settled the distinct Ellimate of *Chio*, by adding, or, the first Book.

(13) Herod.
lib. 1. cap.
35.

ADRIANI (JOHN BAPTIST) born at *Florence*, in the Year 1511, of a Patri-
cian Family, wrote the History of his own Times in Italian. His Work is a Con-
tinuation of *Guicciardin*, and begins at the Year 1536 [A]. Judgment and Sincerity,
Diligence

[A] And begins at the Year 1536.] Not having
it by me, I must be contented with the Testimony
of *Thuanus*; but I apprise my Reader, That, ac-
cording to *Spandanus* (1), our *Adriani* begun his Hi-
story at the Year 1537. and finished it at the Year
1574. It comprehends twenty two Books, and was

printed at *Florence* by the *Giunti*, in the Year 1583.
in Folio, and at *Venice*, in two Volumes in 4to.
in the Year 1527. *Marcello Adriani*, the Author's Son,
published this History, and dedicated it to *Francis de*
Medici, Great Duke of *Tuscan*. It contains the Space
of forty four Years, if we may believe *Bocchi* (2).

[B] Had

(1) Spand.
ad Annum
1534. n. 11.
pag. 426.

(2) Bocchi.
ubi supra.
pag. 427.

Diligence and Exactness reign through out it; and it appears that *Cosmo*, Great Duke of *Tuscany*, a Prince of a prodigious Genius, and consummate Prudence, had communicated his Memoirs to the Author [B]. *Thuanus*, from whom I borrow this, acknowledges ingenuously, that he was oblig'd to this History for many things, and that none supply'd him with more Materials (a). He thinks it strange that the *Italians* do not consider *Adriani* according to his Merit. Besides this History, there are extant six *Orations* of this Author's Composition, to wit, the Funeral Oration of *Charles the Vth*; that of the Emperor *Ferdinand*; that of *Eleonora of Toledo*, Wife of *Cosmo*, Duke of *Florence*; that of *Isabella*, Queen of *Spain*; that of *Cosmo*, Great Duke of *Tuscany*; and that of *Jane of Austria*, the Wife of *Francis de Medicis* (b). He died at *Florence* in the Year 1579. I believe him likewise to be the Author of *A long Letter concerning the Ancient Painters and Sculptors*, which we meet with at the beginning of the 3d Volume of *Vasari*. He was the Son of the Learned MARCELLO VIRGILIO (c), Secretary of State to the Republic of *Florence*, and Professor of Literature in that University. He succeeded him in the Place of Professor (d), and left a Son nam'd MARCELLO ADRIANI, who was very learned, and who exercis'd the same Function (e), and took the Title of, *Il Torbido*, (*The Troubled*) in the Academy de *Gli Alterati* (f). There are some Authors, who find our *John Baptist* a little partial against Pope *Paul III* (g).

(a) Thuan. Hist. lib. 68. sub fin.

(b) Jac. Rill. Lit. Literary Memoirs of the University of Florence, pag. 45.

(c) Mich. Pocci. natus de Script. Florent. p. 103.

(d) Rilli, ubi supra, pag. 253.

(e) Id. Ibid. pag. 255.

(f) Boechi in the 6th Book of Fiepi's, published with Killi, p. 43.

(g) Spondan. Annal. ad Ann. 1545. n. 18. pag. 492.

[B] Had communicated his Memoirs to the Author.] *Thuanus* had already declared his Opinion of this in the thirty seventh Book, on Occasion of the private Conferences, which *Catherine de Medicis* had with the Duke of *Alba*, at the Interview of *Baionne*. The Protestants, says he, who are a very suspicious People (3), gave out, That the Extermination of their Sect was contrived in these Conferences. What happened afterwards will plainly show Falsity whether it was false, or not. He adds, That *John Baptist Adriani*, a very sincere and judicious Historian, and whom, it is likely, the Memoirs of the Duke of *Florence* had supplied with many Particulars (4), has reported, that according to the Advice of the King of *Spain*, explained by the Duke of *Alba*, it was concluded in that Interview, That the Heads of the principal Protestants should be cut off, and that afterwards they should fall upon them all, after the manner of the *Sicilian Vespers*. I wish *d'Aubigne* had not exceeded the Au-

thor, whom he copied. Almost all Historians, says he (5), and among them *John Baptist Adrian*, who had the Cyphers and the Secrets of the Duke of *Florence*, unanimously agree, that the Wars of the Netherlands, and the Massacres, which followed afterwards, were projected there. It is not to be questioned but that *Thuanus* is the Original which *d'Aubigne* copied; but does not the Copier give himself too much Liberty? Does he not lay that down as matter of Fact, which *Thuanus* only advanced as a Probability? Does he not speak of the Great Duke's Cyphers and Secrets, of which *Thuanus* has not said a Word? For *Commentarii* does not signify Cyphers and Secrets. The more heinous an Accusation is, the more we ought to attend to the Terms of the Deposition, even when Appearances are favourable, as in this Case. If *Zeiller* had cast his Eyes on this Passage of *Thuanus*, he would not have ventured to say, that *Adriani's History ended with the Death of Charles V.* (6)

(5) D'Aubigne, Hist. Tom. 1. lib. 4. cap. 5.

(6) Zeiller. de Historiis, par. 2. pag. 1.

ADRIANUS, or *Adrian*, Emperor, Pope, &c. Look for HADRIAN.

ADRICHOMIA (CORNELIA), a Nun of the Order of *St Augustin*, in the XVIth Century, the Daughter of a Dutch Gentleman, acquir'd much Reputation by the Knowledge of Poetry, which she made use of conformably to her Profession; for she translated *David's Psalms* into Verse, and compos'd several other Sacred Poems. *James Faber Stapulensis* admir'd this Lady's Wit and Learning. *Cornelius Musius* kept a strict, but very honourable, Correspondence with her. This is what *Francis Swertius* relates of her (a). I wonder, that *Valerius Andreas*, whose Collection of the Writers of the Netherlands is much more copious, than that of *Francis Swertius*, takes no notice of this Illustrious Dutch Maid. He could not be ignorant of what the other had said of her.

(a) Athen. Belgic. pag. 181.

ADRICHOMIUS (CHRISTIAN) was born at *Delft* in *Holland*, in the Year 1533. He was a Priest zealous for his Religion, and apply'd himself to Study. He was a considerable time Director of the Nuns of *St Barbara*, the Place of his Birth; but the Religious Civil Wars obliging him to go into Exile, he retir'd first into *Brabant* [A], and afterwards to *Cologne*, where he undertook a considerable Work, which was printed after his Death [B]. The Subject of it was a Description of the Holy-Land in general, and of the City of *Jerusalem* in particular; as we find by his *Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ*, printed with Geographical Maps at *Cologne* in 1593 in Folio. It is pretty well esteem'd, and would have been yet more, if the Author had not trusted too much to the *Manethon*, and *Berosus*, and such other Chimerical Writings, of the Monk *Annius of Viterbo*. He sometimes assum'd the Appellation of *Christianus Crucius*; under which Name he publish'd the Life of *Jesus Christ* at *Antwerp* (a), with an Oration de *Christiana Beatitudine*, which was deliver'd in a General Chapter (b). He died at *Cologne* in the Month of *June* 1585, being the thirteenth Year of his Exile, and was bury'd in the Monastery of the Canonesses of *Nazareth*, of which he had been Director for some time (c).

(a) In 1578.

(b) Tre 23d of July, 1570.

(c) Ex Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 131.

[A] Into *Brabant*.] The Author, quoted by Mr *Moreri* and my self, expresses himself thus; *Inde à primis Genio-Calvinistis pulsus, Machinæ, Trajecti & Coloniae vixit* (1). I do not question in the least, but that *Moreri* is mistaken in taking *Trajectum* for *Utrecht*; he had better have translated it *Maastricht*.

[B] Which was printed after his Death.] What Mr *Moreri* asserts, That *Adrichomius* himself published this Work, and that his *Theatrum Terræ sanctæ* is distinct from the Description of the Holy Land, &c. is false.

(1) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belgic. pag. 132.

ÆGIALEA, Daughter of *Adraſtus* King of *Argos*. See *EGIALÆA*.

ÆRODIUS, a Learned Civilian of the XVIth Century. Look for *AYRAULT*.

AFER (**DOMITIUS**) a famous Orator under *Tiberius*, and under the three following Emperors, was of *Nismes* (a). After his *Prætorſhip*, not finding himſelf greatly rais'd, and being ambitious of exalting himſelf by any Method, he turn'd Accuſer againſt *Claudia Pulchra*, Couſin to *Agrippina* (b). He gain'd his Cauſe, and by this Succels he found himſelf in the Number of the Firſt Orators, and in the Favour of *Tiberius*, who bore an implacable Hatred to *Agrippina* [A]. The Commendations his Eloquence receiv'd from this Emperor made him reliſh the Trade; inſomuch that he was ſeldom without ſome *Accuſation*, or ſome *Defence*, upon his Hands; which gain'd greater Reputation to his Tongue, than his Honesty; till at length he loſt much of his Fame, even as an Orator, when old Age, having wore out his Mind (c), could not prevail with him to leave off Pleading [B]. The Accuſation of *Claudia Pulchra* fell out in the Year of *Rome* 779. The Year after her Son *Quintilius Varus* was accuſed by the ſame Orator, and by *Publius Dolabella* (d). No body wonder'd, that *Afer*, who had been a long time poor, and who had not well manag'd the Gains of the former Accuſation, ſhou'd return to the Charge; but it was thought ſtrange, that a Relation of *Varus*, and of ſo great a Family, as *Publius Dolabella* was, ſhou'd join with this Informer. *Afer* died in the Reign of *Nero*, in the Year of *Rome* 812 (e). It was reported that he died at Table of exceſſive Eating (f). *Quintilian*, who, in his youth, was greatly attach'd to this Perſon [C], makes frequent Mention of him

(a) Eufeb. Chron. a. 2060.

(b) Tacit. Annal. lib. 4. cap. 52.

(c) Niſi quod ætas extrema multum etiam Eloquente dempſit, dum ſeſſa mente retinet ſilentium. Id. ib. See in the Remark [B] a Paſſage of the 11th Chapter of the 12th Book of *Quintilian*.

(d) Tacit. Annal. lib. 66.

(e) Id. Ann. lib. 14. cap. 19.

(f) Eufeb. Chron. a. 2060.

[A] *Tiberius, who bore an implacable Hatred to Agrippina.*] This Princeſs was ſo well ſatiſfied, that it was the Emperor, who occaſioned the Proceſs againſt her, that he ſhew'd no Repentment for it to *Domitius*. The latter meeting her one day in the Streets, turned from her: She imagin'd this Behaviour proceeded from Shame, and having cauſed him to be called, ſhe bid him fear nothing, and told him, That it was not he, but *Agamemnon*, who was the Cauſe of all this: *Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκούεισ' ἡ γὰρ εὐ μοι πύθων ἄντιος ἄλλ' Ἀγαμέμνων* Bono ſis animo, *Domiti*; non enim tu horum cauſa es, ſed *Agamemnon* (1). It is a ſign that he had read the *Iliad*.

(1) Dion. Caſſ. lib. 59. ad an. 792. pag. 752.

[B] *Old Age, having wore out his Mind, could not prevail upon him to leave off pleading.*] This is too common an Infirmary. Few Perſons know how to retreat in time, or can ſay with *Horace*:

Est mihi purgatam crebro qui perſonet aurem;
Solve ſenefcentem maturè ſanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus & illa ducat (2).

(2) Hor. Epist. 1. lib. 2.

*There ſounds, methinks, ſtill thro' my well-purg'd Ear
A little Voice, ſo ſoft Horace have a care,
And wiſh't 'tis well releaſe thy aged Horſe,
Leaſt, when he runs but with unequal Force,
And ſtretches hard to win, he breaks his Wind,
And, laugh'd at, diſſam'd, baſely lags behind.*

CREECH.

Poets and Orators ought to be moſt careful of withdrawing from their Buſineſs at a proper time; becauſe they ſtand moſt in need of the Warmth of Imagination; yet it too frequently happens that they perſiſt in their Career till the loweſt Decline of Age. They think the Public is oblig'd to drink the very Dregs of their pretended *Neſſar*. But, if formerly the Legiſlators limited the Time, wherein People might marry, (for they prohibited it to Women of 50 and Men of 60 Years of Age) (3) and, if they ſuppoſed that, after a certain Age, it was time to leave off thinking of Procreation, either becauſe of the Extinction, or the Weakneſs, of the Faculties; every Author ought, for the ſame Reaſon, to ſet Bounds to himſelf in the Production of Books, which is a kind of Generation, for which every Age is by no means proper. The Compariſon, which *Horace* makes uſe of, puts me in mind of a Precept, which *Virgil* has left us; and which old Poets ought to apply to themſelves.

(3) Quid eſt quare apud poetas ſalutarius iuſtiter deſerit liberis tollere? ſtrum ſexagenarius ſciſus eſt, & illi lex Pæpæ ſibulam impoſuit? Lucian. lib. 2. cap. 16. Capiti Pæpæ Popæ leſis à *Tiberio* Cæſare, quaſi ſexagenarii generare non poſſent, addito abrogavit. Suet. in *Clavd.* c. p. 23. & ibi Commemorat.

Hunc quoque, ubi, aut morbo gravis aut jam ſegnior annis,
Deſicit, abde domo, nec turpi ignoſce ſenefcæ.
Frigidus in Venerem ſenior, fruſtraque labore

Ingratum trahit, & ſi quando ad prælia ventum eſt,
Ut quondam in ſtipulis magnus ſine viribus ignis,
Incaſſum furit (4).

*But, worn with Years, when dire Diſeaſes come,
Then bide his not ignoble Age, at home.
For, when his Blood no youthful Spirits move,
He languiſhes, and labours in his Love.
In vain he burns, like baſty ſtubble Fires,
And in himſelf his former ſelf requires.*

DRYDEN.

I ſay, old Poets ought to profit by this Leſſon, and not think to climb *Parnafſus*, when they are become like that Horſe which *Pliny* ſpoke of, after *Ariſtote* (5): “Generat mas ad annos triginta tres.—Opunte & ad quadraginta duraffe tradunt adjuſtum modo in attollenda priore parte corporis.—The Male generates till thirty Years of Age.—At Opus they ſay “be bold; out till forty, with the Aſſiſtance however “of liſting up the fore part of his Body.” They obſcure their firſt Glory by it, in Imitation of our *Domitius Afer*. See the Article *JOHN DAURAT*. Some dedicate their Muſes to divine Poetry in their old Age; theſe are commonly inſipid Productions (6): I ſay commonly, for there are very excellent Works compos'd by old Men on all Subjects.

[C] *Was greatly attach'd to this Perſon.*] *Charles Stephens, Lloyd, and Hofman*, in their Dictionaries, *Glandorp*, at the 306th Page of his *Onomaſticon*, and others, remark, that *Quintilian* informs us of this Particular in his 5th Book: *Conſtititur ſenem Domitium ſibi adoleſcentulo cultum*: But they all agree, that he adds, that the Authority, which *Domitius* had acquir'd, was much diminiſh'd, ſed priore auctoritate multum imminuta. I have not found this in that Paſſage of *Quintilian*; he ſays (7), “Sufficebant aliqui “libri duo à *Domitio Afro* in hanc rem compoſiti, “quem adoleſcentulum ſenem colui, ut non leſta “mihi tantum ea, ſed pleraque ex ipſo ſint cognita.— “The two Books of *Domitius Afer* upon this Subject “were otherwiſe ſufficient; for I was a Follower of “the old Orator in my Youth; ſo that I receiv'd Inſtruction as well from the Author, as his Writings.” He ſhould have quoted the 11th Chapter of the 12th Book of *Quintilian*. It is there we meet with the Decline of *Domitius's* Authority; which affords us a Confirmation of the Precept, which the Author had before given, concerning the Retreat, which Orators ought to make, when their Age will not ſuffer them to maintain their former Character. “Non quia prodeſſe unquam ſatis ſit, & illa mente, qua illa facilitate prædito non conveniat operis pulcherrimi quam longiſſimum tempus; ſed quia decet hoc quoque “proſpicere, ne quid pejus quam fecerit, faciat. Neque enim ſcientia modo conſtat Orator, quæ augetur “annis,

(4) Virgil. Georg. lib. 3. ver. 95.

(5) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 42.

(6) See Bailler's Judgment of the Poets, Tom. 3. pag. 246. See alſo what he ſays of Writings compos'd in old Age, Tom. 1. of his Judgment of the Learned, pag. 389.

(7) Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 7.

(g) Quintil. lib. 5. cap. 7. & lib. 6. cap. 3. See also Pliny's Epist. 14. lib. 2. & ibi Catanzum, pag. 121.

him (g). He tells us, that there were many agreeable Narrations in his Pleadings; and that there were public Collections of his Jetts, some of which he relates. He mentions likewise two Books which this Orator publish'd concerning Evidences. It was well for him, on a certain occasion, that he had a ready, as well as a flattering, Wit, or else he had been undone. It was when *Caligula* became his Accuser (b), and pleaded in Person against him (i). *Domitius*, instead of defending himself, repeated that Prince's Plea [D], with signs of Admiration, and then kneeled down, and begg'd Pardon, declaring that he dreaded *Caligula's* Eloquence, more than his Imperial Quality. He was not only pardon'd, but rais'd to the Consulship, by the Deprivation of those, who were then in Office. His Crime was very slight; he had erected a Statue to *Caligula*, and remark'd in the Inscription, That that Prince was in his second Consulship, at the Age of 27 Years. He thought to make his Court by it; but the Emperor brought an Action against him for it, pretending that he reproach'd him for his Youth, and his infringing the Laws (k). After had some adopted Children: *Pliny* the Younger will inform you so, and tell you besides some curious Circumstances concerning them [E]. The Abbot *Faydit*, in his Remarks on *Virgil*, pag. 5. makes him of the Royal Family of the *Domitians*.

(b) Dion. Cuss. lib. 59. ad Ann. 792.

(i) He read his Plea.

(k) Dion. lib. 59.

"annis, sed voce, laterum firmitate; quibus fractis aut imminutis, etate, seu valetudine, cavendum est, ne quid in Oratore summo desideretur, ne interstiat fatigatus, ne quæ dicet parum audiri sentiat, ne se queratur priorem. Vidi ego longe omnium quos mihi cognoscere contigit, summum oratorem, Domitium Afrum valde senem, quotidie aliquid ex ea quam meruerat autoritate perdentem, cum, agente illo, quem Principem fuisse quondam Fort non erat dubium, alii (quod indignum videbatur) riderent, alii erubescerent, quæ occasio fuisse illis dicendi, mille cum defecere quam desinere. Neque erant illa quælibet mala, sed nimiora. Quare antequam in has ætatis veniat infidias, receptui canet, & in portum integra nave perveniet (8). — Not that it is sufficient once to have been useful, or that the longest possible Continuance of so fine a Profession is improper for a Person endu'd with these Abilities; but because he ought to provide against this likewise, that he does not degenerate from his former Excellency. For Science (which indeed increases with Years) will not alone make an Orator; he must have Lungs, and Strength of Sides; and if these are broken or impair'd by Age or Sickness, he must take care that the great Orator is not found deficient, that he does not stop short for want of Breath, that he is not sensible he is not heard, and that he is not the first to complain of himself. I myself saw the greatest Orator, of all I ever knew, Domitius Afer, in his very old Age, continually losing part of that Authority, which he had merited; inasmuch that, when he pleaded, (he, who undoubtedly was once the first at the Bar) some, which appear'd very indecent, laugh'd, others blush'd for him; which occasioned them to say, they had rather he would fault, than conclude. Nor was this a slight Inconvenience, but a Matter of great Consequence. Wherefore an Orator, before he falls into these Snarers of Age, should sound a Retreat, and sail into Port with a sound Vessel." I omit *Moreri's* great and capital Omissions; they may be well enough known only by comparing. I shall only remark, that his Citation of *Suetonius*, and of *Dion*, in *Caligula*, is nothing to the purpose. For besides that it is not customary to cite *Dion* without referring to such or such a Book, and that it is only his Ab-breviator *Xiphilinus*, who is cited with reference to such or such an Emperor, it is not true that *Suetonius* speaks of *Domitius Afer*, either in the Life of *Caligula*, or in any Work, which we have remaining of his. So that, when *Scaliger* advances, in his Notes on the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, that what has been said of that Orator by *St Jerome*, was taken out of *Suetonius*, he must necessarily have regard to Books that are lost since the Death of That Father. Mr *Hofman* gives us two *Domitius Afers* instead of one, and makes use of the bad Citation, for which we have censur'd Mr *Moreri*.

[D] That Prince's Plea. *Caligula* was so charm'd with that Piece of his own, that when one of his freed Men, who had contributed much to pacify him, ventur'd to reproach him for the Process enter'd against *Domitius*, he answered, I ought not to have suppress'd a Discourse of such Importance. As much as to say, What, should I have taken so much Pains about this Plea for nothing? should I rather have renounc'd the Praises which my Rhetoric deserv'd, than expose

the Life of *Domitius*? There are but too many great Men of *Caligula's* way of thinking: They believe every thing ought to be sacrificed to their Passions. They, who said, that the Cardinal de *Lorrain* chose to expose the Catholic Religion to all the Dangers of the Conference of *Poissy*, rather than deprive himself of the Honour of displaying his Learning and Eloquence upon that Occasion (9), knew him pretty well.

[E] Curious Circumstances concerning them. *Domitius* adopted two Brothers, whose Names were *Domitius Tullus*, and *Domitius Lucanus*. He caus'd afterwards their Father's Estate to be confiscated, and left them his own in some manner against his Intention; for it is very probable that he was prevented by Death from revoking the Will, which he had made in their Favour. *Domitius Lucanus*, Son-in-law of *Curtius Mantia*, render'd himself odious to his Father-in-law. He had a Daughter, in whose Favour *Mantia* would not make his Will, but on condition, that *Lucanus* should set her at Liberty; but, when she was made free, *Domitius Tullus* adopted her. This was a Collusion of the two Brothers: They enjoy'd their Fortunes in common; wherefore, by the Daughter's being again in her Father's Power, by means of this Adoption, *Domitius Lucanus* came in for a share of *Mantia's* Inheritance, though the latter had used many Precautions to hinder him from it (10). *Domitius Tullus* was his Brother's Heir, preferable to the Daughter, who was common to them. He fed many with Hopes of being his Heirs; by which means he procur'd all the Cares, all the Presents, and all the officious Assiduities, to himself, which are used to rich old Men, whose Inheritances are courted; but he deceived them all. The Young Lady, whom he had adopted, was his Heiress, and all his Legacies were given to his Relations. He particularly remembered his Wife, for he left her a good Estate. She undervalued herself in marrying him, considering the wretched Condition, to which Age and Diseases had reduced him. He might have disgust'd a Woman, in his Condition, though she had been his Wife in his Youth and Vigour. How much more Reason was there for his being disagreeable to a Wife, who began her Correspondence with him when he was so infirm. Nevertheless this Lady bore the distastefulness of her Condition so patiently, and supported her Husband's infirm and decay'd Life with so much Charity, that she regain'd the good Opinion of the Public. This poor Wretch was so impotent in all his Limbs, that his Servants were obliged to wash and clean his Teeth, which caus'd him to complain of being every Day obliged to lick his Slaves Fingers. Yet he had no mind to die (11). *Pliny's* Words, which give us this Account, and which contain so many Characteristics of *Manners*, deserve to be produc'd at length. "Accepit (uxor) amoenissimas villas, ac cepit magnam pecuniam, uxor optima & patientissima, ac tanto melius de viro merita, quanto magis est reprehensa, quod nupsit. Nam mulier, natalibus clara, moribus proba, ætate declivis, diu vidua; mater olim, parum decorè sequuta matrimonium videbatur divitis (ensis, ita perdit morbo, ut esse tædio posset uxori, quam juvenis, sanisque duxisset. Quippe omnibus membris extortus & fractus, tantas opes solis oculis obibat; ac ne in lætulo quidem, nisi ab aliis, movebatur. Quinetiam, sordum

(9) See the Remark [D] of the Article LORRAIN (Charles's).

(10) Fuit fratribus illis quasi fato datum, ut divites inter se invicem in ætate quibus facti essent. — It was the Fate of those Brothers, to become rich even in spite of those, by whom they were made so. Plin. Epist. 18. lib. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 493.

(12) *Id. ib.*(13) *In one of the Remarks on the Article MENCENAS.*

* She is called Hagar in the English Version of the Bible.

(1) R-Joshua the Son of Karcha in Pirke Eliezer. cap. 26. apud Heidegg. Hist. Patr. Tom. 2. pag. 192.

(2) Salom. Jarchi apud Heidegg. ib.

(3) *In the Book Juchasin* apud Heidegg. ib.

(4) Apud Corn. à Lapide in Genes. p. 171.

(5) Genesis xlii. 16.

"miserandumque dictu, dentes lavandos fricandof-
 "que praebebat. Audium est frequenter ab ipso,
 "quum quereretur de contumeliis debilitatis suae, se
 "digitos fervorum suorum quotidie lingere. Vivebat
 "tamen, & vivere volebat, sustentante maxime uxore,
 "quae culpam inchoati matrimonii in gloriam perfe-
 "verantia verterat (12). — *She (his Wife) came*
 "*into Possession of the finest Villas, and a large Estate;*
 "*a Wife, the best and most patient, that ever was,*
 "*and who deserv'd so much the more from her Hus-*
 "*band, as the Censure she underwent in marrying was*
 "*the greater. For it was thought scarce decent, that*
 "*a Lady, of great Birth, of Reputation, advanc'd in*
 "*Years, who had been long a Widow, and formerly a*
 "*Mother, should be fond of marrying a rich old Man,*
 "*so worn with Diseases, that he might have disgust'd*
 "*a Wife, whom he had married in his Youth, and in*
 "*Health. For he was so distorted and broken in all*
 "*his Limbs, that he could only enjoy his great Wealth*
 "*in Sight: nor even so, without being turn'd in his*
 "*Bed by others. Nay, which is filthy and wretched*
 "*to relate, he was oblig'd to have his Teeth wash'd and*
 "*clean'd by others. He was frequently heard, in com-*
 "*plaining of his Infirmities, to say, that he every*
 "*Day lick'd his Servants Fingers. Yet he liv'd, and*
 "*desir'd to live, being supported chiefly by his Wife,*
 "*who turn'd the false Step of beginning such a Mar-*
 "*riage to her own Honour by persevering in it."*
 This Lady's Virtue would certainly have been more
 worthy Admiration, had she foreseen the long Con-
 tinuance of her Husband's Infirmities. But, after all,
 she deserves to be praised; for tho' the hopes of
 purchasing a large Jointure, at the price of some very
 vexatious, but short, Disguists deceiv'd her, yet her
 Condition never appear'd to fit uneasily upon her; but
 she did her Duty always with a good Grace. What
 fine Descriptions are there in that Letter of *Pliny*!
 how strongly does that miserable, impotent Wretch,
 in his Fears of Death, represent human Weakness! An
 Infirmity, of which we shall speak elsewhere (13), and
 which was in those Times much more scandalous than
 at present; for it was taken for a courageous and re-
 solute Action to put an end to too tedious a Sickness.
 How peripetuous is it, on the other side, to see a
 Man, who had a Daughter, and Grand-children,
 give out that he expects an Heir out of another Fa-

mily; and that they need only lay a formal Siege to
 his Inheritance to take the Place! What fordid Traf-
 fic! What Cunning! It was such like Persons as this,
 who found their Account in those, who courted their
 Inheritance.

— Dominus tamen & Domini Rex
 Si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus Aula
 Luserit Aeneas, nec filia dulcior illo.

Jamdudum & carum sterilis facit uxor amicum (14).

(14) *Juvenal*
 Sat. 5. vers.
 237.

*Would'st thou become his Patron and his Lord,
 Would'st thou be in thy turn by him ador'd?
 No young Aeneas in thy Hall must play,
 No sweeter Daughter lead thy Heart astray.
 O! how a barren Wife does recommend!
 How dear, how pleasant is a childless Friend.*
 Rev. Mr BOWLES.

But if this Avarice was base, That of the Persons,
 whom it cheated, was no less fordid. They would
 have been less blamable, if they had courted the Fa-
 vour of one, who had no Children, and if they had
 not exclaimed against *Domitius Tullus*, after his Death.
 Their Complaints were laugh'd at, as they discovered
 their Shame; the deceased was praised, and his Con-
 duct was thought useful to such a corrupt Age as
 That. Let us once more employ *Pliny's* Pencil. "Va-
 "rii tota civitate sermones: alii scilum, ingratum, im-
 "memorem loquuntur, seque ipsos, dum insectantur
 "illum, turpissimas confessionibus produunt, qui de illo,
 "uti de patre, avo, proavo, quasi orbi querantur: alii
 "contra hic ipsum laudibus ferunt, quod sit frustratus
 "improbos spes hominum, quos sic decipere pro mori-
 "bus temporum prudentia est (15). — *The whole City*
 "*was divided: some call'd him false, ungrateful, and*
 "*forgetful: and, whilst they reproach'd his Memory,*
 "*betray'd themselves by scandalous Confessions, com-*
 "*plaining of him, as if they had been disinherited by*
 "*a Father, Grand-Father, or Great-Grand-Father's*
 "*others extol him for this very thing, in that he dis-*
 "*appointed the unreasonable Hopes of some Men, whom,*
 "*considering the Morals of the Times, it was Wisdom to*
 "*to deceive."*

(15) *Plinius*
 ubi supra.

(a) Tacit.
 Annal. lib.
 15. cap. 49.
 56, 70.

(a) Genesis
 xvi. 1.

AFRANIUS *Quintilianus*, a Roman Senator of a bad Reputation by reason of
 his infamous Lewdness, enter'd into the grand Conspiracy against *Nero*, which cost *Se-
 neca* his Life, in the Year of Rome 818. He had a personal Reason to hate that Prince,
 who had compos'd a severe Satire in Verse against him. He denied, a long time, that
 he was an Accomplice in that Conspiracy, but confess'd it at last, in hopes of his Par-
 don. He shew'd more Courage in his Death, than his manner of Life promis'd (a).

AGAR *, the Handmaid, and afterwards the Concubine of the Patriarch
Abraham, was an Egyptian (a). There is some probability, that he took her into his
 Service, when he was return'd from Egypt, and had recover'd his Wife, whom King
Pharaoh had taken from him. But it is false to say, as the Jews do [A], That *A-
 gar* was That King's Daughter. Every one knows, that *Sarah*, finding herself bar-
 ren a long time [B], desired her Husband to try whether he could have Children by
 this Servant; and that *Abraham*, overcome by her Solicitations, and doing also an Act

[A] *As the Jews do.* It is thought that the *Chal-
 dae Paraphrast* was the first, who published this false
 Tradition. He pretends, that *Pharaoh*, having taken
 away *Sarah*, gave her his own Daughter *Agar* for an
 Handmaid; and that *Sarah* brought her with her in-
 to the Land of Canaan. Rabbi *Jesua* is of the same
 Opinion (1). Another Rabbi gives this turn to the
 Story; that *Pharaoh*, struck with the Prodigies,
 which were wrought upon his own Person, since
 he had taken away *Sarah*, said to *Agar*, My Daugh-
 ter, it is better for you to be a Servant in this Fa-
 mily, than Mistress in another (2). But *Abraham*
Zacuth will not allow her to be of such illustrious
 Extraction; he says, that she was a Servant of *Chu-
 ria*, the Wife of *Pharaoh*, and that *Churia* gave her
 to *Sarah*, after the Death of her Husband (3). St
Cyrilostom says, that *Pharaoh* himself gave this Hand-
 maid to *Abraham* (4). The Scripture observes, in-
 deed, that, among other Presents, which he made
 him, he gave him *Women Servants* (5). If he gave
 him this Damoel, we need not question, but that
 he chose her from among those of a servile Rank.

I could willingly believe, what *Philo* says, that she
 embraced *Abraham's* Religion (6); but as to what
 he adds, that That Patriarch abstained from enjoying,
 her as soon as he perceived that she was with Child,
 I am not concerned either to deny or affirm it. These
 are Mysteries, which we ought not to pry into; it
 must be supposed that they pass under the Veil of
 Night, or behind the Curtain, and we must leave
 them to the Covert of their natural Darkness. The
Jews, always soaring up to the Marvellous, attribute
Agar's Conversion to the Miracles, which were per-
 formed in *Pharaoh's* House on Account of *Sarah's*
 Rape (7).

[B] *A long Time.* It is said, in *Genesis*, that *Abra-
 ham* had dwelt ten Years in the Land of Canaan,
 when he first lay with *Agar*; from whence the
Jews have inferred, that an Husband ought not to
 cohabit with a Woman after he has found her bar-
 ren for the Space of ten Years (8). An absurd Con-
 sequence; as well because *Abraham* had been mar-
 ried above ten Years to *Sarah*, when she propos'd
 her Handmaid to him (9), as because he had not the

(6) *In his*
Book de A-
bramo.

(7) Apud
 Corn. à La-
 pide, ubi su-
 pra.

(8) *Aben-*
Ezra in *Ge-*
nes. xvi. 3.
 apud Hei-
 degg. ubi pag.
 197.

(9) *Sarah's*
Barrenness
was known
before Abra-
ham went
out of his
Country to go
to Haran.
 See *Genesis*
 xi. vers. 30.
 the

Act of Obedience, according to the Translation of some Interpreters [C], went in unto Agar with all the Success that his Wife could have desired; I say, his Wife; for it was upon her own Account, that she desir'd her Servant might bear Children, and, being incapable of giving her Husband any Himself, she was willing to oblige him by Proxy (b). They, who shall think it little agreeable to the Practice of our Age, that so much Solicitation was requisite to prevail with Abraham to comply with such a Request, and are chiefly surpriz'd that this Request came from his own Wife, ought to remember, that all Times, and all Nations of the World, are not alike. However it be, Agar, finding herself with Child, became as proud, as if she had done a very great Exploit; but her Insolence was soon abated. Sarah, who could not brook her haughty Behaviour, treated her with such Severity, as oblig'd her to leave the House [D]. Agar did not return, till she had humbled herself, according to the order she had receiv'd from an Angel, who told her that she should be delivered of a Son, who should quarrel with every body [E]; soon after which she was deliver'd of Ishmael, who was educated with his Father till he was at least 15 or 16 Years of Age [F]. It is not known, whether these two Women agreed very well all that time; but we find that Agar was at last oblig'd to depart with her Son. Sarah would absolutely have it so, because she had seen Ishmael mocking at something [G]. Abraham sent the Mother and the Child away with a very small *Vaticum*. The Bottle of Water, which he gave them, being emptied, poor Agar saw the Hour that her Son must die of Thirst [H]. To avoid this Sight, she went and sat down at a distance from the

(b) Ecce conclusit me Dominus ne parerem, in-gredere ad ancillam meam, si fructu filium ex illa suscipiam filios: Behold now the Lord hath restrained me from bearing; I pray thee go in unto my maid, it may be that I may obtain children by her. Genes. xvi. 1.

the least Intention of forsaking her, after he had lived ten Years with her in the Land of Canaan without Issue.

[C] Doing also an Act of Obedience, according to the Translation of some Interpreters.] The Vulgar Translation says, *Cumque ille acquisieret deprecanti*; and the Version of Geneva, *And Abraham obeyed the Word of Sarah* (10). St. Austin gives this latter Sense to the Words of Scripture; for, after having observed, that Abraham was so complaisant, as to cohabit with, or to leave, Agar, just as it was agreeable to Sarah's Inclinations, he makes this Exclamation, "O virum viriliter utentem feminis, conjuge temperanter, ancilla OBTEMPERANTER, nulla in-temperanter (11)!" — O illustrious Man, in the Use of Women a Man indeed; yet conversing with his Wife temperately, with his Handmaid obediently, and with no Woman intemperately!" He had already made use of this Expression, "Ufus est ea (concubina) non ad exemplum libidinem, nec infultans, sed potius OBEDIENS conjugi (12)." — He conversed with her (his Concubine) not so to gratify his Lust, or to insult her, but rather in Obedience to his Wife.

[D] Treated her with such Severity, as oblig'd her to leave the House.] Who would ever have thought that this would have one day served as an Apology for Persecution? Yet the copious and inventive Mind of St. Austin found this Secret in it. He maintained, from Sarah's Conduct towards Agar, that the True Church may inflict Chastisements on the False, exile it, torment it, and so on. He was severely reprimanded for this Assertion in the *Philosophical Commentary* on the famous Words, *Compel them to come in* (13).

[E] Who should quarrel with every body.] The Angel said to her, *He will be a wild Man: his Hand will be against every Man, and every Man's Hand against him* (14). If it were permitted to look for Types here, as St. Austin did, one would think, that Ishmael was an Emblem of certain snarling Polemical Writers, who are for snapping at every body, and who, to declare War the better against human kind, run every Moment out of their Sphere, scribbling on every Subject, right or wrong, and always in a defamatory and libellous Style. All Ages and Countries produce these Copies of Ishmael. Some of them indeed differ from their Original in this, that, tho' they cast Stones at every body, few Persons take the trouble to return them; but let them quietly enjoy a wretched Impunity, which increases their Insolence, and their Frenzy.

[F] 'Till he was at least fifteen or sixteen Years of Age.] It is proved thus: Ishmael was fourteen Years old, when Isaac was born; for he was born when Abraham was eighty six Years of Age (15), and Abraham was an hundred Years old, when Sarah was delivered of Isaac (16). Now the latter was weaned before Ishmael was sent away; therefore, &c. I shall not amuse you with the Opinion of those Jews, who believe, that Isaac sucked twelve or five

Years (17); for if there were any Foundation for the this Opinion, I should have allowed a longer time for Ishmael's abode with Abraham, than what I have here advanced. See the Remark [H].

[G] Had seen Ishmael mocking at something.] The Translation of the LXX imports, that Sarah's ill Humour proceeded from her having seen Ishmael play with Isaac. The Vulgar Translation followed them in it; *Cum vidisset Sara filium Hagar Aegyptiae ludentem cum filio suo*. The Hebrew Text particularizes nothing; it leaves us to guess, whether the Son of Agar laugh'd at Sarah or Isaac, or at the Feast that was made when Isaac was weaned, or at something else; or whether he made himself too familiar with, or superior to, Isaac; or lastly, whether he attempted to beat him. Some Interpreters have advanced many idle Notions hereupon; for they believe, that either Sarah saw Ishmael perform some Acts of Idolatry, or that he played some lewd Tricks, or that he endeavoured to kill Isaac. "Hebraei nonnulli accipiunt de lusu idololatriæ, quasi videlicet idola fingentem & colentem Ismaëlem vidisset Sara — Alii venerum hunc fuisse lulum statuunt — & detestationem turpitudinis. Neque desunt qui Ifmaëlem fratri necem molitum esse existimant (18). Some pretend, that he shot an Arrow at him with a Design of killing him (19). It is said, that the Hebrew Word for Mocking (20) has four Significations, in Scripture, viz. Pastime, Idolatry, an amorous Game, and a desperate Fight. To prove the third Signification, they alledge the twenty fifth Chapter of Genesis, where it is said, *That Abimelech looking out at a Window, saw Isaac sporting with Rebecca his Wife*. But it is to extend the Signification of the Word beyond it's due Limits, to pretend, that it implies, in that Passage, *the Work of the Flesh*. It is sufficient to understand by it a certain Familiarity, which shewed that they were not Brother and Sister, but Husband and Wife: for that was the Conclusion Abimelech drew from it. The most probable Account of the Matter seems to me to be this: Ishmael gave himself some Airs of Contempt, which made Sarah fear, that he would one day dispute the Birthright, if it was not prevented in time.

[H] That her Son must die of Thirst.] Supposing that the mocking, which Sarah was offended at, was on occasion of the Feast that was made when Isaac was weaned, Ishmael must have been sent away at about sixteen Years of Age. If it be supposed, that this Mockery was much later in time, than that Feast, his Age will be so much the more increased at his leaving his Father. But make him as young as you can (which will be to allow him at least sixteen Years of Age) will it not appear very strange, that his Mother was obliged to carry him on her Shoulders at that Age, — to lay him under a little Tree, to take him up again, to carry him in her Arms, and to give him drink? Read that Passage of Scripture concerning Ishmael; it represents to us a Child in swaddling Cloaths, or very near it. We cannot get out of this Plunge by supposing that this

(10) Apud Hieronymum cap. 21. in tractat. Hebraicis. See Sallian. Tom. 1. pag. 474. Corn. à Lapide in Genes. p. 199. takes it for granted, that Isaac was not weaned till five Years of Age; Sallian p. 474. cites St. Jerome, Del Rio, and Per. thus for the same Opinion, which is his own.

(18) Heidegg. ibid. pag. 205.

(19) R. Eliezer Pirke. cap. 30. ap. Heidegg. ib. who cites also Basil Hathurim.

(20) Lyrarus apud Pererum in Genes. xxi.

(10) Genes. xvi. 2. The English Version in like manner gives it, And Abraham hearkened unto the voice of Sarah.

(11) August. de Civit. Del. lib. 16. cap. 25.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Comment. Philosoph. part. 3. pag. 65.

(14) Genes. xvi. 12.

(15) Ibid. xvi. 16.

(16) Ibid. xxi. 5.

the place, where she had laid *Ishmael*. An Angel came to her Relief, and discover'd a Well to her, where she fill'd her Bottle; and by this means she sav'd her Son's Life. She married him afterwards to an *Egyptian* Woman. Thus far the Scripture carries the History. Many of the *Rabbins*, pretend, without any Reason, that *Agar* is the same with *Ketura*, who was *Abraham's* Wife after the Death of *Sarah* (c). But this Error is much more tolerable than the ridiculous Superstition of the *Saracens*, who honoured the Stone, on which *Agar* [I], as they said, granted *Abraham* the last Favour, as an holy Relick. Their Writers do not mention the Reason; and acknowledge but a very remote Relation between *Agar*, and the Stone [K]. An Author, cited by *Eusebius*, certainly meant this *Agar*, when he said that *Abraham* married an *Egyptian* Servant-Maid, by whom he had twelve Children, who seiz'd on *Arabia*, and divided it among themselves (d). The *Rabbins* have advanced another Fable, to wit, that *Ishmael* came to Life again, before he was born; for, say they, his Mother lost her Fruit for a Punishment of her Vanity, and by the Fatigue of her Journey; but her deference for the Angel who advised her to bumble herself to her Mistress, obliged God to re-animate her Child. *Cornelius à Lapide* assure us in the 17th Page of his Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, that *Tostatus* believ'd this Story.

Calvin is fully accused of inveighing bitterly against *Abraham* and *Sarah*, on account of the Concubinage of *Agar*. But there is more Reason to say that *St Austin's* Apology for the Patriarch's Conduct is very weak. See the Remarks [I] and [K] of the Article *SARAH*.

Fact was misplaced; for it is expressly declared, that *Sarah* sent *Ishmael* away because she would not have him share the Inheritance with *Isaac*. And therefore *Ishmael* was not sent away 'till after *Isaac* was born; and consequently he was as able to seek for Water, as his Mother; he was no longer *et non potuit vivere*, an Infant to be carried upon Shoulders, &c. (21) I foresee that I shall be told, that neither the Translation of the LXX. nor the Vulgate import, That *Ishmael* was carried on his Mother's Back; and that it ought therefore to be concluded, that the *Hebrew* Text does not clearly favour my Supposition. With all my Heart; the rest of the Narrative is sufficient for me, and I submit it to the Judgment of every Reader, who considers the thing without Prejudice. Perhaps the best Solution would be to say, that, as they lived longer in those Ages, they did not come out of Childhood so soon as we: This would do very well, if it were not attended with the Consequence of making *Ishmael* twenty Years old when he was thrust out of doors; for, according to this Answer *Isaac* must have sucked longer, than they sucked in the Time of the *Maccabees*. Now in that Age Children sucked three Years (22); we ought therefore to acquiesce, with *St Jerome*, and many of the Moderns, in the old *Hebrew* Tradition, which I took notice of, to wit, that *Isaac* was not weaned 'till five Years of Age. Tho' I cannot but express my wonder, that they, who follow it (23), should not perceive the difficulty attending it; which does not cease to be very great, even supposing, as I do, that *Isaac* did not suck suck at the Breast so long as was usual in the time of the *Maccabees*.

[I] *The Stone on which Agar, &c.* What idle Stories! as if *Abraham*, who was a great Lord, and whose Retinue amounted to above three hundred Domesticks, able to bear Arms, could not provide a Bed for a Concubine of this kind. He did not take her, but at the Solicitation of his Wife; *Sarah* performed in some manner the Functions of the *Paranymp*; it was more like a Wedding, than any thing else; and yet they tell us, that a Marriage of this sort was consummated on a Stone. This Story might be probable enough, if it were related of a Master of a Family, who was afraid of his Wife, and whom a thousand reasons might induce to do the Feat by Stealth, and wherever Occasion offered; being persuaded, that if he missed his Opportunity, in hopes of a better, he might be disappointed for Life. However it be, we understand by *Euthymius Zigabenus*, that the *Saracens* honoured and kissed a Stone, which they called *Brachtan*, and when they were asked the Reason of it, some answered, it was, because *Abraham* knew *Agar* on that Stone; others, that it was, because he tied his Camel to it, when he prepared to offer up his Son *Isaac* (24). The same Author says, That this Stone was the Head of the Statue of *Venus*, the Deity, which the ancient *Ishmaelites* worshipped. The form of the *Anatemas* which a *Saracen* is obliged to recite who embraces Christianity, confirms this Author's Account; for it imports, that That Stone was

the Image of *Venus* (25), and that the *Saracens* spoke of it as of a thing, which had served *Abraham* for the abovementioned Purposes. On this Occasion, I shall observe, that the Stone, which was worshipped by the *Arabians*, and which they took for the God *Mari*, was black and unheven. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαμα λίθος ἐστὶ μάλα τετραγώνος, ἀσύνθετος. — Simulacrum autem est lapis niger, quadratus, nullam figuram incisam habens (26). Ridetis temporibus prius Persas fluvium coluisse — INFORMEM Arabas lapidem (27). — You think it ridiculous, that in ancient Times the Persians worshipped a River — the *Arabians* an unheven Stone. *Maximus Tyrius*, who had seen it, says only, that it was square (28). The Mother of the Gods, whom the *Phrygians* adored with a very extraordinary Zeal, was nothing more than a plain Stone; and they gave only a Stone to the *Roman* Ambassadors, who desired to establish the Worship of that Divinity at *Rome*; "Is legatos comiter acceptos Pessimum in Phrygiam deduxit, sacrumque is lapidem, quem matrem Deam incolere esse dicebant tradidit, ac deportare Romam jussit (29)." How absurd soever the Idolatry of those was, who worshipped the Stone which *Jacob* set up for a Pillar, and anointed and consecrated to God (30); it was yet more tolerable, than That of the *Saracens*; for *Jacob's* Stone served him for a Pillow, in a Night, which he pass'd, as one may say, with God, the Dreams and Visions, with which he was entertained, representing heavenly Things in so lively a manner to him. The *Saracens* durst not have said so much, in relation to their pretended Stone of *Agar*. *Scaliger* has collected a great deal of curious Learning concerning this Stone of *Jacob* (31); but what the learned *Pocock* has said concerning That, which the *Saracens* honoured, is no less considerable. I am going to take some Notice of it.

[K] But a very remote Relation between *Agar* and that Stone. You must consult *Pocock*, if you would be exactly inform'd of their Religion hereupon (32). The black Stone, which they adore, is in the Temple of *Mecca*, in a Corner, two Cubits and one third from the Ground. They suppose that it was one of the precious Stones of *Paradise*, and that it descended from thence with *Adam*: that it was carried thither again at the Time of the Deluge; that it was sent into the World again, when *Abraham* built the Temple; and that the Angel *Gabriel* put it into the Hands of that Architect (33). It was, at first, whiter than Snow, and brighter than the Sun; but it became black, by being touched by a Woman who had her Menstruethers say, That the Sins of Men made it lose its Whiteness and Lustre; others affirm, that it was sullied by being much kissed and handled. It would be very difficult to prove from the *Arabian* Authors, what *St John Damascenus* and *Euthymius* assert, That there was a *Venus's* Head engraven upon it. There is another Stone, which they esteem sacred, and on which they pretend a Figure is to be seen; but it is a Figure of Feet, and not of a Head; it is the Print of *Abraham's* Feet, when he rested on that Stone, either, building the Temple (34), or while his Daughter-in-law (35) washed his Head, when he made

(c) Targum Jonathanis, Parnaphra's Hierosolym. Jarchius, R. Eliezer apud Heidegg. Hist. Patriarch. Tom. 2. pag. 136.

(21) That is to say, As Men go now, such Men as live in the degenerate days.

(22) The Mother of the Maccabees told her Son, that she suckled him three Years, 2 Maccab. vii. 37.

(23) Moreiri in this Number.

(24) Euthym. Zigab. in Parnaphra, apud Vossium de Orig. Idol. lib. 2. cap. 17. & lib. 1. cap. 39.

(d) Melito apud Alexand. Poly. Hist. cited by Euseb. Prep. Evang. lib. 9. cap. 19.

(25) Εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀποδομένης ἑστῆς. Veneris habere. See Vossius ibid. lib. 2. cap. 31. pag. 467. Edit. Francofurt.

(26) Suidas in voce ἄγαμα.

(27) Ammonius, lib. 6. pag. 196.

(28) Maximus Tyrius Dissert. 38. pag. 384.

(29) Livius lib. 39. cap. 11.

(30) Genes. xxviii. 18.

(31) Scaliger Animadv. in Euseb. n. 2150.

(32) Pocockii Notae in Specim. Hist. Arab. pag. 113, &c.

(33) See the Remark [F] of the Article O. A. B. A. H. A. M.

(34) Ex A. built.

(35) The Wife of Ishmael.

(36) Ex Ahmed Ebn Yusuf & Sa-fudino.

(37) In the Life of Ishmael.

(38) See the Article ABUD-HAHER.

made *Ishmael* a Visit (36). This last Stone is shut up in an Iron Chest. *Ahmed Ebn Yusuf* pretends to have seen and kiss'd it, and to have drank Water there out of the Well *Zanzam*, and to have taken notice, that the Print of the Right Foot is deeper than that of the Left, and that the Toes are as long as the Fingers of the Hand (37). They hid this Stone in one of the Hills of *Mecca*, when the *Karmatians* committed a thousand Profanations in the Temple, and carried the *black Stone* away (38). Now since *Euthymius*, and the Catechism for the Use of the converted *Saracens*, remark, That the Stone, on which it was pretended that *Abraham* had to do with *Agar*, or to which he tied his Camel, was in the middle of the Oratory, in medio huius ecclesie, this must not be understood of the *Black Stone* (for that is fix'd in a Corner of the Temple); but of the Stone, in which *Abraham's* Footsteps are to be seen. Besides, though no *Arabian* Writer says, That the Reason why they venerate that Stone, is, because it serv'd the Patriarch for the Purposes mentioned by *Euthymius*, we must believe, that the Tradition, which *Euthymius* speaks of, relates rather to the Stone, in which *Abraham's* Footsteps are imprinted, than to the *Black Stone*: from whence two Things are to be concluded. I. That *Euthymius*, and the Catechist of the *Sara-*

acens, had not a distinct Knowledge of these People's Errors, as to the Worship of Stones. II. That the *Arabian* Writers did not acknowledge any near and direct Relation between *Agar* and the venerable Stones of *Mecca*. *Agar* is no farther concern'd in it, than inasmuch as *Abraham* set his Feet on it; while her Son *Ishmael's* Wife wash'd his Head. There is a third remarkable Stone at *Mecca*; it is white, and passes for *Ishmael's* Sepulchre; it is in a kind of Inclosure, near the Foundations of the Temple. From all these Particulars we may infer, That it is very easy to deceive a Man in Matters of Religion, and very difficult to undeceive him in them. He is fond of his Prejudices, and finds Leaders, who indulge him in them, and who say within themselves, "quando quidem populus vult decipi, decipiat. — Since the People will be impos'd upon, let them be impos'd upon." They find their Account in this, both in point of Authority and Profit: When the Difciple is become inveterate, the most disinterested fear, that the Remedy may prove worse than the Disease. These dare not cure the Wound, and it is the Interest of others, that it should not be cur'd. Thus an Abuse is perpetuated: Dishonest Men protect it; and honest Men tolerate it.

(f) Plato in Convivio, init. pag. 1174.

(g) Id. ib. pag. 11, 6.

(h) See Athen. lib. 5. pag. 217. & Calaub. in Athenæum, pag. 379.

(i) In his Convivium.

(j) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 14. cap. 13. See also Athen. lib. 5. pag. 187.

(k) Plato in Protagora, pag. 220. Athen. lib. 5. pag. 106. *Ælian*. lib. 2. c. 21.

(m) In the Remark [O] of the Article EURIPIDES. See the Scholiast of Aristoph. ubi supra.

(a) Plato in Protagora, pag. 220.

(b) Scholiast. Aristoph. in Rana, act. 1. scen. 2.

(c) Plato ib. & in Convivio, pag. 1175.

(d) Id. in Protagora, pag. 220.

(e) *Ἀγαθὸς τῶν τραγῶν καὶ τῶν κωμικῶν*. Moribus bonis, & mensis laetitia. Schol. Aristoph. ibid. See also Suidas in *Ἀγαθῶν*.

AGATHON, a Tragic and Comic Poet [A] Disciple of *Prodicus* (a), and *Socrates* (b), is greatly celebrated for his Beauty in *Plato's* Dialogue (c), in which he is farther commended for his Good Nature (d). Some Authors report, that he was a very Good Man, and that his Table was magnificent (e). Perhaps they found this on the splendid Entertainments he gave, after his first Tragedy had obtained the Prize (f), and he had been crowned in the Presence of above 30000 Men (g), in the 4th Year of the XCth Olympiad (h). *Plato* supposes, that the *Discourses*, which he recites, on the Nature of Love, in one of his Books (i), were held the day after that Solemnity, at the second Entertainment, which *Agathon* gave. The Pieces of This Poet were so full of *Antitheses*, that he reply'd one day to a Person, who was for expunging them, *You are not aware, that you rob Agathon of himself* (k). He was the Darling of *Pausanias* the *Ceraman*, and follow'd him to the Court of *Archelaus*, King of *Macedon* (l). He often quarrell'd with him; but it was with a view of affording him a more sensible Pleasure by their Reconciliation. Thus he explained himself to that Prince, who asked him the Cause of their frequent Quarrels, as *Ælian* informs us in the XXI Chapter of the Second Book of his *Various History*. I have taken notice, in another place (m), of what is related concerning *Euripides's* Passion for *Agathon*. The Answer of the former is misrepresented in the Historical Dictionaries [B]. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* seems to assure us, that

Agathon

[A] A Tragic and Comic Poet.] No body questions his writing Tragedies; it will be sufficient therefore to prove, that he was a Writer of Comedies. For this I may appeal to the Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, on the second Scene of the first Act of the *Fraags*. "Οὐτως δ' Ἀγαθὸν κωμικοῦς καὶ τραγικοῦς διδάσκαλος. This *Agathon*, a Writer of Comedies, when *Socrates* taught. Observe, that he speaks of the same Poet, who is one of *Plato's* Interlocutors in the *Feasts*, and who most certainly compos'd Tragedies. I appeal likewise to these Words of *Philostrophus*, *Καὶ Ἀγαθὸν διὰ τῆς τραγικῆς τέχνης, ὅν δ' κωμικῆς οὐκ ἔμελλεν καὶ κωμικῆς οὐκ ἔμελλεν τῶν λαμπρῶν γυναικῶν*. (1). *Agathon*, the Tragic Poet, whom the Comic Muse acknowledged skillful and elegant, frequently imitates the Style of *Gorgias* in his *Iambics*. I am aware, that these Words may signify, that he was praised in Comedies; but they may be taken in this Sense, That he shew'd both his Capacity and Elegancy in the Comedies, which he compos'd. A learned Critic conjectures, That *Socrates* hinted at our *Agathon*, when he said, that it was the business of the same Poet to compose both Tragedies and Comedies; and that whoever has a Genius for Tragedy, is equally capable of excelling in Comedy (2). *Τὴ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀντιθέσεως ἑνὶ κωμικῶν καὶ τραγικῶν ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν, καὶ τῶν τραγικῶν δὲ καὶ κωμικῶν ἑνὶ* (3). *Ejundem viri officium esse tragediarum comediarumque componere, eumque qui arte tragicus est esse quoque comicum*. It is, I think, to multiply Beings unnecessarily, to give us a Comic Poet *Agathon*, different from ours. It is what *Vossius* (4), *Moreri*, *Hofman*, &c. have done.

[B] The Answer of the former is misrepresented in the Historical Dictionaries.] I have set it in it's true Light, in another Place (5): the following is a very confused Account of it: " *Agatho* Philosophus *Pythago-*

ricus, frequens antithesis, adhibuit quondam convivio Archelao rege, cujus erat familiarissimus, interrogatque ab eo, cum jam esset annorum 80, si robur adhuc illum servaret? Sane, inquit, non solum ver, sed autem etiam bona & prospera tem adferre (6). — *Agatho*, the *Pythagorean Philosopher*, a great Lover of *Antitheses*, being once invited to a Banquet by King *Archelaus*, who'd whom he was very intimate, and being asked by him whether, at the Age of fourscore, he yet retained any Vigour; reply'd, surely not only the Spring, but the Autumn, is wont to produce good things and Prosperity." Let us reckon up the Mistakes of this Account. I. The *Agathon*, who was fond of *Antitheses*, and was in the Court of *Archelaus*, was not a *Pythagorean*. II. He was but about forty Years of Age, when *Archelaus* gave occasion for the above-mentioned Reply (7). III. It was not *Agathon*, but *Euripides*, who gave this Answer. IV. The Question did not turn upon personal Strength; but upon Beauty; and the Answer had no regard to the Goods of Fortune. V. It would be an Absurdity to take the Age of eighty Years for the Autumn of Life. VI. I believe no Philosopher, of the Sect of *Pythagoras*, was called *Agathon*. All these Faults of *Charles Stephens* are to be found in the second Edition of *Lloyd*; may we see the pretended Testimony of *Ælian* more exactly remark'd in it (8). This Exactness is prejudicial to the Author; for, since he was not ignorant in what Chapter the Fact was to be found, he is more inexcusable in copying all the Mistakes of the Dictionary which he undertook to correct. Mr *Hofman* followed him Letter by Letter, and distinguish'd between this *Agathon* and Him, who was at the Court of *Archelaus*. Mr *Moreri* speaks also of a *Pythagorean* Philosopher, named *Agathon*, who, at the Age of eighty Years,

(6) *Charles Stephens* in the Word AGATHO. pag. 117.

(7) See the Article EURIPIDES, ubi supra.

(8) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 13. cap. 4. Lloyd in the Word AGATHO.

Agathon died at the Court of *Archelaus* (C); and we may conclude from the Words of *Aristophanes*, that he was not living, when the Comedy of the *Frogs* was acted [D], that is in the second Year of the XCIII^d Olympiad (N). There remains nothing of *Agathon* but what we find in *Aristotle*, in *Athenaus*, &c. who cited him. They are beautiful Sentences enough, and confirm what has been said of his Passion for Antitheses [E]. I shall give an Instance of them, wherein we meet with a very judicious Maxim relating to the Deceitfulness of Appearances [F]. *Aristophanes* satirizes

answered that Monarch, That the Autumn produced Flowers and Fruits, as well as the Spring. He mentions afterwards *Agathon*, a Tragic Poet; and *Agathon* a Comic Poet.

[C] That *Agathon* died at the Court of *Archelaus*. *Ἀρχαλαὺς τῷ βασιλεὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς μετὰ πολλοῦν συνην ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ* (9). That is, He lived with many others in Macedonia at the Court of King *Archelaus* until his Death. This may either signify, 'till the Death of *Archelaus*, or 'till the Death of *Agathon*. For which Reason I do not give these Words as a certain Proof.

[D] That he was not living, when the Comedy of the *Frogs* was acted. We find these four Verses there,

HP. Ἀγάθων δὲ πῶς εἶναι; ΔΙ. ἀπολαύων μὲν ἀποίχεται,
Ἀγάθος ποιητὴς, καὶ πεδινὸς τοῖς φίλοις.

HP. Ποῖ γὰρ εἰ τάχυναι; ΔΙ. ἐς μακρὸν ἰουχλαί (10).

HE. But where is *Agatho*?

BA. He has left me, and is gone. — A good Poet,

and dear to his Friends.

HE. Unhappy Man! to what Country is he gone?

BA. To the Banquet of the Gods.

[E] What has been said of his Passion for Antitheses. *Kubnius* has given us three Sentences of *Agathon*, as a Specimen of his Taste (11). The two first were cited by *Aristotle*, and the other by *Athenaus*. The Sense of the latter is, If I tell you the Truth, I shall not please you; and if I please you, I shall not tell you the Truth (12). Those cited by *Aristotle* signify, the one, that the only impossible thing with God is, to cause, That what has been created, should not have been created (13); the other, That Fortune loves Art, and Art loves Fortune (14). *Vossius* imagin'd, that this last Sentence belong'd to *Agathon* the Comic Poet (15); but he had better have ascrib'd it to the Tragedian, and have observ'd, that the Spirit of *Antitheses* adjudges it to him. I say this without pretending, that it is certain that *Agathon*, the Tragic Poet, differs from *Agathon* the Comic Poet. Mr *Moreri* copied *Vossius*, according to Custom. I wonder *Kubnius* did not produce this;

Τὸ μὲν πάρος ποτε ἔργον ἐς παντὸς αἵμα,
Τὸ δ' ἔργον ἐς πάρος ποτε ἰκνησάμεθα (16).

Operis loco ducimus accessorium,
Et in opere satagimus ut accessorio.

[F] A very judicious Maxim on the Deceitfulness of Appearances. *Agathon* observes, That it is likely several Things may happen, which are not likely. *Εὐδὸς γινέσθαι πολλά καὶ παρὰ τὸ εὐδὸς. Verisimile ἂν εἴ multa fieri præter verisimile*. Thus *Vossius* reports this Sentence; and he observes, that *Aristotle* alleg'd it in more than one Place (17). That great Philosopher cited it in the following manner, in the 24th Chapter of the 2^d Book of his Rhetoric.

Τὰς ἐν τοῖς εὐδὸς αὐτὸ τὸ τῶν ἀνὰ λόγους
Βροτοῖσι πολλά τυγχάνειν ἐκ τινος (18).

Fortasse aliquis verisimile id ipsum esse dixarit,
Mortalibus multa evenire non verisimilia.

We may compare, with this Maxim, that of *Se Bernard*; *Ordinatum est, minus interdum ordinatum fieri* (19); that is, 'It is very consistent with Order, that sometimes things should be done out of Order.' Mr *de Balzac* reports this Thought so ill, that of a very fine Maxim he makes frightful Untruth: 'The Affairs of the World, says he (20), sometimes alter their Course, and go into an unusual Channel; and though this is only likely, as *Agathon* said, That many things happen against Likelihood, nevertheless, generally speaking, like Enterprizes produce like Events: The

Adverb only produces a Monster here, and if it was an Error of the Press (21), I wonder the Corrector was not startled at it. For what is more monstrous, than to maintain, that it is never probable that a thing should happen agreeable to probability? This is the fine Axiom ascribed to our *Agathon*, in the Prince of *Balzac*: but the Sequel of the Discourse shews, that if the Poet's Thought was marr'd on the Paper, it was not so in the Mind of the Writer: It is certain that Mr *de Balzac* meant to say, with *Agathon*, that this very Thing is likely, that many Things happen against likelihood. *Euripides* was so fond of this Maxim, that he has repeated it five Times; for, as Mr *Coffar* says (22), he ended his *Medea*, his *Alceste*, his *Andromache*, his *Bacchæ*, and his *Helena*, with the following Sentence;

Πολλὰ δ' ἀλάττω κραινέει θεός,
καὶ τὰ δοκῶντι' οὐ δεικνύσθαι.
Ὅν δ' ἀδελφῶν περὶν αἶψαν βούε'

The meaning is, The Gods sport with human Foresight, and equally deceive our Hopes and our Fears. Sometimes they divert Events which all Men expected, and, opening Passages and Ways unknown, make Designs to succeed, which were in Appearance impossible. *Seneca* made a very good use of this Thought, to encourage those who are terrify'd at the likely and probable Approaches of ill Fortune. How many things, says he, have happened, which no body expected? How many others have never appear'd, tho' every body expected them? Nothing is so sure among those things, which we fear, but it is yet more certain, that our Fears and our Hopes prove sometimes groundless. *Seneca's* Words are more strong: It will be better to transcribe them. "Verisimile est aliquid futurum mali? Non statim verum est. Quam multa non expectata venerunt, quam multa expectata nunquam comparuerunt? — multa interveniunt, quibus vicinum periculum vel prope ademptum, aut sublatum, aut desinat, aut in alienum caput transeat — habet etiam mala fortuna levitatem: Fortasse erit, fortasse non erit. Interim dum non est, meliora propone — nihil tam certum est ex his quæ timeantur, ut non certius sit & formidatâ subfidere, & sperata decipere (23). —

Is any Misfortune likely to befall you? It does not therefore immediately become certain. How many unexpected things have come to pass? How many look'd for Events have never happen'd? — Many things intervene, by which an approaching Danger may stop short, or cease to be a Danger, or fall upon another Head. — Even ill Fortune has her Fickleness: Perhaps it will be; perhaps it will not be. In the mean time, whilst it is not, hope the best. — Nothing, in all the Ills we dread, is so certain, but it is still more so, that what we fear sometimes vanishes, and what we hope for sometimes disappoints us." Cardinal *Palavicin* is very angry with *Fra Paolo*, who took the Reception of the Doctrine of *Zuinglius* by the Evangelical Cantons, as a manifest Proof, that an higher Cause, than *Zuinglius*, was the influencing Motive. I omit *Palavicin's* Reflexions, but shall copy what he borrows from *Aristotle*, namely, That it happens sometimes, that the most probable things are fall; for if they were always separated from Fallhood, they would be certain and not probable. I am going to shew, that he builds upon this Maxim, when he accuses those of Rashness and Presumption, who pretend to judge of the Providence of God. Such a Person is a devout Christian, therefore he is predestinated to Salvation: Such a Person is a Mahometan, and wicked, therefore he is predestinated to Damnation. Rash Consequences, and which are often groundless! This is Cardinal *Palavicin's* Remark: The whole Passage is as follows. "Per tanto chi ascrive le prosperità della miglior causa ad una volontà che dio habbia di farla stabilmente prevalere alla rea, discorre con pietà probabile e leggiera: quantunque talora s'ingannî, secondo il suo segnamiento

(21) Statement instead of surmised. Note that there are some Galconisms between the sequel of the sequel of the sequel.

(22) Coffar. Sequel of the Defence of Voiture, pag. 406.

(23) Seneca Epist. 24. pag. 187.

(N) See Sam. Petit's Miscellany, lib. 1. cap. 14. pag. 50.

(9) Schol. Aristophan. in Ranas, act. 1. sc. 2.

(10) Aristophan. in Ranas, act. 1. sc. 2. ver. 83.

(11) Gultum antithetorum Agathonis dare possumus. Kubnius in Eudam. lib. 14. cap. 13. pag. 735.

(12) Athen. lib. 5. c. 13. pag. 311.

(13) Aristot. Eth. Eudamior. lib. 7. cap. 2. pag. 182.

(14) Id. ib. cap. 4. pag. 183.

(15) Vossius de Poet. Gr. pag. 59.

(16) Agath. apud Athen. lib. 5. init.

(17) Vossius Instit. Poet. lib. 1. p. 16.

(18) Agathon apud Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 24. pag. 448.

(19) Bernardi Epist. 276. ad Eugen. III.

(20) Balzac in his Prince, n. 142. pag. 100. Edit. of Rouen in 1632. 4to.

rises him severely on account of his Morals, in one of his Comedies (o). I believe we ought to distinguish him from that *Agathon*, whom the Philosopher *Plato* lov'd so tenderly [G]. The Mistake of *Budæus* was doubtless voluntary, when he said in the 27th Chapter of the *Institution of a Prince*; that *Euripides* kiss'd a Lady, at *Archelaus's* Table, who was called the Fair *Agatha*.

(o) In Theophrastus.

“segnamento del Filosofo: Che talvolta il più probabile è falso; perciôche se da falsità fosse esente, non saria probabile, mà certo. E se basta il potersi ingannare accioche ogni giudicio, quantunque dubitativo della Providenza divina chiamasi presuntuoso; chiamerassi presuntuoso chiun que dall'averlo Dio fatto nascere fra Christiani e viver devotamente, prende conghietura che l'habbia destinato alla vita eterna; e' contrario s'avvisi di chi nacque Saraceno e vive scelerato: Essendo manifesto poter succedere che il primo si dannì, e' secondo si salvi (24). — Thus he, who ascribes the Success of the better Cause to the Immediate Influence of Heaven, reasons probably and justly; tho' he may sometimes be deceived; according to the Sentiment of the Philosopher, that the most probable Thing sometimes prove false, because, if it were exempt from Falsity, it would not be probable, but certain. Now, if the bare Possibility of being mistaken renders all Judgment concerning divine Providence, though express'd with Doubt, presumptuous, certainly it is great Presumption in any one to imagine, that because he is born a Christian, and lives devoutly, therefore he is predestin'd by God to eternal Life, and to judge the contrary of ones who is born a Saracen, and lives wickedly; it being evidently possible, that the former may be damn'd, and the latter sav'd.”

(24) Palavi-
cin. Istor.
del. Conci-
lio, lib. 3.
cap. 8. in
fine. p. 303.

Not only the Physicians, but the News-Writers, likewise, ought to profit by the Sentence of *Agathon*. A Professor of *Leipst* exhorts Physicians not to speak without much Precaution, if they would do Honour to Physic. He would not have them promise too much, nor terrify their Patients so greatly, but speak always conditionally, and with a perhaps (25). All this, in virtue of *Seneca's* Maxim produc'd above. The like Advice may be given to your great Coffee-House Politicians: I mean those among them, who have a good deal of Sagacity and Judgment. Their Conjectures are generally right; nor have they often occasion to repent of their decisive Air, with which they deride the Hopes or Threats of the Gazetteers. This gives them a still greater Boldness to reject magnificently every piece of News, which shocks Probability; but they are sometimes mistaken; for the Event confirms, upon some Occasions, the most impertinent and the most extravagant News that can be reported, and which they had condemn'd as Chimera's, or as Things inconsistent with the Wisdom, which had till then appear'd in the Councils of the State. This Rule is not always safe, and sometimes enflames those Reasoners upon public Affairs, who trust too much to it. It is therefore Prudence to act considerately, and not to pronounce definitive Decrees, under pretence of having the most plausible Appearances on our side. But if in this Case it is not reasonable to play the Dictator, what Blame do not they deserve, who promise the greatest Successes, against all Appearances, and publish these Promises as grounded on *St John's* Revelation?

(25) Bibl.
Universelle,
Tom. 4. p.
80, 81. in
the Extr. of
the Miscel-
laneous Cu-
riosa Medi-
ca of Chri-
stianus Lan-
gus.

[G] From that *Agathon*, whom the Philosopher *Plato* lov'd so tenderly. That Philosopher compos'd a very tender Distich, and so full of Sense, that a Latin Poet found Matter in it for seventeen Verses. Let us transcribe a whole Chapter of *Aulus Gellius* here (26). “Celebrantur duo isti Græci versiculi, mul- torumque doctorum hominum memoria dignantur, quod sunt lepidissimi & venustissimi brevitas. Ne- que adeo pauci sunt veteres scriptores, qui eos Pla- tonis esse Philosophi affirmant; quibus ille adole-

(26) Aulus
Gellius, lib.
7. cap. 11.

scens luserit, quum tragicædis quoque eodem tem- pore faciendis præluderet.

Τὴν ψυχὴν, Ἀγάθων φιλῶν, ἐπὶ χεῖλεσιν ἔσχεν.

Ἦαυτο γὰρ ἢ τὰ ἡμῶν ὡς διαβαρομένην (27).

“Hoc distichon amicus meus, ois ἄμωρος adolescens, in pluris verculos licentius liberiusque verit: qui quoniam mihi quidem vix sunt non esse me- moratu indigni, subdidi.

(27) Note
that Diogen.
Laertius, lib.
3. n. 32.

— says, men-
tioning both two
Greek Ver-
ses, that they
were made by
Plato for A-
gathon: They
are thus trans-
lated in the
Greek and
Latin Ed-
itions of Dio-
genes Laer-
tius.
Suavia dans
Agathon, a-
nimam ipse
in labra te-
nebram?
Ægea ete-
rnam prop-
ians tanquam
abituia fuit.

Dum semihulco savio
Meum puellum favior;
Dulcècque florem spiritus
Duco ex aperto tramite:
Animula ægra & faucia
Cucurrit ad labias mihi,
Rictumque in oris pervium;
Et labra pueri mollia;
Rimata itineri transitus,
Ut transiret nictur.
Tum si moræ quid plusculæ
Fuisset in cœta osculi;
Amoris igni percita
Transisset, & me liqueretur:
Et mira prorsum res foret,
Ut ad me fierem mortuus,
Ad puerum at intus viverem.

“That Greek Distich is much celebrated, and thought worthy of being recorded by many learned Men, as being most witty and most beautifully concise. Nor are there a few among the antient Writers, who affirm it was compos'd by *Plato* the Philosopher; with which he diverted himself in his Youth, and at a time when he was making Essays towards Tragedy.”

Τὴν ψυχὴν, Ἀγάθων φιλῶν &c.

My Soul (in kissing Agathon)
Flies to my Lips, and would be gone.

“A young Gentleman, a Friend of mine (no Enemy to the Muse), has paraphras'd this Distich in several Verses; which, as they seem to me not unworthy of being produc'd, I have here subjoin'd.

Dum semihulco savio, &c.

Whilst on thy Lips, to taste the Bliss,
I print the burning, amorous Kiss,
And drink thy balmy Breath; my Soul,
Thro' Love impatient of controul,
Mounts to my Lips in extasy,
And fain would pass, to dwell in Thee.
If, then, Dear Youth, we should delay,
And on the Kiss prolong our stay,
The wanton Thing would take her Flight,
Struck with Love's Fire, and leave me quite;
And strange would my Condition be,
Dead in myself, but yet alive in Thee.

Observe that *Plato* was but fourteen Years of Age, when our Poet *Agathon* obtained the Prize of Tragedy, so that it is not very likely, that he shew'd for him, but for an *Agathon* much younger (28).

(28) Athen.
lib. 5. cap.
13. p. 217.

AGESILAUS, the first of the Name, King of *Sparta*, succeeded his Father *Doryssus*, who was the fifth King from *Eurythbenes*. The Reign of this *Agésilæus* was very long [A], and yet it affords an Historian scarce any materials. The Histories of

[A] Was very long. In saying this, I rely more on the Authority of *Eusebius* than on that of *Pausanias*. The latter assures us, that *Doryssus*, and his Son *Agésilæus*, did but just shew themselves on the

Throne; δι' οὗτος οὖτος τὸ χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀνέστησαν. — Death soon seized them both (1). But *Eusebius* makes them reign seventy three Years: he gives twenty nine Years to the Father's Reign, and forty four

(1) Pausan.
lib. 3. p. 82.

(a) *The Reign of Agesilaus began in the Year of the World 2997, according to Helvicus, 24 Years after the Death of Solomon.*

of those Remote Times (a) have not been preserved. *Pausanias* ought not to have said, that *Lycurgus* gave Laws to *Lacedæmon* [B] in this Reign (b). *Charles Stephens*, (b) *Pausan.* lib. 3. pag. 82. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* confound this *Agesilaus* with *Agesilaus II.* for they say of the latter, that he was the Sixth King of *Lacedæmon*.

to the Son's. *Caloifus* quotes *Pausanias* for this Duration: This is to make a judicious Choice of one's Witnesses,

[B] That *Lycurgus* gave Laws to *Lacedæmon*.]

Meurfius proves, in his *Antiquities of Lacedæmon*, that *Lycurgus* published his Laws in the thirtieth Year of *Archeblaus*, the Son and Successor of *Agesilaus*.

AGESILAUS, the second of the Name, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, was the Son of *Archidamus*. He had perhaps Ambition enough to desire the Kingdom in exclusion of his elder Brother *Agis*; but, however that be, it was not perceived, till after the Death of *Agis*, that he was desirous the Order of Succession should be broke in upon for his sake. This Desire had all the Success he could expect; for they did *Leotychides*, Son of *Agis*, the Injustice [A] to exclude him from the Crown in Favour of *Agesilaus* (a). The latter repaired by a great number of fine Actions what was irregular in this first step, and tho' he was of a diminutive Stature, an unpromising Aspect, and lame [B], he justly acquired the Reputation of a great Captain. He was brave, vigilant, and ready; he improved every Advantage to the utmost, and knew how to make the best use of Occurrences; he understood all the Stratagems of War, and he had the Art of deceiving his Enemies, at the same time that he let them know his

[A] They did *Leotychides* — the Injustice.} We cannot give their Treatment of him any other Name, if we examine well the Reasons of it. *Agesilaus* did not deny, but that, according to the Laws of the Country, the Crown belonged to his Brother's Son; but he maintained that *Leotychides* was not the Son of *Agis*; and made use of these two Methods of Proof. He said in the first Place, that *Timea*, the Mother of *Leotychides*, was so fond of *Alcibiades*, who had fled to *Lacedæmon* for Refuge, that her Husband suspected, that the Child, which she had some time after, had no other Father, than that Gallant. This concerned *Leotychides*. It was of Him that *Timea* was delivered about that Time: It was He, whom *Agesilaus* did not acknowledge for his Son but on his Death-bed. *Agesilaus* alleged in the second Place the Testimony of *Neptune*. He said, That *Agis* was driven from his Wife's Bed by an Earthquake, and that *Timea* was brought to Bed of *Leotychides* above ten Months after (1). These two Reasons stand for nothing; the Maxim, *Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*. — *Wedlock makes the Father*, ruins them entirely. If, whenever a Husband takes Umbrage at seeing his Wife pleased with the Visits, or private Conversations, of a Stranger, he should exclude from the Inheritance the Children born about that Time. What a Confusion would it introduce? Therefore, though it should be true what an Historian says, That *Timea* made no Scruple of calling her Son by the Name of *Alcibiades*, before her Women, instead of *Leotychides* (2), nothing could be legally concluded from this Fact in favour of *Agesilaus*. *Timea* herself ought to have declared what she meant by this Language (3), and whether she used it in earnest, or by way of insult, or merely in jest. Much less could they have alleged the Indifference of *Alcibiades*, if it had been true that he boasted of his Familiarity with *Timea*, not thro' a Principle of Gallantry, but out of an Ambition of giving Kings to *Lacedæmon* (4). An hundred Reasons of this kind ought not to have balanced the Act, by which *Agis* acknowledged *Leotychides* for his Son, in the Presence of good Witnesses, on his Death-bed. The second Reason of *Agesilaus* was an idle Story; for let *Neptune* be never so much the cause of Earthquakes, how could it be proved, that *Agis* durst not lie with *Timea* after the Earthquake in question? A Lying in ten Months after the last Careless of an Husband (5), is no Proof in Law. The Maxim, *Pater est quem nuptiæ demonstrant*, and the Decisions of Physicians, remove all Suspicions. So that it may be said that the *Lacedæmonians*, a People who piqued themselves upon a very rigid Morality, took away a Crown for Reasons, which, in a well regulated Court, would have been insufficient to have excluded a Man from the Inheritance of an Acre of Land. But the Misfortune of *Leotychides* was, that *Lyfander* the most intriguing, the most deceitful, and the most factious of all Men, who had gained a Reputation in the City proportionable to his Abilities, and the Victories which he had

obtained over the Enemies, took it in his Head to calise *Agesilaus* to be crowned (6). No fundamental Law can hold against such Persons: If you allege the Divine Law to them, they explain it their own way. This *Lyfander* did, when he heard that a Prophet of *Lacedæmon* would have pleaded, in favour of *Leotychides*, an Oracle, which forbade the *Lacedæmonians* to suffer a lame Person to reign. This, says *Lyfander*, does not relate to the Defects of the Feet, but the Defects of the Blood; and it is *Leotychides*, who would make your Kingdom bald, not being of the Race of your Kings.

[B] Tho' he was of a diminutive Stature, an unpromising Aspect, and lame.} He was always the first to rally his own Lameness (7), as is commonly practised by Men of Wit in the like case; by which means they disconcert the Schemes of the Laughers. "Materia petulantibus, & per contumeliam urbanis detrahitur, si ultro illam & prior occupas. Nemo alius risum præbuit, qui ex se cepit. Vatinium hominem natum & ad risum, & ad odium, scurram suis se venustum ac dicacem, memoria proditum est. In pedes suos ipse plurima dicebat, & in fauces concisas: Sic inimicorum, quos plures habebat quam morbos, & in primis Ciceronis urbanitatem, effugit (8). — The Invidious of the ill-natured, and the Railery of the Witty, are disappointed by being beforehand with them. No one is liable to be laughed at by others, who first laughs at himself. Vatinius, a Man designed by Nature the common Object of Ridicule and Contempt, is reported to have been an ingenious and talkative Droll. He was always jesting upon his own Feet, and his little Mouth: Thus he escaped the Ridicule of his Enemies, of whom he had more in Number than Diseases, and particular of Cicero." The Pleasantry of *Agesilaus*, and the Strength wherewith he endured the most painful Exercises, made amends for all his bodily Defects (9), for without these his despicable Outside would have been very prejudicial to him. *Αἰγύλας ὡς ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἐν ἑστέῳ εὐκαταφρόνως*. He is said to have been small of Stature and of a contemptible Aspect (10). The *Ephori* had fined his Father for having married a little Woman (11), from whence they concluded would spring but a diminutive Race of Kings. *Cornelius Nepos* speaks more expressly of *Agesilaus*'s ill Mein than *Plutarch*. "Atque hic tantus vir, says he (12), ut naturam faultricem habuerat in tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam natum est in corpore, exiguis & claudus altero pede, quæ res etiam nonnullam afferebat deformitatem; atque ignoti faciem ejus cum intueretur, contemnebant. — This great Man, as he experienced Nature's favourable in bestowing on him the Virtues of the Mind, so he found her unpropitious in regard to his Body, being little and lame of one Foot, which rendered him in some manner deformed; inasmuch that those who were unacquainted with him, at first sight were apt to despise him." Never was the minus præsentia samam more true than with

(6) *Plot. ubi supra.*

(7) *Plot. lib. 3. pag. 59. E.*

(8) *Seneca de Constantia Sapientis, cap. 17. pag. 692.*

(9) *Plot. in Agesil. pag. 596.*

(10) *Id. ib.*

(11) *Id. ib.*

(12) *Corn. Nepos in eum Vita, cap. 3.*

(a) *Mitrap. p. 597. & Xenoph. de Rebus Græcis, lib. 3. pag. 214.*

(1) *Ex Plot. in Agesil. p. 597. & Xenoph. de Rebus Græcis, lib. 3. pag. 214.*

(2) *Doris, apud Plot. ubi supra.*

(3) *According to the Maxims of the Law, the Evidence which a Person gives against himself is not received.*

(4) *Plot. in Agesil. pag. 214.*

(5) *Note, that the Antients allowed ten Months for the Term of Child-bearing; Matræ longa decem menses, Virg. Ecl. 4. ver. 61. & La Cærdæ upon that Passage.*

his True Intentions [C]. He was desirous they shou'd understand the Trade of Arms; otherwise it wou'd have been difficult for him to have drawn them into his Snares (b). He had the Art likewise of deceiving his own Soldiers, by giving them, instead of the bad News he received, a fictitious Relation of some great Triumph (c). This deserves to be remarked, to undeceive those, who believe, that it is only since the Invention of the Gazette, that the Public has been imposed upon in this way. As soon as Agesilaus was on the Throne, he advised the Lacedemonians to prevent the King of Persia, who was making great Preparations for War, and to attack him in his own Dominions (d). He was chosen for this Expedition, and gained so many Advantages over the Enemy, that if the League, which the Athenians and Thebans had formed against Lacedemon, had not crossed his Enterprizes, he would have carried his victorious Arms into the Center of the Persian Monarchy. He quitted all these Triumphs with a good Grace, to come to the Assistance of his Country, and freed it very fortunately, by the Battel which he gained over the Allies in Boeotia [D]. He gained another Battel near Corinth (e); but he afterwards had the Vexation to see the Thebans obtain signal Victories over the Lacedemonians. These Misfortunes raised many Malecontents against him; but, after all, they did not obscure his Glory. He had been sick during the first Advantages, which the Enemy gain'd (f); and when he was fit for Action, he prevented, by his Valour and Prudence, the Consequences of the last Victories of the Thebans; insomuch that it was the general Opinion, that, had he been in Health at the beginning of the War, the Lacedemonians would not have been worsted, and that they would have been entirely subdued in the end without him (g). It cannot be denied that he loved War, more than the Interests of his Subjects required (h); for if he could have lived in Peace, he would have saved his Country many Losses, and would not have engaged it in Undertakings, which ended only in a very great Diminution of the Power of the Lacedemonians. This insatiable Thirst for War and Slaughter, push'd him, in his old Age, on an Enterprize, which was generally disapproved (i). He was above eighty Years of Age, when he undertook to lead Troops into Egypt, to support Tacbus, who had revolted against the Persians. But, being disgusted at Tacbus, he forsook him to take the part of Neftanabus, a Relation of Tacbus, whom he powerfully assisted; after which he designed to return to Lacedemon; but he died of a Fit of Sickness by the Way, in the third Year of the CIVth Olympiad [E]. He was Eighty four Years of Age, whereof he had reigned Forty one (k). Mr Moreri has committed

(b) Plut. in Agesilao, pag. 617. E.

(c) Ibid. pag. 605. Xenophon. de Rebus Græcis, lib. 4. pag. 224.

(d) Cornel. Nepos in Agesil. vita, cap. 2.

(e) Ex Cornel. Nepote, ibid.

(f) Plut. in Agesil. pag. 611. B.

(g) Talem se imperatorem prebuit, ut eo tempore omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram non fuisse. Corn. Nep. ibid. cap. 6.

(h) Plut. in Agesil. pag. 616. B.

(i) Id. ib. C.

(k) Plut. p. 617, 618. Corn. Nepos in Agesil.

respect to him. Fame went before him into Egypt, and represented him there under the most pompous Ideas. As soon as they heard of his landing, they ran in Crowds to see him: Judge then how they were surprized, to see a little Man lie on the Grass in a mean and slovenly Garment. They could not forbear laughing, and applying to him the Fable of the Mountain, which brought forth a Moufe (13). Their Contempt was not lessened, when they saw the Choice he made of the Refreshments sent him by the King (14). See below the Remark [G].

[C] He deceived his Enemies, at the same time that he let them know his true Intentions. The Reason was, They did not believe so expert a General would discover his Designs. "Vidit, si quo esset iter facturus palam pronunciaisset, hostes non credituros, aliasque regiones occupaturos, nec dubitatu aliquid esse facturum ac pronunciaisset. Itaque cum ille Sardis se iturum dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem Cariam defendendam putavit (15). He knew that if he publicly declared the Rout he was about to take, the Enemy would not believe him, and would post themselves in a quite different Place, nor would doubt of his acting contrary to his Declaration. Accordingly, when he gave out, that he would march to Sardis, Tissaphernes thought proper to stay and defend Caria." We should improperly apply here the Thought of Mr Wicquefort: Sir George Downing, Ambassador of England, had not Probity nor Prudence enough to be persuaded, that no Minister deceives more securely nor more pleasingly, than he who never deceives; because in keeping the High-road, those, who look for By-ways and Evasions, can never meet him (16). The Comparison between such a Minister, and our Agesilaus, would be a very lame one; for this King of Lacedemon, in publishing his Intentions, deceived his Enemies, only because on other Occasions he had concealed his Intentions. A General, who pursues this Scheme, can seldom make use of a more successful Stratagem, than that of spreading a true Report of his Marches. The Contrivance will be good, because it is new, and the Enemy has not yet been deceived by it. Read this Passage of Xenophon; it is Cambyles who speaks to his Son, Cyrus, and who

compares new Stratagems in War to new Airs of Music. Καὶ σφέτερά μὲν καὶ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς τὰ νέα ὑδοιμαί, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς μάλλον τὰ καινὰ μηχανήματα ὑδοιμαί, ταῦτα γὰρ μάλλον καὶ ἱκανατέρῃ δύνανται τοὺς πολέμιους (17). And as in Music what is new is most esteemed, so in War the newest Stratagems are the best; for they are most likely to deceive the Enemy. We shall observe in another Place (18), that some Men, by dint of Folly, avoid being imposed on.

[D] Which he gained over the Allies in Boeotia. The Battle was fought at Coronea. Xenophon, who served under Agesilaus in it, gives the same Account (19); as does Plutarch (20). Lambinus, in his Commentary on these Words of Cornelius Nepos, apud Coroneam quos omnes gravi prælio vicit, would, without necessity, correct the Word Καρφώναν of Plutarch, by that of Κορυναίαν. Plutarch mentioned these two Places, without pretending, that the Battle was fought in the first. But, says Lambinus, could Agesilaus, going from Phocis, advance into Boeotia, as far as Chæronea, if Chæronea is in Phocis? No, doubtless; but this I F is false, and Lambinus shews by it, that he was but little versed in Geography. See the Commentary of Kirchmaierus on Cornelius Nepos, at pag. 722. Charles Stephens erred yet more grossly, when he placed Chæronea in Peloponnesus. Lloyd and Hofman followed him in this Error.

[E] He died of a Fit of Sickness by the Way, in the third Year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad. A Storm having obliged him to put into Harbour, he was carried into a Desert Place, called the Port of Menelaus, where he died (21). Hic cum ex Ægypto revertetur — venissetque in portum qui Menelai vocatur, jacens inter Cyrenas & Ægyptum, in morbum implicitus decessit (22). It was in the third Year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad, according to Calvisius: But we see by this, that his Calculation is false; for from the third Year of the Ninety fifth Olympiad, the beginning, as he says, of the Reign of Agesilaus, to the third Year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad, there are but thirty six Years: And yet he allows forty one Years to that

(17) Xenophon. Cyropæd. circa fin. pag. 21.

(18) In one of the Remarks of the Article S I M O N I D E S.

(19) Xenophon. de Rebus Græcis. lib. 4. pag. 225.

(20) Plut. in Agesil. pag. 605.

(21) Plut. pag. 618.

(22) Corn. Nepos. in Vit. Agesil. sub fin.

(13) Plut. ibid. p. 616. See the Article TACHUS.

(14) Corn. Nepos, ubi supra.

(15) Ibid. cap. 3. See also Plutarch in Agesilaus, pag. 600. F.

(16) Wicquefort's Ambassador, pag. 170.

(1) Plut. in Agell. See also Cicero's Epist. ad Famil. 12. lib. 5. pag. 260. Edit. Grev.

mited some Mistakes here [F]. We shall see in the Article CONON, whether *Cornelius Nepos* and *Justin* have done their part in the History of *Agellus*. This Prince would never suffer his Effigies to be made either in *Relievo*, or in Flat-Painting (1); nay he forbid it by his Last Will. Some have been of Opinion, that he did this, because he was sensible he was not a handsome Man, *diffidens forma sua* (m). Never any Person lived in greater Simplicity than he [G]. But he knew very well how to couch the Spirit, the Heart, and the Religion of a Sovereign [H], under this

(m) Apul. in Apolog. pag. 282.

outside

(23) See the Remark [A] concerning the two first Mistakes.

(24) I do not believe that there was a City called Hierone, either in Boetia, or any where else.

(25) See the Remark [B].

(26) Plut. in Agell. pag. 503. C.

(27) Id. ib. pag. 606.

(28) He had done better to have said Aristodemus, as Plutarch did, for Agellus did not descend from Eurythene, but from Procles, the second Son of Aristodemus.

(29) Corn. Nepos, c. 7.

(30) Plut. in Agell. pag. 616.

(31) Corn. Nepos, ubi supra, cap. 8.

(32) Plut. in Apophth. pag. 210. See also Aristodemus, lib. 24. pag. 657.

Reign. Let us then place the beginning of it, with *Heliclus*, in the second Year of the Ninety third Olympiad, and the end in the third Year of the hundred and fourth.

[F] Mr Moretti has committed some Mistakes here. It is false; I. That *Leotyche* was the Natural Son of King *Agis*. II. That *Lysander* zealously maintained *Leotyche's* Pretensions (23). III. That *Agellus* ever encamped near the City of *Hierone*, in *Boetia* (24). IV. That he had a noble Prefence, and full of Majesty (25). V. That he said, That the Oracle which excluded the Lame from the Crown, ought to be understood of the Imperfections of the Mind, or of Birth. These two last Faults belong to the Supplement of *Moretti*. I pass over his giving the *Egyptian* a wrong Name, to whom *Agellus* did Service: His Name was not *Naxosben*.

[G] In greater Simplicity than he. He was the worst cloth'd of any Person in his whole Army (26). After his *Asiatic* Expedition, wherein he had acquir'd such an high Reputation, which had received an additional Lustre from the Battle of *Coronea*, he liv'd in *Sparta*, as a good *Lacedemonian* of the old Times would have done. He alter'd nothing in his Garments, in his Bathings, or in his Meals; and, what was perhaps more difficult, he would not suffer his Wife to be better dress'd than before, nor permit her to distinguish her Daughter, in Processions, by finer Cloaths than those of other young Ladies. He would not repair the Gates of his House, though they were so old and ruinous, that they seem'd to be the same, which *Aristodemus* had built in that place (27). Observe, That *Aristodemus* was one of the *Heraclidae*, to whose Share the City of *Sparta* fell, and from whom descended the Kings of *Lacedemon*, divided into two Families on account of the two Sons which he left. "In hoc (*Agellus*) illud in primis fuit admirabile, cum maxima munera ei ab regibus & dynastiis civitibusque conferretur, nihil unquam in domum suam contulit, nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit. Domo eadem fuit contentus, quae Eurythenes progenitor majorum suorum (28) fuerat usus, quam qui intrarat nullum signum libidinis, nullum luxuriae videre poterat; contra plurima patientiae atque abstinetiae. Sic enim erat instructa, ut nulla in re differret à cuiusvis inopis atque privati (29). —

"What was the most worthy of Admiration in him, (*Agellus*) was, that, though he receiv'd the most magnificent Presents from Kings, Dynasti, and Republics, he apply'd no Part of them to his own Family, made no Alteration in his manner of living, nor any change in his Lacedemonian Dress. He was content with the same House, in which Eurythenes, the Progenitor of his Ancestors, liv'd; which whoever enter'd, could perceive no Signs of Luxury or Excess, but many of Content and Frugality. For it was furnish'd in all respects like the House of an indigent and private Person." When it was known that *Agellus* was arriv'd in *Egypt*, they sent him all sorts of Provisions: He chose only the most common; and left the Perfumes, Comfits, and Delicacies (30) to his Servants. The *Egyptians*, instead of admiring this Behaviour, derided the Prince, and took him for a silly Fellow, who did not know what was good. "Ille praeter vitulina, & huiusmodi genera obsonii, quae praefens tempus desiderabat, nihil accepit, unguenta, coronas, secundumque mensam servis disperiit, caetera referri iussit. Quo facto eum barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod cum ignorantia bonarum rerum illa potissimum suspensio arbitrabantur (31)." You will find in *Plutarch*, I. That this Prince behav'd in the same manner, when the *Thracians* sent him Presents. II. That he derided them, when they offer'd him divine Honours (32).

[H] The Spirit, the Heart, and the Religion of a Sovereign. *Plutarch* testifies, that those, who govern'd in *Lacedemon*, acknowledg'd no other Justice, than that which tended to the Advantage and aggrandizing

of the State (33). It was among them the Rule and the Measure of Law and Honesty; if a thing was useful to the Public, it immediately pass'd for lawful. I believe *Plutarch* says the Truth; but he ought not to have confin'd his Observation to the City of *Sparta* alone. Those of *Athens* (34), and *Thebes*, had no better Principles; and, generally speaking, they are the Maxims of all States: The only Difference is in Degrees; some have Appearances better than others. However, *Agellus* was quite abandon'd to this iniquitous Morality. Being suspected to have induc'd *Pheidias* to surprise the Citadel of *Thebes*, in full Peace, and by a Fraud, which made all *Greece* exclaim, he represented, That they ought first to examine, whether the Action was of Advantage to the State; and that every Person ought, in his private Capacity, to do what tended to the Advantage of the State (35). He obtain'd, that *Pheidias* should be acquitted, and that a Garrison should be sent into the Citadel. In his *Egyptian* Expedition, did he not abandon *Tachus*, who had hired his Assistance, and embrace the Interests of *Nectanebus*, for this Reason alone, because it was more for the Interest of the *Lacedemonians*; to support the latter than the former? An Action, which under the Mask of public Good, was downright Treachery, as *Plutarch* himself observ'd. *Αντίον και αλλοιωτον προφηματος παρακαλομεναι: τα ουκ οφειλοντι της πατριδος χρησθαι: ουκ αιτιον ην της προφησεως διαπειρασεις το δουλειαν του νομου της πατριδος ην προδοσις* (36). *Abjurdo & indigno facinori commodum praetextum patriae: quando hoc quidem velamentis detractis nomen istius facti verissimum erat proditio.* In Conversation *Agellus* talk'd of nothing but Justice; his Discourses upon this Subject were the finest in the World (37). Hearing that a certain thing was pleasing to the great King (38), he demanded, *How is he greater than I, if he is not more Just?* Fine Theory! but his Practice did not answer it, when his Kingdom was in question. I am apt to believe, that, for private Views, he could not easily have acted against Conviction; and this is the Reason why I pretend, he had the Religion of a Sovereign. How many Kings and Princes are zealous for their Religion, Just and Honest in themselves; but if it be thought for the public Good to annoy their Enemies, most of them, if not all, follow the Maxims of *Lacedemon*? I believe a Book, entitled, *The Religion of a Sovereign*, would sell well; it would cause the *Religio Medici* to be forgotten.

Two Days ago I heard a Person of Merit say, that an Italian Prince, demanding two advantageous Conditions, in negotiating a Treaty of Peace with a powerful Monarch, who had taken most of his Dominions from him, the Envoy of that Monarch answer'd him, *But what Security will you give the King my Master, if he complies with all your Demands?* Answer him, reply'd the Prince, *that I engage my Word to him, not in quality of a Sovereign, for, as such, I must sacrifice every thing to aggrandize myself, and lay bold of every Opportunity of contributing to the Glory and Advantage of my Dominions; tell him, then, that I engage my Word to him, not in this Quality (which would be to promise nothing) but as a Gentleman, and an honest Man.* Though this Language does not answer the Ideas of those, who have introduc'd, in the Style of the Chancery, the set Form, *We promise upon the Faith and Word of a King*, yet it is very Sincere, and very Just.

Let us make two Remarks more. First, I distinguish between the Belief of *Urban VIII*, and that of *Mapheus Barbarini*. The Religion of a Sovereign, as such, and Religion, personally speaking, are two things. My other Remark is this. *Agellus* had a very great respect for his Gods; he would not suffer their Temple to be plundered nor prophand, neither in *Greece*, nor in the Country of the *Barbarians*; and he reckon'd those as sacrilegious, who treated an Enemy

(33) Plut. in Agell. pag. 617. Idem in Alcibiades.

(34) See the Remark [C] of the Article ARISTIDES.

(35) Idem in Agell. pag. 608.

(36) Id. ib. pag. 617.

(37) Id. ib. pag. 608.

(38) The Greeks gave this Appellation to the King of Persia. See the Remark [A] of the Article ARTABANUS IV.

outside of Regularity, and philosophical Frugality. He had such a great Tenderness for his Children, that he would amuse himself with them in the most childish Exercises [I], such as riding on a Hobby-horse.

It will not be useless to remark the small Account he made of those, who greatly prided themselves in feeding and dressing Horses for the Races of the Olympic Games. He would persuade them it was a trifling Ambition; and that it was an Affair of Excellence, not a Proof of Merit or of Virtue; and for this purpose he persuaded his Sister to dispute this Prize (n). This Lady having prepared her Horse for the Exercise, came into the Lists and gained the Victory. She was the first Woman who obtained this Honour (o). Her Name was *Cynisca*. I cannot think *Dicæarchus* was ignorant of this, tho' he complains that he could not find what the Name of *Agésilæus's* Daughter [K] was. He might have known it, if he had done what *Plutarch* did [L].

(n) Plut. in Agésil. pag. 606. D.

(o) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 83. 96.

(39) Corn. Nepos, in Vit. Agésil. cap. 4.

Enemy ill that had taken Refuge in a Temple (39). During the March of his Troops, he lodg'd always in the most sacred Temples, that the Gods might be Witnesses of his most private, domestic, Actions. *Ἐκὼν μὲν γὰρ ἀνοδημαῖν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἁγιοτάτοις ἱεροῖς: ἃ μὴ πολλοὶ καθόρουσιν ἄνθρωποι τράπτοντας ἡμάς, τούτων θεὸς ποιμὴνός ἐστιν καὶ μάγιστος.* *Tendebat enim, cum iter faceret, solus in sanctissimis delubris, ac quibus rebus paucos adhibemus arbitros, earum Deos faciebant inspectores* (40). This was his Personal Religion; but when he considered himself in the Character of a King, the Good and Advantage of his Kingdom were his principal Divinity, to which he sacrificed Virtue and Justice, divine and human Laws. I cannot tell, whether all, who quote this Sentence of *Euripides*,

Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est: aliis rebus pietatem colas (41).

(41) Cic. de Offic. lib. 3. cap. 21.

for if Justice be ever to be violated, it is to be violated for the Sake of a Kingdom: in other Cases follow Virtue; whether every one, I say, who cites this, comprehends the full Force of it. It represents the Sentiments of those, who acquire Kingdoms, and of those who govern States; they fall sometimes into Superstition. Consider *Agésilæus's* private Conduct; it was very regular, *aliis rebus pietatem colas*; he does not swerve from Equity; but in the Capacity of a King, *regnandi gratia violandum est*. As a Man, he will deal with you sincerely, *amicus usque ad aras*; but, as a Prince, if he speaks his real Sentiments, he will tell you, *I will observe the Treaty of Peace, so long as the Good of my Kingdom requires it; I will despise my Oath, when Maximis of State will have it so*. If he would rather have the Persians break the Truce, than begin to violate it himself, it is because he expected to find his Account in this Conduct of the Persians. "Multum in eo confuevi se dicebat, quod" *Tisaphernes perjurio suo & homines suis rebus abstinere, & Deos sibi iratos redderet* (42). — "This, he said, would be much for his Advantage; since Tisaphernes, by his Perjury, would lose the Favour of Men, and incur the Anger of the Gods." Our good *Agésilæus*, who would have thought it an Offence against good Morality, to be well clothed, and to live luxuriously, made no Scruple to usurp a Kingdom. Thus certain Casuists damn every Woman without Remission, who dresses too delicately: They cannot bear their Ribbons, or their Jewels; but at the same time they not only permit Men to revolt, and to engage in Civil Wars, but even exhort them to it.

(42) Corn. Nepos, ubi supra, c. 2.

[I] In the most childish Exercises. Being surprised one Day riding, among his Children, on a Hobby-horse, he only said to him, who saw him in that Posture, *forbear to speak of it, till you are a Father* (43). We must not, upon this Occasion, apply these Verses of *Horace*.

(43) Plut. in Agésil. pag. 610. Sic libens, Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 5.

Ædificare casas, postello adjungere mures,
Ludere par impar, EQUITARE IN ARUNDINE
LONGA

(44) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. ver. 247.

Si quem delectet barbatum, amentia verset (44).
If any, grown a Man, delights to raise
Diri-Pies, and, like a Child, at Push-pin plays,

Takes Rats and Mice unto a little Plough,
And RIDES UPON AN HOBBY-HORSE, or so
Sure he is Mad. CRÆECH.

For the Poet is not describing those, who, in Compliance to their own Children, amuse themselves at home in this Manner. *La Motte le Vayer* is not exact, when he says, that King *Agésilæus*, as well as *Alcibiades*, was surpris'd in playing boyish Tricks among Children, and that the Philosopher *Socrates* gloried in it (45). He cites *Seneca* in the last Chapter of the first Book de *Tranquillitate*. Here are many Errors: I. He ought to have specified, that *Agésilæus* play'd the Boy only with his own Children. II. The *Treatise de Tranquillitate* contains but one Book. III. Nothing is said either of *Alcibiades*, or of *Agésilæus*, in the Chapter cited. IV. It is not said there, that *Socrates* gloried in playing with Children; it is only said that he was not ashamed of it. *Cum pueris Socrates ludens non erubescerebat*. V. *Valerius Maximus*, and *Ælian*, who mention this Sport of *Socrates*, say that *Alcibiades* surpris'd him at it. "Non erubuit tunc, cum interposita arundine curibus suis cum parvulis filiis ludens ab Alcibiade risus est" (46). — He did not blush, when, riding upon a Hobby-horse among his little Sons, he was laugh'd at by *Alcibiades*. Σωκράτης δὲ κατανέμειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀλκιβιάδου παῖδας καὶ τὰ Λαμπροκλέους ἔτι νεαῖς (47). *Socrates was once surpris'd by Alcibiades, playing with Lamprocles, yet a Child.* But I do not remember to have read that others surpris'd *Alcibiades* at it. VI. These two Authors observe that *Socrates* plaid with his own Children.

(45) La Motte le Vayer's Tom. 1. pag. 217. Edit. 12mo.

(46) Valer. Maximus, lib. 8. c. 8. fab fin.

(47) Ælian. ubi supra.

[K] I cannot think that *Dicæarchus* was ignorant of — the Name of *Agésilæus's* Daughter. *Cynisca* was not only the first Woman who obtain'd the Prize in the Chariot-Races of the Olympic Games, but the most illustrious of all those Ladies, who obtain'd the like Victory afterwards (48). The Poet *Simonides* honour'd her with an Epigram (49). She consecrated Horses of Brass as a Monument of her Victory, which were placed at the Entrance of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* (50). Her Statue, made by *Apelles*, and adorn'd with divers Inscriptions, was to be seen in the Temple of *Juno at Elis* (51). The Lacedemonians erected a Monument like that of a Hero, *Agésilæus*, to her (52). So that it is not likely that the Name of *Agésilæus's* Sister was unknown to any Greek Historian.

(48) Pausan. lib. 3. p. 83.

(49) Id. ib.

(50) Id. lib. 5. pag. 159.

(51) Id. lib. 6. pag. 178.

(52) Id. lib. 3. p. 96.

[L] He might have known it, if he had done what *Plutarch* did. This latter Historian informs us, that *Dicæarchus* was very angry, that neither the Name of *Agésilæus's* Daughter, nor of *Epaminondas's* Mother, was known. Ὁ Δικαίρχος ἐνεχύνεσθαι. Stomachabatur *Dicæarchus*, &c. As for myself, continues he, I have found in the Registers of the Lacedemonians, that *Agésilæus's* Wife's Name was *Cleora*, and that the Name of one of his two Daughters was *Apola*, and the Name of the other *Proltya*. I am not surpris'd, that *Dicæarchus* was vex'd at the Negligence of the Historians; for we are naturally desirous of knowing the Families of great Men. It was a little strange, that the Names of *Agésilæus's* Wife and Daughters were only to be met with in the Archives of Lacedæmon.

(53) Plut. ubi supra, pag. 606.

AGESIPOLIS, the first of the Name, King of Lacedæmon, succeeded his Father *Pausanias*, who had taken Refuge in a Temple, (a), when he found, that his Conduct, in concluding a Peace with the Thebans, was disapprov'd. They permitted him

(a) In that of Minerva at Tegea. Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 86.

(1) Xenoph. de Republ. Gr. lib. 5. pag. 329.

(m) Xenoph. ibid. p. 327. (n) E. A. mias ap. xovra, but it is probably a Fault of the Copier for E. A. mias.

(n) Id. ibid. pag. 329.

(o) Diod. Sic. cul. lib. 14. cap. 3. & lib. 15. cap. 23. pag. 674. ad ann. 1. Olymp. 100.

he put in practice upon this occasion is too curious to be omitted [B]. There is some Probability, that it was in this War, that *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* extricated themselves from a Danger [C], to which their Valour and Friendship exposed them. He was sent some years after [D] with a fine Army against the *Olyntians* (1). *Amintas*, King of *Macedon*, and *Deidas*, Prince of *Elymea* (m), gave him a powerful Assistance. He marched towards *Olyntus*, and, finding no Army to oppose him, he ravaged the Country, and made himself Master of *Torona*. But, as he fatigued himself extremely, notwithstanding the violent Summer-Heats, he was seized with a Continual Fever, which carried him off in seven days (n) in the fourteenth year of his Reign (o). See my Critical Remarks on Mr *Moreri* [E]. *Agefilaus* was not pleased with this Loss, as

The first is, that the Notions of the *Gallican* Church concerning the Council, and the Pope, tho' speaking *ex cathedra*, may be compared to those of *Paganism* concerning the Oracles of *Jupiter*, and of *Delphi*. The *Olympian Jupiter*, when he answered a Question, met with great Esteem in the Minds of the People; much Deference was paid to his Authority; but in short, his Opinion, tho' delivered *ex cathedra* or rather *ex tripod*, did not pass for Infallible. Behold the Pope of the *Gallican* Church! The *Apollo* of *Delphi* was the Judge without Appeal: Behold the Council! My second Observation is, That *Agefilaus* was in earnest in what he did; there was no Religious Banter in the Case. As for what concerns *Hegeippus*, I answer nothing for him. He was perhaps malicious enough to attempt ensnaring the Oracles, that he might insult them if they did not agree. He might have said, *It is a shame for you to answer Yes, and No*. *Ἡγήεππος ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεόν, μηχανεύμενος προτέρου Ὀλύμπιεω, εἰ αὐτῷ ταῦτ' ἐδοξε ἀπερ τὰ πατρί, ὡς ἀλεχρὸν δὲ τὰν ἀνρία σίλειν* (4). *Hegeippus, having received an Answer from the God at Olympia, interrogated him at Delphi, whether he was of the same Opinion with his Father, as if it were scandalous for the Gods to disagree in their Answers*. If our *Agefilaus* had had any ill Design against *Apollo*, in Imitation of that malicious Person, whose Story *Esop* relates (5), he would have been bit; for the Answer of *Delphi* was the same with that of *Olympia*.

(4) Aristot. Rhetor. lib. 2. cap. 23. pag. 445. F.

(5) Esop in his 16th Fable, whose Title is *Kαταράγμων*. The Mantician. He was one, who build a Sparrow in his Hand, and ask'd the Oracle, Is what I have in my hand alive or not? His Design was to have kill'd the Sparrow, if the Oracle had answer'd It is alive?

(6) Xenoph. lib. 5. pag. 323.

(7) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 242, 243.

(8) Plut. in Vita Pelopid. p. 280.

(9) Pausan. lib. 3. pag. 242.

within the Walls of the City. And I add, that *Xenophon* himself remarks, that there were some Auxiliary Troops in the Army of *Lacedemon* (10). Note, that the Event mentioned by *Plutarch*, preceded the Stratagem, by which *Phebidas* made himself Master of the Fortrels of the *Thebans* (11). This Chronological Character agrees with the Expedition of *Agefilaus* against *Mantineia*.

[D] He was sent some Years after.] I only make this Remark, to censure *Pausanias*, who reports that *Agefilaus*, abandoning with regret the *Argian* War, turned his whole Repentment against the *Olyntians*. *Οὐτω μὲν δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀργυολίδος ἀνίσταται ἀγων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ὀλύμπιεω ἐπὶ αὐτὸς ἐπρωτεύει* (12). *Invictissimus itaque ille ex Argivorum finibus castra movit, & contra Olyntios belli impetum convertit*. Who would not believe, in reading this, that the Expedition of *Olyntus* succeeded immediately that of *Argos*? Who would not imagine, that *Agefilaus*, when he left the Territories of *Argos*, took the way of *Macedonia*; yet it is false. Some Years past between these two Expeditions. The War of *Mantineia*, of which the same *Pausanias* has taken some Notice, followed That of *Argos*, and preceded that of *Olyntus* six Years. Let us, upon this Occasion, remark a Fault of *Calvisius*. He has placed the War of *Argos* in the fourth Year of the Ninety sixth Olympiad, a little after the Death of *Pausanias* King of *Macedonia* (13). Now *Agefilaus* came to the Throne the same Year, in which this *Pausanias* died (14), and, being a Minor, was put under the Tutition of *Aristodemus* (15). So that if *Calvisius* was exact, the War of *Argos* must concur nearly with the first Year of the Reign of *Agefilaus*, and must have been conducted by *Aristodemus*; for it is certain, that, under the Minority of *Agefilaus*, his Tutor was placed at the Head of the Army, when this King was obliged to take the Field (16). *Calvisius* does not fail to observe, that *Aristodemus* went thither in the third Year of the Ninety sixth Olympiad, because *Agefilaus* was under Age (17). He is mistaken in placing the first Year of his Reign in the second Year of the Ninety sixth Olympiad, and the War of *Argos* too soon after the Death *Pausanias* King of *Macedonia*.

(10) Xenophon. lib. 5. pag. 323.

(11) Plut. ubi supra.

(12) Pausan. lib. 2. p. 36.

(13) Sethi Calvisi Chronol. ad ann. mundi 3557. pag. 162.

(14) Diod. Sicul. l. 14. cap. 90. pag. 637.

(15) Xenoph. de Reb. gest. Græcorum, l. 4. p. 301. Pausan. ubi supra.

(16) Xenophon. ubi supra.

(17) Calvisius, p. 160.

[E] See my Critical Remarks on Mr *Moreri*.] “*Agefilaus* was surprized with a burning Fever, and returned continually to the Coolness of the Waters of a certain Temple of *Bacchus*, which was at *Aphitis*, whither he caused himself to be carried; and died on the seventh Day of his Fever, after he was gone out of the Temple, that he might not defile it by his Death.” These are Mr *Moreri*'s Words. It would be unjust to criticize on the Expression, returned continually to the Coolness, (*revint toujours à la fraîcheur*) for it is easy to see that the Printers have have put *revint* (returned) instead of *révint* (binking of, or raving after) (18). But two Observations may be made: One is, that he ought to have expressed himself thus; *Remembering the Temple of Bacchus, which he had seen at Aphitis, he desired to enjoy it's Shade, and the Coolness of the clear Waters, which were there. He was carried thither alive, but died out of the Temple the seventh Day of his Fever* (19). In the second Place, it is a chimerical Gloss to tell us, That out of a religious Respect for the Sanctity of the Temple, he would not die in it. Has *Xenophon*, or any other Author worthy of Credit, said so? To save myself the Trouble in another Place, I shall here remark an Error, which Mr *Moreri* has committed in his Article of *AGESIPOLIS II*. He assures us that That Prince, having been a *Hostage* in his Youth, answered those, who reproached him with it, that it was because *Kings suffer for the Faults of their Kingdom*. This Answer is as false, as it is contrary to the satirical Sentence, Quidquid

(18) They have put it révint in the Edition of Holland.

(19) See Xenophon. lib. 5. pag. 329, 330.

it was expected he wou'd have been [F]; but bewailed and regretted it a long time, as *Xenophon* informs us (p). Observe, that *Agessipolis* left no Posterity (q); and that *Cleombrotus* his Brother and Successor was the Father of AGESIPOLIS II. (r), who reigned but one Year (s), and whose Apophthegms were more memorable than his Actions: For we meet with no Account of the former, whereas *Plutarch* has preserved a small Collection of the latter (t).

(p) *Diod. Sic. col. lib. 15. cap. 60.*

(q) *Plut. in Apophtheg. Lacon. pag. 215.*

(20) *Horat. Epist. 2. l. 1. ver. 14.*

Quidquid delirant Reges, plestuntur Achivi (20).

The People suffer, when the Prince offends.

GREEK.

The Matter of Fact is this. It was said to him one Day, *As great a King as you are, you have been an Hostage, with the chief of the Youths of Lacedemon; but your Wives and your Children were not. Because, replied he, it was just, that we should bear the Punishment of our own Faults ourselves* (21).

(21) *Plut. in Apophth. Laconic. pag. 215.*

[F] *Agessilaus was not pleased with this Loss, as it was expected he would have been.* *Xenophon* inclines us to believe, that an Emulation reigned between those two Princes, very fit to produce Enmity. But *Plutarch* represents them to us as strictly united in Friendship. He observes that *Agessipolis* was mild and modest, and interested himself but little in public Affairs, and that he suffered himself to be

gained by his Colleague *Agessilaus* (22), who knowing him to be of an amorous Complexion, was always talking to him of handsome Boys, and not only flattered his Passion for them, but even assisted him in the Gratification of it. *Εἰδὼς ἰμερον ἔντα τοῖς ἱεραισὶν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὥστε ἢν αὐτὸς, ἀλ τινας ὑπάρχει λόγος περὶ τῶν ἐν ὅρῳ καὶ προήγῃ τὸν νεανίσκον εἰς ταῦτα, καὶ συνήρα καὶ συνήρατο* (23). *Qui autem teneri sciret Agessipolim, sicut se, amoribus, sermonem assidue de formosis adulescentibus inferbat, eodem il- lum impellibat, scilicetque erat ei in amore & adjuvator.*

(22) *Plut. in Agessil. pag. 607. A.*

(23) *Id. ibid.*

He adds, that these kind of Amours were not looked upon as criminal in Lacedemon. The following Passage informs us, that *Agessilaus* regretted the Loss of this Colleague. *Ἀγέσιλαος δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀνέρετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν νεανίσκων (24). Agessilaus, upon this News, did not rejoice, as was expected, at the Loss of a Rival, but shed Tears, and lamented the Death of a Friend.*

(24) *Xenophon. de Rebus gestis Græc. lib. 5. pag. 330.*

(a) *He was five Degrees removed from him. Plut. in Agide, p. 796.*

AGIS, King of Lacedemon, descended from *Agessilaus* II. in a direct Line (a), met with a very unfortunate End. He intended to reform his Kingdom, by the re-establishing of *Lycurgus's* Laws; but he sunk under the weight of an Undertaking, which could not but be displeasing to those, who possessed great Estates, and who had so much accustomed themselves to the Sweetness of a voluptuous Life, that they were no longer capable of relishing the ancient Discipline of Lacedemon. *Agis*, in the Flower of his Age, conceived the Design of this Reformation, out of a refined Desire of Glory [A], and practised it first of all in his own Person: His Cloaths, and his Table, were according to the manner of the old times; which deserved so much the more Admiration, because his Mother *Agessistrata*, and his Grand-mother *Archidamia*, had brought him up effeminately (b). Upon founding the Disposition of his Subjects, he found the younger sort less averse to his Project, than those, who had enjoyed the Relaxation of Discipline for many Years. The greatest difficulty, he feared, was from the Women [B]. They were in more Credit at that time than ever; for they never reign more absolutely, than when Luxury is in Fashion. The Mother of *Agessilaus* did by no means find her account in this Reformation; she would have lost her great Wealth by it, which enabled her to be concerned in a thousand Intrigues; and therefore she immediately opposed the Design of *Agis*, and called it a chimerical Project. But her Brother *Agessilaus*, whom *Agis* had engaged in his Interests, knew how to manage her in such a manner, that she promised to second the Enterprize. She endeavoured to gain the Women; but, instead of suffering themselves to be persuaded, they addressed themselves to *Leonidas*, the other King of Lacedemon, and most humbly intreated him to frustrate the Designs of his Colleague. *Leonidas* durst not openly oppose it, for fear of exasperating the People, to whom the Reformation was pleasing, because it would be useful to them. He only crossed it by Intrigues, and spreading Suspensions, as if *Agis* aspired to the Tyranny by depressing the Rich, and raising the Poor. Nevertheless *Agis* propos'd his new Laws to the Senate, which contained the Abolishment of Debts, and a new Division of Lands. *Leonidas*, supported by

(b) *Εὐτα- θραμίνος παλαιοῦ καὶ τρυφῆς γυναικῶν τῆς τε μη- τρὸς Ἀγ- αιδάρας καὶ τῆς πατρὸς Ἀρχιδάμιας, αἱ παλαι- αὶ κρηναὶ τῆς Λακε- δαιμονίαν ἐνεκτμήτο. Enutritus esset in opibus & deliciis mulieribus matris Agessistratæ & avie Archidamiae, quæ in Lacedæmonia erant pecuniosissimi. Id. p. 797.*

(1) *Plut. in Agide, pag. 798.*

[A] *Out of a refined desire of Glory.* *Plutarch's* Narrative (1) insinuates plainly to us, that *Agessistrata* shewed her Son the Prejudice he would do himself by his Plan of Reformation, considering the great Estate he possessed; but he desired her to be willing to sacrifice her Riches to her Son's Glory. *For, said he to her, I can never equal other Monarchs on the Score of Riches: The Servants of the Satrapæ, the Servants of the Financiers of Seleucus, and Ptolemy, are richer than all the Kings of Lacedemon; but if, by my Temperance, and the Greatness of my Soul, I can raise myself above the Luxury of those Princes, and if I can introduce an Equality of Goods in my Kingdom, I shall attain to true Grandeur; I shall pass for a great Prince.* This is to refine upon Self-love: You will be surpassed, what Progress soever you make in a certain Road; take quite the contrary, wherein you shall have no Rivals: They, who make a Comparison between you and others, will maintain, that, in it's kind, your Merit is by no means inferior to that of others. But could this be said, if the Dispute turned on Qualities of the same kind, some manifestly Inferior, and others

manifestly Superior, as the Opulency of *Agis*, and That of the King of Syria, would have been?

[B] *From the Women.* The Lacedæmonians were the best Husbands in the World; they communicated the Affairs of the Common-wealth to their Wives, much more than their Wives communicated their Domestic Affairs to them (2). At the time we are speaking of, almost all the Riches of Lacedemon were fallen to the Dismiss; they were at the disposal of the Female Sex, which frustrated the Designs of this Prince. The Ladies fear'd they should lose their Riches, their Pleasures, and their Credit, all at once; and perhaps they were not mistaken. But let us hear *Plutarch* himself. *Now it must be observed, that most of the Riches of Lacedemon were at that time in the Hands of the Women, which made the Undertaking more difficult: For the Women not only were against it, because it would deprive them of their Pleasures, in which they plac'd their Happiness, for want of knowing the true Good, but also because they saw that the Honour, which was paid them, and the Power and Authority which they had, on account of their Riches, would be taken from them* (3).

(2) *Plut. ibid.*

(3) *Plut. ibid.*

[C] *Alluded*

by the Rich, opposed this Project so powerfully, that there was one Voice more for throwing it out, than for carrying it. He paid dear for the Success of his Affair. *Lyfander*, one of the *Epbori*, who had been the great Promoter of the Reformation, brought an Action against him, alledged the Celestial Signs [C], and persuaded a Prince of the Blood Royal, whose Name was *Cleombrotus*, and who was Son-in-Law to *Leonidas*, to secure the Kingdom to himself. *Leonidas*, seized with Fear, took Refuge in a Temple, where his Daughter, the Wife of *Cleombrotus*, came to him. He was cited, and because he did not appear, he was declared degraded from his Dignity, which was conferred on *Cleombrotus*. He obtained leave to retire to *Tegea*. The New *Epbori* entered a Process of Innovation against *Lyfander* and *Mandrochidas*: These latter persuaded the two Kings to unite, and to make void the Election of these *Epbori*. Which was done, but not without raising great Commotions in the City. *Agefilans*, one of the *Epbori*, who succeeded those, who were turned out, would have caused *Leonidas* to have been killed on the Road to *Tegea*, if *Agis* had not escorted him with a sufficient Guard. The Reformation might have been established at that time, if *Agefilans* had not found Means to elude the good Intention of the Two Kings. During these Transactions, the *Acheans* desired assistance; it was granted them, and *Agis* had the command of the Troops. He acquired a great Reputation in That Campaign [D]. At his Return he found Affairs so embroiled by the ill Conduct of *Agefilans*, that it was impossible for him to support himself. *Leonidas* was recalled to *Lacedemon*; *Agis* retired into one Temple, and *Cleombrotus* into another. The Wife of the latter behaved in such a manner, as to gain an universal Applause (c). *Leonidas* was satisfied with the Exile of his Son-in-Law; after which he applied himself wholly to the Ruin of *Agis*. One of the *Epbori*, who was unwilling to restore what *Agefistrata* had lent him, was the chief Instrument of the Misfortunes of that Family. *Agis* did not come out of his Place of Refuge, but only to bathe himself: As he was returning one Day from the Bath to the Temple, this *Epborus* seized him, and dragged him to Prison. He was tried, condemned to Death, and delivered to the Executioner. His Mother and Grandmother earnestly solicited, that at least a King of *Lacedemon* might have leave to plead his Cause before the People. But it was feared his Words would make too great an Impression; and that very Hour they strangled *Agis*. The *Epborus*, who was Debtor to *Agefistrata*, suffered that Princess to enter into the Prison: He permitted the Grandmother to do the like; and then caused both of them to be strangled one after the other. *Agefistrata* died gloriously (d). The wife of *Agis* (e), a very rich Princess, and very wise, and one of the finest Women of *Greece*, was forced out of her House by King *Leonidas*, and constrained to marry that Prince's Son. He was a Youth as yet incapable of Marriage. He succeeded his Father; his Death was at least as tragical as that of *Agis*, whose Designs he had endeavoured to execute. His Name was *Cleomenes* (f). Mr *Moreti* misrepresents what *Agis* said [E] to those, who pitied his Fate. Other Dictionaries are very faulty on this Article [F]. *Meursius* ought not to have said that this *Agis* reigned Nine Years (g); for the Passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, which he appeals to, relates to another *Agis*. THE AGIS of this Article lost his Life in the CXXXVth Olympiad. *Plutarch's* Considerations on this King's Punishment may be seen under the Article AMPHARES.

(g) Meursius de Regno Lacedemon. pag. 87.

(c) Her Name was CHELONIS See her Article.

(d) See the Article AMPHARES.

(e) Her Name was Agiatis.

(f) Taken out of Plutarch, in Vita Agidis & Cleomenis.

[C] Alledged the Celestial Signs.] The Affair was this (4). Once in every nine Years the *Epbori* contemplated Heaven in a serene Night, and without a Moon; and if they saw a Star fall, they judg'd that the Kings had sinned against God; upon which they were suspended from their Dignity, 'till an Oracle from *Delphi*, or *Olympia*, re-establish'd them. *Lyfander*, pretending to have seen this Phenomenon, entered an Action against the King, and produc'd Witnesses, who declared that *Leonidas* had had two Children by an *Asiatic* Woman. Now there was an ancient Law, which forbade the *Heraclides* (5) to have Children by a foreign Woman. Is it not very odd, that such a Government as this, wherein the Fortune of Kings depended on the good Pleasure of an *Epborus*, who had seen a Star fall, should subsist so long?

(4) That is, the Descendants of Heraclides, of which Number were the Kings of Lacedemon.

[D] Acquired a great Reputation in that Campaign.] Having join'd *Aratus*, General of the *Acheans*, near *Corinth*, his Advice was to give the Enemy Battle on the other side of the *Isthmus*; but he submitted his Judgment to that General's Opinion, who thought it better not to come to an Engagement. *Aratus* own'd this himself in his Book. Yet one *Baton* of *Sinope* pretended, that *Agis* dissuaded the Fight, which *Aratus* had resolved upon (6). Is it not very strange, that an Historian should relate things concerning a General, which are contrary to the Relations of that General himself? Is it credible, that his Account should be false, to the prejudice of it's Author? This Bold-

(6) Plut. in Agide, pag. 301.

ness may be suffer'd for some Months, and for certain Reasons; but, when Events have pass'd that Term, the Actions of great Men ought no longer to be contradicted.

[E] Mr *Moreti* misrepresents what *Agis* said.] *Agis* seeing one of the Serjeants weep, said (7), Weep not, for since they put me to Death by such a crying Act of Injustice, my Merit is greater than that of the Authors of my Death. Instead of this, Mr *Moreti* makes him say, Weep not, for those who weep, are much more to be pitied than I am. This is not the only Fault of that Article. Mr *Moreti* says falsely, I. That in the beginning of *Agis's* Reign, an *Epborus*, whose Name was *Epitadeus*, caus'd an Order to be made, That Fathers might disinherit their Children. II. That *Agis* resisted the Words of that Order, which re-peopled the City in a little time. III. That the most Considerable lent a helping hand to the Design of *Agis*. Read *Plutarch*, and you will see, First, That *Epitadeus* had caus'd his Decree to be pass'd a long time before. Secondly, That *Agis* had not the good Fortune to procure the least Alteration. Thirdly, That the richer People oppos'd his Design. Is this to consult Originals? Is this to understand them?

(7) Ibid. pag. 4-8.

[F] Very faulty on this Article.] *Charles Stephens* confounds this *Agis* with another more ancient, and distinguishes him from him, whom the *Lacedemonians* hang'd. Mr *Hofman* is guilty only of the former of these two Mistakes; *Lloyd* corrects neither of them.

(a) She is commonly call'd so for brevity sake; but it is not her Family Name; it is only the name of the Town, where the Monastery was, of which she was Superior.

(b) The Profession of her Sister was deferred because she was not of age: Journal of the Learned of the 16th of Jan. 1696. pag. 51, 52. Edit. Holl.

(c) It is the Day of the Conception of the Virgin in the Kalender.

(d) Taken from the Journal of the Learned, ubi supra.

AGREDA (a) (MARY *de*) a Religious Visionary, and famous for a Work, which the Sorbonne censured, lived in the XVIIth Century. Francis Coronel, her Father, and Catherine d'Arena, her Mother, who lived at Agreda, a Town of Spain, founded a Convent in their House on the 19th of January, 1619. A Particular Revelation induced them to it. This Mary took the Nun's Habit in it, at the same time with her Mother and Sister; she professed, with her Mother, on the Second of February, 1620 (b). She was elected Superior, in the Year 1627. and during the first Ten Years of her Superiority, she received several Commands from God, and the Virgin Mary, to write the Life of the Holy Virgin. She resisted these Orders till the Year 1637: when she began to write it. Having finished it, she burnt it with several Writings, which she had composed on other Subjects: She followed in this the Counsel of a Confessor, who directed her in the absence of her Ordinary Confessor. Her Superiors, and the first Confessor, reprimanded her severely for it, and commanded her to write the Life of the Holy Virgin a second time. God and the Holy Virgin repeated the same Command to her. She began to obey on the 8th of December, 1655 (c). She divided the Work into three Parts; contained in eight Books, which have been printed at Lisbon, at Madrid, at Perpignan, and at Antwerp. The first was translated out of Spanish into French, from the Edition of Perpignan, by Father Croset, a Recollet. This Translation was printed at Marseilles in the Year 1696 (d). There are so many Absurdities in the Work [A]; and yet so capable of pleasing the passionate Votaries of the Holy Virgin, that the Faculty of Divinity of Paris judged it proper to censure it [B]. They attained their End, in

[A] There are so many Absurdities in the Work. We find there, "That, as soon as the Virgin was born, the Almighty order'd the Angels to carry the lovely Child into the Empyrean Heaven, which they did several times; that God appointed an hundred out of each of the nine Choirs of Angels, that is to say nine hundred, to serve her: And that he appointed twelve others to serve her in a visible and corporeal Form, and eighteen more of the highest Rank of those, who descended on Jacob's Ladder, to carry Embassies from the Queen to the great King: That, to regulate this invincible Squadron the better, Michael, Captain of the heavenly Militia, was plac'd at the Head of it: That the first Conception of the Body of the most Holy Virgin was on a Sunday, correspondent to that of the Creation of Angels: That if the Virgin did not speak as soon as she was born, it was not because she could not, but because she would not: That before she was three Years of Age, she swept the House, and the Angels assisted her, &c. There are I know not how many such like Extravagancies in it." This is the Extract, which a Protestant Journalist gave of it (1). Another Journalist, who is a good Catholic, assures us (2), that nothing is to be found in the six first Chapters, but Visions, by which Sister Mary of Jesus says, That God discover'd the Mysteries of the Holy Virgin to her, and the Decree he had made of creating all things. — That, in the twentieth Chapter (3), She gives an Account of what happen'd to the Holy Virgin in the Womb of St Anne; that she comes afterwards to the Birth of the Holy Virgin, to the Name which was given her, to the Angels, who were commission'd to guard her, to the Employments of the first eighteen Months of her Childhood, to the Conversation she had with God at the end of these eighteen Months, to her Conversations with St Joachim, and St Anne, and to the holy Exercise, wherein she employ'd herself, 'till she was carried to the Temple of Jerusalem. If any one imagines, that, among so many Visions, there is nothing relating to St John's Revelations, he will be greatly mistaken; for our Visionary, not satisfy'd with explaining the twelfth Chapter of the Revelations, has enlarg'd very much on the twenty first, which she expounds of the Conception of the Holy Virgin (4). It would be very surprizing indeed, if, in falling so long upon such a Sea, she should never dash upon this Rock. If you desire to know the Title of her Work, in the Translation of Thomas Croset, read what follows. *The mystical City of God, Miracle of the Almighty, Abyss of Grace, divine History of the Life of the most holy Virgin Mary, Mother of God, our Queen and Mistress, manifested, in these last Ages, by the Holy Virgin to Sister Mary of Jesus, Abbess of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception of the City of Agreda, of the Order of St Francis, and written by the same Sister, by Order of her Superiors, and Confessors.*

[B] The Faculty of Divinity at Paris, judg'd it proper to censure it: I have met with the Censure, which they published, only in the *Journal of the Learned*,

wherein I find. I. That the sixth Proposition imports, That God gave the Holy Virgin all that he would, and would give her all that he could, and could give her all that was not of the Essence of God (5). II. That the seventh Proposition, is conceived in these Terms. "I declare, by the Force of Truth, and of the Light, in which I see all these incredible Mysteries, that all the Privileges, the Graces, the Prerogatives, the Favours, and the Gifts of the most pure Mary, comprehending the Dignity of the Mother of God in it, depend and take their Original from her having been Immaculate, and full of Grace, in her Conception, inasmuch that, without that Privilege, all the rest would appear faulty, or like a stately Building without a solid and proportionable Foundation (6). That the ninth Proposition applies literally to the Holy Virgin, the Words of the eighth Chapter of Proverbs, and insinuates, that by her Kings are raised and supported on the Throne, Princes command, and the Rulers of the Earth administer Justice (7). IV. That the thirteenth Proposition is, that if Mens Eyes were penetrating enough to see the Light of the Holy Virgin, it would suffice to conduct them to a blessed Eternity. V. That, besides these Propositions, several others are compriz'd under the fourteenth Article, and which are respectively condemn'd as rash, contrary to the Wisdom of the Rules, which the Church prescribes; to which is added, that most of them are like the Fables and Ravings of apocryphal Authors, and expose the Catholic Religion to the Contempt of impious Men and of Heretics (9). VI. That finally the Faculty declares, that it does not pretend to approve several other things contain'd in the Book, and chiefly the Passages, where the Author wreits the Text of Scripture, in applying it to her own Sense, and those wherein she affirms, that some Opinions, which are merely Scholastic, were reveal'd to her." Let us make a few Reflexions upon this.

In the first Place, the School-men unanimously teach, that the distinct Character of God, and of his Creatures is, that God has nothing which comes from without, and that the Creatures have nothing, but what proceeds from without. This is what they express by the barbarous Words *aseitas*, and *abalienitas*; from whence they conclude, that all the Attributes of God are communicable to the Creature, except the *Aseitas*; and, consequently, that it is possible for a Creature to be eternal, *a parte ante*, & *a parte post* (10), and infinite as to Knowledge, Power, local Presence, Goodness, Justice, &c. They commonly teach, that, by Power Obediential, Creatures are susceptible of the Faculty of working all sorts of Miracles, and also of creative Power. So that, if God did effectually confer on the Holy Virgin all that he could confer upon her, it follows, according to the Doctrines of the School, which Sister Mary of Jesus esteem'd much, that the Holy Virgin exist'd from Eternity, that she can do all things, that she knows all things, that she fills all Places, and that she is infinite

(5) Ibid. of Nov. 26. 1696. pag. 717.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ibid. pag. 718.

(8) Ibid. pag. 719.

(9) Ibid. pag. 720.

(10) *Th. uis.* That it may neither have Beginning nor End.

(1) History of the Works of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 140, 141.

(2) Journal of the Learned, of Jan. 16th 1696. pag. 52.

(3) Ibid. pag. 53.

(4) Ibid.

in spite of the Opposition, and terrible Outcry of some of the Doctors of that Society [C]. How just soever the Censure was, it gave Offence to a great Number of Persons. It is thought that the Apprehensions of the Scandal it might cause obliged the Company

finite in every respect. I need not suppose, that our Abbess of Agreda followed the Doctrine of the Spanish Schoolmen; for I am not concern'd whether she knew, or was ignorant of it. She teaches plainly, that God gave the Holy Virgin all that he could give her, and that he could give her all his Attributes, except the divine Essence itself. This justifies the Conclusion, which I have drawn: Upon which, we may very well wonder, that the Sorbonne should only say, *That this Proposition is false, rash, and contrary to the Doctrine of the Gospel* (11). Is such a Censure severe enough? Ought they to have been contented with such weak Appellations? Is it enough to affirm, that it was a rash Mistake, to apply to the Virgin Mary, in a literal Sense, these Words of Solomon, *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree Justice* (12).

My second Reflexion is this. They who have carefully examin'd all that has been said of the Power of the Holy Virgin, and the Share which is given her in the Government of the Universe, have observed, that the last Comers, desirous to surpass those, who have gone before them, have been the Cause, that at last the utmost Bounds of Flattery have been found out. But, as the Reasons for continuing to proceed farther have never ceas'd (for when the Devotion of the People is to be a Maintenance for many Persons, who desire to live at their Ease, it must be quicken'd and reviv'd from time to time with new invented Incitements) I say, considering this, there is reason to wonder that the Barriers have not been broke, and that, among so many Monks and Nuns, who have been such great Refiners, no one has yet said, that the Holy Virgin governs the World alone. How comes it to pass, that Spain has not yet produc'd Writers, who have pretended to discover by Revelation, that a long Experience having convinc'd God the Father of the infinite Capacity of the Holy Virgin, and the good Use she has made of the Power, wherewith he had invest'd her, had resolv'd to abdicate the Empire of the World; and that God the Son, believing he could not follow a better Example, had embrac'd the same Resolution, and that the Holy Ghost, always obedient to the Will of the two Persons, from whom he proceeds, approving this fine Design, the whole Trinity had committed the Government of the World to the Hands of the Holy Virgin; and that the Ceremony of the Abdication, and That of the Translation of the Empire had been solemnly perform'd in the Presence of all the Angels; that an Act of it had been drawn up in the most authentic Form; that, since that Day, God concerns himself with nothing, and relies altogether on the Vigilancy of Mary; that Orders were given to several Angels, to notify this Alteration of Government upon Earth, that Men might know to whom, and in what Manner, they ought to have recourse for the future, in their Prayers; that it was no longer to God, since he had declar'd himself *emeritus, & rude donatus*, nor to the Holy Virgin, as to a Mediatress, or a subordinate Queen, but as the Sovereign and absolute Empress of all things? Once more: how comes it to pass, that such an Extravagancy is yet to be brought forth? I was ask'd once, if I had never heard of such a Conceit? No, reply'd I, but I would not swear, that this Thought has never appear'd, and yet less, that it will never be hatch'd in a Brain, sick with Devotion; and, perhaps, if Mary d'Agreda had liv'd ten Years longer, she would have brought forth this Monster (13), and given us a Copy of the Act of Abdication; wherein we should have seen, that the Trinity, willing to live henceforth a quiet Life, and acknowledge their Obligations to the Holy Virgin, who for many Ages has so wisely born a considerable Share of the Fatigues of the Regency of the World, thought they could do nothing more proper, nor pitch upon a Reward more suitable to her, than to divest themselves, in her Favour, of their absolute Authority over all things. Yet it must be confess'd, that the Idea of the unalienable Axiom of God is so clearly understood in all the Christian Communions, that there is no Reason to apprehend that this Monster of Abdication could live any time, supposing it could be produc'd. We ought not to fear it in our Days: Let this satisfy us; nor let us trouble ourselves with

what may come to pass an hundred Years hence; *nostros maneat ea cura nepotes*. Let Posterity look to that.

I observe, in the third Place, that there is nothing more true, than the Remarks of the Sorbonne, that the Book of the Abbess of Agreda contains several things, which expose the Church of Rome to the Contempt of Impious Men, and of Heretics. It was well for the Christian Religion, that the *Celsus's* and *Porphyry's* of those times had it not in their Power to attack it with such Weapons, as these Books, infinite in Number, can furnish at present. What would not a Pagan Author have objected to the Church in those Times, who should have had the Heat and the Character of *Arnobius*? If *Henry Stephens*, and *Philip de Mornay*, were to return into the World, what Supplements would they not make, by the help of the *Mystical City* of our Mary of Agreda, the one to his *Apology* for Herodotus, and the other to his *Description of the Differences in Matters of Religion*?

IV. Lastly, I remark, that our pretended inspired Authors endeavour to impose upon Mankind. They give us for Revelation, what they have learn'd by reading. For does not the Abbess of Agreda affirm, *That some Opinions, which are merely Scholastic, were taught her by Inspiration* (14)?

[C] *In spite of the Opposition — of some of the Doctors of that Society.* The following are Extracts from a Printed Book, entituled, *The Case of Mary d'Agreda, and the Manner how her Condemnation was plotted in the Sorbonne* (15). It is a Letter from an anonymous Author, to an anonymous Person. "The Odour of Sanctity, in which this good Religious died, and the Canonization which is solicited at the Court of Rome, gave me such an high Idea of her Person, that I was surpris'd to hear that the Faculty of Divinity, at Paris, had met to condemn her Works." These are the Authors Words (16). Afterwards he supposes, "That they were some mercenary Souls, who at the Solicitation of three Prelates, to whom they were devoted, pursued the Condemnation of them (17). The whole Intrigue, continued he (18), is as follows. My Lord Bishop, being more addicted to the Opinions of St Thomas, than a young Jacobin, who ought only to swear in *verba magistri*, could not bear that the Faculty should, with so much Precipitation, give into the immaculate Conception of the Virgin. The hatred he bore to Brother Thomas Croiset, a Recollet, and Translator of that Book, occasion'd by the Report which was spread of what the Translator had said against him, upon his refusing him a Benefice in his Diocese, and the Desire of indemnifying A — the King's Printer, for the considerable Loss he had sustain'd by his Works, and who had made use of the Impression of this Book, printed by H —, at Marseilles, were the Foundation of the Comotions among the Faculty; for the ready way to make a Book sell well is to get it condemn'd. Every body runs to it, as to a House on fire, and the Book, which was worth but twenty Pence, A — sells for ten Livres, besides what is sold under hand of a pirated Impression. This Prelate, to succeed the better in his Design, prepos'd my Lord —, one of the most moderate Prelates in the Kingdom: both join'd with my Lord — a Man of a very mean Genius, who may be easily prejudic'd, and who is fond of Ceremonies and Trifles; you must know that these Lords go hand in hand. This Trumvirate influenc'd their Creatures, and gain'd Mr le Fevre, Syndic of the Sorbonne, who presented the Book of Mary d'Agreda to the Faculty, on the 20th of May. Deputies were appointed to examine it. They reported sixty eight Propositions (19), which they call'd heretical, rash, scandalous, and offensive to chaste Ears. They were printed, as qualified by the Deputies, and distributed among the Doctors (20), that they might give their Opinions of them, in the next Assembly (21). Father Meron, a Cordelier, of whom we have some fine Performances, both in Philosophy and Chronology, desired the Faculty not to be too hasty in

(14) Journal of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 717.

(15) *The* it was said in the Title, that it was printed at Cologne, in 1597; I believe it was printed at Paris. It is a Book in 22mo of 40 Pages.

(16) Page 3.

(17) Page 12.

(18) Page 13, &c.

(19) In the Assembly of the 2d of July, ibid. pag. 28.

(20) Ibid. pag. 29.

(21) Which was to meet on the 12th of the same Month.

(11) Journal of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 717.

(12) Ibid. pag. 718.

(13) As she constantly perverted the Scripture, (see the Journal of the Learned, ibid. p. 720), she would not have failed to take advantage of what is said in St John chap. v. vers. 22. The Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment to the Son. And in 1 Cor. xv. 24. When Christ shall have delivered up the Kingdom to God even the Father.

Company to insert a Declaration in their Act [D], which otherwise would have been very superfluous; since the Question did not relate to the Things specified in the Declaration. We must not forget that the Father of *Mary d'Agreda* became a Monk in a Monastery of the Order of St Francis, wherein two of his Sons had already entered themselves Fryars, and that he lived there a very exemplary Life, and died a Saint (e). Much less ought we to forget, that great Interest has been made at Rome to procure the Canonization of *Mary d'Agreda*. See the beginning of the Remark [C].

(e) Journal of the Learned, Feb. 16. 1696. p. 51.

(22) Ibid. pag. 30. "condemning a Book, which the sovereign Pontiff had reserv'd the Cognizance of to himself, and had deputed Cardinals, who were at that time examining it (22). — The Cabal were enrag'd at him, and he was obliged to declare, that, if they proceeded, without regarding his Remonstrance, he appeal'd from all that was done against the Book to the Pope. He declares, however, That if this Appeal injur'd the Rights of the Gallican Church in any manner, he would desist from it (23). From that Day, 'till the meeting of the Assembly, there was nothing but caballing. The Day of the Assembly being come, Mess. du Saussay and Gobilion condemn'd the Book (24). — "But Mons. le Caron pretended there was nothing in it, which deserv'd to be censur'd; which he supported with good Reasons. Each of them had his Partizans, who appear'd in twenty nine successive Assemblies. The Syndic gave those of Mons. le Caron's Party the Name of *Agredians*, a Name which they still retain." The Affair was terminated the seventeenth of September. "There was such a Noise in the Hall of the Assembly, that it seem'd like a Market (25). — The next Day Mess. du Floi and du Mai, formerly Counsellors in the Parliament of Paris, protested against the Validity of the Censure, and caus'd their Protest to be notify'd to the Dean and Syndic of the Faculty, which is still in Force, they not having retract'd it by any Act (26). Some time after, the Syndic and the Deputies assembled again, and procur'd another Censure — which was read the first of October; but, before the reading, the Syndic declar'd to the Faculty the Opposition which was deny'd to him by those two Gentlemen. He said moreover, that my Lord of Paris having caus'd them to come to his Palace, had convinc'd them by such good Reasons, that the Abbot du Mai yielded to them, and that he was sure that when Mons. du Floi should hear the reading of the Censure, as it was drawn up, he would assent to it. The Work of the Syndic was read, and they were surpris'd that there were new and censur'd Propositions in it, which they had not heard of in the Faculty, and that they had retrench'd several of the condemn'd ones (27)." My Readers may judge as they please of these Extractions.

(25) Ibid. pag. 37. "Market (25). — The next Day Mess. du Floi and du Mai, formerly Counsellors in the Parliament of Paris, protested against the Validity of the Censure, and caus'd their Protest to be notify'd to the Dean and Syndic of the Faculty, which is still in Force, they not having retract'd it by any Act (26). Some time after, the Syndic and the Deputies assembled again, and procur'd another Censure — which was read the first of October; but, before the reading, the Syndic declar'd to the Faculty the Opposition which was deny'd to him by those two Gentlemen. He said moreover, that my Lord of Paris having caus'd them to come to his Palace, had convinc'd them by such good Reasons, that the Abbot du Mai yielded to them, and that he was sure that when Mons. du Floi should hear the reading of the Censure, as it was drawn up, he would assent to it. The Work of the Syndic was read, and they were surpris'd that there were new and censur'd Propositions in it, which they had not heard of in the Faculty, and that they had retrench'd several of the condemn'd ones (27)." My Readers may judge as they please of these Extractions.

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(28) Journal of the Learned, Nov. 1696. pag. 716, 717. "[D] That the Apprehensions of the Scandal it might cause oblig'd the Company to insert a Declaration in their Act." They protested in the most solemn manner, "That by this Censure they had no Design to diminish any thing of the lawful Worship, which the Catholic Church pays to the Holy Virgin; that they honour'd her as the Mother of God; that they had a particular Confidence in her Intercession; that they held the Sentiments of their Fathers, concerning the immaculate Conception, and that they believed her Assumption into Heaven, both in Body and in Soul (28)." The Author of the Letter, of which we have produc'd some Extractions in the foregoing Remark, says, That the Censure, wherein they acknowledge the Conception and the Assumption of the Virgin, was made by the Syndic and the Deputies, after the Body of the Faculty had finish'd the Judgment (29). This shews that they had not the Courage to publish the Censure of the Faculty, without qualifying it; and we may judge from thence, to what Dangers they expose themselves, who disapprove the most palpable Errors, which magnify the Honours of the Holy Virgin. They not only expose themselves to the Indignation of the People, but also to that of the Monks, and of many other Ecclesiastics: Whence they endeavour to ward off the Blow by studied Prefaces (30). What Servitude! and what a Proof that the Disease is incurable! What Livy said of the Republic of Rome, agrees at present with the Church of that Name. "Labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes primo moris sequatur animo: deinde ut magis magisque

(29) Cafe of Mary d'Agreda, pag. 30. "that they honour'd her as the Mother of God; that they had a particular Confidence in her Intercession; that they held the Sentiments of their Fathers, concerning the immaculate Conception, and that they believed her Assumption into Heaven, both in Body and in Soul (28)." The Author of the Letter, of which we have produc'd some Extractions in the foregoing Remark, says, That the Censure, wherein they acknowledge the Conception and the Assumption of the Virgin, was made by the Syndic and the Deputies, after the Body of the Faculty had finish'd the Judgment (29). This shews that they had not the Courage to publish the Censure of the Faculty, without qualifying it; and we may judge from thence, to what Dangers they expose themselves, who disapprove the most palpable Errors, which magnify the Honours of the Holy Virgin. They not only expose themselves to the Indignation of the People, but also to that of the Monks, and of many other Ecclesiastics: Whence they endeavour to ward off the Blow by studied Prefaces (30). What Servitude! and what a Proof that the Disease is incurable! What Livy said of the Republic of Rome, agrees at present with the Church of that Name. "Labente deinde paulatim disciplina, velut desidentes primo moris sequatur animo: deinde ut magis magisque

(30) Note, that, in relation to the Prefaces, these two Prefaces of Boleau have been apply'd. Un Auteur à genoux dans une humble Préface, au Lecteur qu'il ennuie à beau demander grace. An Author on his Knees, in an humble Preface, does quell't, by pardon of the Reader, who m be it going to tor-ture.

"lapi sint, tum ire cæperint præcípites, donec ad hæc tempora, quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus, perventum est (31). — We may trace the Decay of their Morals, from the first Relaxation of Discipline, through the several Stages of Degeneracy, to the present times, in which we can neither bear our Vices, nor their Remedies." The Work of *Mary d'Agreda*, is evidently full of Fables, and absurd Doctrines; yet, because it favours the false Ideas which People will entertain of the high Dignity, and unlimited Power of the Holy Virgin, all kind of Machines must be set at work to get it censur'd at Paris. The Author of the Letter (32) does more harm to his Church and Nation than he apprehends, when he recounts the Cabals, which were made use of by those, who wanted to have the Mystical City of the Spanish Abbess censur'd. There would have been no need of caballing, if the Minds of the People had not been strangely obstinate: Nor need they have had recourse to Softenings. The Censure would have pass'd, and no one would have murmur'd at it. All the Courts of the Inquisition would have prevented the Faculty of Divinity of Paris; whereas they have all remain'd silent hitherto, if I am not mistaken; though they are so ready to condemn all Works, which oppose ever so little the most doubtful Traditions, if they favour the Worship of the Saints (33).

(31) Livius, lib. 1. init.

(32) The Title of it is at the beginning of the Remark [C].

Note, That there is a particular Reason, which may oblige the Sorbonne to be cautious, and expose them to the Oppositions of many Doctors: Which is, that so many Consequences have been drawn from the Epithet *Mother of God*, that there is scarce any extravagant Opinion concerning the Excellence and Power of the Virgin, but what may be maintained in some Measure by Arguments *ad hominem*, which those Consequences afford. Your Adversaries lead you by Degrees where they please; you are undone by the Subtilties of the Schoolmen: If you retreat, you stand convicted of denying Consequences; from whence it happens, that those, who pretend to argue consequentially, and to favour the popular Devotion at the same time, chuse rather to advance still farther, than to retreat. And yet their System is not regular. The Divinity of *Mary*, in the literal Sense, is wanting to it: since the Mother of God ought to be a Goddess of course, and of the self-same Nature with her Son. And she would be so, if they would adopt the Imagination of the Cavalier Borri (34), but it has been condemn'd. Perhaps a time will come when they will find the Necessity of it, and by that means square this irregular Figure. It is thought that many wish for it.

(33) The Acta Sanctorum of the Jesuits of Antwerp have been condemn'd by the Inquisition of Toledo.

(34) See the Article BORRI.

— O si Angulus ille
Proximus accedat, qui nunc deformat Agellum (35).

(35) Horat. Sat. 6. lib. 2. ver. 8.

— Ob! that the Gods would yield
That Nook, which spoils the Figure of my Field.

CREECH.

Such a thing might be done in certain Circumstances, if there was a Combination of temporal and spiritual Interests. Every thing passes, when Princes concur with the Heads of an Ecclesiastical Party, during certain Dispositions of general Affairs.

Let us conclude with observing, that, if the Faculty of Divinity of Paris were in hopes that their Censure would remove a Stumbling-Block out of the way of those, who are called the *New Re-united*, they were deceived; for the Opposition they were forced to encounter with in their own Body, and the Discontent which broke out after the Publication of the Censure, have much more scandalized the *Re-united*, than the Censure could have Edified them. Besides that, what gives them the greatest Offence remains entire in the Preface to the Censure; a Preface, which is a Signal of the Continuation of a Capital

Capital Controversy, I mean, in relation to a Work, whose Excesses have excited some curious Persons to philosophize, in order to discover the Original of it (36).

(36) See the Remark [N] of the Article NESTORUS.

AGRICOLA almost an infinite number of Authors bear this Name, but as there are but three or four of considerable note, I shall only take Notice of them.

AGRICOLA (GEORGE) a German Physician, excelled in the Knowledge of Metals. He was born at *Glauchba*, in *Misnia*, on the Twenty fourth of *March*, 1494. The Discoveries he made in the Mountains of *Bobemia*, after his Travels in *Italy*, so strongly inclined him to go to the Bottom of the Metallic Science, that when, by the advice of his Friends, he had engaged himself in the Practice of Physic at *Joachimsthal* (a), he employed as much time as he could in the Study of Fossils. To satisfy this Passion the better, he retired to *Chebnitz*, where he gave himself up wholly to this Study. He spent there not only the Pension, which was obtained for him from *Maurice Duke of Saxony*, but also part of his own Estate; insomuch that he got much more Glory by his Labours, than Profit. He composed many Works on the Subject he had most at Heart, and some others on Miscellaneous Subjects [A]. He examined what *Budæus*, *Leonard Portius*, and *Alciatus*, had observed concerning Weights and Measures, and found them greatly mistaken. *Alciatus* undertook to defend himself, but he was foiled in the Argument. *Bodin* maintains, that, in Comparison of *Agricola*, *Aristotle* and *Pliny* saw very little into the Metallic Science (b). It must not be forgot, that, when Duke *Maurice*, and Duke *Augustus* marched to join the Army of *Charles* the Vth in *Bobemia*, *Agricola* followed them, to shew his Fidelity, though he was obliged to abandon the Care of his Estate, his Children, and his Wife, who was with Child (c). He died a very good Papist at *Chebnitz* on the Twenty first of *November*, 1555. The Zeal, with which he opposed the Protestant Doctrine in his latter Days, to which he seemed not much averse at first [B], rendered him so odious to the *Lutherans*, that they let him lie five days unburied [C].

They

(c) Uxore pregnante cum dulcissimi liberis domi relicta, fortassis etiam omnibus posthabitis, cum jurandum, quod eis erat devinctus, nullo modo negligendum putaret, in exercitum eorum penè senex militavit. *Melch. Adam. Vit. Med. c. pag. 79.*

(a) That is, The Valley of Joachim. It is a City of Misnia.

(b) Bodin, in Method. Histor. See in Sir Tho. Pope Blount his Censura celebr. Authorum, pag. 413. a great number of very honourable Elogies of Agricola.

[A] Many Works on the Subject he had most at Heart, and some others on miscellaneous Subjects.] The Titles of some of them are as follows. *De ortu & causis subterraneorum* (Of the Origin and Causes of Subterraneous Things). *De natura eorum quæ effluunt ex terra* (Of the Nature of those things, which flow out of the Earth). *De natura fossilium* (Of the Nature of Fossils). *De medicatis fontibus* (Of medicinal Springs). *De subterraneis animantibus* (Of Subterraneous Animals). *De veteribus & novis metallis* (Of old and new Metals). *De Re metallica* (Of the Metallic Science). I look upon his Speech *De bello Turcis inferendo* (1) (Of making War upon the Turks), to be a Political Work; his Treatise *De traditionibus Apostolicis* (Of Apostolical Traditions), a Controversial Piece; and his Treatise *De Peste* (Of the Plague), a Physical Dissertation. *Melchior Adam* does not know whether these two last Works were ever printed; I am also ignorant of it, as to the Treatise of Controversy, but I know that the other appeared at *Basil* in the Year 1554. and that it was since twice printed before *Melchior Adam* published his Book. See *Marklinus* in his *Lindenis renovatus*.

(1) Printed at Basil in 1538.

[B] Seemed not much averse to it at first.] He not only disapproved the sordid Traffic of Indulgences, but many other Practices likewise. The following four Verses of his making were affixed in the Year 1519. in the Streets of *Zwickaw* (2). They concern the Indulgences of *Rome*.

(2) He taught Greek there.

Si nos injecto salvabit cistula nummo,
Heu nimium infelix tu mihi pauper eris!
Si nos, Christe, tua servatos morte beasti,
Jam nihil infelix tu mihi pauper eris.

If without Gold Salvation can't be bought,
How curs'd the Wretch who is not worth a Great?
But if Christ's Death has purchas'd for us Peace,
Rejoice, ye Poor, and bid your Miseries cease.

Melchior Adam was of Opinion, that four things hindered the Conversion of *Agricola*. 1. Theraff Writings of some Divines. 2. The scandalous Lives of some Reformed Sectaries. 3. The breaking of the Images, and revolt of the Country People. 4. The Inclination he had for Pomp and Ceremony (3). The three first of these gave *Erasmus* an entire Dislike to the Protestant Party. A great Number of other Persons, who wished for a Reformation of the Church, fell into the same Snare with *Erasmus*.

(3) Melch. Adam in Vit. Medic. pag. 80.

Whence it was, that *Theodore Beza* encountered so many Persons, who had at first tasted of the good Seed, and afterwards returned: to their wallowing in the Mire (4). When we talk thus to Men of Sense and Reason, they tell us, that, considering the State of things at that time, it was impossible to support or propagate one's Cause by downright Meekness and Patience; and that therefore the Providence of God, whose ways are always Wise, permitted, that Men should appear, such as they are, in the great Work of Reformation, to attain more naturally to his Design, which was, as Experience teaches us, to hinder either of the two Religions from quite ruining each other. This is a good Plea. There are certain means, which, for this very Reason, that they are proper to bring about half the Work, are insufficient for the perfecting of it.

(4) See his History of the Church.

[C] They let him lie five Days unburied.] *Scaliger* condemned this Conduct with Reason; he says "Agricolam, quo nihil doctius, Lutherani mortuum sepelire noluerunt, quia manserant Pontificius. Ita quisquidam scripsit & hortatus est ut sepelirent hominem Christianum; barbaries magna. (5). — The Lutherans refused to bury the very learned *Agricola*, because he died a Papist. A certain Italian wrote to, and exhorted them, to bury a Man, who was a Christian: this was an Instance of Great Barbarity." I dare not maintain, that it is false, that an Italian exhorted the Lutherans to this Office of Humanity by Letter, but I see no probability of it; and it may be imputed to Forgetfulness in *Scaliger*, or his Boarders. There is a Letter of *Matthiæus*, wherein he complains, that such a venerable old Man, as *George Agricola*, could not find Earth enough in his own Country to cover his Body. *Id. Matthiæus ad Caspar. Navium Mod. (lib. 2. Epist.) queritur, hunc præclarum problemque senem in patria tantum terræ non invenisse quo sum opiretur cadaver* (6). From hence they might pretend, that an Italian exhorted by Letter those, who had the Body, to bury it. Let it not be thought strange, that I lay but small Stress upon what the great *Scaliger* says here; for how can I depend upon him in relation to *Agricola*, when he has told us, upon another Occasion, that he was a very impious Man, who scarce deserved to be buried? "Non minus eruditus & in censenda metallorum natura curiosus fuit quam vere impius, nulli addictus religioni, ut post mortem vix sepe liri meruerit (7). — He was as Learned and Curious in examining the Nature of Metals, as he was truly impious, and addicted to no Religion; insomuch that he scarce deserved funeral Rites after his Death."

(5) In Scaligeranis, pag. 5.

(6) Melch. Adam. ubi supra.

(7) Scaligerana prima, pag. 80.

They brought his Corps from *Cbennits* to *Zeits*, where he was interred in the principal Church (d). Such are the Fruits of a blind Zeal [D].

(d) Id. ibid.
pag. 77, &c.

[D] Such are the Fruits of a blind Zeal.] There is no Protestant at present, who does not condemn this Treatment of his Corps; and I do not question, but that, at that time, most of the *Lutherans* condemned it. *Melchior Adam* seems to lay all the Blame of it on the Minister of the Place. It is more easy, at present, to see the Mischief of this false Zeal; Time has calmed those Passions, which like impetuous Storms rob us of the Sight of Heaven:

Eripiunt subito nubes cœlumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis: ponto nox incubat atra (8).

(8) Virgil.
Æneid. lib.
1. ver. 28.

— sable Night involves the Skies,
And Heaven itself is raviſh'd from their Eyes.
D R Y D E N.

What will not Men do to make Reprifals, and when there is Reason to speak thus?

Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri (9).

— my Cruel Fate,
And Doubts attending an unfettled State,
Force me to guard my Coasts.

D R Y D E N.

Frederus remarks, that *Agricola* fell into so great a Passion in a Theological Dispute, that he contracted a violent Fever, of which he died (10). He cites only *Melchior Adam*, who says nothing of it. It is very likely, that *Agricola* had enraged the *Lutherans* by the Appearance of an excessive Aversion. *Peter Albinus* represents him (11) as an obdurate Roman Catholic. I desire you to compare this with the first *Scaligerana*.

(9) Dido apud Virgil.
Æn. lib. 1.
ver. 563.

(10) Paul. Freher. in Theatr. Vi-
ror. illustr.
pag. 1238.

(11) In the Chronicle of Misina.

(a) A Town in the County of Mansfeld. He was as well known by the Name of *Melchior Adam* as by that of *Agricola*.

(b) Melch. Adam. in Vita Theol. pag. 479.

(c) It was in relation to the Formula-ry of Ecclesiastical Visitation, drawn up by Melancthon.

(d) See the Article IS-
LEBIANS.

(e) The 30th of March, 1540, during the Affair at Smalcalde.

(f) In 1540.

AGRICOLA (JOHN) a Saxon Divine, born at *Islebe* (a) on the Twentieth of April 1492 (b), was the Cause of great Troubles to the Protestant Religion, which he embraced. It has been said, that he followed the Elector of Saxony, in Quality of his Minister, to the Diet of *Spire*, in the Year 1526. and to that of *Augsburg* in the Year 1530. But it is certain, that he made those two Journeys, only in Quality of Minister of the Count of *Mansfeld*. It is true this Count accompanied the Elector of Saxony, and, during that time, his Minister preached sometimes before the Elector; and this is the Original of the Mistake. *Agricola* had tolerable Success in preaching, which made him fancy himself a great Man, and set himself up in competition with *Melancthon*. For this Reason he wrote against him in 1527 (c). His restless and ambitious Temper prompted him, in 1536, to ask leave to quit his Country, where he exercised the Ministry, and was Principal of the College. His Request was accompanied with Complaints; and seemed so unreasonable to the Count of *Mansfeld*, that he did not obtain his Dismissal without Reproaches of Ingratitude, Avarice, and Drunkenness; besides being charged with exercising his Function carelessly, and with having disputed more against the Protestants, than against the Catholics. He went to *Wittenberg*, where he obtained the Chair of Professor and Minister. He taught no very instructive Doctrine in relation to the use of the Law under the Gospel; in a word, he became the Founder of the *Antinomian* Sect (d). *Luther*, who had been his good Friend [A], attacked him very roughly, and obliged him to promise that he would recant his Errors; but while they were employed in drawing up the Formula, which he was to sign, *Luther* published some new Writings, at which *Agricola* was so piqued, that he presented (e) a very abusive Petition to the Elector against his Antagonist, wherein he complained, among other things, that they imputed Opinions to him, which were not his. *Luther* answered him with all his Fire, and, to clear himself from the Character of a Public Libeller, he sent for Attestations from *Islebe*, in relation to some particular Instances of *Agricola's* Behaviour. The Divines of *Wittenberg* ran to the Assistance of *Luther*, and said, That his Accusations were well-grounded. The Elector of Saxony, much embarrassed with the Affair, appointed Arbitrators between the Parties, and recommended to them to find out some means of an Accommodation; after which he made *Agricola* promise, that he would not retire, before the Process was ended. This Promise was broke: *Agricola* retired privately to *Berlin* (f), without waiting for an Answer to the Demand he had made for Leave to depart. The Elector of *Brandenburg* endeavoured to reconcile him with *Luther*; but there was nothing to be done in it, except upon one of these two Conditions, either that *Agricola* should return, and wait the decision of the Process, or that he should retract his Errors, and the abusive Language he had given *Luther* in writing. He chose the latter [B], and published a Book at *Berlin*, wherein

[A] *Luther, who had been his good Friend.* They were of the same City. We find that *Agricola* served *Luther* as Secretary in the Conference at *Leipsic*, in 1519 (1), and that he was sent to *Frankfort* in 1525 (2), with a Recommendatory Letter from *Luther* to the Magistrates, to be one of the Ministers of the Gospel there. The Author, whom I cite (3), censures Mr *Varillas*, who said, that *Luther* undertook nothing considerable without *Agricola*. This is to push things too far, and he cannot produce any Proof of it.

(1) See Hendorf, Hist. Luther. lib. 1. pag. 92. liter. r.

(2) Ibid. p. 243. lit. e.

(3) See Hendorf, ubi supra, lib. 3. pag. 126. n. 1.

[B] *He chose the latter.* There are probably two Reasons for this Piece of Condescension. First, He had no Hopes of finding his Account in the Decision of the Controversy; for he could not gain his Point without

Luther's being declared a Slanderer of his Brethren. Now he must have been the most credulous of Men to entertain any Hopes of Success, at this Expence, in Saxony. The People would have stoned the Judges, who should have sullied the Reputation of a Reformer in this manner. They would have pretended, that the Church stood in need of the good Fame of *Luther*, and that the Papists would draw too great an Advantage from his Disgrace. Have we not seen some, who were but Pigmies in comparison of *Luther*, escape, by this means, the Canonical Punishments which they have deserved? *Agricola's* second Reason, probably, was, that by not submitting, he was in danger of losing the Quarter's Salary which was due to him. Read what follows: "Neque tamen hoc scripto sta-
tim

wherein he asked Pardon of those, whom he might have offended by his Errors, and of *Luther* by Name, and professed that he would Live and Die in the Faith, which he had opposed. *Luther* did not depend upon these fine Proteftations; *Agricola* complained of this to the Elector of *Saxony*, and assured him, that nothing had ever given him greater uneasiness, than this Contest with the Man of God (g); and that, since his Offer of giving his Oath would not avail him, he referred his Cause to the Judge of the World; humbly entreating the Elector, at the same time, to order him the Payment of his Salary, which was due for Three Months, and which he stood in need of for the Maintenance of his Wife and Nine Children (b). I believe he never would have regained the Favour either of the Elector, or *Martin Luther*. No doubt he comforted himself with the Reputation, which his Office of Preacher at the Court of *Berlin* gave him, and with the Choice, which they made of him for composing a Work, which made a great Noise. I mean the *Interim*, which he drew up with *Julius Pflug*, and *Michael Heldingus* (i), in the Year 1548. It is pretended, that the Emperor rewarded *Agricola* largely for the Pains he had taken on this Occasion. The War, which arose some time after, in *Germany*, between the Protestant Divines (k), made it appear that this Minister was a Man of a dangerous Spirit, and a great Intermeddler. He was officious in composing Animosities, and did not spare the Gift of Elocution, which he was Master of, in the Conferences, which were held about these Matters; but he held no Differences. He died at *Berlin* in 1566. He had been Superintendent (l) of the March of *Brandenburg* (m). It is said that he would have revived the use of Holy Oyl for the Sick, and that he did not question, but that miraculous Cures would have attended, it as in former times (n). He wrote but few Books [C]. They carry Things too far, who say that he relapsed to Popery [D].

(g) See Remark [B].

(b) Taken out of Secken-dorf's Answer to the Lutheranism of Father Maimbourg, lib. 3. from pag. 306. to pag. 310.

(i) He is commonly called Michael Sidonius, because he was titular Bishop of Sidon.

(k) It was on the Question about things indifferent in Religion.

(l) So the Lutherans call those Ministers, who have the Inspection of several Churches.

(m) Micrael. Hist. Eccles. pag. 733. Edit. 1679.

(n) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 411.

"tim, ut speraverat, Luthero de vera conversione sua fidem fecit; id quod ipse *Agricola* literis d. 19. Decemb. apud Electorem Saxonie queritur, nihil quae tota vita sibi gravius accidisset, quam simultatem illam cum viro Dei, quem ipse patris loco veneratus sit, & in cujus obsequio mori velit, apud quem tamen nihil proficiat ne juramenti quidem obligatione, ideo se Deo causam committere. Petit tamen ut sibi ad alendam uxorem novemque liberos trimesse, quod restare sibi dicit, salarium non denegetur, se enim id diligenti lectione promeritum (4). — Nor did he by this Writing presently convince *Luther* of his Conversion, as he expelled; which *Agricola* himself complained of in his Letters of the nineteenth of December to the Elector of Saxony; in which he declares, that nothing had happened so afflicting to him in his whole Life, as his Quarrel with the Man of God, whom he revered as a Father, and in whose Favour he desired to dye; with whom as his Offer of an Oath could not prevail, he committed his Cause to God. However he petitioned, that they would not deny him his Quarter's Salary, for the Maintenance of his Wife and nine Children, which he said was due to him, and which he had merited by his constant Attendance on Preaching."

[C] He wrote but few Books. The Explication of three hundred German Proverbs was one of the first. He abused *Ulric Duke of Wirtemberg* much in it (5). Complaints were made of it, which obliged the Author to acknowledge his Fault in a very submissive Letter. This did not hinder *Duke Ulric* from alledging, among other Grievances, at the Diet of *Frankfort*, in the Year 1536, that they protected *John Agricola* in the County of *Mansfeld*, by whom he had been publicly affronted (6). The Author increased his Work with above four hundred Proverbs more in the second Edition. He wrote a

Commentary on *St Luke*; he refuted the Explication of the nineteenth Psalm, published in *German*, by *Thomas Muncker*, &c. (7).

[D] That he relapsed to Popery.] It is certain, that, leaving *Saxony*, he retired to the Court of *Brandenburg*, and that the Elector *Joachim II.* who had established the Reformation in his Dominions, in the Year 1539, (8) received him honourably, and made him his Preacher. It is as certain that he enjoyed that Prince's Favour all his Life-time; so that it is false to say, as *Melchior Adam*, and *Paul Freberus* do, that *Agricola* was a Papist, tunc Pontificiis sese adjunxerat, when *Charles V.* employed him in drawing up the *Interim*. I own he made great Concessions in that Piece; but did not *Pflug*, and the Bishop of *Sidon*, do the same? Were they therefore Lutherans? The Project of these three Persons was neither satisfactory to the Protestants, nor the Catholics; this is very certain: But there is a manifest Distinction to be made between those, who, for the sake of Peace, give up part of the Reformation, and those who actually forsake the Protestant Communion, to embrace the Communion of *Rome*. *Agricola* was doubtless one of the first Class, but, having never been of the second, he ought not to pass for a Papist. Censure therefore these Words of *Micraelius*; "Joh. Agricola ---- nollet primo, deinde suus, tandem Pontificiorum (9). — John Agricola ---- who was first of our Sect, then of no Party, and lastly a Convert to Popery." I cannot tell, whether, when he says three Lines after, "Homini Epicuræo similior quam pio Theologo, ut scribit Osiander ad annum 1566. quo obiit Agricola. — More of an Epicurean, than a pious Divine, as Osiander writes, at the Year 1566, in which Agricola died — He means a Voluptuary, or one indifferent to all Religions."

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 310. n. 26.

(5) Id. lib. 2. pag. 135.

(6) Ib. pag. 412. lit. b.

(7) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Theol. pag. 411.

(8) Secken-dorf, lib. 3. pag. 234, & seq.

(9) Micrael. Synagm. Histor. Eccles. p. 733.

AGRICOLA (MICHAEL) a *Lutheran* Minister at *Abo* in *Finland*, was the first who translated the New Testament into the Language of the Country, which contributed much to the Propagation of *Lutheranism* (a).

AGRICOLA (RODOLPHUS) was one of the most Learned Men of the XVth Century. *Italy*, which in those times called all beyond the *Alps* barbarous, produced nothing, to which *Friesland* could not compare her *Agricola*, without fearing to be overcome. This great Man was of mean Birth [A]; he was born about the Year

[A] Was of mean Birth.] I am aware, that, in the Life of *Agricola*, among those of the Professors of *Groningen*, it is affirmed, that he was one of the most considerable Families of *Friesland*; *Ex Agricolarum familia, apud Frisos inter bonora-*
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tiores semper habita, vir hic incomparabilis oriundus. — This incomparable Person sprung from the Agricolæ, a Family in Friesland, esteemed amongst the most honourable. But as this Life is the same with that, which we find in Melchior Adam, it cannot ba-
N n

(a) Ex Micraelio, Hist. Ecclesiast. pag. 733.

Year 1442. in the Village of *Baffon*, two Miles from *Groningen*. He gave early proofs of his future Reputation; and he had scarce received the Degree of Master of Arts at *Louvain*, but he might have been advanced to a Professor's Chair, if he had desired it: but his Inclination was rather to travel. He went from *Louvain* to *Paris*, after having lived in the former of these Two Cities the Life of an Athletic, I mean with great Sobriety, Chastity, and Application to Labour [B]. From *Paris* he went to *Italy*, and staid Two Years at *Ferrara* [C], where the Duke conferred many Favours on him. *Theodore Gaza* explained *Aristotle* in that City. *Agricola*, who was one of his Auditors, was heard in his Turn, and admired no less for his Style, than his Elocution. The *Italians* regretted, that so great a Man was not born in their Country. It was his own fault, when he returned home, that he did not possess considerable Employ; but his love of Books hindered him from thinking of any Settlement of this kind, or at least made him soon quit it. He at last accepted a Post, in *Groningen*, and followed the Court of *Maximilian* the First Six Months, to take care of the Affairs of That City. He acquitted himself happily of this Commission, and had no great Reason to boast of the Gratitude of his Masters; therefore he left them, and went to travel again. He was such a Lover of Liberty, that he refused to accept the Headship of a College, which the Inhabitants of *Antwerp* offered him; and I know not how he could with Honour have accepted it, since he had refused to enter, under very advantageous Conditions, into the Service of the Emperor *Maximilian*. He preferred Quiet and Independency to every thing. After having led a very roving Life, he settled in the *Palatinate*, where the Bishop of *Worms*, whom he had instructed in the Greek Tongue, found means to engage his Stay. It was in the Year 1482, that he came into the *Palatinate*; where he spent the remainder of his Life [D], sometimes at *Heidelberg*, and sometimes at *Worms*. The Elector *Palatine* took

lance the Testimony of *Ubbo Emmius*, who was best acquainted with *Friesland*, his own Country, of any Man: "Obiculis gaulibus apud Baffon ortus (*Rodolphus Agricola*) tantum sibi in literis nomen paravit per omnem Europam, ut, &c. (1) — *RODOLPHUS* " *AGRICOLA* born at *Baffon*, of obscure Parents, " gained such a Reputation for Learning over all " Europe, that, &c."

I have been shewed (2) two Proofs of *Emmius*'s Opinion in *Agricola*'s Letters. The one is, that his Twin-Sister was sent to *Groningen* to learn the Skinners Trade, *pellicea opera & texturam pulviorum*; the other is, that the Father of this Girl was Receiver of the Church of his Village. He was much grieved when one of his Sons robbed him of an hundred *Florins* of the Money of that Revenue. "Venit ad me pater tuus turbatus & gemitus, & prope cum lacrimis questus est mihi, Henricum fratrem nostrum pridie ejus diei clam sibi abduxisse centum florenos nostra moneta ex pecunia sacra cujus curam, ut his, ille gerit. — Your Father came to me greatly discomposed, and sighing, and complained to me almost with Tears, that Henry, our Brother, had the Day before stolen from him an hundred *Florins*, of that sacred Money, which, you know, he has the care of." Our *Rodolphus*, being at *Groningen*, wrote this to John his Twin-Brother.

[B] The Life of an Athletic, I mean with great Sobriety, Chastity, and Application to Labour. The Ancients remark, that the Athletics engaged themselves to Labour, and obtained from Wine and Women.

Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,
Multa tulit fœcique puer: sudavit & assit:
ABSTINUIT VENERIS ET VINO (3).

He, who, ambitious of the Victor's Place,
Courts the first Honours of the dusty Race,
Egures himself to Toil from childish Years,
And Cold and Heat's Excreams alternate bears;
Plies the strong Grape's intoxicating Joys,
And Veneris, which manly Strength destroys.

This Abstinence was remarkable in *Agricola*, and very uncommon in the Country where he lived, with regard to the first Particular. "Louvani vixit honestissime ab omni compositione ac commolatione contra gentis sue mores alienissimè. Tantus erat in eo bonarum literarum amor, tam indefessum studium, ut turpis Veneris fornicis & lustra ne noverit quidem (4). — He lived an exemplary Life at *Louvain*, not complying with his Country's Manners in revelling and feasting. So fond was he of good Literature, that he was wholly unacquainted with the scandalous Seats of Debauchery.

It was uncommon likewise every where, and is so still, with respect to the other Particular. For, to the shame of Christianity and of Learning be it said, there appears almost nothing in Scholars but shocking Inclinations to Debauchery. They were perhaps no better in ancient Times; for which reason I wonder why this did not become a Proverb, *Sine Veneris & Baccho frigit Musæ*, as well as this, *Sine Cerere & Baccho frigit Venus*. For this long time, the Youth, who study, have behaved as if the first of these Maxims was true.

[C] And staid two Years (5) at *Ferrara*. He learned Greek, and taught Latin there: He contended with *Guarin* which had the best Talent at writing in Prose, and disputed with the *Strozza*'s the Praise of Poetry; as for Philosophy, he treated of it with *Theodore Gaza* (6).

[D] It was in the Year 1482. that he came into the *Palatinate*, where he spent the Remainder of his Life. *Melchior Adam* asserts this. "Cum hoc (Joanne) Camerario Dalburgio ab anno 1482, partim Heidelberg partim Wormatiae ad ultimum vitæ actum usque vixit conjunctissime (7). — He lived in a strict Friendship with this Person John Camerarius Dalburgius, partly at *Heidelberg*, and partly at *Worms*, from the Year 1482 to his Death." But *Mr de la Moignon* found fault with this Account; for this is his Remark: "*Rodolphus Agricola*, in a Letter, which he wrote to *James Barbarianus*, dated, by Mistake, XCII. instead of XXXII. and in another of the same date to his Brother *John*, says, that, upon taking a Journey the same Year to *Heidelberg*, he gave his Word to *John of Alsbach*, Chancellor of the Count *Palatine*, and Bishop of *Worms*, that he would return to him again the following Year. Yet we find, by his other Letters, that he did not return thither before the middle of the Year 1484. So that the Calculation of *Vassius*, pag. 566. *De Histor. Lat.* concerning the three Years of the Regency of *Rodolphus* at *Heidelberg* (8), is not right. *Sigismond* of *Folign*, otherwise *Sigismondus Fulginas*, is also mistaken, when he says, that *Rodolphus* died by the way in his return from *Rome* to his own Country. *Rodolphus* departed from *Rome* in 1480. and died five Years after at *Heidelberg*. It does not appear by the reading of his Works, that he exercised the Function of Professor at *Worms*. There is a Letter from *Peter Scottus*, dated the eighteenth of February, 1484, in which he says, That he was well pleased with *Agricola*'s having began to read Lectures to the Youth at *Heidelberg*. "Argentinam reversus cum intellexissem te Heidelbergæ compelle purgare, & linguas Juvenum & aures, ut illæ nil sceleris albuginanti hæc vero, tuis tam peritis

(1) Ubbo Emmius, lib. 30. Histor. Frisland. ad ann. 1490. pag. 437.

(2) By *Mr de la Moignon*.

(5) In 1476 & 1477.

(6) Ex *Vassierio* Andre. Bibl. Belg. pag. 798.

(7) Melchior Adam. in *Vitæ Philol.* pag. 16.

(3) Horat. de Arte Poët. ver. 412, &c.

(4) Melchior Adam in *Vitæ Philol.* pag. 15.

(8) Note, that Melchior Adam does not say that *Agricola* ever taught Philosophy at *Heidelberg*. *Vossius* supposes that he taught it there three Years.

took a pleasure in hearing him discourse on Antiquity, and desired him to compile *An Abridgement of ancient History*, which *Agricola* performed with great Learning. He read public Lectures at *Worms*, but his Auditors, having a greater Taste for the Chianery of Logic, than for polite Literature, were not in the way of Thinking he desired. He began to study Divinity at Forty Years of Age; but despairing to succeed in it without the Knowledge of Hebrew, he apply'd himself to the Study of that Language, and, by the assistance of a Jew, he had made a considerable Progress in it [E]. Death, which seized him at *Heidelberg*, on the Twenty eighth of October 1485 (a), did not permit him to proceed. He submitted, with a Christian Resignation, to the Orders from above, and was buried, in a Cordelier's Habit, in the Church of the Minor Friars of that City. The Description, which is given, of his Character, may easily satisfy us, that he was a very good Man, plain, without Malice, moderate, and of a good Disposition. He was never married, tho' he had been in Love, or seemed to have been so. He had resolv'd to marry in his Youth; but, after having seriously examined what he was going to do, he laid aside his Design, not so much for fear of domestic Inconveniences, as out of a certain natural Indolence of Temper [F], which made him sink under the least Cares. One would scarce imagine, that a Person, who had div'd so far into the Study of Antiquity, as he had, should be capable of singing to Instruments Songs of his own Composition; yet in this manner he sometimes entertained the Ladies [G]. It is pretended, that, in the Affair of Religion, he had a Fore-taste of that Light [H], which appeared in the following Age. He left his Books to *Adolphus Otto*, a Native of *Friesland*, and Physician at *Augsburg* (b). Mr *Morari* had no foundation for saying, that *Erasmus* and *Agricola* became acquainted at *Ferrara* [I]. *Paul Freberus* did not understand all that

(a) Erasmus therefore was mistaken when he said that Agricola died before the Age of 40 Years. A. J. Chiff. 2. cent. 4. n. 39.

(b) Taken out of Melchior Adam in Vita Philof. pag. 13, & seq.

"peritis & dulcibus elegantis delibatz, omnes illas
"scilorum insulas & verbosas ineptias quasi magicas
"incantationes declinatz: tum ego vehementer lym
"gravius (9). — Returning to *Argentina*, when I un-
"derstood, that you had begun at *Heidelberg* to purge
"the Tongues and Ears of the Youth, that the sur-
"mer might not utter any thing senseless or wicked,
"and that the latter, by the infusion of your blissful
"and pleasing Elegancies, might avoid all the insipid
"and wordy Polities of Pretenders to Learning, as
"so many magical Incantations; when I understood
"this, I was greatly pleased."

[E] Had made a considerable Progress in it.] We learn from himself that at first this Study seemed very difficult to him; "Studia Hebraea --- primum
"ei plurimum negotii, ut scribit ipse, exhibuerunt,
"ut sibi videretur cum Antæo luctari (10). —
"The Study of the Hebrew Tongue, according to his
"own Account, gave him at first a great deal of
"Trouble, inasmuch that it seemed to him, as if he
"was wrestling with Antæus." Meeting afterwards
"with a Jew who understood that Language indiffer-
"ently well, he made such a Progress in a few
"Months, that he could translate some of David's
"Psalms without Faults. Natus Judæum ejus lingue
"utcumque peritum paucis mensibus tantum profecit, ut
"aliquot Psalmos Davidicos in Latinam linguam citre
"culam transferret (11). This will not authorize us
"to say, with *Vossius*, that *Agricola* was very skilful
"in the Hebrew Tongue, Hebraicè doctissimus (12);
"we may degrade this Superlative, without any Inju-
"stice, and treat it like a Trooper, who is dismoun-
"ted, to be incorporated with the Infantry. *Gesner*
"distinguished better than *Vossius*; the latter has be-
"stowed a Superlative on *Agricola*'s Latin, Greek, and
"Hebrew, indifferently. But *Gesner* expresses himself
"thus: *Græci & Latini sermonis peritus, & Hebraicæ
"lingue non ignarus* (13). — Skilled in the Latin and
"Greek Tongues, and not ignorant of the Hebrew. He
"borrows these Words from *Trithemius*. *König* ou-
"does *Vossius*; for he makes use of the Superlative
"callentissimus, most knowing. See *Parillas*'s third Mi-
"stake below. We may observe likewise, that *Tri-
"themius* does not speak with Exactness, when he as-
"sures us, that *Agricola* had translated the Psalter from
"the original Hebrew (14); for we do not reckon the
"Exercises of an Author in learning a Language a-
"mong his Works; but it is plain, that the Transla-
"tion, which *Agricola* made of some of David's
"Psalms, was an Exercise, which his Jew corrected
"for him. This Jew was converted to the Christian
"Religion. *John Dalburg*, Bishop of *Worms* (15), kept
"him in his House only for the sake of *Agricola*, if
"we may believe *Valerius Andreas*, "Primus ex-
"lantes è Germania Græcæ reliquias litteras, quibus
"etate profectionem etiam Hebraicæ adjectæ, præcep-
"tore usus Judæo quodam ad fidem converso, quem

"Wormatiensis Episcopus *Johannes Dalburgus*, solius
"Rodelphi causa, domi sue misit (16). — He
"was the first who restored the called Greek Learn-
"ing in Germany; to which, in his ripe Years, he
"added the Hebrew, by the Instruction of a certain
"converted Jew, whom the Bishop of *Worms*, *John
"Dalburg*, entertained in his House, ably upon Ro-
"dolphus's Account."

[F] As out of a certain natural Indolence of Tem-
"per.] Because I cannot pretend to reach the Force
"of his Expressions. I shall set down the Greek Words,
"which he made use of. "Uxorem nunquam duxit:
"quamquam in priori ætate duxurum declinavit. Sed
"postquam incipit diligentius se ipse introspicere,
"aversus est ab eo consilio non incommotis rei oco-
"nomicz, sed deteruit ipsum genus vite sue, &
"animus levissimis etiam curis impar, nati φασγαν-
"τι τῆς φρονος (verba sunt ipsius epistola quadam ad
"Capnionem) ὅτι μάλλον ἀπορρηγνόντων καὶ ἰσχυρί-
"ων παρὰ τῆς αἰσῆς (17). — He never married:
"though formerly he had resolved to marry. But,
"after that he began to look more carefully into him-
"self, he gave up that Resolution, not in Considera-
"tion of the Inconveniences of a married State; but
"his own manner of Life, and his natural Dispo-
"sition, unequal to the lightest Cares, deterred him
"from it."

[G] Sometimes entertained the Ladies.] See what
"his Historian says: "Puellas amare se nonnunquam
"simulabat, verum nunquam deperibat. In eorum
"gratiam vernacula lingua quædam carmina scripsit
"elegantissimè: quæ virginibus primariisq; amicis
"præsentibus voce & testudine modulatissimè can-
"bat (18). — He sometimes pretended to be an
"Admirer of the Ladies; but was never desperately
"in love with any of them. For their Sakes he
"wrote some very elegant Latin Verses in his mother
"Tongue." He understood all kinds of Music; "Ca-
"nebat voce, flatu, pulsu (19). — He performed
"with his Voice, his Breath, and his Fingers."

[H] A Foretaste of that Light.] Some one, who
"heard *Agricola* and *Mellissus* discourse together, testi-
"fies, that they deplored the Darkness of the Church;
"and that they blamed the Mass, Calibacy, and the
"Doctrine of the Monks concerning Justification by
"Works (20).

[I] Mr *Morari* had no Foundation for saying,
"that *Erasmus* and *Agricola* became acquainted at
"*Ferrara*.] This is easily proved. *Erasmus* was
"born in the Year 1467. He studied at *Desaver-*
"at twelve or thirteen Years of Age. *Agricola*
"was at *Ferrara* in the Year 1476, and 1477. How
"could he then have contracted an eternal Friendship
"with *Erasmus* in that City? If Mr *Morari* had read
"*Agricola*'s Prognostic concerning *Erasmus*, he would
"not have said that they became acquainted at *Fer-*
"*rara*. *Agricola* was returned from Italy, when, ha-

(9) Centur. Epist. Philolog. à Golladto Editum, pag. 55, 56.

(10) Melch. Adam. ibid. pag. 18.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 19.

(12) De Hist. Lat. pag. 566.

(13) Gesn. in Biblioth. fol. 353.

(14) Apud Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 768. Gesner affert it likewise.

(15) And not Heidelberg, as Bullart says in his Academiæ of Sciences, Tom. 1. pag. 2. 6.

(16) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. 758.

(17) Melch. Adam. Vita Philof. p. 19. See also the Life of Agricola among those of the Professors of Groningen.

(18) Melch. Adam. Vita Philofoph. pag. 18.

(19) Id. ib.

(20) Id. ib. in Vita Profforum Groningens.

(c) Valer.
Andr. Bibl.
Belg. pag.
798.

that he transcribed out of *Erasmus* [K] in praise of *Agricola*. We understand from the same *Erasmus*, that *Agricola* died for want of timely Assistance from the Physicians [L]. *Reuchlinus* has taken notice of the Funeral Oration of this Learned Man (c). *Varillas* will supply us with many Faults here [M], and give us an occasion to relate what concerns the publication of one of *Agricola's* Books, entitled *De Inventione Dialectica* [N].

ving read the Themes of *Hegius's* Scholars at *Deventer*, he found I know not what in that of *Erasmus*, which made him desire to see the Child, and, having well observed him, he pronounced, that he would be a great Man. *Erasmus* was not twenty Years of Age, when *Agricola* died, and had not yet emerged from the Darkness, wherein impertinent Tutors had detained him; so that there could not be that Friendship between him and *Agricola*, which *Mr Moreri* speaks of. Here are some other Mistakes of that Author. *Agricola*, says he, was learned in all kind of Literature, and even in the Greek Language. This is, as if one should say, Such a one is learned in all Parts of Divinity, and even in the Questions about Grace. Is not the Greek Tongue one of the noblest Parts of Literature? I do not know where *Mr Moreri* has read, that *Agricola* was two Years Syndic of the City of *Groningen*.

(21) In his
Theat. Vi-
ror. erudit.
pag. 1430.

[K] All that he transcribed out of *Erasmus* [21] He applies That to our *Agricola*, which *Erasmus* said of another. You must know, that *Erasmus*, having highly praised *Agricola*, confesses, that one of the Reasons, which made him so inclin'd to praise him, was, that he (*Erasmus*) had been instructed by one (22), who had been a Scholar of *Agricola* (23). Upon which he displays his Master's Merit; and says, among other Things, That Envy itself could not cavil at him, but for having too much despis'd Fame, for having had too little regard for Posterity, and for having wrote nothing but by way of Amusement. *Freberus* reports this Remark, as if it related to *Agricola*, wherein he attributes a Falshood to *Erasmus*; for *Agricola's* Works, collected in a Body (24), and printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1539, prove, that he wrote many Things with Care, and with all his Industry.

(22) Alex-
and. Hegius

(23) Eras-
mus. Adag. chil.
1. cent. 4.
n. 39. pag.
145.

(24) By Al-
lard of Am-
sterdam.
They are
contained in
two Volumes
in 4to.

[L] He died for want of timely Assistance from the Physicians. Let us see *Erasmus's* Account of this Matter: It will not be disagreeable to read it in his own Words. "Veluti si quis in morbo capitali Medicum operari infirmum aut procul accersendum; quæ res Hominem illum vere divinum extinxit Rodolphum Agricolaem; etenim, dum cunctatur Medicus, Mors anteverit (25). — As if any one, in a mortal Distemper, should wait for an eminent Physician, or one a great way off; which was the Occasion of the Death of the great Rodolphus Agricola; for Death was before-hand with the tardy Physician.

(25) Eras-
mus. Adag. Chil.
3. cent. 3.
n. 62.
pag. 703.

[M] *Mr Varillas* will supply us with many Faults here. I. He says (26), That *Agricola* had such a prodigious Memory, that he never forgot any thing that he had learned. This is an Hyperbole, for which I find no ground in that great Man's History, though they have very much enlarg'd on his Talents. Would they have forgot this, which is the most extraordinary that can be met with? II. He became learned to a Prodigy, by Books, which were borrowed, and without a Master. The Hyperbole here is accompany'd with a palpable Falshood; for we read in his Life, that he was sent very early to the College (27), and that after he had studied Grammar, he went to *Louvain*, where he lodg'd in the College of the *Faulton*, and perform'd all the Exercises of a Student in Philosophy, and became acquainted with several, who had a taste for good Latin. He was also a diligent Auditor of *Theodore Geza* at *Ferrara*. — *Ibi Theodorum Gazam, Aristotelis Scripta enarrantem, diligenter audivit* (28). It is very true, that he carried but few Books with him, in his Travels, and that, leaving the rest of his Library with his Friends, he made use of borrow'd Books, according as he wanted them: But, besides that there is no learned Man, who does not do the like in travelling; can it be said that *Agricola* gain'd all his Learning in his Travels? III. He began his Studies, where others use to end them; that is, with the Hebrew Tongue. He was not only desirous of understanding it in its Purity, but with all the Alterations, likewise, which Time, and the refining of the Rabbinis, have produc'd in it. He was equally industrious in acquainting himself with

(27) Puer
admodum in
Iudum liter-
arum mis-
sus. Mich.
Adam. Vit.
Philol. pag.
13.

(28) Id. ib.
pag. 15.

the Greek Tongue. — Lastly, he apply'd himself to Latin, without any regard to the Remonstrances of those, who pretended to dissuade him from it, because the Habit of writing and pronouncing the Hebrew seem'd to have introduc'd into his Mind an Incompatibility with the Roman Phrases and Expressions. Who can read this without Astonishment, when he is inform'd that our *Rodolphus* did not learn Hebrew till a few Years before his Death, and that the Progress he made in it was but small (29): I fancy *Mr Varillas* was deceiv'd by this Passage in *Latin*; — it is an Apostrophe to *Agricola*, "Transi enim Hebraicas, Græcæque literas, usque adeo stupenda celeritate, ut nequaquam Groningiz in ultima Frisia, sed Hierosolymis Athenique natus ac educatus à doctissimis crederere. Latinas porro tanta felicitate didicisti, docuisti ut, &c. (30) — You went through the Hebrew and Greek Learning with such a surprising Celerity, that you seem'd to have been born and educated, not at *Groningen* in farthest Friesland, but at *Jerusalem* and *Athens*. You attain'd likewise to the Latin, and taught it so successfully, that, &c." This seems to me to be the Reason, why *Mr Varillas* imagin'd, that *Agricola* first learnt the Hebrew, then the Greek, and last of all the Latin Tongues, and that he often compos'd, and spoke in Hebrew. IV. He made such a surprizing Progress in the Latin, that *Erasmus*, so little accusom'd to praise in others the Riches which himself posses'd, was never weary of commending him, especially after he had publish'd his Commentaries, so polite, and so worthy of the Age of *Augustus*, on *Aristotle's* Rhetoric and Logic. *Erasmus* was so inconsiderable a Man, when *Agricola* died; that the Progress of his Admiration must not be look'd for in the Years, which preceded the Death of *Agricola*. Besides, it is an Anachronism to say, that this illustrious Friesland liv'd till the Time when his own Possession of polite Literature hinder'd *Erasmus* from praising it in others. I have yet two Observations; The Commentaries on *Aristotle's* Logic did not appear till after the Death of the Author. *Erasmus* informs us of this, and says also, that they were mutilated. "Latitabant apud nescio quos commentarii Dialectices, nuper in publicum prodierunt, sed multis (31). — The logical Commentaries lay conceal'd in the Possession of I know not who; lately indeed they have come abroad, but imperfect." Certainly it is not in this Work, that *Agricola's* Latin, or the polite Manners of the Age of *Augustus*, are to be admir'd. V. The Elector Palatine — caus'd *Agricola* to come to *Heidelberg* — gave him the first Professorship of Eloquence in the University — and made him his Counsellor of State. Neither the Life of *Agricola* among those of the Professors of *Groningen*, nor that in *Melchior Adam*, say any thing like this. The Bishop of *Worms* is said to have invited *Agricola* into the Palatinate.

[N] Entitled, *de Inventione Dialectica*.] The following Remark was communicated to me since the first Edition. "Rodolphus Agricola compos'd no regular Commentaries on *Aristotle's* Logic or Rhetoric. We have only his three Books of *Invention*, *Dialectica*, which were first printed at *Louvain*, in the Year 1516, by the Care of *Alard of Amsterdam*, who published them confusedly, just as he could meet with them. Some time after, one *James le Febvre*, at *Deventer*, gave out that he had a Manuscript of the *de Invention* *Dialectica*, more ample, by three Books, than the Edition of *Louvain*; but this was false. *Alard*, who went on purpose to this *le Febvre* at *Deventer*, having seen his Manuscript, found it neither more ample, nor more correct than that, from whence the Edition of *Louvain* was publish'd. He reproach'd *le Febvre* for it, who excus'd himself as well as he could, though badly enough. Since the Year 1528, *Pompey Occo*, having obtain'd *Agricola's* own Manuscript by the Inheritance of his Uncle *Adolphus*, gave it to *Alard*, who, finding it very complete, and well preserv'd, caus'd it to be printed at *Cologne*.

(29) See the
Remark [K]
above, and
add the
Words of *Eras-
mus* 1. c. 3.
Extra mo vi-
tem tempore
ad literas
Hebraicas
totum
animu in ap-
plicat.

In his de-
scrip-
tion of the
Age of
the He-
brew
Learning,
*Eras-
mus* chil.
1. n. 39.
cent. 4.
pag. 145.

(30) Paul.
Juvius. Elog.
cap. 32.

(31) Eras-
mus supra.

"logue, in 4to, with long Commentaries, in the Year 1539. Some Years before, *John Mattheus Præfemius*, to whom *Alard* had communicated his Manuscript, had caused it to be printed in the same City, with his own Comments. This Work, which

"is *Rodalphus's* Master-piece; was always universally esteem'd for the Exactness of the Style (32), and "of the Arguments." This comes from the same hand with the Observation, contain'd in the Remark [D] (33).

(32) *All it's*
may be us,
tho' this Work
is very far
from the po-
lite Manners
de Monnoir.

of the Augustan Age, and less eloquent than some other Pieces of *Agricola*.

(33) Mr de

AGRIPPA (HENRY CORNELIUS), a great Magician, according to some [A], was a very Learned Man of the XVIth Century. He was born at *Cologne*, on the fourteenth of September, 1486 (a), of a Noble and Ancient Family [B]. Desiring to walk in the Steps of his Ancestors (b), who for many Generations had been employed by the Princes of the House of *Austria*, he entered early into the Service of the Emperor *Maximilian*. He had at first the Employ of Secretary; but as he was equally qualified for the Sword, as the Pen, he afterwards turned Soldier, and served the Emperor seven Years in his *Italian* Army [C]. He signalized himself on several Occasions, and, as a reward of his Brave Actions, obtained the Title of *Knight*. He had a mind to add the Academical Honours to the Military [D]; He therefore commenced Doctor of Law, and Physic. It cannot be denied, that he was a very great Genius, and had a very extensive Knowledge of Languages [E] and Things; but his too great Curiosity, his too free Pen, and his inconstant Temper, rendered him unhappy. He changed his Situation perpetually; he brought himself continually into Trouble; and, to compleat his Misfortunes, he drew upon himself the Hatred of the Clergy by his Writings. We find by his Letters, that he had been in *France* before the Year 1507 (c), that he travelled into *Spain* in the Year 1508 (d), and that he was at *Dole* in 1509 (e). He read Public Lectures there [F], which engaged him in a Contest with the *Cordelier Catilinet*. The Monks in those Times suspected, whatever they did not understand, of Error or Heresy; How then cou'd they suffer *Agrippa* to explain the mysterious Works of *Reuchlinus de Verbo mirifico* with Impunity? It was the Subject of the Lectures, which he read at *Dole* in the Year 1509, with great Reputation. The Counsellors of the Parliament themselves were his Auditors (f). To insinuate himself the better into the Favour of *Margaret of Austria*, Governess of the

(a) *Agrippi,*
Epist. 2.
lib. 7. pag.
141. Edit.
8vo. Lugd.

(b) *Id. Epist.*
18. lib. 6.
pag. 970. &
Epist. 21.
lib. 7. pag.
1021. See
also pag. 736.

(c) *Epist. 1.*
lib. 1.

(d) *Ep. 10.*
lib. 1.

(e) *Epist. 17.*
lib. 1.

(f) See *A-*
grippa's Ex-
position
with *John*
Catilinet,
Provincial
Minister of
the Franci-
can Brethe,
of Burgundy,
Operum,
Tom. 2. pag.
508.

[A] A great Magician, according to some. Paul Jovius, Thevet, and Martin Del Rio are his principal Accusers. We shall see, in the Remark [P], the Mistakes, into which they fall; they are palpable; and yet a great number of Persons are still persuaded, on the Authority of these Writers, that *Agrippa* was perfect in the Art Magic.

[B] Of a noble and ancient Family. It's Name was *de Nettebeym*. Mr *Teiffier* assures us, in the 99th Page of the second Volume of his Additions to the *Elogies* taken out of *Thuanus*, that *Agrippa* was born at *Nettebeym*, in the Country of *Cologne*. *Melchior Adam*, whom he quotes, does not say so; he makes him to be born at *Cologne* itself (1), and refers us to a Letter of *Agrippa*, wherein we read these very Words, address'd to the Magistrates of *Cologne*: "Pol-
sem vobis horum verissima exempla referre, nisi
civium vestrorum pudori parendum, & patriæ meæ
rationem habendam ducerem. Sum enim & ego,
si forte necitis, civitate vestra oriundus, & prima
pueritia apud vos nutritus (2). — I could give
you undoubted Examples of these things, had I not
a regard for your Citizens, and for the Place of my
Birth. For I must tell you, if you are ignorant of
it, that I was born in your City, and brought up
from my Infancy in it." Thevet is still more mistaken
in saying, That *Agrippa* was born in the City of *Nestra* (3). I know nothing of our *Agrippa's* Father, but that he serv'd the House of (4) *Austria*, and that he died about the Beginning of the Year 1518 (5).

[C] Serv'd the Emperor seven Years in his Italian Army. *Freberus*, who ventures but seldom to go beyond the Bounds of those, whom he transcribes, had a Mind here to play the Master, and to shew that he could tell us something, omitted by *Melchior Adam*. But he has been very unlucky in it; for he makes these seven Years commence in 1508, and end in 1515. If he had been well acquainted with the History of *Agrippa*, he would have known, that this Author was in *Spain* in the Year 1508, at *Dole* in the Year 1509, and in *England* in the Year 1510. This Week of Years must have begun in 1511, and *Agrippa* must necessarily have pretended that he serv'd under the Emperor, all the time he liv'd in Italy. But his own Letters would have betray'd him. We do not find, that he had any Employment in the Army, after he was made Professor at *Pavia*, in 1515. *Freberus*, in the rest of his Extract from *Melchior Adam*, contents himself with the Faults of That Author, and adds no other to them. See his *Theatrum*, pag. 1221.

V O L. I.

[D] Add the Academical Honours to the Military.]

It is proper to produce his own Words. "Utriusque Juris & Medicinarum Doctor evasi, antea etiam Auratus Eques; quam ordinem non precario mihi redemi, non à transmarina peregrinatione mutuavi, non in Regum inthronisatione impudenti insolentia furipui, sed in publicis præliis, media acie, bellica virtute commerui (6). — I went out Doctor of Laws and Physic, having before receiv'd the Honour of Knighthood; the conferring of which Order upon me was not the Effect of Solicitation, not borrowed from my Travels beyond Sea, nor impudently and insolently extorted from the Inauguration of Kings; but gloriously earn'd by Martial Bravery, and in the Field of Battle."

[E] Extensive Knowledge of Languages.] He understood eight, and there were but two, out of this great Number, which he did not understand to Perfection. He will give us this Account himself, without too much Modesty: We need not be afraid of injuring him, by esteeming him, according to the value he sets upon himself. "Octo linguarum medicritæ doctus, sed illarum sex adeo peritus, ut singulis non loqui modo & intelligere, sed & eleganter orare, dictare, & transferre noverim; tum præter multimodam etiam abstrusarum rerum cognitionem, utriusque Juris & Medicinarum Doctor evasi (7). — I was moderately vers'd in eight Languages; of which six were so familiar to me, that I not only understood and spoke them, but was able to play the Orator in them, dictate in them, and translate from them: then, besides an extensive Knowledge of the most abstruse things, I commenc'd Doctor of Laws and Physic." He was betimes in search of the Philosopher's Stone, and it appears that he had been recommended to some Princes, as very fit for the grand Projection, which made him run the Hazard of his Liberty sometimes (8). It is certain, that a Person thought capable of making Gold, might well be afraid, that some Prince would imprison him, in order to employ him for himself, exclusive of other Princes.

[F] He read public Lectures there.] He seems to contradict himself on this Subject; for sometimes he says that he did it without Reward, and sometimes that he was rewarded for it. "Publicis prælectionibus quas ad honorem Illustrissimæ Principis Margaretæ Dolani feci GRATIS. — Inter public Lectures, to which I read GRATIS at DOLE, in a hour of the most illustrious Prince's Margareta. Thus he speaks

(6) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.
See also pag.
737, 97.

(7) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(8) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(9) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(10) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(11) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(12) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(13) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(14) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(15) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(1) *Melch.*
Adam. in
Vit. Medi-
cor. pag. 16.

(2) *Agrippa,*
Epist. 26.
lib. 7. pag.
1041.

(3) *Thevet's*
History of
Illustrious
Men, Tom.
7. pag. 222.
Edit. Paris
1600, 1671.

(4) *Agrippa,*
Epist. 18.
lib. 6. pag.
970.

(5) *Id. Epist.*
10. lib. 2.
pag. 736.

(6) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(7) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(8) *Id. Epist.*
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1221.

(e) See the *Epi. le Dedicatory of that Treatise*, dated at Antwerp is the Month of April, 1529.

(f) His Expositiō is dated from London, 1530.

(g) Agrippa, Defectio Propositi. PG. 596.

(h) Id. ib.

(i) Operum, Tom. 2. p. 1073.

the *Neiberlands*, he composed at that Time a *Treatise of the Excellency of Women* (g); but the Persecution he suffered from the Monks hindered him from publishing it. He gave up the Cause, and went into *England* (h), where he wrote on the Epistles of *St Paul* (i), though he had another very private Affair in hand. Being returned to *Cologne*, he read Public Lectures there on the Questions of Divinity, which are called *Quodlibetales*; after which he went to the Emperor *Maximilian's Army in Italy*, and continued there, till Cardinal *de Sainte Croix* sent for him to *Pisa*. Agrippa would have displayed his Abilities there in quality of Theologist of the Council, if That Assembly had continued. This would not have been the way to please the Court of *Rome*, nor to deserve the obliging Letter he received from *Leo X* [G], and from whence we may conclude that he altered his Opinion. From that Time he taught Divinity publicly at *Pavia*, and at *Turin* (k). He read Lectures on *Mercurius Trismegistus*, at *Pavia*, in the Year 1515 (l). His leaving That City, the same, or the following Year, looked more like running away, than retiring. This appears by the 49th Letter of his first Book, compared with the 520th. He had a Wife and Children at that Time [H]. It appears by the Second Book of his Letters, that his Friends

(g) Operum Agrippæ, Tom. 2. p. 510.

(h) In Defectio. Propositi. pag. 596.

(i) It is the 38th Book among those of Agrippa.

(j) Operum Agrippæ, Tom. 2. p. 710.

(k) It was partly added to this Purpose, as apud Crenium Animad. Philol. & Histor. part. 2. p. 14, 15.

(l) Epist. 19. lib. 2. PG. 731.

in his Complaint against the *Cordelier Catilinet* (g). But he says elsewhere, That he was admitted into the Society of the Professors of Divinity, and gratified with a Pension (h). "In Dola Burgundie publ. leclura facras literas professus sum, ob quam ab hujus studii Doctoribus in Collegium receptus, insuper regentia & Stipendiis donatus sum. — At Dole, in Burgundy, I read public Lectures in Divinity; upon which Account I was admitted by the Doctors of that Faculty into the College, and was besides rewarded with the Place of Regent, and a Pension." The way to reconcile these two things, is to say, That at first he read gratis, and afterwards for Money.

[G] The obliging Letter he receiv'd from *Leo X*. (11) It is dated from *Rome*, the twelfth of July, 1513, and sign'd *Petrus Bemus*. He is there commended for his Zeal for the holy Apostolical See, on the good Character which the Nuncio had given of him. "Ex literis venerabilis fratris Eranii Episcopi Verulanii nuncii nostri, aliorumque sermonibus, de tua in sanctam sedem Apostolicam devotione, deque tuo in ejus libertate incolumitateque tuenda studio diligentique intelleximus: quod quidem nobis gratissimum fuit. Quapropter te in Domino magnopere commendamus, laudamusque istum animum atque virtutem (12). — We have been inform'd, by the Letters of our venerable Brother Eranius, Bishop of Verulan, our Nuncio, and from the Report of others, of your Devotion to the holy See, and your Care and Diligence in defending its Privileges and Safety; which gave us great Satisfaction. Wherefore we greatly commend you in the Lord, and praise this virtuous Disposition." Let me remark, that This Brief is of no use towards clearing Agrippa from the Imputation of Necromancy (13), for it preceded his ill Reputation several Years.

[H] He had a Wife and Children at that Time. Though I make use of the Plural Number, yet I know he had but one Son: "Quorū, quorū, in tam suscitata tempestate, una cum uxore filioque ac familia confugissem, relicta Domo ac supellestili, rebusque omnibus? — How could I leave my House, Furniture, and all my Effects; and whither, in such suspicious Times, could I fly with my Wife, my Son, and my Family?" Thus he speaks in the forty ninth Letter of the second Book. He was very happy in his Wife, whom he thus describes in another Place; "Ego quidem Deo omnipotenti innumeram habeo gratiam, qui uxorem mihi conjunxit secundum cor meum, virginem nobilem, bene moratam, adolecentulam, formosam, que ita ad meam vitam consuetudinem, ut ne contumeliosum verbum inter nos intercedat, atque, quo foelicissimum me dixerō, quorū res res vertunt, in prosperis & adversis, semper acque mihi benigna, affabilis, constant, integerrimi animi, sani consilii, semper apud se manens (14). — I give abundant Thanks to Almighty God, who bestow'd on me a Wife after my own Heart, a young Lady of a good Family, well bred, young, and handsome, who lives with me in so compliant a manner, that we never exchange an angry Word; and, to complement my Happiness, she joins both in Prosperity and Adversity; alike affectionate, affable, and constant; honest, prudent, and ever employ'd in the Care of her Family." One thing he forgot to tell us, I mean, whether she was

rich or not; for otherwise he represents her as endow'd with all he could desire, handsome, young, virtuous, of a noble Family, and of a perpetual Compliance. He lost her in the Year 1521, and, for what Reason I know not, he would have her buried at Metz, where he no longer resided (15). He took Care to order, that all the Anniversaries should be performed, which he had founded for the Soul of the deceased (16). He married again at *Genova*, in the Year 1522 (17). He praises this second wife as much as the first, for he says, "Ante biennium hoc secunda uxorem duxi virginem nobilem pulcherrimamque, que adeo ad meam vitam consuetudinem ut nescias istane priorum, animum hanc illam alteram, in amando obsequendoque æquet, an superet (18). — Two Years ago, I married a second Wife, a young Lady of a good Family, and very beautiful; she behaves with so much Complaisance towards me, that you would be at a loss to determine which of the two equals, or exceeds, the other in Duty and Affection." The latter was more fruitful than the former; he had but one Son by the first; the second lay in three times in two Years, and a fourth time the Year following; "Duos ista mihi filios peperit, ambo superstitēs, filiamque unam quæ vita excessit (19). — Uxor mea jam partui proxima est (20). — She has already brought me two Sons, both alive, and one Daughter, who is dead. — My Wife is at this time near her Delivery." He does not say whether she was rich; but one of his Friends assures us, that she was. — Te nunc probi, nobili, formosa, ac locuplete ducta uxore, &c. (21). — Having now married a virtuous, noble, handsome, and rich Wife, &c. But this does not convince me; for Agrippa's Letters, after his second Marriage, breathe as much Poverty, as before. The Cardinal of Lorraine was Godfather to his third Son, by his second Wife (22). When he set out from *Paris* for *Antwerp*, in the Month of July, 1528, he left his Wife big with Child at *Paris* (23). She was brought to Bed of her fifth Son, at *Antwerp*, the thirteenth of March, 1529 (24), and died in August, 1529, at *Antwerp*, extremely lamented by her Husband, as appears by the eighty first Letter of the fifth Book; she was near twenty five Years of Age. I do not find that he makes mention of his third Marriage in his Letters; but we find that he divorc'd his Wife in the Year 1535. Ubi conjugem Mechliniensem Bonne repudiasset anno tricesimo quinto supra sequimur (25). This was what *Jabū Wierus* (25) informs us of, who had been his domestic Servant. If *Thevet* had known these Particulars, he would not have been satisfied with telling us that Agrippa married Mrs Louyse Tyllie, of a very noble Family, at twenty three Years of Age, and in the Year of our Lord 1509 (26); he would at least have mention'd the other two Marriages in general. *Melchior Adam* knew more of them than *Thevet*; for he was not ignorant that Agrippa had been twice married: Duum uxorum maritus nobilium, & liberorum aliquot parens; but, besides that he seems to know nothing of the third Marriage, he is guilty of several Chronological Errors, in speaking of the first. These are his Words, "Mortuo Maximiliano, sub diversis & principibus & civitatum magistratibus, per Italiam; Hispaniam, Angliam, Galliam egit, multaque egregia facinorosa deliquit. Tandem, laborum terra marique exaudiorum fatigatus, ac quietis & otii cupidus, ducta uxore

(15) Ibid. lib. 3. PG. 846.

(16) Ibid. 19. lib. 4. PG. 846.

(17) Ibid. 33. lib. 4. PG. 800. See likewise pag. 851.

(18) Ibid. 60. lib. 3. PG. 818.

(19) Ibid. 74. lib. 3. PG. 826.

(20) Ibid. 33. lib. 3. PG. 800.

(21) Ibid. 68. lib. 3. PG. 841.

(22) Ibid. 76. lib. 3. PG. 827.

(23) Ibid. 55. lib. 5. PG. 933.

(24) Ibid. 68. lib. 3. PG. 841.

(25) Wier. de Magic. cap. 5. PG. 112.

(26) Thevet, Histor. Illustr. p. 222, 223.

Friends endeavoured in several Places to procure him some Honourable Settlement, either at *Grenoble*, *Geneva*, *Avignon*, or *Metz*. He preferred the Post, which was offered him in this last City, and I find that, in the Year 1518 (m), he exercised there the Employment of Syndic, Advocate, and Orator of the Town (n). The Persecutions, which the Monks raised against him, as well upon the account of his having refused the common Opinion concerning the three Husbands of *St Anne*, as because he had protected a Country-Woman, who was accused of Witchcraft [I], made him leave the City of *Metz*. What induced him to treat of the Monogamy of *St Anne*, was his seeing, that *James Faber Stapulensis*, his Friend, was pull'd to pieces by the Preachers of *Metz*, for having maintained That Opinion (o). *Agrippa* retired to *Cologne*, his native City, in the Year 1520. willingly forsaking a City, which the Seditious Inquisitors had made an Enemy to Learning, and true Merit (p). It is indeed the Fate of all Countries, where such Persons grow powerful, of whatsoever Religion they are. He left his own City in the Year 1521, and went to *Geneva* (q); but his Fortunes did not much improve there; for he complained, that he was not rich enough to make a Journey to *Chamberi* (r), to solicit the Pension, which he was made to hope for from the Duke of *Savoy*. This Expectation came to nothing; upon which *Agrippa* went from *Geneva* to *Friburg* in *Switzerland* (s), in the Year 1523 (t), to practise Physic there, as he had done at *Geneva*. The Year following he went to *Lyons*, and obtained a Pension from *Francis I.* He was in the Service of That Prince's Mother, in Quality of her Physician, but made no great improvement of his Fortune there; neither did he follow That Princess (u), when she departed from *Lyons*, in the Month of *August*, 1525, to conduct her Daughter to the Frontiers of *Spain*. He was suffered to dance attendance at *Lyons*, and employ the Interest of his Friends in vain, to obtain the payment of his Pension: and, before he received it, he had the Vexation to be informed that he was struck out of the List (x). The Cause of his Disgrace was, that, having received Orders from his Mistress to inquire, by the Rules of Astrology, what Turn the Affairs of *France* would take, he expressed his Disapprobation too freely, that the Princess shou'd employ him in so vain a Curiosity, instead of making use of him in more important Matters. The Lady took this Lesson very ill (y); but she was yet more angry, when she heard, that *Agrippa's* Astrology promised the Constable of *Bourbon* new Triumphs [K]. *Agrippa*, finding himself discarded,

(m) Epist. 12. lib. 2.

(n) See his Op. Spect. Oper. T. III. 2. p. 1090.

(o) Epist. 25. lib. 2. pag. 743. See also pag. 745.

(p) Epist. 33. lib. 2. pag. 749.

(q) Epist. 1. lib. 3. pag. 724.

(r) Epist. 42. lib. 3. pag. 794.

(s) And not in Brigaw, as M. Ichior Adam says.

(t) Epist. 41. lib. 3. dec.

(u) Epist. 70. lib. 3. pag. 828.

(x) Epist. 52. lib. 4. pag. 869.

(y) Epist. 37. lib. 4. pag. 859. 870.

"uxore, virgine nobili, fidem in Allobrogibus fixit, ut procul negotiis sibi ac mullis viveret. Invitatus autem ab inclyta Mediomatrici repub. munus syndici, advocati & oratoris obivit (27). — After the Death of Maximilian, he liv'd successively under several Governments, in Italy, Spain, England, and France, and distinguish'd himself by many famous Actions. At length, tir'd with the Fatigues he had undergone both by Sea and Land, and desirous of Ease and Retirement, he married a Wife, a young Lady of Birth; and settled in the Country of the Allobroges, in order to retire from Business, and enjoy himself, and the Muses. But, upon the Invitation of the illustrious Republic of Metz, he was oblig'd to the Offices of Syndic, Advocate, and Orator." Observe, that the Emperor Maximilian died the 12th of January, 1550, and that *Agrippa* travell'd into Spain in 1538, and into England, in 1510. Here is already one Anachronism. After his return from England, he staid some time at Cologne, and afterwards went into Italy, where he still resided in the Year 1517 (28). He was at Metz in the Year 1518 (29). He did not return into Italy after his Departure from thence for Metz; here is, then, another Anachronism. Remark farther, that he was already married, in the Year 1515 (30). Where are then those great Fatigues, which he underwent both by Sea and by Land, after the Death of the Emperor Maximilian, which Matrimony was to free him from? How could he settle with his Wife in the Country of the Allobroges; he, who liv'd a roving Life with her in Italy? Add to this, that he did not settle in the Country of the Allobroges, before his Journey to Metz; and that he was Syndic of Metz before Maximilian died. Melchior Adam is full of the like Mistakes. Part of those, which I have observed, are so much the more excusable, as they are committed on the Authority of *Agrippa* himself, who, through Forgetfulness, or otherwise, told *Margaret*, Queen of Hungary, That he had travell'd to such and such Places, after the Death of Maximilian, &c. See the twenty first Letter of the seventh Book. I should be glad to see some one undertake to reconcile Melchior Adam with These. According to the latter, *Agrippa* married at twenty three Years of Age; according to the former, not 'till after an infinite Number of Travels, and a world of Affairs; when, being fatigued and worn out, he desir'd at last a retir'd Life.

[I] A Country-Woman, who was accused of Witchcraft.] The Dominican, *Niccolai Savini*, Inquisitor of the Faith at Metz, propos'd to put this Woman to the Torture, upon a meer Prejudice; grounded on her being the Daughter of a Witch, who had been burnt (31). *Agrippa* did what he could to prevent so irregular a Proceeding; but could not hinder the Woman from being put to the Question; however he was instrumental in proving her Innocence. Her Accusers were condemn'd in a Fine (32). The Penalty was too mild, and far from Retaliation. [This Country-Woman was of *Vapry*, a Town situated near the Gates of Metz, and belonging to the Chapter of the Cathedral. There appear'd in *Melchior*, the principal Accuser of this Woman, such sordid Passions, and such a total Ignorance of Literature, and Philosophy, that *Agrippa*, who, in his Letter of the second of *June*, 1519, treats the Town of Metz, as, "Omnium bonarum literarum virtutumque Novicia. — The Stepmother of Learning and Virtue." — *Agrippa*, I say, might, by this satirical Reflexion, give rise to the Proverb, "Metis avara, scientiarum novicia — Metz the Covetous, and Stepmother of Arts and Sciences." REM. CRIT.]

[K] Promis'd the Constable of Bourbon new Triumphs.] His Complaint of being employ'd in the Follies of Astrology might well give Offence. "Seneschallo, ut admeat illam, ne ad tam indignum artificium ingenio meo diutius abutatur, nec in has nugas ulterius impingere cogar, qui multo satioribus studiis illi inservire queam (33). I wrote to the Seneschal, desiring him to advise me not to misapply my Abilities any longer in so unworthy an Art; and that I might for the future avoid these Follies; since I had it in my Power to be of Service to her by much happier Studies." But the Misfortune was, these Follies predict'd Success to the opposite Party. "Rediit in mentem scripsisse me Seneschallo; comperisse me in Bourboni natalitii revolutionibus; illum frustatis vestris exercitiis etiam in hac annuum victorem fore — dixique intrinsece, o infelix propheta! hoc vaticinio jam omnem Principis tuæ gratiam concussisti: Hoc est ulcus, hic antrax, hic carbo, hic cancer ille, quem noli me tangere dixisti, quem tu imprudens retigisti etiam cauterio (34). — I remember I told the Seneschal, in a Letter, that in casting the Constable of Bourbon's Nativity, — I had

(31) Ibid. 33. lib. 2. pag. 754.

(32) Ibid. 40. lib. 2. pag. 757. See likewise pag. 763.

• Villa Vapry.

(33) *Agrippa* Epist. 20. lib. 4. pag. 854.

(34) Ibid. 62. lib. 4. pag. 880.

(27) Melchior Adam in Vit. Melchior. pag. 17.

(28) *Agrippa* Epist. 1. lib. 2. pag. 722.

(29) Ibid. 12. lib. 2. pag. 730.

(30) Ibid. 47. lib. 3. pag. 722.

(8) Epist.
ci. lib. 5.
pag. 932.

(aa) Conspiceo, five
audito nomi-
ne meo,
præcipiti ira
repente cir-
cipit pignum
totum, inqui-
ens, se ne-
quaquam fig-
nistrum in
favorem di-
vinatoris.
Epist. 30.
lib. 4. p. g.
920.

discarded, murmured, stormed, threatened [L], wrote, and did, all that his Impatient Humour suggested to him; but, in short, he was obliged to look out for another Settlement. He cast his Eyes on the *Netherlands*, and, having after long waiting obtained the necessary Passes, he arrived at *Antwerp* in the Month of *July*, 1528 (z). One of the Causes of these Delays was the rough Proceeding of the Duke of *Vendôme*, who, instead of signing the Pass, tore it, saying, He would not sign it for a Conjuror (aa). In the Year 1529, *Agrippa* found himself invited at once by the King of *England*, by the Emperor's Chancellor, by an *Italian Marquis*, and by *Margaret of Austria*, Governess of the *Netherlands* (bb). He accepted the Offers of the latter, and was made Historiographer to the Emperor, a Post procured him by *That Prince*. He published, by way of Prelude, *The History of the Government of Charles V.*, and soon after he was obliged to compose *That Prince's* Funeral Oration, whose Death was in some manner the Life of our *Agrippa*; for She had been strangely prejudiced against him [M]. The same ill Office was done him with his Imperial Majesty (cc).

(bb) Epist.
84. lib. 5.
pag. 951.

(35) Id. ib.
pag. 881.

"I had discovered that he would this Year likewise gain the Victory over your Armies; upon which I exclaim'd within myself, O unhappy Prophet! By this Prediction, you have forfeited all the Favour of your Mistress: This is the Ulcer, the Quicksilver Earth, the Coal, the Cancer, which we must not touch; which yet, imprudent as thou art, thou hast ventur'd to touch even with a Burning iron." They, who are acquainted with the History of those Times, see plainly, that our Astrologer could not make his Court worse to the Mother of *Francis I.* than by promising good Success to the Constable. From that time *Agrippa* was look'd upon as a *Bourbonist* (35). To silence this Reproach, he represented the Service he had done to *France*, by dissuading four thousand foot Soldiers from following the Emperor's Party, and by engaging them in the Service of *Francis I.* He alleged his refusal of the great Advantages, which were promis'd him, when he left *Fribourg*, if he would enter into the Constable's Service. It appears by the fourth and sixth Letter of the fifth Book, that he held a first Correspondence with that Prince, in the Beginning of the Year 1527. He advis'd, and counsel'd him, yet refusing to go, and join him, and promis'd him Victory. He assur'd him, that the Walls of *Rome* would fall down, upon the first Attack; he only forgot the chief Point, which is, that the Constable would be kill'd there. "Jam fata illis propinquam stragem suamque perniciem denunciant: Mox illa superba moenia vix oppugnata corruere videbis. Eja ergo nunc, strenuissime Princeps, quem tantæ viæ floræ ducem fata constituunt, rumpe moras, perge intrepidè quò cæpisti prospere, aggredere fortiter, pugna constantè; habes electissimorum militum armatas acies: Adest colorum favor, aderit et justus belli vindex Deus; nihil formidaveris, ingens siquidem te manet gloriæ triumphus (36). — The Fates already denounce their approaching Ruin: You will soon see those proud Walls demolish'd, upon the slightest Attack. Go on, then, most valiant Prince, whom the Fates have plac'd at the Head of so signal a Victory; make no delay; go on, and prosper, as you have begun; attack vigorously; fight undauntedly; you have an arm'd Force of chosen Soldiers: Heaven assists you, and God himself will fight so righteous a Battle; fear nothing, for a glorious Triumph awaits you." The Death of the Constable, which happened before *Agrippa* went out of *Lyons*, puts me in mind of three Errors of *Melchior Adam*. He says, that *Agrippa*, being invited first by the Constable, and afterwards by the Chancellor, went to the Court of *Burgundy*, and a little while after was very unfortunate in the loss of these two Patrons. This is to fall into three Anachronisms. I. The Constable was dead, before *Agrippa* left *France*, and he never had any Design of inviting him to the Court of the Princess *Margaret* (37). II. The Chancellor *Gattinara* did indeed invite him, but it was to the Court of *Charles V.* and it was an Invitation which *Agrippa* distinguished very plainly from That, which was offer'd to him, in relation to the Court of *Margaret* (38). III. He was already in the *Netherlands*, when the Chancellor made Proposals to him.

[L] *Agrippa*, finding himself discarded, murmur'd, storm'd, threaten'd. He had used Menaces, before his Pensions were taken from him. Enrag'd at his Salary's being stopp'd, and seeing himself despis'd, he declar'd he was tempted to perpetrate some base Act. "Crede mihi (39) (say, be in a Letter to a Friend) (39) cō se incli-

"nant res meæ, atque animus, ni tuis precibus celerique adjuver auxilio, malo aliquo utar consilio, si quidem & malis artibus nonnunquam bona fortuna parata est. — Believe me, my Affairs, and my Mind, are in such a Posture, that, unless I am prevented by your Intreaties, and speedy Advice, I shall attempt something vile; since good Fortune is sometimes procur'd by base Arts." When he knew that he was cashier'd, he wrote several thundering Letters, and threaten'd to publish a Discovery of all the Intrigues of those Courtiers, who had ruin'd him (40). He was so brutish as to say, That for the future he should look upon the Princess, whose Counsellor and Physician he had been, as a cruel and perfidious Jezabel: Nec ultra illam ego pro principe mea (jam enim effugit) sed pro atrocissima & perfida quadam Jesabele mihi habendam deinceps (41). What would he not have done in such a Rage, and in such a thirst of Revenge, if he had had so much Credit with the Devil, as they pretend he had? No Author, I believe, has asserted, That this Indignation of *Agrippa* was fatal to any Person of the Court of *France*. This unfortunate Man was not better pleas'd with the Court of *Charles V.* He presented a Petition to *That Prince's* Privy Council, wherein he represented what Harm and Good he could do: His Menaces were the most intelligible in the World; but no ill Consequence attended the Council's disregard of them. "Cogeritis me acceptam ea repulsa injuriam ad novarum rerum licentiam transferre, & malo aliquo consilio (ceu quale Hermocles dedit Paulanæ) uti oportere — Quin & malis artibus sapientissime bona fortuna parata est — Sed interea memineritis inter Æsopi Apologos esse, murem aliquando, subvenisse leoni, & scarabeum expugnasse Aquilam (42). — You would drive me, by this unjust Repulse, to new Plots, and wicked Designs; such as Hermocles advis'd Paulanias to do. — Nay very often Success attends upon base Arts. — But remember, in the mean time, that, in Æsop's Fables, a Mouse once assisted a Lion, and a Beetle got the better of an Eagle.

[M] For she had been strangely prejudiced against him. He gives us the following Account of the Matter, after having complained that they suffered him to perish with Hunger. "Quod ad te scribam non habeo aliud nisi quod ego hic egregie esurio, ab istis sulcibus diis totus præteritus. Quid magnus ille Jupiter, suspicari nequeo. Ego quanto fuerim in periculo, jam primum relinqui; tantum enim dictum est mihi; prævaluerant cuculliones illi apud Dominam, sed muliebriter religiosam principem, ut nisi illa mox perisset, jam ego, quod maximum crimen est, monachalis majestatis sacraque cuculla reus, tanquam in religionem Christianam impius, periturus fuisset (43). — I have only to inform you, that I am here perishing with Hunger, being wholly neglected by your Deities of the Court. What the great Jupiter himself (44) intends, I cannot guess. I have just learned what great Danger I was in; for it has been hinted to me; that the Brethren of the Cow had so influenced this bigotted Princess, that, had not her Death interceded, I should have been convicted of Treason against the Majesty of Monks, and the sacred Cow, (a Crime of the most heinous Nature) and have suffered as a Blasphemer of the Christian Religion." Generally speaking, a Mistress is more to be feared than a Master, when any Person is accused of Irreligion.

(40) See the 52d and the 62d of the 4th Book.

(41) Ibid. 62. lib. 4. pag. 884. See the 52d Letter of the 5th Book, which is full of Indignation; and the 23d of the same Book, wherein he says, That that Princess would be very ill advis'd, if she took him into her Service again.

(42) Ibid. 22. lib. 6. pag. 979.

(43) Agrippa. Epist. 11. lib. 6. pag. 968.

(44) That is Charles V.

(39) Epist. 8. lib. 4. pag. 851.

(cc) Epist.
15. lib. 6.
pag. 969.

(dd) Ibid.
20. lib. 6.
pag. 974.

(ee) Ibid.
14. lib. 6.
pag. 968.

(ff) See the
Remark [2].

(gg) Epist.
20. lib. 6.
pag. 975.
Ibid. 12.
lib. 7. pag.
1010.
Ibid. 21.
lib. 7. pag.
1022.

jeſty (cc). His Treatiſe of the *Vanity of Sciences*, which he cauſed to be printed in 1530, terribly exaſperated his Enemies (dd). That which he publiſhed ſoon after at *Anwerp* (ee), of the *Occult Philoſophy* (ff), afforded them a ſtill farther pretence to defame him. It was well for him that Cardinal *Campegius*, the Pope's Legate, and Cardinal of *la Mark*, Biſhop of *Liege*, were his Advocates (gg). But their good Offices could not procure him one Penny of his Penſion, as Hiſtoriographer, nor prevent his being imprifoned at *Bruffels*, in the Year 1531 (hh). But He was ſoon releaſed. The following Year he made a Viſit to the Archbiſhop of *Cologne* (ii), to whom he had dedicated his *Occult Philoſophy*, and from whom he had received a very obliging Letter (kk). The fear of his Creditors made him ſtay longer in the Country of *Cologne*, than he deſired (ll). He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Inquiſitors, who had put a ſtop to the printing of his *Occult Philoſophy*, when he was publiſhing a new Edition of it, corrected, and augmented, at *Cologne*. See the XXVith and the following Letters of his Seventh Book. In ſpite of them, the Impreſſion was finiſhed, which is That of the Year 1533. He continued at *Bonn* till the Year 1535, and was then deſirous of returning to *Lyons*. He was imprifoned in *France* for ſomething, which he had wrote againſt the Mother of *Francis I*, but was releaſed, at the Requeſt of certain Perſons, and went to *Grenoble*, where he died the ſame Year, 1535 (mm). Some ſay, That he died in the Hoſpital; but, according to *Gabriel Naudé*, it was at the Houſe of the Receiver General of the Province of *Dauphiné*, whoſe Son was firſt Preſident of *Grenoble* (nn). Mr *Allard*, at p. 4. of the *Bibliothèque de Dauphiné*, ſays that *Agrippa* died at *Grenoble*, in the Houſe, which belonged to the Family of *Ferrand*, in Clerks-ſtreet, and was then in the poſſeſſion of the Preſident *Vachon*, and that he was buried in the Convent of the Dominicans. He lived always in the Roman Communion; therefore it ought not to have been ſaid that he was a *Lutheran* [N]. I do not believe that

(bb) Ibid.
23. lib. 6.
pag. 980.

(ii) Ibid. 6.
lib. 7.

(kk) Ibid. 1.
lib. 7.

(ll) Ibid.
21. lib. 7.
pag. 1024.

(mm) John
Wierus de
Magia, cap.
5. pag. 111.

(nn) Naudé's
Apology for
Great Men,
pag. 427.

[N] It ought not to have been ſaid that he was a *Lutheran*. I confeſs, I have not obſerved in his Letters, that, when he ſpeaks of *Luther*, or his Followers, he makes uſe of opprobrious Language, or injurious Reflexions. I own farther, that he inquired particularly into the Tenets of *Luther*, and his Followers, in controverſial Points; but this does not ſhew, that he approved of that Reformer's Doctrine. May not the moſt rigid Proteſtants of the Confeſſion of *Geneva* give orders to purchaſe for them all the Books, which the Seſtaries of *Transilvania* cauſe to be printed; and would it not be very ridiculous to pretend, that therefore they agree in Opinion with thoſe Heretics? They, who embraced the Reformation of *Luther*, did not treat That Doctör with That Indifference, which we meet with in *Agrippa's* Letters, I mean, without praifing, or blaming him. If *Agrippa* was the Author of the eighty ſecond Letter of the third Book, it could be no longer doubted, that he was a ſtanch *Lutheran*; but tho' That Letter is inſcribed, *Agrippa ad amicum*, it is certain that it was not written by *Agrippa*: which I thus demonſtrate. The Author of That Letter tells that his Wife was brought to bed of a Son, in the Month of *November* 1525. Now *Agrippa's* Wife was brought to bed of a Son in the foregoing Month of *July*; this is plain by the ſeventy ſixth Letter of the third Book, wherein it appears likewiſe that the Cardinal of *Lorain* was God-father to the Child. It is inconteſtable, then, that *Agrippa* did not write the Letter in queſtion. I omit that he was not at *Strasburg*, but at *Lyons*, at the time, when That Letter was written from *Strasburg*. So that they, who would produce this as a Proof in favour of *Sixtus Sieneſis*, who ſaid that *Agrippa* was a *Lutheran* (45), would ſupply him with an inſufficient Evidence. [The Truth is, *Agrippa*, in the nineteenth Chapter of his Apology, ſpeaks in ſuch lofty Terms of *Luther*, and with ſuch Contempt of the principal Adverſaries of that Reformer, that it is plain *Sixtus Sieneſis* was induced from thence to affirm, that *Agrippa* was a *Lutheran*. As this was a proper Place for producing this Piece, rather than certain of *Agrippa's* Letters, there is reaſon to believe Mr *Bayle* had not read it ſo careleſſly, as he had done the Letters. REM. CRIT.] *Quenſtedt* conſuted *Sixtus Sieneſis* by the ſixth Chapter of the Treatiſe of the *Vanity of Sciences*, wherein *Agrippa* calls *Luther* an Arch-Heretic. This Conſutation is infinitely more ſolid, than That which a Divine of *Utrecht* made uſe of, by alledging the Profeſſorſhip of Divinity, to which *Agrippa* was preferred at *Dole* and at *Pavia*, and the Poſt he enjoyed under the Cardinal of *Sainte Croix*, for the Council of *Piſa* (46). This proves nothing at all; becauſe all thoſe Honours of *Agrippa* preceded *Luther's* firſt preaching againſt the Pope. If any one asks me,

why *Agrippa* ſpeaks in harſher Terms of *Luther*, in his Books of the *Vanity of Sciences*, than in his Letters, I ſhall not anſwer, that it is a Work, wherein he propoſed to cenſure the whole World: I chuſe to offer another Reaſon. When he compoſed this Treatiſe, it is likely he had given up the Hopes he at firſt conceived of *Luther*. I believe, that, at firſt, he, as well as *Eraſmus*, looked upon this Reformer as an Hero, who would put a ſtop to the Tyranny, which the mendicant Friars, and the reſt of the Clergy, exerciſed over the Minds and Conſciences of Men. Being ignorant and voluptuous, they encouraged a thouſand paſtury Superſtitions, and would not ſuffer, that any one ſhould ſtudy polite Literature; they would neither emerge from their Barbarity, nor ſuffers others to do it: Inſomuch that to be Witty, Learned, and Polite, was ſufficient to expoſe a Man to their Hate and Indignation. *Agrippa*, *Eraſmus*, and ſome other great Geniuses, were pleaſed, that *Luther* had broke the Ice; they expected the critical Hour of honeſt Mens Deliverance from Oppreſſion; but when they ſaw that things did not take the Turn they expected, they were the firſt to caſt a Stone at *Luther*. Let us obſerve, however, that *Agrippa* was very fluctuating in his Sentiments. He proteſted to *Eraſmus*, when he ſent him his Declaration on the *Vanity of Sciences*, that he held no other Opinions, than thoſe of the Catholic Church. *Illud te admonitum volo, me de his quæ ad Religionem attinent nequaquam ſecus ſentire quam ſentis Eccleſia Catholica* (47). He with-ed, in his Dedication of the Apology for this Declaration to the Pope's Legate, that God would purge his Church from the Impiety of Heretics (48); and a little after he wrote to *Melancthon* in a moſt obliging manner (49), and deſired him to compliment, in his Name, the invincible Heretic *Martin Luther*. "Salutatio mihi invidium illum hæreticum" *Martinum Lutherum*, qui, ut in *Actibus* ait *Paulus*, "ſervit Deo ſecundum ſectam quam hæreſim vocant" — "Pay my Compliments to the Invincible Heretic," *Martin Luther*, who, as *St Paul* ſays in the *Acts*, "worſhip God after the way, which they call Heresy;" and expreſſes at the ſame time his earneſt Deſire to come out of *Babylon*. For, ſpeaking of *Charles V*. he ſays, "Utinam hic Nabuchodonofor aliquando ex beſtia rediret in hominem, aut ego relinquere poſſem iſtud Ur Chaldeorum (50). — I wiſh this "Nabuchodonofor would return from the Beaſt to the Man, or that I could depart out of this Ur of the Chaldees." There was a time when the Brethren were recommended to him (51); thus, what we have ſeen that he wrote to *Melancthon*, was a return of certain former Emotions, which his Diſgraces, and the unjuſt Proceedings of the Catholic Divines, had inſpired him with. However, it is very

(47) Epist.
36. lib. 6.
pag. 999.

(48) Ibid.
22. lib. 7.
pag. 1013.

(49) See the
13th Letter of
the 7th Bo.
pag. 1013.
He ſeems to
favour the
New Religi-
on in the 18th
and 52d Let-
ters of the 3d
Book.

(50) Ibid.
16. lib. 7.
pag. 1013.

(51) Ibid.
13. & 34.
lib. 7. See
likewiſe E-
piſt. 1. c. of
the ſame
Book.

(45) Sixtus
Sieneſis. Bi-
blioth.
Sanct. lib. 5.
annot. 73.
apud Quen-
ſtedt de Pa-
tris Illuſtr.
Viro. pag.
144.
Del Rio Diſ-
quiſit. lib. 2.
Queſt. 6. &
Tannerus on
the Treatiſe
De Potentia
Angelorum,
Queſt. 3.
make *Agrippa*
a Proteſtant.
See likewiſe
Voëtius,
Diſput. part.
3. pag. 616.

(46) Voëtius
ubi ſupra.

that he wrote in favour of the Divorce of Henry VIII [O]. As to Magic Art, of which he is accused, every one may judge as he pleases. One thing I assert; which is, that the Letters, which he wrote to his intimate Friends, without any apparent design of printing them, carry all the Marks of a Man used to religious Reflexions, and the Language of Christianity: His Accusers were not well informed of his Adventures [P]; which weakens their Testimony. We shall have Reason to be surprised at

ry certain, that he lived, and died, in the Romish Communion. We shall touch upon some of his Opinions in the Remark [T].

[O] *That he wrote in favour of the Divorce of Henry VIII.* I have read, in the Work of a very learned Man (52), "That Crammer, going into Germany, where he became acquainted with the famous Cornelius Agrippa, discoursed with him concerning the Divorce, and so strongly represented to him the Necessity of it, that this great Man, warmly defending King Henry's Pursuits, was treated with great Rigour by the Emperor, and at last died in Prison." He, who criticised on this Work, answered among other things; I. *That R. Wakefield, who wrote at that time for Henry VIII. said positively, that he answered the Book of the Bishop of Rochester, and another, which was believed to be wrote by Vives, or Agrippa.* II. *That Agrippa died in France, and was never Prisoner in Germany* (53). I find some things in Agrippa's Letters, which convince me that he was not of Crammer's Opinion. His Imperial Majesty's Ambassador at London (54) wrote to Agrippa on the twenty sixth of June, 1531. to exhort him to maintain the Queen's Interest (55); and put him in mind of a Passage of the *Vanity of Sciences*, wherein Henry VIII. is censured. "Hodie adhuc nescio cui regi persuasum audio, ut liceat sibi jam plus viginti annorum uxorem dimittere, & nubere pellici (56). — I am informed, there is a certain King, at this time o' Day, who is persuaded, that it is lawful for him to divorce a Wife, to whom he has been married these twenty Years, and espouse an Harlot." Agrippa answered, that he would willingly engage in this Undertaking, provided the Emperor would send him his Orders, or his Permission. He shewed very strongly, that he detested those cowardly Divines, who approved of the Divorce. The following Passage relates to the Sorbonne. "Non est mihi incognitum quæsit artibus res hæc apud Parisiensem Sorbonam tractata est, quæ cæteris tanti sceleris auctum temerario porrexit exemplo. Vix me continere queo quin imitatus poetam illum exclamem, Dicite Sorbonici in Theologia quid valeat aurum? Quantum pietatis & fidei illorum pectore clausum putabimus, quorum venalis magis quam sincera conscientia est, qui extimescendas univerbo orbi Christiano determinationes auro venales fecerunt, ac servatam tot annis fidei & sinceritatis opinionem nunc tandem extrema avaritiae infamia corruerunt (57). — I am not to learn how awfully this Affair has been managed by the Sorbonne at Paris, which set the rest a rash Example of so vile an Attempt. I can scarce forbear exclaiming, in the Language of the Poet, Tell me, ye Sorbonists, the mighty Power of Gold in Divinity. What share of Piety and Fidelity can we think dwells in their Breasts, whose Conscience is rather mercenary than sincere; who have exposed to sale Decisions shocking to the whole Christian World, and have corrupted the Reputation of Fidelity and Sincerity, maintained by them for so many Years, by the utmost Infamy of Avarice?" Nevertheless he represents the Danger, to which he should expose himself, by writing against a Divorce, which so many Divines had approved, who, says he, bear me a Grudge on account of my Vanity of Sciences. The Ambassador returned to the Charge, and put him in Hopes, that the Queen of England would write to the Emperor, or to the Queen of Hungary, concerning the Method of writing on that Subject; and explained to him the reason, why Erasmus, Vives, and other good Pens of the times ought not to be preferred to him (58). Agrippa looked upon himself as engaged in the Work; for, in the Letter, which he wrote to the Queen of Hungary, after he retired to Bonn, he represented, how he had applied himself altogether to his Office of Historiographer, though he had not yet reaped any Profit by it. I collect *Memoirs*, says he, for the History of the War of

Italy and Hungary; and I have still a greater Design in my Head, which is to write in favour of your Aunt, Queen Catherine. "Sed longe majus his negotium pro vestri sanguinis decore, pro tua, inquam, matera, Angliæ celebratissima Regina, meis humeris impositum suscepi, in quo licet multi hætenus operam suam collocarunt, nullus adhuc nodum rei dissecuit (59). — But I have undertaken a much greater Task than this, for the Honour of your Family, I mean, in favour of your Aunt, the most illustrious Queen of England; in which though many have employed their Pens, no one has hitherto solved the Difficulty." I believe this Design was never executed; for the Author, being in Disgrace at the Imperial Court, doubtless thought it not proper to expose himself to the Indignation of the King of England. If Crammer gained him over, he must have made a Convert of him at soonest in the Year 1532; and if Robert Wakefield published his Book before the Year 1532 (60) it is certain, that the Treatise, which he confutes, and which was ascribed to Vives, or to Agrippa, by no means belongs to Agrippa. Note, that Sanders, who mentions the Names of several Authors, who wrote against the Divorce (61), takes no notice of the latter. [Agrippa was not yet gained over, in the Year 1533, the time, in which, if I mistake not, he published his *Apology* against the Doctors of Louvain; and he could not do it afterwards, without the same scandalous Prevarication, which he charges the Sorbonne with. "Eadem, says he, speaking of that famous Body, his recentibus annis determinavit, Papam non posse dispensare, ut frater uxorem ducat fratris mortui fide liberis, atque propterea matrimonium inter Angliæ Regem & Cæsaris amitam, velut contra jus naturale & divinum, indispensabile, pro incestuoso, abominabile, & sacrilego adulterio damnarunt, magna Sorbonæ infamia: cum non multis annis ante pro Augustino Furnario Civi ac Patricio Genuensi determinasset oppositum." — The same Society determined lately, that the Pope could not dispense with a Brother's marrying the Wife of his Brother, dying without Children; for which Reason they condemned, for an incestuous, abominable, and sacrilegious Adultery, the Marriage between the King of England and Cæsar's Aunt, as being contrary to Laws Divine and Human, and not to be dispensed with, to the great Scandal of the Sorbonne; which not many Years before, had decreed the very reverse, in favour of Augustinus Furnarius, Citizen and Senator of Genoa." It is not only in the Edition of 1536, that I find this Passage, which Crenius tells us was omitted in the Treatise of the *Vanity of Sciences* in the Edition of Lyons. This Passage appeared again in the Edition of 1539; and it is to be met with in all the preceding Editions of that Treatise. REM. CRIT.]

[P] *His Accusers were not well informed of his Adventures.* I said in the first Remark, that Paul Jovius, Thevet and Martin del Rio are his chief Accusers, and I promised to shew their Faults; I will now be as good as my Word. I. Paul Jovius makes him die at Lyons in a Hedge Tavern, and charges him with the infamous Suspicion of Magic, for a Reason, which I am going to produce. Agrippa, says he (62), had always a Devil with him, in the Shape of a black Dog; as they pres'd him to repent at the Approach of Death, he took off a Collar from the Dog's Neck adorned with Studs, which formed some Necromantic Inscriptions, and said to him, Go unhappy Beast, who art the Cause of my everlasting Ruin. The Dog ran immediately to the Sæne, and, casting himself into the River, never came out again. This Author has greatly commended Agrippa for his Wit, and Learning, so far as to say that his Learning had procured him the Dignity of a Knight, which the Emperor had bestowed upon him. *Vir educatus in literis,*

(59) Ibid. 21. lib. 7. pag. 1024.

(60) Mr. le Grand, Tom. 1. p. 249. says, That the Title of that Work is Cotzer.

Now accord to the Catalogue of Oxford, p. 246. the Cotzer was printed at London in the Year 1527.

(61) Sanders Histor. Schism. Angl.

* Agrippa, *Apolog. Eccl.* cap. 2.

(62) Paulus Jovius, in Elog. c. 91.

(52) Burnet's History of the Reformation.

(53) Le Grand's History of the Divorce of Henry VIII. Tom. 2. pag. 116. See also Tom. 1. pag. 249.

(54) In Agrippa's Letters, he is called Eustochius Chapuis; and in those of Erasmus, Eustathius Chapuisius.

(55) Epist. 19. lib. 6. pag. 973.

(56) Agrippa de Vanit. Scientiarum, esp. 63. pag. 124.

(57) Agrippa. Epist. 20. lib. 6. pag. 974.

(58) Ibid. 29. lib. 6. pag. 986. See likewise Ibid. 33. pag. 996.

at their Overights, and the Effects they have produced, notwithstanding the Negligence, wherewith they enquired into those Facts. After all, if he was a Magician, he

(63) Id. ib. *ſc à Cæſare eruditiois ergo Equeſtris ordinis dignitate cobonatus* (63). Let us begin our Criticiſm with this.

(64) See above the Remark [D.] It is certain, from the Teſtimony of *Agrippa*, that his Order of Knighthood was the Reward of his Military Exploits (64). Beſides, he did not die at Lyons; and laſtly, *John Wierus*, his Domeſtic, teſtiſies, that the black Dog was a true Dog, and that he often led him with a hair String. "Silentio involvi,

(65) Jo. Wierus de Magicis, cap. 5. pag. 111. "ſays he (65), diutius ob veritatis prerogativam non patitur quod in diverſis aliquot ſcriptioribus legimus, Diabolum forma canis ad extremum Agrippæ halitum comitem ipſi fuiſſe, & poſtea neſcio quibus modis evanuiſſe. Satis equidem mirari hic nequeo tantæ exſtimationis viros tam inſulſe aliquando loqui, ſentire, & ſcribere, ex inaniffimo vulgi rumore. Canem hunc nigrum mediocriſ ſtatuz, gallico nomine Monſieur (quod Dominum ſonat) nuncupatum novi ego ſi quis alius familiariffime, quem nimirum non raro, ubi Agrippam ſciteret, loro ex pillis concinnato alligatum duxi; at verè naturalis erat canis mafculus, cui alias ſemel lam fere colore & reliqua corporis conſtitutione ſimilem, quam Gallicè Madamoifelle (Dominam) appellabat, me preſente, adjunxit. — In juſtice to Truth, I ſhall not conceal the Matter of Faſt of what I have read in ſeveral Authors, that a Devil, in the Shape of a Dog, attended Agrippa to his laſt Breath, and afterwards diſappeared I know not how. I cannot ſufficiently expreſs my wonder, that Men of ſuch Reputation ſpeak, think, and write ſo ſilly, upon no other Foundation than Common Fame. I was perfectly acquainted with this black Dog; who was of a middle Size, and called by the French Name of Monſieur; whom I have often lead after Agrippa by a String of twiſted Hair. He was a real Dog; and his Maſter, in my Preſence, gave him for a Companion a Bitcb of the ſame Colour, Size, and kind; which he called Madamoifelle." This Author adds, that Agrippa was very fond of this Dog; that he kiſſed him often; that he made him eat ſometimes at his Table; that he took him to bed with him; and that, when Wierus and Agrippa ſtudied at the ſame Table, the Dog always lay between them among a heap of Papers. Now, becauſe Agrippa continued whole Weeks without going out of his Stove, and yet was acquainted with almoſt every Tranſaction in ſeveral Countries of the World, ſome ſilly People gave out that his Dog was a Devil, from whom he had all his Information. It is not long, ſince a Soldier, who is a French Refuge, told me very ſeriouſly, that when Mr de Melac (66) had his Maſtiſſ with him, he always returned victorious. He aſſured me, that, in the general Opinion of the Soldiers, that Dog was a familiar Spirit, who revealed all the Enemies Poſts, their Numbers, Deſigns, &c. to his Maſter. Perhaps Mr de Melac was not diſpleaſed, that it was ſo believed. Such a Notion might make his Soldiers fear nothing under his Conduct (67). Thus you ſee, on what ſort of Reports Paul Jovius founded his Opinion.

(66) Lieutenant General of the Armies of France: He ſerved in the Armies of Germany, during the War, which was ended in the Year 1697. See the Remark [B] of the Article LANDAU, towards the End.

(67) See what Plutarch relates of Sertorius's Hind, in the Life of that General.

(68) Thevet's Hiſtory of Illuſtrious Men, Tom. 7. pag. 221. Edit. of Paris, 1671. in 8 Vols in 120

(69) Id. ib. pag. 223. "II. Let us go on to *Thevet*. "It cannot be denied, ſays he (68), "but that Agrippa was miſerably engaged to the moſt cunning and execrable Magic, that can be imagined, and of which he made ſuch evident Profeſſion, in the Sight, and to the Knowledge of every one (as the following Diſcourſe ſhall juſtify), that it is impoſſible to deny it by Palliations or Diſguiſes." Let us ſee what the Proofs, which this preſent Diſcourſe brings, are reduced to. In the firſt Place, "*Antony de Leve* was ſo fond of this Man, that, by his Council, Advice, and Prudence, he compaſſed his high Deſigns, and ambitious Undertakings; which made ſome Perſons, who were jealous of That Spaniard's Victories, ſay, That, by Magic Art, he griped his Enemies with his crooked and gouty Hands, in ſuch a Manner, that many valiant Captains could not do the like, with the claſhing of their Arms, and a furious Fight (69)." In the ſecond Place, "*Agrippa*'s Inſtructions are ſo unreaſonable, that Dr *John Wierus*, though he praiſes and exalts him greatly in ſeveral Places of his Works, as his

"good Maſter, yet is ſometimes obliged to give him a kick o' the Breech, and diſown him (70)." He refers us to the forty fourth Chapter of the ſecond Book of the Illuſions and Apparitions of Spirits (71), as a Proof that *John Wierus* laughed (with *Cardan* in the eighteenth Book of *Sabilyty*) at Agrippa's wild Imaginations, which invented more than ridiculous Apparitions. In the third Place, "His Book of Occult Philoſophy was condemned and cenſured by the Chriſtians — — — and for that Reaſon Agrippa was forced to leave Flanders, where he was not ſuffered to profeſs Magic; ſo that he went to Italy, where he lived about three Years, and poured out his Poiſon in ſuch abundance, that ſeveral good Perſons, perceiving that he had infected the Air of Italy with it in ſo little a time, purſued him ſo cloſe, that he retired to *Dole*, where he publicly read upon the Book *de verbo mirifico* (72)." In the fourth Place, "He darken'd Burgundy in ſuch a manner with the Smoak and Miſt of his Black Art, that if he had not fled for it, it is to be feared, they would have enlightened him with Fire nearer than he would have deſired." In the fifth Place, "He went to Lyons in a wretched Condition, and deſtitute of Money; where he tried all the means he could to ſubſiſt; and got ſo little, that he died in a pitiful Tavern, abhorred by every body, who deteſted him as a curſed and execrable Magician, becauſe he always carried with him a Devil in the ſhape of a Dog." *Thevet* adds to this the remaining part of the Story, which Paul Jovius inſerted in his *Elogia*.

(70) Id. ib. pag. 225. (71) I have not met with this Title, or ſuch a Diſtinction, in the Works of John Wierus, printed at Amſterdam, 1660. in 4to.

(72) Thevet. ubi ſupra; p. 226.

It would be eaſy to ſhew the Inſufficiency of theſe five Proofs. It is not neceſſary to refute the firſt, ſince *Thevet* acknowledges that *Antony de Leve* did not apply to Agrippa for any necromantic and wicked Charm (73), but rather on account of his ſurprizing and uncommon Genius (74); and, that the Emperor did not take him into his Service at the Interceſſion of *Antony de Leve*, but upon the Assurance which was given him, that, by his mature and ſettled Judgment, he was capable of putting an end to the weighty Affairs he had then in hand. So that the accuſed Perſon is cleared by the very Confeſſion of the Accuſer himſelf: It will be much more difficult to clear the latter from the Imputation of very groſs Ignorance. I have not obſerved any Traces in Agrippa's Letters of his Correſpondence with *Antony de Leve*; and I wonder that ſo many learned Perſons have reported, on the Credit of ſuch an Author as *Thevet*, that Agrippa was a Favourite of *Antony de Leve*, and a Captain in his Troop (75). He was never in the Spaniſh Service; but ſerved only in the Troops of the Emperor *Maximilian*; and I believe he never bore Arms, after the Speech he made at *Pavia* in the Year 1515. Part of That Harangue is as follows: "Neque mireris, Marchio Illuſtriſ, Joannes Gonzaga ſtrenuiſſ. militum dux, quod cum me proximis his annis feliciffimis Cæſareis caſtris præſentum cognoscere, nunc me ſacramum literarum præpoſitum pulſito cernas (76). — Nor wonder, Illuſtrious Marquis, and moſt excellent Commander, John Gonzaga, that you now ſee me in the Roſtrum, at the Head of ſacred Literature, whom not long ſince you beheld a Leader in Cæſar's victorious Army." He continued likewiſe ſome time in Italy; his Patron there was *William Paleologus* Marquis of *Monferrat*, to whom he dedicated his Treatiſe *De triplici Ratione cognoscendi Deum* — of the three ways of knowing God, in the Year 1516 (77): He taught at *Turin*, and repaſſed the Alps about the beginning of the Year 1518 (78). Let any one ſhew me that *Antony de Leve* ſerved the Emperor *Maximilian*. But he is guilty of a ſtill more inexcuſable Ignorance. Agrippa did not obtain the Title of Counſellor and Hiſtoriographer to *Charles V.* but by the Interceſt of certain Friends, whom he met with at the Court of the Princeſs *Margaret*, Governeſs of the Netherlands. *Charles V.* was not at that time in the Low Countries, but came thither ſome time after, ſo prejudiced againſt Agrippa, that if it had not been for the good Offices of Cardinal *Campegius*, and Cardinal de la Mark, he would have cauſ'd him to have been impriſon'd. The Sieur *Claviger* of *St Honorine*, ſays, that

(73) Id. ib. pag. 223. (74) Id. ib. pag. 225.

(75) Naudé's Apology for Great Men, pag. 405. See alſo Teiſſier, Elog. taken out of Thuanus, Tom. 2. p. 1075. See, beſides, Citation (79).

(76) Agripp. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 1075.

(77) Ibid. p. 80. & 718.

(78) See his Letters, pag. 728, 730.

he is a strong Proof of the Impotency of Magic; for never any Man miscarried more frequently than he, nor was often in fear of wanting Bread. We shall have reason to think the Financers of Francis I. and those of Charles V. were very well satisfied of his Innocency in this respect; if we consider how they diverted themselves with him, when he apply'd for his Pension. There are some Errors of Fact in the manner of some

that Agrippa's End would have been as tragical as that of Lucilius Vaninius, if Cardinal Campegius, and Anthony de Leve, his Protectors, had not prevail'd upon Charles V. not to punish him (79). He did not see Agrippa; neither did he order him his Salary; so far was he from making use of his Counsels to extricate himself from the great Affairs he had in hand. It is a pleasant Proof of Agrippa's great Abilities in the Civil Law, to allege, that Charles V. admitted him into the Number of his Counsellors. He had attain'd, says Thevet (80), to so great a Knowledge in the Civil Law, that (as I have observed above) Charles V. admitted him into the Number of his Counsellors. He had said in the foregoing Page, that Agrippa was so well receiv'd at the Emperor's Court, that he was one of his Counsellors. It is not well known, that the Title of King's Counsellor is given to many Persons, to Physicians, Historiographers, and Authors, who have as little share in the Councils of their Prince, as the meanest Citizen? Thevet's second Reason proves nothing. Agrippa had spoke of some Apparitions so ridiculous, that one of his best Friends laugh'd at them; therefore he was a Magician. What would become of Bodinus, Martin del Rio, le Loyer, and most of the Demonographers, if such a way of arguing was admitted? His third Reason swarms with Falshoods. If Agrippa had profess'd Magic, they would not have been satisfy'd with banishing him from Flanders. Such a Profession is not so mildly punish'd. He was never in Italy after the Censure of his Occult Philosophy. This Work did not appear 'till the Year 1531. If Agrippa had pour'd out the Poison of his Magic, in such abundance, in Italy, would Cardinal de Sainte Croix have chosen him for one of the Divines of the Council of Pisa? Would the Pope have address'd to complainant a Brief to him in the Year 1515 (81)? So far is it from being true, that Agrippa, upon his being expell'd Italy, retir'd to Dole, that he did not go into Italy, 'till after he had left Dole. The fourth Reason takes for granted what is false. Agrippa brought himself into a Scrape at Dole, by favouring the Hypothesis of Capnio, whose Book *De verbo mirifico* he explained. The long Quarrel between the Monks and Capnio is well known. The Cordelier Catilinet, choosing rather to preach against Agrippa before the Princess Margaret, than to enter the Lists with him at Dole, took occasion to vent his Spleen against him at Ghent, in the Pulpit of Truth. But he does not accuse him of Magic; he charges him only with adding himself to the Jewish Cabala, and perverting the Scripture by cabalistical Explications (82). The ill-tim'd Declarations of that Cordelier, who, instead of prejudicing the Court and the People against an absent Professor, ought to have accus'd him in Form before the Academical Judges, did not hinder the famous John Collet from lodging Agrippa in his House at London, nor the Emperor Maximilian, Grandfather of the Princess Margaret, from employing him in Italy (83). The fifth Reason of Thevet has already been refuted; he has only copied Paul Jovius, and both of them have been so imprudent as to take notice of Agrippa's Poverty. A fine means of convincing a judicious Reader that he was a great a Magician! A rare Way to persuade the People of it, when they know, on the contrary, that whenever Fortune smiles on a Prince or Lord, it is presently cast in his Dish, that he courts Agrippa (84).

III. As for Martin del Rio, he relates these three or four Particulars: I. When Agrippa travell'd, he paid his Reckonings in Money, seemingly good and lawful; but, after some Days, it was discover'd, that he had paid his Host with pieces of Horn, or Shells (85). II. Charles V. expell'd him from his Court and Dominions, and with him two other Persons of Quality, who had promis'd him great Treasures by the means of Magic (86). III. The same Emperor did not remit the Sentence of Death against Agrippa, but condemn'd him to Banishment, after he had heard that he was fled (87). IV. Agrippa had a Boarder in Louvain, who was very inquisitive. One Day, as he was going out of Town, he order'd his Wife not to let

any body go into his Closet: Nevertheless this Boarder obtain'd the Key of it; he went in and read a Book of Conjurations; upon which there was a great knocking at his Door; which he heard two or three times, without leaving off his reading. It was the Devil who knock'd at the Closet-Door, and demanded, who it was that call'd him, and what he wanted; but, receiving no Answer, he strangled him. Agrippa, returning home, fees the Spirits dancing on the top of his House; he calls them, and they inform him of what had happen'd; he order'd the Homicide to enter into the Body, and to walk some Turns, in the Place, which the Scholars frequented most, and then quit it. This was done. The Boarder, having walk'd three or four turns, fell down dead; and it was believ'd a long while, that he died suddenly; but certain marks of Suffocation appearing, began to make the thing suspected. At length Time discover'd all, and Agrippa, being oblig'd to fly into Lorrain, begun to give vent to the Heresies, which he had conceiv'd in his Heart (88).

Agrippa's Poverty, and the frequent Fear he discovers, in his Epistles, of being starv'd for want of common Necessaries, are a sufficient Confutation of the first of these Stories. When a Man has so compendious a Method of discharging his Debts, he need not fear wanting Bread. It is not true that Charles V. ever expell'd Agrippa out of his Dominions; he was too great a Politician, to punish, in such a manner, a Magician, who was a distributor of Treasures; he would have fear'd, that other Princes might make use of the Secrets of such a considerable Exile to his detriment. Del Rio refutes the second Story by the third; for he pretends in the third, that his Imperial Majesty would have put Agrippa to Death, had it been in his Power, and that the Decree of Banishment came out after the Magician's Flight. These are mere Stories. Agrippa presented Petition upon Petition to the Emperor's Council, either for the payment of his Salary, or for his Dismission (89); and when he was tir'd with his ill Success, he went to Cologne, where he exclaim'd with great Freedom, before the Magistrates, against the Monks, who stop the printing of his Works (90). He liv'd quietly at Bonn, 'till he went from thence to France. Would Charles V. have permitted this in a Man whom he had banish'd his Dominions? Would he have suffer'd this in a Magician, who had avoided Death only by Flight? As to the fourth little Tale, I refer him to Gabriel Naudé, whose Words are these: *We have more Reason to deny it, as Ludwiguus * did, than Del Rio has to affirm it, since he translated it Word for Word out of a Book, entituled, The Theatre of Nature, published in Italian and in Latin, under the Name of Strozza Cicogna, and in French and Spanish, under the Name of Valderama* (91). We may refute it another Way: as thus, Del Rio observes, that the Wife, who lent the Key to the Boarder, was afterwards divorc'd by Agrippa. It must be, then, the third Wife of this Magician. Now the second did not die 'till the Year 1529. So that the Adventure of the Boarder must have happen'd after the Year 1529. Agrippa, must therefore, have fled towards Lorrain after the Year 1530, or thereabouts; he must have taken a House at Louvain, after he was install'd in the Office of Historiographer of Charles V. for Boarders; but nothing is more false than this. For, first, he did not go into Lorrain as a Fugitive; he went thither to exercise a noble Office at Metz, which was offer'd to him with all possible Advantages, at the same time that he was press'd to accept of honourable Employments elsewhere (92). II. He did not go into Lorrain 'till 1518, and at that time his first Wife was alive. III. The Doctrines he maintain'd in that Country, for which he was expos'd to the Persecution of the Monks, were neither Magical nor Heretical; they turn'd on this Question, Whether St Anne, the Mother of the Holy Virgin, had three Husbands, and a Child by each; or whether she had but one Husband, and one Daughter. Agrippa maintain'd the latter Opinion (93), which did infinitely more Honour to St Anne's Memory. IV. It does not

(88) Ibid. lib. 2. quest. 29. §. 11.

(89) See List Works, Tom. 2. from pag. 975. to 984. likewise pag. 1017, &c.

(90) Ibid. pag. 1033.

* Quest. 15. Demonomag. fol. 187.

(91) Naudé, Apolog. p. 423.

(92) Agrippa. Epist. 9. 10. lib. 2. But particularly see his Thanks to the Gentlemen of Metz, pag. 1092.

(93) See Agrippa's Works, T. 2. p. 583. 747.

(79) Of the Use of suspected Books, pag. 102.

(80) Thevet. p. 223.

(81) Agrippa. Epist. 38. lib. 1. pag. 716.

(82) See the Expofitulation of Agrippa, in the 2d. Tome of his Works, pag. 508.

(83) Agrippa. Opus. Tom. 2. pag. 596.

(84) Thevet. pag. 224.

(85) Del Rio Disquisit. Magicar. lib. 2. quest. 12. n. 10.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Id. ib. lib. 5. §. 2.

some Persons apologizing for him [2]. *Moreri* declared strongly in his favour; which

was

appear that he liv'd any where else, than at *Antwerp*, and at *Mechlen*, from the time of his being made the Emperor's Historiographer, 'till he retir'd to the Elector of *Cologne*; and I do not believe that ever he had any Boarders at *Louvain*: So that we might have been dispens'd with from answering *Martin del Rio*, and his Partizans, 'till they had rang'd their Circumstances of Time and Place in better order.

I wonder that the famous *Naudé* had not the precaution to object to the Accusers of *Agrippa* the great Number of Historical Falshoods, of which I have convicted them.

[2] There are some Errors of Fact in the manner of some Persons apologizing for him. I have *Gabriel Naudé* in view. He endeavours to justify *Agrippa*, among other Reasons, from the Favour of two Emperors, and as many Kings (94); which is to suppose, that *Charles V.* had a Kindness for *Agrippa*; but we need only read the Complaints of that Author, to discover the contrary (95). Farther, *Naudé* supposes, that they did not think of crying down the *Occult Philosophy*, 'till a long time after it was publish'd; he pretends that they exclaim'd against that Work, only in Revenge for the Injuries, they believ'd they had receiv'd in That of the *Vanity of Science*. It is true, this latter Book gave great Offence to many. The Monks, the Members of the Universities, the Preachers, and the Divines, saw themselves drawn to the Life in it: *Agrippa* was of too warm a Complexion. "Ex ejus Libri (de Vanitate Scientiarum) quacunq;uque gultu deprehendi hominem esse ardentia ingenii, variæ lectionis, & multæ memoriæ, alicubi tamen majore copia, quam delectat, ac dictione tumultuosâ verius quam composita. In omni genere rerum vituperat mala, laudat bona. Sed sunt, qui nihil aliud sufficit, quam laudari (96). — The least taste of his Book (of the Vanity of Sciences) convinc'd me, that he was an Author of a fiery Genius, extensive Reading, and great Memory; but sometimes more copious, than choice, in his Subject, and writing in a disorder'd, rather than a compos'd, Style. He lazes Vice, and commends Virtue, every where, and in every person; but there are some, with whom nothing but Panegyric will go down." His Paintings were too strong; his Shades too dark, and his Touches too lively. This gave them uneasiness, I confess; but it is not true that this Resentment spent itself on a Work, which had lain in Obscurity for many Years. *Naudé* would have done better to have reserv'd this Thought for another Application; he might have met with an Opportunity sooner or later, though he had not been a Man of such great Reading, as he was. To explain myself; It is no rare thing for Zealots to take no notice of a Book, or the Author of it, for a long time, whatever it be, provided it does not personally attack them. But, if after ten, fifteen, or twenty Years, they happen to quarrel with the Author; if some new Work comes out, containing Discoveries of what they carefully endeavour to conceal from the People; the former Work immediately becomes heretical, impious, and fit to be burnt. They begin then to be eaten up with the Zeal of God's House; and thereby impose upon honest People. But They, who are no Dapes, perceive plainly what shameful Passions they cover under the fair Mask of the Interest of Piety. Let us do Justice to the Divines of *Louvain*; they do not deserve the Reproach, which the Apologist of *Agrippa* throws on them, upon this Account. The *Occult Philosophy* was not printed, 'till after the Declaration of the *Vanity of Sciences*; and it is sufficient to charge them with having made use of a thousand Cavils, to discover some damnable Propositions in That Declaration. See the solid Answer, which was given them: It is in the second Volume of *Agrippa*, and begins at pag. 252.

(94) *Naudé's Apology for Great Men*, pag. 409.
(95) *Agrippa*. Epist. lib. 6. p. 8. 97. and elsewhere. See the 2d Volume of his Works, pag. 251, 447, 484. and the Passages cited below in Marginal Note (95).
(96) *Grafius* Epist. lib. 27. p. 1038.

AN INSTANCE of the unjust Behaviour of pretended Zealots.

Let us, in a few Words, describe the History of the *Occult Philosophy*. *Agrippa* compos'd this Work in his younger Days (97), and shew'd it to the Abbot *Tritheimius*, from whom he had learnt many things (98). *Tritheimius* was charm'd with it, as appears by the Letter which he wrote to him on the 8th of April, 1510 (99); but he advises him to communicate it only to those, whom he could confide in. I know not whether the Author communicated it to too many Persons, or whether the first, who had a Copy of it, was indiscreet. The Truth is, several Manuscript Co-

pies of it were dispers'd almost all over Europe. It is not necessary to observe, that most of them were faulty; which never fails to happen in the like Cases. They were preparing to print it from one of these bad Copies; which made the Author resolve to publish it himself, with the Additions and Alterations, with which he had embellish'd it, after having shew'd it to the Abbot *Tritheimius*. *Melchior Adam* was mistaken in saying, that *Agrippa*, in his more advanc'd Years, having corrected, and enlarg'd, this Work, shew'd it to the Abbot *Tritheimius*. He had refuted his *Occult Philosophy*, in his Book of the *Vanity of Sciences*, and yet he publish'd it, to hinder others from printing a faulty and mutilated Edition of it (100). He obtain'd the Approbation of some Doctors of Divinity, and some Persons, whom the Emperor's Council appointed to examine it. "Liber ille jam nuper per aliquos Ecclesiæ Prælatos & doctores sacrarum humanarumque literarum eruditissimos, & ex Cæsaris consilio ad hoc specialiter deputatos commissarios, examinatus & probatus fuerit, deinde etiam totius Cæsarei consilii assensu admittitur, & ejusdem Cæsareæ Majestatis authentico diplomate, & appensa in rubra cæra Cæsaris aquila privilegiatus, insuper Antverpiæ, & postea etiam Parisiis, sine contradictione impressus & publice venditus sit (101). — This Book has been lately examin'd, and approv'd, by certain Prelates of the Church, and Doctors, thoroughly over'd both in sacred and profane Literature, and by Commissioners, particularly deputed for that Purpose, by Cæsar's Council; after which it was admitted by the assent of the whole Council, and licensed by the authentic Diploma of his Imperial Majesty, and the Stamp of the Cæsarean Eagle in red Wax; and was afterwards publicly printed and sold at Antwerp, and then at Paris, without any Opposition." Upon this Approbation he obtain'd a Licence from his Imperial Majesty; and caus'd his Book to be printed at Antwerp, and dedicated it to the Elector of *Cologne*. His Epistle Dedicatory is dated at Malines, in the Month of January, 1531; and it is the thirteenth of the sixth Book of his Letters. This Book was publish'd in the Year 1531. It was presently reprinted at Paris. These two Editions were sold without any Opposition. The Author set about a third at *Cologne*. Father *Conrad of Ulm*, Inquisitor of the Faith, had notice of it, and caus'd the Impression to be stopp'd; but the vigorous Instances of *Agrippa* to the Magistrates had double'd their Effect; since there is an Edition, of *Cologne*, of the *Occult Philosophy*, in 1533. It contains three Books; whereas the former Editions contain'd only the first (102). After the Death of *Agrippa*, a fourth was added to it by another Hand. "Optimo jure his (libris magicis) annumeretur abominabilis libellus nuper in lucem ab impio homine emissus, tributusque Henr. Corn. Agrippæ, meo olim hospiti & præceptorî honorando, ultra annos quadraginta jam mortuo, ut hinc falso ejus manibus jam inscribi sperem, sub titulo quarti libri de Occulta Philosophia, seu de Cereemoniis magicis: qui insuper clavis librorum trium de Occulta Philosophia omniumque magicarum operationum jactatur (103). — To these (Books of Magic) may very justly be added an abominable Work, lately publish'd by an impious Wretch, and ascrib'd to my late honoured Host and Preceptor, Henry Cornelius Agrippa, who has been dead more than forty Years; whence I conclude, that it is unjustly inscribed to his Name, under the Title of The fourth Book of the Occult Philosophy, or of Magical Ceremonies; which pretends, likewise, to be a Key to the three former Books of the Occult Philosophy, and all kinds of Magical Operations." Thus *John Wierus* expresses himself. I have seen an Edition in Folio of the *Occult Philosophy*, in 1533, without the Place, where it was printed. The Privilege of *Charles V.* is prefix'd to it, dated, if I mistake not, from *Mechlen*, the 12th of January, 1529.

Let us now examine the Falshoods contain'd in these Words of *Naudé*: "The Divines of *Louvain* censur'd his Declaration against the Sciences with great Severity: *John Catilinet*, a Cordelier, declam'd publicly against his Explication of the de Verbo Mirifico, at Dole: The Dominicans of the City of Metz wrote against the Propositions, which he had advanc'd, in support of the Opinion of

(100) See the Preface.

(101) Epist. 26. lib. 7. pag. 1033. See also pag. 1045.

(102) See the Epistle Dedicatory of the 2d and 3d Books, to the same Elector of Cologne.

(103) *Wierus* de Magicis, cap. 5. p. 108.

HISTORY of the Occult Philosophy. (97) See the Preface. (98) Epist. 33. lib. 3. pag. 8. o. (99) It is as the beginning of the Book, and at the 704th page of the second Tome.

Let us, in a few Words, describe the History of the *Occult Philosophy*. *Agrippa* compos'd this Work in his younger Days (97), and shew'd it to the Abbot *Tritheimius*, from whom he had learnt many things (98). *Tritheimius* was charm'd with it, as appears by the Letter which he wrote to him on the 8th of April, 1510 (99); but he advises him to communicate it only to those, whom he could confide in. I know not whether the Author communicated it to too many Persons, or whether the first, who had a Copy of it, was indiscreet. The Truth is, several Manuscript Co-

V O L. I.

Q q

Facit

was not to be expected from his Pen. His Faults are not many in this Article [R]. I have already mentioned the chief Works of *Agrippa*, and shall speak more particularly of them in the Remarks. It will be sufficient to add, that he wrote *A Commentary on the Art of Raimundus Lullius*, and *A Dissertation on the Original of Sin*, wherein he teaches, that the Fall of our First Parents proceeded from their unchaste Love. He promised a Work against the *Dominicans* [S], which would have pleased many Persons, both within, and without, the Pale of the Church of Rome. He held some uncommon

"*Faber Stapuleus*, concerning the Monogamy of St Anne; and yet not one of these Censurers could find any thing offensive in the two first Books of his *Occult Philosophy*, which were printed LONG BEFORE all those Pieces, as well at Paris, as at Antwerp, and elsewhere (104)." — Observe, that he repeats these Words LONG BEFORE, in the 416th Page. To understand the whole Mistake, we must remember, that *Catiline* declaim'd, in the Year 1509; that the *Jacobins* of Metz wrote concerning St Anne, in the Year 1519; and that the Declaration on the *Vanity of Sciences* appear'd in 1530, a Year before the *Occult Philosophy*. "The Avarice of the Bookellers, and the Vanity of certain Persons, — adds *Naudé* (105) — injure this Author's Memory, by attributing a fourth Book to him, full of magical, vain, superstitious, and abominable Ceremonies, and by publishing it with the three Books of the *Occult Philosophy*. — *Wierus**, in defence of *Agrippa*, says, that this Book was not publish'd 'till twenty seven Years after his Death, and that it is very certain he was not the Author of it (106)."

(104) *Naudé's Apology for Great Men*, pag. 411.

(105) *Ibid.* pag. 413.

* Lib. II. de Præfatiis.

(106) *Naudé*, ubi supra. pag. 414.

(107) *Citation* (103).

These Words of *Naudé*, twenty seven Years after his Death, compar'd with the Latin Passage cited above (107), may embarrass the Matter; but to clear it, it is sufficient to take notice of the several Editions of *John Wierus*. He revis'd, and enlarged his Work six times. *Naudé* had double'd an Edition, which the Author prepar'd in the Year 1526. There were at that Time twenty seven Years past, since the Death of *Agrippa*. My Edition was prepared thirteen or fourteen Years after; this is the Reason why the Author makes use of this Phrase in it, "ultra annos quadraginta jam mortuo — more than forty Years dead." — He always retain'd his *nuper*, and is to blame for it; since by this means he deceives his Readers. He makes them believe, that the fourth Book *Philosophia Occultæ* was not printed 'till twenty seven, or forty Years after the Death of *Agrippa*; which is false. Authors, who enlarge their Books several times, seldom take proper Care to alter the Dates.

In favour of those, who have not *Agrippa's* Works, I shall in this place inform them, how it is proved, that the Declaration against the Sciences was printed in the Year 1530, and the *Occult Philosophy*, in the Year 1531. By a Letter, printed with those of *Agrippa*, and dated the 10th of January, 1531 (108), we understand, that the Elector of Cologne had receiv'd a Copy of the *Vanity of Sciences*, and seen some Sheets of the *Occult Philosophy*, which was printing at Antwerp. The Author of the *Bibliothèque* of Dauphiné, has taken a very unnecessary Trouble in his *Errata*: He has changed 1467, into 1567. His Book says, that the Treatise of the *Vanity of Sciences* was compos'd at Grenoble, in the Year 1467. If you correct it according to the *Errata*, you must suppose that the Book was compos'd thirty two Years after the Death of it's Author. He had better have made no Correction at all. I think it would be a Mistake, whatever Year should be insert'd; for I believe the Author had not resided long at Grenoble, when he died there.

[R] His Faults are not many in this Article.] I. He says *Cobori* instead of *Gobori's*; *Gattinaria* instead of *Gattinara*; *Raulin* instead of *Reuchlin*; *Carniletus* instead of *Catiline*. II. He tells us, That *Agrippa* obtained a Professorship at Padua; which is false, he ought to have said Pavia. Mr *Teiffier* was also deceived by the Resemblance of the Words; he put Paris for Pavia: Perhaps it is an Error of the Press; however the Reader ought to be adverted, that he must not believe what he finds in Mr *Teiffier*, to wit, that *Agrippa* was Professor of Holy Writ at Dole, and at Paris (109). It is to be feared, that some Compiler, who shall collect all that he finds dispersed in several Authors, will tell us, some time or other, that *Agrippa* profess'd Divinity at Dole, Paris, Pavia, Turin, Padua, Cologne, &c. By this Means no doubt it often happens that a Man's

(108) *It is the 14th of the 6th Book*, pag. 968.

(109) *Teiffier's* *Eklogæ* &c. from *Thuanus*, Tom. 2. p. 109. *Ed.* of Utrecht, 1692.

Employments are multiplied without Reason; which occasions many advantageous Reflexions on the extent of his Merit. III. The following Passage is confused. *The Cardinal de Sainte Croix would have engaged him to follow him to the Council, which was to be assembled at Pisa; and at the same time the King of England, Margaret of Austria, and Gattinaria, Chancellor of the same Charles V. invited him into their Service.* The Rules of Grammar lead us to refer all this to one and the same time; and at this rate *Moreri* will have told a downright Falshood; for it was in 1529, a long time after the Affair of Pisa, that *Agrippa* was invited by Henry VIII. by Margaret of Austria, and by the Chancellor of Charles the Vth. IV. There is no Chicanery to be found out in vindication of what follows: *But Agrippa, who loved Liberty extremely, preferred the Pleasure of Travelling before these Advantages; and, after having spent some time at Friburg, at Geneva, and elsewhere, he retired to Lyons.* A pitiful Anachronism, and which involves other Mistakes. *Moreri* pretends, then, that none of these Offers were accepted; yet That of the Princess Margaret was, and, when it was offered, *Agrippa* thought no more of travelling; he had satiated his Curiosity; he had been at Geneva, at Friburg, and at Lyons. V. It is not true, that *Paul Jovius*, *Del Rio*, *Thevet*, and others, maintain, that *Agrippa* kept two Spirits in the form of two little Dogs, and that he called one of them Monsieur, and the other Mademoiselle. *Paul Jovius* and *Thevet*, &c. speak only of one Dog, without mentioning his Name. VI. He ought not to have distinguished between the Book of the *Vanity of Sciences*, and the other Works of *Agrippa*, which compose two Volumes; for that Work is at the beginning of the second Volume. I lay nothing of the Confusion, which runs through *Moreri's* Narrative, with respect to Chronology.

[S] He promised a Work against the Dominicans.] They were the chief Directors of the Inquisition, it is no wonder, that he was more incensed against them, than against others. His Patience was lost, when he saw them so indulgent to the Errors of their Brethren, and so severe against the equivocal Propositions of other Persons. This Indulgence would have been less scandalous, had they alone been guilty of it; but the Misfortune is, People are such Fools, that whilst they commend the Zeal of an Inquisitor, who discovers Hereby wherever he thinks fit, they will not suffer any Recrimination to be used against him, and that his own pernicious Doctrines should be laid open to the Public. *Agrippa* intended to be very free with the *Dominicans* on this Head, and upon several others. "Neque tamen putetis, seys be to the *Magistratus* of Cologne, hunc solum articulum apud illos reperiri hæreticum; sed alii multi, quos, cum hic nimis longum vobiscum tædiosum foret referre, enumerabo alibi, in eo scilicet libro quem de Fratrum Prædicatorum sceleribus & hæresibus inscripsi, ubi infecta sæpius veneno sacramenta, ementia sapissime miracula, interemptos veneno Reges & principes, proditas urbes & respublicas, seductos populos, assertatque hæreses, & cætera ejusmodi horum illorum facinora flagitque in varias transfusa linguas, omnique populo exposita, dilucidè narrabo (110). — Nor would I have you think, that this Article of His is the only Heretical one; there are many others of the same Stamp, which, as it would be tedious to lay them before you at present, I shall enumerate in another Place; namely, in the Treatise I am composing of the Vices, and erroneous Opinions, of the Dominicans; in which I shall expose to the whole World their vicious Practices, such as the Sacraments often infested with Poison, numberless pretended Miracles, Kings and Princes taken off by Poison, Cities and States betrayed, the Populace seduced, Heresies sowed, and the rest of the Deeds of these Heretics, and their enormous Crimes."

(110) *Agrippa* Open, T. 2. pag. 1037.

uncommon Opinions [T], and never any Protestant spake more forcibly against the Impudence of the Legendaries than he did (oo).

We must not forget the Key of his *Occult Philosophy*. He kept it only for his Friends of the first Rank, and explained it in a manner, which differs but little from the Speculations of our Quietists [U]. Let me observe likewise, that the Edition of his

(oo) See the Preface to his Treatise of the Monogamy of St. Anne, Oper. Tom. 2. p. 1053.

[T] *Some uncommon Opinions.*] I have already mentioned That, which concerns the Fall of Adam. The rest were not of so dangerous a Nature, and their only Crime was their being agreeable to the Doctrines of the Reformers. His Dissertation concerning Marriage, dedicated to *Louisa of Savoy*, Mother of Francis I. strikes at the Law of Celibacy, and shews plainly, that Adultery breaks the Conjugal Engagement. One of his Friends (111) gave him notice, that this Dissertation had displeased the Court, and that at first they were afraid to present it to the Princess. I refer you to his Answer. He did not approve of the use of Images, and with all his Heart would have consented to a Reformation, which would not have occasioned the raising of Altar against Altar (112).

[U] *Which differs but little from the Speculations of our Quietists.*] I shall produce another Observation of *Naudé*, designed to shew, that, under pretence of this Key, it cannot be maintained, that *Agrippa* was the true Author of the fourth Book of the *Occult Philosophy*. "Nor must it be objected, says he (113), that the same *Agrippa* says in some Passages of his 'Epistles', that he reserved the Key of the three Books, which he had published (114), to himself: For, besides that it may be answered with great shew of probability, that he amused the World with this Key, in order to make himself courted by the Curious; as *Jamer Gohory* † and *Vigener* ‡ say, that he pretended, with the same View, to be master of the Practice of the Mirrour of *Pythagoras*, and the Secret of extracting the Spirit Gold from it's Body, in order to convert Silver and Copper into fine Gold, from which it had been separated: I say, besides this Reason, he explains sufficiently what he meant by such a Key, when he says in the nineteenth Epistle of the fifth Book. *Hæc est illa vera & mirabilium operum occultissima Philosophia, Clavis ejus intellectus est, quanto enim altiora intelligimus, tanto sublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoque & majora, & facilius & efficacius operamur. — This is that true and Occult Philosophy of the Wonders of Nature; it's Key is the Understanding; for the higher we carry our Knowledge, the more sublime are our Attainments in Virtue, and we perform the most extraordinary things with greater Ease, and more effectually.* *Naudé* slept here, but Mr de la Monnoie went farther. He did me the favour to acquaint me, that *Agrippa's* Sentiments agree perfectly well with those of the Quietists. You will be convinced of this, if you examine what I am going to say. *Agrippa* makes mention of this Key in two Letters, which he wrote to a Religious (115), who addicted himself very much to the Occult Sciences. He represents to him, that, whatever is to be found in Books concerning the Virtue of Magic, Astrology, and Alchimy, is false and deceitful, when literally understood; that a Mystical Sense is to be looked for in them; a Sense, which none of the Masters had yet found out, and that it was almost impossible to discover it, without the Assistance of a good Interpreter, unless by Divine Inspiration, which happens to very few Persons (116). "O quantal leguntur scripta de inexpugnabili magice artis potentia, de prodigijs astrologorum imaginibus, de monstrifica alchymistarum metamorphosi, deque lapide illo benedicto, quo, Midæ insar, contacta æra mox omnia in aurum argentumve permittuntur. Quæ omnia comperiuntur vana, ficta & falsa, quoties ad literam prædicantur (117). What surprising Accounts do we meet with in Authors of the invincible Power of Magic, of the wonderful Schemes of Astrologers, of the amazing Metamorphoses of the Alchymists, and of that blessed Stone, by which, as by the Touch of Midas, all Metals are transmuted into Gold: All which are experienced to be empty, fictitious, and false, when put in practice literally. We must not, adds he, look for the Principle of these great Operations without ourselves: It is an internal Spirit, which can very innocently perform all that the Mathematicians, Magicians, Alchymists, and Necromancers promise,

"I shall not explain this to you in Writing; for it is a Thing not to be committed to Paper. It is communicated from one Spirit to another in a few mystical Words. This wonderful Operator comes not from Heaven or Hell, but is the Inhabitant of our own Breasts." *Atque hoc est, quod te nunc scire volo, quia nobis ipsis est omnium mirabilium effectuum operator: Qui, quicquid portentosi Mathematici, quicquid prodigiosæ Magi, quicquid invidentes Naturæ persecutores Alchymistæ, quicquid dæmonibus deteriores malefici Necromantæ promittere audent, ipse novit discernere & efficere, idque sine omni crimine, sine Dei offensâ, sine religionis injuriâ. In nobis, inquam, est ille mirandorum operator,*

Nos habitat, non tartara; sed nec sydera cæli. Spiritus in nobis qui viget, illa facit.

"Verum de his nobis quam latissime tecum conferendum esset, & coram. Non enim committatur hæc literis, nec scribuntur calamo, sed spiritui spiritui paucis sacrisque verbis infunduntur, idque, si quando nos ad te venire contigerit (118)." This is taken from a Letter, dated from Lyons the twenty fourth of September, 1527. The other Letter was written in the same City the nineteenth of November following: *Agrippa* unfolds his Mystery in it: He says, That true and solid Philosophy consists in being united with God by an Essential and Immediate Contact, which may transform us into God. He adds, "The Understanding is the Key of this Philosophy; but, to be united to God, it must be freed from Matter, and dead to the World; to the Flesh, to all the Senses, and to the whole natural Man." His Latin will express this Russian better: "Quod ad postulatam philosophiam attinet, te scire volo, quod omnium rerum cognoscere opificem ipsum Deum, & in illum tota similitudinis imagine, seu essentiali quodam contactu sive vinculo transire, quo ipse transformetur, efficiereque Deus, ea demum vera solidaque philosophia sit: Quemadmodum de Moyse ait Dominus, inquit: Ecce ego constituisti te: Deum Pharaonis. Hæc est illa vera & summa mirabilium operum occultissima Philosophia. Clavis ejus Intellectus est, Quotum enim altiora intelligimus, tanto sublimiores induimus virtutes, tantoque & majora & facilius & efficacius operamur. Verum intellectus noster carni inclusus corruptibili, nisi viam carnis superaverit, fueritque propriam naturam sortitus, divinis illis virtutibus non poterit uniri (non enim nisi sibi quam similibus congregiuntur) ac perveniendis illis occultissimis Dei & Naturæ secretis omnino inefficax est: Atque

(118) Id. ib.

Hoc opus, hic labor est, superas evadere ad auras.

"--- Mori enim oportet, mori, inquam, mundo & carni, ac sensibus omnibus, ac toto homini animali, qui velit ad hæc secretissima penetralia ingredi: Non, quod corpus separetur ab animo: Sed, quod anima relinquatur operum. De qua morte Paulus scribit Colossensibus, *Mortui estis, & vita vestra abscondita est cum Christo: & alibi clarus de seipso ait, Scio hominem, in corpore, vel extra corpus, nescio, (Deus scit) raptum usque ad tertium cælum: Et quæ reliqua sequuntur (119). — As to the Philosophy you enquire into, you must know, that the only true and solid Philosophy consists in knowing God, the Creator of all things, and being transformed into the perfect Resemblance of Him, by an essential Contact or Union, and becoming God: as the Lord said to Moses, See I have made thee a God to Pharaoh. This is that True and Occult Philosophy of wonderful Things. It's Key is the Understanding. For the higher we carry our Knowledge, the more sublime are our Attainments in Virtue, and we perform the most extraordinary things with greater Ease, and more effectually. But our Understanding, included in corruptible Flesh, unless it soar above the Ways of the Flesh, and exert it's own proper Nature, cannot be united*

(119) Ibid. 19. 1b. 5. pag. 909.

(111) Capellanus, Physician to Francis I. See Agrippa's Letters, pag. 832, 833, 836.

(112) See Gæfner in Biblioth. fol. 309. verso.

(113) Naudé, ubi supra, p. 414, 415.

• Epist. 56. lib. 4. & Ibid. 14. lib. 5.

(114) Naudé it misfahen, they were not then printed.

† Lib. de Myst. Not. Comment. in Paracelsi de Vita longa, fol. 61.

‡ In his Cyphers, fol. 26, & 27.

(115) Aurelius Aquapendente Augustinianus.

(116) Nisi fuerit divino numine illustratus, quod datur paucissimis. Agrippa Epist. 14. lib. 5. pag. 904.

(117) Id. ib.

his Works published at Lyons in two Volumes in 8vo. is castrated in a place, which might have displeased the Gentlemen of the Church [X].

"united to those divine Virtues (for they have no
"Communication but with what is most like them-
"selves) and is unqualified to look into these most
"abstruse Secrets of God and Nature.

To soar above, and view the cheerful Skies,
In this the Task and mighty Labour lies.

DRYDEN.

"--- He must die; He must die, I say, to the
"World, the Flesh, all the Senses, and the whole
"Animal Man, who would enter into these secret Re-
"cesses: I do not mean, that the Body must be sepa-
"rated from the Soul; but that the Soul must re-
"linquish the Body: of which kind of Death St Paul
"writes to the Colossians, Ye are dead, and your
"Life is hid in Christ: and in another Place he
"says more plainly of himself, I know a Man, whe-
"ther in the Body, or out of the Body, I cannot
"tell (God knows) such an one caught up to the
"third Heaven; and so on. This precious Death,
"continues he, is granted but to a small number of
"People, beloved by God, or favoured with a
"propitious Influence of the Stars, or supported by
"their own Merits, and the Secret of the Art.

To few great Jupiter imparts this Grace,
And those of shining Worth, and heavenly Race.

DRYDEN.

"Hac, inquam, preciosa in conspectu Domini morte
"mori oportet, quod contingit paucissimis, & fortè
"non semper. Nam id

----- Pauci, quos sequus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens exevit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti, potuer.

"Primum qui non ex carne & sanguine, sed ex Deo
"nati sunt: Proximè qui Naturæ beneficio ac celo-
"rum genethliaco dono ad id dignificati sunt:
"cæteri meritis nituntur & arte, de quibus viva vox
"te certiores reddat (120)." He acknowledges inge-
"nuously that he is not one of these Favourites of
"Heaven, and that he has no Hopes of attaining to this
"high Degree of Happiness; for he had always found
"himself hurried away by the Vortices of Matter, a sen-
"sual Man, attach'd to a Wife, to the Flesh, to the
"World, and to domestic Cares, &c. he desires only
"to be considered as a Door-keeper, to introduce others
"(121). "Verum hoc te admonitum volo, ne circa
"me decipiaris, ac si ego aliquando divina passus tibi
"ista prædicem, ut tale quid mihi arrogare velim,
"vel concedi posse sperem, qui hæcenus humano fan-
"guine sacratus miles, semper fere sulcicus, tum car-
"nis vinculo charissimæ uxori alligatus, omnibusque
"instabilis fortunæ statibus expositus, totusque à carne,
"& domesticis curis transferulum actus, tam sublimia
"immortalium deorum dona non sum adsecutus: Sed
"accipi me volo velut indicem, qui ipse semper præ-

"foribus manens, aliis, quod iter ingrediendum sit,
"ostendo (122)."

[X] Castrated in a Place, which might have dis-
pleased the Gentlemen of the Church.] The Author, in
that part of the Work, exclaims against the Law of
Celibacy; and insinuates, that those who were the
Defenders of it, connived at Fornication, rather than
allow'd of Marriage, in Priests, because they drew a
great Revenue from permitting them to keep Concu-
bines. He adds, That he had read of a certain Prelate
who boasted at Table, that he had eleven Thousand
Concubinary Priests in his Diocese, who paid him
each a Crown a Year. This Passage is not in the
Edition of Lyons. Crenius, who made the Discovery,
complain'd much of the Imposition: There are his
Words. "Mala fide, per Beringos fratres Lugduni
"anno M.D.C. in 8vo. edita sunt Henrici Cornelii A-
"grippæ — Opera; utpote in qua multa omis-
"sunt Editione, quæ in prioribus erant. Atque ne
"hoc gratis dixisse videar, capias exemplum & tractatu
"de Incertitudine & Vanitate Scientiarum atque Arti-
"um, in cuius c. LXIII. p. 189. de Lenonia, fe-
"quentia hæc, quæ ex optima, recognita, plena, &
"scholiis marginaliis (retineo vocem in titulo libri po-
"sitam) illustrata editione, sine loci adjectione, anno
"M.D. XXXVI. in 8vo. excusa, admodum rara, datu-
"rus sum, in Lugdunensi planè decepta sunt: Jam
"verò etiam Lenociniis militantes Leges atque canones,
"cùm in potentum favorem pro iniquis nuptiis pug-
"nant, & iusta matrimonia dirimunt: Sacerdotesque,
"sublati honestis nuptiis, turpiter scortari compellant:
"Malueruntque illi legislatores sacerdotes suos cum in-
"famia habere concubinas, quàm cum honesta fama
"uxores, fortè quia ex concubinis proventus illis est
"amplior. De quo legimus gloriatum in convivio quen-
"dam Episcopum, habere se undecim millia sacerdotum
"concubinariorum, qui in singulos annos illi aureum
"pendant. Hæc omnia, & alia forte plura, neque
"enim integrum hæcenus contuli, pro more eraserunt
"Adversarii, clarum relinquentes documentum, illo-
"rum quid editionibus tribuendum sit (123). — The
"Works of Henry Cornelius Agrippa were unsuith-
"fully publish'd, at Lyons, by the Brothers Beringi,
"in the Year M.D.C. in 8vo.: there being many things
"omitted in this Edition, which were in the former.
"To confirm this, I instance, in his Treatise of The
"Uncertainty and Vanity of Arts and Sciences, in
"the 64th Chapter of which, pag. 189. De Lenonia,
"the following Passage, which I am going to produce
"from the best Edition of his Works, reviv'd, entire,
"and illustrated with Marginal Scholia (I retain the
"Phrase, as it stands in the Title Page) printed in
"8vo. in the Year M.D. XXXVI. and now very
"scarce; the following Passage, I say, is omitted in
"the Lyons Edition. Jam verò etiam Lenociniis
"militant Leges, &c. This, and, perhaps, many more
"Passages, (for I have not collated the whole) have
"been eras'd, according to Custom, by the Enemies of
"this Author: whence we may judge how far we are
"to depend upon their Editions.

(122) A-
grippæ, Ep-
19. p. 909,
gic.

(123) Tho-
mas Crenius,
Animadv.
Philolog.
Hæc. p. 130
secunda,
p. 13, 14.

(120) Id. ib.

(121) Com-
pare this
with les
Suisse de la
Foi, whereof
the Sieur Pa-
risot, speaks
in his Book
La Foi de-
voilée par
la Raison.
There are
some Extracts
of it in the
Nouvelles
de la Rep.
Lit. Octob.
1685. pag.
1140, &c.

AGUIRRE. The Bibliothéque of the Spanish Writers furnishes Five or Six Authors
of this Name. The most eminent among them, is, I think, MICHAEL de AGUIRRE,
born at Alpetitia, in the Diocese of Pampelune, in the Province of Guipuscoa. He was
a Civilian, who, whilst he was Member of St Clement's College at Bologna, wrote in
favour of the Pretensions of Philip II. King of Spain [A] to the Crown of Portugal.
He exercised the Office of a Judge in several Courts of the Kingdom of Naples, and
afterwards he had the dignity of Counsellor in the Council of Granada in Spain. He
died in 1588 (a). They, who shall continue the Work of Don Nicolas Antonio, will
have an AGUIRRE, infinitely more famous, to insert in it. I mean JOSEPH SÆNZ
de AGUIRRE, a Benedictin, one of the Learned Men of the XVIIth Century. He
was Censor, and Secretary of the Supream Council of the Inquisition of Spain, First
Interpreter of the Scripture in the University of Salamanca, and had been more than
once Abbot of the College of St Vincent, when, in 1686, he was honoured with a
Cardinal's Hat by Pope Innocent XI. He had undertaken a very great Work (b),
which

(a) N. An-
ton. Bibli-
oth. Script.
Hispan.
Tom. 2.
pag. 102.

(b) An Edi-
tion of all
the Councils
held in Spain.

[A] Wrote in favour of the Pretensions of Philip II.
King of Spain.] His Book was printed at Venice, in
the Year 1581, with this Title, *Responsum pro succe-
ssione regni Portugallia pro Philippo Hispaniarum rege*

adversus Bononiensem, Patavinorum, & Perusinarum
collegia. Belsolus inserted it in his Collection of Coun-
cils.

[B] The

which he continued with the same diligence after his Promotion to the Purple. They, who would form a just Idea of it, should read the *Prodromus*, which he published at *Salamanca* [B], in the Year 1686, or, if they have it not, the Abstracts, which the Journalists gave of it [C]. He was thought, for some time, to be the Author of a very Learned Work against the Decisions of the Clergy of *France*, in the Year 1682 [D]. But at last the contrary appeared (c). The Conjecture was not improbable, considering this Cardinal's Attachment to the Doctrines of the *Ultramontanes*, and the pains he took to prevent the Agreement between the Courts of *Rome* and *France*, which was, nevertheless, concluded in the Month of *October* 1693. The Expence he was at in printing two Volumes of his old Friend *Don Nicolas Antonio*, is very commendable. I shall take notice of it in the Article *ANTONIO*.

(c) See the Remark [D].

[B] The *Prodromus* which he publish'd at *Salamanca*.] The Title of it is; *Notitia Conciliorum Hispaniæ atque novi Orbis, Epistolarum decretalium & aliorum monumentorum sacræ antiquitatis ad ipsam spectantium, magna ex parte hactenus ineditorum, quorum editio paratur Salmanticæ cum notis & dissertationibus, sub auspiciis Catholici Monarchæ Caroli II. Studio & vigilantiis M. Fr. Josephi Sænz de Aguirre. Salmanticæ apud Lucam Perez, Universitatis Typographum, 1686, in 8vo.* — *Memoirs of the Councils of Spain, &c.*

Note, that this Cardinal did not entirely execute the Plan of his Work, according to his first Ideas of it. They, who have not the four Volumes in *Folio*, which he publish'd at *Rome*, under the Title of *Collectio maxima Conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ & Novi Orbis*, &c. need only read the Abstracts, which the Journalists of *Leipzic* gave of them in their *Acta Eruditorum*, for the Year 1696.

[C] The Abstracts, which the Journalists gave of it.] The Gentlemen of *Leipzic* took notice of it in their *Acta*, of the Month of *February*, 1688. The Abbot de la *Roque* gave an Abstract of it in his Journal of the 13th of *January*, 1687. I wonder That Journal did not appear in the Editions of *Holland*. The Article relating to the Work before us is very curious; it gives Advice, in an artful manner, to Cardinal d'Aguirre, on his declaring that he would warrant divers Decretals for genuine, which all the Learned judge to be spurious.

[D] He was thought — to be the Author of a very learned Work (1) against the Decisions of the Clergy of *France*, in 1682.] The Title of it is; "Tractatus de libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, continens amplam discussionem Declarationis factæ ab Illustrissimis Archiepiscopis & Episcopis Parisiis mandato regio con-gretatis anno 1682, Auctore M. C. S. Theolog. Doctore Leonii apud Matthiam Hovium 1684. Iu-periorum permisso." I have read a Preface of the Abbot *Paydit* (2), wherein, among other things, he promises "a Confutation of the principal Maxims of the Treatise, de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ adversus quatuor propositiones Cleri, printed at Liege, and attributed to Cardinal d'Aguirre, and "and to Mons. Cozzoni;" and thus he expresses himself at the 148th Page. "The Author of the Treatise de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, or rather the Authors, for I understand that several Persons have had a hand in that Work, and that all the Roman Doctors have exhausted their whole Stock of Learning in it, though it is but a mean Performance, these Authors, I say, maintain, &c." But let us consider a little what the Author of the Letter of an Abbot to a Prelate of the Court of *Rome*, on the Decree of the Inquisition of the 7th of December, 1690, against thirty one Propositions, advanced. "We ourselves (3), in our Assemblies, have not even the Liberty of proposing what we may judge of Ad-vantage to our Cause. You know whose fault it is:

"Which is the Reason, why one of the Books, which ought to have been most rigorously oppos'd by our Divines, and even render'd infamous by an Episcopal Censure, is spread all over *France* with Impunity, and that the Abettors of the Opinions contain'd in it, disperse, and commend it every where, boasting that we dare not answer it. He presently nam'd to me the Book de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ, which is a thick Volume in Quarto, the Author of which is better known than he imagines. It is a shameful thing, continues he, that the Clergy of *France* should tamely permit the Author, who is a French Monk, to teach a Doctrine which we all hold to be heretical; for he maintains openly, that our Episcopal Jurisdiction is not of Divine Right." The Anatomy of the Sentence against Father *Quejnel*, informs me (4), that the Book de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ was compos'd at *Rome*, at the Instance of the Ministers of the Holy See, and printed by their Order, under the Inspection of the Nuncio of *Brussels*, at *Brussels* itself. But if Cardinal d'Aguirre be not the Author of that Treatise, it is however certain, that he wrote against the Decisions of the Assembly of 1682. The Letter I have quoted informs me of this, in a manner, which deserves the Reader's notice, as it will inform him how this Cardinal's Book is receiv'd in *France*. "Our four Articles were scarce come out, adds the Author (5), but a Crowd of Writers appear'd in opposition to them; though scarce any one in *France* undertook their Vindication. I do not say, that the Writings of our Adversaries are formidable; most of them excite our Pity; but yet they do mischief in Countries, where the People are already dispos'd in favour of the Doctrines, which they defend. — Lastly, "The noble Rewards, wherewith the Court of *Rome* knows how to pay the Zeal of those, who declare for her, give a Lustre to the least considerable, and the most obscure Works. Is it not by this means alone that Cardinal d'Aguirre, from a Spanish Monk, rose to his present Dignity? Was not the Abbot of *St Gall* nominated to a Bishoprick, with a Design of raising him to the Purple (6), as a Reward for his writing against the four Articles, as well as "Cardinal d'Aguirre?" Lastly, public Complaints (7) were made three Years before the printing of the Letter, out of which this Passage is taken, that the Pensioners among the Clergy left the Tract de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ unanswered. The History of the Works of the Learned has inform'd us (8), that the Author of that Tract is a French Priest, whose Name is *Antony Charlus*, who fled to *Rome* on account of the Regale. Perhaps he ought to be called *Charlus*, for he is probably of the same Family with the Monk of that Name, Native of *l'Isle en Jourdain* (9), who died in Exile, after having suffer'd many Disgraces in the Service of the Bishop of *Pamiers* (10).

(1) Letter of an Abbot to a Prelate, pag. 55. 56.

(2) He was made a Cardinal in the Year 1586. His Name was Simon de la Roche.

(3) In the Sentiments of Erasme, published at Cologne, in 1688, pag. 155.

(4) Of the Month of May 1687, pag. 426.

(5) A Right belonging to the Kings of France, of disposing of benefices during the Vacancy of an Episcopal See.

(6) In the Discourse of Toulouze.

(7) Francis de Cautel.

(8) Homer. Iliad. lib. 2. v. 41.

(9) See the Catalogue of Homer on Iliad lib. 2. ver. 35.

(10) Homer. Iliad. lib. 13. ver. 61.

(11) Philo. in Hætic.

A J A X, the Son of *Oileus*, was one of the Chief Lords, who went to the Siege of *Troy*. As he was the Son of a Prince, whose Dominions were of great Extent in the Country of the *Locrians*, it was easy for him to fit out Forty Ships for This Famous Expedition (a). He signalized himself on many Occasions; and it is pretended that there are Three Verses in the 2d Book of the *Iliad*, which are not *Homer's*, because they give a remarkable Superiority to *Ajax*, the Son of *Telamon*, over the *Ajax* of this Article (b), which by no means agrees with *Homer's* Account of these Heroes in another (c) Place. It is certain that our *Ajax* may be compared with any other Prince in the *Grecian* Army (d) for Courage, Boldness, and Activity [A]. As for

(1) See what was said of it in the Nouvelles de la Rep. Lit. for the Month of July 1685. Art. 1.

(2) See the Abstract of a Sermon preach'd on St Polycarpus's Day at St John's in Grece at Paris, printed at Liege 1689.

(3) It is a Bishop who is supposed to speak, p. 59.

(1) See particularly the last Verses of the 14th Book of the Iliad.

[A] And Activity.] *Homer* generally gives him the Epithet ταχδς, swift (1). The three Hands, given him by others, signify only the Rapidity of his Action in Fight. "A multis historicis Græcis tertium manu

for Judgment and Conduct, they are out of the question; they are not part of his Character. The Poets have described him as so undaunted, that they even tell us, that the Gods, with all their Thunder and their Storms, could not subdue his Insolence; inasmuch that they found it easier to destroy than to humble him [B]. The Action, which exposed him to the Anger of the Gods, was infamous, and brutish to the last degree. He had violated *Cassandra*, the Daughter of *Priam*, in the Temple of *Minerva*, whither she fled for Refuge. The Greeks themselves were offended at such a prophane Violence, and *Ulysses* advised to stone him (e). It appears, from some Passages of Ancient Authors, that *Ajax* denied the Fact, and offered to clear himself of it upon Oath (f). He confessed indeed, that he took the Maid in the Temple of *Minerva*, and that he pulled her away from the Image of the Goddess, which she had embraced (g); but he protested that he did not violate her; and pretended, that *Agamemnon* had spread this malicious Report, that he might keep *Cassandra*, whom he had seized, and whom *Ajax* claimed, as the first Possessor. We shall see, in the Remarks, how *Minerva* revenged herself on him for this Injury [C]. The Body of *Ajax* was thrown ashore by the Waves of the Sea on the Island *Delos*, where *Thetis* buried

(e) Pausan. lib. 10. pag. 347.

(f) Id. ib. pag. 343.

(g) Philo. in Heroic.

"num dicitur post tergum habuisse, quod ideo est fictum, quia sic celeriter utebatur in prælio manibus, ut tertium habere putaretur (2). — Many Greek Historians relate, that he had a third Hand; the Ground of which Fiction is, that he was so quick in the use of his Hands, that he seem'd to have a third." Several interpreters apply these Words of *Horace* to him.

(2) Servius in Æneid. lib. 1. ver. 41.

(3) Horat. Od. 15. lib. 2. ver. 19.

— & celerem sequi

Ajacem (3).

Ajax, swift in pursuit.

Mr *Hofman* adopts their Explication, and confirms it by *Homer's* Description of him.

----- 'Οϊλῆος ταχὺς υἱός

The swift-footed Son of *Oileus*.

At first I could not guess what he meant by confirming what the Compiler of his Dictionary had said concerning the Swiftness of *Ajax's* Feet, from the Authority of *Homer*. *Quod autem supra, Ajacem pedibus velocem fuisse scribit* bujusse *Dictionarii compiler, Holærum habet autorem*; I thought it strange, and incomprehensible, that Mr *Hofman* should speak of the Compiler of his Dictionary, as of an Author distinct from himself; but at last I met with a Solution of this Enigma. Mr *Hofman* had taken Word for Word, what I have just now cited, out of *Lloyd's* Dictionary. The thing has no Difficulty in *Lloyd*; because that Author publish'd his Dictionary only as an Addition to, and Correction of That of another. There are a great many Obscurities in Books, which proceed from the same Principle, as That of this Passage of Mr *Hofman*. The Authors forget to make the proper Alterations, when they abridge or transcribe the Passages of another Author (4).

(4) See the Remark [G] of the Article ACHILLEA, towards the end.

[B] Easier to destroy, than to humble him.] *Minerva* was, in some measure, put to her last Shifts to punish him; she rais'd a furious Storm; he saw his Ship sink; and yet he escap'd upon a Rock.

(5) Homer. Odyss. lib. 4. ver. 502.

Καὶ νῦν ἔσφυγε κῆρα, καὶ ὑβρόμενος περ Ἀθήνη, ἔλ' μὴ ὑπερβύλων ἔπος ἔβαλετο, καὶ μὲν ἄλυσεν (5).

By Neptune rescu'd from *Minerva's* Hate,
On Gyra, safe Oilean *Ajax* sat,
His Ship or'e-whelm'd; but, frowning on the Floods,
Impious he rear'd Defiance to the Gods.

POPE'S Odyss.

His Triumph at his Escape was horribly blasphemous. In spite of the Gods, said he, I am safe.

(6) Id. ib. ver. 504.

Ὁ δ' ἀμνηστὶ θεῶν Φωγίην κῆρυ λατρεῖα θαλάσσης (6).

To his own Protects all the Glory gave,
The Pow'r defrauding, who vows'd safe to save.

Id. ibid.

Neptune, being angry at this Insolence, split the Rock in two with his Trident, and the Part, on which *Ajax* sat, fell into the Sea. Thus *Homer* relates it,

in the 4th Book of the *Odyssey*. *Quintus Calaber* is much more particular on this Subject, and so prolix, that this single Passage shews he was not a great Master of Writing. However, he informs us, that *Minerva*, not being satisfy'd with the Thunderbolts, which *Jupiter* had given her, desired *Neptune* likewise to lend her all his Storms. It was the most dreadful Tempest imaginable; *Minerva* darted Thunder every Minute, and burnt and split *Ajax's* Ship; yet this *Furious* sav'd himself amidst the wildest Tumult of the Waves, and brav'd the Gods from the Rock which he gained.

Ὁ δ' ἔτι, καὶ οἱ μῦθοι πάντας ἐλόχευτο εἰς θεῶν ἑστίαν, καὶ τὰς αἰὲας ἀνακλόντοισι θέλαιντο. Ἐσφυγίην (7).

The Gods —

Shew'd dart united Vengeance on his Head,
And tempest Ocean from it's deepest Bed,
Still to escape he fear'd not —

(7) Quint. Calaber. lib. 14. sec. 504.

In order to destroy him, they were obliged to crush him by the fall of a Mountain, as they formerly did *Enceladus*. *Seneca*, in the Tragedy of *Agamemnon*, confirms this; read the first Scene of the third Act; you will there see a Description of Resistance and Fierceness carried to the highest Degree. The *Festin de Pierre* * is nothing to it. Poets would not be allowed at present to carry their Fictions so far on the Stage. Thus we have one *Latin*, and two *Greek* Poets, who ascribe the Death of *Ajax* to *Neptune*; but *Virgil* and *Hyginus* (8) ascribe the whole Honour of it to *Minerva*.

* A Comedy of Moliere's from whence our Shadwell borrow'd his Don John.

(8) Hygin. cap. 116.

— Pallasæ exurere classēm

Agrivum, atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,
Unius ob noxam & furias Ajacis Oilei?
Ipsa, Jovis lapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem,
Disjunctique rates, evertitque æquora ventis.
Illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammam
Turbinæ corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto (9).

(9) Virg. Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 39.

Could angry *Pallas*, with revengful Spleen,
The Grecian Navy burn, and drown the Men?
She, for the Fault of one offending Fox,
The Bolts of Jove himself presum'd to throw;
With Whirlwinds, from beneath, she toss'd the Ship,
And bare expos'd the bosom of the Deep;
Then, as an Eagle grips the trembling game,
The Wretch, yet hissing with her Father's Flame,
She strongly seiz'd, and, with a burning Wound
Transfix'd and naked, on a Rock she bound.

DRYDEN.

[C] How *Minerva* reveng'd herself on him for this Injury.] See the foregoing Remark. I shall only add here, that the Storm, she rais'd, cast a great many Ships away near the Rocks of *Capbareum*, in the Neighbourhood of the Island of *Euboea*, called at present *Nigropunt*. We cannot, without extrem Impudence, and without imputing to them a false Principle, condemn the *Greek* Poets for representing a whole People as punish'd by that Goddess, for the Crime of a particular Person.

(b) See the Remark [D] of the Article ACHILLES, pag. 82.

buried it [D]. Some Authors say, that he escaped from the Storm, and arrived safely at home [E]. The Locrians had a singular Veneration for his Memory (b). We shall relate, in the Article CASSANDRA, in what manner they were obliged to expiate his Crime. He tamed a Serpent fifteen Foot long, in such a manner, that it followed him like a Dog, and eat at his Table (i).

(i) Philostr. in Heroic.

Unius ob noxam & furias peccantis Oilei.

*She, for the Fault of one offending Fox,
The Bolts of Jove himself preform'd to throw.*

Or, as another Poet says,

Quidquid Oïlides commiserat, omnibus unus
Peccavit Danaï, omnibus ira nocens (10).

(10) Sabinus in Epist. Ulyssis.

*What mighty Ills upon the Greeks were brought,
By rash Oïlides' bold and single Fault?*

MR SALISBURY.

The Objection would prove too much, and might be retorted against the History of David. It is not only true in Prophane, but likewise in Sacred Writers, that

(11) Horat. Epist. 2. lib. 2. ver. 14.

Quidquid delirant reges plectuntur Achivi (11).

The People suffer, when the Prince offends.

CREECH.

(12) Lycophron, ver. 400.

[D] The Island Delos, where Thetis buried it.] Lycophron informs us of this Particular (12), since the Interpreters have found it out among his Enigmas. See what Canterus and Meurfus have said upon it; but

(a) See, in the Remark [A], of the Article TELAMON, the Genealogy of Ajax, both on the Father's and the Mother's side.

AJAX, the Son of Telamon (a), was, next to Achilles, the most valiant of the Grecian Captains [A] at the Siege of Troy; where he commanded the Troops of Salamis (b), and performed many Heroic Actions, which are described in the *Iliad*, in *Diogenes Cretensis*, in *Quintus Calaber*, and in the XIIIth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, in the Speech, which he made upon the Dispute concerning the Arms of Achilles. He lost his Cause; for they were awarded to his Competitor Ulysses. He was so enraged at it, that he ran mad (c). He attacked the Cattle, and made a great Slaughter among them, fancying he was destroying his Rivals for the Arms of Achilles, or his Judges, who gave them to another: But, finding that he destroyed only Cattle, he became yet more furious, and killed himself. It is said, That his Madnefs was of great Service to the Besiegers [B]. According to some, he was condemned, not by

(13) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 34.

do not believe all they say; for they are mistaken in relation to the Passage of Pausanias, which they make use of to confirm their Conjectures. Pausanias does not speak of the Tomb of the Son of Oileus (13), but of That of Ajax, the Son of Telamon. Meurfus's Criticism on the Greek of Pausanias is not right; instead of reading τὴν ἑσθον πρὸς τὸ μνημα ἢ χαλαρὰν τοῖσιν, he reads τὴν ἑσθον πρὸς τὸ μνημα ἢ χαλαρὰν τοῖσιν. According to this Correction, the Mysian, who spoke to Pausanias, told him, That the Sea had render'd all Access to That Tomb difficult to him; whereas, on the contrary, he related to Pausanias, That the Sea, had been the occasion of discovering the largeness of one of Ajax's Bones. Wherefore the meaning of it is, That the Sea having wash'd part of the Land away, had made the Place more accessible, less steep, &c.

[E] Some Authors say, that he escap'd from the Storm, and arriv'd safely at home.] Mr Lloyd has cited these Words of Timæus Locrus, Hist. lib. 2. Μετὰ τῆς Τροίας ἀλυσιν πολλοὶ τῶν Λοκρῶν περὶ τὰς Ἰνέρας ναυηγῶντων ἀνέστησαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ οὐδ' ἀνέντι μάλιν ἐς Λοκρίδα διεσώθησαν. That is, After the taking of Troy, many Locrians were shipwreck'd, and perish'd near the Gerean Rocks (14); the rest hardy escap'd, with Ajax, and return'd home to Locris. There is some Probability, that, instead of Timæus Locrus, he ought to have cited Timæus Tauromenita.

(14) Rocks of the Aegean Sea. See the Pictures of Philostratus.

(b) His Father reigned in that Island. He drove Ajax 22 Ships. Hom. *Iliad*. lib. 2.

(c) Sophocles in Ajax. Quintus Calaber, lib. 5.

[A] Was, next to Achilles, the most valiant of the Grecian Captains.] It is on the Authority of several Poets, that I make this Restriction:

(1) Homer. *Iliad*. lib. 2. ver. 275.

Ἀνδρῶν δ' αὖ μὲν ἄριστος ἦν Τελαμόνιος Αἴας·
Ὀφρ' Ἀχαιῶδες μῆνιν. [ὃ γὰρ πάλ' ὀφράτος ἦν] (1).
Ajax in Arms the first Renown acquir'd,
While stern Achilles in his Wrath retir'd.

POPE.

(2) Pindar. Nem. 7.

Pindar calls Ajax κράτιστον, Ἀχαιῶδες ἄνθρωπον, πάρα (2); strenuissimum, excepto Achille, in pugna.

(3) Sophoc. in Ajax.

Sophocles says as much of him (3). And Horace no less,

--- Ajax, Heros ab Achille secundus (4).

(4) Horat. Sat. 3. lib. 2. ver. 193.

Plutarch reports, as a Tradition, which admits of no Difficulty, That Ajax was the Handsomest, the Greatest, and the most Valiant of all the Greeks, next to Achilles (5). This is built on these Words of Homer:

(5) Plut. Symptotic. lib. 9. Quæst. 5. pag. 740. A.

Ἀλκὸν δ' ὅς περ μὲν αἶδος περὶ δ' ἔργα τίττωτο
τῶν ἄλλων Δαναῶν μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα (6).

With Tow'ring Ajax, an illustrious Shade;
War was his Joy, and pleas'd with loud Alarms,
None but Pelides brighter shon in Arms.

POPE's Odyss.

(6) Homer. *Odyss.* lib. 3. v. 549. See also ver. 463.

Plutarch builds upon this the Objection, which he makes to Plato, who feigned, that the Soul of Ajax was but the twentieth, that was enrolled. Τί δ' ἂν (εἶπεν) ὁ δεύτεραια μὲν ὁ Αἴας πάλιν καὶ μεγέθους καὶ ἀνδρείας διὰ φέρειται μετ' ἀμύμονα Πηλεΐωνα; What! (says he) was not Ajax always esteem'd second to Achilles in Beauty, Stature, and Courage? Moversi misrepresents this Passage entirely; his Words are; Plutarch remarks, in his Table-Talk, the reason, why

Plato gives but the twenty second Place, after Achilles, to the Soul of Ajax, who was esteem'd the first in Beauty, Strength, and Courage; and he makes it appear, that That Philosopher played upon the different Signification of Names.

[B] His Madnefs was of great Service to the Besiegers.] We must not, however, conclude from hence, that true Courage stands in need of such Assistance. The Benefits, which sometimes arise from Vice, do not hinder it from being in it's own Nature evil. I appeal to this fine Passage of Cicero: "Non desiderat fortitudo advocatam iracundiam; satis est instructa, parata, amata per sese. Nam illo modo quidem licet dicere utilem violentiam ad fortitudinem, utilem etiam dementia, quod & infani & ebrii multa faciunt sæpe vehementius."

Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore. Nam facinus fecit maximum, quum, Danaï inclinantibus, Summam rem perfecit manu, prælium quum restituit infantiens. Dicamus igitur utilem insaniam (7).

(7) Cicero, *Tuiculi*. lib. 4. cap. 22. &c.

— True Bravery stands in no need of being assisted by Rage and Fury; it is sufficiently equipped, prepared, and armed by itself. By the same Argument, otherwise, we might prove Drunkenness, and Madnefs to be useful to Bravery, because Madmen and Drunkards often perform great Feats.

Ajax, for Valour constantly renown'd,
Was most an Hero, in his Madnefs found;
When he restor'd the Fight, the Grecians giving
Thus Madnefs bus' it's Use." (Ground.

(d) Eustathius and the Scholiast on Odyss. lib. xi. Schol. Aristophan. in Equit.

(e) Plutarch. Symposiac. lib. i. sub fin. p. 629. See also Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. cap. 31.

(f) Plato de Republ. lib. io. pag. 765.

(g) In the Artich. TECMES-SA.

(8) Pindar. Isthm. Ode. 6. See also Apollodorus lib. 3.

(9) The Greeks call an Eagle αἰσὼς.

(10) See Suidas in ἀρπάζεω. The Scholiast of Sophocles in Ajacem, That of Homer in Il. i. 23. & Textes in Lycophr.

(11) Suidas in ἀρπάζεω.

(12) Apud Tacitum; item Scholiastes Homeri in Il. i. 23.

(13) Scholiast. Sophoc. in Ajacem.

(14) Dict. Cret. lib. 5.

(15) Suidas in voce ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΟΝ.

by the Votes of the Grecian Princes, but by the Decision of the Trojans, of whom it was demanded, which had done them most mischief, *Ajax* or *Ulysses* (d). This Opinion is founded upon an express Passage in the Eleventh Book of the *Odyssy*. *Ajax* resembled *Achilles* in many things; he was equally passionate and impatient (e); and every where invulnerable, excepting one part of his Body [C]. It would betray a very little acquaintance with Fabulous History, should we believe that there have not been various and even contradictory Accounts of the Causes and Circumstances of his Death [D]. One part of *Ajax's* Character was Impiety [E]; it consisted, not in believing, that the Gods were not endued with great Power, but in imagining, that there was no great Glory in conquering by their assistance, since the arrantest Cowards might do so. He would only be indebted for Victory to his own Courage. It is feigned, that his Soul, having the Liberty of chusing a Body (f) to return into the World with, preferred That of a Lion to That of a Man: such was his Detestation of Mankind, when he remembered the Injustice, which was done him, in relation to the Arms of *Achilles*. We shall, in another place (g), take notice of his Posterity, from whence proceeded the Family of *Milijades*. The Poets have given *Ajax* the same Elogy, which the Holy Scriptures give King *Saul*, as to his Stature (h). He was the subject of several Dramatic Pieces, both in Greek and Latin (i). The famous Comedian *Æsop* refused to act them (k). The Greeks highly honoured this valiant Captain after his Death (l). They erected a stately Monument to him on the Promontory

(b) See Remark [C].

(i) Augustus had legions of them. See Suetonius, in his Life, c. 85.

(h) Cicero de Officiis, lib. i. cap. 31.

(i) See Remark [E]. Quinarius Calaber, lib. 5. Dicht. Cret. lib. 5.

[C] Every where invulnerable, excepting one Part of his Body.] The Origin of this particular Circumstance is as follows. *Hercules*, seeing *Telamon* uneasy, because he had no Children, begged of *Jupiter* to give him a Son, who should have a Skin as tough as that of the *Nemean Lion*, and be as courageous as the Lion itself (8). He saw an Eagle, after he had finished his Petition, and, taking it for a good Omen, he promised *Telamon* such a Son, as he had just been praying for, and ordered, that the Child should be named *Ajax*, from the Eagle (9), which had given the Preface. He returned to visit *Telamon*, after the Birth of *Ajax*, and, causing the Child to be brought to him naked, he wrapped him in the Skin of his *Nemean Lion*, which rendered the whole Body of *Ajax* invulnerable, excepting that Part, which happened to be under the Hole in the Skin, at the Part where *Hercules* carried his Quiver (10). Authors are not agreed, which this Part was; some place it under the Arm-pit (11), others in the Neck (12), others in the Side (13), others in the Breast. *Tzetzes* upon *Lycophron* is of the last Opinion. Which seems likely to be *Ovid's* in the thirteenth Book of the *Metamorphoses*, v. 391.

Dixit, & in pectus, tum denique vulnera passum,
Qua patuit, ferro letalem condidit ens.

He said, and, with so good a Will to die,
Did to his Breast the fatal Point apply.

It found his Heart, a way 'till then unknown,
Where never weapon enter'd, but his own.

DRYDEN.

[D] Various and even contradictory Accounts of the Causes and Circumstances of his Death.] For some Authors say, that he killed himself in the transport of Passion, which seized him, upon the loss of *Achilles's* Arms; others, that his Dispute with *Ulysses* was not in relation to those Arms, but to the *Palladium*, which was carried away from *Troy*, when the City was plundered. These two Accounts are incompatible; for the Arms of *Achilles* were awarded to *Ulysses*, before the taking of *Troy*, and *Ajax's* Madness immediately followed this Decision. However it be, *Dictys Cretensis* relates, that *Ulysses* carried the *Palladium* against *Ajax*, by the Judgment of the Chiefs, and that *Ajax*, transported with Anger, threatened to kill those, who had done him this Injustice; but that, the next Day, he was found dead in his Tent, transfix'd with a Sword (14). *Ulysses*, being suspected of the Murder, and perceiving the Murmurs of the Army, embarked, and sailed away, as fast as he could. *Suidas* (15) and *Cedrenus* confess indeed, that *Ajax* and *Ulysses* disputed the *Palladium*, but not that the Judges pronounced in favour of either of them. They say, that they separated without coming to any Determination; and that *Ajax* was found dead the Night following. Some will have it, that his Combat with *Paris* was as fatal to himself as his Adversary; that he received a Wound in

it, of which he died (16), at the same time that he killed *Paris* (17). Others say, that the *Trojans*, being told by an Oracle, that Iron could not hurt his Body, and that, if they would kill him, they must overwhelm him with Dirt, actually put him to Death in that manner (18).

[E] One part of *Ajax's* Character was Impiety.] When he went to the Army, his Father recommended to him to add always the Assistance of God to his own Courage. *Ajax* answered him, That Cowards are often Victorious, with such Help; as for himself, he stood in no need of it; and that he was sure to conquer without it.

(17) Dares Phrygius, and the Scholiast of Sophocles on the Argument of *Ajax*.

(18) Apud Schol. Sophocli. ib.

Τίνων, δορ)
Βόλιν κρατύν μιν, εὖν δὲ δ' ἀλ κρατύν.
Ὅ δ' ὀψιμώπως ἀσφόνως ἡμείψατο.
Πάτρῳ, θεῷ μὲν ὁ μὲν ὅν ἄνδρ
Κράτος κατατρεῖται. Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ δίχα
Καίμιν, τίττω βατὶ τ' ἐπιστάσειν κλῆος (19).

(19) Sophoc. in *Ajax* em. pag. 80, 81.

Mi fili, inquit, virtute
Velis vincere, sed auxiliante Deo semper velis
vincere.
Ipse vero superbe ac stulte respondebat:
Adjuvante Deo, inquit, etiam ignavi
Vincere solent. Ego vero, vel absque
Auxilio divino, confido me istam attracturum esse
gloriam.

There is a Passage of the like Import in the same Author.

Εἰ δὲ τις θεῶν
Βλάττει, Φύγοι' ἂν καὶ ναυὸς τὸν ὑπέρβουα (20).
If Jove refuse, from Heaven's æthereal Height,
To aid the Warrior in the Day of Fight,
In vain the bravest to the Battle go;
Edgeless their Swords against the Dastard Foe.

(20) Ibid. pag. 51.

Minerva offered one day to give him Advice; but he answered haughtily; Trouble not yourself about my Post; I shall give a good Account of it; you may keep your good Offices for the other Greeks (21). Another time, he offered to drive *Ajax's* Car in the Battle; but he would not suffer it (22): Nay he even effaced the Owl, which was painted on his Shield (23). He was afraid, no doubt, that this Picture should be taken for an Act of Devotion to *Minerva*, and a distrust of his own Strength. It would be unjust not to inform the Reader here, that *Homer* does not represent him quite so irreligious; for, if he does not himself pray to *Jupiter*, in preparing for his Combat with the valiant *Hector*, he desires, at least, that others should supplicate That God; but in secret,

(21) Ibid. pag. 81.

(22) Scholiast. Sophocli.

(23) Idem.

Least the Foe should bear,
And deem their Prayers the mean Effect of Fear.
POPE.

montory *Rhæteum* [F]. Some miraculous Adventures have been related concerning this Tomb [G]. The Mistake, which *Ronsard* believed he had committed in relation to *Ajax* [H], was corrected in a new Edition.

(24) Hom.
Iliad. lib. 7.
ver. 194.

Or rather *Aloud*; for, adds he, *I stand in Fear of no Man*

(24) From warlike *Salamis* I drew my Birth,
And, born to Combats, fear no Force on Earth.

Ibid.

This is not sufficient to set him up for a Model of Devotion, as is done in the Commentary on the Emblems of *Alciatus*. "Recte *Ajax* apud *Homerum*, "qui Deos invocat sese ad arma componens; neque enim putat sibi felicius rei bene gerendæ auspiciis" capere posse, quam ab invocatione numinis (25). — *Ajax*, in *Homer*, does right to invoke the "Gods, when he prepares himself for the Fight; "he thought an Invocation of the Deity the happiest "Prelude to Success." This is to misrepresent the Fact: the Passage of the seventeenth *Iliad*, v. 645, is of no use here. He would not have the *Trojans* know, that the *Greeks* prayed to Heaven for the Success of his Arms; This may admit of two Explanations: He feared, perhaps, that the *Trojans* would take this Invocation of the Deity for a Sign that he distrusted his own Courage; or else He feared, that the *Trojans*, apprized of the Vows, which the *Greeks* were offering up for him, would do the same, and even more fervently, for *Hector*. The first of these two Explanations makes him guilty of a Vanity very injurious to God; the second represents him fully persuaded of the Divine Power. But what is this to the Purpose, since he consents they should pray aloud; I say, consents to it, in confidence of his own Strength and Dexterity; in a word, for this Reason, because he fears nothing, and is unconcerned, whether the *Trojans* offer up counter Prayers or not? Is this an Example of Piety, which the Commentator of *Alciatus* ought to have proposed? A certain Person was saying the other Day, that the Catholic Princes were in the wrong to suffer the Pilgrimages of *Loretto*, the Offerings, the Vows, the Prayers of forty four Hours, which they appoint, in order to obtain a glorious Campaign, to be put in the *Gazettes*; for, as soon as their Enemies are informed of this, they practise the same thing, and make yet larger Vows to the Saints of both Sexes. It was replied, that this shewed the plain dealing of those Princes: They will not surprize the Decrees of Heaven; they will not, like *Ajax*, hide the Knowledge of their Requests from their Enemies, and the means of providing against them. This would be to desire that Judgment might be given, before both Parties were heard.

[F] They erected a stately Monument to him on the Promontory *Rhæteum*.] It was one of those, which *Alexander* desired to see and honour (26). I have observed, in another Place (27), that *Pliny* is unjustly accused of being ignorant of the true Situation of this Sepulchre. But if it be true, that the *Greeks* erected this Monument, what does *Horace* mean by censuring *Agamemnon* for having left *Ajax* unburied?

Cur *Ajax*, heros ab *Achille* secundus,
Putrescit, toties servatis clarus *Archivis*.
Gaudet ut *Populus Priami*, *Priamusque* inhumato,
Per quem tot juvenes patrio carere sepulchro (28).

Say, why does *Ajax*, born the *Greeks* to save,
Rot on the Earth, unhonour'd with a Grave;
Whilst *Priam's* Sons with hostile Joy deride
HIS cold Remains, their Funeral Rites denied;
Whose Hand had burl'd to *Pluto's* gloomy Reign
So many Trojan Chiefs, untimely slain;
Whose Limbs, unburied on their native Shore,
Devouring Dogs, and hungry Vultures tore?

I answer, that The Poet makes use only of one of the Incidents of the Tragedy of *Ajax*; it is That, wherein *Sophocles* feigns, that *Agamemnon* would not consent, that *Ajax* should be honoured with Funeral Rites. He yielded at last to the pressing Instances of *Teucer*. Observe, that some Authors say, that the Body of *Ajax* was not burnt, and others that it was. *Diogenes Cretensis* and *Quintus Calaber* are of the latter Opinion; *Philostrophus* of the former. He tells us, that *Calchas* declared it contrary to the Precepts of Religion to permit those to be burnt, who had killed themselves (29). See in the same *Philostrophus*, how the *Athenians* distinguished themselves in honouring this Hero. *Pausanias* informs us, that one of the Tribes bore the Name of *Ajax* (30); and that the Honours they decreed to him and his Son *Euryaces*, were yet subsisting (31). Those of *Salamis* had built a Temple to *Ajax* (32). The whole *Greek* Nation invoked him some time before the Battle of *Salamis* (33), and afterwards consecrated to him one of the Ships, which they had taken from the *Perfians*, in that memorable Day, as being part of the first Fruits dedicated to the Gods (34).

[G] Some miraculous Adventures — relating to this Tomb.] *Ulysses*, having suffered Shipwreck on the Coasts of *Sicily*, lost, among other things, the Armour of *Achilles*. The Shield was afterwards thrown ashore by the Waves near the Sepulchre of *Ajax*, where it hung; but the next Day it was struck with Thunder. This is what *Ptolemy* the Son of *Hephaestion* reports (35). *Pausanias* says, in general, that the Storm threw the Arms of *Achilles* on *Ajax's* Tomb, after the Shipwreck of *Ulysses* (36). The Story was curious, and afforded too many moral Reflexions, to be omitted by the Poets. See in the *Antibologia* what the *Greeks* have sung on that Subject (37). *Alciatus* borrowed one of his Emblems from thence (38). As for the Prodigies, or Miracles, for which *Ajax* was famed after his Death, see *Pausanias*, at the thirty fourth Page of the first Book. Before I end this Remark, I shall add, that the Waves having half opened the Tomb of *Ajax*, People were curious to look into it, and observed that one of his Knee-Bones was as big as one of the *Discus's* or *Quoits*, which were made use of in the Games (39). The Person, who related it to *Pausanias*, would have him judge from thence of *Ajax's* Stature (40). *Homer* says that he was remarkably tall.

Ἄνδρ' ὅς τε μέγας τε,
Ἐξ ὅχου Ἀρσίωι καραλὴν ἦδ' ἐνύρας ὤμων (41).

With Giant Strength endu'd,
Whose brawny Shoulders, and whose swelling Chest,
And lofty Stature, far exceed the rest.

P O E T.

[H] The Mistake, which *Ronsard* believed he had committed.] He had ranked *Ajax* among the Heroes who took *Troy*; but he left him out in the second Edition of his *Franciad*, having been told by *Florens Christanus*, that *Ajax* killed himself before the taking of the Town (42). He was plainly ignorant, that, according to some Authors, this great Captain did not die, 'till after the sacking of *Troy*; for, if he had known it, he would have told *Florens Christanus*, that he was not ignorant of what *Homer*, *Sophocles*, *Ovid*, and others have related; but that he knew likewise the Opinion of others; and that he chose rather to follow *Diogenes Cretensis*, than *Homer*; and thus he might have avoided the Acknowledgment of a Mistake: A Confession very ungrateful to a Poet, and even to other Authors.

A J A X, the Son of *Teucer*, caused a Temple to be built to *Jupiter* in *Olbus*, a City of *Cilicia*. The Priest of That Temple was Lord of the Country called *Tracheotis*. Several Tyrants endeavoured to invade this Country, and to support themselves in it, so that it became a true Theatre of Robberies. After these Tyrants were extirpated, it was called the Country of *Teucer*, and the Priesthood. These are the Names it had in *Strabo's* time, who adds, that most of it's Pontiffs had born the Name of *Teucer*, or That of *Ajax*; and that *Aba*, the Daughter of *Zenophanes*, one of the Tyrants,

being allied to that Family by Marriage, became Mistress of the Country, after her Father had governed it in quality of her Guardian. She was confirmed in the Possession of it by *Marc Antony* and *Cleopatra*, to whom she had made her Court with great Address. After her Death, the Country returned into the Power of the lawful Possessors (a). We may infer from hence, that the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary is very erroneous in this Article [A].

(a) See Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 462.

[A] The Supplement to *Moreri* — is very erroneous in this Article.] After having thoroughly considered the Matter, I find the shortest way is to set down the whole Article of the Supplement: Here it is. *Ajax, the Son of Teucer, King of Salamis, in the Island of Cyprus, having succeeded his Father, consecrated a Temple to Jupiter, in the City of Olbus. He maintained himself in the Possession of this Kingdom, against several Princes, who endeavour'd to make themselves Masters of it, and left it to his Posterity, who most of them bore the Name of Ajax, or of Teucer. Strabo, lib. 14.* I observe, in confusion of this Account, I. That it deceives the Reader, by inducing him to believe, in virtue of this Narrative, that the Town of *Olbus* was in the Island of *Cyprus*. II. That it is not true, that *Strabo* says, *Ajax* succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Salamis*. The indefatigable

Meursius, who took so much pains to discover the Names of all those, who reign'd in the Island of *Cyprus*, did not meet with a single *Ajax* (1). III. That it is not true, that several Princes endeavour'd to wrest the Kingdom of *Salamis* from *Ajax*. Their Attempts were aim'd against *Trachetis*, the Patrimony, or Demefn of the Church of *Olbian Jupiter*, in *Illicitia*; and *Strabo* does not say, that they endeavour'd to dispossess *Ajax* of it, nor that *Ajax* was in Possession of it. A Man may build a Temple without being the Priest of it, and without possessing the Revenues, with which it is endow'd. IV. That, supposing *Ajax* had been both Prince and Priest of *Trachetis*, it would be false, that he kept the Possession of it, and that he left it to his Descendants; it is plain, from the Relation of *Strabo*, that the Series of lawful Successors was sometimes interrupted.

(1) See his *Treatise* de *Cypro*, lib. 2. cap. 7. & seq.

AJAX, an Ecclesiastic, famous for his Piety, and Exemplary Life, in the Reign of *Theodosius*. He had a Brother, whose Name was *Zeno*, who was equally virtuous. They distinguished themselves for the practice of Virtue, at first, not in a Solitude, but in the City of *Gaza*; afterwards they addicted themselves to a Monastic Life. They were often very ill treated, for courageously maintaining the Orthodox Faith against the Pagans. *Ajax* had married a very handsome Woman; but it is said he knew her but Three times, from whence proceeded Three Sons; after which, he separated himself from her, as to Conjugal Commerce, and wisely governed the Church of *Botolium*. He brought up Two of his Sons to the Study of Divinity, and to Celibacy, and married the Third (a).

(a) Socrum. lib. 7. c. 23.

AIGUILLON, a small Town of *Guienne*, on the Confluence of the Rivers *Lot* and *Garonne*, four Leagues below *Agen* [A], was erected into a Duchy, with the Dignity of Peerage annexed to it, in favour of the Duke of *Maienne*, in the Year 1599. The Letters Patents for it were confirmed in Parliament the Year following (a); but, the family of that Duke being extinct, the Erection of it was renewed in the Reign of *Lewis XIII.* in the Year 1638, by Letters Patents, which were confirmed the same Year (b). Cardinal *Richelieu* caused this to be done, in Favour of his Niece, the Lady de *Combalet*, who was afterwards so well known by the Name of the DUCHESS OF AIGUILLON. We shall speak of her in her proper place (c). She left this Duchy by Will to her Niece *Mary Magdalen Teresa de Vignerod*, Sister to the Duke of *Richelieu* (d). Nothing is more remarkable in History, than the Resistance made by the Town of *Aiguillon* [B] in 1346, against the Duke of *Normandy*, who was afterwards King *John*. We are ashamed to read the account of it at present; and our Military Men cannot sufficiently express their Wonder, that the Art of War was at that time so inconsiderable in respect to what it is now. If the Duke of *Normandy*, eldest Son to the King of *France*, had taken *Aiguillon* after fourteen Months Siege, he would have deserved the greatest Triumph; and yet, at present, such a Town, as This was at that time, would hardly do honour to a Colonel.

(a) The 2d of March.

(b) The 19th of May.

(c) In the Article (VIGNEROD *Mary de*).

(d) See the State of France, Tom. 2. p. 88, 80. E. d. 168c.

[A] Below *Agen*.] If I had thought proper to observe, in the middle of what Towns *Aiguillon* is situated, I should not have pitch'd upon *Agen* and *Nerac*, as Mr *Moreri* did; for these three Places form a Triangle; but I should have chosen *Agen* and *Tonneins*, the one above, the other below *Aiguillon*, on the *Garonne*. This Fault is so much the more considerable, as there is no Reader but will conclude from it, that *Nerac* is situated on the same River.

[B] Is more remarkable — than the Resistance made by the Town of AIGUILLON.] *Pappyrus Masson* says, that the Siege continued fourteen Months. "Acilioneum (1) urbem irrita Joannis, postea Regis Francorum, & tunc Ducis Normannie, quatuordecim mensium obfidione memorabilem (2). — The City Acilio (AIGUILLON) famous for the fourteen Months fruitless Siege of John, afterwards King of France, and then Duke of Normandy." The numerous Army of the Duke of *Normandy* is no less to be considered, than the length of the Siege. "This Duke came to *Toulouse*, in the beginning of January, with an hundred thousand Men bearing Arms. All this dreadful Multitude did nothing in three Months, but take some paltry Towns in A-

genois, and afterwards the City of *Angouleme*, from whence they attack'd *Tonneins*, and then besieg'd *Aiguillon* — very well stor'd, and fortify'd, for those times (3). The manner of the Attack is a third remarkable Particular. "This whole Century (4) has not produc'd a more memorable Siege, if we consider either the Attack or the Defence. It was attack'd three times a Day for a whole Week together; afterwards they plied it with Artillery and Engines, both by Land and by Water." The following Citation takes in the two Passages of *Mezerai*. I fetch it from *Catel* (5). "Froissard, in the 121st Chapter of his first Volume, says, That when the Duke of *Normandy* besieg'd, with a hundred thousand French, the City of *Aiguillon*, in possession of the English, he sent to *Toulouse* for eight of the greatest Engines that were in that City, and when the Inhabitants of *Aiguillon* were upon the point of being attack'd, it was agreed by the French Lords, that those of *Toulouse*, *Carcassonne* and *Beausaire* should attack them from Morning 'till Noon, and those of *Rouergue*, *Cahors*, and *Agenois*, from Noon 'till Night (6)." *Mezerai* makes the three Assaults in a Day continue, but a Week, which does not answer the

(3) *Mezerai*, Abreg. Chron. ad ann. 1345. Tom. 3. pag. 24. Holl. Edit. 1673.

(4) It was the XIVth Century.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) *Catel's* Memoirs for the History of Languedoc, pag. 563.

(1) *Baudrand* calls it *Aguillonum*.

(2) *Pappyrus Masson's* Description of the R. *Var* of Gaul.

Colonel, who should take it at the first Onset. The Romans made almost the same Reflexion, when they compared the first Conquests of their City [C] with the Victories they gained afterwards. Mezerai strangely puzzles the Affair I am speaking of (e). Aiguillon had not altogether the same Success against the English, as against the Duke of Normandy; for, when they besieged it in 1430, they did not take the Castle; they took only the Town, and plundered it (f).

(e) See Remark [B].

(f) Darnal's Antiquities of Aiguillon, pag. 100.

Expectation he had raised in his Readers; for what is a Week in fourteen Months? The Idea he gives us of the Attack is certainly too narrow and confin'd. Besides, he is guilty of a Chronological Error. According to his Account, the Duke of Normandy came to Toulouse in the Month of January, 1346, and spent three Months in taking some paltry Towns; afterwards he took Angouleme, and then return'd towards the Garonne, took Tonneins, besieg'd Aiguillon, and rais'd the Siege of it by reason of the Battle of Creci. This Battle was fought on the 26th of August, 1346. According to this Narrative of Mezerai, it is not only impossible, that the Siege of Aiguillon should have lasted fourteen Months, but even, considering the Custom of those times, that the Siege should have been very long: And it is to speak improperly, to say, that the Duke of Normandy push'd it vigorously (7). We must place the Arrival of this Prince at Toulouse in the Year 1345.

(7) Mezerai, ibid.

[C] When they compar'd the first Conquests of their City. See Flarus and his exclamatory Style. "Sora" (quis credit?) & Algidum terrori fuerant: Satricum atque Corniculum provincie. De Verulis & Bovillis pader, sed triumphavimus. Tibur, nunc sub-urbanum, & æstivæ Præneste deliciae, nuncupatis

"in Capitolio votis, petebantur. Idem tunc Fæfulæ, quod Caræ nuper; idem nemus Aricinum, quod Hercynius saltus: Fregellæ, quod Gelforicum: Tiberis, quod Euphrates. Coriolus quoque (præ pudor!) victus ad gloriæ fuit, ut captum oppidum Caius Marcus Coriolanus, quasi Numantium aut Africam, nomen induerit (8).—Even Sora (who would think it?) and Algidum struck Terror: Satricum and Corniculum were Provinces. Verulæ and Bovillæ, (though now we are assur'd of it) were matter of Triumph. We made Jerusalem Vow in the Capitol for the Conquest of Tibur, now Rome's Suburbs, and Præneste's Summer Pleasures. Fæfulæ was, then, what Caræ was lately; the Aricinian Grove, what the Hercynian Wood; Fregellæ, what Gelforicum; Tiber, what Euphrates. The Victory gain'd over Coriolus (I am assur'd of it) was thought so glorious, that Caius Marcus Coriolanus assum'd the Captive City's Name, as it had been another Numantia, or Africa." But what shame forever it was to the French, not to be able to take Aiguillon, with so many Men, commanded by their King's eldest Son, it was a great Honour to the English, that they defended the Post so long.

(8) Flarus, cap. 11. 120.

AILLI (a) (PETER de) Bishop of Cambrai (b) and Cardinal, was born at Compiègne in Picardy [A], in the Year 1350. His Family was very obscure; some say He was (c) Under-Porter of the College of Navarre; but they are mistaken. He was not entered in That College till about the Year 1372. He was admitted a Pensioner there, among the Students in Divinity. He was at that time Solicitor for the French Nation in the University of Paris, and capable of setting up for a good Author, as he made it appear by his Treatises of Logic [B] according to the Hypotheses of the Nominals, and his Treatises concerning the Nature of the Soul, and that of Meteors. He shewed such great Penetration and Elegance in his Works, that he laid thereby the Foundation of That high Reputation, to which he rais'd himself. He had as good Success in his Explication of Peter Lombard, in the Year 1375. This happy Application to Scholastic Learning did not hinder him from being a good Preacher. He took his Doctor's Degree in 1380, and had a Canonship given him at Noion. He was recalled to Paris Four Years after, to exercise the Office of Great Master of the College of Navarre. He had a great Number of Scholars there, and among others John Gerson, and Nicolas de Clemangis. He pleaded with so much Force in 1387, before the Pope (d), against a Jacobin (e) who had appealed from the Judgment, which the Faculty of Divinity of Paris had pronounced against him, that he obtained a Confirmation of the Sentence. He wrote likewise a Treatise against the same Jacobin. This gained him so great a Reputation, that, in 1389, he was made Confessor and Almoner

(a) In Latin Petrus de Alliaco, or ab Alliaco, or ab Aliaeco, or Alliaccensis, or Alliaccus, or Alliaco, &c.

(b) The et, & Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 48. & de Scient. Mathem. p. 152, 228, &c. ubi dicitur de Aiguillon, p. 152, 228, &c.

(c) See Remark [A].

(d) It was the Antiquary Clem. VII. who resided at Avignon.

[A] Born at Compiègne in Picardy.] This appears by the public Registers of the Church of Cambrai (1); so that we may place in the List of Thet's Untruths what he says concerning Peter d'Ailli's native Country. "He was born, says he (2), in a very obscure Village of Germany, called Ailly, from which, to hide the meanness of his Extraction, he took his Name. He was so poor, that he was obliged to serve as Under-porter to the College of Navarre, to support himself in his Application to the Study of Literature." Volaterran had already publish'd, that Peter d'Ailli was a German (3).

(1) Apud Launoium Hist. Coll. Navari, pag. 137.

(2) Thet's Untruths, Men, Tom. 7. pag. 82. 12mo.

(3) See Gerner, Bibl. fol. 543. v. 10.

[B] By his Treatises of Logic.] He understood it perfectly, and was indebted to it for that Strength and Skill, wherewith he supported his own Opinions, and overthrew those of others. The famous Wesselus of Groningen speaks of him in this manner. "Quis unquam ad illum apicem Theologicæ, quo Petrus de Alliaco ascendit, absque definitionibus, divisionibus, argumentationibus, instantiis logicis perveniret? In disputationibus dico, ubi discussæ disertæ opus est. Quomodo Petrus Joannem de Montefonso in Rota de errore quatuordecim illarum conclusionum conclusisset, nisi distinctione multiplici, aut elenchi ignorantia antecedente vel consequente delatam docuisset? Opus igitur Theologicis Logicam inferre. Et GERSON iste quo tandem

"tantus ipse Theologus, nisi per accuratissimam illam suam Magistri Petri Logicam, evasit (4)?—Who can ever arrive at those Heights of Divinity, to which Peter d'Ailli attain'd, without Definition, Divisions, Syllogisms, and Logical Instances? I mean, in Controversies, which require a rational Disquisition. How could he have convinc'd John de Montefonso of Error in his fourteen Conclusions, before the Pope, had he not shew'd in what manner he was led into them, either by heaping Distinction upon Distinction, or by an Ignorance of the Argument in the Antecedent, or Consequent? Divinity therefore stands in need of Logical Conclusions. And how could the famous GERSON ever have been the great Divine he was, without this accurate Logic of Peter d'Ailli?" We must remark, that Mr de Launois is of Opinion, the Words Rota de errore, &c. in the foregoing Passage, were the Title of a Book written by Peter d'Ailli; but I chuse to understand by Rota, the Place, where the Pope heard the Disputants. Without doubt Logic contributed much to the following Elogy of Peter d'Ailli: "Aquila Franciæ, atque aberrantium à veritate malleus indefessus (5).—The Eagle of France, and the indefatigable Combatant of Heretics."

(4) Wesselus of the History of the Faculty of the Parisian University, and Launoium Hist. Navari, pag. 469.

(5) Launois, ubi supra, pag. 159. 4to.

[C] Almoner

(f) According to Moreri, it was the Bishoprick of Bellai; but he is mistaken.

(g) Moreri says it was at Pisa; but he is mistaken.

(b) Taken out of the Latin History of the College of Navarre, by Mr. de Launoi, pag. 467, &c.

(i) Diffata huiusmodi danda injuriarum sunt, natus in candidissimo pectore. Launoi. ibid. pag. 430.

* Claudii Gallia Christiana, fol. 68.

(6) See Faucher-L'Abbe de Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. 2. pag. 179.

(7) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 548. Bellarmine de Script. Eccles. mentions the same Year, but without taking notice of any City.

(8) See Launoi's Hist. Navar. pag. 137.

(9) Ibid. p. 134. 475.

(10) Id. ib. pag. 475.

(11) Ibid. p. 144. 135.

(12) Miræus, in Autario de Script. Eccles. c. 454. p. 265.

Almoner to Charles VI [C], and Chancellor of the University. Five Years after, the first Dignity of the Holy Chapel of Paris was conferred upon him; to wit that of Treasurer. So many different Employments did not hinder him from applying himself earnestly to find out the most effectual means of putting a stop to the Schism, which divided the Church of Rome. He went from the King to the Anti-Pope Benedict XIII. in 1394, and gave such an advantageous Character of him at his return, that it was resolved, in the King's Council, to acknowledge him for lawful Pope. He obtained the Bishoprick of Puy in Vellai (f), at the end of the Year 1395, and That of Cambray, in the beginning of the Year following. He was much esteemed by Boniface IX. and he made use of his interest with him in procuring a Doctor of Divinity to be established in all the Episcopal Churches of the Kingdom. He preached at Genoa, in the Year 1405, on the Mystery of the Trinity, before Benedict XIII. and persuaded That Pope to enjoin all the Churches to celebrate the Feast of the Trinity. He was admired for his Learning and Prudence in the Council of Pisa, in the Year 1409. He maintained, in all the Assemblies of Paris, which debated concerning a Remedy for the Schism, that the only way to put a stop to it was to call a General Council. Two Years after, he was promoted to the Purple (g). He went into Germany, in the Year 1414, in Quality of the Pope's Legate. He presided at the third Session of the Council of Constance; he composed Three Pieces during the sitting of the Council: One, *De emendanda Ecclesia*; another, *De duodecim bonoribus beati Josephi*; another, *De modo & forma eligendi Papæ*: And no Person had a greater share, than He, in the Affairs of That memorable Assembly, which lasted Three Years. He died in the Year 1425 [D], and was buried in his Cathedral of Cambray. He was a great Benefactor to the College of Navarre [E], and left great Sums, by his Will, for Services to be performed in several Churches for the Repose of his Soul (b). Mr de Launoi, who supplied me with this Account, does not forget to look upon Peter d'Ailli's Doctrine concerning the Ecclesiastical Power, as a Blemish in a beautiful Body. He imputes it to the Misfortunes of the Times (i); but I wonder he forgot another Blemish of This Doctor, I mean his Fondness for Judicial Astrology [F]. Lastly; our

[C] *Almoner to Charles VI.* See du Puyrat, pag. 345, of the Antiquities of the King's Chapel. He observes there, that "Peter d'Ailli never had the Quality of great Almoner of France, nor of the King's great Almoner: They were Titles unknown at that Time, and did not come in Fashion, 'till the Reign of Charles VIII. and of Francis I. whatever the Author of the *Gallia Christiana* * may say, in which the Continuator of the Annals of Baronius is likewise mistaken."

[D] *He died in the Year 1425.* It is strange, that a Person of this Rank and Distinction should die, without our knowing certainly where, or in what Year. Some say that he died in Germany, in the Year 1416. Others, that he died at Avignon, on the 8th of August, 1425, when he was the Pope's Legate in France (6). Others allow, that he died at Avignon, but place his Death in the Year 1426 (7). Mr de Launoi is contented with placing it in the Year 1425, in the 479th Page of his Book; but he had said, (Page 129) that Peter d'Ailli died, when he was Legate of the Holy See in Germany, in the Year 1423 (8). "Anno postquam vastatum est à Burgundionibus quinto. — Five Years after it was laid waste by the Burgundians." Now, in the 126th Page of the same Work, he has placed this Ravage in the Year 1418. The Register of the Church of Cambray says, that he died on the 9th of October, 1425, being Legate of the Holy See in the Lower Germany, and that, on the 9th of July following, his Body was carried to Cambray, where it was buried behind the great Altar. The difference of 1416, and 1426, proceeds from an Error of the Press; the Figure 1 being, by mistake, plac'd instead of the Figure 2, occasion'd two different Opinions.

[E] *He was a great Benefactor to the College of Navarre.* He was called it's second Founder (9). He built the House of the Divines, but not the Library. Spondanus, who affirms it, is mistaken; it was the Work of Charles VIII. "Spondanus in annalibus Ecclesiasticis prodidit ad exstructam esse bibliothecam. Sed aberrat; id est opus Caroli octavi Regis, cuius & nomen *universitatis* in Bibliotheca vitro centies depingitur, & itatus in occidentali turbinati parietis como erecta conspicitur (10)." It is true, indeed, Peter d'Ailli would have part of his Benefactions to the College laid out in purchasing Books; and that he often presented them with Books (11). I cannot tell, whether he gave them his own Library, as Aubert Miræus assures us he did: "Alliacus, says he (12), anno 1425, Avenione mo-

"riens, bibliothecam suam legavit Navaræo Patriis Collegio, quam ibi magna cum voluptate aliquando vidimus. — D' Ailli, dying at Avignon in the Year 1425, left his Library to the College of Navarre at Paris, which I have formerly seen there with great Pleasure." I don't find, that Mr Launoi says so; his Silence alone is sufficient to refute this Flemish Writer.

[F] *His fondness for Judicial Astrology* (13.) Bellarmine has not overlooked this Blemish: "Unum est, says he (14), in quo reprehenditur hic auctor, quod videlicet inesse videatur Christi nativitatem prænotici potius ex genethliacis observationibus, atque ad hoc adduxerit apparitionem stellæ, quæ apparuit Magis. — There is one thing, for which This Author deserves Censure; I mean, his Opinion, that the Nativity of Christ might have been calculated Astrologically, and his appealing, in proof of this, to the Phenomenon of the Star, which appeared to the Wise Men." Others observe, that Peter d'Ailli maintained, in his Book de Concordia Historiæ & Astrologiæ Divinatriæ, that Noah's Flood, the Birth of JESUS CHRIST, and such other Miracles, and all the Prodigious, might have been foretold by Astrology (15); and that he referred the Origins, Revolutions, and Destructions of Commonwealths, and Religions, to the Conjunctions of the Higher Planets (16). Bodin adds, That Johannes Picus, Prince of Mirandola, takes the Hypotheses of Peter d'Arliac (17) for certain, without enquiring any farther after the Truth; though, out of thirty six great Conjunctions, which That Cardinal observed, from 115 Years after the Creation of the World, 'till the Year of our Lord 1385, not six of them proved true (18). [De Alliacus is the vulgar Latin Name of Peter d'Ailli (Alliacus): from whence Bodin formed his Arliac, by changing the first of the two ll into an r, as in Varle, Merlin, Merlusine, from Vallet, Mellin, Mellusine. REM. CRIT.] This Passage of Bodin was thus drawn up in the Latin Edition, *Miram mibi visum est quamobrem J. Picus Mirandulæ princeps illius hominis errores sane pudentes in cælestium orbium doctrina pro certis & compertis demonstrationibus habuerit; cum enim post orbem conditum anno centesimo decimo quinto usque ad annum Christi 1385, triginta sex Jovis & Saturni conjunctus tradiderit, vix tamen ullus eo quo docuit loco ac tempore describitur.* The same Bodin attacks the very Foundation of these Hypotheses: "Cardinal d'Arliac, says he (19), begins with the great Conjunctions at the Time of the Creation of the World, supposing, according

(13) See the end of the Remark [K].

(14) Bellarmine de Script. Eccles. p. 344. It refers to 10 Sicus Siennæ, Bibl. Sanctæ, Annot. 15, & 81. & lib. 6. Annot. 10.

(15) Vossius de Scientiis Mathem. pag. 215.

(16) Bodin: d. Repub. lib. 4. pag. 448. of the 1st Edit. u.

(17) See his cæli sim.

(18) Bodin, ubi supra.

(19) Id. ib. pag. 549.

our *Peter d'Ailli*, who submitted Scepters and Crowns to the Ecclesiastical Power; who endeavoured to multiply Festivals; who founded such a great number of Masses for the Repose of his Soul; and who condemned *John Hus* to Death [G]; appears nevertheless in the *Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth* [H], as a Forerunner of *Luther* and of *Calvin*. The *Cartesians* likewise rank him in the Number of their Forerunners,

in

"according to his Account, that there are 7118 Years, following the Error of *Alphonsus*, which was rejected by all the *Hebrews*; and at present with common Consent by all Churches. — And therefore it is an intolerable Error to suppose the great Conjunction of the three higher Planets to have fallen out in the Year of the Creation 320, and to lay it down, that there are at present 7118 Years elapsed, which is carrying it up to twelve hundred Years before the Creation of the World." This manner of opposing *Peter d'Ailli* cannot be decisive at present, when we consider, that several learned Men prefer the Calculation of the *Greek Bible*, concerning the Duration of the World, before the Calculation of the *Hebrew Text*. *Vossius* had more reason to insult him, on the rise of the *Arian* Herey, than on the Duration of the World. These are *Vossius's* Words; and we find by them, that our *Astrologer* placed the beginning of That Herey seven hundred Years after *JESUS CHRIST*, which betrays a very gross Ignorance. "Valde etiam futile est fundamentum quod isti ipsi ponunt. Ait ab initio mundi uque ad diluvium fluxisse annos 2042. à diluvio ad natalem Christi 3102. His ita constitutis, totus est in eo ut ostendat, quodcumque mirandum aliquid contingit in terris, etiam illustrem aliquam stellarum conjunctionem apparuisse in cœlis. Atqui falsissimum est quod sibi sumit de anno vel diluvii vel natalis Domini: Nec levis est error, sed spississimus; in priori quidem numero, annorum pene sexcentorum, in altero autem, paulo pauciorum. Quid mirum? omnino *Cameracensis* fuit Chronologiæ imperitissimus, ut vel arguit quod *Arrianam* Hæresim cepisse dicat anno Christi septingentesimo, quam verifamilis tum pene extinctam dixisset. Ortum vero constat fere initio seculi quarti. — *The Foundation, which he lays of This Science, is very weak. He tells us, that from the Creation to the Deluge were 2042 Years* (20); *from the Deluge to the Birth of Christ 3102.* If this were admitted, it would yet rest upon him to shew, that, upon every wonderful Event, there appeared in the Heavens some remarkable Conjunction of the Stars. But his Hypothesis concerning the Year of the Deluge, and the Birth of Christ, is most false. Nor is it a trivial Error, but a very considerable one; being no less, than a Mistake of near six hundred Years in the former, and something less in the latter (21). Nor are we to wonder at it; since the Bishop of Cambray's utter Ignorance of Chronology appears in his placing the Rise of the *Arian* Herey in the 700th Year of Christ, which he might, with more appearance of Truth, have said was extinct at that Time. For it is certain it commenced at the beginning of the fourth Century (22)." If *Thevet* had wrote with Judgment, would he have spoke of *Peter d'Ailli* in the following Terms? "I could wish that all, who set up for *Astrologers*, would carefully peruse his Books; it would not be Labour lost: For besides the extraordinary Observations I have related (23), they would find there a Sentence drawn up against those, who, under the Name of true *Astrology*, take a Pleasure in being imposed upon by the false Mask of *Astrology*, introducing an *Astral* Idolatry, altogether abominable (24)." This pretended Idolatry was no more to be feared in *Thevet's* Time, than the religious Worship of the Earth: So that if *Peter d'Ailli's* Books were only fit to convert this kind of Idolaters, they were almost useless. But, as, on the other side, they were calculated to keep up the Credit of *Astrology*, by reason of the Influences, which the Author attributes to the Conjunctions of the Planets, things of which *Thevet* says never a Word, the reading of them was much more prejudicial, than useful.

[G] Who condemned *John Hus* to Death. It was not without exhorting him to submit, and assuring him it was the best way he could take. "Examinatis dictis testimoniis, & recitatis articulis erroneis, in Paucum conflessi, Cardinalis *Cameracensis*, iudex causæ deputatus à Concilio, dixit ad Joannem Hussi-

"En vîz d'ûz proposîtes sunt tibi, ut ex his eligas unam; aut te offeras omnino totum in potestatem & gratiam Concilii, ejusque decretis super hac re acquiescas; ita namque fiet ut Concilium ob honorem domini nostri Regis Romanorum nunc præsentis, ac fratris ejus *Bohemie* Regis, clementer acturum sit tecum; aut si ex dictis articulis quoddam tenere ac defendere intendas, & desideres aliquam audientiam, concedetur tibi quidem; sed tunc scias hic esse magnos & illuminatos viros, qui fortissima habent adversus articulos tuos fundamenta, & verendum est ne inde gravioribus involvaris erroribus. Id consulendo dixerim tibi, non ut iudex (25). — *The Witnesses having been examined, and the erroneous Articles recited, in the Assembly of the Fathers, the Cardinal Bishop of Cambray, having been deputed Judge of the Cause by the Council, addressed himself to John Hus, in the following Manner. You have your Choice of two Ways; either to throw yourself wholly upon the Power and Favour of the Council, and acquiesce in their Sentence; which will induce the Council, in respect to our Lord the King of the Romans now present, and his Brother the King of Bohemia, to deal mildly with you; or, if you have thoughts of maintaining and defending any of the aforesaid Articles, and desire another hearing, it shall be granted you; but be assured, here are great and enlightened Men, who can produce strong and fundamental Arguments against your Articles; and you must take care you do not involve yourself in still greater Errors. I give you this Advice, as your Friend, not as your Judge.*" Mr de *Launoi*, having related this, adds, that This Heretic chose rather to maintain his Opinions obstinately, and to be burnt, than to follow the wholesome Advice of Cardinal d'Ailli. Verum litigiosus homo dogmata sua nimis pernicinaciter propagare maluit & comburi, quam usque adeo salubre Cardinalis Alliati consilium sequi.

[H] Appeared nevertheless in the *Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*. "He was delegated, by the Determination of the Council of the French Church, to require the two Popes, who contested the Papacy, to resign the Papal See. He was answered, that the Popes of *Rome* are never guilty of Schism; but that the French Prelates were purposely Schismatics. He was afterwards sent back again, according to the Advice of the Council, held at *Paris*, with the Sieur *John Mangre*, *Marthal de Baucisand*, who afterwards spoke his Mind very freely to the Anti-Pope at *Avignon*; nor was Cardinal d'Ailli behind hand in severely reproving him (26). And this seems to be the Reason, why *Henry Pantaleon* ranked him among those, who, at that time, exclaimed, and wrote against the Ambition of the Popes, the Corruption of the Church, and the Schisms and Divisions, which sprang up daily; telling us, That he wrote a Book, entituled, *Of the Reformation of the Church*; which however is not to be met with in the *Catalogue* of his Books, which is very large, both in Divinity and in Mathematics (27)." Nothing is more true, than what *Pantaleon* affirms concerning this Book of *Peter d'Ailli*. As to the *Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth*, collected by *Francis Illyricus*, we find *Peter d'Ailli* in it condemning the Doctrine of *Transubstantiation*, and laying before the Council of *Constance* a Project of Reformation; according to which, the Court of *Rome* was to be deprived of the numberless ways and means of heaping up Money; the Prelates were to be compelled to live an exemplary Life, and to discharge their Duties; the Pomp of Ceremonies, the unnecessary Holidays, the Abuse of Fasts, and the Canonization of Saints, were to be abolished; and the Number of Monks, Images, and Churches to be diminished (29). We may be sure that all the Writings of *Peter d'Ailli* are not calculated to please the Court of *Rome*, since three or four of them have been inserted in the Appendix of the *Falsiculus rerum expetendarum & fugiendarum* (30). *Ortubinus*

(20) *Vossius* means 2242.

(21) *Vossius*, according to his Hypothesis, ought to have found here an Error of above 600 Years.

(22) *Vossius*, de Scientiis Mathematicis. pag. 215.

(23) He had only mention'd the Reduction of all Ptolemy's Parallels to twelve.

(24) *Thevet's* Hommes Illustres. Tom. 7. pag. 89.

(25) *Launoi*; Hist. Gymnasii Navarræ, p. 474. ex Hufstæd cujusdam relatione apud Bzovium ad ann. 1415. n. 47.

(26) See what du Pleffis Morinai cites out of Froillard upon this occasion, in his History of Iniquity, p. 487, &c. Edit. in Folio 1611.

(27) *Thevet* Hommes Illustres. pag. 88.

(28) See the Dissertation of Mr Allix, at the beginning of the Determinatio Fr. Joannis Parisiensis. Printed at Lond. 1686. pag. 71, 72.

(29) See du Pleffis, Mystery of Iniquity, p. 523.

(30) Printed at London, 1690.

(8) Petrum
Aliaenem
Cambracen-
sem civis
Episcopum
ejecit, Ro-
ma ex exule
fecit Cardi-
nalem.
Erat. de
Ratione con-
scrib. Epist.
larum, Epist.
Constat.

(31) Thevet,
Hommes Il-
lustr. p. 90.

(32) Baillet,
Life of Des-
cartes, Tom.
2. pag. 522.

(33) Thevet
ubi supra.
pag. 89.

(34) Accord-
ing to Geiner
fol. 147.
verso, it was
in 1478.

(35) All this
is taken out
of Mr de
Launoi,
Hist. Gymn.
Navarre, p.
476, &c. or
from Estier
l'Abbe de
Scrip. Eccl.
pag. 180.

(36) Pub-
lished at
Basil, in
1418.

(37) Pub-
lished at
Cologne, in
Sept. 1418.

(38) Pub-
lished at Co-
logne, in
Oct. 1418.

(39) In his
Antiquities
of the King
of France's
Court, p.
500.

(40) Bodin's
Preface to
the Dæmo-
nomania of
Sorcerers,
pag. 14.

(41) Part of
it can be in
Emanuel
College, at
Cambridge.
Oudin's Sup-
plem. de
Scrip. Eccl.
pag. 690.

in the Question relating to Accidents [I]. He had been turned out of his Episcopal Church, if we may believe Erasmus; who adds, That his Exile procured him a Cardinal's Hat (k). He wrote many Books [K], some of which were never printed [L]. He composed likewise Verses, such as they were, in the Vulgar Language [M]. Consult the Authors cited by Moreri, and, instead of Frisart, to whom he refers us; read Froissard.

Gratius had already inserted in That Fasciculus this Cardinal's Treatise de Emendatione Ecclesie. What I have said concerning the Diminution of the Number of Monks, does not agree with what Thevet had been informed of; to wit, That Peter d'Ailli had composed a Book entitled, The Buckler of Poverty, wherein he apologized for the Mendicant Fryars (31).

[I] The Cartesians likewise ranked him in the Number of their Forerunners, in the Question relating to Accidents. A Professor of Louvain, one of the most strenuous Opposers of Mr Descartes, became "one" of his most zealous Followers, after he had found "in some Authors, very much approved by the Church, his Opinion concerning Transubstantiation, which was almost the only Point, which stuck with him. Some time after, he inserted, in his Theological Theses, an Abstract of a Book, which Cardinal d'Ailli, Bishop of Cambray composed on the Master of the Sentences, to shew, that the Cardinal propoies Mr Descartes's Opinions, concerning the Accidents of the Eucharist, and reconciles it with the Definition of the Oecumenical Council of Constance (32).

[K] He wrote many Books. His Commentaries on the Master of the Sentences, and the four Treatises inserted in the Appendix to the Fasciculus rerum expetendarum, were printed at Strasburg in 1490. A Volume of his Treatises and Sermons was printed in the same Place, at the same time. Part of his Treatises was reprinted at Douay, in the Year 1634. under the Care of Leander de St Martin, Hebrew Professor at Douay. Thevet assures us, "That he had a Work of Peter d'Ailli, which was printed in the Year 1410, on the twelfth of August, when the Art of Printing began to be in use in France, in which there is a great Number of Mathematical Figures (33)." This cannot be; for the Art of Printing was not discovered 'till about the Year 1440. He might have said, that the Sacramentale of this Author was printed at Louvain in 1487, and his Questions in sphaeram mundi Joannis de Sacroboscum Commentarii Petri Circelli Daronensis Hispani, at Paris in 1488 (34). His Meteors was printed at Strasburg, in the Year 1504, and at Vienna, in Austria, in 1509. His Life of Pope Celestin V, was printed at Paris in the Year 1539 (35), and is to be met with in the Lives of the Saints compiled by Surius. There is a Difficulty in the Title of this Book, as it ascribes to Peter d'Ailli the Dignity of Confessor to Charles V. but we had better suppose, that Charles V. is mistaken for Charles VI. than to say, there was another Peter d'Ailli. Possessin, who believed it, is much mistaken. The Cardinal appears to have nothing so much at Heart as Astrology; for, besides that he presented to the Council of Constance a Plan for the Reformation of the Calendar, he composed the following Books; Tractatus de vero cyclo lunari. Vignitilogium de concordantia Astronomica veritatis cum Theologia. Tractatus de concordia Astronomica veritatis & narrationis Historice (36). Tractatus elucidarius Astronomice concordie cum Theologia & cum Historica Narratione. Apologetica defensio Astronomice veritatis (37). Alia secunda Apologetica defensio ejusdem (38). Tractatus de concordia discordantium Astronomorum.

Du Peyrat assures us (39), That Bodin, in his Preface to the Dæmonomania of Sorcerers, mentions a Book, composed by Cardinal d'Ailli, wherein he maintained, that there is not one necessary Demonstration in Aristotle, except That, whereby he has demonstrated the Unity of God. There are two Parti-

culars, which deserve Censure, in this; for Bodin does not say, as du Peyrat intimates, That Peter d'Ailli wrote a distinct Treatise on this Subject; and he declares, that the Author had remarked some other Demonstrations in Aristotle, though but few in Number (40).

[L] Some of which were never printed. They are in the Library of the College of Navarre (41); Mr de Launoi gives us a List of them. Some of them contain an Answer to certain very curious Questions, as, Utrum esse tria supposita unius nature sit perfectio (Whether three Substrata of one and the same Nature be the Perfection of that Nature): Utrum libertas creaturae rationalis ante & post lapsum intrinsece sit equalis (Whether the Free-Agency of a rational Creature before and after it's Fall be intrinsically equal): Utrum Creatura rationalis conscientia erroris ejus actum excusare possit (Whether the erroneous Conscience of a rational Creature can excuse it's Act). This latter Question puts me in mind of certain Papers, which appeared some time ago in Holland, concerning the Privileges of an erroneous Conscience; in which it was so demonstratively proved, that every Action, committed against the Light of Conscience, is essentially evil, and that it must necessarily and indissolubly be avoided; that the Opposers of this Doctrine fell into this shocking Opinion, That a Man must not always act according to the Light of his Conscience: From whence it follows, that it is sometimes justifiable to act contrary to the Dictates of Conscience. A monstrous Doctrine! destructive of all Morality; and in comparison of which the most extravagant Probabilism is an innocent Opinion. What makes this the more strange is, that they were Fanatics, who ran into this Extream; tho' They, of all Men, are most concerned to assert the Rights of Conscience.

[M] He compos'd likewise Verses, such as they were, in the Vulgar Language. I quote my Authority in the Margin, who says, "That Peter d'Ailli wrote many French Verses in Rhime, such as was practis'd in his Time, which were translated into Latin by Nicolas de Clemangis. I have seen some of them, says he (42), which were printed above an hundred Years ago. He adds, That the same Author wrote a Book in French, entitled, The seven Steps of the Ladder of Penitence, figured and set forth under the seven penitential Plagues; printed at Paris." I am afraid the Croix du Maine imposes upon us in relation to this last Work; for Mr de Launoi positively asserts, That Antony Belard made a French Translation of the Latin Treatise of Peter d'Ailli, on the seven Penitential Psalms, and that Denis de Harpi printed this Translation at Lyons, in the Year 1544, in 160 (43).

Add the following Observation: "The French Verses of Peter d'Ailli, which la Croix du Maine spoke of, are only thirty two in Number, and contain a short Description of a Tyrant's Life. Nicolas de Clemangis paraphras'd them in Latin Hexameters, printed with the French Verses of Peter d'Ailli, at the end of a Book, entitled, The Contempt of the Court, translated from the Spanish of Guevara, into French, Italian, and High Dutch, at Geneva, in 169, by John de Tournes, 1605. The Paraphrase of Clemangis is to be met with at the end of his Epistles, page 355, of the Edition of Leyden. As for the Translation of Antony Belard, Antony du Verdier says, page 51 of his Bibliothéque, that it was printed in 1542, by Denis de Harpi, in 160, at Lyons (44).

(40) Bodin's
Preface to
the Dæmo-
nomania of
Sorcerers,
pag. 14.

(41) Part of
it can be in
Emanuel
College, at
Cambridge.
Oudin's Sup-
plem. de
Scrip. Eccl.
pag. 690.

(42) La
Croix du
Maine, Bi-
blioth.
Franc. pag.
351.

(43) Launoi,
Hist. Gymn.
Nav. p. 476.

(44) Mr de
la Monnoie's
Museum, p. 12.
Rema. li.

AIMON, Prince of the Ardennes, was, were are told (a), the Father of those Four Worthies, so celebrated in our Old Romances. They are commonly called The Four Sons of Aimon. They had but one Horse in common to them all, whose Name was Bayard. I should not have taken notice of so Idle a Tale, had it not been for the sake of observing, that these romantic Extravagancies have even crept into the Sanctuary. Popular Superstition has introduced them into Religion; and if any one had objected to these Impertinent Writers, Haec nunc ferta ducent in mala (b), he

he would not have been a False Prophet. The History of *Luxemburg*, composed by *John Bertels*, Abbot of *Epternach*, informs us, that *Renauld*, the Eldest of these Four Brothers, died a Martyr to the Name of *JESUS CHRIST*; that he was canonized; that the Church celebrates his Festival; that Temples were consecrated to him, and, among others, the Church of *St Renauld*, in the Country of *Cologne*, to which is annexed a Convent of Nuns. There is also a Church dedicated to the same Saint at *Cologne*, near That of *St Maurice*; and the representation of the Four Brothers is painted on the Walls of the Church. They are all four on one Horse, and *Renauld*, the Eldest, has a Diadem round his Head, as a Mark of his Saintship. It is pretended, that, after having been a great Warrior under *Charlemagne*, he turned Monk at *Cologne* (c); that he died a Martyr, and that, because he wrought Miracles after his Death, a Church was built to him (d).

(c) Ferrarius in Catalog. Sanctorum ad 7. Januar.

(d) See Voetii Disput. Theolog. Tom. 3. pag. 503.

AYRAULT (PETER), in Latin *Ærodius*, Lieutenant Criminal in the Presidial Court of *Angers*, his native Country, was born in the Year 1536. He studied Humanity and Philosophy at *Paris*; afterwards he applied himself to the Civil Law at *Toulouse*; from thence he went to *Bourges*, to improve himself by the Lectures of *Duarenus*, *Cujacius*, and *Doneau*, three of the most Excellent Civilians of That Time. After taking his Bachelor's Degree at *Bourges*, he returned to his own Country, where for some time he read Public Lectures in Civil Law, and pleaded at the Bar. He was then 22 Years of Age. Some time after he returned to *Paris*, where he became one of the most famous Advocates of the Parliament [A]. In the Year 1563, he published, there, the *Declamations of Quintilian*, which he corrected in several Places, and accompanied them with Notes. The Year following, he published a Treatise of the Power of Redemption, composed by *Francis Grimaudet*, the King's Advocate at *Angers*, to which he prefixed a Preface, concerning the Nature, Variety, and Alteration of the Laws. In the Year 1567, he published a Book entitled *Decretorum rerumve apud diversos populos ab omni Antiquitate Judicatarum Libri duo—Accedit tractatus de origine & auctoritate rerum Judicatarum*. He enlarged it considerably in the following Editions [B]. He left *Paris*, the Year following, to exercise the Office of Lieutenant Criminal in his own Country: Which he executed with so much Justice, that, like another *Cassius*, he was called the *Rock of the Accused*. During the Confusions of the League, he exercised, in the Interim [C], the Office of President in the same Court, of which he acquitted himself with the same Integrity. The City of *Angers* expressed their Esteem for him several ways; especially by conferring upon him the Office of Perpetual Eschevin*. He had a great Quarrel with *Philip Gourreau* Master of the Requests, his Countryman, and published an Apologetical Letter against him in 1577 (a). He was heartily attached to the honest Party against the League; and he was obliged to be so, not only on account of his Office in the Presidial Court, but because he was Master of the Requests to the Duke of *Anjou*, a Place

* A kind of Magistrate something like an English Sheriff.

(a) He published two Editions of it, in one Year, at *Angers*, the second more ample than the first. This Piece is in Latin.

[A] One of the most famous Advocates of the Parliament. *Antony Loisel*, in his Dialogue of the Advocates of the Parliament of *Paris*, places our *Ayraul* in the List of the most famous, and gives him the Pre-eminence over *Bodin*. It is true he remarks, that *Bodin* had no Success at the Bar. These are *Loisel's* Words: "Master *Peter Ayraul* was likewise promoted to the Post of Lieutenant Criminal at *Angers*, where he was born, and retir'd thither about the latter end of the extraordinary Sessions of *Poitiers*, in the Year 1567, though he was a skillful and learned Pleader, and succeeded much better than *John Bodin* of *Angers*; for, notwithstanding the latter was a complicit Scholar, his Pleadings at the Bar had never any Success (1)." Some of *Peter Ayraul's* Pleadings were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1568 (2). They were reprinted at *Rouen*, in 1614, with the Notes and Additions of a young Civilian. Mr *Menage*, who tells us this (3), might have added, that they were printed at *Paris*, in 1593, in 8vo. with some other small Pieces of *Peter Ayraul*. The Secular Priests of *Paris* chose him, in 1564, to plead their Cause against the Jesuits; yet he did not plead it; perhaps, because it was not thought proper, that the Interest of the Clergy should be distinct from That of the Bishop of *Paris*. This is the Conjecture of *du Boulay* (4). However it be, his Pleading was published, as I just now observ'd in the marginal Note (2).

[B] He enlarg'd it considerably in the following Editions. The second Edition is of *Paris*, 1573, in 8vo. and contains six Books. The Third is in Folio, and the Title of it is, *Rerum ab omni antiquitate judicatarum Pandectæ*. There is a *Paris* Edition of it likewise, in 1588. After the Death of the Author, the same *Pandectæ* were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1615, with the small Treatise of *Patrio Jure*. He had re-

vised and corrected them. Mr *Menage* had promis'd (5) a new Edition of them, with short Marginal Notes, wherein he designed to shew, from whence *Ayraul* borrowed his Examples. This is a very learned Work. "Continet enim res ab omni antiquitate apud Indos, Judæos, Græcos, Romanos, Francos, aliosque, judicatas (6). — For it contains Cases adjudg'd from all Antiquity among the Indians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, French, and others." That, which he wrote in French, Of the Judiciary Forms, which the ancient Greeks and Romans made use of in public Trials, compared with the Practice of our French, is useful and curious. It was printed, the first time, at *Paris*, in 1575, in 8vo. The second Edition, which is of *Paris*, in 1588, in 4to, was enlarg'd by two Books: The third was enlarg'd by one Book, at *Paris*, in the Year 1598, in 4to (7). So that this Work contains four Books. The fourth Book, which treats of the Proceedings against dead Bodies, Apostes, the Memory of a Person, Brute Beasts, things Inanimate, and Criminals who refuse to appear before the Judge; was printed at *Paris*, in 1591. I forgot to observe, that his Treatise de decretis rebus apud diversos populos ab omni antiquitate judicatis, was printed at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1580, from the first Edition. The Abbreviators of *Gesner* had no other Knowledge of our *Peter Ayraul*, but what the Edition of *Germany* afforded them. They were mistaken, in supposing his Name was *Paul*.

[C] In the Interim. Mr *Menage* makes this Interim to continue two Years; *Et Prætura manere per biennium sanctus Ærodius* (8); and yet he says, That *Ayraul* was not nominated to this Office, 'till the 11th of May, 1589, and that *Henry* the Great presented another Person to it, in the beginning of the Year 1590, incunte Anno 1590.

(c) Ubi supra, pag. 28.

(6) *Menage* in the Life of *Peter Ayraul*; p. 27.

(7) It is thus we must translate the Words of Mr *Menage*, Quem postea anno 1588, duobus libris, & anno 1598, tribus auctorem in eadem urbe publicavit.

(8) Id. ib. pag. 24.

(9) Ib. pag. 23.

(1) *Loisel*, apud *Menag.* in Testim. de P. Ærod. prefix'd to his Life, p. 26.

(2) There are 22 of them; of which the 20th is That, which he had prepared for the Secular Priests of *Paris* against the Jesuits, in 1564.

(3) In his Life of *Peter Ayraul*; pag. 26.

(4) In the History of the University of *Paris*, Tom. 6. p. 666. apud *Menag.* in Testim. de P. Ærod. pag. 77.

Place which he had jointly with the Civilian *Baudouin*, before That Prince came to the Throne. The *Speech*, which he made before That Duke, upon his Entry into *Angers*, on the 7th of *January*, 1570, was printed with the *Discourse*, which he addressed to him [D] in praise of his Victories, and of the Reformation of the University of *Angers*. This *Discourse* turns chiefly on *Baudouin*'s having dedicated two Ancient Panegyrics to That Prince; viz. That, which *Eumenius* made upon *Constantius*; and That, which *Patulus* made upon *Theodosius*. The *Discourse*, which *Ayrault* published, in the Year 1589, on the Death of Henry III. and the Prejudice which the Church received by it, testifies his Adherence to that Monarch's Party. He neither put his own, nor the Printer's Name to it. *Tbuanus* speaks of it with Commendation (b). A Latin Translation of it by the Author himself was found among his Papers. He wrote a *Discourse* at that time, in which he exhorted Henry IV. to become a Catholic: But, of all his Works, That which made him most known in Foreign Countries, and chiefly among the *Protestants*, is his Treatise of Paternal Power [E]. He composed it during a Law-Suit, which he had with the *Jesuits*, on account of his Eldest Son, who had taken the Habit of their Order (c). He had sent him to their College at *Paris*, to render him the more capable of succeeding him; and, some time after, had the Vexation to hear, that they had persuaded him to enter himself among their Order. He complained of This Proceeding to the Parliament of *Paris* (d); and, being informed, that they had secreted him, he presented a Petition to the Pope, and obtained Letters from Henry III. to Cardinal d'Est, Protector of the Affairs of *France*, and to the Marquis de *Pisani*, Ambassador of that Crown (e); by which Letters the King pressed them to obtain an Order from the Pope for the Release of the Young Man. But all was in vain. The Treatise of Paternal Power, which he addressed three Years after to this Disobedient Son, did not prove more effectual. Although *Ayrault* had other Sons, yet he was exceedingly concerned at the loss of This. He had married *Anne des-Jardins*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1564. She was Daughter of *John des-Jardins*, Physician to *Francis I.*, by whom he had 15 Children [F], of which Ten were living, when he died at *Angers*, the 21st of July, 1601, aged 65 Years (f). I borrow this Article from Mr *Menage* (g).

(b) Thuan.
Hist. lib. 95.

(c) See the
following
Article.

(d) The 1st of
May,
1586.

(e) They are
dated July
28. 1586.

(f) Sainte
Marthe is
mistaken in
the Flagey of
Peter Ay-
rault, who-
ever he is, is
not but
65 Years of
Age.

(g) The Life
of P. Aëro-
dus, written
by Aëgidius
Menage, & a
Dungles's
Son, and
printed at
Paris, 1671,
in 4to.

[D] Was printed with the *Discourse*, which he addressed to him.] Mr *Menage* has not rightly adjusted the Date of the Impression of these two Pieces; he says they were printed in 1577, and that the Prince, who is celebrated in them, was then King of *Poland*, and Duke of *Anjou*. This is plainly to tell us, that he was not King of *France*; and yet the Duke of *Anjou* was Inaugurated at *Rheims*, in the Month of February, 1575, and he was look'd upon as King of *France*, the very Day that *Charles IX.* died (10). You may take it for granted, that the *Speech* and *Discourse*, in question, came out in 1570, and consequently that the Subject of them was no longer King of *Poland*.

[E] His Treatise of Paternal Power.] The Author wrote it in *French* and *Latin*; one of his Countrymen, whose Name was *Jacob Frubert*, translated it into *Italian* (11). Let us see what Mr *Menage* says of it; "Egit cum fugitivo filio tanquam cum absente reo, hoc est annotatione & programme."

(10) It was
on May 30,
1574.

(11) Menage
ubi supra,
pag. 28.

Qualis populeæ mœrens philomela sub umbra
Amisissos queritur fœtus (12);

(12) Virg.
Georg. lib.
4. ver. 511.

"Et quæ sequuntur; notum enim tibi carmen est;
"Talis Petrus Aërodus amisissum filium in solabiter in
"scriptis suis queritur. Vide quæso — quos ipse
"questus fundat in libro tertio Ordinis judicarii, mo-
"do fratrem Johannem Aërodium, modo Renatum fi-
"lium compellans. Quis vere tam ferus ac ferreus
"est, qui cum querelas ejus legat in libello illo aureo,
"et tot laudibus à Stephano Pascaño (13) celebrato,
"quem de patrio jure ad fugitivum filium contra Jesu-
"itas scripsit, à gemitu & lacrimis temperare possit?
"— At non solus Aërodus fatum suum genuit;
"ingenuere & alii; lege Stephani Pascañi & Johan-
"nis Bodini (14) ea de re ad Petrum Aërodium Epi-
"stolas. Lege Antonii Arnaldi Advocati Parisiensis
"— Orationem pulcherrimam habitam in Senatu
"Parisienſi contra Jesuitas anno m. d. lxxxxiv (15).
"— He considered his Fugitive Son as a Defen-
"dant, who refuses to appear at the Suit of the Plan-
"tiff, and treated him in the usual Forms."

(13) See the
10th Letter
of the 11th
Book of Pas-
cañi's Let-
ters.

(14) Menage
produces Bo-
dini's Letter,
pag. 242.

(15) Vit.
Aërod. pag.
37.

At, close, in Poplar Shades, her Children gone,
The Mother Nightingale laments alone;

"and so on; you know Virgil's Simile; just so she dis-
"consolate Aërodus laments; in his Writings, the Last

"of his Son. — Do but read his Complaints in the
"third Book of his Judiciary Forms, one while calling
"upon John Aërodus his Brother, then on his Son
"Renatus. But who is so steel'd to all Sense of Pity,
"as to refrain from Sighs and Tears, when he reads
"his Complaints in that Golden Work Of Paternal
"Power, so much commended by Stephen Pascañus,
"which he wrote against the Jesuits, and addressed
"to his Fugitive Son? — But Aërodus did not la-
"ment his Fate alone; others sympathiz'd with him;
"read Stephen Pascañus' and John Bodin's Letters to
"Peter Aërodus upon this Subject. Read those of
"Antony Arnald, Advocate of Paris; and the beau-
"tiful Oration, delivered in the Senate of Paris, a-
"gainst the Jesuits, in the Year m. d. lxxxxiv." Mr *Menage* relates, in his Remarks, what *Antony Arnald* said upon this Subject, and the Answer return'd him by *Peter Barni*, Attorney to the Jesuits of the College of *Clermont*. The Answer runs thus, That the Jesuits would never receive *Renatus Ayrault* in *France*, though he was at least eighteen Years of Age; but that, without discovering to them his Design, he went into Germany, where he was receiv'd (16). See the Remark [A], of the following Article.

[F] By whom he had fifteen Children.] We set apart a particular Article for his eldest Son: His second Son *Peter AYRAULT* succeeded his Father in his Virtues and Office, and was President in the Seneschal's Court of *Angers*, Counsellor of the City, and Mayor. He obtained, in the Year 1603, a Professorship of Civil Law, in the University of *Angers*, for *William Barclay*. The *Speech* he made before *Mary de Medici*, the Mother of *Lewis XIII.*, at *Angers*, on the 16th of October, 1619, may be seen in the 6th Tome of the *French Mercury*. He was deputed to the Assembly, which call'd themselves *Les Notables*, The Eminent or Remarkable Men, who met at *Rouen*, in 1617. He left a Family. His Brother, *John AYRAULT*, was Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. Their Brother, *William AYRAULT*, a *Benedictin* Monk, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, was in favour with *Lewis Servin*, Advocate General in the Parliament of *Paris*. *Guyonne AYRAULT*, one of their Sisters, married *William Menage*, the King's Advocate in the *Presidial* of *Angers*. From that Marriage sprang the late Mr *Menage* (17), one of the most learned Men of *France*.

(16) Me-
nage, ibid.
pag. 251.

(17) Vit.
Aërod. See
the Citation
(g) of this
Article.

AYRAULT (RENATUS) Eldest Son of the foregoing, was the Cause of great Uneasiness to his Father. He was born at *Paris*, on the eleventh of *November*, 1567, and was put to School to the *Jesuits* (a). *Peter Ayrault* had a good opinion of them at that time (b); and was so fond of them, that he would hardly have undertaken the *Parisian Clergy's* Cause against them, at that time, as he actually did afterwards in the Year 1564. Perceiving in this his Eldest Son a lively Wit, great Memory, and many other good Qualities, he earnestly intreated the Provincial of the *Jesuits*, and the Rector of the College of *Clermont*, when he committed his Son to their Care, not to solicit him, in any manner, to enter into their Order; and assured them he had other Children, whom he intended to dedicate to the Church; but that he designed this Son should succeed him in his Post, and intended him for the Support of his Family. They promised to grant his Request. However the Young Gentleman's great Abilities made the *Jesuits* desirous of having a Subject of this Importance in their Society; at length, after he had studied *Rhetoric* Two Years under Father *James Sirmond*, they gave him the Habit of their Order in 1586. His Father, without whose Consent or Privacy this was done, made a great stir about it. He accused them of Plagiarism, and summoned them to deliver up his Son. They answered, That they knew not what was become of him. *Ayrault* obtained a Decree of Parliament, whereby the *Jesuits* of the College of *Clermont* were ordered not to receive *Renatus Ayrault* into their Order, and to notify this Prohibition to the other Colleges. This Decree was not obeyed; the Young Man was removed from Place to Place, his Name was changed, and he was sent into *Lorain*, *Germany*, and *Italy* [A]; *Henry III.* caused his Ambassador, and the Protector of his Affairs, to solicit the Pope; *Ayrault* wrote to his Holiness about it; the Pope caused the Lift of all the *Jesuits* in the World to be shewed him; *Renatus Ayrault*, going under another Name, did not appear in this Lift (c). Three Years of Trouble and Enquiry being employed to no Purpose, the Father had recourse to his Pen, and wrote a Book concerning the Paternal Power, and addressed it to his Son *Renatus* (d). *Renatus* answered it; but his Superiors did not think fit to publish his Answer. They employed *Richeome*, Provincial of the *Jesuits* of *Paris*, to refute *Peter Ayrault's* Book [B]. *Renatus's* Adventures are as follows. He entered into the Order, at *Triers*, on the 12th of *June*, 1586. He went afterwards to *Fulde*, where he renewed his Study of *Rhetoric*. He passed through *Germany*, and was taken there by the *Protestants*; He went to *Rome*, where he studied Philosophy a Year, under *Mutius Vitellsebi* (e). He continued this Study, the Year following, at *Milan*, and finished it at *Dijon* (f). Having taught the Classes, in the same City, during four Years, with great Success, he left it, when the *Jesuits* were banished from several Cities of the Kingdom, in the Year 1594, and went into *Piedmont*, where he taught for two Years. He came afterwards to *Avignon*, where he studied Divinity four Years. After which he returned to *Rome*; from whence he was sent to *Milan* to teach *Rhetoric*. This he did for some Years; and returned afterwards into *France*; where he passed through the most illustrious Employments of his Order; He taught Philosophy; he Preached; He was Superior of a College. He was Rector at *Rheims*, *Dijon*, *Sens*, *Dole*, and *Bezançon*; He was the Provincial's Assistant, and Procurator of the Province of *Champagne*, and afterwards of That of *Lyons*, at *Rome*. Lastly, he died at *la Fleche* on the 18th of *December*, 1644 (g). His Father, by a Deed executed before a Notary and Witnesses, deprived him of his Blessing in the Year 1593. but he did not keep his Repentment till his Death; for a Writing was found among his Papers, in which he gave him his Blessing [C].

(a) Menage, Vit. Ayrauld pag. 245.

(b) Quos tunc ipse amabat & magni faciebat: Quin & eos vocari Andegavum & ibi sedem habere aliquando voluit. Id. p. 35. See pag. 245. where he cites Ayrault, in the in the third Book of his Judiciary Order.

(c) See the Text of the preceding Article towards the End.

(d) See the R. mark [E] of the preceding Article.

(e) He was General of the *Jesuits*.

(f) At the time a Course of Philosophy lasted three Years.

(g) Vita P. Arodi. See the Cit. on (g) of the preceding Article.

[A] Into *Lorain*, *Germany*, and *Italy*.] *Antony Annauld* set forth, in his Plea of the Year 1594, that the *Jesuits* had enticed away *Renatus Ayrault*, when he was but fourteen Years of Age, and that they kept him in *Italy* and *Spain*. It does not appear, that they ever sent him into *Spain* (1), and he wanted but little of his 19th Year, when he took the *Jesuits* Habit.

(1) Hispaniam quoque petiisse falso creditum est. Menage, ubi supra, p. 37.

[B] They pitch'd upon *Richeome*—to refute *Peter Ayrault's* Book.] His Answer, as well as *Renatus Ayrault's*, was never printed. "Quia indecorum visum est adversus parentes scribere filios, prohibitus est a Rectoribus suis responsum vulgare. Igitur id aggressus est Ludovicus Richeomus—quod me docuit privata ipsius Renati Arodi ad ipsum Richeomum epistola, cujus exemplar, quæ sua est humanitas, misit ad me Roma Petrus Possinus, Presbyter Societatis Jesu doctissimus, idemque Jesuiticæ Historiæ Scriptor celeberrimus. Sed neque responsum suum vulgavit Richeomus: quæ

de causa nescio (2).—He was forbid by his Superiors to publish his Answer, because it was thought indecent for Children to write against their Parents. For which reason *Lewis Richeome* undertook it—as I am inform'd by a private Letter of *Renatus Ayrault's* to the same *Richeome*; a Copy of which *Peter Possin*, a learned Presbyter of the Society of *Jesuits*, and the celebrated Author of the History of *Jesuitism*, was so good-natur'd as to transmit to me at *Rome*."

[C] A Writing—in which he gave him his Blessing.] It was sign'd with his own hand, and contain'd as follows: "God give his Peace, his Love, and his Grace, to my Son *Renatus Ayrault*. I give him my Blessing, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And I forgive him every thing wherein he may have offended me. And I pray God to assist him with his holy Spirit, whatever State, or Calling, he may undertake (3).

(2) Menage, vit. Arodi. pag. 39.

(3) Ibid. pag. 257.

AITZEMA (LEO de) a Gentleman of *Friesland*, born at *Doccum*, in the Year 1600, was Counsellor of the *Hans-Towns*, and their Resident at the *Hague*. He compiled an *History of the United Provinces*, which sold very well, and is of great use to those, who study Politics; for it contains, Word for Word, the Treaties of Peace,

Instructions and Memoirs of Ambassadors, Letters and Answers of Sovereigns, Capitulations of Towns, and other Public Acts, each in its Original Language, and then translated into *Dutch*, in which Language the History is written. There are two Editions of it [A]. Although it is chiefly considerable, for the Authentic Pieces, which the Author collected with much Patience and Application, I would not judge of the rest, as Mr de Wicquefort did [B]. I have been told that this Historian speaks in an impartial Manner of whatever relates to Religious Disputes. Mr Arnaud cited him for a Particular not very advantageous to the Protestants (a). Valerius Andreas mentions one Leo Aetsma, a Frieslander, who printed his Juvenile Latin Verses at Franeker, in the Year 1617 (b). Some think this Poet is the same with the Historian, who is the Subject of this Article (c). LEO DE AITZEMA died at the Hague, on the 23d of February 1669. after having been employed there, about forty Years, in quality of Resident for the *Hans-Towns*, which was procured him by FOPPIUS de AITZEMA his Uncle, Resident of Holland [C], at *Hamburg*. Our Leo was a very good Man, Serviceable to his Friends, Affable, Liberal to the Poor, and well versed in Politics. He spoke several Languages, *German, French, Italian, and English*. His Father was Secretary of the Admiralty of Friesland (d). It will not be improper to observe that there are already published Three Volumes, in *Folio*, of the Continuation of Aitzema; the first reaches from 1669 to 1679. the Second from 1679 to 1687. the Third from 1687 to 1692 (e). A Minister, whose Name was AITZEMA, wrote a *Dutch Book* concerning the *Sibyls*.

(a) See the Apology for the Catholics, part 2. pag. 267.

(b) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. p. 623.

(c) Konig. Bibl. p. 19.

(d) It resid'd, at that time, at Doccum; at present it resides at Harlingen.

(e) The first was printed at Amster-dam in 1685; the second in 1688; and the third in 1692.

[A] There are two Editions of it. The first contains fifteen Volumes, in 4to. which were printed separately; the first in 1657, and the last in 1671: the first begins at the Cessation of the Truce, which was concluded, by the Interposition of Henry the Great, between Spain and the United Provinces, and reaches from the Year 1621 to the Year 1625. The last contains the History of the Year 1668. The second Edition is in seven Volumes in *Folio*, which were printed in 1669, and in 1671. The last of these Volumes contains a general Table of the other six, with an Account of the Peace of Munster, and a Treatise intitled, *The Lion reformed*; and which is a Narrative of the Transactions in the United Provinces in 1650, and 1651, in relation to the filling up of some considerable Posts. This Treatise had already appear'd in 4to in the Year 1652. The Account of the Peace of Munster had been printed in Latin in the Year 1654.

[B] As Mr de Wicquefort did. He speaks of Aitzema in the following Words. "The History, or the Account of the Affairs of State and of War, which was written in Holland, in fourteen or fifteen Volumes, contains a great Variety of Treaties, Resolutions, and other authentic Pieces; so that it may serve as an Inventory to those, who have no Access to the Archives of the State; but what the Author has added of his own, is beneath the Gazette, in whatever Light it be considered. He is

"Master of no Style; His Language is altogether barbarous, and the whole Texture of the Work is a meer Chaos. This is common to our Author with most of those, who, in that Country, attempt to write History, without express Order and Permission; and, generally speaking, they do it without Judgment and without Sincerity (1)." It must be confessed, This Censure is very disadvantageous to our Author's Character; and indeed gives offence to many Persons.

[C] Foppius d'AITZEMA his Uncle, Resident of Holland. I have met with a Passage relating to him in one of Puffendorf's Volumes. I find there, that, in 1636, this Foppius, Envoy of the United Provinces to the Emperor, affirmed at Ratibon, that Salvius had inform'd him by Letter, that the Swedes intended to negotiate a Peace at the Court of Vienna; but that Salvius denied it (2). Nevertheless Foppius was very busy in negotiating the Peace; but Sweden did not think him qualified for such a Work; and it was thought ridiculous in him to intermeddle in such a Design, especially considering that, since he had gone over to the Roman Communion, he had employ'd every Art to insinuate himself into the Emperor's Favour. *Nec Aitzema idoneus tanta rei autor habebatur, omnibus qui dominem norant irridentibus, quod ista de se ingerere non dubitaret, quem præsertim post suscepta sacra Romana gratia Caesaris omnibus modis adrepere consuebat* (3).

(1) Wicquefort's Ambassador, Tom. 1. p. 772. See also p. 445.

(2) Puffendorf de Rebus Suecicis, lib. 9. pag. 296. n. 53. ad ann. 1637.

(3) Id. ib.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) Professor of Physic, in the University of Paris, in the XVIth Century, was of Chalons in Champagne [A]. His Name was *Sans-malice*, (without Malice); but, according to the Custom of those times, he changed it to *Akakia*, which signifies the same in Greek, as *Sans-malice* does in French [B]. He transmitted it to his Posterity, who have always bore it to this present time. He made a considerable Progress at Paris, under the Professor Peter Briffot (a), and acquired from

(a) Moreau, in vita Briffoti.

[A] Was of Chalons in Champagne. Moreri, not knowing what Catalaunensis meant, thought, in good earnest, that Akakia was a Catalan. He was of Catalonia, says he; and he refers us for it to Quenstedt, who has positively declared, that This Physician was of Chalons; a City, the Bishop whereof assumes the Title of Count and Peer of France (1).

[B] His Name was Sans-Malice, but—be changed it to Akakia, which signifies the same in Greek, as sans-malice does in French. We learn this from Renaud Moreau, in his Life of Sylvius, and Gabriel Naudé, in his Judgment on Augustin Niphus (2). See likewise le Mothe le Vayer, at the 277th Page of the 12th Tome of his Works; and Mr Menage, in his Origin of the French Language (3). Father L'Abbe believes, that all this is but an ex post facto, or pretty Allusion, made afterwards, or perhaps a Nickname, which was given him, and which grew afterwards into a Family Name (4). He assigns two Reasons for this Opinion; the first is that 'Akakia does not signify a MAN free from Malice, but, simply, a Freedom from

Malice. The second is, that This Physician of Francis I. would have wrote himself *Acacia* or *Akakia*, if he had borrow'd a Name from the Greek Tongue. To confirm the first he adds, that This Physician, if it be true that his Name was, at first, Sans-malice, would have done better to quit the Feminine Name 'Akakia, and assume one more Masculine, and which should have some relation to 'Akaxi, Acacius, Words in use among the Greeks and Latins. Who would not laugh at the Simplicity or Ignorance of him, who, having the Family Name of Bald or Virtuous, should turn his Name into Greek, and call himself 'Αλακκία or Αρετή? These Reasons are very weak. As for the second, we may allow, that he ought to have wrote himself *Acacia* or *Akakia*; and I think That learned Physician did actually subscribe himself after the latter. As for the other Reason, it is easy to see, that Father L'Abbe advances nothing material; for the Masculine 'Akaxi does not so fully come up to the French Word *Sans-malice*, as the Feminine 'Akakia does. The Comparison of Bald or Virtuous is improper; since it is cer-

(1) Quenstedt de Patriis Vitor. Eruditor. p. 51.

(2) Fol. 9, iii.

(3) At the 475 Page of the Paris Edition in 1694.

(4) L'Abbe's Etymologies of French Words, pag. 10.

from him most of what he published afterwards on *Galen* [C]. He was created Doctor of the Faculty of Physic of *Paris*, in the Year 1526. *Francis I.*, one of whose Physicians in Ordinary he was, had a great esteem for him. I cannot determine in what Year he became Professor of Physic; but he was so, when *Gesner* published his *Bibliothèque*, that is, in the Year 1545. He died in the Year 1551. His Coat of Arms was, *Gules and a Cross d'Or, with four Cubes d'Or*, with this Motto, *Quæcunque seras fortuna, ferenda est*. He married *Mary Chauveau*, Widow of *Silvan de Montbelon*, by whom he had a Son, who was Professor of Physic, as we shall see. Most of his Descendants have followed the same Profession; though one among them had other Affairs upon his hands besides Physic [D]. They, who place the Death of our *Martin Akakia* in the Year 1605, are strangely mistaken [E]. *Marot* spoke of him with Commendation: Mr *Ménage* has cited his *Elogium* of him (b).

(b) *Ménage's*
Origin of the
French
Tongue, pag.
4.

tain, that *Sans-malice* has not the Nature of an Adjective Noun; and that, if a Person, whose Name happens to be *Avec-peine*, should have a mind to *Grecise* it, he ought rather to take the Name of *Synalopécia*, than That of *Synalopécis*.

[C] *What he publish'd — on Galen.* In 1538, he publish'd a *Latin* Translation of *Galen's* two Books, *De ratione curandi*, and accompanied it with a Commentary (5). Afterwards he translated the *Ars Medica, quæ & Ars parva*, of the same *Galen*. This Work was printed at *Lyon*, in 1548. He is likewise Author of a Book, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1555, with the Title of "Synopsis eorum, quæ quinque prioribus libris Galeni de facultatibus simplicium medicamentorum continentur. — A Synopsis of the Contents of the five first Books of Galen, Of the Qualities of Simple Medicines."

[D] *Tho' one among them had other Affairs upon his Hands besides Physic.* A Letter of *Guy Patin*, dated the twenty second of July, 1664, contains these Words: "The King has caused the Brother of M. *Akakia*, our Colleague, to be confined in the *Bastille*, for having wrote something, which displeased his Highness the Prince. It is not long, since he was employed about the Marriage of the Duke of *Enguien*, and had been Secretary of the Embassy to *Poland*." Every one has heard of the Complaints, which a Friend to the House of *Austria*, disguised under the Name of *Stanislaus Lysmachus*, a Polish Knight, published in 1683, against the Correspondence, which *France* carried on with Count *Tekeli*, by the means of *Akakia* and *du Vernet-Boncauld*. I have just read, in a Book entitled, *The Journal of Amsterdam* (6), that the same *Akakia* had a great share in the Intrigues, which were formed, to place the Crown of *Poland* on the Head of the Duke of *Longueville*, by deposing King *Michael*. It is affirmed, in this Journal, that the Emperor complained of this to the King of *France*, and that, among others, he named Mr *Akakia* as one of the chief Conductors of That Affair; that Mr *Akakia* was committed to the *Bastille*; but that he pursued the Scheme, which he had begun, rather with more Application, and had more leisure to keep up the Correspondence he had settled; and that his Letters and Negotiations continued their Train, notwithstanding his Imprisonment; and that

the Business was so far advanced, that nothing but the Death (7) of the Duke of *Longueville* hindered the Execution of it. The Medals were already prepared. This second Imprisonment of Mr *Akakia* lasted but five or six Months, if I can depend upon one, whom I have consulted, since the reading of That Journal. This Person told me farther, that Mr *Akakia* was so overjoyed to find himself pitched upon, as a proper Person to foment the Troubles of *Hungary*, that, though he was then very sick, he soon recovered Health enough to set out on the Expedition. Not daring to take the way of *Germany*, he went into *England*, where he embarked for *Sweden*, from whence he went by Sea to *Riga*, and from thence to *Poland*; where he died. He was a Man of Intrigue; and acted vigorously for the Conclusion of the Peace of *Oliva*.

[E] *They, who place the Death — in the Year 1605, are strangely mistaken.* This the Author of the *Diarium Biographicum* did (8): Thus he expresses himself, under that Year; "Martinus Akakia, Gallus, CATALA UNENSIS, Medicinæ Doctor & Professor Lutetiæ Paris. — Martin Akakia, a French Man, of CHALONS, Doctor of Physic, and Professor at Paris." After which he gives us the Titles of some Books, of which *Akakia*, of *Châlons*, is the true Author. If he had known, that *Brissot*, whose Disciple our *Akakia* was, was no longer in *France*, in the Year 1519, he would not have prolonged the Life of this Disciple of his to the Year 1605; or he would have taken some Notice of so remarkable an old Age, as his would have been. His Mistake might arise from hence, that a Physician died in the Year 1605, whose Name was *Akakia*. He was a Grand-Child of *Brissot's* Disciple. *Guy Patin* speaks of him in this manner, with his cynical Liberty; "Two Doctors of our Society conspired in writing the Apology for *Theodorus Mayerne* Turquet; to wit, *Seguin*, who always supported the Quacks, and his Brother-in-law *Akakia*, who died in the Year 1605, of the Pox, which he brought with him from Italy, whither he went with M. de *Betune* Ambassador at *Rome* (9)." If our *Martin Akakia* was capable of getting such a Disease at the time of this Embassy, he must, without all Contradiction, have been the oldest Whoremaster in *Europe*.

(7) He was
kill'd at the
Passage of
the Rhine,
June 12,
1672.

(8) *Hennin-*
gus Witte,
Professor at
Riga, in *Li-*
vonnia.

(9) *Patin*,
Letter VIII.
of the first E-
dicion.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) a *Parisian*, Son of the preceeding, was created Doctor of Physic of the Faculty of *Paris*, in the Year 1572. *Tristan de Roasting*, Knight of the Order, and *Amiot* Bishop of *Auxerre*, became his Patrons [A]; and, at their Solicitation, *Charles IX.* gave him the Office of first Reader and *Regius Professor* of Chirurgery in the Year 1574. Four Years after, he was made Second Physician to *Henry III.* (a). As he was ambitious of producing the most elaborate Lectures in the Royal Schools, which took up a great deal of his time, he feared, that the visiting of his Patients, and the Function he was obliged to discharge at Court, would be too heavy a Burthen for him. So that, to preserve himself from sinking under so many Labours, he resigned his Professorship, with the King's leave, to *John Martin*, a Person

(a) See *Re-*
marque [A].

[A] *Tristan and Amiot became his Patrons.* An apter Proof cannot be given of this than the Words, which I am going to cite out of a Panegyric of *Henry III.* It is *Martin Akakia* who speaks: "Vix dum igitur in publica professione, qua nos Carolus Rex Christianissimus, Tristandus Roasting Equite Torquato fortissimo, & Jacobo Amyoto Altissidorensium Episcopo de nobis referentibus, cohonestaverat, quadriennium compleveramus, cum Tu nos inter tuos Medicos allegisti & conscripsisti. — I had scarce compleated four Years in the Exercise

of That public Profession, with which the most Christian King Charles, at the Request of the brave Tristan de Roasting, Knight of the Order, and James Amiot, Bishop of Auxerre, had honoured me, when you gave me a Rank among your own Physicians." This Panegyric was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1578, with this Title: *Martini Akakia Regii & Medici & Professoris ab suam in ordinem Regiorum Medicorum co-optationem Panegyricus, Henrico Valejo Regi Christianissimo dictus.*

[B] At

(5) *Gesner's*
Biblioth.
fol. 500.

(6) It came
out in Sept.
1693.

son very capable of That Office, as his Writings testify [B]. But *John Martin*, rightly judging that it would be incompatible with his other Employments, if he would discharge it conscientiously, restored it to *Martin Akakia*; who disposed of This Employment in favour of his Son-in-Law *Peter Seguin*, and died very soon after, in the Year 1588, being about Forty nine Years of Age. He left Two Sons, of whom I am going to speak, and a Daughter, who was married to *Peter Seguin*, one of the most learned Physicians of the Faculty of *Paris*, and who exercised his Father-in-Law's Profession in the Royal College from the Year 1588, to the Year 1599. The Treatise de *Morbis muliebribus*, and the *Consilia Medica*, of our *Martin*, are scarce known to any one, but under the false Supposition, that they come from the same hand, as the Treatises of *Martin Akakia* of *Cbalons*. I have not met with any Bibliographer, who distinguishes the Father's Writings from Those of the Son; both are ascribed to *Martin Akakia Catalaunensis*. I should have been deceived in this point as well as *Moreri*, had I not consulted some Friends [C] about it. The Two Books de *Morbis muliebribus* were inserted in the Collection, which a Physician, whose Name is *Israel Spacbius*, published at *Strasbourg*, in 1597, of several Treatises concerning the Diseases of Women; and, as for the *Consilia Medica*, they are to be found in a Collection of the like Works published by *Scholzius* at *Franckfort*, in 1598. It is highly probable, that *Israel Spacbius* believed the Two Books de *Morbis muliebribus* to be a Work of the Disciple of *Brissot*. It was, doubtless, He, who inserted in the Title, *Martini Akakia Medici Regii & in Universitate Parisiensis Professoris Medicinæ doctissimi*, &c. This Work had never been printed, but had been handed about in Manuscript. *Spacbius* knew, in general, that *Martin Akakia* wrote it; and he innocently believed, that This *Akakia* was the same Author, who had published some Works already; thus he gave him the Titles of the *Akakia* of *Cbalons*, and not That of *Regius Professor*, which the Author would have assumed, if he had published his Book himself.

[B] As his Writings testify, *Renatus Moreau* took care to publish two Pieces of this Author: to wit, *Prælectiones in librum Hippocratis Cui de morbis internis*, *Paris*. 1637. *Prælectiones in librum Hippocratis Cui de aëre, aquis, & locis*, *Paris*. 1646. He prefixed the Author's Elogy to the first. There are likewise some Latin Verses of *Antony Morneau* prefixed to the second, in praise of the same *Martin*, who was one of the Commissioners at the famous Conference of *du Perren*, and *du Pleffis*.

[C] Had I not consulted some Friends,] The Professor *Drelincourt* was pleased to inform me, that *Martin Akakia*, Author of the Treatise de *Morbis muliebribus*, not only cites *Fernel* and *Amatus Lusitanus*, but also *Staliger's* Work against *Cardan*, and the Cosmocrutice of *Cornelius Gemma*. *Fernel* dedicated his Books to *Henry II.* who did not begin his Reign till the Year 1547. *Amatus Lusitanus* composed his Second Century at *Rome* (1) in the Year 1551 (2): I say at *Rome*; whither *Pope Julius III.* had invited him. *Staliger's* Book against *Cardan* was not printed till 1557. That of *Cornelius Gemma* was written on occasion of the *Star*, which appeared in the Year 1572. and was not printed till 1575. This *Martin Akakia*, therefore, must have been living in the Year 1575. Mr *Drelincourt's* Remarks prove this plainly. Now, as I had read (3), that *Martin Akakia* was Royal Professor of Physic, in the Year 1577, and that *Peter Seguin* succeeded him, on the twentieth of September, 1594; I was desirous of knowing what *William du Val* had said upon this Subject, in his Catalogue of the Professors of the Royal College. This I accomplished

by the Assistance of Mr *Pinson de Rialles* (4), who took the Pains, in a most obliging manner, to send me several Particulars concerning the *Akakia's*. He informed me among other things, I. That the *Martin Akakia* of *Cbalons*, Physician to *Francis I.* died in the Year 1551. From this Fact, and the Remarks of Mr *Drelincourt*, it necessarily results, that the Author of the Book de *Morbis muliebribus*, is not *Martin Akakia Catalaunensis*. II. That it is true indeed, that *Peter Seguin* had a Grant, in the Year 1588, of the Office of Royal Lecturer of Chirurgery, upon the Resignation of *Martin Akakia*, his Father-in-law, but that he was obliged to take out new Letters, in the Year 1594. And the Reason was this: During the Civil Wars, the Number of Royal Lectures increased much more than the Foundation could support; several Persons having surreptitiously obtained Grants of that Place. *Henry IV.* chafired Part of those Lecturers, in 1594, and gave out new Letters to those, whom he retained. *Peter Seguin* was one of the latter. And for this Reason his Promotion was dated in the Year 1594, by the Author of the *Antiquities of Paris*; but, if That Author had been exact, he would not have been contented to say, that *Peter Seguin* succeeded *Martin Akakia* on the twentieth of September, 1594. He would have been afraid of making his Readers imagine, that *Martin Akakia* died the same Year, and that *Peter Seguin* commenced from that Time Royal Professor. Now whoever should say this, would be guilty of two great Mistakes.

(4) *Abbate* in the Parliament of *Paris*.

(1) That, which *Akakia* quotes without naming it; but which he quotes in Centur. 2. Curat. 39. pag. 289.

(2) He says of himself, pag. 136.

(3) In the *Antiquities of Paris*, by *Father Du Breuil*, pag. 568.

(4) He resigned his Place on being made Royal Reader in Physick, on the 10th of Sept. 1609, by the Resignation of *John Duret*.

AKAKIA (MARTIN) Son of the Preceding, was created Doctor of Physic, at *Paris*, in 1598. He was made Royal Professor of Chirurgery, the Year after, by the Resignation of *Peter Seguin*, his Brother-in-Law (a). He took a Journey to *Rome*, and died of a Distemper, at *Paris*, in the Year 1605, without leaving any Posterity. He lies buried with his Father at *St Germain de l'Auxerrois*. His Brother JOHN AKAKIA, created Doctor of Physic, in the Year 1612, was Physician to *Lewis XIII.* and died in *Savoy* in the Year 1630. He left many Children [A].

[A] He left many Children.] I. MARTIN AKAKIA, Royal Professor of Chirurgery (1), who resigned his Place in favour of *Matburin Denyau*, and died some Years after, in 1677, leaving a Son, who was Clerk to the Comptroller General of the Finances, and a Daughter married to Mr *le Vayer de Boutigni*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*. II. ROGER AKAKIA. He is the Man of Intrigue, taken No-

tice of in the Remark [D] of the first *Akakia*. III. CHARLES AKAKIA: a very pious Clergyman, attached to the *Port-Royal*. IV. SIMON AKAKIA de *Pleffis*, Agent for the *Port-Royal* Ladies. V. N. AKAKIA, known by the Name of Mr *de Lac*. He has the Care of the Edition of the late Mr *de Saez's* Books on the Scripture. There were other Children of *John Akakia*, besides these five.

(1) He had the Post, when *William du Val* published his Catalogue in 1644.

A K I B A, a famous Rabbin, flourished, a little after *Titus* had destroyed the City of *Jerusalem*. He was a Jew only by the Mother's side; and it is pretended, that his Father was a Defendant of *Sijera*, General of the Army of *Tyre*. *Akiba* lived in the Country, till he was forty Years of Age; where he had no very Honourable Employ; for he kept the Flocks of *Calba Schwua*, a rich Citizen of *Jerusalem*. At length he applied himself to Study, at the Instigation of his Master's Daughter, who promised to marry him, if he made a great Progress in the Sciences. He applied himself so earnestly to Study, for twenty four Years, in the Academies, that, afterwards, he found himself surrounded with a crowd of Disciples, as one of the greatest Masters, that had been in *Israel*. He had twenty four Thousand Scholars. He declared for the Impostor *Barcochebas* (a), and maintained, that the Words of *Balaam*, *A Star shall come out of Jacob*, were to be understood of him, and that he was the true *Messiah* (b). He was not satisfy'd with anointing him (c), as *Samuel* did the two first Kings of the *Jews*; He even submitted to become his Equerry (d). The Forces, which the Emperor *Hadrian* sent against the *Jews*, who, under the Conduct of this false *Messiah*, had committed horrible Massacres, extinguished this Faction. *Akiba* was taken, and punished with a cruel Death (e): His Flesh was torn with Iron Combs; but in such a manner, that they lengthened out the Torture, and put him to Death, as it were with a slow Fire (f). He lived one Hundred and twenty Years, and was buried, with his Wife, in a Cave, on a Mountain not far from *Tiberias*. His twenty four Thousand Disciples were buried below him in the same Mountain (g). I mention these particulars, without pretending, that they all deserve Credit. It is thought, that he wrote a spurious Book, under the Name of the Patriarch *Abraham* [A]. Some say, he was guilty of a more unpardonable Offence than this; namely, that he altered the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible [B], in order to answer an Objection of the *Christians* [C]. The *Jews* give him great Commendations [D]; and look upon him as a Man, who taught them all the unwritten Law [E]. The Remark, which we shall make upon this, will contain some Particulars

(a) *This word signifies in Hebrew, Son of the Star.*

(b) See *Joh. à Lent. Schediasma Historico Philologico de Judæorum Pseudo-Messias*, pag. 9.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 14.

(d) *Ibid.* p. 9, & 15.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 14. ex *Tractatu Talmudico Erufin*, fol. 21.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 15. ex *Tractatu Talmudico Berachos*, fol. 61.

(g) *Ibid.* p. 15. ex *Autore libelli de Cippis ab Hottingero editi, & Latine translata.*

[A] That he wrote a spurious Book, under the Name of the Patriarch *Abraham*. It is entitled, *Seppher Jezirab*; that is, *The Book of the Creation*. See the Remark [E] of the Article A B R A H A M, and add there this Supplement. *Lambecius* ought not to have said that this Book of the Creation was printed the first time at *Mantua* (1); for the Edition of *Mantua* in 4to, with the Commentary of *Abraham Ben-Doir*, and several other Rabbies, whose Names you may find in the 536th Page of the *Critical History of the Old Testament*, had been preceded by the *Paris* Edition, in 8vo, 1552. The same Book was printed at *Basil* in *Folio*, in the Year 1587, with several others of the same Stamp. It is of great Weight with the Cabalists; they say, they work Miracles by it (2).

(1) *Lambecii Histor. Literar. Prodrom.* p. 53. apud *Placcium de Pseudonymis*, pag. 134.

(2) *Placcius, ibid.*

[B] He altered the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible. This Alteration relates to the Age of the Patriarchs, when they began to have Children. Every one knows, they were older at that Time, according to the Bible of the LXX, than according to the *Hebrew* Bible. For Example; *Adam*, according to the *Hebrew* Text, was one hundred and thirty Years old, when his Wife brought forth *Seth*; but, according to the Translation of the LXX, he was, at that time, in his two hundred and thirtieth Year. Most Divines prefer the *Hebrew* Text to the *Greek*. They, who contend for the *Greek*, are but few in Number, but, in Recompence for this, they are commonly Men of singular Learning. Father *Paul Pezron*, a Monk of the strictest Order of *Cisterians*, and Doctor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, is one of this Minority. He pretends, among other things, that the *Jews* altered the *Hebrew* Text in relation to the Times which pass'd between the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, under *Titus*, and the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Hadrian* (3). He proves this by the Translation of *Aquila*, published in the twelfth Year of That Emperor, which agrees very well with the *Hebrew* Text at this present time. Now as *Aquila*, going over from the Christian to the Jewish Religion, put himself under the Tuition of *Akiba*; it seems very probable to Father *Pezron*, that This Alteration of the Scripture ought to be imputed to That Rabbi. It is certain that *Akiba* was "at that time in great Esteem among the *Jews*, and chiefly among those of *Palästina*; for he was about forty Years Master of a College, which they had at *Jabne*, or at *Tiberias*, near the Lake of *Genesareth* (4). — He had many Disciples; he pass'd for the most learned Man among the *Jews*; and had so much Credit

(3) *Pezron, of the Anti-quity of Times*, cap. 16. pag. 289. Edit. of *Paris* 1687, in 4to.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 290.

"with them, that it was he, who declared that *Barcochebas* was the *Messiah* (5)."

[C] In order to answer an Objection of the *Christians*. "The *Christians* never disputed more strongly against the *Jews*, than in those Times, says the same Author (6), and never oppos'd them more effectually. For they had nothing more to do, than to shew them the *Gospel* on the one side, and, on the other, the Ruins of *Jerusalem*, which were before their Eyes, to convince them that *JESUS CHRIST*, who had so plainly foretold it's Destruction, was the Prophet whom *Moses* had promised. — But they press'd them very close with their own Traditions, which import'd, That *CHRIST* should manifest himself at the end of about six thousand Years, by shewing them, that this Number of Years was actually accomplished. This greatly embarrassed them, and it doubles the Reason, why it is said, in the *Talmud*, that *Akiba* and *Samsai* computed the Years (7) out of which such powerful Arguments were drawn against them." It is certain, that the *Jews* might have answered the Objection drawn from the six thousand Years, had the Bible been such, as we have it at present; for it wants much of that Number of Years, from *Adam* to *JESUS CHRIST*.

[D] The *Jews* give him great Commendations. They called him *Setbumtaab* (8), that is, *The Authentic*. One of them (9) says, it would fill a whole Volume to speak of him according to his Worth. His Name, says another, ran all over the Universe, and we have received all the Oral Law from His Mouth; *Hujus nomen* (inquit autor libri *Zemach David*) *exit ab uno extremo mundi usque ad aliud, atque totam legem Oralem ex ejus ore accepimus* (10).

[E] Look upon him as a Man, who taught them all the unwritten Law. See the Passage just now quoted, and the Book, which Father *Paul Pezron* published at *Paris* in the Year 1691 (11). We find there (12), that Rabbi *Akiba*, the Son of *Joseph*, was the first Compiler of the *Deuteroseph*, or *Jewish* Traditions, and the chief of the *Traditionaries*; that he collected the Traditions, which *Hillel*, *Simon*, and other ancient Doctors had invented; that he added others of his own Invention to them; that they were in vogue together till the end of the Vth Century, at which time others were added to them, of which the *Talmud* was compos'd; that *Akiba* (13) employ'd the Rabbi *Meir*, the most famous of all his Disciples, to commit part of these Traditions to Writing, out of which the *Misna* was afterwards compos'd

(5) *Ibid.* p. 291.

(6) *Id.* ib.

(7) *Talmud in Tractatu de Synedrio.*

(8) See *Joh. à Lent de Pseudo-Messias*, pag. 9.

(9) *Zacutus in Juchisin*, pag. 66. apud *Lent*, pag. 19.

(10) *Koenig. Biblioth.* pag. 19.

(11) *Entirety of the Antiquity of Times*.

(12) *Page* 61.

(13) *Page* 63. ex *Zemach David*, p. 99.

clear of the Objection made in relation to the Three Days and Three Nights, which JESUS CHRIST was to pass in the Bowels of the Earth, as *Jonas* did in the Whale's Belly (b). I must not omit, that his Poetry was very much esteemed. He wrote a Latin Tragedy, called *Roxana*, at the Representation of which, in a College at Cambridge, there happened a very remarkable Accident (c). A Lady was so frightened with the Last Word of the Tragedy, *Sequitur, Sequar*, which was pronounced with a very furious Air, that she was distracted all her Life-time after. *Alabaster* was yet living in 1630. His *Apparatus in Revelationem Jesu Christi* was printed at Antwerp in the Year 1607. As for the *Spiraculum tubarum, seu fons spiritualium expositionum ex equivocis Pentagloti* (d) significationibus, and his *Ecce sponsus venit, seu tuba pulcritudinis, hoc est demonstratio quod non sit illicitum nec impossibile computare durationem mundi & tempus secundi adventus Christi*; they were printed at London (e). From these Titles we may judge of the Author's Taste; but we shall form a better Notion of it from the Words of *Andrew Rivet* [B], which I shall produce. We must not forget his *Lexicon Hebraicum, in Folio*. I have taken no Notice of his *Motives of his Conversion*, which he published, after having embraced the Catholic Religion; we know well enough that this is the Practice of those, who change their Religion; A Custom more in vogue at that Time, than at present. The Public had not, then, leisure to be disgusted at this sort of Books. That of *Alabaster* was refuted by *Roger Fenton* (f).

(b) See Remarke [A].

(c) Fuller's Worthies.

(d) See the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library: But it should be Pentateuchi.

(e) See the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

(f) His Reply is intitled, An Answer to W. Alabaster's Motives. Lond. 1599. in 4to

" a Foundation of Weeds and Refuse, to explain to us
" his Mystical Theology, and (as he himself calls it)
" the internal Sense and Marrow of the Scripture;
" though in reality, nothing else but a Madman's
" Dreams. Upon which account it was of ill repute,
" and deservedly felt the Church's censorial Rod, at
" Rome. For who can bear, that, in so serious a
" Matter, I mean in explaining the Scripture, any
" one should vend for approved Wares, what are but
" the delirious Productions of his own disordered
" Brain?" He gives afterwards some Examples of
" this Author's Explications.

I shall quote presently a *Protestant*, who reproaches the Roman Catholics for tolerating the idle Fancies of *Alabaster*.

I have been informed by a learned Person, that most Readers do not love to be told, in general, that such or such an Author has advanc'd a chimerical Opinion. This excites their Curiosity, and they want to have it immediately satisfy'd, and even without being oblig'd to have recourse to some other Book, which they have in their Library. This learned Person therefore, would have thought I ought to have said nothing of *Isidorus Pelusiotus*, or that, having observed, in general, that his Opinion is grotesque, I ought to have produc'd it; especially considering that Father *Garasse's* Book is seldom found in the Library of private Persons. I profit by this Advice, and find by experience it is well founded; for which Reason I have chosen, upon many Occasions, to add to my Commentaries, rather than excite the Curiosity of my Readers in vain: *Isidorus Pelusiotus*, then, in order to complete the Number of Days, suppos'd, That the Darkness, at the time of the Passion, ought to be taken for one Night, and that the return of the Light 'till Sun-set ought to be consider'd as a Day. Read what follows: " I answer, That it is true, there is
" some Difficulty in reconciling this Passage (4) with
" the Truth of History; and that it was one of the
" chief Arguments, by which *Julian*, the Apostle,
" endeavour'd to overthrow the Truth of the Gos-
" pel; however it is not so desperate, but that a
" true and natural Exposition may be given of it,
" without having recourse to Fancies; which some
" have done, though without any ill Design; as we
" have seen above, concerning the Hour of the Re-
" surrection. *Isidorus Pelusiotus*, in the 114th Epistle
" of the first Book of his Epistles, gives us a new
" Explication of it in these Words:—Sic habeto;
" sexta hora Parasceves in crucem actus est Dominus,
" ab hac hora usque ad nonam tenebrae extiterunt;
" has tu noctem intellige: Rursus hora nona lux;
" hæc tu pro die habe: Nox rursum Parasceves:
" Tum dies Sabbathi: Tum nox Sabbathi Dominici
" Diei. — Take it thus; Our Lord was crucified
" at the sixth Hour, on Good Friday; from this
" Hour to the ninth, there was Darkness; call this
" one Night; again, at the ninth Hour there was
" Light; let this stand for one Day: Then follow'd
" the Night of Good Friday: Then the Day of the
" Jewish Sabbath: Then the Night of the Christian
" Sabbath, or Lord's Day. — It is true, indeed, ac-
" cording to this Exposition, that JESUS CHRIST re-
" main'd three Days and three Nights, in the Bowels

" of the Earth; but they are Days and Nights redu-
" ced to a very narrow Compas (5).

[B] A better Notion of it, from the Words of *Andrew Rivet*.] " Anno, 1600, says he (6), qui-
" dam Pontificus Anglus *Gastelmus Alabasterus*, edi-
" dit Antwerpæ librum, cui titulum fecit, *Appara-
" tus in revelationem Christi*, in quo profectus se no-
" vum & admirabilem rationem asserre investigandi
" Prophetiarum mysteria ex Scriptura se ipsam inter-
" pretante. Ibi novam Cabalam instituit, ex qua
" quilibet ex quolibet educit, & mutatis, vel inver-
" sis, aut separatis, & disjunctis, Ebraeorum vocabu-
" lorum literis, aut syllabis, novis etiam significati-
" bus contra grammaticæ rationem assignatis, diversis
" nominibus aut verbis, omnia pervertit, & ipsi adeo
" commentum placet, ut, quamvis sæpe excipiat se
" nolle præjudicare Latine versioni, cum tamen vi-
" deat ex ea nullis fiduculis sensum, quem sibi propo-
" nit, posse erui, non veretur dicere, pag. 61, *De-
" um Christi & Religionis Christianæ mysteria per
" illam verborum formam in Ebraeo legis codice ex-
" pressisse, quæ sensum carnalem, & à divina mente
" alienum, lectori prima fronte offerret, atque ita
" voluisse ut in Ecclesia Christiana nulla possum legere
" secundo versio, quam quæ secundum Ebraeorum ver-
" borum corticem conciperetur, ut hoc modo sapientia
" divina non esset cuivis profano obvia. Sed postea
" idem, per totum illud opus, ipsa sapientiam illam
" divinam ex Scriptura, si Deo placet, penetrabilibus
" haurit, ut ne ulli quidem hæcenus ex Patribus san-
" ctissimis vel unius loci talis interpretatio in me-
" tem unquam venerit, ne ipsis quidem omniscitis
" Pontificibus. — In the Year 1607, a certain
" English Roman Catholic, named William Alabaster,
" published, at Antwerp, a Book, entituled *Apparatus
" in Revelationem Christi*; in which he professes to
" give us a new and admirable Method of investiga-
" ting the mysterious Sense of the Prophecies, by
" making the Scripture it's own Interpreter. In
" this Work, he drew up a new Cabala, by the help
" of which he extracts any thing from any thing;
" and perverts the whole Scripture, by changing, or
" inverting, or separating, and disjoining, the Let-
" ters of the Hebrew Words, or Syllables; sometimes
" by assigning new Significations to them, contrary
" to the Rules of Grammar, or by substituting new
" Nouns or Verbs: Nay he is so fond of his own
" Comment, that, tho' he frequently assures us he in-
" tends no Prejudice to the Latin Version, yet, when
" he cannot, with all the torturing imaginable, wrest
" That to the Sense, he would extract from it, he
" is not ashamed to declare, Pag. 61, That God ex-
" press'd the Mysteries of CHRIST, and the Christian
" Religion, under That Form of Words, which is
" in the Hebrew Code of the Law, which, at first
" sight, presents to the Reader a carnal Sense, and
" wide of the Divine Intention, and that it is his
" Will, that no Version should be publicly read in
" the Christian Church, but what is conceiv'd accord-
" ing to the Bark, or external meaning of the He-
" brew Words; that by this means the Divine Wis-
" dom might not be obvious to the Prophane. Yet
" this very Author afterwards, through his subtle
" Work, so exposes his divine Wisdom, by drawing
" it*

(c) Garasse's Curious Doctrines, pag. 592, 593.

(6) Rivet. Hæroge ad Scripturam sacram, cap. 15. Oper. Tom. 2. p. 937.

(4) It is That of the 12th Chapter of St Matthew, where it is said, that the Son of Man shall be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

"it out of it's Recesses, that none of the Holy Fathers, not even the Popes themselves, with all their Infallibility, ever dream'd of one single Interpretation, such as our Author gives us." Rivet, having produc'd two Examples of the visionary Notions of this Author (7), continues his Discourse thus; "Alia hujus farinae multa, pag. 57. & seqq. afferuntur à nugatore blasphemò, quibus syllabas unius nominis & verbi seorsum accipiens, & à sua radice divellens, omnia sursum deorsum vertit: Et tamen in regno Pontificio toleratur hæc novitas, ubi simplex Scripturæ ex ipsa Scriptura interpretatio hæc refores infimulatur. Sed de his hæcenus. Videant Pontificii, an suo Alabastro non debeant nigrum præfigere theta: Nos hominis insolentissimam audaciam detestamur, etsi cum Jesuita Possévinus suis Catholicis Scripturibus inferuerit, Appar. Sacri Tomo primo. — This blasphemous Trifler has given us more of the same Stamp, Page 57, &c. in which, by taking the Syllables of a single Noun or Verb apart, he overturns the whole Sense. And yet this novel Practice is tolerated in a Roman Catholic Country, where the simple Interpretation of Scripture by itself is charged with Heresy. But so much for this Subject. I leave it to the Roman Catholics to judge, whether their Alabaster ought not to undergo the Sentence of Condemnation: For my own part, I detest the shameless Impudence of the Man, notwithstanding the Jesuit Possévin has

"inferred him among his Catholic Writers." Observe I. That the Work, out of which this is taken, was publish'd the first time in 1626, and that the Edition in *Folio*, printed in the Year 1652, which I make use of, had been revised, corrected, and enlarged by the Author. II. That *Alabaster's* Book had been condemn'd at Rome, the 30th of January, 1610, and that the Author was return'd to the Bosom of the Church of England, a considerable time before the first Edition of Rivet's Book. The Congregation of the *Index* express themselves in the following Terms; I set them down, because they seem to infer that the *Apparatus* of *Alabaster* was reprinted at Rome, with some Alterations and Corrections. *Apparatus in Revelationem Jesu Christi Auctore Gulielmo Alabastro Anglo*, Antwerpæ 1607. Et Antipbesi, Benedicti à Benedictis Veneti, contra Gulielmum Witackerum, nisi fuerint ex CORRECTIS AB AUCTORIBUS ET ROMÆ IMPRESSIS, cum approbatione P. Mag. Sacri Palatii. But perhaps they meant only, that, in case those Authors should correct their Works, and suffer them to be printed at Rome, with the Approbation of the Master of the Sacred Palace, they would then license the new Edition. I believe this to be the true Sense. Samuel Andreas, a German Divine, wrote a Book (8) against the *Cabala* of Dr Henry Moor (9), wherein he produces some Influences of *Alabaster's* Chimeras (10).

(8) See the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*, printed at Rome in the Time of Alexander VII. pag. 206.

(9) The Title is, *Examen Cabalæ* Henr. Mori.

(10) Andr. Exam. Cab. H. Mori.

(a) Plin. lib. 4. c. 12. and not cap. 2. as in Moreri.

(b) Joseph. de Bello Judaico, lib. 7. cap. 29.

(c) Cum Vologeses, Parthorum Rex, auxilia adversus Alanos, ducentes alterum ex Vespasiani liberis depopulisset, omni ope contendit, ut ipse potissimum mitteretur. Sueton. in Domit. c. 2.

(d) Continui's Hist. of France.

(e) Amm. Marcell. lib. 30. c. 3.

(f) See Geomark [B].

ALAINS, in Latin ALANI, a barbarous People, who greatly contributed to the Ruin of the Roman Empire. Pliny places them in Europe, beyond the Mouths of the Danube (a); but Josephus points out their Situation more exactly; for he places them near the Palus Maotis, and the Tanais (b). He describes a furious Eruption, which they made into Media, and Armenia, in the Reign of Vespasian. It was at that time, that Vologeses, King of the Partians, desired That Emperor to send him Assistance against the Alani, under the Command of one of his Sons; upon which Domitian used his Endeavours to obtain this Commission (c). This might induce Moreri to tell us, though a little confusedly as to Chronology, that these Barbarians had already made themselves known from the Time of Domitian. But this want of Chronological Exactness is nothing in comparison of the rest. He tells us, that the Alani joined with the Vandals, with the Suevi, and afterwards with the Goths, in the beginning of the Fifth Century; that they fought against the French in the Year 505; that they ravaged Gaul; that Gunderic, the Son of Aodigigis, was their Chief; that, about the Year 509, they passed into Spain, where they settled; and that they were defeated there by Vallia, King of the Goths, in 418. Such gross Mistakes, surely, must fly in the Reader's Face; for in short, a People, conquered in 418, in a Country, into which they came about the Year 509, is a Story, sufficient to awaken the most languishing Attention. The Truth is, Moreri is guilty of an Anachronism of no less than an Hundred Years. The Alani advanced, in 406, from the Banks of the Danube to the Rhine, without meeting any Resistance; and being joined by the Vandals, who had escaped from a Battel lost against the Franks, they entered Gaul. Their King's Name was Respendial: the King of the Vandals's Name was Gunderic, the Son of Godisigil, who had been killed in the late Battel. Several other Nations of Barbarians joined them, and caused a prodigious Desolation in all the Gauls. Part of the Alani, under the Conduct of Utacus, who had succeeded Respendial, passed into Spain, in the Year 409, and settled in the Province of Carthagina, and in Lusitania; the other Part kept their Ground in Gaul, under the Conduct of Two Kings. The Alani in Spain, defeated by Vallia, King of the Goths, near Merida, in 418, were forced to submit to Honorius. Their King Vatacus lost his Life in the Battel (d). We meet with certain of the Alani, in the Year 464, who threw off the Yoke of the Huns, after the Death of Attila, and entered Italy in order to settle there; but Ricimer, marching against them with the Forces of the Empire, defeated them in such a manner near Bergamo, that but very few of them escaped, and their King Beorgor was killed in the Battel. The Huns, having committed great Ravage and Slaughter in the Country of the Alani, had a long time before associated themselves with those, who escaped their Fury. This we read in Ammianus Marcellinus (e). He gives us a long Description of the Manners of the Alani (f) and says, they were the same People, to which Antiquity gave the Name of Massagetæ [A]; he pretends they

[A] The People to whom Antiquity gave the Name of Massagetæ. There are two Passages in relation to this in Ammianus Marcellinus (1); the first is in the fifth Chapter of the twenty third Book, and will admit of no Difficulty; "Lucullus, per Albanos & Massagetæ, quos Alanos nunc appellamus, hæc quoque natione perrupta, vidit Caspius lacus. — Lucullus, by the Albani and Massagetæ, now cal-

led Alani, forcing his Way thro' this People, came in sight of the Caspian Sea." The other is in the second Chapter of the thirty first Book, in a Place where the Manuscripts are so confused, that we must have Recourse to Critical Conjectures, to find in it what I attribute here to Marcellinus. It is, therefore, only upon the Conjecture of the learned Valesius, that This Historian is made to say aduquæ Alanos

(1) Moreri cites the first Book, which is 13th.

they inhabited the vast Solitudes of *Scythia*, and gave their Name to the Neighbouring Nations, as fast as they subdued them, and spread this Name as far as the River *Ganges*. Though he represents them Cruel and Savage [B], yet he does not make them equal the *Huns* in Brutality; and he remarks that they pillaged and plundered as far as the *Palus Mæotis*, and as far as *Media* and *Armenia*.

Alanos pervenit, veteres Massagetæ. — He penetrated as far as the Alani, formerly the Massagetæ. Now, as the first Passage plainly proves, that Marcellinus placed the Alani in Asia, we may, I think, contest, with this learned Commentator, the Explanation he gives of these Words of the Text: "Hister Sauromatas prætermat ad usque amnem Tanaim pertinentes, qui Asiam terminat ab Europa. Hoc transitio in immensum extensas Scythiæ solitudines Alani inhabitant (2). — The River Ister (or the Danube) flows by the Country of the Sauromatæ, which reaches as far the River Tanais, the Boundary of Asia and Europe, beyond which, the Alani inhabit the immense Deserts of Scythia." Valesius will have hoc transitio (beyond which) to relate to the Danube, and not to the Tanais; and, in proof, he alleges Pliny, Dionysius Charracenus, Orosius, and Tzetzes, who place the Alani in Sarmatia, and beyond the Danube; but the Question is not what others have said of it, but only what Marcellinus's Opinion was; and, upon this Foot, it seems to me, that hoc transitio must be referred to the Tanais; for, besides that the Massagetæ did not inhabit between the Tanais and the Danube, we find a little after, that this Historian places the Alani in the Neighbourhood of the Amazons, and makes them rob and plunder, on the one side, as far as Media and Armenia, and, on the other, as far as the Palus Mæotis, and the Bosphorus Cimærius. "Parte alia prope Amazonum sedes Alani sunt Orienti adclines, diffusi per populos gentes & amplas, Asiaticas vergentes in tractus, quos dilatari ad usque Gangem accipi fluvium (3). — latrocinando & venando ad usque Mæotica stagna & Cimærium Bosphorum, itidemque Armenios discurrantes & Mediam (4)." All this shews, that he has not followed the Opinion of those Authors, who placed the Alani in the European Sarmatia; for where would be the wonder, if Robbers, thus situated, should ravage not only Media and Armenia, but likewise the Palus Mæotis? Marcellinus would not be the only Author, who places these Barbarians in Asia; Does not Valesius cite Procopius (5), who places them between Caucasus and the Caspian Port? Lastly, What does Moreri mean by these Words: Pliny places them in the European Sarmatia, where Lithuania is at present? Doubtless he means, that the Sarmatia of the Ancients is the present Lithuania: But this is false; for Lithuania is but

a small Part of the ancient European Sarmatia. Observe, that Ptolemy acknowledges two Nations of Alani, one in Europe, the other in Asia.

[B] He represents them Cruel and Savage. They had no other Houses than their Waggon; in them they begot, and brought up, their Children, and abode no longer in a Place, than till they had consumed their Provisions. Fleth and Milk were their only Food; and they did not manure their Ground. "Nec enim ulla sunt illis tuguria aut versandi vomeris cura: Sed carne & copia visitant lactis, pluvris superfluentes. — assumptisque pabulis velut carpentis civitates impositas vehunt, marefque supra cum feminis coeunt, & nascuntur in his & educantur infantes (6)." They accustomed themselves early to ride on Horseback, and looked upon it as mean to travel on Foot. They were so fond of War, that they esteemed those happy, who died in it, and loaded those with Injuries, and Reproaches of Cowardice, who died of Age and of Sickness. They took a pride in nothing more than in having killed a Man; they cut off the Heads of those, whom they killed; they flayed them, and made use of their Skins as Ornaments for their Horses; they had no Temples, nor worshipped any thing but a naked Sword stuck in the Ground. It was their God Mars, the Patron of the Countries, which they inhabited. They foretold future Events by the help of certain Rode, selected with magical Incantations. "Judicatur ibi beatus, qui in prælio profuderit animam: Senescentes enim & fortuitis moribus mundo digressos ut degeneres & ignavos conviciis atrocibus insectantur: Nec quidquam est quod elatius fassent, quam homine quolibet occiso: Proque exuviis gloriosis, interfectorum avulsis capitibus detractas pelles pro phaleris jumentis accommodant bellatoribus. Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, &c. (7)." This is the Picture, which Ammianus Marcellinus draws of these Barbarians; and it is not improper to represent to those, who are acquainted only with civilized Nations, that there are others so savage, as more nearly to resemble Brute Beasts, than the Human Species. This may afford many Reflexions both Physical and Moral, and make us wonder at the infinite variety of Customs and Dispositions of which our Nature is susceptible, and, among which, for one that is good, we may count above an Hundred thousand bad.

AL AIS, a City of France, in the *Severnes*, in the Diocese of *Nîmes*, five Leagues from *Uzès* (a), is the Capital of an Ancient Lordship, which was erected into an Earldom, and possessed by *Charles de Valois*, Duke of *Angoulême*, a Natural Son of *Charles IX.* *Lewis Emanuel de Valois* was long known by the Name of Count d'*Alais* (b); he was Colonel General of the Light Horse of France, Governor of *Provence*, and Son of this Duke of *Angoulême*, and Father of *Frances Mary de Valois*, Wife of *Lewis of Lorraine*, Duke of *Joyeuse*. By this Marriage the Earldom of *Alais* fell to the House of *Lorraine*, settled in France; for, from the Marriage of the Duke of *Joyeuse* with *Frances Mary de Valois*, sprung *Lewis-Joseph of Lorraine*, Duke of *Guise*, who died at *Paris* of the *Small-Pox*, the 30th of July 1671, aged twenty one Years (c). The City of *Alais* became Episcopal after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes* [A]. Some will have it to be the *Alesia* described by *Julius Cæsar*, in the seventh Book of his Commentaries. Mr de *Mandajors*, who is Mayor of it, wrote a Dissertation on this Subject. See the *Journal of the Learned*, of the 9th of May, 1695, at the 321st Page of the Edition of *Holland*.

(a) From Baudrand's Lexic. Geograph.

(b) It is he, of whom Gaffendus speaks so often, and to whom he wrote so many Letters, Ludovico Valesio.

(c) In 1685.

[A] The City of *Alais* became Episcopal after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes* (1.) It is not without reason that I mark this Period of Time; for it is certain, that the Suppression of That Edict occasioned the Erection of This new Bishoprick. This Country was full of Protestants, who were forced, by a Mission of Dragoons, to sign a Popish Formulary. It was, therefore, thought expedient not to let them be so far distant from their Prelate, as they would have been, if they had been subjected to the Diocese of *Nîmes*. This new Episcopal Church "is composed of two Collegiate Churches, That of *Psalm*,

"modi, and That of the City of *Alez*, and has twenty three Canons, and twelve Prebendaries: It's first Bishop Francis, Knight of *Saulx*, Abbot of *Psalmodi*, and Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, was consecrated, by Cardinal de *Buzi*, Archbishop of *Narbonne*, in the Church of the Nuns of the Visitation of *Montpelier*, the twenty ninth of August, 1694. He is descended from one of the most ancient and noblest Families of *Poitou* (2)." See the Letter which M^r *Pontier* wrote to him, and which he published at *Paris* in 1695. The *Journal of the Learned* takes notice of it (3).

(6) Amm. Marcell. lib. 31. c. 2.

(7) Id. ib.

(c) Father Anselm's Genealogy of the House of France, p. 28. 175, 176.

(2) Journal of the Learned, May 17th, 1705. p. 322. Ed. of Holland.

(3) Id. pag. 321.

ask, whether Pope *Eugenius* thundered his Anathemas against the President of a Council, in which he had been deposed. He deprived him of all his Dignities, and called him the Son of Iniquity [B]. Yet, notwithstanding This, *Lewis Alamandus* died in the Odour of Sanctity [C], and wrought so many Miracles, after his Death, that, at the Request of the Canons, and the Celestins of *Avignon*, and at the Solicitation of Cardinal *de Clermont*, Legate à latere of *Clement VII*, he was canonized by that Pope in the Year 1527 (f). *Odoricus Raynaldus* pretends, that he repented of all that he had done in the Council of *Basil*; but no Proof can be given of This Repentance (g); nor can we contradict this Matter of Fact, that, a Year before his Death (b), he was one of Those, who, in the Council of *Lausanne*, represented the Council of *Basil*, as a Holy and Sacred Assembly (i). He died at sixty Years of Age (k), on the 16th of September 1450 (l). Some say he died in *Savoy*, at the Abbey of *Hautecombe*, where the Monks built a Chapel so him, and invoked him in the Celebration of the Mass (m); others say, that he died at *Salon* (n). His Body lies at *Arles*: The Bull of *Clement VII* permits the Removal of it from the damp Vaults under Ground to any other more convenient place in the same Church. Some affirm, after *James Philip de Bergamo* (o), that *Lewis Alamandus* published several small Works, not unworthy of his Pen; but I meet with no mention of their Titles, or the Libraries, where they are.

The *Jansenists*, who censured *Odoricus Raynaldus* for the Pretended Repentance of our *Lewis Alamandus*, are themselves liable to Censure [D].

"nor in the Day; he is ever reading or negotiating; he thinks on nothing less than his Belly; he is not a Man for my Money. There is not the least Remembrance between us." "Quos inter (they are the Words of *Aeneas Silvius*, concerning the Diet of the *Concilium*)? "Crocovicensis Archiepiscopus diminutionem (abrogationem) tulit. Cui cum aves & arinarum carnes afferrentur, substrictas avicularum sunt, orante in porta famulo, ut, quod plus esset, id Dominum dimitteretur; sperabat namque, ex arte partem, ex avibus autem non sperabat: Dominus tamen avicularum precepisset. Ideoque, cum spoliolum sensit, utique conquisitus est publicoque testatus, nunquam se diem; postquam Sacerdos fuit, tulisse perjurium. Ac cum rogaretur ne admittentem haberet, quoniam id obligasset Cardinali (Arletensi). Probat, inquit, Cardinalem mihi equiparari, hominem Gallicum, parvum, eventrem, aut ut verius loquar non hominem. Ego apud cum meo infortunio sum locutus, omnia quae facio per litteras mihi certina indicat, nec adhuc bibere eum, aut comedere vidi; & quod mihi molestius est, infames noctes infamesque dies ducit (quamquam nulla est apud nos dies) aut legi semper, aut negotiari. Nulla ei minor quam ventris est cura; mihi nihil cum commune est (1). — Among whom the Archbishop of *Crocovia* was abridg'd in his Diet. For, when they were bringing him a Dish of Wild Fowl, and another of Venison, the Wild Fowl was taken away; his Servant of the Door intreating, that they would allow his Master the largest Dish; for he was in hopes part of the Venison might fall to his Share, which he could not have expected from the Wild Fowl; whereas his Master would have preferred the latter. When the Archbishop found himself rob'd of half his Dinner, he complain'd of it, and publicly declared, that it was the most unfortunate Day he had met with, since he first went into Orders. And, when he was desired not to be surpris'd at it, since the same thing had happen'd to the Cardinal of *Ales*, he exclaimed, What a Comparison you make! you tell me of a sober Frenchman, &c." Such is the bodily Constitution of those, who, in the greatest Affairs, are able to surmount the strongest Obstacles. This requires Men of Labour, detach'd from sensual Pleasures, and intrepid. The following is the *Latin* Description of *Lewis Alamandus*'s Resolution of Mind, against the Fear of the Plague. "Neque illum preces, neque domesticorum funera, flectere poterunt, volentem potius cum vitæ periculo salutare Concilium; quam cum periculo Concilii salvare vitam; sciebat enim, quoniam se recedente pauci remanessent, facileque committi fraudi in ejus absentia possidet (2)."

[B] And call'd him the Son of Iniquity. In a Bull dated at *Florence*, in the Year 1442, he calls him Iniquitatis filium, rebellionum & factuum multorum reum; and he says that the Council of *Ferrara*, and *Florence*, had condemn'd him to be strip of all his Dignities; & *Ferrariensis* & *Florentino Concilio* damnatum & universis dignitatibus privatum fuisse (3). [C] Yet, notwithstanding this, *Lewis Alamandus* died in the Odour of Sanctity. This Instance, and the

Beatification of *Peter of Luxemburg*, by the same Bull of *Clement VII* (4), are a little puzzling to the Controversitists of the *Roman* Party; for, in short, if, as they pretend, every one, who is not united to the Pope, is out of the Pale of the Church, how came these two Persons to merit the Rank of Saints? The best answer to this, is, that the Distinction between the true and the false Pope being above the Capacity of private Persons, and a miste Question of Fact, the Error was invisible, and consequently ought not to prejudice those, who acted with Sincerity; as to the Question of Right. But have a care of the Reply, and the Consequences, which result from hence in favour of other Errors.

[D] The *Jansenists* who censur'd him (see them) liable to Censure. They alledge, first of all, the Continuators of *Baronius*'s injurious Treatment of the Cardinal of *Arles*, and they observe afterwards, "that he was forc'd to confess, in two several Places, to wit, in the Year 1426, & 26, and in the Year 1450, n. 20, that God confirm'd the Holiness of this Cardinal, by such visible and well attested Miracles, that *Clement VII* placed him in the Number of the Blessed (5). — The manner in which this Author endeavours to clear himself, continues they, is most shocking, and cannot be founded but on a most pernicious Maxim; which is, that Persons, guilty of public Crimes, may become Saints; and be acknowledged as such by the Church, without giving any Proof of their having repented of their Crimes, and though there is the greatest Reason, on the contrary, to believe, that they persevered in them. For if the Cardinal of *Arles* was guilty of certain Crimes, and ought to be esteemed as a very wicked Man for his Behaviour in the Council of *Basil*, never was Man more condemn'd in his Offence; since, when the Fathers of the Council of *Basil*, in which he presided, reconciled themselves to *Nicolas V*, it was not by acknowledging in any manner, that they had done amiss, either in opposing *Eugenius*, or in deposing him, or in electing *Amedeus*; but, on the contrary, they protested, that they had done nothing; but with a view to the good of the Church, and that they did not declare for *Nicolas V* otherwise, than by re-electing him, after the voluntary Resignation of *Pellus*; and this Union was made, without obliging them to recant any thing they had done; on the contrary, *Nicolas V*, confirm'd all the Proceedings of the Council of *Basil*. Therefore if all that the Cardinal of *Arles* did in That Council was criminal, never any Man shew'd greater Obstinacy in his Crimes. Whence it follows; that if this did not hinder him from becoming a Saint, the Consequence will be, that Perseverance in the greatest Crimes is no Bar to any one's Beatification; which is shocking: And yet this necessarily follows from the Words of *Raynaldus*, in the Year 1450; n. 20. — Hoc Anno Ludovicum Alamandum Archiepiscopum Arletensem — vitæ celsæ tradunt; acque miraculis post mortem conculcasse affirmant; omnesque *Clement VII*, valuti Sanctum, esse permittit exarato

(f) See the Bull for it in Launo, Epist. 11. part. 1. pag. 79, 80. E. 27. Cantab. 1689. Folio.

(g) Launo, ibid. p. 81.

(b) Anno 1449.

(i) Sacri Basilensis Concilii Diploma Concilii Lausaneensis apud Raynaldum ad an. 1449.

(1) Aeneas Silvius de Gestis Basilienensis Concilii, lib. 2.

(2) Id. ib.

(3) See Launo, Epist. 11. part. 1. n. 45. p. 80.

(4) See the Bull of Clement VII. in Launo, ubi supra, pag. 79, 80.

(5) Tit. ap. p. 81. from bis Epistoph.

(m) Petrus Monodus in Amedeo Pacifico, cap. 6. in Launo, ubi supra, p. 81.

(n) Moreri.

(o) Jacobus Philippus Bergomi. lib. 15. Chron. cor.

(4) See Mr. Claude's Defence of the Reformation, part 3, towards the end.

(5) Remarks on the 18th Tome of the Ecclesiastical Canons, pag. 213. These Remarks are printed with a Collection of several Pieces in Defence of the Confessors of the Faculty of Divinity at Paris, &c. n. a Brief and a Bull of Alexander VII. I make use of the Edition of Geneva; they have put in the Title at Munster by Bernard Roesfeldt in 1667, in 8vo.

" exarato diplomate Pontificio 9 Apr. an. 1527. Ita-
 " que adoranda est divina misericordia, quæ exiguo
 " temporis fluxu Ludovicum ipsum, nefandi & pernicio-
 " sissimi schismatis auctorem, propagatorem here-
 " seos, qui ex erronea conscientia innumera in Dei
 " Ecclesiam mala invexerat, ac tot annorum cursu in
 " pertinaciam obfirmatus profanaverat Sacramenta, po-
 " nitentem ac reversum in gremium Ecclesie ad san-
 " ctitatis culmen brevi evertit. — *This Year, they*
 " *say, died Lewis Alamandus, Archbishop of Arles,*
 " *who became famous for Miracles after his Death,*
 " *and was permitted to be adored as a Saint, by a*
 " *Pontifical Bull of Clement VII, dated April 9,*
 " *Anno 1527. We ought therefore to adore the Di-*
 " *vine Compassion, which, in so short a time, rais'd*
 " *to the biggest Pitch of Sanctity, this Lewis, Author*
 " *of a wicked and most pernicious Schism, a Propagator*
 " *of Heresy; and who, out of an erroneous Con-*
 " *science, was the occasion of numberless Evils to the*
 " *Church of God, and who, confirm'd in Perseverance,*
 " *prepar'd the Sacraments for so many Years; but*
 " *at last repented, and return'd to the Bosom of the*
 " *Church.* — If this Author had only said, that
 " the great Zeal of this Holy Man, for the Reform-
 " ation of the Church, had carried him too far,
 " though he acted upon good Motives, it would
 " have been tolerable, and not so contrary to the
 " Testimony which God gave of his Sanctity. But
 " to represent him as a wicked Man; and as an ob-
 " stinate Heretic and Schismatic, who had sacrile-

" giously profan'd the Sacraments; and to tell us,
 " that, in a Year or two afterwards, he became a
 " Saint, fit to be canoniz'd, without giving any
 " Proof of his Repentance of so many Crimes, as
 " as are imputed to him, is to have a strange Idea of
 " Holiness, or rather it is to join Wickedness and
 " Sanctity together, to avoid confessing, that a Pope
 " was mistaken, in declaring a Man a Sinner, whom
 " God himself had declared a Saint. But the Bull
 " of Clement VII, relating to the Beatification of this
 " holy Man, reported by Ciacconius, is sufficient to
 " confute this Writer; since it appears from thence,
 " that the Pope does not alledge his sincere Repentance
 " of the Crimes he had committed; but that he
 " yielded up his most pure Soul to God, after having
 " liv'd sixty Years." These Gentlemen censure *Reyn-*
 " *aldus* very justly for his bold Assertion of *Alaman-*
 " *us's* Repentance; and they demonstratively confute
 " what he advances; but they are in the wrong to ac-
 " cuse him of That shocking Doctrine, which they so
 " pompously display: It is not true, that he joins San-
 " ctity and Impenitence together; for he supposes, on
 " the contrary, that the Cardinal actually did repent;
 " and in That he acknowledges the adorable Mercy
 " of God. If I assert here, that Mr *Claude* has re-
 " proach'd the *Jansenists* with Inconsistencies in relation
 " to *Odoricus Reynaldus* (6), it is only to shew, that the
 " Remarks, which I attribute to them, have been as-
 " cribed to them by others.

(6) *Claude's*
Preface to
the Answer
to the Per-
petuity of
the Faith
defended,
pag. 28, 29.

ALAMOS (BALTHAZAR) was born at *Medina-del-Campo in Castile*. Having
 studied the Civil-Law at *Salamanca*, he entered into the Service of *Antony Perez*,
 Secretary of State to King *Philip II*, and had a great share in his Master's Esteem and
 Confidence; which was the reason, why they secured his Person, after That Mini-
 ster's Disgrace. He was kept in Prison eleven Years. *Philip III*, upon his Acces-
 sion to the Throne, set him at liberty, in compliance with the Orders which his Fa-
 ther left him in his Will. *Alamos* led a private Life, till Duke *d'Olivarez*, Favourite
 of *Philip IV*, called him to the discharge of public Employments. He was promoted
 to the Post of Attorney-General in the Court of Criminal Causes, and in the Council
 of War; afterwards he was Counsellor in the Council of the *Indies*; and lastly in the
 Council of the *Royal Patrimony*. He was Knight of *St James*, a Man of Wit and
 Judgment, and had a better Pen than Tongue. He lived Eighty eight Years, and
 left only Daughters. He acquired a great Reputation by his *Spanish* Translation of
Tacitus, and by the Political Aphorisms, which he inserted in the Margin; but there
 are different Opinions of this Work [A]. It was published at *Madrid* in the Year

1614,

[A] *There are different Opinions of this Work.* This Difference of Opinions relates much more to the
 Aphorisms, than the Translation, as will appear by
 the following Citations. "As for the Aphorisms of
 " *Alamos*, they are not such, as they are thought to
 " be; for you will scarce meet with any thing in them
 " like an Aphorism, or that comes near the force of
 " what is express'd in the Text of the Translation.
 " And whereas Aphorisms ought to be more sen-
 " tentious than the Text; the Words of the Text are
 " always more sententious, than his Aphorisms. Last-
 " ly, to be short, his Aphorisms are generally mere
 " paraphras'd Translations of the Translation itself;
 " an insipid and tedious thing to a Reader of Under-
 " standing and Taste. This being suppos'd, I shall
 " not scruple to say, That *Alamos's* Translation is
 " much better than his Aphorisms. And it is a Judg-
 " ment, which the Author of the Historical and Po-
 " litical Bibliography has made before me, in the
 " Article of the *Latin Historians*. *Tacitus illustra-*
 " *ted*, says he, (it is the Title of *Alamos's* Translation)
 " is much esteem'd by our Travellers; but, to judge
 " rationally of it, the Notes are no better than the
 " impertinent New Thoughts of *Lewis d'Orleans* on
 " this Author, or than the Aulic and Political Re-
 " marks of Count *Hanibal Scot of Piatenza*, which
 " *Lipius* rightly calls *Leaden Notes*. — Yet a certain
 " *Spanish* Secretary, whose Name is *Juan Onate*, took
 " the Pains to rank these Aphorisms under particular
 " Titles, in an Alphabetical Order, and made no Dif-
 " ficulty to entitle them, *Alma de Cornelio Tacito*.
 " Nay farther, one *Jerome Canini* translated them in-
 " to *Italian*, and inserted them in the *Italian Version*
 " of *Adriano Politi*, as something very excellent;
 " witness the Title, — *Operi di Corn. Tacito illu-*
 " *strate con NOTABILISSIMI AFORISMI del Signor*
 " *D. Baldassare Alamo* (1). — *The Works of Corne-*

" *lius Tacitus, illustrated with the CELEBRATED*
 " *APHORISMS of Signor D. Balthazar Alamos.*"

Here are already two Authors, who speak with
 Contempt of these Aphorisms, and two, who set a
 great Value on them. This difference of Opinion
 will be less surprizing, if we reflect, that, in the
 Year 1683, Mr *Amelot* had not the same Notion of
 them, as he had in 1686, and in 1690. Let us con-
 sult the Preface to his *Tiberius* (2). "It is very true,
 " says he, that *Alamos* not only translated *Tacitus*,
 " but wrote likewise a great number of Remarks upon
 " on him; which he calls Aphorisms, and which
 " *Antony de Covarruvias*, who approved his Book,
 " represents as the principal Part of the Work. —
 " I confess that it is excellent, both in respect of
 " the Translation, which is as perspicuous as the Original
 " is obscure, as likewise of the Aphorisms, which are
 " in every Margin; most of which are properly Pa-
 " raphrases and Versions of the Sentences of *Tacitus*,
 " and the rest moral or political Conclusions, drawn
 " from the Events, which he relates; but, notwith-
 " standing the great Reputation of this Author, I hope
 " my Work will be very well received by those, who
 " are proper Judges in this Matter; and the more, be-
 " cause my Undertaking was much more difficult than
 " that of *Alamos*. For all his Aphorisms—are so many
 " detach'd Pieces and Scraps, and, as the Proverb
 " says, *Sand without Lime or Cement*; whereas, in my
 " Chapters, I throw into a continued Discourse all
 " the *Latin* Citations, which are in the Margins,
 " and collect into an uniform Body all these distinct
 " Pieces. Upon this Occasion *Justus Lipsius* says;
 " a Man must undertake such a Work, to know how
 " difficult it is." The Words of *Lipius*, as they are
 " cited by *Amelot*, are as follows. "Nec vero nudas
 " & sparsas sententias dedimus, ne diffuerent, & esset,
 " quod dicitur, *Arena sine Calce*: Sed eas aut inter
 " se

(2) *Printed*
at Amsterd.
in 1683.

* Aun es
 la principal
 parte de
 su mo-
 mento de
 su Obra.

* *The Soul*
of Cornelius
Tacitus.

(1) *Amelot*
de la Houf-
te's Criti-
c I Discourse
before his
Translation
of Tacitus's
Annals,
printed in
1690. This
Discourse had
already ap-
peared before
his Morals of
Tacitus, in
1683. It is
a little en-
larg'd in the
Editions of
the Annals.

1614, and was to have been followed by a *Commentary* [B] which was never printed, that I know of. The Author composed these Two Works, during his Confinement, and endeavoured, in that Condition, to obtain a Licence for the Impression [C]. He left some other Works, which were not printed: *Advertimientos al gobierno*, addressed to the Duke of Lerma, about the beginning of the Reign of Philip III: *El Conquistador*; it contained Advices in relation to the Conquests to be made in the New World: *Puntos políticos o de Estado*. Dom Garfias Telode de Sandoval, Knight of Calatrava, Son-in-Law to Alamos, gave notice of these Manuscripts to Dom Nicolas Antonio (a), from whom I have borrowed the greatest part of this Article.

(a) See the Bibliotheca Scriptor. Hispan. Tom. 1. pag. 141.

"se haud indecenter vinximus, aut interdum velut cœmento quodam commiximus nostrorum verborum, "è mille aliquot particulis uniforme hoc & cœhærens corpus formantes. Hoc totum quam arduum mihi fuerit, frustra dixerim apud non expertum — eo major mihi molestia, quod per hæc aliena vestigia sic iverim, tanquam in liberrimo ingenii cur- fu +.

+ Lip'us in Prefat. Doctr. Civis.

[B] Was to have been followed by a *Commentary*. The King's Licence expressly mentions this *Commentary*. Antony Covarruvias speaks of it as of a Book, which he had read, and tells us also the Disposition, and principal Parts of the Work, in his Approbation, prefixed to the Translation. Another Approbator speaks of this *Commentary* by Name. Alamos mentions it several times in his Prefaces, and promises to clear up the Obscurities of Tacitus in it: Yet Nicolas Antonio is silent in this Matter; and, what is more strange, does not so much as mention the Translation; he only tells us, That Alamos wrote Aphorisms on Tacitus.

[C] Endeavoured, in that Condition, to obtain a Licence for the Impression. I make this Observation, not to lengthen out the Article, as some Readers of precipitate Judgments may imagine. I propose a Breviate of a Case, in relation to a small Process entered against Don Nicolas Antonio, with great Appearance of Reason. He pretends that Emanuel Sueiro translated Tacitus's Works into Spanish, after Antony de Herrera had translated part of them, and after Balthazar de Alamos and Carlos Coloma had translated them entire. "Post Antonii de Herrera aliqualem, Balthazaris de

Alamos & Caroli Coloma illustrium virorum integram operam, in hujusmet autoris interpretatione positam (3)." Now, he acknowledges, that Sueiro's Translation was printed at Antwerp in 1613; and it is certain, that That of Alamos was printed at Madrid in 1614. It is the Date, which Don Nicolas Antonio gave to the Aphorisms of Alamos (4). Farther, Alamos sets down in his Preface the Reasons why he continued his Design of publishing his Tacitus, after Sueiro's Translation appeared. It is therefore, I think, impossible to vindicate Don Nicolas Antonio against the Objection of Mr Amelot de la Houssaie; which shews, says he, citing what I have just now produced, that Don Nicolas Antonio mistook, when he supposed the Translation of Emanuel Sueiro to be later than That of Alamos (5). There is but one thing to be pleaded in his Excuse, which is to say, that perhaps Sueiro was not ignorant, when he undertook his Work, that Alamos had already obtained a Licence for publishing one of the same kind, which had been read and approved by Antony Covarruvias. The News of it might reach him at Antwerp; for in the Year 1594, King Philip II. ordered Covarruvias to examine the whole Work of Alamos; and, in the Year 1603, Philip II. granted a Permission to print it. Alamos relates all this in his Advertisement to the Reader, which by the by, overthrows the Conjecture of those, who fancy that he filled the Margins of his Translation with Aphorisms, only to excel That of Sueiro (6). The Aphorisms were a principal Part of his Work, from the time, that it was approved by Antony Covarruvias.

(3) Nic. Anton. Bibl. Hispan. Tom. 1. pag. 273.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 140.

(5) Y aunque agora a via Salido otro Tacito traducido por Manuel Sueyro, no quise que dexasse de publicarse el mio, &c.

(6) Critic. Discours. de Tacitus's Morals, and before his Translation of the Annals.

ALBERTUS MAGNUS, a Dominican, Bishop of Ratisbon, and one of the most famous Doctors of the XIIIth Century, was born at Lawingen, on the Danube, in Suabia, in the Year 1193, or 1205 [A]. Moreri's Dictionary gives us an Account of the several Employs, which were conferred upon him, and the Success of his Lectures in several Towns (a). I shall confine my self to some Fabulous Reports concerning him. It has been said, that he practised the Art of Midwifery; and it was thought improper for a Person of his Profession to set up for a Man-Midwife (b). The Foundation of this Story is, That there went a Book under the Name of *Albertus Magnus*, containing several Instructions for Midwives, and so much Knowledge of their Art, that it was thought he could not have been so well skilled in the Trade, if he had not exercised it. But the *Apologists* for *Albertus Magnus* maintain, that he was not the Author of that Book [B], nor of another *De Secretis Mulierum* [C], where- in

(a) See *Likewise* Bullart, Academy of Sciences, pag. 145. and the Remark [H] below.

(1) Vossius de Scient. Math. pag. 362.

[A] In the Year 1193, or 1205. Vossius justly censures Nicolas Reusnerus, who placed the Birth of Albertus in the Year 1293, and his Death in the Year 1382; thus setting out with a Mistake: "Quæ magna na est *avspognia* peccantis in ipso operis ingressu, velut cantherius in porta, ut dici solet, nam ab hoc Alberto icones & elogia sua auspicator (1)." Thus Vossius expresses himself, without remembering that, through as great a Mistake as this, he had (page 62) placed Albertus's flourishing Condition in the Year 1160, and his Death, at Eighty seven Years of Age, in the Year 1208; and that he had made him cotemporary with Urban IV. and the Emperor Rodolphus.

[B] That he was not the Author of that Book. It is entitled, *De Natura rerum*, and treats at large, and minutely, of the Practice of Midwifery. The Author maintains, that this Subject is not unworthy the Pen of a Monk, since the Ignorance of Midwives destroys many Children, and deprives them for ever of heavenly Bliss. Peter of Prussia, a Monk of the Order of St Dominic, maintains that this Book, *De Natura rerum*, was composed by Thomas Cantipratanus, a Disciple of Albertus; and he does not deny, that several Precepts are to be met with in it, for procuring a happy Delivery, which cannot be expressed without obscene Words; But it is not Nature, he says,

but human Sensuality, which sullies these Ideas (2). "Admodum succenit in blaterones illos, qui Alberto imposuerunt quod egisset obstetricem: Falsus tamen Cantipratanus ad instructionem obstetricum, in Opere perperam supposito præceptorum ejus Alberto, tradidisse modos & vias faciles obstetricationis, cuius precepta chartis committi, nec voce tradi possunt, absque expresse Multorum quæ libido non natura foedavit (3)." It would be curious enough, to have seen Albertus Magnus undertake to deliver a Woman, and set his Hand to the Work. See the Remark [A] of the Article HIEROPHILUS.

[C] Nor of another *De Secretis mulierum*. Naudé makes use of these two Proofs: I. Albertus's Name is not prefixed to the Work; he who commented upon it would deceive us, when he maintains the contrary. II. Albertus's Authority is often made use of in this very Book; and therefore the Author lived some time after him (4). These two Proofs are inconclusive; and the Consequence drawn from the second is of no weight. Many Reasons may oblige a Man not to put his Name to a Book; and no Authors cite themselves more willingly than those, who suppress their Names; nor is any thing more common, than to quote cotemporary Authors. See the Remark [K].

(2) Petrus de Prussia in Alberti Magni vita, cap. 18.

(3) Theophilus Raynaud. Hæroth. 2. 2. Serm. 3. cap. 10. pag. 361.

(4) Naudé's Apology for Great Men, pag. 524.

in are many Things, which could not be expressed but in obscene and filthy Terms; which raised a great Clamour against the pretended Author of it. His *Apologists* cannot always have recourse to a positive Denial of Matter of Fact; They acknowledge there are some Questions in his *Commentary on the Master of the Sentences* relating to the Practice of the Conjugal Duty [D], in which he was obliged to make use of Terms, which gave Offence to chaste Ears (c); but they alledge, what he observes himself in his own Justification, that so many monstrous Things are revealed in Confession, that it is impossible not to touch upon such Questions. It is certain, that *Albertus* was the most inquisitive of Men. He exposed himself, upon that account, to other Accusations. It has been said, that he was in search of the Philosophers Stone [E]; and even that he was a notorious Magician [F], and that he had formed a Machine,

(c) Theoph. Rayn. ubi supra.

(c) The Title of the Chapter is, Quod scire naturalia etiam impudice utile sit & necessarium.

(6) Theoph. Raynaud. ubi supra.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Horat. Od. 7. lib. 3. ver. 19.

* Lib. 6.

(a) Naudé, ubi supra, pag. 515.

(10) Ibid. pag. 520.

† Lib. 2. de Auro.

‡ Lib. 3. Physic. cap. 13.

** Alchym. impugnata, lib. 2. c. 7.

† Translatu 1. cap. 9.

[D] *Some Questions — relating to the Practice of the Conjugal Duty.* Peter of Prussia, when he could not deny the Fact, endeavoured to justify the Lawfulness of it; and shews, in the eighteenth Chapter of his Book (5), *That it is useful, and even necessary, for us to be acquainted with natural Things, not excepting the most obscene; and that, therefore, Albertus and other Casuists were in the right to treat of Subjects full of Obscenity; for, without it, Confessors would not be qualified to remedy the Complaints of their Penitents.* "Qualia item multa ab Alberto de usu conjugii in 4. S. d. 31. sub finem, scripto comprehensa factur, illud ex iplo Alberto ibidem præfatus [dicendum primo, quod hujusmodi turpes quæstiones nunquam tractari deberent, nisi illa coherent monstra quæ his temporibus in confessione audiuntur] ne ergo Confessorum rudes sint medicinæ, quam facere debent adeo frequentibus morbis, justum censuit Albertus in illud oletum stylum demittere (6)." We are told, that it were to be wished, that none but Confessors would concern themselves with such Obscenities; but that there must be Books, to which we may have Recourse in Cases of Conscience, which relate to That filthy Subject. "Necessarium est enodationem solidam atque legitimam dubiorum circa fornicationes illas emergentium proflare alicubi apud probatos Doctores ejusmodi vult Albertus, qui proinde reprehensione vacat, etiam illi veluti scriptiois putorem suis commentariis immiserit (7)." But it would be yet more necessary to abolish that which makes this sort of Writings necessary, for, how good soever an Author's Intention may be, it is to Books of this Nature, rather than to numberless others, we ought to apply *Horace's*

---- Peccare docentes

----- Historias ----- (8).

---- Tales, the Bawds to Vice.

CREECH.

[E] *That he was in search of the Philosophers Stone* Naudé informs us, that *Meyer*, the great Patron of the Alchemists, was not ashamed to affirm in his *Symbols of the Golden Table of the twelve Nations* *, that St Dominic was the first who had the Knowledge of the Philosophers Stone; and that those, to whom he left it, communicated it to Albertus Magnus, who by that means cleared all the Debts of his Bishoprick of Ratisbon in less than three Years (9). *Meyer* builds his Opinion upon three Books of Chymistry, which he ascribes to Albertus Magnus. Naudé answers, that he is in the wrong to attribute them to him (10), and for this reason, because not one of them has been inserted among his Works, or specified by Trithemius; and because That of the *Quintessence* was falsely ascribed to him by Francis Picus †. To prove this last Fact, he does not imitate *Pelcurion* ‡ and *Gulbertus* **, who maintained, that Albertus laughed at Alchemists, and their pretended Transmutations, in his third Book of Minerals †. He does not alledge this Proof, since Albertus in That maintains a quite contrary Opinion; but he shews, that the Author of the *Quintessence* styles himself Monk of the Order of St Francis, and says, that he composed it, when he was in Prison. These two Circumstances must undoubtedly relate to John de Rupescissa.

[F] *That he was a notorious Magician.* Trithemius endeavoured long ago to justify him from this Accusation. This appears from these Words: "Non surrexit post eum vir similis ei, qui in omnibus literis, scientiis, & rebus tam doctus, eruditus, &

"expertus fuerit. Quod autem de Necromantiâ acculatur, injuriam patitur vir Deo dilectus (11). — There arose no one after him, who deserved to be compared to Him, for universal Knowledge and Experience. As to the Accusation of Necromancy brought against him, it is an Injury to this Favourite of Heaven." Naudé pretends, that this Accusation can only arise from two Works, which went under the Name of Albertus Magnus, and on the *Androis*. So that here are two Proofs: Let us see then what he says of each.

I. The first of these two Books is entituled, *de Mirabilibus*; the other is the *Mirror of Astrology*, which treats of the licensed and prohibited Authors, who have wrote on this Science (12). Francis Picus *, and Martin Del Rio † agree, that they do Albertus Magnus a great Injury, who believe him to be the Author of the Book of *Mirabilibus*, and therefore the latter clears him in these very Terms; "Alberto Magno tributis liber de Mirabilibus, vanitate & superstitione referuntur est, sed magno Doctore partus supposititius. — The idle and superstitious Book de Mirabilibus, ascribed to the famous Dr Albertus Magnus, is a spurious Work." The *Mirror of Astrology* "was condemned by Gerson ‡ and Agripa §, as superstitious to the highest Degree; and by Francis Picus **, and many others, because the Author of it asserts a very erroneous Opinion, in favour of Books of Magic; which, he maintains, ought carefully to be preserved, because the Time approaches, in which, for certain Reasons, which he does not specify, Men will be obliged to peruse and consult them on some Occasions (13)." It seems, then, that if our Albertus had composed such a Book, he must have been considered as a Magician; but Naudé does not allow this Consequence, since the Jesuit *Vasquez* expressly declares ††, "that Books of Magic are necessary, and that Magicians are tolerated by God, that Libertines may in some Measure be reclaimed from Atheism (14)." Besides, Naudé takes it for granted, that Roger Bacon is the Author of That Work, as Francis Picus maintains, in his first Book against Astrologers (15). So much for the first Proof of the Accusation. Let us see how the second is answered.

II. Some Persons have believed, that *brazen Heads* might be made under certain Constellations, which would give Answers, and direct a Man in all his Affairs. One *Ypes* relates **, that Henry de Villene had made one at Madrid, which was broke to pieces by the Command of John II. King of Castile. *Virgil*, *Pope Silvester*, *Robert of Lincoln*, and *Roger Bacon*, had the like Heads, if we may believe certain Writers (16). Albertus Magnus was judged to be more ingenious; for it is pretended that he "had formed an entire Man of this sort, having worked thirty Years without interruption, in forging him under divers Aspects and Constellations; as for Example, the Eyes, --- when the Sun was in a Sign of the Zodiac correspondent to such a part; which he cast of mixed Metals, and marked with the Characters of the same Signs and Planets, and of their divers and necessary Aspects; and thus the Head, Neck, Shoulders, Thighs and Legs, fashioned at different Times, and connected together in the Form of a Man, had the Ingenuity to reveal to the said Albertus the Solution of all his principal Difficulties (17)." This is what is called the *Androis* of Albertus Magnus. It was broke, they say, by Thomas Aquinas, who could not bear it's everlasting Title rattle with Patience. Henry de Aissa and Bartholomew Sibylla assure us, that it was "composed of Flesh and Bones; but by Art, not Nature: Which

(11) Trithem. de Scriptur. Eccles. p. 195.

(12) Naudé, ubi supra, p. 523, 524.

* Lib. 7. de Praenot. cap. 7.

† Disquisit. Mag. lib. 1. cap. 3.

‡ Libro de libris Astrolog. non toleratis, Proposit. 3.

§ In Epistola.

** Lib. 7. de Praenot. cap. 2.

(13) Naudé, ubi supra, pag. 525.

†† Part. 1. Q. 28. 2. Art. 3. Disp. 20. cap. 4. at the beginning.

(14) Naudé, ubi supra, pag. 527.

(15) Idem, pag. 526.

** Apud Emanuel de Moura, §. 2. cap. 15. art. 6.

(16) Naudé, ubi supra, pag. 528.

(17) Idem, pag. 529, 530.

a Machine, in the shape of a Man, which served him for an Oracle, and explained all the Difficulties, which he proposed to it. I could easily be induced to believe, that, as he understood the Mathematics, he had made a Head, which, by the help of Springs, might form certain articulate Sounds; but what Folly is it to ground an Accusation of Magic upon this? Some pretend that he was justify'd from this Imputation by an extraordinary Miracle [G]. Though he was as well qualified, as any Person, to be the Inventor of Artillery, there is Reason to believe that they, who ascribe the Invention of it to Him, are mistaken [H]. It is said (d), that he had naturally a very dull Wit, and that he was upon the point of leaving the Cloister, because he despaired of attaining to what his Fryar's Habit required of him; but that the Holy Virgin appeared to him, and asked him, in which he would chuse to excel; in Philosophy,

(d) See Vol. 1. of Bzovius's Annals.

(18) Idem, pag. 131. He cites Peregr. Quæst. 3. Decad. cap. 2. Qu. 3.

"Which being, however, judged impossible by modern Authors, and the Virtue of Images, and planetary Rings and Seals, being then in great Vogue, it has been always believed since ---- that such Figures were made of Brass, or of some other Metal, which was fashioned under the Influence of Heaven, and of the Planets (18). Upon this foot Naudé refutes Albertus's Accusers; namely, by supposing, that the pretended *Androïds* was composed of Metal. He shews, by very strong Reasons, that it could neither hear, nor speak, nor serve the Devil as an Instrument for Speech; and that, if the Devil had spoke through this Machine, he would have done it without the help of the metallic Organs, of which it was composed. So that it would not have been necessary to employ so much Time, and so many Ceremonies, in forging such a Machine; A Bottle or a Trumpet would have been as proper to resolve all the Difficulties of Albertus. Lastly, Naudé remarks, that They, who mention this *Androïds*, bring no Proof of the Fact. *Tostatus*, notwithstanding all his Wit and Learning, was very credulous; therefore his Authority proves nothing. If any one will maintain, that such a Tradition must have some Foundation, Naudé assigns a very plausible one (19), which is, that Albertus might perhaps have in his Closet a Head, or Statue of a Man, like those Machines of *Bœthius*, of which *Cassiodorus* speaks: "Metalla mugiant, Diomedes in ære grues buccinant, æneus anguis infibilat, aves simulatæ frutinnunt, & quæ propriam vocem nesciunt ab ære dulcedinem probantur emittere cantilenæ. — Metals bellow; Diomedes's Cranes chatter in Brass; A brazen Serpent hisses; Imitated Birds chirp; and Things, which have no Voice of their own, are found, in Brass, to counterfeit the Sweetness of singing."

(19) Naudé, ubi supra, p. 539, 540.

††† Lib. 1. Variar. Ep. 45.

[G] He was justified from this Imputation by an extraordinary Miracle.] According to Father Theophilus Raynaud, the Accusers of Albertus say, that, on Twelfth-day, he treated William Earl of Holland, and King of the Romans, who pass by the City of Cologne; and that, to make his Entertainment the more remarkable, he changed the Winter into a Summer full of Flowers and Fruits. "Horridam hyemem in florigeram fructiferamque æstatem vertit, ut scribit Trithemius in Chron. Spanh. anno 1254." (20). Trithemius in effect relates this. They add to this the speaking Head, the Book of *Mirabilibus*, and That of *secretis mulierum*. Father Theophilus does not refute these Accusations by the Elogies, which several Historians bestow upon the Virtues of the Accused. He has recourse to the Testimony, which God himself gave of the Sanctity of Albertus by several miraculous Operations, and by preserving his Body from Corruption to this Day: *Testimonium quod ejus sanctitati Deus perhibuit patris in ejus gratiam miris plerisque operibus, & ipsius Alberti corpore ad hunc usque diem à tæbe & putrefactione exempto*. This Apologist adds, that the Metamorphosis of Winter into Summer, and the speaking Head, are two great Falsities; and that the two Books in Question are falsely attributed to Albertus Magnus; and that St Thomas does not say *, that he formerly broke the speaking Head, in his Master's House. Hyems in veris amenitatem versâ, & caput æneum articulate loquens, ad Deum Fabulinum fuit aleganda tanquam confecta & falso jactata de tanto viro --- libri autem Magici, qui Alberto affingebantur, sunt supposititii (21). See what this Jesuit relates of certain Machines, which utter very harmonious Sounds. He will allow, that Albertus might have a Head so ingeniously contrived, that

the Air, which was blown into it, might receive the Modifications requisite to form a human Voice. As to the Exemption from Putrefaction, read the following Extract from Thevet; "Our Albertus, having lived Eighty seven Years, died in the Year of our Redemption 1280, at Cologne, whither he had retired to Study; and there his Body is buried, in the middle of the Quire of the Convent of the Dominicans, and his Entrails were carried to Ratisbon; his Body was yet entire in the Time of the Emperor Charles V. and was taken up by his Command, and afterwards replaced in its first Monument (22). The Jesuit Raderus wrote some Latin Verses on the Preservation of his Body from Putrefaction (23). They end thus;

Illius doctas mirentur sæcula chartas,
Miror ego salvas post tria sæcla manus

Let the famed Writings of the world's Sage (24)
The Admiration prove of every Age;
Thy learned Hands, Albertus, I admire,
After Three Centuries preserved entire.

Moreri says but Two hundred Years, instead of Three hundred. Neither his usual Practice, nor his Disposition, incline him to lessen Things of this Nature.

[H] They, who ascribe the Invention of it to him, are mistaken.] "John Matthew de Luna", who liv'd "above an Hundred and twenty Years ago (25), maintains, though against the constant Opinion of *Polydorus, Magius, Mayer, Pancirolus, Florentius, Rivault, and Bezoldus*, that Albertus Magnus found out the Use of great Guns, Fusils, and Pistols; but I cannot find, in all those Authors, any thing which comes near this Opinion, except that the Experiment was made of these Engines in his Time, by a German Monk, whom they call *Bertbold Schurix*, or by a Chymist, who, in the Judgment of *Carnaxanus*, an ancient Author, liv'd in the City of Cologne, in which it is certain that Albertus continu'd to reside, after he took the Habit of a Dominican (26). Thus Naudé refutes John Matthew de Luna. The last thing he asserts is false; for the Historians of Albertus tell us, That he enter'd into the Order of St Dominic, in the Year 1222; That, after his Superiors had sent him to Cologne, to teach Divinity and Philosophy, and he had acquitted himself of that Employment to the astonishment of his Auditors, he distinguish'd himself at Hildeheim, at Friburg, at Ratisbon, and at Strasburg; that he return'd to Cologne, in the Year 1240; that, among other Disciples, he had Thomas Aquinas there, to whom he resign'd his Chair, when he went to profess in the City of Paris; that, having taught three Years at Paris, he return'd to Cologne; that he was made Provincial of his Order, in the Year 1254; that he perform'd the Visitation of the Provinces on Foot; that he went to Rome, by order of Alexander IV, where he was made Master of the Sacred Palace, and read Divinity Lectures; that he returned into Germany in the Year 1260; that he was elected Bishop of Ratisbon there; that, at three Years end, he obtained leave to resign his Bishoprick; that he return'd to his Cell at Cologne; that the Pope commanded him, a little while after, to preach the Crusade all over Germany and Bohemia; that, in 1274, he assisted at the Council of Lyons; that he had the Character of the Emperor's Ambassador there; and that, at last, he returned to Cologne (27). How could Naudé, who was so deeply read, be ignorant of these several Stations of Albertus Magnus?

(22) Thevet's Hommes Illustres, Tom. 2. pag. 87.

(23) Bullart, Academy of Sciences, Tom. 2. pag. 147. mentions them.

(24) i. e. Aristotile.

* Libro de Rerum invent. cap. 12. fol. 10.

(25) These are Naudé's Words, pag. c18. of his Apology for Great Men, Paris 1625.

(26) Moreri, in the end of this, tests only of Gun-Powder, of which Naudé says nothing.

(27) See Bullart's Academy of Sciences, Tom. 2. pag. 146, &c.

(20) Theophil. Rayn. Hystor. 5. 2. Serm. 1. cap. 14. pag. 149.

* III. contra Gent. cap. 104.

(21) Theophil. Raynaud. p. 150.

losofhy, or Divinity; that he made choice of Philofophy; that the Holy Virgin affured him he fhould furpafs all Men in that Science; but that, as a Punifhment for his not chufing Divinity, he fhould, before his Death, relapse into his former Stupidity. They add farther, That, after this Apparition, he fhewed a prodigious deal of Wit, and improved in all Sciences, with a Quicknefs, which aftonifhed all his Mafter; but that, Three Years before his Death, he forgot, in an instant, all that he knew; and that, being at a ftand, in a Lecture of Divinity at *Cologne*, and endeavouring in vain to recal his Ideas, he was fenfible that it was the Accomplifhment of the Prediction. Whence it was faid, the he was miraculoufly converted from an Afs into a Philofopher, and afterwards from a Philofopher into an Afs. It is needlefs to obferve that this is a meer Story; they who will believe me in this, ftand in no need of my Opinion, and would form this Judgment without expecting it; and as for thofe, who judge otherwife of it, they will not change their own Opinion, by finding here, that I am of a different. Our *Albertus* was a very little Man [1]. He died at *Cologne*, the 15th of *November* 1280, being Eighty feven or Seventy five Years old. He wrote fuch a prodigious number of Books, that they amount to twenty one Volumes in Folio, in the Edition of *Lions*, 1651. A *Dominican* of *Grenoble*, called *Peter Jammy*, procured it.

Two or three Particulars, which have been communicated to me (e), fhall be produced below [K].

(c) By Mr de la Monnoie.

[1] Our *Albertus* was a very little Man.] "Some write, That, kifling his Holinefs's Feet, upon his Arrival at *Rome*, the Pope commanded him to rife, "thinking he was yet on his Knees; though he was "really ftanding (28)." The fame Story is told of fome other Perfons. See the Remark [H], of the Article *ANDRE* (JOHN); and remember the Logicians Diftribution between *quantitas molis*, and *quantitas virtutis*. Little *Albert* the Great puts me in mind of it (29).

(28) Id. ib. pag. 148.

(29) The non eft in tanto corpore mica falis, carnes the fame Diftribution.

(31) Simler. Epitome Biblioth. Gefn. pag. 332.

[K] Particulars, which fhall be producd below.] "The Book *De Secretis Mulierum*, falſely alcribed to "*Albertus*, is the Work of one of his Difciples, "named *Henry of Saxony*; under whoſe Name it has "been printed ſeveral times. Theſe are *Simler's* "Words: — *Henrici de Saxonia Alberti Magni* "discipuli liber de ſecretis mulierum, impreſſus Au- "guſtæ anno D. 1498, per Antonium Sorg (30). — "Henry of Saxony, the Diſciple of *Albertus* Mag-

nus, his Book *De Secretis Mulierum*, printed at "Ausborg, in 1498, by A. Sorg. — And in *Thua-* "nus's Catalogue you meet with — *Henrici de Saxo-* "nia de ſecretis mulierum, de virtutibus herbarum, "lapidum, quorundam animalium, aliorumque in 120, "Francof. 1615 (31). — Henry of Saxony, of the "Secrets of Women, of the Virtues of Herbs, Stones, "of ſome Animals, and other Things, in 120, France- "fort, 1615. — *Albertus's* Name being more fa- "mous than That of Henry, plainly gave occaſion "to this Suppoſition. — *John Picus de Mirandula*, "ſays, That *Albertus*, in his riper Years, condemn'd "the Books of Magic, which he had compos'd in "his Youth. — *Andriæ* is not the Term made uſe "of, when they ſpeak of *Albertus Magnus's* Artificial "Man. It is a Word abſolutely unknown, and in- "vented by *Naudé*, who boldly applies it, as if it "had been generally received."

(31) In the 156th Page of the ſecond Part.

ALBRET, a Family. It was, for ſome Ages, one of the moſt Illuſtrious of *France*, for the great Men it produced, whoſe Merit was diſtinguiſhed by the moſt Eminent Dignities of the Kingdom. Every one knows that this Family was in poſſeſſion of *Navarre* and *Bearn*. *Moreri* ſpeaks of it at large; I refer my Readers to him, without examining into the Truth of every thing he has advanced in relation to it. I ſhall only take Notice of one Omiſſion; Namely that this illuſtrious Houſe was extinguiſh'd by the Death of the Marquis *d'Albret* (a) who was killed in *Picardy*, in the Houſe of the Marquis *de Buſſi-Lamet*. He married the only Daughter of his Uncle, the Mareſchal *d'Albret*, in the Year 1662; but this Marriage produced no Children. It is probable the Mareſchal conſulted the Interests of his Family, more than the Inclinations of the two Couſins; for it is ſaid, there was but little Harmony between the Huſband and the Wife. She married again with the Count *de Marſan*, one of the Sons of the Count *d'Harcourt*. Her firſt Huſband, the Marquis *d'Albret*, was in a fair way of being advanced to the Chief Military Offices: He was already Field-Mareſchal, and would have ended the Campaign, of 1678, under Mareſchal *Schomberg*, who was ſent to the Frontiers of *Champagne*, in the beginning of the Month of *Auguſt*. Whiſt his Flying Camp drew near *Charleville*, the Marquis *d'Albret* demanded of him a Furlough for a few Days. It was not queſtioned, but it was upon an Affair of Gallantry. However it be, he was ſlain at the above mentioned Gentleman's Houſe, who cleared himſelf by proving, that he was then in another place (b). This was the Bed of Honour, in which the only remaining Branch of ſuch a line of Heroes ended his Life. His Family deſerved to end on a more glorious Occaſion. The Marſhal *d'Albret* died Governor of *Guienne*, two Years before. He had obtained the Staff of Mareſchal of *France* in 1653. They, who pretend that he earned it by ſecuring the Prince of *Condé*, are ignorant of the Matter of Fact. It was not he, (but Mr *de Guिताуд*) who arreſted him (c): He only conduſted the Prince to *Bois de Vincennes*. He commanded, at that Time, the *Gendarmes* of the Guard. He learned the Trade of War in *Holland*, and was called the Count *de Moſſens*. It is under this Name that he is ſo greatly celebrated by Mr *de St Evreumont* (d). He was Knighted the firſt of *January*, 1662, and made Governor of *Guienne* in the Month of *November*, 1670. In 1645, he married *Magdalen de Guenegaud*, youngſt Daughter of *Gabriel de Guenegaud*, the King's Treafurer (e). He was one of *Scarron's* Heroes, as appears evidently from that Writer's Works.

(a) His Name was Charles Arminieu d'Albret.

(b) See the 120th Letter of Buſſi-Rabutin, part 1. p. 8. 202. Edit. Holl.

(c) See Benjaminus Priolus de Rebus Gallicis, lib. 5. c. 3.

(d) See St Evreumont's Miscellaneous Works, Tom. 2. pag. 71, 77, &c. Edit. Holl. 1693.

(e) See Faſtes An. ſeime, Tom. 2. p. 283.

ALBUNEA, a Famous Place (a), near *Tibur* in *Italy*. See the last Remark of the Article *TIBUR*. (2) *Al. præf. Tivoli.*

ALBUTIUS SILUS (CAIUS) a Famous Orator in the Reign of *Augustus*, was born at *Novara*, and had raised himself there to the Office of *Ædile*; but quitted his Post on occasion of an Insult offered him by some Persons, who had lost their Cause. He was their Judge, and gave Sentence against them; upon which they dragged him by his Feet from the Tribunal. This Affront induced him to leave his Country immediately, and repair to *Rome*; where he became acquainted with the Orator *Munacius Plancus*. Emulation breeding ill blood between them, he set up a separate Auditor; and at last ventured to plead Causes. He met with some Disgraces at the Bar [A], which obliged him to quit it. Being old, and troubled with an Imposthume, he returned to *Novara*, where, assembling the People, he represented to them, in a long Speech, the Reasons, which gave him a disrelish of Life, and then starved himself to death (a). *Seneca* the Father, who had often heard him plead, gives an ample Account of him, and recites several Abstracts from his Speeches (b). He commends him as one, who would neither suffer, nor do an Injury; and this he calls the highest degree of Probity; *Homo summæ probitatis, qui nec facere injuriam, nec pati sciret*. *Seneca*, the Philosopher, would have defined the Nature of Probity better. *Albuntius* composed a Treatise of Rhetoric, as may easily be inferred from a Passage of *Quintilian* (c).

(a) *Albuntius non obliuiscens Prætoris atque auctor, Scientiam bonæ dicendi esse contentat (Rhetoricam).* *Albuntius, præ eminenti Poëta, fide et Audacia, alibi Rhetoricæ in de the Science of speaking.* *well Quint. Instit. lib. 2. cap. 5.*

(a) *Sueton. de Clar. Rhetor. c. 6.*

(b) *Seneca, Præf. lib. 3. Controuert. & alibi passim.*

[A] *He met with some Disgraces at the Bar.* It happened, once, that he address'd himself to his Adversary in these Words, intending nothing more by them, than a fine Rhetorical Figure, *Senar by the Alps, and by the Memory of your Father, and you shall gain your Cause.* After he had illustrated and set off the Thought to the best Advantage, the Advocate on the other side reply'd, *We accept the Condition.* *Albuntius* answered, that he intended to offer no such Terms; that it was only a rhetorical Figure, and that all figurative Expressions must be excluded, if Things were thus taken literally. The other Advocate reply'd, That Men could live without these Figures, and that they might be banish'd, with all his Heart. The

Judges gave it for the Oath, and *Albuntius* lost his Cause, for a rhetorical Flourish. He was so vex'd at it, that he renounc'd the Profession (1). The same Account is given of it by *Suetonius*; "Cum, in lite quadam centum virali ab aduersario, quem ut impium erga parentes inessebat, jururandum quasi per figuram sic obtulisset; Jura per patris matrisque cineres, qui inconditi jacent, & alia in hunc modum: arripiente eo conditionem, nec judicibus aspernantibus, non sine magna sui inuidia negotium affixit" (2). From that Time, Masters have recommended to their Disciples not to apply these Figures unseasonably (3).

(1) *Seneca, Præf. lib. 3. Controu.*

(2) *Sueton. de Claris Rhetor. c. 6.*

(3) *Quintil. lib. 5. c. 2.*

ALBUTIUS (TITUS) a Philosopher of the *Epicurean* Sect, went, in his Youth, from *Rome* to *Athens*, and gained such a Taste for the Manners of the *Greeks*, that he was fonder of passing for a *Greek*, than a *Roman* (a); which occasioned a Jest of *Scævola* [A], to which *Lucilius* gave a very malicious turn in one of his Satires, as we learn from *Cicero* (b). The same Author informs us, I. That *Albuntius* was a zealous *Epicurean* (c), and that he would have been a better Orator, had he been less attached to the Sect of *Epicurus* (d). II. That he was well versed in the *Greek* Learning (e), and that he published some Harangues (f). III. That he had served in some of the Offices of the Republic; that he governed *Sardinia* in the Quality of *Pro-Prætor* (g); and that he could

(a) *Ibid.*

(b) *Ibid.*

(c) *Ibid. de Provinc. Consul. cap. 7. & in Pisonem, cap. 38.*

(a) *Cicero in Bruto, cap. 26, 35.*

(b) *Id. l. 1. de Finib. cap. 3.*

(c) *Id. lib. 1. de Nat. Deorum, cap. 33.*

(d) *Id. in Bruto, cap. 26, 35.*

[A] *A Jest of Scævola.* It consisted in this; when he received a Visit from *Albuntius* at *Athens*, he saluted him in *Greek*, and made all his Attendants salute him in the same Language. The Ridicule cannot be conceived without thinking on the Action itself. *Cicero*, upon this Occasion, expresses himself thus. "Res vero bonas verbis electis graviter ornate: que dictatas quis non legat nisi qui se planè Græcum dici velit, ut à *Scævola* est *Prætor* salutatus *Athenis* " *Albuntius*, quem quidem locum cum multa venustate & omni sale idem *Lucilius*, apud quem præclare *Scævola*,

Hence, when at Athens, once 'tis known to Fame
To visit me, a *Prætor* there, you came,
Χαῖρε, O *Titus*! was my Compliment,
And Χαῖρε, *Titus*! thro' the Circle went.
— The Jest too keen *Albuntius* could not bear,
And Wit divided the once friendly Pair.

In this Passage *Cicero* expressly declares, That *Albuntius* was, at that Time, *Prætor* at *Athens*, and yet the Verbes of *Lucilius* testify, that *Albuntius*, upon visiting *Scævola*, was saluted in *Greek*, and in a bantering manner; which offended him, and made him *Scævola*'s Enemy. Is it not very evident, that, according to *Lucilius*, it was *Scævola*, and not *Albuntius*, who was then *Prætor*? Had *Albuntius* been *Prætor*, he would have received, not made Visits; or if he had made any, he would not have met with so satirical a Reception. It is therefore surprizing, take it which way you will, either that *Cicero* should say, that *Albuntius* was *Prætor*; or, if he said that *Scævola* was, as it is very likely he did, that the Error, which has crept into the Editions, has never been corrected. It ought to be read, as à *Scævola* est *Prætor* salutatus *Athenis* *Albuntius* (2); and not, as à *Scævola* est *Prætor* salutatus *Athenis* *Albuntius*. Mr *Dacier* cites these Verbes of *Lucilius*, and translates them in such a manner, as to declare, that *Scævola* was *Prætor* at *Athens*, when he derided *Albuntius*, who was come to pay his court to him (3). *Corradus* thinks, that *Albuntius* studied at *Athens*, and that *Scævola* pass'd through it, in his Way to *Rhodes*, as mentioned in the first Book of *Orators* (4).

(2) *Corradus, in Bruto Cicero-nis, pag. 189. would have it corrected thus. Other Critics are of the same Opinion. See the Cicero of Mr Gronovius.*

(3) *Dacier on Horace, Sat. 2. lib. 2. pag. 221. Edit. Holl.*

(4) *Corradus ubi supra.*

Græcum te, *Albuti*, quam Romanum atque *Sabinum* Municipem *Ponti*, *Titii*, *Anni*, *Centurionum*, *Pæclarorum* hominum ac primorum signiferumque, Maluisti dici. Græce ergo *Prætor* *Athenis* Id quod maluisti, te, cum ad me accedi: saluto: Χαῖρε, inquam, *Tite*: *Lictores*, turma omni, cohorsq; Χαῖρε. Hinc hostis *Mui* *Albuntius*, hinc inimicus (1).

— Who would refuse to read a good Subject treated of with Weight and Beauty, and in choice Phrases; but one, who plainly affects the Manners of Greece: such as *Albuntius*; who, when he was *Prætor* at *Athens*, was saluted in *Greek* by *Scævola*; a Circumstance represented with great Elegance and Wit by the Poet *Lucilius*, who introduces *Scævola* addressing himself thus to *Albuntius*:

So fond of Grecian Customs was you grown,
That you ador'd the Citizen of *Rome*.

(b) Cicero
Tuscul. 5.
cap. 37.

could not obtain from the Senate the Proceſſion [B] which he deſired, to thank the Gods for his Exploits; that he was accuſed of Bribery and Corruption [C], and baniſhed [D]; and that he went to philoſophize at Athens (b). *ſcarvola's* Jeſt ſowed the Seeds of Diſcord between

[B] That he could not obtain from the Senate the Proceſſion, &c.] Cicero relates this, in order to deprive the Friends of *Gabinus* and *Piſo* of the Conſolation they drew from it. He ſhews them that the Caſes were not parallel: "Hac conſolatione utuntur, etiam T. Albutio ſupplicationem hunc ordinem denegalle, quod eſt primum diſſimile: Res in Sardinia cum maſtrucatis latrunculis à Proprietore una cohorte auxiliana gella, & bellum cum maximis Syriæ gentibus ac tyrannis conſulari exercitu imperioque conſectum. Deinde Albutius, quod à Senatu petebat, ipſe ſibi in Sardinia ante decreverat: Conſtabat enim, Græcum hominem ac levem in ipſa provincia quaſi triumphaffe. Itaque hanc ejus temeritatem Senatus ſupplicatione denegata notavit (5). — They comfort themſelves with this Reflexion, that Titus Albutius was denied a public Thankſgiving by the Senate; but there is a manifeſt Diſparity between the two Caſes; firſt, between the Tranſactions of a Pro-Prætor in Sardinia, with but one auxiliary Cohort, and a War with the greateſt Nations and Kings of Syria, carried on and finiſhed with a conſular Force. In the next place, Albutius had decreed himſelf, in Sardinia, the very Thing he petitioned the Senate for: For it is well known, that this Mimic of Greece, this Triſter, celebrated a kind of Triumph in That Province. The Senate therefore branded this his Preſumption with the reſuſal of a public Thankſgiving." It is thought, that Albutius commanded in Sardinia, in the Year of Rome, 639 (6).

(c) Father
Prouſt in his
Commentary
in ſum Del-
phini, on Ci-
cero de Ca-
ris Oratori-
bus.

(c) Cicero in
Bruto.

(8) Corradus
in Bruto
Ciceronis,
pag. 189.
Douza in
Luciliū,
pag. 99.

(9) Cicero,
Divinat. in
Verrem.

(10) Id. ib.

[C] That he was accuſed of Bribery and Corruption] The following Paſſage puts this paſt diſpute; "Mutius autem Augur, quod pro ſe opus erat, ipſe dicebat, ut de pecuniis repetundis contra T. Albutium. Is oratorum in numero non fuit; juris civilis intelligentia, atque omni prudentiæ genere præſtanti (7). — The Augur Mutius (*ſcarvola*) ſpoke, in perſon, to what regarded himſelf; as in the Accuſation of Bribery and Corruption againſt T. Albutius. He was not an Orator; but excell'd in a thorough Knowledge of the Civil Law." It is not very certain, that Mutius *ſcarvola* was the Accuſer: I ſhould chufe to ſay, that he was only concern'd in the Cauſe, and obliged to clear up, or maintain, ſome Point, which related to it, and was part of the Accuſation againſt the Defendant. He had Eloquence enough for a thing of this nature; but otherwiſe he was no Orator; as plainly appears from the Words I have quoted. Some Critics prefer this reading; *Mutius autem Augur, quod opus erat, per ſe ipſe dicebat* (8); with all my Heart; this reading will ſtill leave room to conjecture, that *ſcarvola* was only accidentally engaged in the Cauſe, and ſpoke but to ſome particular Circumſtance of it. This Conjecture, which I ſhall mention again in the Remark [F], is ſtrongly confirmed by a Reaſon, which Cicero alledg'd againſt the Perſon, who conteſted with him the Right of accuſing *Verres*. He ſays, That *Caius Julius*, having a like Diſpute with *Cneius Pompeius*, in the Affair of Albutius, made uſe of two Arguments; the one was, that Pompey had been Quæſtor to Albutius; the other, that the Inhabitants of Sardinia had deſired him to accuſe Albutius (9). It was adjudg'd, that Pompey ſhould not be the Accuſer. This Office, therefore, remained with *Caius Julius*. The Reader, if he knew it not before, may learn from hence, by the way, that the Romans did not approve, that a ſuperior Magiſtrate ſhould be accuſed by his Subaltern. "Neque fere unquam venit in contentione de accuſando qui Quæſtor fuiſſet, quin repudiaretur. Itaque neque L. Philoni in C. Servilium nominis deferendi poteſtas eſt data, neque M. Aurelio Scaro in L. Flaccum, neque Cn. Pompejo in T. Albutium: Quorum nemo propter indignitatem repudiatus eſt, ſed ne libido violandæ neceſſitudinis autoritate judicium comprobaretur (10). — No Quæſtor ever demanded the Right of Accuſation, but he was rejected. Thus L. Philo was denied the Liberty of accuſing C. Servilius, M. Aurelius Scarus of accuſing L. Flaccus, and Cn. Pompeius of accuſing T. Albutius: None of which were ſet aſide as unworthy; but, leſt the Authority of the Judges ſhould ſeem to countenance an Inclina-

tion to violate the Laws of Relation or Friendſhip." Apuleius ſeems to confute what I have endeavoured to prove; for he ſays, in his ſecond Apology, That C. Mutius accuſed A. Albutius. But it is eaſy to answer this Objection; for, on the one ſide, the Perſons of whom Apuleius ſpeaks, have different Names from thoſe whom I am here ſpeaking of; and, on the other, what Apuleius ſays of his C. Mutius cannot be applied to our *ſcarvola*. It is certain that our Albutius's Name was Titus, and not Aulus, and that our *ſcarvola* was called Quintus Mutius; and, as he was Augur, he was often denoted by that Office; Quintus Mutius *ſcarvola* Augur. The Accuſer, whom Apuleius ſpeaks of, was a young Man, who then made his firſt Appearance at the Bar. "Neque autem gloriæ cauſa me accuſat, ut M. Antonius Cn. Carbonem, C. Mutius A. Albutium — quippe homines eruditiffimi juvenes laudis gratiâ primum hoc rudimentum forenſis operæ ſubstant, ut aliquo inſigni judicio civibus ſuis noſcerentur, qui moſ incipientibus adoleſcentibus ad illuſtrandum ingenii ſtorem apud antiquos conſeſſus, diu exolevit (11). — He does not accuſe me, with a view of eſtabliſhing a Reputation, as M. Antonius did, when he accuſed Cn. Carbo, and C. Mutius, in his Accuſation of A. Albutius. — Theſe were young Gentlemen of promiſing Genius, who, ambitious of Fame, made theſe firſt Eſſays at the Bar, in order to diſtinguiſh themſelves by ſome notable Cauſe to their Fellow Citizens: A Practice, which the Ancients allowed in Youth, at their firſt ſetting out, to diſplay their opening Talents; but is now diſuſed." This does not agree with our Mutius *ſcarvola*: He was Conſul in the Year of Rome 636 (12); he was old, when Cicero was but eighteen Years of Age, that is to ſay, in the Year of Rome 665; and Albutius was not accuſed, till after his return from Sardinia, where he was Pro-Prætor, in the Year 649. See the following Remark. Perhaps the Tranſcribers of Apuleius have by degrees chang'd C. Julius into C. Mutius. It is certain, that C. Julius was the Accuſer of Albutius, and, if Apuleius had nam'd him, he would have been exact in this reſpect; but he cannot be juſtified in what he advances, that all the Accuſers, he names, were young Adventurers, who endeavour'd to ſignalize their ſetting out in the World, by ſome famous Cauſe. He borrows all theſe Examples from Cicero, as the famous *Grævius* has judiciously obſerved (13); why then does he reduce them all to one Species, ſince Cicero ranks them under different Claſſes (14)? Is it not, becauſe they would not have ſerv'd his purpoſe, if they had been divided? This is a fruitful Source of Falsifications in matters of Faſts. If they do not ſuit an Author's Purpoſe, as they ſtand, it is by turning and wreſting them as he pleaſes, and they answer his Intention.

(11) Apul.
Apolog. 2.

(12) Cicero
in Lælio, at
the beginning.

(13) Grævi-
us, Notus in
Ciceron. de
Offic. lib. 2.
cap. 14.

(14) He al-
lleges his Ac-
cuſation as
giving Ver-
res as one
Example: Therefore he
did not pretend to cite
only theſe,
who had it
up for Accu-
ſers in their
Youth.

(15) Cicero
in Pilonem.

(16) Id. lib.
5. Tuſculan.
cap. 37.

[D] And baniſh'd.] We do not meet with this in the ſame Paſſages of Cicero, where Albutius's Trial is mentioned, and it muſt not be wonder'd at; for, when an Author does not write the Life of a Man, he ſays no more of him, than what relates to the Subject in hand. When Cicero took ſome notice of Albutius's Trial, he had only in view the Perſons who had ſpoke, or intended to ſpeak, againſt the Accuſed; it was not, therefore, neceſſary, that he ſhould mention the Iſſue of the Cauſe. When he ſpoke of Albutius's Banishment, his only aim was to ſhew the good Uſe a Man may make of his Exile; and therefore it was not neceſſary to remark the Cauſe of Albutius's Banishment. It is our Buſineſs to weave theſe different Paſſages into one Contexture; by which means we ſhall find, that Albutius, having been accuſed of Corruption, upon the Petition of the Inhabitants of Sardinia, was condemn'd, and baniſh'd. Albutius, cum in Sardinia triumphaffet, Romæ damnatus eſt (15). — Albutius, after he had triumphed in Sardinia, was condemn'd at Rome. — Quid T. Albutius, nonne animo æquiffimo Athenis exul philoſophabatur? Cui tamen illud ipſum non accidit, ſi in republica quieſcens Epicuri legibus paruiſſet (16). — Did not Titus Albutius philoſophize, with great calmneſs of Mind, at Athens; which he could not have done, had he ſtaid at home, and obey'd the Laws of Epicurus? Gaſſendus cited this

between them [F]. The Dictionaries are not free from Faults upon this Subject [F].

I do

this Passage very ill; for, instead of *fi in republica* — *parisset*, he gave it, *nisi in republica* — *parisset*

(17) Gaffend. de Vita Epic. lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 188. in Folio. *where the Citations in the Margin are very erroneous.*

(18) Cicero, Divin. in Verrem.

(19) Sueton. in Julio, cap. 55.

(17) They, who require a Proof of my Assertion, that *Albutius* was accused, at the Petition of the Inhabitants of *Sardinia*, may find one in the following Words. "Julius hoc secum authoritatis ad accusandum afferbat, quod, ut hoc tempore nos ab Siculis, sic tum ille ab Sardinis rogatus ad causam accesserat" (18). — Julius claim'd the Right of Accusation, upon this Authority, that he undertook the Cause, at the Request of the Sardinians, as we do now at the Request of the People of Sicily." To which may be added these Words of the 14th Chapter of the 2d Book de Officiis: *Aut patrocinio, at nos pro Siculis, pro Sardinis Julius*. So we must read it with *Lambinus*; or *pro Sardinis contra Albutium Julius*, with *Manutius*. Consult *Suetonius* (19).

[E] *Scævola's Jest sow'd the Seeds of Discord between them.* This is what *Lucilius* particularly took notice of in his Satires,

Hinc hostis Muti Albutius, hinc inimicus.

A Jest divided the once friendly Pair.

A learned Man believes, that they were frequently engaged on contrary Sides, particularly in the Cause of *Granius*, accused by *Albutius*, and defended by *Mutius*. He says, that at least, *Mutius* was much pleased, that *Granius* was acquitted. He proves this by a Passage of *Cicero*, to which he confesses that others give a different Explication; to wit, That *Albutius* accused *Mutius* of Corruption. "Sape inter se dissentirent" & contenderent; ut, quum *Albutius* *Granium* oppugnabat, & *Mutius* eum defendebat, certe illo absoluto gaudebat, ut libro secundo de Oratore scriptum videbis, quamvis aliter alii verba illa sint interpretati, & putant ipsum *Scævola* ab *Albutio* de pecuniis repetundis accusatum fuisse, quod ut nos de viro tali credamus adduci non possumus (20)." I can neither reconcile myself to the Sense, which this Critic rejects, nor to that which he approves. I should rather think *Cicero* meant, that *Scævola* was concern'd in the Process of Corruption, entered against *Albutius*; and so far concern'd, that the Justification of *Albutius* was to result from His Condemnation. I suppose, in consequence of this Conjecture, that *Scævola's* Cause depended upon that of *Albutius*, and that from hence it was that he pass'd for *Albutius's* Accuser. He was acquitted, I suppose, honourably; which occasioned the Conviction of *Albutius*. I suppose farther, that the latter appeal'd to the Crier *Granius's* Registers, in order to convict *Scævola*, and that his Proof was judg'd insufficient. *Granius* was pleas'd at *Scævola's* Acquittal, and was rallied as if he had rejoic'd, that the Judges had no regard to his Books, or his verbal Processes. This I take to be the Import of *Cicero's* Words, "Bella etiam est familiaris reprehensio quasi errantis, ut quum objurgavit *Albutius* *Granium*, quod quum ejus tabulis quiddam *Albutio* probatum videretur, & valde absoluto *Scævola* gauderet, neque intelligeret contra suas tabulas esse judicatum (21)." If any other Proof is required of the Enmity between *Albutius* and *Scævola*, I can add, that *Lucilius* introduced *Scævola* jelling upon *Albutius's* Style (22). I should be glad to know whence Father *Proust* had it, that *Lucilius's* Anger against our *Scævola* proceeded from the Affection he had for *Albutius*, against whom *Scævola* had pleaded (23). If *Lucilius* was *Albutius's* Friend, he verily'd the Maxim, *That a Jeffer prefers his Jest to his Friend*;

(20) Corradus in Brutum Cicero, lib. 2. cap. 185.

(21) Cicero, lib. 2. de Orat. c. 70.

(22) See below the Remark [G].

(23) Proust Comment. in Cicero, de Orat. lib. 2. n. 72. in usum Delphini.

— dummodo risum
Excusati sibi, non hic cuiquam parcat amico (24);

for we have seen how this Satirist diverted himself at the Expence of *Albutius*.

[F] *The Dictionaries are not free from Faults upon this Subject.* I. *Charles Stephens* pretends, that *Varro* spoke of our *Titus Albutius*, as of a Poet, who had wrote Satires after *Lucilius's* Manner, *Lucilian Style*. But, when we consult *Varro*, we find that he speaks of one *Lucius Albutius*. "Nonne item *Lucius Albutius*, homo (ut fecitis) apprime doctus, cuius *Lucilia* no characterē sunt libelli, dicebat, in Albano fundum suum patibundus semper vinci à villa, agrum enim

"minus dena millia reddere, villam plus vicena (25)?" — Did not *Lucius Albutius*, a very learned Man (as you know) and whose Writings are in the Style and Manner of *Lucilius*, say, that the Revenue of his Farm at *Alba* was scarce half that of his Villages? II. It is not true, that *Lucilius* laugh'd at *Albutius* as one, who intermix'd Greek with Latin Words; *Charles Stephens* did not take the Poet's Meaning; he fancied that the *χαιψα* belongs to *Albutius*; whereas it must be refer'd to *Scævola*, and his Attendants. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have not corrected these two Faults. Observe, that I do not pretend to deny, that *Albutius* intermix'd Greek Phrases with Latin. III. What *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman* suppose, is very precarious; to wit, That the Father of the Witch *Canidia* was the same *Albutius*, spoken of in the second Satire of the second Book of *Horace*. Mr *Dacier* believes they are two *Albutius's* (26). IV. These three Dictionary-Writers are mistaken, when they take the *Albutius* of the second Satire of the second Book of *Horace* for a downright Miser. We shall soon see the contrary. V. *Moreri* is mistaken, when he fancies, that the *Albutius*, whom *Cicero* speaks of, in the beginning of the first Book de *Finibus*, is not the same with him, whom he mentions in the first Book de *Naturâ Deorum*, and in the fifth Book of the *Tusculan* Questions. VI. It is not true that *Horace* says, That there was an *Albutius*, the most covetous of all Men, who was wont to correct his Servants before they executed his Commands, for fear, as he said, he should forget to do it, if they did not exactly obey his Orders. *Moreri*, who ascribes all this Discourse to *Horace*, was deceived by *Charles Stephens*; though the latter does not expressly ascribe this little Fable to *Horace*. All that *Horace* says of the Matter is this.

(25) *Varro de Re rustica*, lib. 3. cap. 2.

(26) *Dacier's Remarks on Sat. 1. lib. 2.* pag. 40.

Mundus erit, qui non offendet fordibus, atque
In neutram partem cultus miser: hic neque servus,
Albuti fenis exemplo, dum munia didit,
Sævus erit: neque, sic ut simplex Nævius, unctam
Convivis præbebit aquam (27).

(27) *Horat. Sat. 2. lib. 2.* ver. 65.

— He lives well, who keeps the middle State,
And neither leans too much to this, nor that:
Such, when he bid his Slaves do this and this,
Will not be rigid, as *Albutius* is;
Nor yet, like *Nævius*, when he makes a Feast,
With costly Ointment will be wash his Gueft.

CREECH.

The meaning is, that true Cleanliness lies in the middle between Nastiness, and a too scrupulous, and over nice Exactness (28). If he had been the excessive and servile Care that is taken by the People in keeping their Houses clean in some Parts of *Holland*, he would have call'd it a false Neatness. *Albutius* and *Nævius* are produced as two Examples of vicious Extremes; the former as an Instance of too much Formality; the latter of too little. Some Interpreters have changed the Characters; and mistaken *Nævius* for a Prodigal, and *Albutius* for a covetous Man (29). But, perhaps, the Words of *Horace* do not relate to Covetousness and Prodigality; but only rather to Neatness and it's contrary. This latter Defect is sometimes attended with superfluous Expences. Some Persons are extravagant in Drefs, in Furniture, and in Eating; and yet have not the Reputation of being well dress'd, of disposing the Ornaments of their Apartments to Advantage, or of keeping a good Table. However it be, *Albutius* here is not an Example of Covetousness. I shall conclude, by observing, that *Albutius's* Severity towards his Slaves is not a Circumstance forg'd by *Moreri*; he had read it in his Patron (30): but did not know that the Original of it is in an ancient Scholiast. "Alper in exigenda à singulis im-

(28) See Mr *Dacier* on this Passage.

(29) The old Commentators, *Lambinus*, *Cruguius*, &c. d. l.

(30) *Charles Stephens*.

pena ratione castigandoque, adeo ut servos nonnumquam castigaret prius, & cederet, quam peccassent, dicens vereri se ne cum peccassent cadere tunc ei non vacaret (31). — Rigid in exacting an Account from every one of their Tasks; to such a Degree, that he sometimes corrected, and beat his Servants, before they offend'd, pretending, that he fear'd he should not, when, he had an Opportunity of doing it."

(31) *Vetus Commentator in Hierat. d. l.*

(7) Plin. lib.
29. cap. 1.

I do not believe, that our *Tinus Albutius* is the same, whom *Horace* speaks of [G] in the second Satire of the second Book. We meet with nothing concerning the Physician **ALBUTIUS**, whom *Pliny* ranks among the most Famous (i).

(32) See Mr
Dacier, ubi
supra.

[G] *I do not believe, that our Albutius is the same, whom Horace speaks of.* We have seen, that *Horace's Albutius* was a Man of too great Exactness; that he never forgave his Domestic an Offence; that he would have one do precisely this, and another that; and that he defended to Particulars, in a pedantic manner. He, whom *Lucilius* describes, as one who affected so much the Greek Politeness and Elegancy, that he desired to pass for a Greek (32), was cut out to furnish *Horace* with the Example he wanted; since every Person, who affects the Manners of foreign Countries, mixes with them I know not what of forced and extravagant, which turns the thing into Ridicule. See the Behaviour of the Country 'Squires so often ridiculed by *Moliere*, with regard to Fashions in which they never observe a Medium. I can scarce believe, that *Horace* brought upon the Stage the *Albutius* of *Lucilius*; nor do I think it strange, that *Torrensius* believed he did. Mr *Dacier* chuses to say, That the *Albutius*, mentioned by *Horace*, was the Son of him, whom *Lucilius* satirized. I believe, that *Albutius's* Affectation of what was Greek, related chiefly to the Language. We find, besides, from a Jest of *Lucilius*,

that he was too nice in the disposition of his Words.
"Collocationis est componere & frungere verba, sic ut
"neve asper eorum concursus neque hiulus sit, fed
"quodammodo coagmentatus & levis. In quo lepide
"socreri persona lussit is, qui elegantissime id facere
"potuit, *Lucilius*,

Quam lepide lexis composuē, ut tessellæ omnes
Arte, pavimento, atque emblemate vermiculato.

"Quæ cum dixisset in *Albutium* illudens, &c. (33)
"— The Collocatio (or Disposition) consists in
"ranging the Words in such a manner, that the Pe-
"riod shall neither be harsh, nor discontinuous, but
"as it were cemented and polish'd. *Lucilius* rallied
"this careful Style very elegantly, as he was very
"capable of doing, in the Person of *Mutius* the *Augur*
"(34), comparing it to small Tiles, wrought artifi-
"cially, upon a Pavement, into variety of emblematical
"Figures. Applying this in a bantering way to *Al-
"butius*, &c." The Verses of *Lucilius* represent a
"fort of Style in Writing, which may be called *Inlaid*,
"or *Mosaic*, Work.

(33) Cic. de
Orat. lib. 3.
cap. 43. See
Lucius in
Orator, cap.
43, &c.

(34) We
learn from
Seneca, that
Lucilius
sometimes in-
troduced him
speaking in
his Satires.

(a) They
make him a
Portuguese
in the Index
of the B. lib.
of Meaux's
Explication
of the Revela-
tions.

(b) Sotuel,
Biblioth.
Script. Soc.
ciet. Jesu,
pag. 557.

(c) Bishop of
Meaux's
Preface to
the Revela-
tions, p. 13.
Edit. Holl.

(d) Id. ib.

(e) *Alegambus* had given
him 63
Years. Es-
ter Sotuel
corrected this
Mistake.

(f) In the 1st
and 2d Dis-
sertation.

ALCASAR (*Lewis de*) a Spanish Jesuit (a), was born at *Seville*, in the Year 1554. He entered among the Jesuits in the Year 1569, in spite of the Opposition of his Family, which had great Possessions. After teaching Philosophy, he taught Divinity above Twenty Years at *Corduba*, and at *Seville*. He applied himself chiefly to discover the Mysteries contained in *St John's Revelations*, and employed near Twenty Years in this Work (b). The Book he composed upon this Subject is one of the best, which the Roman Catholics have produced on the *Apocalypse* [A]. It is entitled, *Vestigatio Arcani Sensus in Apocalypsi*, and has been printed several times [B]. It is pretended that *Grotius* borrowed many of his Notions from it (c). The Author maintains, that the *Apocalypse* is fully accomplished as far as the twentieth Chapter, and finds the Two Witnesses in it, besides *Elias* and *Enoch* (d). He makes no Scruple of rejecting the Ancient Fathers; and, as his Principal Studies tended only to the Explication of this Book, the other Work, which we have of his, is but a Commentary on the Passages of the Old Testament, which have some relation to *St John's Revelation*. It was printed, after his Death, with this Title, *In eas Veteris Testamenti partes quas respicit Apocalypsis, nempe Cantica Canticorum, Psalmos complures, multa Danielis, aliorumque librorum capita, libri V.* So that here are Two Volumes in Folio, which are, properly speaking, but a Commentary on the Revelations; but there is an Appendix to each: That of the First Volume is a Treatise de Sacris ponderibus & mensuris, and That of the Second a Treatise de malis Medicis. *Alcasar* died at *Seville*, the 16th of June, 1613. aged sixty Years (e). You will find an *Examen* of some of his Apocalyptic Hypotheses, in a Work, which Mr *Heidegger* published at *Leyden*, in the Year 1687, entitled, *Mysterium Babylonis magnæ*.

[A] The Book — is one of the best, which the Roman Catholics have produced on the *Apocalypse*.] This is *Nicolas Antonio's* Account of it. "Insignem
"posuit operam in adornando atque illustrando *Apocalypsis* libro obscurissimo. Edidit namque lucubrationes suas ad ipsam ingeniosas quidem, eruditae, elaborataeque, ut censet *Cornelius à Lapide*. Sed quisnam sponsor erit, telo eum quamvis acuto & forti scopum tetigisse (1). — He took remarkable
"Pains in explaining and illustrating that obscure Book, The *Apocalypse*. For he published his own
"Lucubrations on it, ingenious indeed, and elaborate, in the Opinion of *Cornelius à Lapide*. But, as
"sharp and strong as his Arrow may be, who will answer for him, that he has hit the Mark?" I am certain there is no Bankrupt, or imprison'd Debtor, but could find Security much easier, than your Interpreters of the *Apocalypse*, were there a Tribunal on Earth to assess those at a large Fine, who should warrant false Interpretations. When a Man flatters his Passions, where no Danger attends his Opinions,

he is apt to be credulous; but it would be in vain to demand such Securities, as *Don Nicolas Antonio* would require.

[B] Printed several times.] Father *Alegambus* mentions only the Edition of *Antwerp*, by *John Keerberge*, in 1614, and immediately after says, that the other Volume was posthumous. If the first had been printed but in 1614, it would have been Posthumous, and so there would have been no Reason to distinguish the one from the other. We must believe then, as *Don Nicolas Antonio* observes, that the first was printed at *Antwerp*, by *Keerberge*, in the Year 1604. Besides this Edition, *Nicolas Antonio* speaks of that of 1610; *Antwerpæ apud Nutius*, and that of *Lyons*, 1616. *Draudius* quotes these two last Editions, and besides them one of *Antwerp*, by *Keerberge*, in 1611 (2). Father *Sotuel*, besides the Edition of 1614, mentions only the two last of *Nicolas Antonio*, and says also, that the other Volume is posthumous. So that his Revision of *Alegambus* is not so exact as it ought to be.

(2) *Draud.*
Bibliotheca
Class. p. 22.

(1) *Nicol.*
Anton. Bi-
blioth.
Script. His-
pan. Tom.
2. pag. 14.

ALCÆUS, a Native of *Mitylene* in the Island of *Lesbos*, was one of the greatest Lyric Poets of Antiquity. Some say, That he was the Inventor of this Species of Poetry.

— Age, dic Latinum,
Barbite, carmen,
Lesbio primum modulate civi (a):

(a) *Horat.*
Od. 32. lib.
1. ver. 3.

Begin,

*Begin, sweet Harp, a Roman Strain
Those Measures and those Airs maintain,
First struck by great Alcæus' noble Hand.*

CREECH.

He flourished in the forty fourth Olympiad (b) at the same time with Sappho, who was likewise of Mitylene. The Scandalous Chronicle [A] says, that Alcæus, one day, requested I know not what Favour of Sappho, but that Sappho, who was not, at that time, in so good a Humour as she used to be, refused him what perhaps she offered him the next day (c). However it be, he had other business upon his Hands besides making Verses: he wanted to give a Proof of his Courage in War, but was not very successful in it; for he ran away, and left his Arms behind him, when the Athenians gained a Battle against the Lesbians (d). But it was some Comfort to him in his Disgrace, that the Conquerors caused his Arms to be hung up in the Temple of Minerva at Sigeum; which they would not have done, with such a Mark of Distinction, had they not thought it a glorious Monument of their Victory (e). Alcæus did not forget this Circumstance in the Verses he wrote on this unlucky Adventure [B]. His Muse, whom he employed in the midst of War, either in Catches, or Love Songs, or in celebrating his Mistresses (f), who was such another trusty Support as himself [C]: His Muse, I say, was not silent on the Defeat of the Lesbians. It is well known, that she was not always ludicrous, and that she could treat the gravest Subjects with a suitable Dignity

[A] The scandalous Chronicle.] I have set down Mr le Fevre's own Words, and am very much mistaken, if he fetch'd this little Fable any where else than from Aristotle's Rhetoric. Aristotle cites these Words of Alcæus;

Θάλω τιν' εἰπών, ἀλλὰ με καλῶς
Λιδεύς.

And this Answer of Sappho,

Αἰ δ' ἴξαι σ' ἐσθλῶν ἵμερόν, ἢ καλῶν,
καὶ μή τι εἰπὼν γλῶσσαν ἐκύκλα κακῶν,
Λιδεύς κε γυ σ' ὕχ' ἄχων ὄμμαϊ.
"Αλλ' ἔλατ' ἐπὶ δ' ἰκαλῶν (1).

(1) Aristot.
Rhetor. lib.
2. cap. 6.
Note, that
I read, and
accept these
Greek
Words, as
Scaliger did
in Euseb. p.
85. Edit.
1658.

The Import of the Verses is This. Alcæus declares he has something to say, but that Modesty forbids him; Sappho replies, that if his Request were honourable, and his Tongue were not prepared to utter something immodest, Shame would not have appear'd in his Face, and he would not be at a loss to make a reasonable Proposition.

A L C Æ U S.

Fain wou'd I speak, but must, thro' Shame, conceal
The Thought my eager Tongue wou'd fain reveal.

S A P P H O.

Were your Request, O Bard, on Honour built,
Your Cheeks wou'd not have worn these Marks of Guilt;
But in prompt Words the ready Thought had shewn,
And your Heart's honest Meaning quickly shewn.

They, who are qualified to judge of Mr le Fevre's Books, Men, as he says in his first Journal, whose Souls are capable of different Forms, and who understand, at half a Word, wherein the Beauty of Thoughts and Expressions consist, are sensible, that these Words of Alcæus are one of those Declarations of Love, which require the critical Minute, and that Sappho apprehended perfectly what he meant. Her Answer is wise, but it is perhaps too serious upon this Supposition.

[B] The Verses he wrote on this unlucky Adventure.] H B, among all the Latin Poets, who most resembles Alcæus, confesses, as well as He, in his Poems, that he fled from the Battle, and threw down his Arms, as being useless in Flight.

Tecum Philippos & celerem fugam
Senfi, relicta non bene parmula,
Quum fracta virtus, & minaces
Turpe solum tetigere mento (3).

(3) Horat.
Od. 7. lib.
2. ver. 9.

The bloody Wars, Philippi's Field,
Ignobly having lost my Shield,
With thee I saw, secure from Wound;

I saw the Flight, when Pompey proud
To Cæsar's stronger Virtue bow'd,
And safely hit the bloody Ground.

CREECH.

The same Adventure happen'd to Archilochus before Alcæus, and he confess'd it publicly (4). Perhaps Horace would not have been so ingenuous, if he had not had these great Examples before his Eyes. Chabot is mistaken, when he maintains, that Plutarch refutes Herodotus in relation to Alcæus's Flight (5). Plutarch says only, that Herodotus suppress'd a fine Action of Pittacus, but not the cowardly Behaviour of Alcæus (6).

[C] His Mistress, who was such another trusty Support as himself.] Horace informs us, that Alcæus's Mistress was a Boy, whose Name was Lycus, and who had black Eyes and black Hair.

Qui ferox bello; tamen inter arma,
Sive jactatam religarat udo
Littore navim,
Liberum & Musas, Veneremque, & illi
Semper hærentem puerum canebat,
Et Lycum nigris oculis, nigroque
Crine decorum (7).

He fierce in Arms; yet, midst his Cares,
When Dangers press'd, and noisy Wars,
And stain'd his charming Harp with Blood;
Or, when he stemm'd the angry Seas,
Or when, arriv'd, he sat at ease,
And laugh'd at all the Fury of the Flood;
The Muses be in sounding Verse,
Wou'd sing, and Venus' Praise rehearse,
With her th' attending wanton Boy;
Or Lycus' Face, surprizing Fair,
With coal-black Eyes, and auburn Hair,
By Nature fitted to entice to Joy.

CREECH.

It is apparently He, who had a Mole upon his Finger, which, in the Poet's Eye, was a beautiful Ornament. Nevus in articulo pueri delectat Alcæum, at est corporis macula nevus, illi tamen hoc lumen videbatur (8). Cicero says, in another place, that, though Alcæus had shewed a great deal of Courage, he had filled his Verses with an excessive Pederasty; Fortis vir in sua republica cognitus, quæ de juvenum amore scripsit Alcæus (9)? He was so amorous, that he compares himself to a Hog, who, whilst he eats one Acron, devours another with his Eyes; Just so, says he, when I am enjoying one Girl, I am wishing for another. Α υς τὰν βάλλον τὰν μ' ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔσθαι λαβών. Κάθ' αἰδέα καλὴν τὰν μ' ἔχω, τὰν δ' ἔσθαι λαβών. Scipio Gentilis relates this in his Notes on Apuleius's Apology, pag. 65.

(b) Euseb. in
Chronico.

(c) Le
Fevre's
Lives of the
Greek Poets,
pag. 27.

(d) Herod.
lib. 5. cap.
95.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Horace.
See his words
below in the
Remark [C].

(4) See Re-
mark [H] of
his Poems.

(5) Chabot,
in Horat.
Od. 13. lib.
2.

(6) Plut. de
Malign. He-
rodoti, pag.
858.

(7) Horat.
Od. 32. lib.
1. ver. 6.

(8) Cicero
de Natur.
Deor. lib. 1.

(9) Id.
Falsely.
Quæ. 4.
cap. 33.

Dignity [D]; particularly the fine Common-place Topic against Tyrants. *Alcæus*, in That, followed an Inclination, which was confirmed by his own Adventures, and his personal Interests; for he had vigorously opposed the Invaders of the Liberty of his Country, and particularly *Pittacus* [E], who became an Usurper, though he was one of the Seven Sages of Greece. He set *Alcæus* at Liberty, whom he had taken Prisoner, saying, that it was better to forgive, than to punish, an Offence (g). Some say, that *Alcæus* was expelled with many others; but that at length he put himself at the head of the Exiled, made War against the Tyrants, and drove them out (b). I find in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* nothing more, than that the Inhabitants of *Mitylene* elected *Pittacus* for their General, against the Poet *Alcæus*, and his Adherents, whom they had banished (i). Others say, that, having abused *Pittacus's* Clemency, and continuing to cabal, and inveigh against him, he had no longer Favour shewn him (k); which *Ovid* expressed in these Words;

Utque lyræ vates fertur periisse severæ,
Causa sit exitii dextera læsa tui.

Or may thy Satire too severe be found,
And Thine, like poor Alcæus' Muse, be crown'd
With Vengeance from the Hand it dares to wound.

This is the more probable, as *Alcæus* pass'd for one, who did not oppose Innovations, as such, but because others had introduced them (l). It is a very common Infirmary. There are only some small Fragments of his Poems remaining.

[D] His Muse — could treat the gravest Subjects with a suitable Dignity.] This made *Horace* say,

Et te sonantem plenius auro,
Alcæe, plectro, dura navis,
Dura fugæ mala, dura belli.
Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere: sed magis
Pugnas & exactos tyrannos
Denfum humeris bibit aure vulgus (10).

*Alcæus too, whose golden Strings
With many Strokes sound softer things;
He sings the Dangers, and the Fears,
Of Flight, of sailing, and of Wars.
With silent Awe the Shades admire
The tuneful Numbers of his Lyre:
The vulgar Ghosts throng most to hear
Of Kings depos'd; of Feats of War
And drink them with a greedy Ear.*

CREECH.

Mr *Dacier* remarks on these Words, I. That *Alcæus's* Style was noble and strong, and that he treated of more lofty Subjects, than *Sappho*, who says of him in *Ovid*,

Nec plus Alcæus confors patriæque Lyræque
Laudis habet, quamvis grandius ille sonet.

--- The wide World resounds with *Sappho's* Praise.
Tho' great Alcæus more sublimely sings,
And strikes with bolder Rage the sounding Strings,
No less Renown attends the moving Lyre,
Which Cupid tunes, and Venus does inspire.

POPE.

II. That *Horace* gives him a Golden Plectrum, because he is speaking of that Part of his Works, wherein he

describes the Civil Wars, which happened at *Mitylene*, and the different Factions of the Tyrants *Pittacus*, *Myrsilus*, *Megalagyrus*, the *Cleanastides*, and others (11), and that those Poems were called *ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΑ*, Poems on Seditions. He cites this Passage of *Quintilian*: "Alcæus in parte operis auro plectro merito donatur, qua tyrannos infestatur." Multum etiam moribus confert, in eloquendo brevis & magnificus, & diligens, plerumque Homero similia, sed in lusus & amores descendit, majoribus tamen aptior (12). — Alcæus deserves the Golden Plectrum, which is given him, in that Part of his Poems, in which he lashes Tyrants. In this he is greatly useful to the Manners of Mankind, being concise and majestic in his Language, and much like *Homer*: However he sometimes descends to Mirth and Love; tho' naturally qualified for softer Subjects." Add to this the Epithet of *Threatning*, given to his Muse:

----- Alcæi MINACES

Stefichorique graves Camæenæ (13).

[E] Had vigorously opposed — *Pittacus*.] He inveighed against him in very vulgar Terms. He called him *Splay-Foot*, *Fat-Gut*, &c. as we learn from *Suidas* under the Word *σαρκώδης*, and from *Diogenes Laertius* in the Life of *Pittacus*. The Moderation of the latter was very praise worthy, and appeared so to *Valerius Maximus*: "Pittaci quoque moderatione pectus instructum, qui Alcæum poetam & amaritudine odii & viribus ingenii adversus se pertinacissimè usum, tyrannidem à civibus delatam adeptus, tantummodo quid in opprimendo posset admo- nuit (14). — Pittacus likewise was a Person of great Moderation, who, having seized on the kingly Power, abolished by the People, only showed the Poet *Alcæus*, who employed all the Bitterness of Hatred, and the Force of Wit, in abusing him, what he could have done in the way of Oppression."

(g) *Heraclitus* apud *Diogenem Laertium*. in *Pittaco*, lib. 1. n. 76.

(b) *Dacier* on the 13th Ode of the 2d Book of *Horace*.

(i) *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. Antiq. Rom. lib. 5. cap. 82.

(k) See *Dionysius Salvi- gnius Boetius*, Com- ment. in *I- bin*. pag. 102, 103. Edit. 4to.

(l) *Ovid's* *δυσχερὲς ἀνα- βασιάνων τῶν νεύων*. Ne ipse quidem purus studii ejus- modi novan- darum re- rum. *Strabo*, lib. 13. pag. 425.

(11) See *Strabo*, lib. 13. p. 424.

(12) *Quin- tilian*. lib. 10. cap. 1.

(13) *Horat.* Od. 9. l. 4.

(14) *Valer.* Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 1.

(a) *Suidas*.

(b) *Mitru-* *Ἀλκᾶος*, *ἄλτρα* 'Αλκᾶ- *ος*. Id.

(c) *Scholias*. *Aristophanis* in *Argu- mento*. *Plauti*.

(d) *Macro- b.* *Saturnal.* lib. 5. c. 20.

(e) *Plut.* in *Flaminio*, pag. 373.

A L C Æ U S, an *Athenian* (a), and a Tragic Poet, was the first, according to some, who composed Tragedies. If we may believe *Suidas*, he is not the same with the Comic Poet A L C Æ U S, the Fifth of the Ancient Comedy, and the Son of *Miccus*. It seems, he renounced his Country, which was the City of *Mitylene*, and passed for an *Athenian* (b). He left ten Pieces, whereof one was entitled *Pasiphaë*: It was that which he produced, when he disputed with *Aristophanes* in the Fourth Year of the Ninety seventh Olympiad (c). *Athenæus* cites some others: It is not certainly known, whether the *Endymion*, cited by *Pollux*, belongs to *Alcæus* the Tragic, or *Alcæus* the Comic Poet: But it is probable, that the Piece entitled *Cælum*, was written by the former, since *Macrobius* cites it as a Tragedy (d). I find, in *Plutarch*, a Poet A L C Æ U S, different from all the preceeding (e), and who is perhaps the same, whom *Porphyrus* mentioned as a Writer of Satirical Iambic Verses, and Epi- grams,

grams, and who wrote a Poem concerning the Plagiarism of the Historian *Ephorus* (f). The *Alcæus* of *Plutarch* lived in the Hundred and forty fifth *Olympiad*, in the Year of *Rome* 555, as appears by the *Ode* he composed on the Battle, which *Philip*, King of *Macedon* lost in *Thessaly*. This *Ode* represented *Philip* as running away faster than a Stag, and magnified the Number of the Slain, in order to chagrin him the more. Nevertheless *Plutarch* tells us, that *Titus Flaminius*, who gained the Battle, was more offended at *Alcæus*'s Verses, than *Philip*; because the *Ode* mentioned the *Ætolians* before the *Romans*, and seemed thereby to give the *Ætolians* the chief Honour of the Victory. *Philip* defended himself against *Alcæus*'s Song by another [A]. It must be confessed, that *Plutarch* makes the *Roman* Consul too apt to take Offence. We are told likewise of one *ALCÆUS*, a *Messenian*, who lived in the Reign of *Vespasian*, and in That of *Titus* (g). Some of his Epigrams are in the *Antologia*. I know not which of these *Alcæus*'s suffered a very remarkable kind of Death [B] for his Lewdness. *Vossius*, at the forty second Page of his Notes on *Catullus*, believes it was He, who satirized *Philip* King of *Macedon*. He takes him for the Comedian by mistake; for the Comic Poet was cotemporary with *Aristophanes*.

[A] *Philip* defended himself against *Alcæus*'s Song by another. *Plutarch* gives us the Substance of it in these two Lines:

Ἀλκαῖος δὲ θυλάει, ἰδὼν ὅτι, τοῖς οὐκ ἔνδοξον
Ἀλκαίῳ σαρκεὶς ἀνίστηναι ἰσλάει (1).

This leafless, barkless Trunk, O Passenger, is erected as a Gibbet for *Alcæus*.

[B] *Suffered a very remarkable kind of Death.* *Isaac Vossius* gives us (2) this Epitaph, taken out of an *Antologia*, which was never printed:

Ἀλκαῖος τὰρ ἐστίν, ὃν ἔκτανεν ἡ ραδιθυράλλῃ
Τιμωρὲς μυχῶν γῆς θυλάειν ἰσλάει.

This is *Alcæus*'s Tomb, who died by a Radish, the Daughter of the Earth, and Punisher of Adulterers.

The meaning of this is, that *Alcæus* suffered the Punishment of Adulterers, which consisted in a certain manner of impaling. They thrust one of the largest Radishes they could find up the Adulterer's Fundament, or, for want of Radishes, they made use of a Fish, with a very large Head; as the Scholiast of *Juvenal* informs us, on these Words of the tenth Satyre,

---- Quosdam Mœchos & * Mugilis intrat.

This helps us to understand this Menace of *Catullus*.

Ah tum te miserum, malique fati,
Quem, attractis pedibus patente porta,
Percurrent raphanique mugileque (3).

ALCHABITIUS, an *Arabian* Astrologer, composed an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Celestial Influences [A]. He wrote likewise concerning *The Conjunction of the Planets*, and a Treatise of *Optics*, which was found in a Convent of *Germany*, and brought to the Author of the Book *de Lumine Animæ*. His Astrological Works, translated by *John of Seville* (a), were printed at *Venice* in 1491, with the Exposition of *John of Saxony*, and, in 1521, with the Corrections of *Antony de Fantis*, a Physician of *Treviso* in *Italy* (b). It is not well known at what time *Alchabitus* lived.

[A] *Composed an Introduction to the Knowledge of the Celestial Influences.* The Title of the Book in *Gesner* and in *Simler*, is, *Isagogæ ad magisterium judiciorum æstherum, vel ad scrutanda stellarum magisteria*. *Vossius* gives it in another manner, but which comes to the same Sense; *Isagogæ ad scrutanda æstro-indicia* (1). But *Moreri*, mistaking one Word for another in *Vossius*, *initia for indicia*, gives us an incomprehensible Title; *An Introduction to the Knowledge of the beginning of the Stars*. It appears that

As I wretched Thou, and born to luckless Fate,
Who art discovered by the un-bus Gate!
If once, alas! the jealous Husband come,
The Radish, or the Sea-Fish, is thy doom.

Lucian speaks of this sort of Punishment, but does not say whether the Criminal died of it, and differs but little from his Scholiast. They both tell us, that the Adulterer was usually well beat; but the Scholiast says, that the Radish was not thrust up his Fundament, 'till he was ready to expire under the Blows he had received. *Lucian* insinuates the quite contrary; for the Letcher, of whom he speaks, having been soundly beat, leaped down from the Tiling, and ran away with the Radish sticking in his Posteriors. Καὶ δὲ τὸν τῆς ἀλθιᾶς δόρυς παρὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν βουδινῶν (4). De testis defiliens aufugit natus raphano appletis. *Vossius* ought not to have concluded from this Passage of *Lucian*, that this Punishment was not Mortal; for it is very probable, that if the Patient had not run away, it would have cost him his Life sooner or later. The two Verses, which *Vossius* cites, and which he takes for the Discourse of an Adulterer, who said to her Godmother, that if the Punishment of the Cross was inflicted upon their Gallants, instead of the Radish, no one would have any thing more to say to them, are a better Proof, than the Words of *Lucian* (5). The Commentators on *Diogenes Laertius* rightly apprehended what *Menedemus* aimed at, when he said to an insolent Adulterer, that the Juice of Radishes was useful: Πλεῖς ἢ τὸν δεσποτιζόμενον μυχῶν, ἀγροῦς, ἴσον, ἔτι δὲ μύρον καὶ μέλι χυλὸν ἔχει χρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ δὲ παρὰ τὸν (6). Adulter exultanti adultero, ignotas, inquit, non modo brassica succum inesse utilem, sed & raphanos.

ALCHINDUS, a Physician and Astrologer among the *Arabians*. *Cardan* reckoned him among the Twelve Sublime Geniuses, whom he looked upon as the chief of those, who excelled in the Sciences (a). This is to exceed *Albobaen Haly*, and *Haly Rodaan*, who call him the great Astrologer, and even *Rafis* and *Mesue*, who style him the most Learned and most Experienced Physician, and even *Averroes* and *Wimpina*, who call him the Subtile Philosopher. One may judge of his Parts and Learning by his Two printed Books, *De Temporum Mutationibus*, and *De Gradibus Medicinarum*.

(f) Porphyrius apud Euseb. Præp. Evangel. lib. 10. cap. 3. pag. 467.

(g) Tzetzes in Lycophr. apud Gyrind. de Poët. Dialog. 1. pag. 511. Edit. 1692.

(1) Plutarch. in Flamin. pag. 373.

(2) Isaac Vossius in Carallum, pag. 42.

* The Mugilis is a Sea-Fish with a large Head.

(3) Catull. Epigr. 14. See Parthenius, Muretus, and Achillex Scaurus on this Passage.

(a) Joannes Hispanicus.

(1) Vossius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 399.

(4) Lucian. de morte Peregrin.

(5) Ex Hesychio in λεξικῶν ὀβύσιν. See also the Scholiast of Aristophanes in Nubibus.

(6) Diogenes Laert. lib. 2. n. 128. See Aldobrandinus & Menagius.

(b) Gesner in Bibl. & ex eo Vossius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 314. & 319.

(2) See du Verdier, pag. 20. of his Bibliothæque.

(a) Card. de Subtilit. lib. 16. Naudé in his Apology for Great Men, pag. 354. amplius Cardan's Tenacity too much.

Medicinarum compositarum investigandis. We meet with many others, which are very often cited by Authors, under the Titles, *De ratione sex quantitatum: De quinque essentis: De motu diurno: De vegetabilibus*, and *De Theoricâ magicarum artium.* This last Work induced all the Demonographers to represent *Alchindus* as a dangerous Magician. *Francis Picus*, and *Conrad Wimpina*, have amply discoursed of the Heresies, Blasphemies, and Absurdities, which are to be met with in this Book. The famous *John Picus* does not seem to have judged so disadvantageously of him, since he says, that he knew but Three Men, who had so much as touched upon the natural and lawful Magic, to wit, *Alchindus*, *Roger Bacon*, and *William Bishop of Paris*. What is most to be depended upon, according to *Gabriel Naudé*, from whom I borrow this Article, is I. That this Work is full of Superstition, and Doctrines quite contrary to our Faith, and such as are to be expected from a *Mabometan*, who writes his Thoughts with great Freedom. II. That he cannot be accused of Magic, since he was so far from amusing himself with the *Theurgic* or *Goetic* Magic, that his sole View was to account in a natural Way for all that is attributed to good or bad Angels; which *Petrus de Apono* and *Pomponatius* have done after him (b). These Philosophers, in support of their Opinion, maintain that Sublunary things depend wholly on the Heavenly, and that they mutually receive their Properties from each other, and that each receives them from the whole, by means of certain material *Effluvia*, which, passing from the least to the greatest, are the Cause, they tell us, of all the *Phænomena* in Nature. We cannot certainly say when *Alchindus* lived; but we must not place him in the XII Century, since *Averroes* makes mention of him. There is a JAMES ALCHINDUS, whom some confound with the ALCHINDUS of this Article [A].

(A) Naudé, ibid. and the following Page.

[A] Whom some confound with the Alchindus of this Article.] *Wolfgang Justus* says, that *James Alchindus* lived under Pope *Eugenius III.* in the Year 1145, cotemporary with *Averroes* and *Avicenna*: He says, that he was an Arabian Physician and Philosopher (1). The Bibliographers attribute the same Books to *Alchindus*, and to *James Alchindus*. *Vossius* seems to distinguish between them; for, when he speaks of *Alchindus*, he ascribes to him only the Treatise of *sex quantitativus*, and does not mention his Age; but

(1) Apud Merklinum in Lindenio renovato.

(a) See Remark [E].

(b) Panzirol. de Claria Legum Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 169.

(c) Minos in Vita Alciati.

ALCIATUS (ANDREW) a great Civilian, flourished in the XVI Century. He was the Son of a rich Merchant of Milan [A], and was born in the Month of May, 1492 (a). It is pretended, that his Mother in bringing him forth, felt scarce any of the usual Pains of Labour (b). Having studied Humanity under *Janus Parabasius*, who taught at Milan (c), he applied himself to the Civil-Law at Pavia and at Bologna (d), and attended chiefly the Lectures of *Jason* in the former of these Universities, and those of *Charles Ruinus* in the latter (e). After he was created Doctor, he betook himself to the Bar in the City of Milan (f), till he was called to the Professorship of Civil-Law by the University of Avignon [B]. He filled the

(2) Vossius de Scientiis Mathem. pag. 61. & 179.

(d) Mr. Telford in his *Eligies* takes from Thomas, Tom. 1. pag. 30. quoting Minos, says that Alciatus studied at Verona; but I have not found this.

Chair

(c) Panzirol. ibid.

(f) Minos in Vita Alciati.

[A] He was the Son of a rich Merchant of Milan.] I have followed *Panzirolus*, the only Author, whom I have consulted, who makes him the Son of a Person of that Profession: "Ex Joanne pecuniolo natus" gotiote Mediolani ferè nullo parentis dolore natus "et educatus fuit (1)." Others make him rather the Son of a Gentleman of an ancient Family; "Andreas Alciatus in pago Alciato seu Alzato Mediolanensi natus è nobili Alciatorum familia." This is the Opinion of *Claudius Minos* (2). It cannot be objected to me, that in some Countries the quality of Merchant, and That of Gentleman, are not incompatible; for, where they are united, an Historian seldom takes notice of the least, without speaking of the most considerable. Wherefore, since *Panzirolus* has only mentioned the Occupation of *Alciatus's* Father, he seems not to have been of *Claudius Minos's* Opinion.

(1) Panzirol. de Claria Legum Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 169. pag. 353.

(2) Minos in Vita Andree Alciati, Ghilini, Lorenzo Craffo, Paul Freher, Bullart, &c. say he descended from a noble and ancient Family.

(3) Panzirol. ubi supra.

(4) See the Commentaries on his Works, &c. pag. 112. of the Panzirol. edition.

[B] He applied himself to the Bar in the City of Milan, till he was called — by the University of Avignon.] I shall be cautious of adopting the Narrative of *Panzirolus*. That would lead me to assert, that *Alciatus*, having been created Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law, in the Year 1517, being a little above twenty two Years of Age, taught first at Pavia, and afterwards at Avignon: *Primum itaque Ticini professor, postea Avenioni docuit* (3). But this would be giving the Lie to *Alciatus* himself, who declares in a Speech, which he made at Pavia, that, when he obtained six hundred Crowns Salary, at Avignon, he had never appeared in any Chair. "Avenioni cum nunquam ad eam diem cathedram ascendissem stipendium sexcentorum mereret (4)." —

he places *James Alchindus* in 1235, and ascribes to him, among other Books, a Treatise of *radiis stellarum* (2). It is, doubtless, the same Book, which *Gesner* alleges under the Title of *radiis stellaris*, and which he believes to be a Work of *James Alchindus*, though the Name of *James* is not joined there with that of *Alchindus*. One would imagine by the Title alone, that it belongs to Him, who was suspected of Magic.

Panzirolus's Account is, moreover, suspected of Falshood; he betrays an extreme Negligence; we find there, that *Alciatus* was not quite Twenty three Years of Age in 1517, and yet his Epitaph, related by *Panzirolus*, three Pages after, declares, that he was near Fifty nine Years of Age in the Month of January 1550: he was therefore Twenty five in 1517. What *Panzirolus* affirms, that *Alciatus* published his *Paradoxa* and his *Disputationes* about the Year 1517, cannot be cleared up by *Claudius Minos*; for there never was a Chaos of a Book more absurd, than the Passage where this last Writer speaks of the Edition of *Alciatus's* *Paradoxa*. "Duodecim post annos, scilicet (5), cum civilis & pontificii juris professoris insignibus donatus esset, *Paradoxa* & *Disputationes* in publicum emisit, opus, ut ipse dicit, elaboratum horis successivis, & à candidato adhuc & tirone. — Twelve Years after, when he was invested with the Professorship of Civil and Canon Law, he published his *Paradoxa* and *Disputationes*, a Work, according to his own Account, composed at his leisure Hours, and when he was as yet but a Candidate and a Student." It is not easily seen, to what the Word *duodecim* relates; for all that goes before is an Account of *Alciatus's* different Stations, and of his manner of teaching the Civil Law. If these Words of *Minos* imported, that *Alciatus* published his *Paradoxa* twelve Years after his Promotion to the Doctorate, all this Chaos would be reduced into order; but, then, what would become of *Panzirolus*, who places the Edition of That Book about the time of his taking the Degree of Doctor; that is, about the Year 1517? What would become of

Tiraquellus,

Chair with such great Abilities, that *Francis I.* thought him a proper person to promote the Study of the Civil-Law in the University of *Bourges*. He invited him thither in 1529 [C], and, the Year following, he doubled his Pension, which was at first Six hundred Crowns. *Alciatus* professed the Civil-Law Five Years at *Bourges*, and acquired a great Reputation there. But he made use of an Artifice to obtain an Increase of his Salary [D]. He mixed a great deal of Literature with the Explication

of

- (6) Tiraguet, Jur. Præmigen. pag. 158. apud Baillet, Enfans celebres, p. 126. where you will find the following Author's quoted, viz. Ghilini, Theatr. Literat. pag. 1. & Pichet. Athen. Milan. pag. 26, 28.
- (7) Baillet Enfans Celebres, pag. 126.
- (8) Pasquier's Recherches, lib. 9. cap. 39. pag. 901.
- (9) See the Preface to the Paradoxes, prefixed to the Edition of 1539.
- (10) Beginning the Year in January.
- (11) Epist. Godii, dec. pag. 76.
- (12) Ibid. pag. 78.
- (13) Ibid. pag. 96.
- (14) Ibid.
- (15) Ibid. pag. 106.
- (16) He says, in the first Page of his History of Calvinism in Berri, that *Alciatus* read his first Lecture at *Bourges*, on Monday, Apr. 19. 1529.
- (17) *Panzirus* de claria Legum Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 169.

Tiraquellus, who says, that *Alciatus* wrote a considerable Work before he was twenty Years of Age (6)? "It is That, which is extant under the Title of *Paradoxes of the Civil Law*, which he divided into "fix Books, and dedicated to the Chancellor du Prat, "when he was at *Bourges* in 1529, twelve Years after having published it in his own Country, when "he assumed the Doctor's Cap; but seventeen or "eighteen Years after the Composition of it (7)." The Work, which I cite, informs me, that *Alciatus*'s first Essay was an Explication and Correction of the Greek Terms, which we meet with in the *Digests*; that this Book was published first in *Italy*, and some time after at *Strasbourg*, in 1515. I have read, in a certain Author (8), that the first Dedication *Alciatus* made of his Works, is dated in 1513, and that it is That of the three last Books of the *Code*. What is very certain, is, that he published his *Paradoxes*, dedicated to the Chancellor *Antony du Prat*, about the Year 1517 (9). He published his *Disputationes* about the same time, dedicated to *John Selvo*, President of the Senate of *Milan*, and his *Prætermissa*, dedicated to *James de Minut*, Counsellor in the same Senate, and ancient Professor of the Civil Law at *Orleans*. He was Professor at *Avignon* in the Year 1521; for he says, in the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Treatise de Verborum significatione*, dated at *Bourges* the first of May, 1520, that he had dedicated it to his Scholars eight Years before. I have been informed, that *Budæus*, in a Letter written to *Christopher Longueil*, in the Month of February 1520 (10), mentions a Visit, which *Alciatus* made him some time before at *Avignon*. Mr de la Monnoie communicated to me this Particular. I add, that some Letters of our *Alciatus* were published at *Utrecht*, which shew, that he was Professor of the Civil Law at *Avignon* in the Year 1518 (11); that his Salary amounted to Five hundred Crowns, and that he had Seven hundred Auditors. Two Years after he wrote, that they allowed him Six hundred Crowns, besides other Gratuities; and that his Auditorium was composed of above Eight hundred Persons, among whom there were some Prelates, Abbots, and Counts (12). He left That Professorship, and returned to *Milan*, about the end of October 1522. Among other things, which induced him to this Retreat, the principal was, that his Salary was not punctually paid him, the City of *Avignon* being in debt by Reason of the Contagious Distemper. Besides, they gave him to understand, that if the Plague returned, he must consent to a Diminution of his Salary. But he rejected the Condition (13). He applied himself to the Bar in his own Country, and found this Employment more advantageous than he expected (14). He stayed in *Italy*, 'till he accepted the Professorship which was offered him in the University of *Bourges* (15).

[C] He invited him thither in 1529.] I choose to follow *Minos* and Mr *Catherinet* (16), rather than *Panzirus*. The latter anticipates this Invitation by an whole Year. "Deinde anno 1528, Bituriges, "quo magna studiorum multitudo ad ejus famam conflavit, amplo 1200 aureorum stipendio à Rege "Francisco est conductus (17). — At length, in "the Year 1528, he was retained at *Bourges* by "King Francis, with a Salary of Twelve thousand "Crowns; whither the Fame of his Abilities drew "from all Parts a great Number of Students." I do not object to *Panzirus*, that his Pension was at first but Eighteen hundred *Livres*, and that, being doubled, the next Year, it amounted to the Sum which he has laid down: I have greater Instances of Inaccuracy to charge him with. He says, I. That *Alciatus* lived but few Years in *France*; because *Francis Maria*, Duke of *Milan*, ordered him to return, and threatened him with the Confiscation of all his Effects in case of Disobedience. II. That *Alciatus*, being returned home, taught for some Years at *Pavia*; 'till he retired to *Bologna* in 1532, on account

of the Wars, It is certain, that *Alciatus* lived five Years at *Bourges*: This appears by the Verses, he wrote on his leaving it.

Urbs Biturix, invitus amans te defero amantem,
Quinque per æstates terra habitata mihi (18).

And therefore, since, according to *Panzirus*, he was invited thither in the Year 1528, he could not have left it till 1533. How could he then have taught for some Years at *Pavia*, after his Removal from *Bourges*, and retire afterwards to *Bologna*, in the Year 1532? His *Dissertation concerning Duels*, dedicated to *Francis I.*, is dated from *Avignon* the first of March, 1529. The Preface to his *Paradoxes* is dated from *Bourges* the Twenty fourth of August 1529. This is decisive against *Panzirus*. There remain yet two Errors to be censured, one of *Moreri*, the other of *Paul Freberus*. The former says, that the Liberty of *Francis I.* drew *Alciatus* into France, where he taught at *Avignon*; according to the latter, *Alciatus* went to teach in That City, immediately upon his leaving *Parrhasius*'s School (19). It is an absurd Mistake to say, that the Liberty of a King of France invited a Professor into another Prince's Country; and who does not know, that when *Alciatus* left *Parrhasius*'s School, he went to study at *Pavia* and at *Bologna*, and that he took his Doctor's Degree in 1517, and that he published some Books before he was Professor at *Avignon*?

[D] He made use of an Artifice to obtain an Increase of his Salary.] He contrived the matter so by his Intrigues, that a Professorship was offered him by the University of *Padua*. *Vossius*, who informs me of this, was afraid, lest by deferring to return an Answer to the Offer, which was made him of a Professorship in the University of *Cambridge*, he should be suspected of the same Artifice; for, adds he, it is a piece of Cunning generally put in Practice: "Quis, rerum mearum ignarus, aliud sibi persuadere "possit, quam diutius hanc in respondendo cessat- "tionem inde duntaxat, aut potissimum saltem, pro- "manare, ut Vocatione Anglicana aliquid mihi apud "Batavos lucelli acquiram? Scimus id plerique me- "ris esse. Nec notam hanc effugit summus Juris- "consultus, Andreas Alciatus, cum Biturigibus Pa- "tavium vocaretur. Et ille quidem callide hoc ege- "rat ipse, ut vocaretur. Mihi, ut scis, ne per for- "nium tale quid cogitanti sponte apud vos professio "oblata est. Ille item, immane quantum aucto si- "pendio, apud Biturigas remansit. Ego, uti hoc nunquam egi, ita nec quicquam accessions (quam "quidem scio mihi minimè invideres) consequar re- "manendo, nisi simul accessio fiat fortè novi la- "boris (20). — Who, that is unacquainted

"with the State of my Affairs, would put any other "Construction on my long Neglect in returning an "Answer, than that I hoped this Invitation from "England might be improved to my Advantage in "Holland? Nor was the great Civilian, Andrew "Alciatus, clear from this Suspicion, when he was "invited from *Bourges* to *Pavia*. He indeed art- "fully contrived this Invitation. As for myself, "you know, that I never so much as dreamt of the "Professorship in your University, 'till it was offered "me. He, likewise, continued at *Bourges*, upon his "Stipend being greatly augmented. I, as I never "acted in this manner, so I shall receive no addi- "tional Advantage (which I am sure you would not "envy me) by continuing here; unless at the same "time an additional Service be required of me." I should feel some Remorse of Conscience, did I not acknowledge, that Mr de la Monnoie acquainted me with this Passage of *Vossius*. Besides which, He has imparted to me the following Particulars. "It ap- "pears, by the twelfth Letter of the second Book "of *Sadolet*'s Letters, that *Alciatus*, from the first "Year of his Abode at *Bourges*, had, or pretended "to have, a Design to profess the Law at *Bologna*.

(18) S. Mi- nos, ubi su- pra.

(19) Freher. in Theatr. Viror. illust. pag. 826.

(20) Vossius Epist. 43. pag. 91, 92. It is cited from Leyden, June 1. 1625.

of the Laws, and happily banished That barbarous Language, which had prevailed, till then, in the Lectures and Writings of the Civilians. *Tbuanus* extols him highly for This: I say, *Tbuanus*, who, otherwise, was but little acquainted with his History [E]. This Professor's Extemporary Harangue to *Francis I.*, who came into his Auditory [F], pleased that Monarch much. *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, thought himself obliged to recal into his Country so eminent a Man, and compassed his Design by giving him the Dignity of a Senator, besides a great Salary. *Alciatus*, therefore, went to teach the Civil-Law at *Pavia*; but a little after he came to the University of *Bologna* (g), where he resided Four Years. Afterwards he returned to *Pavia*, from whence he went to *Ferrara* (b), being invited thither by Duke *Hercules d'Est*, who endeavoured to make that University famous. It recovered it's Splendor under a Professor, who was so much followed; but, at the end of Four Years, *Alciatus* left it, to return to *Pavia*, where at last he met with the true Remedy for his inconstant

(g) He made his Inaugural Speech there on the 3d of Nov. 1537.

(b) He made his Inaugural Speech there in 1543.

"Two Italian Letters of *Bembus*, one of the seventh of July, 1533, and the other of the Twenty third of February, 1533, contain many Particulars concerning the Design, which the Republic of *Venice* had of inviting *Alciatus* to *Padua* (21). The Professors of That University were in terrible Apprehensions about it; and among others, *Franciscus da Corte*, in Latin, *Franciscus Curtius*; who, to prevent the coming of such a Colleague, spread a Report, That the Duke of *Milan*, *Francis Sforza*, erroneously called *Francis Maria* by *Panzirulus*, had forbid him, on very severe Penalties, to leave the Professorship of *Pavia*, *Sotto pena di confiscatione*, Upon pain of Confiscation of his Goods." To clear this Account from all Intricacy, we must, I think, suppose, that the Twenty third of February, 1533, in the Letter of *Peter Bembus*, is of the Year 1534, beginning the Year in the Month of January; for, without it, we cannot be persuaded, that *Alciatus* was at *Pavia*, when that Letter was dated; He, who had professed five Years at *Bourges*, and who did not begin to profess there 'till 1529. In consulting the Latin Letters of the same *Bembus*, I find, that he writ to our *Alciatus* on the fifteenth of July, 1532, to exhort him to come and take Possession of the Professorship, which was offered him in the University of *Padua*. He removes the Objection which kept him in suspense, which was, that the Republic of *Venice* would not promise him the same Species of Crowns, which he demanded (22). *Bembus* tells him, that he ought not to disengage himself from his Promise on so trivial an Account, and if you come, says he, I will undertake, that you shall have in a very little time all the Money, which you desire, and other Advantages too. He wrote to him again on the Twenty first of April, 1534. *Alciatus* was then at *Pavia*, but discontented. *Bembus* declares, that, as for his Part, he was very well satisfied with his Excuses; but that the Curators of the University of *Padua* were not; and that they were persuaded, that the Request which he had made of the Professorship of Civil Law among them, was grounded on a Motive of Interest; that is to say, That *Alciatus* would not have desired the Professorship in the University of *Padua*, but in order to make use of the Offer of this Post to procure a larger Salary from the Duke of *Milan*. "Utinam tam æqui in te Judices præfati ludi Patavini essent, neque sibi persuasissimum haberent, te propterea profectum Jus Civile hac in urbe locum postulavisse, ut eo tradito apud Ducem istum tuum uterere, ad largius atque uberius ab eo stipendium promerendum (23)." *Alciatus* had before made use of the same Artifice, at *Avignon*. He employed one of his Friends (24) to contrive the Matter so, that he might be invited to *Bologna* or *Padua*. He had no Intention of accepting these Offers; but he hoped to procure a better Salary by this Means. This appears from some Letters he wrote at that Time, and which were printed at *Utrecht* in the Year 1697. "Si mille mihi aurei Ferraræ confisterentur, eo non irem: Et satis non possum mirari, qui tibi in mentem venerit, hanc conventionem cum eo tractare; cum de Patavino, aut Bononiensi Gymnasio solum tibi mandata dederim: Quamvis nec mihi displiceant tua ista consilia: Non quod in has Academias venturus sim, sed quod Avenionenses, si civerint ab aliis quoque me sollicitari, ne eos deferam timebunt, & augebunt stipendia. Quare cum eis potissimum velim hæc diffeminare, quos conjectabis ido-

neos esse; ut in Avenionensem Academiam literas harum rerum indices dent (25). — If they would settle upon me a thousand Crowns a Year at *Ferrara*, I would not go thither; and I cannot enough wonder how you could think of entering into such a Negotiation, since I commissioned you to treat only concerning the Bolognian and Pavian Schools: however I am not displeased with your Designs; not that I have any Thoughts of ever coming into those Universities, but because the People of *Avignon*, when they find I am courted by others, will fear I should desert them to prevent which they will augment my Stipend. Wherefore I desire you would impart this Design to those, whom you shall judge proper for it, that they may send Letters to the University of *Avignon*, in Confirmation of these Matters." His Friend called at *Padua*, to induce the German Scholars to desire the Republic of *Venice* to send for *Alciatus* (26). The latter desired him not to trouble himself about it, since he was engaged for two Years in the City of *Avignon*. His Letter is dated the Twenty sixth of September, 1520. What Meanness! What fordid Love of Gain!

[E] *Tbuanus* — who, otherwise, was but little acquainted with his History! He supposes, I. That *Alciatus*, after having taught a long time at *Bourges*, was Professor at *Avignon*; but the contrary is true. II. That *Alciatus* left *France*, in the decline of his Age; whereas he was but forty Years of Age, or thereabouts. III. That *Alciatus*, being return'd into *Italy*, read first at *Bologna*, and afterwards at *Ferrara*. He read at *Pavia*, before he went to *Bologna*. IV. That *Alciatus* died in the Year 1551; but his Epitaph says it was on the 12th of January, 1550. It is true, some Authors report, That *Alciatus*'s Epitaph mentions Fifty eight Years, eight Months, and four Days, which would prove that he died the 12th of January, 1551; but others report, that it gives him but Fifty seven Years, eight Months, and four Days (27). *Tbuanus*'s Mistake is not so considerable, as that of *Forster*, adopted by Mr *Donjat* (28), and that of *Imperialis*. The latter places the Death of *Alciatus* in the Year 1559 (29). *Forster* places it in the Year 1548 (30). But let us particularly remark the Error of the Astrologer, who, having said that *Alciatus* died at *Ferrara*, in the Year 1546, adds, that it was of a Wound from *Saturn* and the *Sun*. "Andreas Alciatus didicit literas Græcæ à Pomponio Gaurico Patavii — obiit Ferraræ anno 1546, ex Saturno in oppositione horoscopi, & Sole Martis tetragono fauciato. In conversione annua non solum directi ones Aphætarum, sed annuæ conversiones penitus commutatae interirunt (31)." This is what *Lucæ Gaurici* notes, under the Figure of the Nativity of our Civilian. He supposes him to be born, the eighth of May, 1492, at one Hour, and thirty Minutes, after Sun-rising. Is not this a pretty Art? It has Rules, according to which a Man ought to die several Years before his Death. I have seen one of *Alciatus*'s Letters, dated the third of September, 1530, wherein he says, that he is just entered upon his Thirty seventh Year, or that he is but little more than Thirty seven Years of Age. *Vix trigimum & septimum annum attingens* (32). This would prove that he was born in 1494, or 1493.

[F] This Professor's extemporaneous Harangue to *Francis I.* who came into his Auditory. *Minus* reports this Fact: *Panzirulus* says nothing of it; but, instead of it, tells us, That the *Dauphin*, having assisted at one of *Alciatus*'s Lectures, presented him with a Medal, to the value of Four hundred Crowns. It

(21) Epist. Gualdii, &c. pag. 79.

(26) Ibid. pag. 78.

INCONSISTENCIES in relation to the Age of *Alciatus*.

(27) Ghilini Teatro de Literati, parte 1. pag. 11.

(28) Donjat. Prænot. Canon. p. 619.

(29) Imperialis Histor. pag. 52.

(30) Forster. Histor. lib. 5. cap. 41. pag. 542.

(31) Lucæ Gaurici in Schematib. fol. 73.

(32) Epist. Gualdii, &c. pag. 106.

(21) These Letters of *Bembus*, are in the 645th and 646th Pages of the Collectanea, entitled, Lettere di XLIII. Hummini illustri, printed at Venice, 1560, in 8vo. See likewise the 29th and 35th Letter of the 16th Book of *Bembus*.

(22) Cum tu nummos aureos solares petieris, illa tibi tantum aurea est pollicita. Pet. Bembus Epist. 20. lib. 6. pag. 634.

(23) Idem, Epist. 30. lib. 6. pag. 635.

(24) Call'd *Franciscus Calvus*.

(i) Panz. de Claris Leg. Interp. lib. 2. cap. 16c. See concerning the Time of his Death, the Remark [E] towards the End.

stant Humour [G], I mean Death, on the 12th Day of January, 1550 (i). He was not full Fifty eight Years of Age. Paul III. gave him an honourable Reception, in his Passage through Ferrara, and offered to advance him to Ecclesiastical Dignities. Alciatus was contented with that of Prothonotary, and would not renounce the Profession of the Civil-Law [H]. The Emperor created him a Count Palatine, and a Senator. Philip, King of Spain (*), passing through Pavia, presented him with a Gold Chain. It is thought that Alciatus died of a Surfeit, which he got by over eating himself (k); for he was not only very covetous, but likewise a greater Eater [I]. He

(4) Ex cibo, quem largorem sumere conlueverat, morbum contraxit. Id. ib.

(33) Tom. 4. pag. 870. Edit. f. Francfort 1617.

was the same, which the Inhabitants had given the Dauphin. I have already said, on other Occasions, That, when a Fact of this nature is variously reported by Authors, or does not appear in most of those, who write a Person's Elogy, it cannot be depended upon. Yet this Fact ought to be excepted out of this Rule; for we find among Alciatus's Works (33) the Discourse, which he made when Francis I. assisted at one of his Lectures.

[G] The true Remedy for his inconstant Humour. If I had taken Advantage of all that I have met with in Authors, concerning the several Stations of Alciatus, I should have represented him as more inconstant, than he really was. It is sufficient, that he went from Avignon to Bourges, from Bourges to Pavia, from Pavia to Bologna, from Bologna to Pavia, from Pavia to Ferrara, from Ferrara to Pavia, and all this before sixty Years of Age. I bet to ill disposes his Account of this learned Civilian, that any Reader would infer from it, that Alciatus returned into France, after the Duke of Milan had recall'd him from Bourges. We have seen that Panzirolus makes him go from Pavia to Avignon. Mureri sends him from Bourges to Orleans, and from Orleans to Padua.

Mr Teisser makes him Professor at Milan (34). He cites Pasquier, in the Twenty ninth Chapter of the ninth Book of his Recherches: He should have cited the Thirty ninth Chapter; but Milan is not to be found there. These are Pasquier's Words: "I heard " three or four of Alciatus's Lectures in the City of " Pavia. Coming from thence to Bologna, where " Marianus Socinus, the Nephew of Bartholomew, " read Lectures, I found that the Italian Scholars, " in general, had a greater Esteem for him, than for " the other. Nay, those, who had any Suit in Law, " chose rather to make use of Socinus, because, said " they, he never lost any time in the study of hu- " man Learning, as Alciatus did." Mr Teisser, citing this Passage, says, That Bartholomew Socinus taught the Civil Law at Bologna, when Alciatus was Professor at Milan. These two Facts are not to be found in Pasquier. If I would have made a general Collection of all these Circumstances, what a Weathercock should I have made of our sickle Professor? but I should have been a thousand times more to blame, than the Authors of these Falshoods, if I had made use of them to his prejudice. He was not ignorant, that he was censured for his frequent Changes of Universities, and, among other Reasons, he endeavour'd to justify himself by this, that no one finds fault with the Sun, for running round the Earth, to animate all things by it's Heat, and it's Beams: He added, That when any one praises the fixed Stars, he does not design to condemn the Planets (35). There was an insufferable Vanity in these Comparisons; it was to consider himself as a Source of Light, which was to run successively through all the Republic of Letters, that the Darkness of Ignorance might be expell'd from every Place by his Presence. But let us allow him his Comparison, and tell him, that he ought to have resembled Copernicus's Sun, have kept his Center, and illuminated from thence all who approach'd him. It is much more honourable for a Philosopher to be visited by a great Number of Scholars, in the place of his Residence, as Abelard was (36), than to ramble up and down in search of Scholars. And, doubtless, if the love of Glory alone possesses a Man's Soul, without being mix'd with the love of Gain, or a fantastical Humour of being soon disgusted with the same Things, we should not see so many Persons struck with Alciatus's Dis temper. The Idea of true Glory would inspire a Man with a Resolution not to wander in search of great Theatres of Action, but to convert the Place of his own Residence into such a Theatre, how small soever it be: He would remember Agglaus's Answer. He happened to be placed, on a Day of Ceremony, beneath his Rank; 'Eury,

(34) Teisser, Eloges des Hommes illustres, Tom. 2. pag. 395. Edit. Geneva, 1683.

(3) See the Speech he pronounced at Ferrara, in 1543. Oper. Tom. 4. pag. 872. and Claud. Minus in his Life.

(35) See Remark [A] of the Article FOUL-QUES.

say: be, δαίμων γὰρ ἔστι ἐν οἷ τοῖσι τὰς ἀνδρῶν ἐν- τήμας, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀνδρες τὰς τοῦτο ἐπιδεικνύμεναι: — I am satisfied; for I will shew that a Man does not receive Honour from his Place, but his Place from him (37). He would see that it is much more glorious to do a thing gratis, than for Reward, and that the nearer a Man comes to a free Gift, that is, to a Profession without a Salary, the nearer he approaches to what is great and noble; whereas he recedes from it, and becomes a Man of a mean and mercenary Spirit, in proportion as he increases the Wages, which he extorts. This is to reduce the Profession of Learning to the Nature of the most Mechanic Arts. A Shoemaker, or a Hatter, who will be better paid for his Work than another, gains the Reputation of an excellent Workman by it. To pretend, that an Increase of your Salary is a Proof that you are esteemed the greater Preacher, or more learned Professor; is it not to judge of your Trade, as we judge of that of a Shoemaker, or a Hatter? This is the direct way to cry down Learning, and to draw Contempt upon those, who profess it; for a false Taste of Glory, join'd with Covetousness, generally occasions the Fault, for which Alciatus was blamed; I mean the violent Desire of making the Tour of all the Universities; which I have already taken notice of in another Place (38). Surely this is to set up one's Learning to public Sale, and to proclaim, That he who bids most shall have it.

[H] And would not renounce the Profession of the Civil Law. He congratulates himself upon it, in a Letter which he wrote to Paul Jovius, whom Pope Paul III. had amuss'd a long time with deceitful Promises. I am very glad, says he, that I did not suffer myself to be deceived by that Pontiff, who invited me to go to Rome, upon the Promise of great Rewards. Upon this he set forth the solid Advantages of his Profession, in opposition to the imaginary Hopes of a Cardinalship. " Mihi gratulor, quod ab eo (inveterati " agnus sene Principe) me decipi non sim passus, quum " me, uti scis, magnis propositis præmiis Ticino, " Ferrara, atque Bononia, in Urbem accerferet. " Tum enim ex jure meo magis cautus fui, quam tu " ex sapientie præceptis prudens Philosophus. Cur " enim pro inani aut incerta spe purpureæ, hos tantos " primi suggestus honores reliquerem, opimis præ- " sertim firmatus stipendiis? Cur has tantas contem- " nerem circumfusus juventutis salutaciones? & hanc " denique tot consultoribus januum pulantibus exili- " mationem magno lucro, & non obscura cum laude " quæsitam, ineptè sultate defererem (39)? — " For why should I quit these first-rate Honours, at- " tended too with great Advantages, for the vain and " uncertain Hopes of the Purple? Why should I de- " spise that awful Respect, which is paid me by the " surrounding Crowd of Students? and why should I " foolishly forsake the great Reputation I acquire, not " without considerable Gain, from such a Number of " Persons, who are continually knocking at my Door to " consult me?" Note, by the by, that this confutes those who say, that he refus'd a Cardinal's Hat, which the Pope offer'd him (40). This Story is the fruit of an Hyperbole, the darling Figure of many People. The whole Truth of the Matter is this, That the Pope, the better to persuade Andrea Alciatus to come to Rome, gave him to understand that it would be a means to open his Way to the Sacred College. Such a Discourse is very far from the Offer of a Cardinal's Cap. (*) [Alciatus, to whom it is said that Philip made a Present of a Gold Chain, died in 1550. Now this Prince came to the Crown but upon the Abdication of the Emperor his Brother. If Mr BAYLE had recollected this, he would have said the Prince of Spain, and not the King of Spain. This little Piece of Inadvertency is properly Panzirolus's, whom Mr BAYLE only copies here. REM. CRIT.]

[I] For he was not only very covetous, but likewise a great Eater. Panzirolus expresses himself thus: Avarior

(37) Plot. in Ap. pph. Lacon. init. pag. 208.

A REFLEX-ION on the Rambling Humour of some Profes-sors.

(38) In the Remark [A], of the Article AC-CARIS I.

(39) Alciat. Epist. ad Paulum Jovium. It is prefix'd to the first Volume of Jovius's Histories, and dated from Pavia, the seventh of October, 1549.

(40) Teisser. Elog. Tom. 2. pag. 354. Edit. 1683. & Tom. 1. pag. 34. Edit. 1696.

(l) Vir fuit corpulentus, proceræ stature. *Panzir. de Clivis Leg. Interpr.* 1b. 25. cap. 169. *Mr. Tellier, Tom. 2. p. 304. of his Elegies, f. 35 he was a Man of a middle Stature.*

(m) It is not therefore, true that there was at Naples, in 1688, a Grandson of the Great Alciatus. See Dr. Burnett's Travels into Italy. If there was, he must have been very old.

He was a corpulent and tall Man (l). After the Death of his Mother, who was much advanced in Years, he had a mind to lay out his Estate in founding a College; but, having received an Affront from some insolent Scholars, he gave over that Design, and made choice of Francis ALCIATUS for his Heir, a Young Man of great Hopes, whom he had educated (m), though he was not nearly related to him (n). This Francis Alciatus succeeded to Andrew's Estate and Professorship, and made himself famous at Pavia by his Lectures in Civil-Law. Cardinal Borromeo, who had been his Disciple, invited him to Rome, and was so good a Patron to him, that he obtained for him, from Pope Pius V, a Bishopric, the Office of a Datary, and a Cardinal's Hat (o). There are some Treatises of Civil-Law wrote by this Cardinal Alciatus, who died at Rome in the Month of April, 1580, being a little above fifty Years of Age. See Nicus Erythraeus, in the Forty seventh Chapter of the second *Pinacotheca*. Those, who say that our Alciatus lived always a single Life, are mistaken [K]. He set up for an Author betimes, as I have observed in the Remark [B]. He published many Law Books, and some Notes on Tacitus, whose Latinity appeared to him very harsh [L]. Muretus, in one of his Speeches, very much inveighs against this Delicacy (p). Alciatus was not sensible of this; for he was already dead; but other Critics, particularly Floridus Sabinus, who attacked him in his Life-time, made him feel their Teeth and Nails (q). His Emblems were very much esteemed, and some Learned Persons have adorned them with Commentaries [M]. His Poems

(n) Moreri *l'hist. eccl. de ses bis Neptels.*

(o) Panzir. ubi supra.

(p) 'Tis the 1st of the 2d Tome. See all Bodin, Meth. Histor. cap. 4. pag. 85.

(q) Cl. Minos in Vita Alciat.

Avarior habitus est, & cibi avidior. He adds, That Alciatus, having once received Three hundred Crowns for his Advice, and hearing, that Marianus Scinius had received a larger Fee upon the same Occasion, said, they had found a better Merchant, but not a better Lawyer. Take this by the way, for a Confirmation of what has been quoted out of Pasquier (41). "Here are more Tidings of Alciatus's Covetousness. He is taxed with two Things. The one is, That his Method favours of I know not what Offentation of the Doctor. — The other is, that Covetousness had so far got the Ascendant over him, that his Tongue, his Pen, and his Doctrine, seemed to be at the Service of that Lord, who paid him best. Nay, I remember, that speaking of *Jafon*, in his *Parerga*, he seems to preach in favour of Money; for he praises him, because his Salary had been augmented; which Alciatus knew very well how to make his Advantage of, having drawn Twelve hundred Crowns from the University of *Bourges*, besides his Licences and Degrees; the Prices of which he caused to be trippled, following the Steps of Dr *Jafon*, who was the first that took fifty, and an hundred, Crowns, for the Degrees and Honours he conferr'd on the Civilians; whereas before his Time they were wont to pay but three or four Crowns. And, therefore, he says, it is lawful for himself, *Deicius*, *Ruinus*, and the other Doctors, to enrich themselves by these Gratuities paid by the Scholars. From whence it is easy to gather, that he did not fail to alledge the Example of *Jafon* against those, who censured him for being so fond of Money, that they, who had a Mind to take a Doctor's, or Bachelor's, or Licentiate's, Degree from him, were obliged to pay down their Crowns in abundance. That which makes me persist in this Opinion, is, that, in the last Chapter of the fifth Book of his *Parerga*, renewing his Discourse concerning *Jafon*, he complains of Princes, and Lords, who set such a mean Value on learned and knowing Men; whereas in former Times, and even in *Vespasian's* Time (according to the Report of *Suetonius*) That Emperor caused Fifteen hundred Crowns of the public Money to be given to the Greek and Latin Orators, and Rhetoricians: He also adds the Authority of the Rhetorician *Eumanius*, who exercised his Profession at *Autun*, to whom Fifteen thousand Crowns of the public Money were given yearly, by Order of the Emperors *Dioleflan*, and *Maximilian*." These are *Thevet's* Words, in the 279th Page, of the seventh Tome, of his History of illustrious Men.

[K] Those, who say that our Alciatus liv'd always a single Life, are mistaken. Let us see what he says in a Letter, which he wrote to his Friend Francis Calvus, after he came from Milan to Avignon. "Vice versa & ego te rerum mearum admonco; multis affectum me ærumnis patria excessisse, Uxorem vivam & solipsum ibi reliquisse; cæteros fato sum ætos; fortunis plerisque amissis, virtuti soli innoxum non omnino concidisse. Libros & Bibliothecam

cam omnem conservasse. In præsentia Jus Civile Avenione profiteo (42). — I will now, in my turn, give you an Account how my Affairs stand; I have left my Country in great Affliction of Mind; I have left behind me my Wife, alive, and in Health; the rest of my Relations are dead (43); my Virtue alone supports me from entirely sinking under the Loss of the greatest part of my Fortunes; I have preserved my Books, and my whole Library, and, at present, I profess the Civil Law at Avignon." Let us then correct these Words of Mr Teissier, he liv'd always a single Life (44).

[L] Whose Latinity appeared to him very harsh.] This Complaint escap'd him in a Letter to Paul Jovius: "Alciatus non dubitat affirmare dictionem ejus præ illa Pauli Jovii esse sententia (45) — Alciatus does not scruple to affirm, that his Style, in Comparison of Paul Jovius's, is like a Place covered with Thorns and Briars." On another Occasion, he expresses himself in a very different manner: "Certat in Tacito sermonis gravitas cum elegantia (46). — In Tacitus, Dignity of Style contends with Elegance." I refer the Examination of this to the Article TACITUS.

[M] His Emblems were very much esteemed, and adorned with Commentaries.] Scaliger the Father, who was not lavish of his Praises, as every one knows, gives this Account of That Work: "Alciati præter emblemata nihil mihi videre contigit. Ea vero talia sunt, ut cum quovis ingenio certare possint. Dulcia sunt, pura sunt, elegantia sunt, sed non sine nervis; sententiæ vero tales, ut etiam ad usus civilis vitæ conferant (47). — I have not met with any Work of Alciatus, except his Emblems. But they are, I think, equal to any Work of Genius. They are entertaining, chaste, and elegant, and not without Strength; the Sentences likewise are such, as may even be of Service to the Purposes of Civil Life." These Emblems were translated into French, Italian, and Spanish (48). There are at least three French Translations; That of *Bartholomew Aneau*, That of *John le Fevre*, and That of *Claudius Minos* (49). The latter not only translated, but commented upon them: One of the most learned Humanists of Spain (50) thought them worthy of a Commentary of his own composing. *Pignorius*, a learned Italian, formed the same Judgment of them; and after them, a Professor of *Friburg* (51), published them with their's and his own Notes, and added those of *Frederic Morel* at the end. This Edition is a very good one: 'Tis pity we cannot distinguish in it what belongs to each Commentator: It came out at Padua, in the Year 1661, in 4to. I do not mention *Sebastian Stockhamerus*, whose Labours are not much esteemed. "Sebastianum Stockhamerus vix Commentatoris nomine dignor, quia in sola epigrammatis resolutione occupatur, paucissimis, illicque suis vulgaris, sententiis & fabulis additis; ad hæc vix median emblematum partem hoc suo more explicat (52). — Sebastian Stockhamerus scarce deserves the Name of a Commentator; for he is wholly taken up in the Analysis of an Epigram, adding

(42) Epist. Gadii, &c. pag. 75.

(43) *Te he f. 35. lb. d. pag. 96. in a Letter, written in 1522, that his Mother and his Uncle, by his Father's side, were living.*

(44) Teissier. Addit. aux Elog. Tom. 1. pag. 34.

(45) Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 1. pag. 160.

(46) Vide Cramberti Diff. Politic. in Tacit. pag. 3.

(47) Jul. Cæsar Scalig. lib. 6. de Poetic.

(48) Joh. Matthæus Tolcanus in Populo Italico, lib. 3.

(49) See the Bibliothecope of la Croix du Maine.

(50) Sanctius Brocensis.

(51) Joann. Thibaultus Marimontanus, of Tirol, Philosopher and Physician, and formerly Archdeacon of Friburg, and Professor in ordinary of Humanity, in the University of Briggaw.

(52) Thibaultus in Pref. Claudius Minos, gives much the same Judgment of it in his Preface, adding

were much commended, as Mr *Baillet* ingeniously observes in the Third Volume of his *Jugemens sur les Poëtes*, n. 1286. He is not one of those, who have perished in their first Sentiments; for we find, in his *Parerga*, a Work, which he published in his old Age, a Retraction of several things, which the fire of Youth had occasioned him to advance with too great Precipitation; and, when his *Dispunctiones* were printed in 1529, he gave the Public to understand (r) that, in revising this Work, he did not pretend to give his Approbation to every thing he had inserted in it in his Younger Days, nor to deprive himself of the liberty of altering his Opinions. This Remark was made by an Apologist of the Emperor *Justinian* (s).

A Letter was printed at *Leyden* (t), in 1695, wrote by *Andrew Alciatus*, which he did not intend to make public; for it contains a lively Description of the Abuses of a Monastic Life. He wrote this Letter to *Bernard Mattius*, who had been his Colleague, and who turned a Fryar of the Order of *St Francis* on a sudden, and without consulting his Friends. He represented to him his Imprudence with great Learning and Eloquence. This Piece of *Alciatus* was composed in four Days; and was found in *Scrivener's* Closet (u). It is dated the 7th of June 1553 [N].

(r) See the Preface to the Book.

(s) Gabriel Trivarius, Obferuat. Apologet. ad Inscript. Orationis ad Antecessores, pag. 187. Paris. 1631.

(t) B. M. Matthæus, Prefat. f. the Great Lib. at Leyd. n.

(u) See the Epistle Dedicatory of Mr Matthæus.

"adding a few, and those the most trite and common Sentences; besides, he does not explain half the Emblems, after this his Manner." I omit likewise the Jesuit, who explained the same Emblems publicly at *Paris* (53); but I believe the Reader will not be displeased to see the Title, which *Bartholomew Anæus* (*Bartholomæus Anæus*) prefixed to His Translation. It is This. *Andrew Alciatus's Emblems translated Verse for Verse, according to the Latin, and digested into Common Places, with Summaries, Incriptions, Schemes, and brief epimythic Expositions, according to the Natural, Moral, or Historical Allegory.* The Editions of this Work of *Alciatus* are numberless; there are Two hundred and twelve Emblems in That of *Tbuius*, which I make use of; I am therefore surprized, that *Paul Freherus* should say, That this Book contains but One hundred Emblems (54).

(54) Paul Freher. in Theatro.

[N] It is dated the 7th of June, 1553.] If this Date be right, we must reject all the Authors, who place *Alciatus's* Death on the twelfth of January, 1550, or

1551, and who alledge his Epitaph as a Proof (55). But there is a Mistake in the Date of this Work, and I believe it was composed before the Year 1520, and that it is the same Piece, which *Alciatus* feared *Erasmus* would cause to be printed. "Quod ut facias te quoque ipse oro: Nec minus ut de uingibus Erasmi regutines orationem illam meam ad Matthiam Minoritam, cum id quæso, ne, si cinerariorum istorum manus inciderit, parata sint mihi cum eis æterna bella (56). — This I intend to treat you to perform; as also, that you would get out of *Erasmus's* Clutches That Oration of mine to *Matthias Minorita*; lest, if it falls into the Hands of those Blowers of the Coals, I should be drawn in to wage eternal War with them." This is what he wrote to his Friend *Francis Calvus*, the Twenty sixth of September, 1520. Some of this Civilian's Letters were published at *Utrecht* in 1697, which inform us of many Particulars, and chiefly of the Encomiums he bestowed upon himself with all a Boaster's Vanity.

(55) See the Remarks [E].

(56) Epist. Gudii, sec. pag. 80. See also, pag. 81, 82, and Mr Burman's Preface.

ALCIATUS (*JOHN PAUL*) a Gentleman of *Milan*, was one of those *Italians*, who left their Country in the XVIth Century, to embrace the Protestant Religion, and who afterwards refined so much upon the Mystery of the Trinity, that they formed a New Party, equally odious to the Protestants and Catholics. *Alciatus* had bore Arms; he began his Innovations at *Geneva*, together with a Physician, whose Name was *Blandrata*, and an Advocate, whose Name was *Gribaud*, to whom *Valentinus Gentilis* associated himself (a). The Precautions, which were taken against them, and the severe Proceedings carried on against the latter, made the rest more timorous, and induced them to look out for another Stage (b). They made choice of *Poland*, where *Blandrata* and *Alciatus* sowed their Heresies with good Success. They invited *Gentilis* thither [A], who did not fail to join them (c). He had obligations

(a) See Arctius, in the History of Gentilis's Condemnation.

(b) Beza in Vit. Calvini.

(c) Id. ib.

[A] They invited *Gentilis* thither.] I have followed *Aretius* and *Theodorus Beza*, who agree in this, That *Gentilis* did not go into *Poland*, till after *Blandrata* and *Alciatus* had published their Opinions there (1); and I give up the Author of the *Bibliotheca Antitritinarianorum*, who affirms that *Alciatus* and *Gentilis* went into *Poland* together about the Year 1562 (2). *Stanislaus Lubienietzky* says almost the same thing. "Valentinus iste & Paulus Alciatus Pedemontanus, cum Geneva ob odia Calvinii acerrima subsisteret non possent, anno 1563 in Poloniam venerant (3). — Tibi Valentinus et Paulus Alciatus of Piedmont, when they could no longer continue at Geneva, on Account of the inveterate Prejudices against Calvin, in the Year 1563, came into Poland." But these Authors are not exact enough to deserve the Preference. *Hornius* deserves it still less, who says, That *George Blandrata*, and *Paul Alciatus*, both Physicians, (he is mistaken in regard to *Alciatus*) fled from Switzerland into *Poland*, being terrified at the Punishment of *Servetus* and *Gentilis*. In the same Page of his Ecclesiastical History, he affirms, that they followed the Trithemism of *Valentinus Gentilis* (4). But it is certain that *Alciatus's* Heresy was meerly confuted, than by a Letter of *Peter Martyr*, written at *Zurich*, the eleventh of July, 1558. He informs *Calvin*, in this Letter, that he had seen *Gregory* the Physician, and *John Paul the Piemontois*; that they

were exhorted not to disturb the Union of the Church, and to conform themselves to the Formulary of the Italian Church of *Geneva*; that they could not prevail with them, and that, upon *Bullinger's* Opinion, they were advised to leave the City; that they did so; that the Physician said, he was going into *Transylvania*; and that *John Paul* went to *Chiavonne*. We must not read *Gregorium Medicum*, in *Peter Martyr*, but *Georgium Medicum*; who is no other than *George Blandrata*, as *Johannes Paulus Pedemontanus* is no other than our *Alciatus*. If *Calvin* had not expressly said, that all these Heterodox *Italians*, and by Name *John Paul Alciatus*, signed the Formulary, I should be much tempted to think, that those, whom *Peter Martyr* speaks of, refused to subscribe to it. However it be, they were not at *Geneva* a little after their Subscription; for they subscribed on the eighteenth of May, 1558, and were at *Zurich* the eleventh of July following. *Gentilis* was not executed 'till 1566. He left *Geneva* some Months after the Subscription, and went into the Country of *Gex*, where he conferred with *Alciatus*; which shews, either that *Alciatus* did not go to *Chiavonne*, when he left *Zurich*, or that he did not long continue there. See the Article *B. LANDRATA*, where I endeavour to clear up the Chronology in relation to these Persons.

(1) Aretius in his History of Gentilis's Condemnation. See also the 81st Letter of Beza.

(2) Bibl. Antitritin. pag. 26, 27.

(3) Lubienietzky's History of the Reformation in Poland, pag. 107.

(4) The Mistakes are to be found in the Edition of 1687, enlarged with Mr Leydecker's Notes, and his Continuation.

(d) Bibl.
Antitrinit.
pag. 28.

other in 1565, dated from *Husterlitz*, in which he maintained that *JESUS CHRIST* did not exist before he was born of the Holy Virgin (d). There was Reason, then, to blame *Moreri*, who made him an *Arian*, and afterwards a *Mahometan* (e). Perhaps, before he went to *Dantzic*, he made the *Tour of Turkey*, without any design of turning a Renegade, but only to secure himself from Perfection [E]; which perhaps occasioned the Report of his pretended *Mahometanism*. *Calvin* and *Beza* represented him as a Madman [F].

(e) See his
Dictionary
in the Ar-
icle ALCI-
ATUS,
where he is
confuted.

"that Alciatus, in his Letters to Gregorius Paulus, dated at *Husterlitz*, in the Year 1564 and 1565, dissuaded him from the Opinion, that Christ existed before he was born of Mary and strenuously opposed the Vulgar Notion of the Trinity; inasmuch that he is said inadvertently to have recommended to him a kind of Mahometanism, even in the doubtful and hazardous beginnings of a Reformation; but that it was found out by Calvin and his Followers, who were inflamed with the most deadly Hate towards him, and all Lovers of Truth."

[E] Perhaps — he made the *Tour of Turkey* — to secure himself from Perfection.] This puts me in mind of *Peter Abelard*, who was on the Point of seeking an Asylum among the Infidels, against the Agents or Promoters of Orthodoxy. He had been very ill treated, and was more alarmed than any other; for, whenever he was told that there would be speedily an Assembly of Ecclesiastics, he immediately believed it was designed to condemn HIM. Besides he found, by Experience, the great Credit of those Agents; and it was not easy to escape them under Princes of their own Party. They send circular Letters; and, before their Enemy arrives at any Town, the Description of his Errors has already alarmed the Inhabitants of it, and exasperated them against him. There was a Time, when they, who had the Pope's Ear, could make the best part of Europe an uninhabitable Country to a Person, whom they were resolved to decry as an Heretic; and the poor Wretch might, in some Sense, apply to himself the Psalmist's Exclamation, *Whither shall I go then from thy Spirit? or whither shall I go then from thy Presence? — If I take the Wings of the Morning, and remain in the utmost Part of the Sea; — even there also thy right Hand shall hold me.* Psal. cxxxix. — Therefore, it is no wonder, that *Peter Abelard* was induced to retire among the *Mahometans* or *Pagans*. He was in hopes, that, in paying Tribute, he might have the Liberty to profess Christianity, out of the Sphere of Activity of the *Odium Theologicum*, and he fear'd, that, unless he did so, he should always find himself within the Influence of That Sphere. These are his Words. "Deus ipse mihi testis est, quotiens aliquam Ecclesiasticum personam conventum adunari noveram, hoc in damnationem meam agi credebam. Stupefactus illico, quasi su-

"pervenientis ictum fulguris expectabam, ut quasi hæreticus aut profanus in confiliis traheretur aut Synagogis — Sæpe autem (Deus scit) in tantum lapsus sum desperationem, ut, Christianorum finibus excessis, ad Gentes transire disponerem, atque ibi quietè sub quacunque tributi passione inter inimicos Christi christianè vivere (21). — God himself is my Witness, that, as often as I heard, that an Assembly of Ecclesiastics was to meet, I fancied it was called for my Condemnation. In the utmost Consternation thereupon, I immediately expected, as some Thunder-Clap, to be dragg'd before Councils and Synagogues, and to be accused as an Heretic, or profane Person. — Often likewise (God knows) I fell into such Despair, that I purpos'd to quit Christendom, and to take Refuge among the Pagans; there, at the Expence of a Tribute, to live as a Christian, among the Enemies of Christ." Now, as *Alciatus* had yet more to fear from Popery, than *Abelard*, and that he found but little Safety in Countries, where other Christians were Masters,

(21) Abbe-
lardi Opus-
pag. 32.

----- Tenent Danaï, quâ deficit Ignis (22);

(22) Virgil
Æn. lib. 2.
ver. 505.

Where'er the raging Fire had left a Space,
The Grecians enter, and possess the Place.

DRYDEN.

his capricious Humour might well create in him a Desire of trying the Toleration of the *Turks*, and then might induce him to change his Mind, and resolve upon going to *Dantzic*. Let us learn from hence to distrust certain Accounts, though adopted by considerable Authors.

[F] *Calvin* and *Beza* represented him as a Madman.] The former says, that, on the Day, when the *Italians*, suspected of Heterodoxy, were required to sign a Formulary, *Alciatus* flew into a violent Passion. "Inter quos Princeps fuit Joannes quidam Paulus Alciatus, homo non solidi tantum & vesani ingenii sed plane phreneticus ad rabiem usque (23). — Among them the Chief was one John Paulus Alciatus, a Man, not only Foolish and Ignorant, but Frantic even to Rage." The latter says, that he was a giddy-headed, and frantic Fellow; "Paulus quidam Alciatus, Mediolanensis, homo jam antea plane phreneticus & vertiginosus (24)."

(23) Calvin.
adverf. Va-
lent. Gentil.
pag. 69.
Tractat.
Theolog.

(24) Beza
Epist. 31.

ALCIATUS (TERENCE) an Italian Jesuit, descended from the same Family as *Alciatus* the Civilian, was born at *Rome* in the Year 1570. He studied the Civil-Law five Years before he turned Jesuit, and entered into That Society in the Month of *March*, 1591. The Employments he had in it testify, that they looked upon him as a considerable Man. He was thirteen Years Præfect of the College of *Rome*; he taught Philosophy five Years, and Divinity seventeen in That City. Afterwards he was Director of the Penitentiary of the *Vatican*, and Sub-Superior of the *Maison Professe*. He assisted at the Ninth General Congregation of the Jesuits, as Deputy of the Province of *Rome*, and, when he died of an *Apoplexy* on the 12th of *November*, 1651, he was Sub-Provincial. He was not less esteemed out of the Society; for, besides that he was a long time Qualificator of the Congregation of the Holy Office, and Confessor of the Congregation of Rites, he was chosen by Pope *Urban VIII* to refute Father *Paul*. He prepared an Edition of the *Acts* of the Council of *Trent*, which he intended as an Apology for that Assembly against all kind of Adversaries, and particularly against This Formidable *Venetian*. He had already collected a great number of Materials for this Important and Laborious Work, when Death took him out of the World (a); but, though he had spent several Years upon this Undertaking, he had scarce began to digest it into Form. Father *Sforza Palavicini*, who was engaged in the same Design, informs us why Father *Alciatus* was so backward in his Performance [A]. If *Moreri* had but cast his Eye on the Preface of Cardinal *Pallavicini*,

(a) See his
Bibliotheca
Scriptor. in
Sæcul. 16.
lib. 1.

[A] Father *Alciatus* was so backward in his Performance.] He laid it down as a Rule, never to deny a thing, without bringing Proofs of the Negative; inasmuch that he spent many Years in search of Me-

moirs, which might furnish him with Proofs. Cardinal *Palavicini* pretends, that this was a Work of Supererogation; because no Law obliges a Man to prove what he denies: It lies upon the Accuser to prove

Palavicini, he would not have put *the Acts of the Council of Trent* among *Father Alciatus's* Works. We must only insert among them one *Sermon on the Passion*, preached before Pope *Clement VIII* in 1602, and the *Life of Peter Fabri*, a Companion of *St Ignatius Loyola*. *Father Alciatus*, disguised under the Name of *Eminius Tacitus* (b), translated it into *Italian* from the *Latin* of *Nicolas Orlandino* (c). This Translation was printed at *Rome* in 1629. The *Latin* was printed at *Lyons* in 1617. *Moreri* observes, that Pope *Urban VIII* declared, that *Father Alciatus* deserved a Cardinal's Hat. *Nicinus Erythæus* reports the same (d). If it be asked, what prevented this Jesuit from obtaining what he deserved; I answer, had not *Urban* the VIIIth the disposal of these Hats? The Reply is very obvious; This Dignity is to be conferred on such a number of Persons for Political Reasons, that, they, who are thought worthy of it, cannot always be admitted to it.

(b) Leo Alciatus in *Apibius urbanis*, p. 238. and *Alegambus*, *call bim* Erminius.

(c) Sætuell's B. bl. Societ. Jesu.

(d) Nic. Erythæus. *Pinacoth.* 2. cap. 47.

prove his Charge; and if he does not do it, he deserves the Punishment of Retaliation. But the accused Person may content himself with a bare *I deny it*: This is sufficient to acquit him, whilst nothing is proved against him: "Là dove questi s'era fatto lecito, d' accusare senza provare, il che dalle leggi è punito colla pena del talione; quegli non volle negare senza haver la prova della falsità; dal che ogni legge li dà obbligava. Quindi fu che spece moltissimi anni in cercar memorie certe di que' successi (1)." By this Cardinal's good leave, I do not think, that, upon this occasion, it was sufficient to deny what *Father Paul* affirmed. When the Laugh is against us, we cannot

(1) Palavicini's Introduction to the Hist. of the Council of Trent.

bring too many Proofs in support of our Cause. The Cardinal adds, that *Father Alciatus* composed very slowly, as being scrupulously exact in whatever he wrote; besides which, old Age, and the Affairs of the Society, were new Obstacles. "Dapoi la freddezza dell'età decrepita, la natura perplessa, la pena altrettanto lenta, quanto esquisita, le occupazioni de' nostri governi domestici hanno cagionato ch' egli sia morto con lasciar solo qualche vestigio dell' opera concepita in idea (2)." We may learn from hence, that some Persons, through too much care of becoming good Authors, never become Authors at all.

(2) Id. Ibid.

ALCINOE, Daughter of *Polybius*, the *Corinthian*, and Wife of *Amphilocus*, ran mad for Love of one *Xanthus*, of the Island of *Samos*, who lodged at her House. This was not the strangest part of her Adventure; the great Matter of Surprise is, that it was *Minerva* who inspired her with this Disease of Love, to punish her for not having discharged her Promise to a Woman, who had worked for her. This Woman prayed to *Minerva* to revenge her; and thus her Prayers were heard. *Alcinoe*, influenced by this Goddess, fell so desperately in Love with her Guest, that she forsook her House and her young Children, and embarked with him. But, at Sea, she reflected on her Conduct, she bewailed it, she remembered, with Tears and Cries, her young Husband, and her Children; lastly, all the good Words of *Xanthus*, who promised to marry her, being too feeble a Consolation, she cast herself into the Sea (a). A great Exploit, and highly worthy of the Goddess *Minerva*! See the Remark [C] of the Article *EGIALEA*, and the Remark [D] of the Article *MYRRHA*.

(a) Parthenit. *Eroticonum*. c. 27.

ALCINOUS, King of the *Phæacians*, in an Island, which is, at present, called *Corfu*, was the Son of *Naustobius* (a), and Grandson of *Neptune* and *Peribœa* [A]. He married his Niece *Arete*, the only Daughter of *Rexenor*, the Son of *Naustobius*, and had five Sons by her, and a Daughter whose Name was *Nausicaa*, whom *Homer* greatly celebrates (b). He praises the Mother much more, and makes a Heroine of her. He gives us likewise very long Descriptions of *Alcinous's* Palace and Gardens. According to his Account, these Gardens produced the most excellent Fruits in the World, without any vicissitude of Winter and Summer, and in every Month of the Year. It was, doubtless, by his Gardens that *Alcinous* chiefly immortalized his Memory [B]. He received *Ulysses* with great Civility [C], whom a Storm had cast a-shore

(a) Homer. *Odyss.* lib. 6, & 7. We must not call him Naustobius, as *Moreri* does.

(b) Homer. *Odyss.* lib. 6. ver. 62.

[A] Grandson of *Neptune* and *Peribœa*.] *Britannicus* assures us, that *Alcinous* was the Son of *Phæax*, and that *Phæax* was the Son of *Neptune*, and of *Coryra* (1). I find indeed the latter of these two Circumstances in *Stephen of Byzantium*, but not that this Son of *Neptune* and *Coryra* was the Father of *Alcinous*.

(1) Britannicus in *Juvenal*. Sat. 5. ver. 151.

[B] It was doubtless, by his Gardens, that *Alcinous* chiefly immortalized his Memory.] The Poets, in general, strive to out-do each other in speaking of his Gardens. *Lloyd* cites many Passages from them; let us content ourselves with this of *Juvenal*:

Illa jubebit
Poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
Qualia perpetuus Phæacum autumnus habebat (2).

(2) Juvenal. Sat. 5. ver. 147.

To him are ordered, and those happy few,
Whom Fate has rais'd above Contempt and you,
Most fragrant Fruits; such in Phæacian Gardens grew;
Where an eternal Autumn ever smiles,
And golden Apples loaded Branches fill'd.

Rev'd. Mr WILLIAM BOWLES.

And let us add to this the Testimony of an Author in *Prose*. "Antiquitas nihil prius mirata est quam Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonis & Alcinoui (3) — Antiquity admired nothing beyond the

(3) Plin. lib. 19. cap. 4.

"Gardens of the Hesperides, and those of the Kings Adonis (4) and Alcinous." *Lloyd* cites *Theophrastus*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, who mentions these Gardens in his third Book *ad Autolicum*, but he says that we must correct the Reading *Antinous*, and substitute *Alcinous*. He cites likewise these Words of *St Gregory Nazianzen*:

Ἡ δὲ τραπεζὰ καὶ ἄλσος Ἀλκινόοιο
Τερπνοτέρη (5).

Thy Table is pleasanter than the Gardens of Alcinous.

I have not observed, that the Poets feign, that this Prince was the Orchard-Keeper, as *Moreri* will have it. *Charles Stephens* led him into this Error; for in his Dictionary we find an *Alcinous* different from the King of the *Phæacians*, and distinguish'd by the Office of *Hortorum custos*; which the Author proves by the second Book of *Virgil's Georgics*, and by some Verses of *Ovid* and *Statius*; which relate, not to this, but only to *Alcinous's* Gardens. Probably this Mistake might arise from a Blunder of some Transcriber, or Printer, who put *custos*, instead of *cultor*.

[C] He receiv'd *Ulysses* with great Civility.] Several Authors, as *Rasinius Textor* (6), and *Decimator* (7), attribute

(4) *I have not noticed Theophrastus Pliny's right understood what he had read, concerning the Gardens of Adonis. They were not such as he takes them to be.*

(5) *Gregor. Nazianz. C. 21. Vitulian.*

(6) In *Epi-thet.*

(7) In *Syl. voc. vocabul. & in Thes. sive ling. rum.*

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a-shore on the Coast of the *Phæacians*; he offered him his Daughter, and caused him to be conducted to *Ithaca* loaded with Presents. Now, as *Ulysses* told the Company an hundred old Women's Stories, during the Feast, to which he was admitted, it is thought that this occasioned certain Proverbs, which were in use among the Ancients [D]. However it be, *Alcinous's* Kingdom was a jovial Country; the People there loved good Cheer, and the Conveniences of Life [E], which however did not hinder them from being active, and very good Seamen (c), and *Alcinous* from being a very just Prince, as appears from these words:

Ἀλκίνοος ——— δυνάστητος βασιλῆων (d).

Alcinous ——— the justest of Kings.

attribute this Reception to *Nausicaa*, the Daughter of *Alcinous*, without allowing the Father any share in it. But they forget, that the only gave *Ulysses* Cloaths, and Advice, without the City; and that she had a Father and Mother, who perform'd all the Honours of Reception, and Hospitality. See the Article NAUSICAA.

[D] Certain Proverbs, which were in use among the Ancients. Moreri says, that "*Ulysses* related the Fable of the Cyclopes, of the *Læstrigons*, and others, leaning, as they say, with his Elbow on the Table; which gave occasion for that Proverb of the Ancients, which *Erasmus* did not forget, "*Alcinous's* Table;" or, as *Plato* expresses it, Must I relate the Story of *Alcinous* to you?" This is nothing to the Purpose. I. The Phrase and others is obscure, and quite careless. II. The Proverb of *Alcinous's* Table did not arise from *Ulysses's* Story-telling, but from the good Cheer, which *Alcinous* usually provided. See the following Remark. Besides, it is not true, that *Plato* expresses himself by way of Question: He declares only that he will not repeat the Fable of *Alcinous* (8). It is yet more false, that what he says is, in other Terms, the same thing with the Table of *Alcinous*. It is certain that we find, in the Index of *Erasmus's* *Adagia*, *Alcinoi Mensa*, and *Alcinoi Apologus*, as two different Proverbs. The first is not an Article in the Body of the Book; it is only added, by way of Supplement to the Proverb, *Sylaristica Mensa* (9); and is taken from these Words of *Gregory Nazianzen*, Οὐκ ὡς λωτοφάγεσιν παύειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀλκινόου τετραπύλῳ; non ad Lotophagorum inopiam, sed Alcinoi menjam. *Hadrian Junius*, who made a Collection of Proverbs after *Erasmus*, wherein he places *Alcinoi Horti* as a capital Proverb, cites, in the Explication of it, this other Passage of the same Father, concerning the Table of *Alcinous*;

Καὶ δόμον αἰγλήνῃα καὶ Ἀλκινόου τετραπύλῳ.

The Dome magnificent could'st thou afford,
And rich Alcinous's hospitable Board.

Lloyd cites another Passage, in which this holy Doctor makes use of the same Phrase. As for the *Alcinoi Apologus*, *Erasmus* repeats it twice. First he understands it of old Wives Tales, de longis & anilibus fabulamentis, and justifies it by the Stories, which *Ulysses* told at the Table of *Alcinous*. "Prodigiosas ac deridiculas fabulas & protentuosas mendacia de Lotophagis, Læstrygonibus, Circe, Cyclopiibus atque id genus aliis plurimis miraculis, fretus videlicet Phæacum inciticia barbareque (10). — His monstrous and absurd Tales, and portentous Lies, concerning the Lotophagi, the Læstrigons, Circe,

"the Cyclopes, and the like wonderful Events, which be told, relying upon the Ignorance and Barbarity of the Phæacians." But, in another Place (11), he tells us that he had met with another Signification of the same Proverb, in the fourth Book of *Aristotle's* Rhetoric (12), but that he would suspend his Decision, till he saw more clearly into the Matter, either by the Commentaries of *St Gregory Nazianzen* on those Books of *Aristotle* (13), or by some other means. I scarce meet with any one, who pays the least Regard to this latter Passage of *Erasmus*. They stop at the first; as if the true Sense were to be found there: But it is far from being to be met with in that place; for if we consider never so little what *Erasmus* says on *Aristotle's* Words, we shall wholly distrust the Explication he has given in another Place. I own this Passage of *Aristotle* is obscure, that it is differently read, and that perhaps there is an Hiatus in it; but there is no probability, that by the Apologue of *Alcinous*, we ought to understand a Tale of a Tab. Yet *Gilbert Cousin*, who made a Collection of Proverbs after *Erasmus*, fancies so; though he considers the thing only according to *Aristotle's* Citation (14). There is a Passage in *Ælian*, where *Alcinoi apologi*, Ἀλκίνοου ἀπολόγοι, can only be taken for the Discourses of *Ulysses* to that Prince in the *Odyssey* (15).

[E] The People there lov'd good Cheer, and the Conveniences of Life. *Alcinous* made no Secret of this to *Ulysses*: We love, said he to him, Feasts, Music, Dancing, change of Apparel, Bathing, and the Bed.

Ἄνδ' ἡμῖν δαΐς τε φίλη, κίθαρις τε, χοροὶ τε,
Ἑμμετὰ τ' ἐξημοῖα, λολέει τε θάρμα, καὶ ἑναια.

To dance, to dress, to sing, our sole Delight,
The Feast, or Bath, by Day, and Love by Night.
POPE'S Odyss.

Horace expresses it in this Manner;

Alcinoique

In cute curanda plus æquo operata juvenus,
Cui pulcrum fuit in mediis dormire dies, &
Ad strepitum citharæ cessatum ducere curam (17).

Alcinous's idle Youth, whose sole Design

Aim'd at soft Blandishments, and being fine,
Indulg'd at ease, who slept out half the Day,
And lull'd their Cares with Dancing, Song, and Play.

I need not observe, that by *Alcinoi juvenus*, must be understood the young Lords of *Alcinous's* Court. *Athenæus* somewhere remarks the voluptuous Life of the *Phæacians*.

ALCYONIUS (PETER) was one of those learned Italians, who cultivated useful Literature in the XVth Century. He acquired a considerable Knowledge of the Greek and Latin Tongues, and wrote some Rhetorical Pieces, which deserved the Approbation of good Judges. He was a long time Corrector of the Press at Venice, in the House of *Aldus Manutius* [A], and ought consequently to have a share in the Praises,

[A] A long time Corrector of the Press at Venice, in the House of *Aldus Manutius*. *Paul Jovius's* Account falls short of this. He only says, "Cum diu in Chalceographorum Officiis, corrigendis erroribus mensura mercede operam navasset, multa observatione ad præcellentem scribendi facultatem pervenit (1). — Having been employ'd a long time in Printing-Offices, in correcting Errors of the

"Press, for a monthly Stipend, by long Observation he arriv'd at an excellent Faculty of Writing." What relates to *Aldus Manutius*, is borrowed from *Varillas*, and I confess that I do it trembling, considering the great Number of Faults, which that Writer committed, about the learned Men, whom he has mentioned in his *Anecdotes of Florence*. "The Public, says (2) *Varillas* Anecdotes, pag. 103. be (2), is obliged to him for that Exactness of *Aldus* Manutius, E c c

(c) Homer. Odyss. lib. 6. ver. 270. lib. 7. ver. 35, 107. lib. 8. ver. 247, 253, &c.

(d) Orpheus.

(11) Id. n. 82. cent. 1. chil. 5. pag. 1057.

(12) It is the 16th Chapter of the 3d Book in the Edition of Geneva, 1605.

(13) I never heard of the Commentaries.

(14) Cognat. in Proverb. n. 210. He quotes, as *Erasmus* does, the fourth Book of the Rhetorics.

(15) *Ælian*. var. Hist. lib. 13. c. 13.

(16) Homer. Odyss. lib. 8. ver. 248.

(17) Horat. Epist. 2. lib. 1. ver. 23.

(10) *Erasmus*. Adag. n. 32. cent. 4. chil. 2. p. 469.

(1) *Paul. Jovius*, in Elog. c. 123. pag. 265.

(2) *Varillas* Anecdotes, pag. 103.

(a) See the
List of them
in the Biblio-
theque of
Gelfner.

(b) Epistles
of Princes,
fol. 92. verso.

(c) Jovius,
Elog. c. 123.

Praises, which are given to the Editions of that Learned Priester. He translated several Treatises of Aristotle into Latin (a), but without Success. Sepulveda wrote against these Translations, and observed so many Faults in them, that Alcyonius found no better Remedy for his Disgrace, than to buy up as many Copies of Sepulveda's Works as he could find, in order to burn them [B]. Paul Jovius accuses him of a second Fault, which is more disgraceful than the first; namely of having been an impudent Parasite [C], who made no scruple of eating two or three times a day out of his own House. I cannot tell whether we ought to give entire Credit to Paul Jovius in this Matter; for he quarrelled with Alcyonius (b) upon hearing, that he was his Rival in the Commission of writing History [D]. The Treatise, which Alcyonius published concerning Exile, contained so many fine Passages among other very mean ones, that it was thought he had tacked several Parts of a Treatise of Cicero de Gloria to his own Thoughts, and afterwards, to prevent being convicted of the Theft, had thrown into the Fire that Manuscript of Cicero [E], which was the only one in the World (c). The Two Orations, which he made, after the taking of Rome, in which

"Manutius, in printing the best Greek and Latin Authors, which we admire at present; for he was all his Life-time Corrector of that famous Printing-Office." This last Particular is false, for Alcyonius was Professor at Florence, under the Pontificate of Hadrian VI.

[B] Sepulveda ----- observed so many Faults in them, that Alcyonius found no better Remedy, &c. Paul Jovius remarks this. "Quum aliqua ex Aristotele perperam insolenterque vertisset, in eum Sepulveda vir Hispanus, egregie de literis meritis, edito volumine peracuta jacula contorsit ----- tanto quidem eruditiorum applausu, ut Alcyonius ignominie dolore misere confternatus, Hispani hostis libros in tabernis, ut concremaret, gravi pretio coemere coeretur (3). ----- Having translated some Pieces of Aristotle, after a wretched and ignorant Manner, Sepulveda, a Spaniard, well deserving of the learned World, attack'd him very severely upon it ----- with such Applause from the learned, that Alcyonius, greatly affected with Grief, at the Ignominy thrown upon him, was forced to buy up, at a great Price, the Books of his Spanish Enemy, that he might burn them." See the Epistles of Princes, collected by Russell, and translated by Belleforest, Fol. 93. See also the Twenty seventh, and the last Letter of the third Book of Longolius. "Si bene te novi, ipse tu denunciabis, ut hominis, ad tantæ contumelie nuncium, vultum videas: quod unum fane spectaculum tibi magnopere video (4). ----- If I know you well, you will yourself carry the News (namely, that Sepulveda's Work was printed,) that you may observe the Man's Look, when he hears of such a Story upon his Character; a Sight, which I greatly envy you the Pleasure of."

(3) P. Jovius
ubi supra.

(4) Longolius
Epist. ult.
lib. 3.
fol. 25.
verso.

[C] Paul Jovius accuses him ----- of having been an impudent Parasite. Let us set down his own Words: "Cum nulla ex parte ingenuis, sed plane plebeis & fordibus moribus fœderetur; erat enim impudens gulæ mancipium, ita ut eodem sæpe die bis & ter, aliena tamen quadra, cœnaret; nec in ea fœditate malus omnino medicus, quod domi decum in lecti limine per vomitum ipso crapulæ onere levaretur (5). ----- He was a Man, not of ingenuous, but downright plebeian and sordid, Manners; he was a shameless Slave to his Appetite; inasmuch, that, in one and the same Day, he would dine three or four times, but always at another's Expence; nor was he altogether a bad Physician in this beastly Practice; since, afterwards, before he went into Bed, he discharged the intemperate Load of his Stomach." Varillas mentions only Alcyonius's Drunkenness; he accuses him, of getting drunk as often as he had an Opportunity for it. Latomus, whose Verses Paul Jovius alleges, mentions two of this Person's Excesses; that of Drinking, and that of Eating too much.

(c) P. Jovius
Elog. c. 123.
pag. 265.

(6) Letters
of Princes,
fol. 93.

(7) Ibid.

[D] His Rival in the Commission of writing History. He, who informs us of this, adds, That it was not true, that Alcyonius was to compose an History, and that Paul Jovius was told so, only to make them quarrel (6). Cardinal de Medicis diverted himself with these Feudes of the Learned; he took delight in disquieting Alcyonius, by protecting Sepulveda, Note, that Alcyonius extolled to the Skies the first Decad of Paulus Jovius's History, in the second Part of his Treatise de Exilio (7).

[E] Had thrown into the Fire That Manuscript of Cicero. Paul Jovius is not the only Person, who mentions this unlucky Trick. Paul Manutius in his Commentary on these Words of Cicero; *librum tibi celeriter mittam de gloria* (8), ----- (I will speedily send you my Book de Gloria), speaks of it thus: "Li-bros duos significat, quos de gloria scripti: qui ut-que ad patrum nostrorum ætatem pervenerunt. Nam Bernardus Justinianus in indice librorum suorum nominat Ciceronem de Gloria. Is liber postea, cum universam bibliothecam Bernardus monachorum monasterio legasset, magna conquisitus cura, nequitiam eî inventus. Nemini dabium fuit, quia Petrus Alcyonius, cui monachæ medico suo ejus tractandæ bibliothecæ potestatem fecerat, homo improbus furto averterit. Et sane, in ejus opusculo, de Exilio, adpersa nonnulla deprehenduntur, quæ non oleas Alcyonium auctorem, fed aliquanto præstantiorem artificem, videantur. ----- He means the two Books, which he wrote de Gloria; which were handed down to the Age of our Fathers. For Bernardus Justinianus, in the Catalogue of his Books, mentions Cicero de Gloria. This Book, purchased not without great Pains, when Bernardus bequeathed his Library to a Monastery of Nuns, was afterwards not to be found. It was generally believed, that Peter Alcyonius, Physician to the Monastery, to whom the Nuns entrusted the Management of this Library, privately made away with it. And, to say the Truth, there are some scattered Passages in his Work de Exilio, which do not favour Alcyonius's Pen, but of a more excellent Artist." We understand, by this Passage, that Alcyonius was a Physician by Profession. See the Remark [F]. Now since he was Physician to a Convent of Nuns, it cannot, I think, be true, that he spent all his Life in Manutius's Printing-Office. This is a new Proof of Varillas's Error.

(8) Cicero,
Epist. 27.
lib. 15. ad
Atticum.

I have two things to remark against this Historian. The first is, that, in the Fragment of his *Lewis XI*, he imputed the Plagiarism, and the Destruction of the Treatise de Gloria to Philæphus, and cited the lesser Elogies of Paul Jovius. He was informed (9), that there was no such thing there. No doubt he profited by this Advice, in publishing his *Lewis XII*; for, after having observed the same thing concerning Philæphus, he adds: "Nevertheless it is not certain that he was guilty of this Crime, which passes for one of the greatest that can be committed in the Affair of Literature; and some Authors impute it to a learned Person of the same time, whose Name is Alcyonius, and maintain that he appropriated this Work of Cicero to himself, after having changed the Title of it, which was de Gloria, into that of de Exilio. (10)." To this latter Fact he applies the Citation of Paul Jovius. Had he entirely suppressed what concerns Philæphus, he would have come off better; for where could he find that Philæphus was accused of this Fraud? Besides Alcyonius is not charged with publishing Cicero's Book, and changing only the Title of it: his Vanity might easily have been forgiven, if he had only been guilty of this; the Pleasure of having that Work of Cicero would make one forget the Trick; but he is accused of having taken a rich Embroidery out of it, and tacking it to his own Rags, and afterwards of burning that whole Work of Cicero. "Ex libro de Gloria Ciceronis, quam nostra malignitate aboleverat, multorum ju-"

Remarks
upon VA-
RILLAS.

(9) Nou-
velles de la
Rep. de Let-
ter, June
1685. Arti-
cle 179, to-
wards the
End.

(10) Varil-
las, Hist. of
Lewis XI.
Book 1. pag.
30. of the
Dutch Edit.

"dicio

he very eloquently represented the Injustice of *Charles V.* and the Barbarity of his Soldiers, removed in some measure the Suspensions, which were entertained against him (d). They are Two very good Pieces. There is mention of a Speech which he composed upon the Knights, who died at the Siege of *Rhodes* (e). He was Professor at *Florence* in the Pontificate of *Hadrian VI.*; and, besides his Pension, had Ten Ducats per Month from Cardinal *de Medicis*, for Translating a Work of *Galen* (f). Having heard that this Cardinal was elected Pope, he desired Letters of Dismissal from the *Florentines*; but, not obtaining them, he went nevertheless to *Rome*, full of the hopes of raising himself there (g). He lost all his Estate, in the Troubles, which the *Colonnas* excited in *Rome*; and, some time after, when the Emperor's Forces took the City, in the Year 1527, he received a Wound, as he was making his Retreat to the Castle of *St Angelo*; into which he forced his way, notwithstanding the Soldiers, who pursued him, and joined *Clement VIII.* He was afterwards guilty of base Ingratitude towards That Pope; for, upon the raising of the Siege, he went over to Cardinal *Pompey Colonna*, at whose House he fell sick, and died in a few Months.

(d) Jovius, ibid.

(e) Letters of Princes, fol. 93.

(f) *Vita*, De partibus Animalium.

(g) Letters of Princes, fol. 95.

"dicio confectum crederetur. In eo enim tanquam vario cantone præclara excellens purpure fila, lan-
guentibus cæteris coloribus, intertexta notabantur
(11) Jovius, "It is thought he composed it out of
Elog. cap. Cicero's Book of *Gloria*, which he wickedly and
323. p. 266. maliciously destroyed. For in this Patch-work Com-
position there appear interperfed several beautiful
Threads of the finest Purple, whilst the rest of the
Colours are faint and languid (12)." My second Re-
mark is, that when *Varillas* mentions Francis *Philip-
pous*, in his *Secret History of Florence*, he imputes
nothing to him in relation to the Book of *Gloria*;
(12) Page he accuses *Alcyonius* alone of That scandalous Action.
169. He says (13), that "this wretched Plagiarist was ob-
(13) Page liged to comfort the Provoditor *Cornaro* in the
168. Exile, to which he was condemned, for having
been defeated in the War against the *Turks*, tho'
(14) So his "it was not his own Fault. *Alcyonius* (14) sent him
Name is the Book, entitled *De fortiter toleranda exilii for-
written tuna*. And as this Treatise was only composed out
throughout of Sentences, though very ill thrown together, of
the whole E- *Cicero's* Book of *Gloria*, it was much esteemed;
dition of the Anecdotes. notwithstanding the more judicious observed that
there was no Coherence in it. *Alcyonius*, ravished
with the Success of his Work, altered his Design
of publishing This Piece of *Cicero*. And, know-
ing very well that no one, besides himself, had a
Copy of it, he threw it into the Fire, for fear it
should be found some time or other among his Pa-
pers, and his Theft should be discovered by that
means." If we compare this Relation with That,
which is in the Life of *Lewis XI.* we shall have reason
to wonder, how one and the same Man could re-
late the same Fact with so many inconsistent Vari-
eties. Having not this Treatise of *Alcyonius*, I can-
not determine, whether *Varillas* has justly remarked
the Subject and Occasion of it. I can only say, that
the Title he gives it does not agree with That which
Gesner let down, *Medices Legatus, seu de Exilio liber*;
(15) It is very curious; read it in Les Oupcles de Colomes, chap. 15. and that a Passage of this Book (15) discovers to me,
that *John de Medicis*, who was Pope *Leo X.* is in-
troduced speaking in it. But what I cannot deter-
mine by myself, I can affirm on the Word of a Friend
of mine, whose Exactness and Capacity I am thor-
oughly acquainted with (16). His Observation, com-
(16) Mr de muni- cated to me, is as follows: "The Legatus Me-
larroque. dices, seu de Exilio, of *Petrus Alcyonius* is so far
from being wrote for the Consolation of the pre-
tended Provoditor *Cornaro*, that it is dedicated by
the Author ad *Nicolaum Schembergium Pontificem
Campanum* (17), and there is not one Word in the
(17) He was afterwards a Cardinal: I mention him in the Article SCHOMBBERG (Nicholas). whole Book that can either directly or indirectly
relate to *Cornaro*. This Work, printed at *Basil* in
1546, is divided into two Books, the Title of which
runs thus; *Petri Alcionii Medices Legatus, seu de
Exilio, ad Nicolaum Schembergium Pontificem Cam-
panum*. It is written by way of Dialogue; and
"John de Medicis, who was afterward Pope *Leo X.*,
"Julius de Medicis, and *Laurence de Medicis*, are the
Interlocutors. This is the Reason, why *Medices*
is put in the Title; and, because the Author sup-
poses that these Interlocutors discoursed together a
little while after Pope *Julius II.* had sent *John
de Medicis* as his Legate, at the Head of the Ar-
my, which was to retake *Bologna*, the Word *Le-
gatus* was added to that of *Medices*." What fol-
lows is certainly a great Mistake. Nevertheless be-
lieved of it before his Death (to wit, *Alcyonius*) and

made a kind of Honourable Amend*, prefixed to the
two Speeches, which he composed at Venice on the De-
solation caused by the Lutherans at *Rome* (18). Doubt-
less *Varillas* intended to translate these Words of *Paul
Jovius*: "Verum non multo post confirmata suspi-
cionis invidiam duabus splendidissimis orationibus
pereregredie mitigavit, quum in clade urbis vehe-
mentissime invecius in Cæsarem, populi Romani
injurias & barbarorum immanitatem summa per-
fecti Oratoris eloquentia deplorasset. — Not long
after he wonderfully took off from the Odium of a
confirmed Suspicion by two most elegant Orationes,
when, upon the City's Desolation, he inveighed most
vehemently against Cæsar, and lamented the Inju-
ries of the Roman People, and the Cruelty of their
inhuman Foes, with all the Eloquence of a perfect
Orator." Is there the least Shadow of any thing
relating to the Lutherans in this Passage? Is there any
Traces of Repentance in it; any Footsteps of an Ho-
nourable Amend; on Account of the Book of *Gloria*?
Has *Jovius* any other Design than to shew that *Al-
cyonius's* Speeches were so much admired, that People
were the more inclined to believe, that he might be
the Author of the fine Passages in the Book, entitled,
de Exilio? I don't believe these Speeches were com-
posed at Venice.

* Amende Honorable.

(18) *Varillas*, Anecdotes, pag. 168.

I am surprized, that *Pierius Valerianus*, who re-
gretted the Suppression of a Work, with which he
charged *Alcyonius*, took no notice of the Suppression
of the Treatise of *Gloria*. Having related that *Peter
Marcellus* could not put the last Hand to some Works
by Reason of his Sickness; he adds: "Quatuor tamen
libros exactissime interpretationis in Mathematicas
disciplinas Braccius ejus filius ab interitu vindicavit,
vel ipsius auctoritas de se testimonio absolutos; at-
que que ii Barbarorum manus effugerant, Braccii ip-
sius diligentia in Arcem Æliam asportati. Sed
enim in Petri Alcyonii manus cum incidissent,
ita suppressi sunt, ut aulicum amplius apparue-
rint (19). — However, bis Sen Braccius prefer-
red from Destruction four Books of most exact
Lessons upon Mathematical Learning, which were
perfectly finished, as appears from the Author's own
Testimony. These escaped the Hands of the Barba-
rians (20), being conveyed by the Care of Braccius
to the Ælian Tower. But when they fell into
"Peter Alcyonius's Hands, they were so suppressed,
"as never afterwards to appear."

(19) *Pierius* Valerianus, de Litterat. Infelicit. p. 76.

(20) He means the Army of Charles V. which plundered *Rome* in 1527.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, Dr *Bourd-
delot*, Physician to the King, and to the Dukes of
Burgundy, did me the Favour to send me his Copy
of the Treatise of *Alcyonius*. It is a small Book in
4to, printed at Venice in the Year 1522, in ædibus
Aldi & Andreae Juliani Saceri. The Title of it is,
Petri Alcyonii Medices Legatus de Exilio; it contains
two Parts (21), which are both dedicated ad *Nicola-
um Schembergium Pontificem Campanum*. I found
the Information, which Mr de *Larroque* had sent me
concerning this Work, to be true. It does not con-
tain any thing which relates to the Exile of the Ve-
netian Provoditor. The three Interlocutors consider
only their own Condition. They were all of the
House of *Medicis*, and continued still under the Misfor-
tune of Banishment. *John de Medicis* comforts him-
self, and them too: He is the chief Actor in this
Piece, and alleges the Reasons and Examples; in a
Word, the Author bestows upon him his Erudition,
and his elegant Style. Note, that this Book of *Alcyo-
nius*

(21) The runn- no title of the first is, Medices Legatus prior; and the running Title of the second is, Medices Legatus posterior.

(b) Pierius
Valerianus,
de Literat.
Infelicitat.
p. 63.

Months (b). His Vanity hindered him from becoming more learned [F], and his Practice of Detraction raised him many Enemies [G]. The Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary* is nothing to the purpose in this Article [H]. For it is only a faithful Copy of *Varillas's* enormous Faults. Some learned Men have very much commended *Alcyonius*, and his Translations [I].

We find something concerning him in the Letters of *Longolius*, which is not much to his Advantage [K].

mius was printed at *Geneva*, in the Year 1624, in 8vo, with two Treatises of *Cerdas* (22).

[F] *His Vanity hindered him from becoming more learned.* This is the Opinion of *Pierius Valerianus*;

"Non displicuisset mihi Alcyonius, si, quantum stylo profecerat, amicorum consilium de rebus adhibere voluisset, qui, nisi ipsum sibi tantum arrogasset, futurum omnino fuerat et primoribus; multam enim Græcis, Latinique literis operam impenderat, & discipulis variis oblectatus erat (23). — Alcyonius would not have displeased me, if, as he was Master of a good Style, he had but consulted his Friends in relation to the Subject-matter of his Compositions; for, had he not depended so much upon his own Judgment, he would have been one of the first Class of Authors; for he had bestowed great Pains in the Greek and Roman Learning, and was Master of many Sciences."

(23) Pierius
Valerian. de
Literat. In-
felicit. p. 63.

[G] *His Practice of Detraction raised him many Enemies.* Let us hear the same Evidence again: "Is eo primum infelicitatis incommodo flagellatus est, quod dum de litteris omnibus male sentit, dicatissima omnes obtreptione lacerabat, unde omnium tam doctorem quam imperitorem in se odium concitavit. — He was particularly unhappy in this Respect, that, having an ill Opinion of the Learned in general, he was perpetually detracting from their Merits; by which means he drew upon himself the Hatred both of the Learned and the Ignorant." See below the Remark [K].

[H] *The Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary is nothing to the Purpose in this Article.* I. They have not taken notice, that the *Alcyonius* of *Varillas's* Anecdotes is a Chimera of the Transcribers. No doubt the Author gave it *Alcyonius* in the Original of those Memoirs; and consequently they should not have distinguished the pretended *Alcyonius* from *Peter Alcyonius*, whom *Moreri* had justly placed in the XVth Century. This put me in mind, that *Claude du Verdier*, in his *Censura in omnes penes autores* (p. 73.), says, that *Peter Avionius* had remarked many Errors in *Apuleius's* Book de *Mundo*. The Errata corrected *Avionius* by *Alcyonius*. Notwithstanding which, *Avionius* is cited in the fifty fifth Page of the *Plagiariorum Syllabus*, printed at *Amsterdam*, in 1694, with the *Ammatates Theologico-Philologica* of *Mr Almeloveer*. II. They should have considered, that, according to *Varillas*, this pretended *Alcyonius*, having deplored the Ravages, which *Charles the Fifth's* Army committed at *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Clement VII.*, should have been placed in the XVIIth Century. III. That which was taken out of the *Anecdotes* is not purged from any Errors.

[I] *Some learned Men have very much commended Alcyonius, and his Translations.* I shall only mention what was wrote to *Erasmus* by *Ambrosius Leo Nolanus*, in the Year 1518. This Friend, who was an able Physician, informed him, that the Senate of *Venice* had caused it to be proclaimed by Sound of Trumpet, that all those, who aspired to the Professorship of the Greek Tongue, vacant by the Death of *Mark Musurus*, should present themselves; and that two Months should be appointed for taking their Names; and examining their Abilities and Knowledge of the Greek Authors. "Statutum est tempus duorum mensium quo competitors & nomina dent, & legendo & aperiendo Græcos autores offendant qui viri sint, & quantum lingua & ingenio polleant (24)." *Leo* adds, that several of *Musurus's* Disciples prepared themselves to dispute his Succession, and that *Alcyonius*, one of the most polite among them, distinguished himself by many admirable Translations. It is better to express this according to the Original; "Inter eorum elegantiores unus *Petrus Alcyonius* multa à *Græco* in *Romanum* sermonem elegantissime vertit. Nam Orationes pleraque *Isocratis* ac *Demosthenis* tanta *Aspinitate* expressit, ut *Ciceronem* ipsum nihilominus legere videris. *Aristotelique* multa vertit tam candidè ut *Latium* glo-

(24) Epist.
Eras. 28. lib.
10. p. 520.

riabundum dicere possit; en *Aristotelem* nostrum habemus. Idem ipse juvenis, ut est literarum optimarum utrarumque maximus alumnus, ita tui quodque amantissimus, ac studiorum tuorum laudator summus (25). — Among the more polite of these, (a) *Ibid.* *Peter Alcyonius rendered many things from the Greek into the Roman Tongue, with the greatest Elegance. For he expressed several of the Orationes of Isocrates and Demosthenes, so nearly in the Ciceronian Style, that you would imagine you was reading Cicero himself. And so fairly did he translate many of Aristotle's Pieces, that Latium might boast an Aristotle of its own. This young Author, as he is the greatest Follower of the best, and of both kinds of Learning, so is he very much your Friend, and extremely fond of your Works."* *Erasmus*, answering this Letter, the fifteenth of October, the Year following, caus'd *Peter Alcyonius* to be complimented in his Name, and confess'd, that he had never heard of him. It were to be wish'd, since there are different Opinions about *Alcyonius's* Translations, that the learned *Mr Huet* had done him the Honour to take notice of him, when he compos'd his Dialogues de *Interpretatione*.

I shall add at this time another Testimony to that of *Leo Nolanus*. I find that *Gabriel Naudé* very much commends *Alcyonius's* Translations, in his Treatise de *Fato & Vita Terminus*. He tells us, that this Translator, having examin'd three Objections, which may be made to those, who say that the Treatise de *Mundo* is a Piece of *Aristotle's*, has recourse, afterwards, to every thing, which may prevent his being obliged to confess, that it is a spurious Piece, concluding with these Words; *But let us leave these disagreeable Questions to the Grammarians.* "Difficultates ejusmodi amoliri tentet: atque ne supposititium hunc scetum, quem una cum legitimis aliis GANTISSIME de Græco Latino fecerat, agnoscere cogetur, vertit se in omnes partes, tandemque his verbis concludit: Sed morositatem ejus generis questionum Grammaticis relinquamus (26)."

[K] *We find something concerning him in the Letters of Longolius, which is not much to his Advantage.* We have already seen (27), that, in the Opinion of *Longolius*, *Alcyonius's* Looks, upon the News of the publication of *Sepeveda's* Book, would be an entertaining Sight. Here is something worse. *Alcyonius*, having passionately desired to carry one of *Longolius's* Letters to *Mark Antony Flaminius*, went away without taking it with him, upon which *Longolius* makes this Reflexion: "Nosti hominis ingenium: Ille enim & cœnæ quam ei opiparam hic dederamus, & laudum quibus a nobis ornatissimus discesserat, & literarum quas summa contentione ut fessitanter scriberem pervicerat, oblitus, profectus esse dicitur. Quod vos idcirco scire volui, ut meis verbis hac de inhumanitate cum eo expofoletis (28). — You know the Nature of the Man: After an headlong Entertainment, which I prepared for him, and the many Praises I bestowed upon him, he forgot it all, and went away, without taking with him the Letters, which, at his own earnest Solicitation, I had written in haste. This I thought fit to inform you of, that you may expofoletate with him in my Name, concerning this uncourteous Treatment." *Longolius* adds, That it was fortunate enough; since he had said some things in his Letters, which he desired *Alcyonius*, as well as others, should never be acquainted with. Is not this to infinuate that he was thought capable of breaking open a Letter? "Quamquam id ipsum de quo queror non omnino incommodè nobis accidisse videri possit, ea enim is literis incaute commiseram quæ illum in primis celatum esse cupiebam. Perfecerat scilicet prius nostræ consuetudinis usus, ut magis quibuscum agerem in mentem mihi veniret, quam cui literas daturus essem facis meminisse sem (29)." If he be the Person mentioned in another Letter of *Longolius* (30), as a learned Man conjectures (31), what a Picture is drawn of him? What unpolite

(26) Gabe.
Naudé de
Fato & Vita
Terminis,
p. 32.

(27) In Ro-
mark [E].

(28) Chri-
stopher Longolius
Epist.
21. lib. 1.
fol. 103.
verso.

(29) *Ibid.*
fol. 204.

(30) It is the
20th of the
2d Book.

(31) *Mr de la Monnoie*:
I am oblig'd
to him for
this Passage
of Longolius,
& Longolius.

unpolite Behaviour, what outrageous Detraction is imputed to him; and what Contempt is shewn for his Person! What makes it doubtful whether our *Alcynonius* is intended in that Letter, is, that a little after *Longolius* mentions him without any seeming dislike to him; but this Reason for doubting is no convincing Proof; since the Picture given of him agrees with that, which another Author, of the same Age, has drawn of the same *Alcynonius*. *Gyraldus*, having said (32), That *Pierius Valerianus* was a sincere Man, adds immediately after; "diversæ naturæ est Petrus Alcynonius Venetus, mordax & maledicus, nec pudens magis quam prudens ----- mitte de

"hoc nebulone plura, qui bellum bonis omnibus indixit, flagris & fuste coercendus ----". *Peter Alcynonius, the Venetian, was of a different Disposition; a Back-biter, and a Detractor, nor more modest than prudent. ----- But no more of this poultry Fellow, who was at open War with all good Men; and who deserves the Correction of the Whipping-post, or a good Caning.*" Note, that the same Author owns, that he composed very good Lyric and Iambic Verses, and that he boasted to have wrote an excellent Tragedy on the Death of *JESUS CHRIST* (33).

(33) Id. ibi.

ALCMAN, a Lyric Poet, flourished in the Twenty seventh Olympiad (a). Some say he was a *Lacedemonian*, and others, that he was born at *Sardes*, the chief City of *Lydia*. What is certain, is, that he was a Freeman of *Sparta* [A], and that the *Lacedemonians* thought it much to their Honour, that they had supply'd Greece with such a Genius [B]. He wrote many Verses, of which there are but few extant, which are cited by *Athenæus*, or some other Ancient Author. He was a Man of a very Amorous Disposition, and is looked upon as the Father of Genteel Poetry [C]. Nay, it has been said, I think, that he was the first, who introduced the Custom of singing Love-Songs in Company (b). The Name of one of his Mistresses is preserved (c): She was *Megalostрата*, a Poetess. If he had stopped here, there would not have been so much Reason to complain of him; but it is said, that he was likewise in love with one *Chæaron* (d). *Alcman* was one of the greatest Gluttons of his time (e); this Quality would have been attended with great Inconveniences, if Poetry had been in those Times upon the same Foot it has often been; I mean, very unfit to maintain it's Master. He died of a very singular Disease; for he was eaten up with Lice (f). He must not be distinguished from the Poet *Alcæon* [D]; and I see no necessity for acknowledging Two *Alcmans*, one of *Lacedemon*, and the other of *Messena* [E].

(a) Suidas in *Αλκμάν*.

(b) Athen. lib. 13. p. 600.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. lib. 10. p. 416.

(e) Ibid. & *Zelian. Var. Histor. lib. 1. cap. 27.*

(f) Aristot. de Hist. Anim. lib. 1. cap. 37. *Plin. lib. 11. cap. 33. Plutarch. in Sylla, pag. 474.*

[A] A Freeman of *Sparta*. This appears from an Epigram, which *Plutarch* inserts in his Treatise of *Exile* (1). The Author of that Epigram makes *Alcman* say, That if he had been educated in *Sardes*, the Country of his Ancestors, he had been only a poor Priest of the Goddess *Cybele*, deprived of his Manly Parts; but that he is at present a Citizen of *Lacedemon*, well instructed in the Greek Learning, which makes him superior to the Kings of *Lydia*. The Latin Interpreter has ill translated the first Verse of that Epigram,

----- Σάρδεϊς ἀρχαῖος παῖδ' ἔρον τόμος.

----- O mea majorumque meorum Patria Sardes!

for we must conclude from this Translation, that *Alcman* was born at *Sardes* (2), which the Greek Words do not import: Thus it happens, that a Translator is sometimes a sower of Dissension, when he least thinks of it. The Translator of the Greek Epigram into Latin was not aware, that, by adding the Word *mea*, he should induce many Authors obstinately to maintain, that *Alcman* was not born at *Lacedemon*. How many Writers are there, who consult only the Versions, and who make use of all the Proofs, which the Version supplies them with, whether the Greek Original will allow it or not? *Salmastus* has learnedly corrected this Epigram (3); but I do not well apprehend what they mean, who refer us to him, as to a Judge, who has put an end to the Dispute about *Alcman's* Country. The Question is, whether this Poet was born at *Lacedemon*, or at *Sardes* in *Lydia*. *Suidas* maintains the former Opinion (4), *Crates* the second (5). *Velleius Paterculus* (6), and *Ælian* (7), deny what *Suidas* affirms. Of what use is the Epigram in putting an end to this Dispute, since it does not inform us, where *Alcman* was born, but only that he was not educated in *Sardes*, the Country of his Ancestors; that he was educated after the Greek Manner, and that he enjoy'd the Freedom of *Lacedemon*? This may equally signify these two things; either that *Alcman* was carried into Greece, being a Child, or that his Father went and settled there, before this Son was born. In this latter Case, *Alcman* might have been born in the City of *Lacedemon*. *Stalger* was of this Opinion, but he founded it upon a bad Reason. "Ego "Laconem fuisse arbitror, quum Laconica dialecto "usus sit (8). — I am of Opinion that he was a *Lacedemonian*, since he writes in the Doric Dialect." If he had thought of the Epigram, mentioned by *Plutarch*, he would have seen the insufficiency of this Reason. *Alcman*, not having been educated in *Lydia*,

but in Greece, and living at *Lacedemon*, must needs have made use of the Doric Dialect, which was that of *Sparta*. How harsh soever it was, yet he wrote his Poems in it. "Ὁ ποιῆσαι δὲ σμῶνα, ἔδ' ἐν ἐς ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν ἐλυμῆναι τὴν λακωνικὴν ἢ γλωσσά, ἔκιστα παρεχόμενόν τοι εὐφρονον (9). Cut in cantibus pangentis nihil omnino Laconica lingua obstitit, est in vobis appellandis habet suavitate.

[B] The *Lacedemonians* thought it much to their Honour, that they had supply'd Greece with such a Genius. The Passage of *Paterculus*, which I have cited, proves this; these Words of *Statius*

----- & tetricis Alcman cantatus Amyclis (10).

Alcman the Theme of rough Amyclæ's Song;

is a farther Proof. Add to this the Monument erected to *Alcman*, near the Temple of *Helen* (11).

[C] Is looked upon as the Father of Genteel Poetry. This is evident from this Passage of *Athenæus* (12). "Ἀρχαῖος δὲ Ἀρμονιακῶν, ὃς φησι Καίματ' ἄλκμων, Ἀλκμῶνα γεγονῆναι τὴν ἑρσικὴν μελῶν ἡ γέμονα, καὶ ἐκδιδῆναι πρῶτον μελῶν, ἀκλῆσεν οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ταυτὴν μῦθον εἰς τὰς διαλέκτους." *Archytas Harmoniacus writes, as Chamaeleon tells us, that Alcman was the first Inventor of Love Verses, that he had a great Passion for Women, and was the first, who introduced that kind of Poetry, which is sung in Meetings and Assemblies.*

[D] He must not be distinguished from the Poet *Alcæon*. St Jerome, in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, having spoke of *Alcæon*, under the thirtieth Olympiad, mentions *Alcman* under the Forty second, and makes use of this Citation, ut quibundam videtur. *Scaliger* reads *Alcman* in the first Passage, instead of *Alcæon*. It is plain, by the Reign of *Arctus*, King of *Lydia*, in whose Reign *Crates* plac'd *Alcman*, that this Poet flourished about the thirtieth Olympiad, which is the Time, wherein *Alcæon* is placed in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*. If this Reason is not sufficient to shew, that those two Names belong to one and the same Person, it will undeniably prove, that *Alcæon*, *Alkmaïon*, and *Alcman*, *Alkmdn*, differ only in the Dialect; and that the first ought to be changed into the second, by the Rules of the Doric Dialect. See the Commentary of *Salmastus* on *Solinus*, pag. 885. The *Alcman* of the Forty second Olympiad, is a Chimerical one. *Eusebius* placed him there, because he had read some Authors, who were mistaken, in relation to *Alcman's* Age.

[E] I see no necessity for acknowledging two *Alcmans*, one of *Lacedemon*, and the other of *Messena*. I think *Suidas*

(10) Stat. Silv. 3. lib. 5. ver. 153.

(11) Pausan. ubi supra.

(12) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 600. See *hikmæ Suidas*, in *Αλκμῶνα*.

(72) Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus de Poëtis fuit temporis Dialog. 1. pag. 542. Edit. 1696.

(1) Oper. Moral. pag. 599.

(2) Amiot is guilty of the same Error.

(3) Salmast. Exercit. Pili-nian. p. 88.

(4) He says he was born at Messen, which was a part of Lacedemon, according to Strabo, as he is corrected by Salmastus, ubi supra.

(5) Apud Suidam in *Αλκμῶνα*.

(6) Alcman lacones falso sibi vindicant. *Paterculus*, lib. 1. sub fine.

(7) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12. cap. 50.

(8) Scellie. Animadv. in *Eucl. b. n.* 1260.

Suidas is the only Author, who makes this Distinction. But his Authority is not very great, when he quotes no Author, and mentions no Circumstances. This is the Case of his *Alcmena* of *Meffena*; he says nothing of him. Let us remember that he said, That the true *Alcmena* was born at *Messia*, and *Messias*. This Place being not famous, some Transcribers thought it should be *Messias*, in the Authors

who had reported the same thing with *Suidas*. Their pretended Correction produced a new *Alcmena*, who was tack'd to *Suidas*'s Patch-work. This Conjecture appears to me more probable, than That of *Lilius Gyraldus*. He acknowledges but one *Alcmena*; but he will have him to be born at *Messena*, and changes *Messias* in *Suidas* into *Messias*. *Scaliger* justly rejects this Conjecture (13).

(13) *Scaliger*.
Animadv.
in *Euseb.* c.
1360.

ALCMENA, the Daughter of *Electryon*, King of *Mycenæ* [A], was the Wife of *Amphitryon*, and the Mother of *Hercules*. She was delivered of this Son, whilst her Husband was living; and yet *Hercules* was not the Son of *Amphitryon*, but of *Jupiter*, who, assuming the Form of *Alcmena*'s Husband [B], was admitted without any scruple to the Matrimonial Functions. He was so well pleased with the sport, that he continued the Night to three times it's usual Length [C]. Behold the Origin of *Hercules*! most Modern Authors say, that *Alcmena* was already with Child, by *Amphitryon*; but *Apollodorus* insinuates plainly enough, that she was yet a Maid [D]; which is more for the Honour of *Jupiter*. However it be, *Amphitryon* returned home the same Day, which

[A] *The Daughter of Electryon, King of Mycenæ.*

The Poet *Ælius* says she was born of *Amphiaræus*, and *Eriphyle* (1). Others say indeed, That *Electryon* was her Father, but, according to them, her Mother was *Anaxo*, the Daughter of *Alcæus*, the Son of *Perseus* (2), and not *Lyfide*, the Daughter of *Prolops* and *Hippodamia*, as *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, *Hippman*, &c. say she was (3). The Scholiast on *Pindar* is for *Lyfide* (4).

(1) *Pausan.*

l. 5. p. 165.

(2) *Apollod.*

Bibl. lib. 2. p. 96.

Scholiast.

Homeri in

Ilia. 4. ver.

323.

(3) See their

Dictionary.

(4) In *O-*

lymp. Od. 7.

(5) *Diodor.*

Sicul. l. 5.

cap. 2.

[B] *Assuming the Form of Alcmena's Husband.*

Diodorus Siculus observes, that *Jupiter* took this Method, because he would not use any Violence, and because, in the way of Persuasion, he had no Hope of prevailing upon so chaste a Lady as *Alcmena* was (5). The same Historian observes, that, on this Occasion, *Jupiter* was not moved by that lascivious Passion, which he had felt so often for other Women, and that his only Inclination was to get an Hero. For which Reason he did it not in haste; he employ'd much time in the Work, three successive Nights. Our Physicians would laugh at such a Reason. I cannot tell why *Plautus* makes *Jupiter* speak thus to *Amphitryon*.

Tu cum Alcmena uxore antiquam in gratiam

Redi: haud promerui tantumobrem vitio verteres,

Mea vi subacta est facere (6).

(6) *Plaut.* in

Amphitr.

sub finem.

— *Be reconciled, as before, to your Wife Alcmena; she has not deserved your Reproaches; my Power compelled her to this Action.*

For, since *Jupiter* had put on the Form of the Husband, it was not necessary to use any Violence; and we have just now seen that he assumed this Shape, only because he would not employ any violent Methods. A modern Author alleges this Example of *Alcmena*, to prove that a sincere Ignorance is a good Excuse, and quotes some fine Lines of *Molière* (7). A thousand things might be said upon this Subject; it affords Matter for a great variety of Reflexions.

(7) See the

new Letters

against

Maim-

bourg's Hi-

story of Cal-

vinism, pag.

285, &c.

Note, that some Persons will have *Plautus*'s Thought to be this. *Alcmena* was constrained to let me enjoy her, since I had the Power of assuming your Resemblance. If it be so, it must be said, that the Intention of the Poet was much better than his Expression.

[C] *He continued the Night to three times it's usual Length* [Jupiter was so well pleased with the Lady, that he made the Night last all that Day, and the Night following; which moved *Lycophron* to call *Hercules* τρεῖς νύκτες ἄλκυον, the Lion of three Nights, as *Lucian* did likewise (8). Perhaps *Vigener* alluded to these Words of *Hyginus*: *Qui tam libens cum ea concubuit, ut unum diem usurparet, duas noctes congeneret* (9). The Dialogue of *Lucian*, which takes notice of the long Night, which *Jupiter* spent with *Alcmena*, informs us, that *Mercury* went with Orders to the Sun, to stand still three Days, that *Jupiter* might have time enough for the Production of *Hercules*; one Night not being sufficient for the Generation of so great a Warrior. It seems *Jupiter* did his best; for the Weight of the Child had like to have burst his Mother. τῶρον ἔν ἐν μὲν νυκτὶ ἀνέτεκεν ἑρμῆς (10). *Hæc una nocte abfolvi non potest.*

(8) *Vigener*

upon Philo-

strat. Tom.

2. fol. 17.

Ed. 4to.

(9) *Hygin.*

cap. 29.

(10) *Lucian.*

Dial. Merc.

& Solis. See

Diod. Sicul.

lib. 5. c. 2.

Tendebat gravitas uterum mihi, quodque ferebam
Tantum erat, ut posses auctorem dicere testis
Ponderis esse Jovem (11).

*My Womb extends with such a mighty Load,
As Jove the Parent of the Burthen bear'd.*

Mr G A Y.

Many Authors are of opinion, that this Night was not trippled, but only doubled (12). Others say, that it lasted nine times longer than usual. *St Jerome*, who might have read this in the Writings of two Fathers of the Church (13), made no use of it, and kept to the Tradition of the double Night: *In Alcmena adulterio duas noctes Jupiter copulavit*. From that Time *Jupiter* took his leave of Women; *Alcmena* was the last Mortal whom he lay with. *Niobe* was the first; sixteen Generations pass'd between the one and the other (14). Such was the Duration of *Jupiter*'s latruges on Earth. Now, as his Diversion with *Alcmena* was the last of the kind he was to take in this World, was it not reasonable that it should last longer than usual? *Alcmena* wondered at the length of the Night (15): It seem'd therefore long to her; this makes for her Honour. And indeed she was a very virtuous Woman (16), and would not have merited, though she had lost her Sight, the Satire of the following Distich.

Cum longas noctes Moreta ab amore rogaret,
Favet amor votis, perpetuasque dedit.

*Long Nights Moreta (17) ask'd, in love to burn;
Love heard her Wishes, and gave her Night return.*

Sofia, *Amphitryon*'s Valet, made an Observation worthy of him, when he perceived that the Night was longer than it used to be; he with'd those Gallants Joy, who had paid dear for their Bargains.

Ubi sunt isti scortatores qui soli iaviti cabant?

Hæc vox citis't exercendo scorto conducto malè (18).

Where are those intriguing Sparks, who, against their Will, lie alone? This Night is calculated for the full Enjoyment of a dear-bought Wench.

[D] *That she was yet a Maid.* *Apollodorus* relates, That *Electryon*, going to revenge the Death of his Sons, put his Kingdom, and his Daughter *Alcmena* into the Hands of *Amphitryon*, after having made him swear, that he would abstain from *Alcmena*, till his Return (19). *Amphitryon*, having inadvertently killed him, a little while after, was obliged to seek a Retreat. He went with *Alcmena* into *Boeotia*, and as he declared that she would marry Him, who should revenge the Death of her Brothers, he engaged in pursuit of this Revenge, and, associating himself with others, made War with the *Teleboæ*, who had killed *Alcmena*'s Brothers (20). Being returned to *Thebes* victorious, and triumphant, he understood that ANOTHER HIMSELF had enjoy'd the Lady. It is plain that he had not the first Favour; doubtless *Alcmena* had put off the Ceremony of the Wedding, or at least the Consummation of her Marriage, till *Amphitryon*

(11) *Ovid.*
Metam. lib.
9. ver. 233.

(12) *Amor.*
lib. 1. Eleg.
13. Propert.
lib. 2. Eleg.
22. Capella,
lib. 2. c. 39.

(13) *Clem.*
Alexandr.
in *Protrept.*
pag. 20. *Ar-*
nobius, lib.
4. pag. 145.
tabo *Words*
are these,
Quis illum
in Alcmena
noctibus fecit
re-vigilasse
continua?

(14) *Diodor.*
Sicul. lib. 5.
cap. 2.

(15) *Hygin.*
cap. 29.

(16) See *Re-*
mark [8].

(17) *The*
Comedies of
Molière,
Henry the
Great's Mi-
stres.

(18) *Am-*
phitr. Act.
1. Scen. to
ver. 130.

(19) *Apollod.*
Biblioth. lib. 2.
pag. 99.

(20) *Id. ib.*
pag. 101.

which succeeded the Long Night, which That God had passed with *Alcmena*. He was not so well received by his Wife, as he might have expected, after Absence; and he soon discovered the Reason of it, by the account, which She gave him of the Transactions of the preceeding Night. They, who shall put themselves in his Place, may tell us what he thought of the Matter. He immediately had recourse to the Soothsayer, and learnt from *Tiresias*, that *Jupiter*, in the Form of *Amphitryon*, had enjoyed *Alcmena*. He must bear it, as well as he could; and it does not appear, that his Chagrin continued very long; for, the Night following, he got his Wife with Child, who was already so by a God (a). *Juno*, out of her usual Jealousy, prevented the Delivery of this Lady, as long as she could; it was only the Dexterity of a Servant Maid, which eluded the Ill Intentions of *Lucina* [E], who hindered *Alcmena* from being

(a) Hyginus, c. 29. says, That he lay no more with her, and speaks only of *Hercules*. See *Apollod. Biblioth. lib. 2.* pag. 97.

Amphitryon had conquered the *Teleboas*. *Jupiter*, knowing that *Amphitryon* was upon his Return, and that there was no other time to crop this Flower of Virginity, but whilst *Amphitryon* was on his Journey, prevented him, and did his Business before the Husband's Arrival. *Apollodorus* adds, That *Amphitryon*, having enjoy'd *Alcmena*, got her with Child; this Child was a Night younger than *Hercules*. *ΑΛΚΜΗΝΗ* ἡ δὲ ἱέρους παῖδας. Διὶ δὲ Μεγαλῆα παῖδα ἔκγονε, Ἀμφιτρυῶνι ἱερῆα (21). *Alcmena* vero duos peperit filios: *Jovi* quidem *Herculem* una nocte grandiorē, atque *Amphitryoni* *Iphiclem*. This is a further Confirmation of what I am to prove. The Scholiast upon *Homer* is more precise than *Apollodorus*: He says plainly, That the Marriage was not consummated 'till after the return of *Amphitryon* (22). In *Plautus's* Comedy Matters go otherwise. *Amphitryon* leaves his Wife with Child, when he goes to the War (23). A great Temptation indeed to *Jupiter*! It would be much worse, if *Plautus* had observed the Unity of Time, as *Mademoiselle le Fèvre* will have it. In that Case, it must be said, That *Jupiter* interrupted the whole course of Nature, by stopping the Sun, to divert himself the longer with a Woman big with two Children, and so near her time, that, if he had stay'd a little longer, the Midwife would have been obliged to lay to him, *give me your Place*. This is an unlucky Alternative for *Plautus*. For either the Time of his Comedy must be several Months; or he must suppose a Woman, ready to be delivered of Twins, a very tempting Morfel to the greatest of all Monarchs; and this, with supposing at the same time, that the King of Gods and Men had already begot one of these Twins. Take notice that the Poet does not feign, that *Jupiter* disguised himself in the Shape of *Amphitryon*, in order to come like a good Husband to the Assistance of *Alcmena*, in her Labour; it was the Visit of a very amorous Spark. See how *Mercury* expresses himself in the Prologue,

Et meus Pater nunc intus hic cum illa cubat,
Et hæc ob eam rem nox est facta longior,
Dum ille qua cum volt voluptatem capiat.

My Father, within there, is now in Bed with her; and it is upon this Account that the Night is longer than usual, to give him an Opportunity of satisfying his Appetite.

As for these Words of *Sofa*,

Hæc nox facta est exercendo scorto male conducto.

This Night is calculated for the full Enjoyment of a dear-bought Wench.

He illustrates them thus:

Meus Pater nunc pro hujus verbis recte & sapienter facit
Qui complexus cum *Alcmena* cubat amans animo obsequens (24).

(24) *Plauti Amphitry.* Act. 1. Sc. 1. ver. 133.

— *My Father in this Business acts a very wise Part; as he loves the Sport, he has pitched upon Alcmena for a Bedfellow.*

He congratulates himself for having removed all Interruptions to *Jupiter's* Joy, and prepares to continue his good Offices, 'till the Gallant be satisfied.

Bene & prosperè hoc hodie operis processit mihi;
Amovì à foribus maximam molestiam,

Patri ut liceret tuto illam amplexari.

Erroris ambo ego illos & dementiæ

Complebo, atque omnem Amphitruonis familiam

Adco, usque satietatem dum capiet Pater

Illius quam amat (25).

(25) *Ibid.* Act. 1. Sc. 2. ver. 1. 2. 3. 5. &c.

Thus far Success attends upon my Counsels; I have removed the greatest Obstacle from the Door, that my Father may take his Joing of Pleasure in full Security. — I will perplex them both with Mistakes, and fill them with Madness; and not only the Master and Man, but Amphitryon's whole Family, 'till my Father is cloy'd with the Enjoyment of his Mistress.

[E] The Dexterity of a Servant Maid, which eluded the ill Intentions of *Lucina* (26.) I follow *Ovid's* Narrative. *Alcmena* had been seven Days in Labour, with horrible Pains. *Galanthis*, one of her Women, came in, and went out, and, being apprehensive of some Charm, upon seeing a Woman sitting at the Door, and muttering to herself, with her Hands joined on her Knees, she told her that *Alcmena* was delivered. *Lucina* (for it was she, who was sitting in that Posture) no sooner heard these Words, but she disjoined her Hands, and rose up, which caused *Alcmena* to be delivered.

(26) *Stevenson the Goddess of Child-birth.*

--- subscindit in illa

Ante fores ara, dextroque à poplite levum
Pressa genu, digitis inter se pectine junctis,
Sustinuit partus, tacita quoque carmina voce
Dixit, & inceps tenuerat carmina partus.

Una ministrarum, media de plebe, *Galanthis*
Flava comas, aderat, faciendis Arenua jussis,
Officiis dilecta suis. Ea sensit iniqua
Nescio quid Junone geri, dumque exit & intrat
Sæpe fores, Divam residentem vidit in ara,
Brachiaque in genibus digitis connexa teneant;
Et, quæcunque es, ait, domina gratare; levata est
Argolis *Alcmena*, potiturque puerpera voto.
Exsiluit, junctaque manus patefacta remisit
Diva potens uteri: vinculis levor ipsa remisit (27).

(27) *Ovid. Metamorph. lib. 9. ver. 298, &c.*

*She hears the groaning Anguish of my Fits,
And on the Altar at my Door she sits.
O'er her left Knee her crossing Leg she casts,
Then knits her Fingers close, and wrings them fast.
This stay'd the Birth; in muttering Verse she pray'd.
The muttering Verse th' unfinish'd Birth delay'd.*

Among the Theban Dames *Galanthis* stands,
Strong limb'd, red hair'd, and just to my Commands.
She first perceiv'd, that all these racking Woes
From the persisting Hate of Juno rose.
As here and there she pass'd, by chance she sees
The seated Goddess; on her close-press'd Knees
Her fast-knit Hands she leans; with cheerful Voice
Galanthis cries, whoe'er thou art, rejoice,
Congratulate the Dame, she lies at Rest,
At length the Gods *Alcmena's* Womb have blest.
Swift from her Seat the startled Goddess springs,
No more concealed, her Hands abroad she flings;
The Charm unloos'd, the Birth my Pangs reliev'd;
Galanthis' Laughter vex'd the Pow'r deceiv'd.

GAY.

Pausanias,

being delivered. She was brought to bed of Two Boys; He, of whom *Jupiter* was Father, was called *Hercules*; and He, who was the Son of *Amphitryon*, was named *Iphiclus* (b). It is said, That she married *Rhadamanthus*, after the Death of *Amphitryon*, and that her Tomb was to be seen adjoining to That of *Rhadamanthus*, near *Haliartus*, in *Boeotia* (c). Others say, That she was buried at *Megara*, and that the Oracle ordered it so, when *Hercules's* Children consulted it, on a Dispute between them, some being willing that she should be carried to *Argos*, and others maintaining that she ought to be brought to *Thebes* (d). She died on the Frontiers of *Megara*, as she was returning from *Argos* to *Thebes* (e). *Hercules* was already dead; she survived him to her great Grief; but on the other hand she had the Satisfaction of holding in her hands the Head of *Hercules's* Persecutor, and of tearing out his Eyes [F]. It is related, that her Corps disappeared in the Ceremony of the Funeral, and that a Stone was found in her Bed (f). Which made *Pausanias* say, That she was metamorphosed into a Stone (g). *Antoninus Liberalis* tells us, that, whilst the *Heracleida* were preparing the Funeral Rites of *Alcmena*, *Jupiter* ordered *Mercury* to steal her away, and to transport her to the *Fortunate Islands*, in order to marry her to *Rhadamanthus*. This Order was obey'd; and a Stone was placed in her Coffin. They who carried it, finding it very heavy, opened it, and, instead of a dead Body, found a Stone, which they deposited in the sacred Grove, where was afterwards a Chapel of *Alcmena*, at *Thebes* (b). *Diodorus Siculus* remarks only, That she disappear'd, and that the *Thebans* paid her Divine Honours (i). They continued to shew her Chamber in *Pausanias's* Time (k). Her Altar was seen at *Athens* at the same time (l). The Present, which she received from *Jupiter*, for the long Night's Lodging he had with her, was shewed many Ages after at *Lacedæmon*, as a singular Curiosity (m). Very surprizing things have been related concerning her Tomb [G]. Consult the Article *AMPHITRYON*.

(b) Apollon. Biblioth. pag. 103.

(c) Plutarch. in Lyfandro, pag. 44. Antonini Liberalis Metamorph. cap. 35.

(d) Pausan. lib. 1. p. 33.

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Plut. in Romulo, pag. 35.

(g) Pausan. lib. 6. pag. 2. 4.

(h) Antonin. Liberal. ubi supra.

(i) Diod. Sic. lib. 5. c. 4.

(j) Pausan. lib. 8. pag. 290. Heliod. about 110 Years after the Birth of Christ.

(k) Id. lib. 1. pag. 17.

(m) See the Article *TELEPHOS*, Remark [D].

Pausanias does not relate the Story with the same Circumstances. He says, That the Figures of certain Women (28) were seen at *Thebes*, whom *Juno* had sent to prevent *Alcmena's* Delivery. The Daughter of *Tiresias* (29) deceived them, by crying out that *Alcmena* was delivered (30). In *Pliny's* Time they looked upon the Posture I have mentioned as a kind of Witchcraft. "Addidere gravidis, vel cum remedium alicui adhibetur, digitis pectinatum inter se implexis, veneficium est: idque comperit tradunt Alcmena Herculem pariente. Pejus, si circa unum ambove genua: item poplites alternis genibus imponi (31). — To sit by Women with Child, or when a Medicine is administered to any one, with one's Fingers joined together in the Fashion of a Comb, is Witchcraft; and this was experienced, when Alcmena was in Labour of Hercules. The Charm is stronger, if this be done upon one or both Knees; as also if the Posture be cross-legged." We shall see in another Place the Licence, which *Plautus* took, in supposing that *Alcmena* was delivered without Pain (32). [*Rabelais*, B. 3. cap. 48. has very properly rendered the Text of *Ovid* and *Pliny*. If Mr *BAYLE* had known this, he would doubtless have produced it here. REM. CRIT.]

[F] The Satisfaction of holding in her Hands the Head of Hercules's Persecutor, and of tearing out his Eyes. *Apollodorus* informs us, that the Sons of this Hero found a good Asylum in *Athens* against *Eurystheus* and that *Hyllus*, one of them, having killed him, cut off his Head, and gave it to *Alcmena*, who

dug out the Eyes with a Weaver's Shuttle: Καὶ τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον ἀποσπῶν Ἀλκμήνην διδῶσθαι, ἢ τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ῥαδάμανθους ἐξώρυξεν αὐτὴν (33). *Ennius*: caput amputatum Alcmenæ adit. Hæc autem illic textorius radiis oculos effodit.

[G] Very surprizing things — concerning her Tomb. *Agchilaus*, King of *Sparta*, intending to remove the Relicks of *Alcmena* to *Lacedæmon*, sent some People to *Haliartus*, who opened her Monument. They found in it two earthen Vessels, a Bracelet of Brass, and a copper Table, on which certain Letters were engraven, which no one understood. As they resembled the Egyptian manner of Writing, *Agchilaus* caused them to be transcribed, and sent the Copy to the King of *Egypt*, desiring him to enquire of his Priests the Purport of them (34). *Plutarch* adds, that *Agetoridas*, who was deputed for this Purpose by *Agchilaus*, went to *Memphis*, where the Prophet *Chonuphis* decyphered the Inscription. It contained a Precept addressed to the *Greeks*, to live in Peace, to honour the Muses, and to compose their Differences according to the Rules of Equity. The Letters of the Inscription were like the writing, which *Hercules* learnt in the Reign of King *Proetus*. The most remarkable Particular is, that the Inhabitants of *Haliartus*, having had a very bad Harvest, and great Inundations, believed that the Evils proceeded from having permitted the Removal of *Alcmena's* Tomb. We read the same Reflexions in divers Legends, concerning the dismembering or translating of the Bodies of Saints.

(33) Apollod. Biblioth. 2. pag. 151.

(34) Plutarch. in Eurydice Socrus Geniis, pag. 576. &c.

A L C M Æ O N. Many Persons have been called by this Name. The last Perpetual *Archon* of *Athens* was called **A L C M Æ O N**. After him other *Archons* were created, whose Office continued but ten Years. This Alteration happen'd in the VIth Olympiad, a little before *Romulus* built the City of *Rome* (a). *Herodotus* speaks of an **A L C M Æ O N**, who lived at *Athens* in *Cræsus's* Time, and who performed many good Offices to the Ambassadors, whom That King sent to *Delpi* (b). *Cræsus*, having heard of it, invited him to his Court, and gave him leave to take as much Gold out of his Treasury as he could carry. We read, in *Herodotus*, the Expedient, which **A L C M Æ O N** made use of to carry a great Weight of it. *Cræsus* made him many other Presents, inasmuch that he put him in a Condition of adding a very great Lustre to his Family at *Athens*, where it became one of the most considerable. The **A L C M Æ O N I D Æ** (so they called **A L C M Æ O N's** Posterity) distinguish'd themselves on several Occasions, and chiefly by strenuously opposing the Tyranny, which *Pisistratus* and his Sons endeavoured in vain to perpetuate there. I believe this **A L C M Æ O N** was the same, who was General of the *Athenians*, in the War, which was undertaken for the Protection of the Temple of *Delpi*, at the Solicitation of *Solon* (c). I find an **A L C M Æ O N** in *Plutarch*, who was a great Enemy of *Themistocles* (d). There are many Faults in *Moreri's* Dictionary relating to the Word

ALCMÆON [A]. I am going to give separate Articles of two Persons who bore this Name.

[A] *There are many Faults in Moreri's Dictionary relating to the Word Alcmæon.* I. It is not true, that *Alcmæon*, the last perpetual *Archon*, lived about the Year 301, or 300, of *Rome*. *Eusebius*, who is cited for it, places the end of the perpetual *Archons* before the Foundation of *Rome*. II. Besides, the Year 301 of *Rome* does not answer to the Year of the World 3300, but to the Year 3530, or thereabouts, according to *Petavius*; or the Year 3498, according to *Setbus Calosivius*. III. *Alcmæon*, the perpetual *Archon*, is not the same *Alcmæon*, who received so many Presents from *Cræsus* (1). He preceded the beginning of That King's Reign about One hundred and ninety Years. IV. The last Year of That Reign answers to the 206th Year of *Rome*. V. *Herodotus*, who is cited, does not say, that *Alcmæon* succeeded his Father *Megacles* in the Office of Annual *Archon*; nor that the Ambassadors of *Cræsus* asked *Alcmæon*, whether he would accompany their Master to *Delphi*; nor that, after he had promised them to do it, That King presented him with as much Gold as he could carry; nor that, perceiving that *Alcmæon* had loaded himself with Gold beyond his Strength, he caused him to be carried with the Burthen to his House; because he could not walk under it. I cannot imagine for what Reason *Herodotus* is quoted, when his Narrative is so strangely falsified. VI. *Alcmæon*, the Son of *Amphiaraus*, did not marry *Callirhoe*, after the Death of *Alphesbea* his first Wife; the latter was yet living at the time of the second Marriage,

(1) Yet it is so affirmed in the Dutch Edition of Moreri's Dictionary. The Supplement to the Dictionary says only, that this *Alcmæon* had been an annual *Archon* of Athens.

(2) Ovid. de Remed. Amor. v. 455.

*Amphilochi frater ne Phegida semper amaret,
Callirhoe fecit parte recepta tori* (2).

*Left Phegeus' Daughter shou'd engross his Heart,
Callirhoe in his Bed obtained a Part.*

VII. *Plutarch* does not say, that the Fable of *Alcmæon* signifies that he killed his Mother, that is to say, his Part, in order to go and live in the Country, which is expressed by the River his Father-in-law. One would think, that *Moreri* read in *Plutarch*, that *Alcmæon* castrated himself; which seems to be the Natural Sense of these Words, he killed his Mother, that is to say, his Part. I am willing to believe, that instead of *Partie* (Part), the Author gave it *Patrie* (Native Country); but this does not justify him; for *Plutarch* does not say, that *Alcmæon* killed his Native Country, or that he abused it: On the contrary he tells us, that *Alcmæon*, shunning Magistracies, Seditions, Factions, and Calumnies, made choice of a small Retreat, in order to live quietly, and that thus he fled from the Furies (3). VIII. The Chronicle of *Eusebius* is cited still more improperly, to explain what the Fable says of *Alcmæon*; for of what use is it towards explaining this Fable, to say,

(3) *Plut.* de Exilio. pag. 602.

ALCMÆON, the Son of *Amphiaraus* and *Eriphyle*, the Sister of *Adrastus*, kill'd his Mother in obedience to his Father's Command. I am going to tell you the Reason of so strange a Command. *Amphiaraus* looked upon *Eriphyle* as the Cause of his Death. He had resolv'd not to go to the *Theban War*; for, being a great Soothsayer, he foresaw, that, if he went, he should die there. Moreover, he had promised with an Oath, That, if he should have any Dispute with *Adrastus*, he would refer the whole Matter to the Decision of his Wife. They differ'd about the Expedition to *Thebes*. *Adrastus* would have *Amphiaraus* engage in it; but *Amphiaraus* refused, and dissuaded others from it. *Eriphyle* decided the Affair, as *Adrastus* desir'd, being bribed by a fine Necklace (a), which *Polynices* offered her (b), and which she accepted, contrary to her Husband's Command not to take any thing of *Polynices*. Hence she has furnished many Topics and moral Thoughts to the Censors of the Fair Sex. It is well known, that *Amphiaraus*, dying, when the Army was routed, was swallowed up in an Abyss, which a Clap of Thunder opened under his Feet. He had ordered his Sons, before he march'd against *Thebes*, to kill *Eriphyle*, as soon as their Age would permit. All the Generals, except *Adrastus*, perished in this War. Ten Years after, their Sons resolv'd to revenge this Affront, and made choice of *Alcmæon* for their Generalissimo. *Eriphyle*, bribed again by Presents, solicited them to this War. *Thersander*, the Son of *Polynices*, presented her with a Necklace (c), and a Robe (d). *Alcmæon*, tho' greatly inclin'd to kill his Mother before he accepted the Command of the Forces, yet march'd against *Thebes*, without executing *Amphiaraus*'s Order. This Expedition proved very fortunate: the *Thebans*; by the Advice of

That the City of *Thebes* was plundered, that *Tiresias* was taken Prisoner, and that his Daughter *Manto* was consecrated to the Service of *Apollo*? IX. It is not true, that *Eusebius* relates these Things, as falling out in the One hundred and eighty seventh Year of Abraham. He says nothing of the lacking of *Thebes*; he speaks in general of the seven Captains, who attacked this City, and of their Posterity, which renewed the War; I say, he speaks of the first of these two Expeditions under the Year 784, and of the last under the Year 823. X. Neither *Eusebius*, nor any other Historian, observe that *Alcmæon*'s Expedition against *Thebes* was unsuccessful (4); for it was at that Time that the *Epigones* plundered the City, &c. XI. They did not carry away the poor blind *Tersias*: He had fled, with the other *Thebans*, before the Enemy entered the City. XII. They did not collect a great Booty, to revenge the Disgrace of their Fathers. It ought to have been said, that, to revenge the Disgrace of their Fathers, they undertook a second Expedition. XIII. It is not true, that the Philosopher *Alcmæon* made it appear, that the Moon has a peculiar Property, which never ends; he supposed the Eternity of this Planet: It can only be a Supposition; and it is a more unpardonable Negligence in a Priest, than any other Author, to say, That it has been made appear, that the Moon is eternal, and that the immortal Soul turns continually as the Sun. XIV. *Eusebius* does not speak of *Alcmæon* the Philosopher; doubtless he meant the Poet, when he said: *Alcmæon clarus habetur; & Lesbos Lesbicus, qui parvum fecit Iliadem*. — *Alcmæon* is reckoned famous, as is *Lesches* of *Lesbos*, who wrote the lesser *Iliad*. XV. These Words of his are in the Thirty first *Olympiad*, and not in the Sixty ninth. XVI. It is equally false, that *Plutarch*, in the *Life* of *Solon*, cites an Historian, whose Name is *Alcmæon*. These are *Plutarch*'s Words; they will serve to shew how hasty Transcribers fall into the greatest Mistakes. 'Ου μὲν ποτὶ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ πόλεμον, ὡς λέγειν φασὶν Ἑρμιππὸς Ἐυάνθη καὶ Σαμίων. 'Οὐδὲ δ' Ἀλκίωνα ἰρητῶν τῶν εἰρηκῶν, ὥς τις τῶν Δελφῶν ἀπομνημονεύει Ἀλκμαίων, ὁ Σόλων, Ἀθηναίων γεννητὸς ἀναρχογενεῖα (5). He was not appointed General for this War, as *Hermippus* says *Euanthes* of *Samos* delivered. For the Orator *Æschines* said no such thing, and, in the *Commentaries* of *Delphi*, *Alcmæon*, not *Solon*, is the Athenian General. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* found the pretended Historian *Alcmæon* in this Passage of *Plutarch*: In *Delphorum Commentariis*, say they, citatur à *Plutarcho* in *Solone*. It is plain that these *Commentaries* of *Delphi* are the Work, which they ascribe to *Alcmæon*, and which they pretend to have been cited by *Plutarch*. I wonder that *Postellus* fell into this Mistake: *Alcmæon*, says he (6), in *Delphorum commentariis*, Ἀλκμαίων ἐστὶ τῶν τῶν Δελφῶν ἀπομνημονεύει, citatur à *Plutarcho* in *Solone*.

(4) *Moreri*, bib. in the Lyons Edition, 1688, and in that of Holland, expresses himself thus: After his unfortunate Expedition to *Thebei*.

(5) *Plur.* in *Solone*, pag. 84. A.

(6) *Vossius* de *Histores*. Græc. pag. 501.

(a) See concerning this Necklace the Remarks on the Article **CALLIROHE**.

(b) *Hyginus* says, c. 73. That *Adrastus* gave her the Necklace, and that *Eriphyle* discovered the Place where *Amphiaraus* hid himself.

(c) *Diod. Siculus* is rather to be credited, who says, That *Thersander* gave her only the Pearl, or Robe; he could not give the Necklace, since *Eriphyle* had it already.

(d) Called in Greek ἄσπετος.

of *Tiresias*, abandoned their City; it was plundered, and destroyed. *Alcmaeon*, transported with new Rage, upon hearing, that *Eriphyle* had suffered herself to be corrupted by Presents against him also, no longer scrupled to kill her, after consulting the Oracle about it. Some maintain, that his Brother *Amphilochus* assisted him in this Parricide; but most Authors deny it. *Alcmaeon*, haunted by the Furies for this Action, retired to *Psophis* in *Arcadia*, where he expiated his Crime, with the usual Forms, under the Protection of *Phegeus*, and married *Arginoë* (d), the Daughter of the same *Phegeus*, to whom he made a Present of the Necklace and the Robe, which were given to *Eriphyle*. A great Famine arising, recourse was had to the Oracle, which ordered *Alcmaeon* to fly to *Achelous*. He arrived there, after much rambling up and down, where he renewed the Ceremonies of the Expiation, and married *Callirhoë*, the Daughter of *Achelous*; and settled on a Corner of Land, which that River had form'd by throwing up a quantity of Sand [A]. *Callirhoë* declared she would not lie with him, if he did not make her a Present of *Eriphyle's* Necklace and Robe. This obliged him to return to *Phegeus*, from whom he obtained the Necklace, having made him believe that the Oracle had declared to him, that the Furies would not cease to persecute him, till he had offered the Necklace to *Apollo*. *Phegeus* was afterwards informed, that *Alcmaeon* designed this Present for *Callirhoë*; upon which he ordered his two Sons to pursue and kill him, which they did: And, because *Arginoë* was offended at it, they carried her in a Box to *Tegea*, and charged her with the Murder. Some say that *Alcmaeon*, during his Madness, diverted himself with the Prophetess *Manto*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*; and that he had two Children by her (f). See the Sequel to this in the Article of *CALLIRHOË*. *Alcmaeon's Furies* made a great Noise on the Stage of Ancient Greece (g), but we have none of those Tragedies left [B]. What has been said of his Tomb, deserves to be considered [C]. The *Oropians*, who were beforehand with all other Nations in placing *Amphiaras* among the Gods, excluded *Alcmaeon* from Divine Honours, which they conferred on his Father and his Brother (h), on account of his Parricide (i). It is observed, that a *Persian*, called *Orontes*, resembled him perfectly (k).

Some Historians say, that, after the second War of *Thebes*, *Alcmaeon* went into *Etolia*, being invited thither by *Diomedes*, and that he assisted him in conquering that Country, and *Acarnania*; and that being both summoned to accompany the Expedition of *Troy*, *Diomedes* went, but *Alcmaeon* staid in *Acarnania*, and built a City there, which he called *Argos* of *Amphilochus*, in Honour of his Brother (l). Note, that he practised the Trade of Divination in *Acarnania* (m).

[A] He settled on a Corner of Land, which that River had formed by throwing up a Quantity of Sand. It will not be amiss to illustrate *Amphilochus* by a Passage of *Pausanias*, which imports, that, after *Alcmaeon* had killed his Mother, he fled from *Argos* to *Psophis*, where he married *Alpheisbea* the Daughter of *Phegeus* (1). His Marriage did not cure him of his Phrenzy; so that he had recourse to the Oracle, which ordered him to retire to a new Land, which was made since the Murder of *Eriphyle*. He was assured that the Furies would not pursue him thither. Meeting, then, with a Piece of Land, thrown up by the Waters, at the Entrance of the River *Achelous*, he settled there, and married *Callirhoë*.

[B] We have none of those Tragedies left. I question not but the two Verses, mentioned by *Plutarch*, in one of his Books, are taken out of some of those Pieces. The common-place Topic, which *Plutarch* there touches upon, is of greater Importance than is generally believed to be. It relates to a general Fault, to wit, of those who reproach their Neighbours with a Vice, which they themselves are guilty of, or which is less than their own. *Alcmaeon* reproaches *Amphilochus* for being the Brother of a Woman, who had killed her Husband: *Amphilochus* answers, And you

have killed your own Mother. He, who is very guilty himself, must not set up for a Cate, and a Censor. Οὐκ ἔστι μοι γὰρ λοιδορήσας, αὐτὸς ὃν πατρὸς ἀνέλεστος. Μὴ δ' ἀσέως αὐτὸς ὢν ἀνελδίδης, Ἀνδρῶν κτῆνι γυναικὶς φονεὺς ἔσθι; Τὸν Ἀδελφόν; Ἄλλῃ μὲν. Τὴ δ' ἐκείνη; ὃν ἀλλοτρίον ἄλλα ἰδὼν ἑαυτὸς φονεὺς ὄνεις; Ὡς δ' αὐτίχῃ γὰρ μάλιστα ἢ γὰρ ἐγὼ λέω (2).

Non itaque adulterium objice alteri, ipse infans puerorum amore flagrans, neque prodigialitatem sordidus ipse. Alcmaeon Adraflam hoc maledicta iussit, Tibi quæ maritum sanæ interfecit est foror. Quid Adrafla? Non alienam sed proprium ei reponit opprobrium, Matrem necasti tu manu tua tuam.

[C] What has been said of his Tomb, deserves to be considered. This Tomb was at *Psophis* in *Arcadia*; it was but indifferently adorned; but it was surrounded with such high Cypresses, that they covered with their Shade the Hill, which commanded the City. They were never cut, because it was thought they were consecrated to *Alcmaeon*; and they were called the Virgins (3).

A L C M Æ O N, born at *Grotone*, was a Disciple of *Pythagoras*. It is thought he was the first who wrote upon *Physics* (a). He held very heterodox Opinions; as, that the Moon was eternal, and that the Soul always turned round like the Sun. This is what *Laërtius* says of him. *Cicero* represents this Philosopher's System better; for how careless is it, among all the Planets, to which *Alcmaeon* attributed an eternal Nature, to pitch upon That, whose Alterations are the most sensible, I mean the Moon! *Laërtius* should therefore have said, as *Cicero* did (b), that This Philosopher ascribed a Divine Nature to all the Celestial Bodies, and even to our Souls. But, as it is the Fate of false Systems to be incoherent, we find that our *Alcmaeon* argued very inconsequentially, when he made so great a Distinction between the Knowledge of the Gods, and that of Men. He said, that the Gods knew things evidently, and Men only conjecturally. This may be said by those who acknowledge One only True God; but they who take the Planets, and human Souls, for so many Gods, become ridiculous.

(d) Pausan. lib. 8. pag. 2. c. c. lib. 1. c. 6.

(f) Tuten. f. om. Apollonius l. 3. p. 18. &c. See also Diogenes. Sicul. lib. 5. c. 6.

(g) Alcmaeon olim Tragicorum pulcherrima lallavit cum furore suo, nunc nullam sui nominis fabulam habet. Barth. in Statium. Tom. 2. p. 449.

(h) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 33.

(1) Pausan. lib. 8. pag. 255.

(2) Plutarch. in Arato, p. 1028.

(k) His Name was AMPHILOCHUS. See the Remarks on this Article.

(l) Strabo, lib. 7. pag. 225. See also lib. 10. pag. 318.

(m) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. 1. pag. 334.

(2) Plut. de capiendis ex inimicis. lib. 88.

(3) Id. lib. 8. pag. 255.

(a) Phavorin. in omnimoda Philosophia. Apud Laërt. l. 1. in Alcmaeon. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. Theodoret. Serm. 2.

(b) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 2. c. 17. Laërt. ubi supra.

culous when they pretend, that Human and Divine Knowledge do essentially differ. It is not true that *Alcmæon* died of a pedicular Distemper [A].

[A] It is not true that he died of a pedicular Distemper. Antigonus Carylus mistook the one for the other, when he said (1) that *Alcmæon* the Philosopher, had this Disease; he took *Alcmæon*, the Disciple of Pythagoras, for *Alcmæon* the Poet. Charles Stephens does not only say, that the Philosopher *Alcmæon* died of a pedicular Disease, but also that he was the first, who died of it; for which he alleges *Ælian*. Both these Assertions are false; *Ælian* is not speaking of

our *Alcmæon*; but observes several things concerning *Alcmæon* the Poet: Having said, that the Philosopher *Pherecydes* died of the Distemper here in Question (2), he would doubtless have given him the Precedence over *Alcmæon*, if he had mentioned the latter in relation to this kind of Disease. Charles Stephens's Errors are likewise to be met with in Father *Lesclapier* (3).

(2) *Ælian*.
Var. Histor.
lib. 4. c. 28.

(3) In Cicero
de Nat.
Deor. p. 41.

ALDRINGER, a famous General, in the Reign of the Emperor Ferdinand the Second, raised himself solely by his Merit. He was of the Country of *Luxemburg*, and of very obscure Birth [A]. In his younger Days he engaged in the Service of some Gentlemen, who went into *France*; he apply'd himself with them to Study, and made a great Progress in it. Being come into *Italy*, he was made Chancellor to Count *Madrucci*. He went afterwards to *Trent*, where he had an honourable Employment in the Chancery; but the Jealousy of his Colleagues, and their Conduct, so greatly disgusted him, that he left his Post, and, enrag'd at Fortune, determined to follow the Profession of the first Man he should meet with in his Way. He took the Way of *Inspruck*, and, meeting a Soldier near the Bridge, who was returning into *Italy*, he entered himself a private Soldier. He became a Sergeant soon after; and, as he was Master of his Pen, he was employ'd to draw up all the Accounts of the Company, and to write the Answers, which the Captain was to give. He gave his Captain such an Insight into Affairs, as opened to him the Way to an higher Employment. This Promotion occasioned the Lieutenant of the Company to be made Captain, and *Aldringer* to be advanced to the Lieutenant's Place. He defended himself so well, with but fifty Men, in a disadvantageous Post, that he maintained it, notwithstanding all the Attacks of the Enemy. From that time the Reputation of his Courage spread as far as that of his Capacity: Several Colonels offered him a Company; the Nephew of the Archbishop of *Salzburg* was one of them. On account of his Youth, he had occasion for such a Man in his Regiment; he gained him, and acquired so much Honour, by *Aldringer's* good Counsels, that, to testify his Acknowledgment, he made him his Sergeant-Major. *Aldringer* was afterwards Lieutenant-Colonel, and then Colonel; and made it so fully appear, that he understood his Profession thoroughly, that he was thought worthy to command in Chief, in the Expedition to *Manina* (a). He joined the broken Remains of the Battle of *Leipic* (b), very opportunely, with the Troops which he brought from *Italy*; and perhaps, if Count *Tilly* had delay'd giving Battle till the Arrival of these Troops, as he was advised to do, the Event would not have been so fatal to the Imperialists. *Aldringer* left *Tilly*, some time after, to retire into *Bohemia*, on account of the Jealousies, which the ill State of Affairs sowed between the Imperialists and the *Bavarians* (c); but this Dis-union did not continue long. He was, in the Month of *March* 1632, with *Tilly* on the Banks of the *Leck*, to dispute the Passage of that River with the King of *Sweden*. He was at that time Great Master of the Artillery (d). The Wound, he received in his Head, contributed much to the Advantage the Enemy had in passing the River; but did not hinder him from serving the same Campaign; he joined Count *Wallestein* in *Bohemia*, notwithstanding the Efforts of the Enemy to hinder this Junction: he was obliged to return in haste into *Bavaria*, to oppose General *Horn's* Troops. The Success was various, on both sides, in those Parts, all the Remainder of that Year, and the beginning of the following. The most glorious Exploit of *Aldringer*, during that time, was his contributing, in 1633, to the raising the Siege of the City of *Constance*. He march'd afterwards to join the Duke of *Feria*, who had brought some Spanish Troops from *Italy*. It has been thought, that *Wallestein* had given *Aldringer* private Orders to frustrate the Duke's Designs [B]; and

(a) In 1632.
Taken from
Galeazzo
Gualdo Pri-
orato in the
6th Book of
the History of
the Wars of
Germany.

(b) In 1631.

(c) Priorato
lib. 2. at the
Year 1631.

(d) *Blanc's*
History of
Bavaria,
Tom. 4.
pag. 374.

[A] Of very obscure Birth. Puffendorf says, Humiliated *Luxemburgians* loco ortus; and adds (1), that he was, at first, Footman to certain French Barons, and afterwards a Secretary. According to another Historian, his Condition was not so mean; he makes him first Rudy, then go to the War, then serve as a Secretary, and afterwards take up Arms again. "Luxemburgi penitus sed honesto loco ortus, primam meam literis dedit (2). — Bona at *Luxemburg*; "of private, but respectable, Parents; he spent the "first part of his Life in Study." He makes him naturally abstemious, ingenio promptus acie ac, & ad turba vini abstinent; (3). which was a very bad, and very prejudicial, Quality, in a Soldier, in Germany.

[B] It has been thought, that *Wallestein* had given *Aldringer* private Orders to frustrate the Duke's Designs. The Historian of *Bavaria*, whom I have cited, says (A), "That the Swedes desired only to come to a

general Engagement, though they were not so advantageously posted, as the Catholics. The Duke of *Feria*, continues he, seeing a fair Opportunity, endeavoured in vain to oblige *Aldringer* to engage with the Enemy, and could never obtain any thing from a Man, who was under the Correction of *Wallestein*; and the Swedes retiring as it were in Triumph, about the end of October, the ill Conduct of *Aldringer*, which cost the Catholic Union dear, displeas'd the Duke of *Feria* so much, that he died soon after of Grief." This Historian had said, in the foregoing Page, that "*Aldringer*, being in the Secret of *Wallestein*, seldom acted without his Orders; and that a Piece was published, at that time, which imported, that, whilst *Wallestein* wrote to the Emperor, that he was about to send *Aldringer* to the Duke of *Bavaria*, to get rid of him entirely, he gave him private Orders to serve him only

(1) Puffendorf, Rerum Suecicarum, lib. 6. pag. 257.

(2) John Cluverus, Hist. Histor. lib. 11. Appendix.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) *Blanc's* History of *Bavaria*, Tom. 4. pag. 484.

and that this was the true Reason, and the secret Motive, why *Aldringer* would never consent to give Battle. However we must not imagine, that he was privy to all the Plots of *Wallestein*; he had only a certain Complaisance for him, which, without ruining the Affairs of their common Master, very much advanced the private Interests of That General. The like Intelligences are practised in most Armies. He was kill'd in the Year 1634, at *Landshut* a Town of *Bavaria*, and it was never known, whether it was by his own Soldiers, or by the *Suedes*. He had been created a Count (c). He was a Man of excellent Qualities [C]; 'tis pity they were attended with an excessive Avarice and Cruelty [D]. Such is commonly the Fate of Man; He resembles those Lands, which promiscuously produce both good and bad Herbs.

(r) Blanc, ibid. p. 43.

"only by acting upon the defensive with the little Reinforcement, which he commanded: Which *Aldringer* not having punctually performed, *Galas* let him know from *Wallestein*, that he would never pardon him this Disobedience."

"[c] He was a Man of excellent Qualities.] He had a very quick and penetrating Wit, great Skill, a refined Understanding, and great Courage; he distinguished himself in Councils of War by the Force of his Reasons, and by the Probability of his Conjectures; he was besides a good Writer; he spoke several Languages, and had extracted the Quintessence of the Maxims of several Countries. The Politics of an Italianiz'd Spaniard did not out-do his; "Le da lui praticate varie nationi, l'osservate diverse maniere, e gli investigati genii e inclinazioni di molti

"popoli lo refero così accorto nelle attioni, che alcuno Spagnuolo Italianato non lo avanzava (5)."

"[D] Attended with an excessive Avarice and Cruelty.] He was void of Compassion, and exacted Contributions with the utmost Rigour; he had no regard to the necessities of the Soldiers, so that he was neither belov'd by the People, nor by the Army. He made a good hand of it at the sacking of *Mantua*; and no Officer in the Imperial Army gained so large a share of Plunder as he (6). It was believed that his own Soldiers slew him on the Bridge of *Landshut*, the Opportunity of doing it without discovery being favourable. "Fu colpito e fatto cader morto, non senza sospetto cio divenisse dalla parte de' suoi per vendetta d'alcune ingiurie fatte loro, essendo egli per la sua severita piu temuto che amato della militia (7)."

(5) Priori's History of the Wars of Germany, lib. 9. pag. 291. Edit. 4to

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 283.

(a) Defended in the Courts of this Name, according to Aubertus Miræus de Scriptoribus sæc. XVI. pag. 154.

(b) Bullart, Academy of Sciences, Tom. 2. pag. 110, says he was 80 Years old.

(c) See Mercklinus in Lindeno renovato, p. 1047.

(d) See Remark [D].

ALDROVANDUS (a) (ULYSSES) Professor of Philosophy, and Physic, at *Bologne*, his Native Country, was one of the most inquisitive Men in the World with respect to Natural History. His Cares, his Labours, and his Expences, on that account, are incredible. He travelled into the remotest Countries, without any other Motive, than that of enquiring into the Productions of Nature there. Minerals, Metals, Plants, and Animals, were the Objects of his Enquiries, and of his Curiosity: But he applied himself chiefly to the Knowledge of Birds; and, in order to have very exact and lively Representations of them, he employed the most excellent Artists of *Europe* [A], for above thirty Years, at his own Expence. These Expences ruin'd him; he found himself at last reduced to the utmost Necessity; and it is said that he died in the Hospital of *Bologne*, loaded with Years (b), and blind, in the Year 1605 (c). A remarkable Example both of Publick Ingratitude [B], and Private Curiosity. A thousand Reflexions might be made on this Adventure; but I leave them to others, and shall only content myself with this single Observation, That Antiquity does not afford any Example of so extensive and difficult an Undertaking, as This of our *Ulysses*, with regard to Natural History. *Pliny*, I confess, treats of a greater Variety of Subjects, but he only glances upon them, and says but little of each; whereas *Aldrovandus* collected every thing he could meet with. His Compilation comprehends several large Volumes in Folio (d); but the whole Honour of it must not be ascribed to him [C]; for there came out a Work, after his Death, in which it is thought

[A] He employ'd the most excellent Artists of Europe.] Let us see what *Aubertus Miræus* has collected on this Subject: "Pictori cuidam ea in arte unico triginta et amplius annos annuum aureorum ducentorum stipendium percipit. Delineatores celeberrimos, *Laurentium Benninum* Florentinum, & *Cornelium Suintum* Francofurtensem ære suo condaxit, nec non *Jacobi Ligotti*, Serenissimi *Etruriæ* ducis Pictoris eximii, opera in hac eadem provincia Florentiæ quandoque usus est, ut quo maximo fieri posset artificum oves eæ designarentur. Tandem Sculptorem habuit insignem *Christophorum Coriolanum* Norimbergensem, atque ejus nepotem, qui eas adeo venuste adoeque eleganter exculpserat, ut non in ligno sed in ære factæ viderentur (1). — He paid an annual Stipend of Two hundred Crowns, for more than thirty Years, to a Painter, the first of his Profession. He hired the most celebrated Drawers, *Laurentius Benninus* the Florentine, and *Cornelius Suintus* of Francfort; besides which he employ'd, at Florence, the most serene Duke of Tuscany's famous Painter, *James Ligotius*, to delineate his Birds, in the most exquisite manner possible. At last he engag'd, as his Sculptor, *Christopher Coriolanus*, of Nuremberg, and his Nephew, who carved them so beautifully, and elegantly, that they seem'd not express'd in Wood, but in Brass."

(1) Aubert. Miræus de Scriptoribus sæculi XVI. pag. 154.

[B] A remarkable Example of publick Ingratitude.] We must not imagine that no one helped this Naturalist in the Expences he was at. "The Senate of

Bologne, Cardinal *Montalto*, Francis Maria, Duke of *Urbino*, and others of the chief Persons of *Italy*, contributed willingly to it, by supplying the Painters, and Sculptors, which *Aldrovandus* had under him, with Money for their Maintenance — After having dedicated twelve Books of his Ornithology, or History of Birds, to Pope *Clement VIII*, and some others to those, who had favour'd his Labours with their Benefactions, he bequeathed the rest by Will to the magnificent Senate of *Bologne* — — — who assigned a considerable Sum of Money to *John Cornelius Uterverius*, born at *Delft*, in *Holland*, Professor in that University, and since to *Thomas Dempster*, a Scotch Gentleman, Professor likewise in the same Place, to collect, and cause these Books to be printed, which so highly deserved Publication (2)."

[C] The whole Honour of it must not be ascribed to him.] It appears, by the Catalogue of Books of Physic, that most of the Volumes of *Aldrovandus*'s Natural History, were printed after his Death (3). The Ornithology (4), in three Volumes in Folio, and the seven Books of Insects, in one Volume of the same size, are the only Works, which he published. The Volume of Serpents, the three Volumes of Four-footed Beasts, the Volume of Fishes, that of Bloodless Animals. The History of Monsters, with the Supplement to that of Animals, in twelve Volumes, the Treatise of Metals, and the *Dendrology* (5), came out at different Times, under the Care of different Persons, after the Death of *Aldrovandus*. The Volume

(2) Bullart, Academy of Sciences, Tom. 2. p. 110.

(3) Mercklinus in Lindeno renovato, pag. 1047.

(4) i. e. The History of Birds.

(5) i. e. The History of Trees.

thought he had no other share, than that of furnishing the Plan [D], or at most some imperfect Memoirs. I explain this in the Remarks. It is impossible, I think, that he could write such a prodigious Number of Books, as *Imperialis* gives us a Catalogue of (e); and it is not to be wondered at, that, being employ'd in such different Recherches, which require the greatest Attention, he often gave for Verse, what was most contrary to the Rules of Poetry (f); and that he was not much skilled in Greek (g). A Poet, who was once Pope, has given us a pretty Elogium of him [E].

(6) In Museo Historico. See also Paul Freherus's Theatre. P. 137.

(6) Professor of Physic of the University of Bononia, and Keeper of the Museum and Physic Garden.

(7) Ex Lindenio renovato, ubi fupra.

(8) The Dendrology.

(9) Journ- of the Learned, Nov. 12. 1668. pag. 425.

(10) Secken- dorf de Lutherano. lib. 2. pag. 125. a. 3.

(11) Vossius de Orig. 1. dolol. lib. 3. cap. 91. pag. 1227.

(12) Ezek. Spanhem. apud Konig. Bibl. p. 244.

(10) Ibid.

(11) See Spanhem. de Præst. Numism. Differt. 3. sub fin. pag. 252.

(12) Lorenzo Crasso, Elgie of Learned Men, Tom. 1. pag. 137. 138.

(13) In Nomenclatore Cardinalium pag. 132. & in Istoria de Poeti Greci of Lorenzo Crasso, pag. 278.

(14) Oldimeis in Athenæ Romano, pag. 177.

of Serpents was prepared for the Prefs by *Baribolomew Ambrosin* (6). That of *Quadrupedes*, with cloven Feet, was first digested by *John Cornelius Uterverius*, and afterwards by *Thomas Demter*, and published by *Mark Antony Bernia*, and by *Jerome Tamburin*. That of *Quadrupedes* with continuous Feet, and that of Fishes, was prepared for the Prefs by *Uterverius*, and published by *Tamburin*. That of *Quadrupedes*, with Fingers or Claws, was compiled by *Ambrosin*. The History of Monsters, and the Supplement, were collected by the same, and published at the Expence of *Mark Antony Bernia*. The *Dendrology* is the Work of *Ovid Montalbani* (7).

[D] There came out a Work after his Death, in which he had no other share, than that of furnishing the Plan.] The Abbot *Gallois* has so well represented the Judgment, which ought to be formed of this great Work, that I believe I shall oblige the Reader more by producing the Passage at length, than by abridging it. His own Words, then, are as follows. "*Aldrovandus* is not the Author of this Book (8), nor of many others, which nevertheless were published in his Name. But it happened to the Collection of Natural History, of which these Books make a part, as to those great Rivers, which, during their whole Course, preserve the Name they had at their Spring, though, at last, the greatest part of the Waters they disembody into the Sea, does not belong to them, but to other Rivers, which mix with them. As the six first Volumes of this great Work were *Aldrovandus's*, though the others were composed by different Authors, after his Death, they are yet ascribed to him, either because they are a Continuation of his Design, or compiled out of his Memoirs, or wrote upon his Plan, or, perhaps, with a View of recommending the latter Volumes by so famous a Name (9)." They, who would be acquainted with the Plan of this Compilation, need only cast their Eyes on the following Words; the Abbot *Gallois* goes on thus: "There is scarce any thing written about these Trees but what has been collected in this Volume. For this Author is not satisfy'd with mentioning all that he had read in Naturalists concerning them; but he observes also, according to the Method of *Aldrovandus*, what the

"Historians have wrote, what the Legislators have ordained, and what the Poets have feigned, about them. Moreover he explains the different uses of these Trees are put to in Oeconomics, in Physic, in Architecture, and in other Arts. Lastly, he takes Notice of the moral Sayings, Proverbs, Devices, Enigmas, Hieroglyphics, and many other things, which relate to his Subject (10)." He did not forget to consult Medals, and to borrow from them what might be useful to his Design (11).

[E] A Poet, who was once a Pope, has given us a pretty Elogium of him.] I mean *Marpho Barberini*, or *Urban VIII*. He wrote the following Epigram, in Praise of *Aldrovandus*.

Multiplices rerum formas, quas pontus & æther
Exhibet; & quidquid promit & addit humus,
Mens haurit, spectant oculi, dum cuncta sagaci,
Aldrobande, tuos digerit arte liber.
Miratur proprios solers industria fœtus,
Quamque tulit molli se negat esse parem.
Obstupet ipsa simul rerum fecunda creatrix,
Et cupit esse suum quod videt Artis opus (12).

Curious retiring Nature to pursue;
And dress'd in all her Shapes the Pow'r to view;
Whether in Earth's dark Womb conceal'd they lie,
Or on her Surface catch th' admiring Eye;
Whether in Seas they swim, or cut the yielding Skies;
Thro' ev'ry Form thy tow'ring Genius soars,
And all the vast Variety explores.
Great Nature's Comment, hence, these Volumes rose;
Here Art, sagacious, all her Beauties shows.
See Industry, unconscious of her Worth,
Start at her Offspring, and deny the Birth;
While Nature vain would claim the better Part;
And call that Her's, which is the Work of Art.

Lorenzo Crasso has given us another Epigram with this.

ALEANDER (JEROM) Archbishop of *Brindisi*, and Cardinal, in the XVIth Century. *Alexander VI.* desired to have him in his Service [A], and intended him for Secretary to his Son. He changed his Mind soon after, and sent him to negotiate in *Hungary*; but *Alexander* happened to be sick at that time, and could not go from *Venice*, where he resided. *Lewis XII.* sent for him into *France*, in the Year 1508 [B], to be Professor of Philology in the University of *Paris*. *Aleander* was then Twenty eight

[A] *Alexander VI.* desired to have him in his Service.] I make use of this Expression, because the Author, whom I follow, reduces the thing to a meer Design, which was never put in Execution. According to his manner of Expression, *Aleander* was never in the Service of that wicked Pope. If so, all those Reflexions, which were made to the Disadvantage of *Aleander*, occasioned by the pernicious School of *Alexander VI.* and *Cæsar Borgia*, wherein it is pretended that he was educated, stand for nothing. I shall not pretend to decide the Matter, and leave the Reader the trouble of examining into the Affair. "*Aleandrum* (qui paulo ante *Cancellarius* *Leodensis*, & olim famosissimi *Cæsaris* illius *Borgia* seu *Ducis* *Valentini* *Secretarius* fuerat, famulus hero dignus, & pars aulæ *Romanæ* sub *Alexandro VI.* pessime describit *Lutherus* (1). — *Luther* gives a very bad Character of *Aleander*, who a little before was Chancellor of *Leige*, and lately Secretary to the most infamous *Cæsar Borgia*, or Duke *Valentine*; a Servant worthy of his Master, and part of the Roman Court, in the Pontificate of *Alexander VI.*" [B] *Lewis XII.* sent for him into *France*, in the Year 1508.] *Pallavicini* does not mention this Year;

but, because he says that *Aleander* was sent for to *Paris* at Twenty eight Years of Age, I did not think myself mistaken in setting it down; since, as a farther Confirmation, *Aleander's* Epitaph imports, that he died in the Year 1542, aged Sixty two Years within thirteen Days (2). He was therefore born the thirteenth of *February*, 1480. For those, who remark the Day of his Death, place it on the first Day of *February* (3). I am surprized at the Negligence of the Authors of his Epitaph. They say that he was born in *Carniola*, in the Year 1479, and that he died at *Rome* in the Year 1542, being within thirteen days of Sixty two Years. This cannot be true, except by supposing, that the Year 1479 did not begin in *January*, and that the Year 1542 began with it: Now it is ridiculous to suppose, in an Epitaph, a manner of reckoning time so destitute of Uniformity. I wonder that the Author of the *Nomenclator* did not perceive this false Supposition. He says one thing, which is inconsistent with *Father Pallavicini's* to wit, That *Aleander* was but twenty Years of Age, when he taught in the University of *Paris*.

Memory to him [F]. I do not believe there was any reason to say, that the Hebrew was his Mother-Tongue, or, to express myself more plainly, that he was born a Jew [G]. There was more reason to accuse him of being passionate (f). He wrote his

(f) See the end of the Roman [G].
OWN

and what is not. This Defect reigns throughout the Nomenclator, the Athenæum of Oldoini, and several other Bibliographers. Alexander's great Work, wherein he censured all sorts of Professors, was never printed. It is said, that he was finishing it, when he died. *Mentre andava compiendo una vastissima Opera contra i Professori di tutte le Scienze, fu assalito in Roma dalla morte* (11). This is what Moreri meant by these Words, *He died the first of February 1642, when he was about publishing a considerable Work.* Most Writers have copied Paul Jovius in this Point. "Quum vastum opus vasta illa memoria adversus singulos disciplinarum professores agitare, Romæ interit (12). — He was preparing a prodigious Work, by the help of that prodigious Memory of His, against Professors of all kinds, when Death seized him at Rome." The Continutors of Gesner and König were acquainted only with the Tables of the Greek Grammar, among Alexander's Works. Draudius did not know so much. The Catalogue of Oxford contains but a small Poem of this Author's.

[F] *Attribute a surprising Memory to him.* I look upon Paul Jovius's Account of this Matter as a mere Poetical Flight, tho' he gave it in Prose; which is, that Alexander remembered every thing that he read, and could repeat it a long time after, without mistaking Things, or Words. "Detur hoc incomparabile inusitate memoriæ felicitati, quæ in Hieronymo Aleandro supra cujusque vel antiqui seculi captum admiranter excelluit, ut ejus ex vero depicta facies vel in pudenda ingenii fertilitate inter læcundissimas imagines conficiatur, quando nihil eum cuncta volumina cupide perlegentem vel rerum vel verborum omnino subterfugerit, quin singula memoriter vel à multis annis longo sepulta silentio recitaret (13). — We must ascribe this to that uncommon Happiness of Memory, which was remarkable in Jerom Alexander, beyond the Comprehension even of ancient Times; inasmuch that a true Picture of this Author, tho' of a shameful barrenness of Genius, might claim a Place among the Representations of the most fertile Wits; since, notwithstanding his universal Knowledge of Books, which he read over with great Eagerness, nothing, either as to the Matter or the Expression, escaped his Memory; but he could repeat every Particular by Heart, though many Years after he first read them." It is hard to believe this without Experience: but, as a Memory does not cease to be very good, though it does not come up to the Degree, which Paul Jovius mentions, I do not question the perfect Knowledge of divers Languages, which Alexander's Epitaph attributes to him; *Hebraicæ, Græcæ, Latinæ, aliquotque aliarum linguarum exoticarum ita exacte docto, ut eas recte & apte loqueretur & scriberet.* — So perfectly skilled in the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and other foreign Tongues, that he could both speak and write them justly and properly.

[G] *I do not believe there was any Reason to say — That he was born a Jew.* Luther and his Disciples gave it out as a certain Truth, during Alexander's first Nunciature in Germany; and we find the following Account of it in Luther's Works (14). "Venit his diebus Hieronymus Alexander, vir sua opinione longe maximus, non solum propter linguas quas eximie callebat, siquidem Hebræa illi vernacula est, Græcæ à puero illi coaliuit, Latinam autem didicist diutina professione, fed etiam mirabilis suis videtur ob antiquitatem generis. Nam Judæus natus est, quæ gens immodicè gloriatur de Abrahamæ vetustissimo se originem ducere. An vero baptisatus sit nescitur. Certum est eum non esse Pharisæum, quia non credit resurrectionem mortuorum, quoniam vivit perinde atque cum corpore sit totus periturus, adeo nullum à se pravum affectum abstinens. Usque ad insaniam iracundus est, quavis occasione furens. Impotentis arrogantia, avaritiæ inextinguibilis, nefandæ libidinis & immodicæ, summum gloriæ mancipium, quamquam mollior quam qui possit elaborato stylo gloriam parare, & pejor quam qui vel conetur in argumento honesto. At ne nesciamus, cessit felicissime simulata defectio ad Christianos. — Here is just arriv'd Jerom Alexander,

"in his own Opinion the most famous of Men, not only on account of the Languages he perfectly understands; for Hebrew is his Mother-Tongue, Greek grew familiar to him from his Youth, and Latin he attained by long exercise; but admired likewise by his own Country-men for the antiquity of his Race. For he was a Jew by birth; a People which boasts extravagantly of their Descent from Abraham who lived so many Ages ago. Whether he was ever baptized, is unknown. But it is certain that he is not a Pharisee, because he does not believe the Resurrection of the dead; since he lives, as if he were to perish entirely with the Body, and denies himself no Gratification of his depraved Affections. He is choleric even to Madness, falling into a Passion upon every Occasion; of outrageous Arrogance, unsatiable Avarice, shameful and immoderate Lust; an abandoned Slave to Fame, though too indolent to acquire it by an elaborate Style (15), and too dishonest even to attempt it by just and proper Reasoning. As for his pretended Conversion to Christianity, it has turned out greatly to his Advantage." This Picture represents Alexander to us not only as a Jew, who pretended to become a Convert to Christianity, and whose Baptism was doubtful, but also as one, who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul, and who plunged himself into the most infamous Pleasures; as a Man furiously passionate, covetous, and proud to the highest Degree. He answered the Accusation of being born a Jew, and declared before the Diet of Worms, that his Ancestors had the Dignity of Marquis in Istria, and that he had given good Proofs of his Noble and Illustrious Extraction, when he was made Canon of Liege. He appealed to several Persons, who heard him, and knew his Family. Mr Seckendorf informs us of this Particular. He found it in the Archives of the Duke of Weimar, where the Acts of the Diet of Worms are kept, among other Manuscripts of that time. Alexander's long Speech is abbreviated in those Acts, and it is from thence that this illustrious Lutheran furnished us with the above-mentioned Account of Alexander's Family, which he translated from his own Words into Latin (16). "Tandem questus est à Luthero spargi quasi Alexander gente Judæus esset: Deum immortalæ dixit, multi hic sunt boni viri quibus notus fum ego & familia mea, & asserere ego vere possum, majores meos Marchionem in Istria fuisse (17); quod vero parentes mei ad inopiam redacti sunt, fato tribui debet. Natalis etiam meos ita legitimi, ut in Canonium Leodiensem receptus sim, quod factum non foret, nisi ortus essem ex familia illustri vel spectabili." What induces me to believe, that this Reproach of being born a Jew was unjust, is no trifling Reason. Hultre Hutten published an Inveective against Alexander, wherein he was so angry, that he threatened to kill him: "Omnem adversam diligentiam, omne adhuc bebo studium, omnia tentabo conaborque, ut qui furore, amentia, & iniquitate gravis accessit, vita inanis hinc effleris. Neque enim expectandum adhuc tibi est, ut filios hic doctorum virorum sentias, sed futurum crede, ut fortium gladiis consodiare (18). — I will watch every Opportunity, I will make it my whole Business, I will try every Art and Means, that one so full of Rage, Madness, and Iniquity, may not depart with his Life. For you must not expect, that the Learned here will express their Repentments against you with their Pens; depend upon it, the Swords of the Brave will revenge their Quarrel on you." He was not ignorant that our Nuncio had refused the Reproach of Judaism before the Diet, and had boasted that he descended from a most illustrious Family; but he is so far from engaging to maintain this Charge, that he denies it was ever brought against him. I am not concerned, whether he had reason to deny it, or not; the Proof I draw from his Silence is the same; for if he had believed there was any Ground for this Accusation, he would, at least, have maintained, that Alexander denied his Jewish Extraction falsely. But, on the contrary, does he not affirm, that the Counts, to whom he said he was related, did not acknowledge

(11) Lor. Cassio, Histor. de Poet. Greci, pag. 277.

(12) Jovius in Elog. cap. 98. pag. 231.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 230.

(14) Tom. 1. fol. 456. apud Seckendorf. de Luther. lib. 1. pag. 125. n. 4.

(15) Paul Jovius says, That Alexander learn'd only to speak well, and that, when he attempted to write, he perceiv'd his weak side too late.

(16) Seckendorf. de Luther. pag. 143. lit. k.

(17) It is said in his Epitaph, that he descended from Countess Lametti, in Caria, a Pethenoloxia in Istria.

(18) Hutten. in Alcan. dram.

own Epitaph, which shews that he was not dissatisfied with his Condition, as some have charged him with being [H]. *Erasmus* mentions him frequently in his Letters, and almost always to his Disadvantage [I]. He complains, among other things, of the

acknowledge him for their Kinsman? "Nihil intellexisti proxima auditione, cum multis quidem excusares Judaicam originem, nemo objiceret. Nam esse malum, quacunq[ue] etiam gente editum, sciebant omnes. Itaque nemo magnopere putabat generis pravitate tibi objiciendam: adversum mores fremehant infensæ multi. Et poterat sentiri jam manifeste quæ esset animorum commotio: tu tamen, quasi illic potissimum expurgatione opus esset, multis tractabas locum cum ad fastidium usque audientiam: sed tanta cum fiducia, ut plane certus tibi esse videreris neminem intelligere, quam impudenter ibi mentireris omnia. Illo enim post multa erupisti, ut ad nobiliss. Comitum, qui te penitus ignorant, & quos tu laud satis nosti, genus, originem tuam referres (19). — At the next Hearing, you behaved quite like a Fool, when you took so much Pains to refute, what no one objected to you, the Charge of having been born of Jewish Parents. Every one knew you to be a Rascal, what ever was your Extradition. Therefore no one thought it of much Importance to object to you the Vileness of your Origin; whereas many inveighed strongly against your Morals. The Disposition of the Audience towards you was very evident; yet, as if the Refutation of this Charge was of the highest Consequence, you dwelt upon it with such tire-some Prolixity, that the Hearers were quite sick of the Subject; and That, with such an Air of Assurance, as if you were convinced, that no one understood, how impudently false every thing you said was. For, at last, you had the Confidence to refer your Birth and Origin to a Noble Family of Counts, who know nothing of you, and whom you yourself know very little of." Now, as the least Story, which is handed about, becomes at last considerable; I would not deny, that the Slander, which was spread against this Nuncio, was grounded upon what *Paul Jovius* says, that the Jews admired *Alexander's* Skill in the Hebrew Tongue, and that they were much inclined to believe that he was of their Nation: "Latinæ Græcæque literæ quum sæpe alacriter jactabundo pro vernaculis haberentur, Hebraicæ admirantibus Judæis & sæc stirpis cum facile credentibus, solertissime didicisti (20)." They, who shall have a mind to criticize upon me, are desired to observe, that I do not pretend, that *Paul Jovius's* Book occasioned this Calumny; the Notion, I think, might have been broached long before *Paul Jovius* took any Notice of it.

(19) Id. ib.
f. 10. Jovius
Epist. ad
Nauicam, p.
33.

Lib. 8.
Epist. ad
Nauicam
p. 33.

(21) This
Supplement
comes from
M^{re} de la
Mannoie.

"What *Luther* says, that *Alexander* was very choleric, is very true: We may believe *Jesse Gentin*, this Cardinal's Secretary, in a Letter to *Nauica* Bishop of *Vienna*. He tells him, with the greatest Simplicity, after having informed him of the Death of *Alexander*, that he knows not where to go, after the Death of his Master, for fear of finding one more passionate still. *Hæstenus*, says he, alium Mecenatem Romæ non quævisi, eo quod immodestia & furor hujus mei defuncti inculcat mihi timorem ne faciam *Glauco* cum *Diomedem* permutationem. — Hitherto I have not looked out for another Mecenat at Rome; for the intemperate Disposition of my deceased Patron makes me afraid of making *Glauco's* Exchange with *Diomedes*."

See the Margin (21).
[H] He wrote his own Epitaph, which shews that he was not dissatisfied with his Condition, as some have charged him with being. It consists of two Greek Verses, importing, that he died willingly; since he should thereby avoid being a Witness of many things, the Sight of which was more insufferable than Death.

Κάτθανον ἐκ δεικόν, ὅτι παύσομαι ὃν ἐπιμάρτυς
Πολλῶν, ὅντιν ἐδὼν ἄλγιστον ἢ θανάτῳ.

This would be the Disposition of all Men, if Reflexion, Reason, and Sense were capable of surmounting those Mechanical Impressions, which make us in love with Life. But, setting aside this profound Morality, I say it is very strange, that *Paul Jovius* should produce such an express Evidence against himself, as this Epitaph. He had said, that *Alexander*,

angry with his Fate, which took him off one Year before his Climacteric, died complaining of this Anticipation: *Interit fatis suo vehementer indignatus, quum se præreptum anno uno ante climactericum inter anxiam supremamque suspiria quereretur* (22): and, immediately after, he adds, that *Alexander* ordered, by his Will, that a Greek Distich of his own Composition, should be inserted in his Epitaph, containing this Thought:

Excessi è vitæ ærumnis facilisque iubenque,
Ne pejora ipsa morte dehinc videam.

*Tranquil of Heart, and with a willing Mind,
The World, and all it's Miseries, I resign'd;
Pleas'd to awake from Life's uneasy Dream,
Nor longer see what worse than Death I deem.*

Lorenzo Crasso gives nearly the same Account of *Alexander's* Indignation at his Fate: "Fu assalito in Roma dalla Morte, contro la quale mostroffi anche negli ultimi sospiri sdegnato (23). — He was seized with Death at Rome, at which he expressed great Indignation, even with his last Breath." He foretells, says *Paul Jovius*, new Misfortunes ready to fall on our Heads, *novæ clades imminere nobis ominatur*; but nothing is more false than this: *Alexander* considered the time to come only accidentally; all his Thoughts were employ'd on the past; he only declared his Belief, that the World would not mend. So that here is a second Error of *Paul Jovius*. As to the first, he cannot be justified, without being moreover charged with monstrous Calumny, in representing *Alexander* as a Cheat upon his Death-bed, who ordered, by his Will, that Posterity should be made to believe a notorious Falshood, to wit, that he died in great Discontent of Mind. *Lorenzo Crasso* says, that *Scaderus* inserted the Sepulchral Inscription of *Alexander* in his Monuments of Italy, with the Latin Translation of the two Greek Verses (24): This Translation is the same which *Paul Jovius* mentions; and is about as good as this: "Non invitus obii, quia quiesco; telis multorum quæ videre pejus est morte (25). — I did not die unwilling, because I am at Rest; having been Witness of many things, which to see is worse than Death." This is the Consequence of making use of a Language but little known; all the Force and Grace of the Greek Distich have escaped the Translators.

Let me insert in this Place a Remark, which was communicated to me by a learned Person: *Jesse Gentin* says, in his Letter to *Nauica*, that *Alexander*, having disposed his Affairs three Days before he died, servitoribus & aliis præsentibus pronuntiavit suum quod fieri cupiebat epitaphium, — declared to his Servants and others what kind of Epitaph he desired to have, quod hoc disticho clausit: *Κάτθανον &c.* which he concluded with this Distich, *κατθανον &c.* This shews, adds he, that the Epitaph did not consist altogether of two Verses, but that they were only the Conclusion of the Epitaph. I am not of this Opinion. I believe *Gentin* meant that his Master comprehended in this Distich all the Inscription he intended for his Tomb.

[I] *Erasmus* mentions him frequently in his Letters, and almost always to his Disadvantage. *Alexander*, being naturally of a warm Temper, and being moreover interested in the Ruin of Lutheranism, by his Quality of Nuncio, sent into Germany to stifle that Party in it's Birth, could not suffer the Moderation of *Erasmus*. This was not all; *Erasmus's* Enemies did not cease to defame him, as a Favourer of Lutheranism: Thus the reciprocal Friendship and Esteem, which was between him and the Nuncio, suffered a great Diminution upon *Alexander's* first coming into Germany. "Hieronymum Aleandrum Nuncium apostolicum, hominem apertissime doctum, mihi hique veteris ac jucundissima nequissime conjunctum, miris mendaciis in me conati sunt irritare — Quid multis? persuaserunt homini, ut acriter ingenio prædido, ita credulo, me parum amice de ipso & sentire & loqui. Nec desuerunt qui coalescentem

(22) Jovius,
ubi supra.

(23) Lor.
Crasso. Hist.
di Piet. Gr.
pag. 2-8.

(24) Id. ib.
pag. 2-8.
(25) Chytræus, l. 1.
fol. 4-8. re-
lati ut, apud
Schænkendorf,
lib. 1. par.
128. lit. b.

the ill Offices he had done him with the Bishop of Liege, with whom *Aleander* had

centem amicitiam novis subinde delationibus disci-
derent (26). — *They endeavoured by surprizing Fal-
shood to exasperate against me Jerom Aleander, a very
learned Person, and my old and intimate Friend.* —
“ *In fœct, he was so credulous, though a Man of acute
Parts, as to be persuaded by them, that I thought and
spoke of him not like a Friend. Nor were there want-
ing some, who contrived, by new Calumnies, to pre-
vent the Renewal of our Friendship.*” This is to speak
but slightly of *Aleander’s* ill Dispositions, if it be
true, as it is highly probable, that it is He, who is
denoted elsewhere (27), by the Title of *Bull-Carrier*,
Διαπορευτής, for That *Bull-Carrier* did his ut-
most Endeavours to ruin *Erasmus*; and it was well
for the latter, that the Emperor did not comply
with every thing he desired of him; “ *Me quo mi-
nus oppresserit, per illum non stetit: perierat Eras-
mus, si pronas aures Principum reperisset.* — *If I
was not ruined, no Thanks to him: Erasmus had
been lost, if the Great had lent a favourable Ear
to him.*” A Letter, which *Erasmus* had written to
Luther, and which the Friends of the latter had
made public, exasperated *Aleander* to that Degree,
that he endeavoured to ruin his ancient Friend, both
with the Pope, and with the Bishop of Liege. “ *Hæc
(Epistola) dedit anam Aleandro, jampridem ini-
quo in me animo, ut me perditum iret, conatus
Leonis animum irritare in me, simul Leodienfis
Episcopi, qui prius pene deperibat, ut loquar,
Erasmum. Nam ipse Leodienfis offendit mihi li-
teras, quas ad eum à Roma scripserat Aleander,
satis odiose me attingentes (28).* — *His Letter
induced Aleander, already prepossessed against me, to
contrive my Ruin, which he endeavoured to do,
by exasperating Pope Leo against me; as also the
Bishop of Liege, who before was doatingly fond,
if I may use the Expression, of Erasmus. For the
Bishop himself showed me the Letters, which Ale-
ander wrote to him from Rome, in which he suf-
ficiently discovered his Spleen against me.*” He
affected to say that *Erasmus’s* Works were the Source
of all the Heretical Doctrines, then maintained. “ *Jam
audio multis perusum ex meis scriptis extitisse
totam hanc Ecclesiæ procellam. Cujus vanissimi
rumoris præcipuus autor fuit Hieronymus Alean-
der, homo, ut nihil aliud dicam, non superstitiosus
verax (29).* — *I am now informed, that it is a
general Persuasion, that all this Storm, which has
fallen upon the Church, was raised by my Writings.
The chief Author of this groundless Report was Je-
rom Aleander, a Person, to say no more of him,
not over scrupulous with regard to Truth.*” He not
only found fault with *Erasmus’s* Religion, but re-
flected also upon that great Man’s Learning, and
his Works. This appears by a Letter, which *Eras-
mus* wrote to him in the Year 1524 (30), in which
he opens his Heart to him. He looked upon him
as so enraged an Enemy, that he took him for one
of the chief Promoters of the Censures, which the
Sorbonne had published against his Books, and for the
true Author of the Invektive, which passed under
the Name of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*. “ *Non tamen
erant proditura Censuræ, nisi quidam oleum camino
addidissent. Lutetiz fuit Ecclus, & ut suspicor,
Aleander; quæ suspicor hac de causa præcipue
venisse, ut Erasmo molliatur exitium. Julii Sca-
ligeri libellum tam scio illius esse, quam scio me
vivere. Id tamen dissimulandum est, ne magis in-
fanat prodito furo (31).* — *However these Cen-
sures would never have appeared, had not a certain
Person thrown Oil upon the Fire. It is well known,
that Ecclus was at Paris, and, as I suspect, Alean-
der; whose principal Design in coming thither, I
suspect to have been, a Plot against Erasmus. I am
as sure, that the Book of Julius Scaliger is His,
as that I am now alive. But this must be dissem-
bled, lest he should grow more furious, upon pulling off the
Mask.*” I have shewn elsewhere (32), that *Eras-
mus* was mistaken in relation to this last Fact; *Scaliger’s*
Oration was the Work of Him, whose Name it
bears; and, to say, that, in the Year 1531, *Aleander*
went to Paris, chiefly to contrive *Erasmus’s* Ruin,
is to think one’s self too considerable a Man, and to
be ignorant of the Nature of the Charge, which the
Pope gave this Nuncio. We shall see in another

Place (33), whether *Erasmus* had reason to attribute
a Book, which bore the Name of *Dilect*, to *Aleander*.
He meant this Nuncio in the twenty fourth Letter
of the twenty fifth Book. *Aleander’s* Passion must
therefore have been extreme; for he, whom *Eras-
mus* complains of, had handed about a Paper (34)
at the Court of Rome, wherein he told the Pope,
that he wondered that, so many thousands of Men
having perished in Germany, in the War of the Pea-
sants, *Erasmus*, the Author of this furious Tumult,
was yet living. We cannot be ignorant, who the
Author is, whom *Erasmus* denotes, since we find these
Words in another Letter: “ *In me impudentissimis
argumentis causam agit (Albertus Pius) & agit
hostiliter, docere laborans, me fuisse occasionem,
causam, autorem & principem, totius hujus negotii.
Quod idem agit Aleander in suo Racha, demirans
me adhuc spirare, quum in Germania tot hominum
millia sint trucidata (35).* — *Albertus Pius car-
ries on the Cause against me with most impudent
Arguments, and declares open War against me;
taking a great deal of Pains to shew, that I was
the Occasion, the Cause, the Author, and Ring-
leader of this whole Affair. Aleander does the
same, in his Racha, in which he expresses his Won-
der, that I am yet alive, after the Slaughter of
so many thousand Men in Germany.*” In another
Place (36) he denotes him by the Name of *VER-
PUS*, which shews that he believed still, that *Ale-
ander* was born a Jew. If *Aleander* wrote this Book,
he held a very strict Correspondence with *Erasmus*,
and had the same Table, the same Chamber, and
the same Bed with him; and had received besides
good Offices from him; for thus *Erasmus* expresses
himself: “ *Cum altero filio mihi olim non tectum
modo ac mensa, verum etiam cubiculum & lectus
communis: adeoque à me nulla læsus est injuria,
ut, quum illi res essent angustiores, commenda-
tibus literis meis nonnihil etiam adjutus sit, nec
ufquam illius in scriptis meis nisi honorifica men-
tio (37).* — *The other shared not only my House
and my Table, but even my Bed (38); and so far
was He from receiving an Injury from me, that,
when his Circumstances were a little embarrassed, I
assisted him in some measure by Letters of Recommen-
dation; nor did I ever mention him in my Writings;
but with Respect.*” We must necessarily under-
stand this of *Aleander*, when we remember another
Letter (39), wherein we find these Words: “ *Ut
video, tibi propemodum persuasit (Aleander): ut
ego, qui è domestico convictu ac lectuli quoque
contubernio totum intus & in cute abvi, tam scio
esse ovum illius, quam scio me vivere.* — *I find,
Aleander has persuaded you of the contrary; but
I, who, from my Intimacy with him, see into his
very Thoughts, am as certain This Work (40) is
His, as that I am alive.*” Let us end this disad-
vantageous Relation with a Passage, which concerns
Aleander’s Morals. If we may believe *Erasmus*, he
lived at Venice the Life of an Epicurean in the Year
1533. *Nunc Venetiæ pland vivit Epicureum, non sine
dignitate tamen (41).* — *Not without Dignity.* Doubt-
less he means, by this Dignity, the double Mitre, which
he had mentioned in the sixtieth Letter. *Aleander*
gemina mitra insignitus, nam Brundisynus & Oretinus
est; apud Cæsarem agit legatum Anglicum (42). This
latter Term is equivocal, and perhaps *Erasmus* did not
write Anglicum, but Anglicum, to denote the Office
of Apostolical Nuncio, which *Aleander* had at that
time in Germany. However, it had not been amiss
to have hinted, in a marginal Note, that he was not
the King of England’s Ambassador to the Emperor
Charles V; for the Reader will naturally understand
it so. *Monf. de la Monnoie* happily conjectures, that
Anglicum was owing to *Erasmus’s* having written, by
way of Abbreviation, *aplicum* for *apostolicum*.

The Reader should, at least, see one Passage of
Erasmus, to the Advantage of *Aleander*: “ *Etiamsi
nominasset istum, qui Aleandrum Erasmo præfere-
re in omnibus, nihil erat periculi. Nam & ipse plu-
rimum tribuere soleo Aleandro, præsertim in liti-
ris, nihiloque magis me lædi puto, si doctior est,
quam quod doctior est aut formosior (43).* — *You
might safely have named him, who prefers Aleander
to Erasmus in every thing. For I always pay a great*

(33) In the
same Remarks

(34) In
which he ex-
plained the
meaning of
the Hebrew
Word Ra-
cha.

(35) Eras-
mus. Epist.
lib. 20. pag.
102. It is
not d. f. r. m.
Basil, Dec.
23. 1533.

(36) In the
43rd Letter
of the 32nd
Book, pag.
1931. See
also the 74th
Letter of the
same Book.

(37) Epist.
24. lib. 25.
pag. 1379.

(38) It was
probably at
Venice,
where Eras-
mus was
employ’d by
Aldus Ma-
nutius.

(39) The 58th
Letter of the
30th Book of
Erasmus,
pag. 1945.

(40) He
means Scal-
iger’s Ora-
tion.

(41) Epist.
62. lib. 30.
pag. 1943.

(42) Epist.
60. lib. 30.

(43) Epist. 4.
lib. 21. pag.
1065. See
the 194th pag.
“ great

had a Brother, who was a much greater Master, than he, of the Art of Diffimulation [K].

"great Deference to Aleander, especially in Matters of Learning; nor is it more injurious to me, if he is a better Scholar, than if he is richer, or handsomer." The Letter, wherein *Erasmi* speaks thus, is dated the Thirty first of *August*, 1524.

[K] He had a Brother ----- a much greater Master, than he, of the Art of Diffimulation.] *Eraf-*

mus, who informs us of this Particular, adds, that this Brother was, upon this Account, more dangerous than *Aleander*, who knew not so well to conceal his Designs. I will give you his own Words: "Habet Fratrem apud Leodiensem hoc perniciosiorem, quod omnia potest diffimulare, id quod non potest Aleander (44)."

(44) Ep. 57. lib. 2. pag. 1011.

(a) They are distinguished by the Appellations of *Aleander* the elder, and *Aleander* the younger.

(b) *Salmasius*.

(c) *Mr. Baillet*, in his Judgment on the Poets, n. 1250. and *Witte* in his *Diarium Biograph.* part. 2. pag. 40. place his Death in the Year 1631. *Witte* calls him *Alexander*.

ALEANDER (JEROM) of the same Family with the Preceding (a), and Grandson of *Jerom Amalibus*, by the Mother's side, was one of the learned Men of the XVIIth Century. Upon his quitting *Frioul*, his Native Country, to go to *Rome*, he was made Secretary to Cardinal *Ottavio Bandini*, which Employ he discharged with Honour near twenty Years. He ventured early to appear in Print; for he had scarce taken his Degree of Civilian, before he published a *Commentary on the Institutes of Caius*. He did not suffer his Pen to be idle at *Rome*; for being one of the first who was admitted into the rising Academy of the *Humourists*, he had always some Composition ready to produce before them, and wrote likewise a very learned Treatise, in *Italian*, on the Device of that Assembly. The Fertility of his Genius, and his Studies, appeared in several Works on different Subjects. He explained some Pieces of Antiquity [A]; he wrote on the Question concerning *Suburban Churches*, and published a Book against That, which an anonymous Author (b) had composed on this Subject, in Favour of the Protestants. A Volume of his *Verses* was published, and was followed by an Apology for the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*, against the rude Attacks of the Cavalier *Siliani*. *Urban VIII.* expressed his Esteem for him advantageously; for he laboured to draw him from the Service of Cardinal *Bandini*, in order to place him in That of the *Barberinis*: so that *Aleander* became Secretary to Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, the Pope's Nephew. He went with this Cardinal into *France*, when he was sent thither with the Character of Legate à *Latere*. He did not sink under the Fatigues of this long Journey, but bore them with Resolution, notwithstanding the Weakness of his Constitution, and his want of Health. He was not so much Master of himself, with regard to good Cheer. He had agreed, with some of his intimate Friends, to treat one another every three Days by turns. Amidst such a Variety of Delicacies, he could not forbear eating more than was proper, considering his weak Stomach; so that he fell sick, and could not recover of his Illness (c). The Cardinal his Master, made a magnificent Funeral for him in the Academy of the *Humourists*, and his Brethren, the Academics, carried his Body to the Grave (d). *Gaspard de Simonibus* spoke his Funeral Oration on the 31st of *December* 1631. It was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1636. *Aleander* had such an elegant and genteel way of writing, that the Compliment, which one of his Friends made him upon it, deserves our Notice [B].

(d) Taken from *Nicinus Erythraeus*, Pinacoth. 1. See also *Alphab. in Alphab. Urbani*, pag. 123. 124. 125.

(1) It was printed at London in 1682, and at Frankfurt in 1683. 12mo.

[A] He explained some pieces of Antiquity.] They were two Marbles, a Table, and a Statue. The Table contained the Figure, and the Symbols, of the Sun; the Statue was surrounded with a Girdle full of carved Work. The Title of this Work of *Aleander* is as follows: *Explicatio antiquæ tabule marmoreæ solis effigie symbolique exculptæ: explicatio sigillorum æonæ veterem statuem marmoream cingentis*. It is in Quarto, printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1616, and at *Paris*, in the Year 1617. I do not question but his Acquaintance with *Father Morin* was owing to this Work. It appears, by the Book, entituled, *Ecclesiæ Orientalis antiquitates* (1), that they corresponded by Letters.

[B] Such an elegant and genteel way of Writing, that the Compliment — deserves our notice.] *Nicinus Erythraeus* told him often, When I read your Works, I find myself a learned Man; but when I read those of other Writers, who pretend to Eloquence, I find myself very Ignorant; for I understand nothing in them. How few Latin Authors are there, at present, who deserve this Compliment? I do not speak of those, who write in the Chancery, or Scholastic, Style, but of those, who write as Orators, and who labour their Phrases. They are generally fit only to mortify the Prefumption of their Readers, who find themselves every Moment stopt by some Allusion, or some Metaphor, so confusedly express, that they are altogether

in the Dark. The Misfortune is, that the Reader is seldom mortify'd by this means, since Self-love prompts him to impute the Cause of these Obscurities, not to his own Ignorance, but to the Nonsense of the Author. However, I fancy the Reader will be pleased to read *Nicinus Erythraeus's* genteel Compliment in the Original. "Scribentis ejusdem ratio tum in soluta oratione tum in versibus adeo erat pura, adeo perspicua, ut sæpe ex me audiret tum demum me mihi met doctum eruditumque videri, cum sua legerem; cum autem in aliorum scriptis, qui se eloquentes dicebant, vellent, incurrerem, tum plane me indoctum omnipiumque rerum rudem agnoscere, eò quod verbum prorsus in illis nullum intelligerem (2)." This ought to have been a strong Inducement to him, not to leave any Obscurities in his Elegies; and yet they are not altogether free from it. Some think he has not express'd clearly, whether it was at *Rome* or *Paris*, that good Cheer was so fatal to *Aleander*; they believe it was at *Paris* (3). As for myself, I do not question the contrary; the Agreement of treating one another two or three times a Week, by turns, favours more of Persons, at ease, and at Home, than of Travellers. Besides, the Journey, which the Legate *Francis Barberini* took into *France*, in the Year 1625, lasted but few Months; and *Aleander* did not die till the Year 1631.

(2) *Nicinus Erythr.* Pinacoth. 1. pag. 46.

(3) See the Judgment of the Learned on the Poets, Tom. 4. n. 1430. pag. 54.

ALEGAMBUS (PHILIP) a *Flemish* Jesuit, was born at *Brussels*, the Twenty second of *January* 1592. He studied Classical Learning in his own Country; after which he went into *Spain*, and entered into the Duke of *Osuna's* Service; whom he followed into *Sicily*, when he went to take upon him the Office of Viceroy there. Finding within himself a Call to a Religious Life, he took the Jesuit's Habit at *Pulermo*,

termo, on the seventh Day of September, 1613. He performed his Noviciate, and his Course of Philosophy, in the same City, and his Divinity Studies at Rome; from whence he was sent into *Stiria*, to teach Philosophy in the University of *Gratz*. Having discharged the Duties of this Function to the Satisfaction of his Masters, he was made Professor of School-Divinity, and solemnly promoted to the Doctorate in the Year 1629. During these Transactions, the Prince of *Eggenberg*, Favourite of the Emperor *Ferdinand II*, had a mind to send his Son to travel, and to appoint a prudent and learned Jesuit to be his Confessor in his Travels. Father *Alegambus* was thought fit for this Employ, and was taken out of the Schools to travel with this young Lord. He was five Years with him, and saw *Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy*. Being returned to *Gratz*, he taught Moral Divinity there, and was the Spiritual Father of the Youth. In the Year 1638, the young Prince, whom he had accompanied in his Travels, was nominated by the Emperor *Ferdinand III*, for the Embassy of Obedience to Pope *Urban VIII*. He desired Father *Alegambus* to accompany him; upon which this Jesuit travelled to *Rome*, in Quality of the Ambassador's Confessor. When this Function was over, the General of the Jesuits retained him to be his Secretary for the *Latin* Dispatches, which related to *Germany*. *Alegambus*, having discharged the Duties of this laborious Function for four Years successively, was obliged to leave it; a continual Application to Writing having greatly impaired his Sight. Upon this they gave him the *Presecture of Spirituals* in the *Maison Professe*, and the Office of confessing in the Church; of which it is said he acquitted himself with great Applause. He died at *Rome* of a Dropsy, on the sixth Day of September 1652 (a). He wrote but few Books [A]; and yet he deserves the Elogy of a very good Author; for the *Bibliothèque de the Writers of his Order* is a good Book in it's kind, and excels by much all the Works of this Nature, which were wrote before That time. He must necessarily have taken a great deal of Pains in collecting the Materials; a Work, which requires two Talents, seldom found together, great Patience, and great Eagerness. He was obliged afterwards to put these Materials in order; and this was the most laborious part of his Work; because a Man is no longer supported by the strong Inclination, which prompted him to search for the Materials, which he wanted. It was at *Rome* that *Alegambus* composed his *Bibliothèque*; for which he had collected for many Memoirs (b); and it was printed at *Antwerp* in 1643. He so greatly enlarged the Work, which the Jesuit *Ribadeneira* had begun on this Subject [B], that, whereas the Work of the latter is but a very small *Offavo*, his is a pretty large *Folio*. I shall mention, in the Remarks, what has been said for or against it [C]. He intended a new Edition, and, during the nine Years he survived the former,

(a) Taken from Sotuel's Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu. Rome 1675, pag. 706, 707.

(b) Sotuel, ibid.

[A] He wrote but few Books.] The Catalogue of his Works, according to Father *Sotuel*, is as follows: *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu, Antwerpæ*, 1643, in Folio. *Vita P. Jobannis Cardin Lusitani ex Societate Jesu, Romæ*, 1649, in 12°. *Heroes & Viri clemæ charitatis Societatis Jesu, Romæ*, 1658, in 4to. *Mortes illustres & gesta eorum de Societate Jesu, qui in odium fidei ab Hæreticis vel aliis occisi sunt, Romæ*, 1557, in Folio.

[B] The Work, which the Jesuit *Ribadeneira* had begun on this Subject.] That the Reader, who desires to know the History of the *Bibliothèque*, of which we speak, may not have the trouble of turning to another Volume, I shall observe here, that *Peter Ribadeneira* begun, in the Year 1602, the Catalogue of the Jesuit Authors. This Catalogue consisted of but few Sheets; he enlarged it afterwards, and published it at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1608. It was printed at *Lyons*, the Year following, with some Additions, and Corrections, in relation to some Particulars concerning the *French* Jesuits, with which the Author was unacquainted. Father *Julius Nigroni* perceived, that this Work stood in need of Correction in many other Places, particularly with respect to the *Italian* Jesuits; upon which a new Edition was published, in the Year 1613, at *Antwerp*. Father *Andrew Schott* had the Care of it; and it was considerably enlarged (1); but was still a very defective Work; which was the Reason why *Alegambus* undertook to put it into a better Condition, and to make it fitter to give an advantageous Idea of the Erudition of the Society. He published it in the Year 1643. It was still farther enlarged by the Jesuit *Sotuel*, whose Edition was published at *Rome*, in the Year 1675, and no doubt it will require still farther Additions, both because the Society of the Jesuits continually affords new Authors, and because many things escaped the last Continuator, which might make the *Bibliothèque* of the Order more perfect. The second Tome of the *Bibliothèque Romaine* (2), informs us, that the Jesuit *Bonanni* is preparing a Catalogue of the Writers of his Society, who have published any thing since the Year 1675. The

(1) See *Alegambus's Preface*.

(2) Printed at Rome in 1692. The Author's Name is Prosper Mandolin.

Exactness of *Alegambus* is doubtless wonderful; but yet there are some Faults, both of Omission and Commission, in his Book. He does not always mention the first Edition of Books, which is a considerable Fault, to be found in all the Compilations, which have hitherto appeared. No one has yet undertaken to publish an exact Collection of all the Editions, and carefully to observe the first. *Gesner*, and his Continutors, have been very negligent in this respect. Father *Sotuel*, willing to avoid the minute Particulars, on which *Alegambus* sometimes enlarges a little too much, is too concise and barren. He was not so well qualify'd for this Work, as *Alegambus*. The Curious, and even those, who excuse him on account of the Orders, which he might have received from his Superiors, in relation to the anonymous, and pseudonymous Writers, look upon his Work, in this respect, as much inferior to that of the former, in which so many obscure Authors are brought to light.

[C] What has been said for or against it.] Mr *Baillet* will supply us with a Comment on the Text of this Remark. Let us begin with the fair side.

He says (3), that "the *Bibliothèque* of the Writers of the Society ----- is a grand Collection, "which surpasses all those of the same Nature, and "that it ought to be considered as one of the most "perfect of the kind." That, according to *Nicolas Antonio* (4), "the Jesuits have shewn, by this Work, "how curious and industrious they are in the things "which concern them, and that, having built on the "Foundation of *Ribadeneira*, they raised this great "Edifice; the Beauty whereof consists particularly in "the Exactness and Proportion of it's Parts, and of "which the whole Credit is due to *Alegambus*, a "Writer so careful and exact, that there is no Danger "of being deceived by him; because he is not only "free from Confusion, and never takes one Author "for another, but also because he does not attribute "any Book to the Jesuits, which they did not write, "and because he is exact and faithful, in his Representation of those, which really come from the Society." Mr *Baillet* adds, "that it is no small Praise

(3) *Baillet's Judgment of the Learned*, Tom. 2. n. 112. p. 130.

(4) *Pref. Biblioth. Ser prior. Hispan.*

mer, he collected many Particulars, which might serve for Corrections, or Additions. Father *Sotuel* made use of them, when he published a new Edition of this *Bibliothèque* at Rome, in 1675 (c).

(c) *Id. ibid.*

It cannot be denied that there are many inconsiderable Authors taken Notice of in this Book, and many Authors of the first Rank. But some pretend, that should it be continued, there would be a very sensible Disproportion in it; that is to say, the great Men would be incomparably fewer in the Continuation, than in what has hitherto appeared. This gives me an Opportunity of communicating to the Publick what passed in a Conversation between some learned Persons in the Year 1697 [D].

"----- to have avoided a Fault with so much Care, into which most of the other Regulars have fallen, who have given an account of the illustrious Men of their Order; who, thinking to do Honour to their Communities, by increasing the Number of their learned Men and Saints, indifferently, and without Choice, have plac'd a great many Authors among their Brethren, who did not belong to them; whereas there is scarce one to be seen in the *Bibliothèque* of the Society, who had not been a Jesuit. Nay, that the Writers, who left their Society, as *Papyrus Masso*, *Gaspar Scioppius*, *Mark Antony de Dominis*, *Christian Francken*, &c. do not appear in it." Or that if they are seen there, it is only in relation to their Works, which preceded their Departure; that, in this View, we find there *Francis de Macedo*, a *Portuguese*, who from a Jesuit became a Cordelier, and *Claudius Danquoy*, a *Fleming*, who left the Society for a Canonship at *Tournay*. Lastly, Mr *Baillet* observes, that, according to the Author of the *News from the Republic of Letters* (5), *Alegambus*, "suited himself to the Taste of our Age, that is, of all Persons of good Sense; that this Taste consists in observing a Chronological Exactness in every thing relating to History; that it is this, which occasioned the Approbation of the Applauses bestowed upon *Alegambus*, who takes notice every where of the Time, and Place, of the Birth of Authors, the Age when they became Jesuits, their Employments, and their chief Actions, according to the Series of Time, and that there is something extremely pleasing in this Exactness. Lastly, continues Mr *Baillet* (6), as the Society of the Jesuits has been hitherto the most Learned of all regular Societies, that is to say, at least, the most abundant in all sorts of Writers (except in *Physic*) ----- we may judge from thence of the Advantage, which may be drawn from this copious *Bibliothèque*, which is well enough written, without any affectation of a particular Style, and without too far-fetch'd Ornaments ----- dispos'd in a very fine Method, and embellish'd with a great Number of laborious and useful Tables." This is the fair Side of it's Character. Let us now proceed to the Imperfections of this *Bibliothèque*.

(5) In July 1683, Art. 5. where he indirectly censures *Sto*, who are contented to extract a Man's Qualities in fine Phrases, without taking notice of his Country, Family, and Employments; and where he says, That one cannot read the Lives of several Roman Emperors, without being disgusted, and without complaining of the Carelessness of the Historians, who mention neither the Place where they were born, nor their Family, nor their Age, nor by what means they raised themselves.

(6) *Baillet*, *ubi supra*, P. 167.

(7) *Id. ibid.* P. 15.

(8) *Id. ibid.* P. 135.

Mr *Baillet* says (7), that "as the most perfect Bodies are not always free from Spots and Defects, when their Beauty consists only in the Size and Proportion of their Parts, it will be no surprize to hear, that this fine *Bibliothèque* has met with it's Censors as well as others; that some think they discover in it something of that Affection for one's own Society, which inclines a Man to represent the Writers of it always to their Advantage; that they add, that, in effect, there is nothing to be met with in this huge Volume, but Elogies; and that, among such a great Number of Authors and Books, it does not appear that *Alegambus* and *Sotuel* acknowledge one that is bad, except, perhaps, those, who have been put into the Inquisition, or into the *Index*; that others have observed, that there is scarce one Writer in all this *Bibliothèque*, who is not represented to us as a Saint. It is true, that reasonable Persons ought to be satisfied with seeing a solemn Protestation at the beginning, and end of the Book, that he does not pretend to warrant what is said of the Holiness and Virtues attributed to his Brethren, no more than the other Encomiums, which are bestowed upon them." It is more difficult, according to Mr *Baillet* (8), "to answer two other Accusations; the first is, that *Alegambus*, being deceived by some false Memoirs, which ill affected Persons sent him, calls Mr *Marion*, Mr *Servin*, and some other illustrious Magistrates, and good Catholics, Heretics. The second is, that he was so indifferet as to reveal certain things, which it was of the utmost Importance to the Society, to

"keep private and suppress; as for Example, when he affirms, that the *Amphitheatre of Honour* [* §], written against the Royal Authority, by one *Bonarcius*, is the Work of a famous Jesuit, though Father *Cotem* had assured King *Henry the Great* of the contrary; and that some other Books, written against Episcopacy and Hierarchy in general, and against the Clergy of France, and the *Sorbonne* in particular, were composed by some Fathers of the Society; though the chief among the Jesuits of France, who governed the Houses of Paris, having been called upon to answer this Charge, had protested, even under their own Hands, that the Jesuits were not the Authors of these Libels." Mr *Baillet* adds, that "*Sotuel*, was more discreet in this Point than *Alegambus*; for in his Edition we do not find the Writings of the false *Smith*, and of the false *Of-Jesu*, which gave so much Offence; nor the Books of *Guimenius*, of *Fernand*, and of the *Apologist for the Casuists*; nay, he took care to tell us beforehand, that his Silence, in relation to these Books, ought to pass for a disowning, and a private Condemnation, which the Society makes of them. But it cannot be denied, on the other side, that he has preserved *Alegambus*'s Faults in many other Places, and that his Edition is not so exact and fine, as that of *Alegambus*." See the foregoing Remark. I shall take notice of a small Defect of this *Bibliothèque*, at the End of the Remark [C], of the Article ANNAT.

[§*] [This Book is ascribed to the Jesuit *Carolus Scribonius*, in the Catalogue of *Ribadeneira*; at Lyons, in 8vo. for *Pillebotte*; and, at Antwerp, ex officina *Plantiniana*, 1613, 8vo. REM. CRIT.]

[D] What pass'd in a Conversation of some learned Persons in the Year 1697.] Some Gentlemen, who came to Delft, with the Plenipotentiaries of France, being one Day in Company with some French Refugees, and some Persons of the Country, the Conversation, according to the Custom of Men of Letters, turned upon Books and learned Men. Most of them acknowledged the Decay of Learning; and they observed, more than once, with great Joy, that the Society of Jesuits scarce produces any learned Men at present. *The Bellarmins*, *the Sirmonds*, and the *Petauviuses*, add they, have left no Successors; their Places, and those of many other less famous Men, are still vacant. Mr * * * * was almost the only Person, who did not approve of this Censure, and who desired the Company to consider, that those, who take Delight in such Discourses, are guilty of two Faults; for "in the first place, said he, they lightly touch upon what concerns other Orders, and Communities, but insist much on That of the Jesuits. This respect of Persons is very unjust. Have the Universities of France any Professors of *Physic*, which make so great a Noise as *Fernel*, and *Sylvius*? Or any Professors of the Civil Law, who come near *Dencaus*, *Duaren*, *Hotman*, and *Cujacius*? Shew us, if you can, a *Casaubon*, a *Scaliger*, or a *Salmasius*, in the Protestant Party. Shew us a *Grotius*, an *Heinsius*, or a *Vossius*, in Holland. Did not these Men die without leaving any Successors? Have they left Places, which are filled up? Let us confess then, that the Decline, which you affect to appropriate to the Jesuits, is common to all the Parties and Communities of Europe; it is a Defect of the Times, and not of their Society. Do not imagine, says he, (which was his second Reflexion) that I pretend, that this part of the XVIIth Century, in which we live, is inferior to the former Part, or to the foregoing Age. I believe, on the contrary, that, upon the whole, it ought to have the Preference, and that it is the Alteration of our Taste, which is the only Reason of what you call the Decay of Literature. The Study of Critical Learning is fallen; Men apply themselves to the reason-

Whether there are as many learned Jesuits now, as formerly.

(a) See Remark [D] of the Art de ACONTI-
US.

"ing Part (g); they improve their Minds much more than their Memory; they are desirous to think delicately, and to express themselves politely. This Application does not indeed produce those great Volumes, which impose on the Publick, and which raise a Man to a great Reputation; but in truth it strikes out more Light, and forms a Genius more valuable than the great Learning of the Grammarians, and Philologists. The Jesuits have followed this new Taste; and this is the Reason, why their learned Men are not of the same Stamp with those, who lived formerly. Have you observed, as I have done, continued he, the considerable Number of illustrious Men, at present in their College at Paris? Father Benier is so consummate in Language, that all the Strangers of Europe and Asia desire his Company, and converse with him, as if

he was their Countryman. Can a more extensive share of Literature be seen, than That of Father Hardouin? Is not Father Commire one of the best Latin Poets at present in the World? Is there any Writer, who exceeds Father Boubourin in the Purity of the French Language, and in the Beauty of his Compositions, or Father Jouvency, in point of Philology, or Father de la Beune in a fine Latin Style, by whose Care Father Sirmond's Works have been lately published? Are there better Pens in France than Father le Tellier, Father Daniel, Father Duclin, &c.? I name you some of them, but without pretending to wrong many others, whom I do not name." This was the Discourse of Mr. * * * * *, if the Person, who informed me of this Conversation, related it faithfully. My Readers may judge of it as they think fit.

ALESIIUS (ALEXANDER) a famous Divine of the Confession of Augsburg, and Author of several Books (a), was born at Edinburgh in Scotland, the Twenty third of April 1500. He made a wonderful Progress in School-Divinity; and entered early the Lists against Luther. It was at that time the Controversy in fashion, and the great Field of Battle, wherein young and old Authors endeavoured to give Proofs of their Merit. He had his Share, a little while after, in the Verbal Dispute, which Patrick Hamilton maintained against the Ecclesiastics [A], concerning certain new Opinions, which he had gained a Relish of at Marburg. He endeavoured to bring him back to the Catholic Religion, but could not prevail upon him; and began himself to entertain Doubts concerning his own Religion, from this Gentleman's Discourse, but much more from the Constancy he shewed on the Wood-Pile, on which David Beton, Archbishop of St Andrews, caused him to be burnt. The Doubts of our Alesius would perhaps have been attended with no Consequence, if they had let him quietly enjoy the Canonship, which he possessed in the Metropolitan Church of St Andrews; but he was persecuted with so much Violence, that he was forced to retire into Germany [B], where at length all his Doubts vanished. At first indeed he wavered a little between the two Religions, as may be seen in his Answers to Cocleus: But at last he embraced Lutheranism, and persevered in it to his Death. It is true, that, between several Parties, which arose in that Sect, he sometimes inclined to the side of the less Orthodox. Thus, in 1560, he maintained the Doctrine of George Major concerning the Necessity of Good Works [C]. I forgot to observe, that the Alteration, which happened in England, with respect to Religion, after the Marriage of Henry VIII with Anne Bullen, occasioned Alesius to repair to London in 1535. He was greatly countenanced

(a) See Remark [C].

(1) Beza in Iconibus.

(2) Lewis Rabus, in the 4th Book of his History of Martyrs; Budaeus in Aduersaria, pag. 38. Hondorf Prompt. pag. 64. Justus de Academis, p. 45. place it as Buchanan does. See Jacobi Thomasi Oratio de Alexandro Alezio, pag. 307.

(3) Buchanan. Rerum Scotticarum, lib. 24.

(4) Expositio in Psal. 37. fol. 164. See also his Answer to Cocleus, p. 9.

[A] He had his Share, a little while after, in the Verbal Dispute, which Patrick Hamilton maintained against the Ecclesiastics. Beza has, in few Words, given us the Elogy of this Protestant Martyr, who was of a Family related to the Kings of Scotland. He places his Martyrdom in the Year 1530 (1). Buchanan places it in the Year 1528 (2), and says, the Earl of Arran's Brother was his Father, and the Duke of Albign's Sister, was his Mother. He observes, that, a little after his Execution, the Death of a Dominican, who had been his Accuser, occasioned a great Confection in the Minds of the People. This Dominican's Name was Alexander Campbell; he was a young Man of great Genius, and Learning: He had often discoursed with Hamilton, about the Interpretation of Scripture, and had confessed to him, that he acknowledged most of the Doctrines for true, which pass'd at that time for Paradoxes. Hamilton, remembering this Confession, treated him as a vile Wretch, when he found that he was his Accuser, and cited him before the Throne of God. These Words affected him in such a Manner, that he lost his Senses, and died mad some time after (3). Alesius relates many Particulars concerning the Execution of Patrick Hamilton (4), which Rabus inserted in his German History of Martyrs.

[B] He was persecuted with so much Violence, that he was forced to retire into Germany. This Persecution was raised against him, for preaching warmly before a Provincial Synod, in 1529, against fornicating Priests. The Provost of St Andrews, whose lewd Intercourses were known to every body, apply'd the Sermon to himself, and fancied it was preach'd on purpose to turn the Eyes of the whole Congregation upon him. He resolv'd to be revenged the first Opportunity; and, as he was of a Temper a thousand times more fit for a Soldier than a Canon, he made choice only of violent means. Hearing that the whole Chapter was assembled to send Complaints against him to King James V, he came to the Assembly with an

armed Retinue, and ordered Alesius to be seized; who exhorted him to moderate his Anger; nay, he drew a Sword upon him, in answer to his just Remonstrance. The poor Canon was so terrified, that he threw himself at the Provost's Feet, and humbly begged his Life of him. He came off with a kick on the Stomach, which made him fall into a Swoon: After which he was carried to Prison: All the rest of the Canons were likewise imprisoned; but the King, being informed of the Matter, ordered them to be set at Liberty. Alesius alone was not released; on the contrary, he was clapped into a dreadful Dungeon, where he remained One and twenty Days. His Liberty was of no long Continuance; he thought he ought to acquaint the Magistrates with the ill Treatment he had suffered: Whereupon the Provost, who had forbid him to acquaint them with it, caused him to be imprisoned again, and represented to the Archbishop, that he had published heretical Opinions in his Synodal Sermon, and that he deserved to be punished. He was so vexed at Alesius's being let out of Prison, while he was on a Journey, that he wanted by all means to send him thither again, without suffering him to finish a Mass, which he had begun. But at last the Intreaties of the Canons softened him; he waited 'till the end of the Mass, to remand him back to Prison. Now, as they knew he would be confined again in the Dungeon the next Day, they advised the Prisoner to make his escape in the Night, and to leave Scotland. He followed this Advice, and went into Germany, in the Year 1532 (5).

[C] He maintained the Doctrine of George Major, concerning the Necessity of good Works. The Title of his Book is, De necessitate & merito bonorum operum disputatio proposita in celebri Academia Lipsica, ad xxix diem Novemb. 1560. This Dispute is the fifth inter Anti-Tapparianas; and thus we have an Anti to add to Mr Bailler's Collection. Upon this Occasion, I shall set down the Titles of his principal Works. Commentarii in Evangelium Joannis, & in utramque Epistolam

(c) Jacobus Thomasi in Oratione de Joh. Alezio.

countenanced there by *Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, by *Latimer*, and by *Thomas Cromwell*, who was at time in great Credit with the King; and he taught publickly. The Fall of these Favourites obliged him to return into *Germany*, where the Elector of *Brandenburg* made him Professor of Divinity, at *Francfort* on the *Oder*, in the Year 1540. *Aleſius* had a Dispute, there, two Years after, upon the Question, *Whether the Magistrate may and ought to puniſh Fornication* [D]. He held the Affirma-

tive,

Epistolam ad Timotheum. Expoſitio in Pſalmos Davidis. De juſtificatione, contra Oſiandrum. De ſancta Trinitate, cum conſultatione erroris Valentini Gentilis. Reſponſio ad 32 articulos Theologorum Lovaniensium, &c.

[D] He had a Dispute — upon the question, whether the Magistrate may and ought to puniſh Fornication.] This Dispute did not turn upon Adultery, but on ſimple Fornication: for though the Punishment of Adultery is as rare, as the Crime is frequent, yet it is accounted lawſul among Chriſtian Doctors. So that *Aleſius* had only an Antagoniſt to oppoſe, who maintained againſt him, that the Magiſtrate neither can, nor ought, to puniſh Fornication. The final Decision of this Dispute was put off; and it is very probable, that *Aleſius*, being angry at this Delay, would live no longer among People, who appeared ſuch Favourers of the Impunity of Fornication. “Cum A. 1542, *ſays* Thomavius (6), inter ipſam & alium quandam “exorta eſſet controverſia de quaſtione, poſſit ne ac “debeat Magiſtratus Politicus ſcortationem punire? “veramque ſententiam, hoc eſt affirmantem, ac Philippi quoque Melancthonis calculo approbatam”, defendente Aleſio, nihilominus huius diſputationis “decilio juberetur diffiri: offenſus, ut apparet, hac bonæ cauſæ procaſtinatione Aleſius, non expectato “Principis adventu, diſceſſit.” Such an indignation did not ill become a Profeſſor of Divinity, who had ſeen the riſe of the Reformation, and who would naturally wiſh that he might not live to ſee Morality return to it's former Relaxation. Nothing could reſpect greater Honour upon the Proteſtant Religion, than the Severity of it's Maxims, in relation to Chſtity; for the Obſervation of theſe Maxims is the moſt difficult Victory we can obtain over Nature, and that which beſt ſhews our Dependence upon God, by the reciprocal Ties of his Protection and Love. It was, therefore, matter of great Scandal, that, in the Year 1542, a Proteſtant Divine, who maintained, that Magiſtrates may, and ought to, puniſh Fornication, ſhould meet with Oppoſition, and, in ſome meaſure, ſink under it. At preſent, as we are accuſtomed to a Toleration of this Crime, ſcarce any one is offended at it. A very honeſt Man aſſured me, lately, that the Magiſtrates of *Straſburg* have ſuch an Indulgence for a Girl, who ſuffers herſelf to be got with Child, that, provided ſhe pays the Fine, at which this kind of Fault is taxed, they reſtore her to her former Character, and inflict Penalties on thoſe, who dare, in the leaſt, to reproach her for the future. This is, doubtleſs, a more ſingular Privilege, than that of reſtoring, by Patent, ſuch Families as have derogated from their Nobility; and if I may be allowed to laugh upon ſo ſerious an Occaſion, I would ſay, that the Magiſtrates of *Straſburg* ought to have ſtipulated the Preſervation of this Privilege, when they capitulated with *France*, and when, after the Peace of *Ryſwick*, they demanded a Renewal of their Capitulation (7). I am aware, that they do not pretend, by this Prerogative, to overthrow the Truth of that ancient and undeniable Axiom.

— Nulla reparabilis arte
Læſa Pudicitia eſt, deperit illa ſemel.

No Art can Modeſty, when loſt, reſtore,
Once forfeited, 'tis ne'er recover'd more.

They do not pretend, phyſically ſpeaking, to reſtore a loſt Maiden-head; this would be to oppoſe the true Senſe of the Axiom: but, morally ſpeaking, they pretend to reſtore it; ſince they patronize the Reputation of a lewd Girl, and ſecure her from Reproach; inſomuch that ſhe may carry her Head as lofty as an honeſt Woman. Nay, 'tis ſaid, that the Efficacy of their Sentence is ſuch, that Women, who have had Children, and who, by paying their Fine, have renewed their Reputation, meet with Huſbands as eaſily, and almoſt as advantageouſly, as if they had

not committed the Fault. But I would rather aſcribe this to the weakneſs of the Men, who marry them, than to their Perſuaſion of the Efficacy of the Sentence (8). However, we may apply to thoſe, who ſuppoſe that the Payment of a Fine makes amends for Crimes of this Nature, what was ſaid to thoſe, who fancied that a little fair Water could waſh away the Stain of Murder.

Ah! nimium faciles, qui triſtia crimina cædis
Flumineæ tolli poſſe putatis aqua (9).

Fools! on external Sprinklings Streſs to lay,
And think that they can waſh the Stains of Guilt away.

The ſame honeſt Man aſſured me, that what he knew for certain of the Cuſtoms of *Straſburg*; he had been informed was praſticed in ſome other Parts of *Germany*. Such Laws would have made the Divine, whoſe Article I am writing, very angry; for this is ſo far from puniſhing Fornication, that it is in ſome degree to reward it, ſince the Advantage of appearing every where without fear of Reproach, is a Benefit, which greatly exceeds the Damage ſuſtained by the Payment of the Fine, which ſometimes is not one half of the Money, which is got by Proſtitution.

I have heard ſome very judicious Perſons ſay, that the Practice of a great many Countries is rather a Reward, than a Punishment, of Fornication. This Practice requires, that whoever owns himſelf to be the Father of a Baſtard, ſhall be condemned to keep it, and to give the Mother a Sum of Money. An Order for the Maintenance of the Child cannot paſs for a Punishment; ſince the Law of Nature plainly lays this Obligation on every Man. Nothing therefore but the Money, which is paid to the Girl, can be called a Punishment; but, beſides that it is a very light Punishment to the Father, it is, properly ſpeaking, a Reward to the Mother. “Now it is very “ſtrange, *ſays* theſe Gentlemen, that Chriſtian Tribunals ſhould decree Rewards to Women for loſing their Honour, and ſcandalizing the Public.” Some one replied, that the Loſs they ſuffered, and which rendered it more difficult for them to get a Huſband, required ſome Amends, as an Act of Juſtice. “No, *answered* they, it is not an Act of Juſtice, but meer Favour and Grace: Juſtice does “not require, that thoſe who ſuffer by a voluntary “Transgreſſion of the Laws of God, and of Human Honour, ſhould be indemnified. And, if the Sovereign will beſtow Favours, he ought to make choice of more worthy Objects. Would a Man “be obliged to reward a Girl, who, in committing “a Robbery for his Sake, or through his Inſtigation, ſhould loſe an Arm or a Leg? The Judge “would be ſo far from decreeing her any Reparation for the Loſs ſhe ſuſtained, that he would condemn her to a corporal Punishment. The ſame “would happen in all puniſhable Caſes, wherein “ſhe ſhould loſe a Limb, in executing her Lover's “Counſels. Fornication alone is excepted out of this “Rule: Let us call it then the common Offence, and “the privileged Caſe, Words ſeparately appropriated to other things (10), and about which a Book “was publiſhed at *Paris*, in the Year 1611 (11).” Upon this ſome one alledged, that the Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam*, being tired with the Complaints of ſo many Servant Maids, who accuſed their young Maſters of having got them with Child, had made a Law, that, for the future, theſe ſort of Creatures ſhould be paid but twenty five Florins; for which they ſhould be obliged to keep the Child; that they thought by this means to lay a reſtraint upon Lewdneſs: for they were ſenſible that the Profit, which accrued to theſe Girls from their ill Conduct, induced them either to make Advances, or to yield to the firſt Sollicitation; and that, in a Word, their Lewdneſs ought to be deprived of all Hopes of Gain, and not encouraged by the Expectation of what the

(8) I have been aſſured, that they themſelves make a jeſt of it, and ſay, that the kind of Injury carries nothing off the Punishment; imitating thoſe, who rally themſelves to weaken the Rallies of others. See the beginning of the Remark (B) of the Article AGESII.

(9) Ovidius Faſtor. lib. 2. ver. 45.

(10) They call a common Offence the Crimes of an Eccleſiaſtic, which are judged by the Tribunals of the Church; and a privileged Caſe the Crimes of an Eccleſiaſtic, which come under Cognizance of Secular Judges.

(11) Written by Benigne Milletot, Counſeller in the Parliament of Dijon.

(6) Thomavius ubi ſupra, F. 3. 318.

• In Epistolâ Reſponſoria ad Academiam Franconordianam; ſee Part. 1. Conſil. Theol. Phil. Melancthon. P. 523.

† See Phil. Melancthon Epist. ad C. mer. pag. 413. 414.

(7) See the Mémoire Historique of June, 1708.

tive, with *Melanthion*. I cannot tell, whether he took it ill, that the Decision of this Dispute was delay'd; and whether this Discontent was the occasion of his leaving *Frankfort* with so much Precipitation; but it is certain, that the Court of *Brandenburg* complained of him, and that they wrote to the University of *Wittemburgh* to have him punished. The Affection he had for *Melanthion* made People believe, that he was retired to *Wittemburgh* [E]; but he chose rather to go to *Leipsic*, where he refused, in 1543, a Professorship in the University, which *Albert*, Duke of *Prussia*, designed to erect at *Konigsberg*, and which was erected there the following Year. It is not certain, whether he had a Professorship in the University of *Leipsic* at that time; or whether they only gave him Hopes of the Divinity-Chair, which he afterwards enjoy'd till his Death, which happened on the seventeenth of *March* 1565 [F]. He was miraculously preserved from Death in his Youth [G]. The Esteem and Authority he possessed appear from the great Number of Conferences, at which he assisted [H]. He married an *English* Woman, by whom he had two Daughters, and a Son.

Courts should think proper to adjudge them. To this it was answered, that it is not certain, that such Laws have been made at *Amsterdam*, tho' the Fame of them was spread over other Towns of that Country. Whether it be true or false, it is very certain, that this proves, that People are not ignorant, that the common Conduct of the Courts of Judicature is too favourable to Fornication, and that it encourages young Women to Debauchery, rather than lays a Restraint upon their Modesty. And this is plain from hence, that Sovereigns, in punishing Transgressors of the Decalogue, are not directed by the Sinfulness of the Action, but by the temporal Prejudice, which the State receives from it. Hence it is that they punish Robbers and Murderers; but, because Fornication seems more useful than prejudicial to the temporal Good of the State, they connive at it, and behave in such a manner, as to make People think, that they are not displeased with having their Towns peopled *per fas & nefas*. If they laid the Law of God to Heart in this Point, they would increase the Fear of Infamy, instead of removing it; they would impose large Fines, to be paid, not to the Girls, who transgress, but to Hospitals; they would brand with Disgrace both the Tempter, and her, who could not resist the Temptation; and, because Infamy is not sufficient among Persons of mean Birth to stop a certain Coquetry, which animates the Tempter, which prevents him, and assures him of Victory with the utmost ease, they would inflict a more sensible Punishment, for which they could not fail of finding the proper Methods.

Ecclesiastical Discipline is very near fallen into the same Relaxation. It is but few Years (12) since a young Gentleman's Tutor made his Addressee, in a Town of ----- to a young Coquet; and soon obtained what he desired of her. As soon as her Relations perceived that she was with Child, they endeavoured to marry her to our Spark. He refused it; for, besides that the easiness of his Conquest was no great Inducement to him to think of marrying her, he did not believe himself to be the only Person, who had a Finger in the Pye, or that the Child was more his own Manufacture than another's. The only Method of obliging him to take her to Wife, was to threaten him, that, if he did not marry her, he should lose the Benefice he had in *England*. He married her, and thereby preserved his Benefice. Such was the Reward of Coquetry; a Coquetry, which had been carried to the most scandalous Excesses. What would the ancient Fathers say, if they were to return into the World? they might well cry out, calling their Eyes on the Face of the Church, *O domus antiqua, quam dispartì dominaris domino!* It is the Fate of all Religions, as well as all Politic Bodies, to be the worse for Age. Men, indeed, are more corrupt in their Youth, than in an advanced Age. But it is quite otherwise with Republics. There is nothing like new Laws (13). Laws are like Bread and Eggs, *pan d' un di, ovo d' un bora*. — Bread for a Day, an Egg for an Hour. The flourishing State of a Code, (I mean the Practice and Observation of the Laws) is That of Infancy. See the Complaint of a Poet, who had described some Abuses of *Augustus*'s Age. It resembles that of *Jesus Christ*, from the beginning it was not so (14).

Not so, at first, great *Romulus* prescribed;
Severe the Laws, when *Cato* was our Guide.
With better Principles our Fathers liv'd,
And juster *Maxims* were, of old, receiv'd.

In this respect, Sects and Communities, &c. resemble *MAN*, who is innocent only in the Cradle, and a Year or two after. Let us observe, that there are some Protestant Countries (16), where they still use some Severity against Fornication, both with respect to Women and Men. But I am sure that our *Alexander Alefius* would require something farther still. What would he say of other Countries?

I must farther observe, that the Courts, which adjudge a Pecuniary Profit to loose Women, or which condemn them to marry those, who debauched them, do it to avoid many Inconveniencies: but they increase thereby the Disorders of Impurity; for every Sentence they pronounce of this kind is a real Advantage to one naughty Woman, and a Motive of Hope to twenty more. Every Girl, who gets a Husband this way, is an Encouragement to others to attempt the same Methods. This abuse has been perceived in *France*: The new Laws are not so favourable there, as the old ones were, to those Ladies, who make too great an Advantage of the Privileges of Marriage. It is a Sacrament, which has a retroactive Virtue, and which, like that of Penance, is a Plank after Shipwreck. It makes one enter again into the Port of Honour; it repairs old Breaches; it legitimates Children unlawfully begotten (17): To say nothing of the thick Veil, with which it covers new Breaches, current Faults, and daily Offences.

[E] The Affection, which he had for *Melanthion*, made People believe he was retired to *Wittemburgh*. *Melanthion*, in his Two hundred and ninetieth Letter, expresses some uncertainty, whether *Alefius* did not doubt of his Friendship. In his Two hundred eighty eighth Letter, he declares, that he observed in him certain Whims and Starts of Temper, *αεγχιλας & παρορμητικὸν ὄρεμα*.

[F] His Death happened on the seventeenth of *March* 1565. The Calendar of *Peter Eberus* notes, that *Alefius* died on the eighteenth of *March*, 1565, being Seventy five Years of Age: the first Fault is very small, since it is but of one Day; but the second is of ten Years, and therefore more considerable. *Alefius* himself wrote, in the Register of the University of *Leipsic*, that he was born in the Year 1500. *Bucholcerus* (18), and *Rensnerus* (19), give him as long a Life as *Paul Eberus*. This whole Remark is taken out of *Thomasmus Bucholcerus* might have been reprimanded for another thing, viz. for saying that *Alefius* lived and taught in *Germany*, after his coming to *Wittemburgh*; that is to say, after the Year 1533.

[G] He was miraculously preserved from Death in his Youth. He says, in one of his Books (20), that he often recollects (but that the Thought kills his very Blood), that as he was tumbling towards a Precipice, on the Top of a very high Mountain, he felt himself transported to another Place, without knowing how, or by whom; which he attributes to the Faith of his Relations, and not to the small Papers, which he carried about him, containing some Verses of *St John*'s Gospel, according to the Custom of Children in those Times.

[H] The great Number of Conferences, at which he assisted. In the Year 1555, when those of *Nuremberg* desired *Melanthion* to come and compose the Discussions

(16) Geneva, and more still in the Canton of Bern.

(17) See *Remmark* [A] of the Article *ARIOSTA*.

(18) Chronol. p. 613.

(19) Isaagor. Hist. p. 635.

(20) Epistola dedicat. in Com. n. r. in 'Ann. m. S. e. l. k. w. e. Prelat. in altern. ad Timotheum, ap. d. Jacobum Thomasmus, in Orat. de Aleo, p. 325.

(92) I write this in 1698.

(13) See the beginning of the Remark [M] of the Article *NE-STORIUS*.

(14) Matth. x. 3.

(15) Horat. Od. 15. lib. 2.

Præscriptum, & intonsi Catonis Auspiciis, veterumque norma (15).

a Son. He had but one Daughter living, when he died. I have extracted this from a Speech of *James Thomafius*, Profeflor at *Leipfic*, in the Year 1683, in 800. His whole Account is accompanied with Citations. I did not think my felf obliged to copy them: They, who would apply to the Originals, will eafily meet with the Speech, which points them out.

- (21) Came-
rarius, in vita
Melanthonis.
Thomafius ubi fupra
pag. 321.
(22) Beza in
Iconibus.
(23) Came-
rarius, ubi
fupra, ibid.
- Diffentions, which the Difciples of *Andrew Ofsander* caufed in their City (21), he brought *Alefius* along with him, who performed his Part very well in the Difputes they engaged in (22). *Melanthion* knew him to be very capable of this; he had had him for his Affiftant in 1554, in the Conference of *Neumburg*, which was held to appeale the Theological Troubles of *Pruffia*. *Camerarius* praifes *Alefius* very much on this Account. "Alexander *Alefius*, patria *Scotus*, "valde carus *Philippo Melanthoni*, rei Theologicæ "intelligentiffimus, & artifex excellens congruentium "difputationum, & vir dignitate atque doctrina ex- "quifita præftans (23). — Alexander *Alefius*, a "Scotch Man, greatly in Favour with *Philip Melan-* "thion, thoroughly verfed in Divinity, who had an excel-

"lent Talent at Difputation, and famous for his extra-
"ordinary Merit and Learning." He had obferved
in another Place, that *Grancicell*, who prefided in
the Conference of *Worms*, in the Name of *Charles V.*,
in 1541, would not let *Alefius* fpeak, whom the
Elector of *Brandenburg* had fent thither. "Qui qui-
"dem & paratus erat & cupidus confictus, fed huic
"obftitit iuffum præfidis, qui & *Alefium* ad pugnam
"instructum fciret, & talem adminiftrationem rei vi-
"ciosam effe animadverteret. — *Wro* was both
"ready and eager to engage; but was prevented by
"Order of the Prefident, who knew that *Alefius* was
"come prepared for the Combat, and obferved, that
"fuch a Management of the Affair would be wrong."

ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO [A], a Neapolitan Civilian of great Learning, flourished about the end of the XVth Century, and beginning of the XVth [B]. He applied himself to the Profession of the Law with ardor, first at *Naples*, and afterwards at *Rome* (a); but he spent all the Time he could steal from the Fatigues of Pleading, in the Study of polite Literature, and at last entirely quitted the Bar, to lead a more calm and agreeable Life with the Muses. The Reason he alledges for abandoning the Profession of an Advocate [C], was the Ignorance or Corruption of those who administered Justice; which inclined him rather to live a retired Life, than to take much Pains in studying the Civil Law, since his Labours would avail nothing against the Rashness of a corrupt Judge (b). He had seen many Examples of this Disorder at *Rome*, which he mentioned to *Rapbael Volaterranus*, who asked him the Reason of his Retreat. It is somewhat strange, that, among so many Men of Learning, who were his Contemporaries, or who wrote Elogies of the learned Men of those

- (7) Alexan-
der ab Alex.
Genial. dier.
lib. 2. cap. 1.

- (8) Ibid. lib.
6. cap. 7.

- (1) Simon
Goulart did
fo in his
Translation of
Philip de
Comines.

- (2) Balzac's
Preface to his
Socrate
Clarcken.

- (3) To fpeak
accurately be-
fides have
found, that A-
lexander was
b'this Chris-
tian Name,
and the Name
of his Family.
We meet
with the
same in other
Places: See
Mullerus, in
his Treatise
De Scripto-
ribus Homo-
nymis.

- (4) Alexan-
der ab Alex.
Genial. dier.
lib. 2. c. 15.
fub fin. pag.
736.

- (5) Id. lib. 1.
cap. 1.

- (6) Id. lib. 6.
cap. 7.

[A] Alexander ab Alexandro.] I give him his Latin Name according to the Grammarians. They who translate it *Alexander of Alexandria* are mistaken (1). Our Author was of a Neapolitan Family of the Name of *Alexander*. It is pretended, that it had before produced some Illustrious Persons, as *Moreri* relates after *Lorenzo Craffo*. Every one knows *Balzac's* pleasant Reflexion. "Was there not, says he (2), "a Grammatico-Civilian in the Kingdom of *Naples*, "who assumed the Name of ALEXANDER AB "ALEXANDRO? Can any thing be more mag- "nificent and more glorious than to be twice an "Alexander, an Alexander by one's Name, and an "Alexander by one's Lordship (3)?"

[B] Flourished about the End of the XVth Century and beginning of the XVth.] My reason for saying this, is, that our Author, speaking of the Calamities of the Kingdom of *Naples*, carries them down to the Death of *Frederic*, the Son of *Ferdinand I* (4), that is, to the Year 1504. besides, he speaks of *Jovianus Pontanus*, as of a Person no longer in being (5). Now *Jovianus Pontanus* did not die before the Year 1505. This is what escaped those, who placed the Death of our *Alexander* in the Year 1494, in which *Moreri* gives them a much stronger Proof of his Ap- probation than of his Uncertainty.

[C] The Reason he alledges for abandoning the Profession of an Advocate.] To give the Author's Reason it's full Force, I must set it down in his own Words. "Quæ cum viderem, says he (6), patro- "nique contra vim potentiorum aut gratiam nihil "præfidii esse, nihil opis, frustra nos in legum con- "troverfiis & edicendis toto casuum varietatibus tam "peniculate editis tantum laboris & vigiliarum sus- "cipere, tantoque nos studio fatigari dicebam, cum "ad ignaviffimi impuriffimique cuiusque temeritatem, "qui juri dicendo præfideret, quem leges virum bon- "num esse volunt, non æquo jure fed ad gratiam " & libidinem judicia ferri, decretaque legum tanto "confilio edita convelli & labefactari viderem. — "When I saw these things, and that it was impos- "sible for the Advocates to support their Clients a- "gainst the Power and Favour of the Great, I said, "it was to no Purpose to take so much Pains, and "undergo so great a Fatigue, in studying the Law, "and thoroughly considering all it's Variety of Cases; "since I could not but observe, that the Issue of Suits

"depended not on the Justice of the Cause, but on
"the Favour and Affection of a lazy and corrupt
"Judge, whom the Laws suppose to be a good and
"upright Man; and that the judicial Decrees, so
"equitably contrived, were every Day broke in upon,
"and weakened." It was much better to quit the
Bar, than to imitate the Practice of some Advocates,
who, having lost many good Cases, undertake to de-
fend the world. I have read not long ago, "That
"one of the most famous Advocates of this Age,
"whom his Brethren asked, why he took upon him
"to plead bad Causes, answered them smiling, that
"He did it, because he had lost a great many good
"ones. This is a bad excuse, continues the Author
"an Advocate, who, having examined a Cause,
"finds it unjustifiable, ought to leave it (7). I have
met with another Passage in the Book of *Alexander ab*
Alexandro, which shews the Integrity of his Heart (8).
One of his Friends, seeing, that he did not push his
Fortune, advised him to make use of the Expedients,
which had succeeded so well with such and such Per-
sons, whom he named to him; who had been raised by
Favour to Honours and Mitres, in spite of the Merit
of their Competitors, and who had attained to Fa-
vour by unlawful Methods. Our Author was not ig-
norant of these Examples, and knew some that were
worse; he had seen in his Youth a very honest Man,
well versed in Latin and Greek, who, having
struggled with an extreme Poverty, while he relied
only on his Virtue and Learning, resolved to try an-
other way: He engaged in such villanous Arts, as are
improper to be mentioned, and in a little while he
became Rich and Powerful, and was possessed of good
Preferences. "Eo vesaniae processit, ut, coactis
"inopia, obsecris & libero homine indignis artibus
"vacaret (quibus vero artibus non libet dicere, ita
"foedæ & pudendæ sunt) confectaque fuit sibi res
"ex sententia; namque haud multo post & sacerdotio
" & opibus auctus, affluens & beatus, tranquillissime
"vitam egit (9)." But these Examples did not flag-
ger our Advocate: he chose rather to be contented
with a mean Fortune, than to hazard his Conscience.
"Longe igitur multumque præstat, satiusque fuit
"ui ingenio meo, vacuumque his molestissimis modico
"civilique cultu contentum esse, neque in ambitio-
nem non necessariam incurrere, quam bona animi, si
"qua sibi homo studio & labore paravit, ex turpi quæstu
"pessimo

- (7) Journal
des Savants,
1690. pag.
201.
Dutch Edit.

- (8) Alex. ab
Alex. lib. 6.
cap. 16.

- (9) Id. lib.

those times, scarce any one mentions him [D]. We should know but few Particulars of his Life, if he himself had not touched upon some of them in his Work (c). We find there, that he lodged in a House, at Rome, which was haunted with Spirits (d) ; so that here is an Evidence to be produced against the Incredible ; an Evidence, I say, who pretends to have seen, and who relates the surprizing Pranks of the Apparition, which disturbed the House. He tells us farther, that, when he was very young, he went to *Philolpus's* Lectures, who explained *Cicero's Tusculan Questions at Rome* (e). We may gather from the Twenty first Chapter of the fourth Book, that he was at Rome, when *Nicolas Perottus*, and *Domitius Calderinus*, read public Lectures there on *Martial* [E]. I do not find, that he speaks of the Office of Prothonotary of the Kingdom of Naples, which it is said he exercised with great Reputation (f). I cannot tell when he died, but I know that he was buried in the Monastery of the *Olivetans* (g). Every one blamed him for the Affectation he shewed, in not quoting the Authors, who furnished him with his Materials (b). *Tiraquellus* remedied this Omission by a learned Commentary, which was printed at Lyons in 1587 (i). It was reprinted at Leyden in two Volumes in 8vo, in the Year 1673, with the Notes of *Dionysius Gotbtfredus*, *Christophor Colerus*, and *Nicolas Mercerus*, on the same Text. I find by *Gefner's Bibliotheca*, that the Edition, published at Paris, of this Work of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, in the Year 1532, was more exact than the rest, and that *Gerard Morrbius*, who corrected it, had collated with the Originals the Passages, which the Author had taken from others. He must, then, have collated a great many ; for the six Books of the *Dies Geniales* are scarce any thing but a large Collection, relating to the History and Customs of the ancient Greeks and Romans ; besides several Grammatical Questions. Exactness is not in it's Perfection in this Work [F]. I do not believe, that the French Translation of this Work, by *Bernard de la Roche* (k), was ever printed. The Author of the *Neapolitan Bibliotheca* had no Success in the Article of our *Alexander* [G] ; but the Additions of *Leonardo Nicodemo* are very curious on this Subject [H].

(c) Leon. Albert. Descript. Ital. pag. 272.

(b) Barclaius, de reg. no. lib. 6. cap. c. Cyrenus de Syntal. cap. 21. n. 61. Volius de Hist. Lat. pag. 609. Meibomius de Vita Maccenatis, pag. 138.

(i) Ectud. Sennetia in Genialium dieum Alexandri Alexandri, lib. 6. in fol. It was reprinted at Frankfurt, in fol. in 1594.

(k) La Croix du Maine, pag. 46.

Alicatus

(10) Id. ib. " pessimo Exemplo scdere (10)." The Advice, which was given him, is much like this.

Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris & carcere dignum,
Si vis esse aliquis. Probitas laudatur & alget (11).

Wouldst thou to Honours and Preferments climb?
Be bold in Mischiefs, dare some mighty Crime;
Which Dungeons, Death, or Banishment deserves,
For Virtue is but dry grass, and flowers.

DYDEN.

He dedicated his Book to the Duke of *Attri*. This Duke was very learned, as we shall observe under *AQUAVIVA*.

[D] Scarce any one mentions him.] Yet, if we may believe *Morari*, all the great Men of That Age, as *Georgius Trapezuntius*, *Theodorus Gaza*, *Domitius Calderinus*, *Pontanus*, &c. were his Friends and his Admirers. All that can be gathered from the Book itself of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, is, that, in his Youth, he heard the Lectures, which *Philolpus* read at Rome, who was then very old (12), and that he was entertained sometimes, together with some very learned Men, at the Houses of *Jovian Pontanus* (13), *Hermolaus Barbarus* (14), *Sannazarus* (15), *Gabriel Altilius* (16), &c. This is not a sufficient Warrant to affirm, that certain Persons admire certain Persons. See the following Remark.

[E] Was at Rome, when *Nicolas Perottus*, and *Domitius Calderinus*, read public Lectures there on *Martial*.] This is all that can be gathered from what he relates concerning *Nicolas Perottus*, and *Domitius Calderinus*: As for that great Intimacy, which *Panzirrolus* pretends there was between them (17), it must be looked for elsewhere, and I cannot tell whether it be possible to find any Proofs of it. I question not, but *Panzirrolus* trusted to his Memory for this Particular, without considering, that the Memory is a Mould, in which Objects change their Form very easily.

[F] Exactness is not in it's Perfection in this Work.] I chuse rather to alledge the Testimony of one of the Commentators, than to pass this Censure on my own Authority. Let us hear then what *Nicolas Mercerus* says. " Est profecto, mi Linoceri (18), verum quod aiunt. Fuit Alexander vir eruditus & multae lectionis: multa ad utilitatem publicam scripsit eleganter, multa tamen, ut hominum est infirmitas, minus accurate, vel memorie vitio, vel imprudentia lapsus. Quae lectoribus indicari magis interfuit. — The

common Opinion, Friend Linocerus, is very true. " Alexander was a Man of Learning and great reading. He wrote many Things for public Use with Elegance; but in many things, such is human Infirmitas, he was deficient, for want either of Memory or Skill. It was highly proper to inform the Reader of this." I am not the only Person, who complains, that Editors of Books, cum notis Variorum, leave out the Epistles Dedicatory, and the Prefaces (19). They should do, as was done in the last Edition of *Diogenes Laertius* (20). If the same had been practised in that of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, I might have given a better account of this Author and his Book.

[G] The Author of the *Neapolitan Bibliotheca* had no Success in the Article of our *Alexander*.] He only refers his Readers to three or four other Books (21), and was ignorant, that *Alexander Jurisconsultus Neapolitanus*, Author of the four Dissertations, of which he gives the Title (22), is the same with *Alexander ab Alexandro*; inasmuch that he speaks twice of the same Man, without knowing that they are different Authors. The Title of the four Dissertations is as follows. " Alexandri Jurisconsulti Neapolitani Dissertationes quatuor de rebus admirandis, quae in Italia nuper contigere, id est, de somniis quae à viris spectatae fidei prodita sunt, inibique de ludibus Juniani Maii somniorum conjectoris: de umbrarum figuris & fallis imaginibus: de illusionibus malorum daemonum, qui diversis imaginibus homines deluserunt: de quibusdam ædibus, quae Romae infames sunt ob frequentissimos leumures, & terrificas imagines, quas author ipse singulis fere noctibus in Urbe expertus est: Romae, in 4to. Abique anno nec apud quem. — Alexander, the Neapolitan Civilian, his four Dissertations concerning the wonderful Things, which have lately happened in Italy, viz. of Dreams, related by Men of unquestionable Veracity, herein this of the Praises of Junianus Maius, Interpreter of Dreams: of the Shapes and deceitful Appearances of Spectres: of the Illusions of Evil Spirits, who deceive Men by various Appearances: of certain Houses at Rome, which are infamous on account of frequent Apparitions, and frightful Sightings, which the Author himself was every Night a Witness of at Rome, in 4to." They have neither set down the Printer's Name, nor the Year of the Impression. We shall see, in the following Remark, that these Pieces have been incorporated with the *Dies Genialis*.

[H] The Additions of *Leonardo Nicodemo* are very curious on this Subject.] He proves, that *Alexander*

(10) See Crenius, Chap. 1, of the first part of the Animalverities Philosophicæ & Historicae, and the Remark [R], of the Article M. A. R. O. T.

(20) That of Amstelredam, 1692, which contains most of the Prefaces, &c. of the foregoing Editions.

(21) Nicolo Toppi Biblioth. Neapolit. pag. 6.

(22) Id. ib. pag. 7.

(f) Panzirolus, Genialium dieum libri vi.

(d) Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 23.

(e) Eum ego adolescentulus sen. m. inter ceteros meos colui & observavi. Ibid. lib. 1. cap. 23.

(f) Panzirolus de clar. leg. interpret. lib. 2. cap. 122.

(11) Juven. Sat. 1. ver. 73.

(12) Alex. ab Alex. lib. 2. cap. 23.

(13) Id. ib. lib. 2. cap. 2. See also lib. 3. cap. 8.

(14) Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 2.

(15) Ibid. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(16) Ibid. lib. 5. cap. 2.

(17) Almondum familiars fuit: Panzirolus de claris legum Interpret. lib. 2. cap. 122.

(18) He, to whom I dedicated this N. 111.

226 ALEXANDER. ALEXIS. ALFENUS.

Alciatus believed, that ALEXANDER *ab Alexandro* was yet living, in the Year 1521. I shall give his own Words, because they contain his Opinion of this Writer [1].

ab Alexandro is the Author of the four Dissertations, because most of the Particulars they contain are to be met with in the *Dies Geniales*: For Example, that which relates to the Prailes of *Junianus Maius*, and the Interpretation of Dreams (23), is to be found in the eleventh Chapter of the first Book, where this *Junianus* is represented as one, who had daily a crowd of Dreamers attending him, whose Dreams he interpreted in a very intelligible manner, whereby many Persons avoided Death, or great Troubles. Read the Twenty third Chapter of the fifth Book (24), where you will find what concerns the Apparitions and Hobboblins, which haunted the Author's own House. We find the Title of an Edition in Folio, of the *Dies Geniales* in *Nicodemo's* Additions: I should take it for the first, if a Passage of *Alciatus* did not hinder me (25). The Title is this. "Alexandri de Alexandro " *Dies Geniales*. Ne quis opus excudat denuo infra

(23) *Entitula-
ta, Miracu-
la de fornica-
tis apud non-
nullos cog-
nita & com-
perta, &
que ipse ex-
pertus fui.*

(24) *Leonardo Nico-
demo, sive
de miris
Book, thro'
mistake.*

(25) *I quote
it in the Re-
mark [1].*

(25) *This
Letter is da-
ted from
Rome, the
24th of
June, 1522.*

"septennium, sub diris imprecationibus Apostolica
"autoritate interdictum est. — Alexander ab Alex-
"andro, his *Dies Geniales*. It is ordered by Aposto-
"lical Authority, and upon pain of dreadful Anathemas,
"that no one reprint this Work, 'till seven Years are
"expired." There is at the end, "Romæ, in ædi-
"bus Jacobi Mazochii, Rom. Academiæ Bibliopolæ.
"Anno Virginæ partus 1522, Kalend. April. Pontif.
"S. D. N. de cujus nomine pontificali adhuc non
"constat, anno primo. — At Rome, for James Ma-
"zochius, Bookseller to the Academy of Rome, in
"the Year of Christ 1522, the Kalends of April, in
"the first Year of the Pontificate of S. D. N. whose
"pontifical Name is not yet known." *Nicodemo* men-
"tions a Fragment of a Letter of *Jerome Niger* (26),
"which is not very complimentary to the *Neapolitani* in ge-
"neral, or our *Alexander* in particular. "Quel libro
"d' Alessandro de gli Alessandri è intitolato *Dies Ge-
"niales*, à similitudine delle notti Attiche d' Aulo Gel-
"lio, è de' Saturnali di Macrobio, cose cavate di qua
"è di là. Ed in vero ha molto del Napoletano, con

"soportazione del Sannazaro parlando. Vendefi sei
"carlini, al parer mio troppo caro. — This Book
"of Alexander ab Alexandro is entitled, *Dies Ge-
"niales, in imitation of the Noctes Atticæ of Aulus
"Gellius, and the Saturnalia of Macrobius, which
"are Collections from different Authors. In truth it
"favours much of the Neapolitan, in speaking of San-
"nazarius with Patience. It is sold for six Carlini,
"a Price, in my Opinion, much too great." I shall
"give an Article concerning *Junianus Maius*, the *Ar-
"temidorus* of his Age.*

[1] I shall give his own Words, because they con-
"tain his Opinion of this Writer.] I take them out of a
"Letter, which he wrote from Milan, the sixth of
"May, 1521, and which was printed in the Year 1699
(27). "Alexandri Jurisconsulti Neapolitani librum,
"quem ad nos misisti, diligenter legi. Vir est do-
"ctus & diligens, & non parum studiosos adjuvabit:
"suspitor tamen eum quandoque falli. — Si is
"aliqua tecum familiaritate junctus est, velim ab eo
"exquiras, ut Alpheni Jurisconsulti vetustissima scrip-
"ta, commentariisque Senatus consultorum, quæ vi-
"disse se, emisseque Romæ, ait, commodato det.
"Eorum autem mentionem facit capite quarto & sep-
"timo primi libri: suspitor enim nescio quid Partha-
"sianum, quem scis eos auctores plerumque adducere
"solitum, quos nunquam viderat. — I have care-
"fully perused the Book of Alexander the Neapolitan
"Civilian, which you sent me. He is a learned and
"industrious Writer, and not a little useful to the Stu-
"dious; but I suspect he is sometimes mistaken. —
"If you have any acquaintance with him, pray beg the
"favour of him to lend you the ancient Works of
"Alphenus the Civilian, and the Commentaries on
"the Senatus Consulta, which he says he saw, and
"purchased, at Rome; he mentions them in the fourth
"and seventh Chapters of his first Book: For I suspect
"him of imitating Parthianus, who, you know, was
"wont to alledge Authors, whom he never saw."

(27) *Epist.
Gudli, Dec.
Pag. 91.*

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, King of Macedonia. Look for MACEDONIA.

ALEXANDER VII. Pope. Look for CHIGI.

ALEXANDER VIII. Pope. Look for OTTOBONI.

ALEXIS, a *Piemontois*. There is a Book of SECRETS under the Name of this *Alexis*. It was printed at Basil in 8vo, in the Year 1563, being translated from the Italian into Latin by *Wecker* (a). It was likewise translated into French, and printed several times with Additions. There is a Preface to it, wherein Signor *Alexis* informs the Public, that he was born of a Noble Family; that he applied himself to study from his Childhood; that he learned Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, and several other Languages; that, being particularly fond of the Secrets of Nature, he had collected as many of them as he could in his Fifty seven Years Travels; that he had piqued himself upon not communicating them to any one, but that, at the Age of Eighty two Years and seven Months, seeing a poor Man dead at Milan, whom he could have cured, if he had communicated one of his *Nostrums* to the Surgeon, he was touched with so great a Remorse of Conscience, that he nearly turned Hermit, and in this Solitude disposed his *Recipes* for Publication. The Hawkers carry them to Country-Fairs, with their other little Books, covered with blue Paper. It is true they have only the choice Remedies of Signor *Alexis*; the whole Collection would be too great a Volume for them.

(a) *Merck-
lin. in Lin-
denio reno-
vato, pag.
28.*

(a) *Aeron
calls him
Marcus, but
it should be
Servius, ac-
cording to
William
Grotius,
Vit. Jurisf.
pag. 86. See
Aulus Gel-
lius, lib. 6.
cap. 5. &
Pomponius,
in lib. 2.
D. de Orig.
Juris.*

ALFENUS VARUS (PUBLIUS) born at Cremona, first a Shoemaker, and afterwards a Disciple of the famous Civilian, *Servius Sulpicius* (a), and at last Consul, was a very learned Man in the Civil Law [A]. He was buried at the Public Expence. This is all that is said of him by one of the old Scholiasts upon *Horace*, in his

[A] A very learned Man in the Civil Law.] This
"Passage of *Amnianus Marcellianus* against the Advo-
"cates of his Time; "Hi, ut altius videantur jura
"callere, Trebatium loquuntur, & Cascellium, &
"Alfenum, & Auruncorum Sicoranumque jamdiu le-
"ges ignotas (1). — These Men, that they may be
"thought more deeply versed in the Science of the Law,

"are ever talking of Trebatius, Cascellius, and Alfenus,
"and the obsolete Laws of the Aurunci and Sicani." This Passage, I say, is sufficient to convince us of the great Authority of the Name of *Alfenus*, in matters of Law. Add to this the Testimonies alledged by *Bertrand*, in the first Book of his *Civilians* (2).

(2) *Pag. 56.
57. Edit.
Lugd. Bat.
1675.*

[B] On

(1) *Amm.
Marcell. lib.
3. cap. 4.
Pag. 594.*

his Notes on a Passage, which relates to our *Alfenus* [B], whose Consulship, they say, fell out in the Year of Rome 754 (b). I will not warrant this. *Alfenus* wrote Forty Books of *Digests*, which are mentioned in the Index of the *Pandectæ*, and some Books of Collections, *Collectaneorum*. *Aulus Gellius* cites both these Works; and, tho' he refutes what he quotes out of them, yet he represents the Author as a Man, who was a great Enquirer into Antiquities [C]. The Civilian *Paulus* wrote an Abridgment of *Alfenus's* Books (c). If it were true, that there was an *Alfenus* among the Counsellors of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* [D], who was a Disciple of *Papi-nian*, as some affirm from a very intricate Passage of *Lampridius*, he might be descended from the other; tho' it must be confessed that there were some *Alfenus's* different from the Disciple of *Sulpitius*. There was an *Alfenus* mentioned by *Cicero* in his Oration for *Quintilius*, and an *Alfenus*, General of the Army under *Vitellius*, and Prefect of the *Prætorium*, who did not behave like a Man of Courage, when his Party was overcome by *That* of *Vespasian* (d). *Donatus*, in the Life of *Virgil*, speaks of an *Alfenus* [E], who, with some others, exempted the Lands of that Poet from the Fate, to which those of the Neighbourhood were exposed, when, after the Defeat of *Brutus*, they were assigned to the Soldiers. Very learned Persons believe, that He, who did *Virgil* that kind Office, was the same *Alfenus*, who had been formerly a Shoemaker, and the same *Alfenus*, whom *Catullus* speaks of (e). This is attended with some Difficulty [F]. I see my Remarks, in which *Moreri* is sometimes shewn to be guilty of unpardonable Mistakes.

(b) See Crui-quius in Hor. Sat. 3. lib. 1.

(c) Guil. Grot. Vind. Juriscont. pag. 86.

(d) Tacit. Histor. lib. 2. cap. 29, 43. & lib. 3. cap. 36, 55, 61. & lib. 4. cap. 11.

(e) Dacier apud Horace Sat. 3. lib. 1.

[B] On a Passage, which relates to our *Alfenus*.
The Words of *Horace* deserve to be produc'd.

Alfenus vaser, omni
Abjecto instrumento æris, clausque taberna,
Sutor erat, sapiens operis sic optimus omnes
Est opifex, sic rex solus (3).

(3) Horat. Sat. 3. l. 1. ver. 130.

*Skillsful Alfenus, though he lost his Aul,
And threw away his Lest, and shut his Stall,
And broke his Threads, yet was a Cudler still;
Thus each Mechanic, if he has but skill,
Is wise, and only King.* CREECH.

[C] *Aulus Gellius* — though he refutes what he quotes out of them, yet represents him as a great Enquirer into Antiquities. This relates to the Signification of these Words, *argentum purum putum*, which were in the Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Republic of Rome, and that of Carthage. The Romans were to receive every Year a certain Tribute of Money, *purum putum*, that is of good Alloy. *Moreri* imagined, that the proper name of that Tribute was *purum putum*, which is a pleasant Conceit enough. *Aulus Gellius* rejects, not without reason, the Sense, which *Alfenus* gave to these Words (4); and, if we were to judge of this Civilian's Capacity from hence, he would soon lose his great Reputation. He believed that *purum putum* was formed from *purus*, as *novicius* and *propicius* are form'd from *novus* and *propius*, in order to give more Force to the Signification of the primitive Word. *Aulus Gellius* refutes him solidly, and shews that *putum* signifies That, from which all Superfluities are retrench'd. He does not cite the Book, which *Moreri* quotes, to wit, the fourth and thirtieth of the *Digests*, nor That, which *Bertrand* alledges, to wit, the thirtieth of the same *Digests*; but he cites the Thirty fourth. As for the other Work, which he cites, it is entituled, *Conjectaneorum*, in the Edition of *Henry Stephens*; but I find that *Bertrand*, and *William Grotius*, read it *Collectaneorum*. This last Title seems to agree better with the Passages of the *Pandectæ*, where *Servius* is cited upon the Testimony of *Alfenus*, *Servius apud Alfenum notat, putat*; but it would be wrong to prefer, upon this Account, the latter Title to That, which *Henry Stephens* preferred. *Bertrand* makes *Aulus Gellius* say what he does not, to wit, that the Work, entituled *Collectanea*, consisted of four Books. These are *Aulus Gellius's* Words: *In libro digestorum trigesimo & quarto, conjectaneorum autem secundo, in fadere, inquit, &c* (5). I do not question, but that, since *Bertrand* said, that *Aulus Gellius* quoted the thirtieth Book of the *Digests*, he believed that & quarto related to the following Words, and that, without taking notice of what follows, he concluded, that the fourth Book of the *Collectanea* had been cited; from whence, nevertheless, he had no reason to infer, that the Work contained but four Books, and that *Aulus Gellius* said so. Neither the critical Remarks on this Work of *Bertrand*, inserted in the Edition of *Leyden*, nor *William Grotius*, have taken notice of these small Mistakes. *Aulus Gel-*

(4) Aulus Gell. lib. 6. cap. 5.

(5) Id. lib.

lius speaks to the Advantage of *Alfenus*: "Alfenus Jurisconsultus, Servii Sulpitii Discipulus, Rerumque antiquarum non incuriosus (6). — Alfenus, the Civilian, Disciple of *Servius Sulpitius*, and a curious Enquirer into Antiquity."

(6) Lib. 6. cap. 5.

[D] But there was an ALFENUS among the Counsellors of the Emperor *Alexander Severus*. The Passage of *Lampridius*, as it is printed, is so erroneous in some respects, that nothing can be concluded from it, for the Existence of an *Alfenus*, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*. See *Cassiodorus* on that Passage. However *Moreri* should not have cited *Horace*, nor *Aulus Gellius*, for his *Alfenus*, surnamed the younger, who lived, says he, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus*.

[E] *Donatus* — speaks of an ALFENUS. *Moreri*, giving an Article of this Person, pag. 170, calls him *Alphenius Varus*, a Roman Knight, and cites *Donatus in vita Virgilii*. But *Donatus* does not style him a Roman Knight; and, besides, in the best Editions (7), it is *Alphenus, Varius*, as two different Persons, and not *Alphenius Varus*, as one Person. It must, nevertheless, be confess'd, that these Verses of the ninth Eclogue of *Virgil*, ver. 26.

(7) That of Hackius at Leyden 1680.

Immo hæc, quæ Varo necdum perfecta canebat,
Vare, tuum nomē (superet modo Mantua nobis,
Mantua væ miseræ nimium vicina Cremonæ)
Cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cygni;

Or what unfinished'd be to Varus read;
Thy Name, O Varus (if the kinder Powers
Preserve our Plains, and shield the Mantuan Towers,
Obnoxious by Cremona's neighbouring Crime)
The Wings of Swans, and stronger-pinion'd Rhyme,
Shall raise aloft, and soaring bear above,
Th' immortal Gift of Gratitude to Jove.

DRYDEN.

are applied, by the Grammarian *Servius*, to an *Alfenus Varus*, who was sent by *Augustus* to command beyond the Po, after *Pollio* had lost that Government. The same Grammarian observes, that some Persons have applied these other Verses of *Virgil* to the Civilian *Alfenus Varus*, Successor of *Servius Sulpitius*;

Nam neque adhuc Varo videor, nec dicere Cinna
Digna, sed argutos inter strepere anser olens (8).

(8) Virgil. Eclog. 9. ver. 35.

I nor to Cinna's Ears, nor Varus dare aspire,
But gabble, like a Goose, amidst the Swan-like Quire.

DRYDEN.

The reason was, because *Alphenus Varus* the Civilian was something of a Poet. *Servius* confutes them, by shewing, that this Elogy ought to be understood of the Poet *Varius*, whom *Horace* praised so much.

[F] This is attended with some Difficulty. A Person, who applies himself with such Ardour to the Civil Law, that, by his great Progress, he notonly wipes off the Disgrace, arising from the Mechanic Trade, which

he

he had exercised in his Native Country, but succeeds likewise the greatest Civilian at that time in the Republic of Rome, must probably be too sedate, to join with *Catullus*, and other Sparks of the same Stamp, in their Debauchery. But the *Alfennus*, of whom *Catullus* speaks, was of this Knot of Rakes.

(9) *Catull.*
Epig. 31.
Mr. Dacier
upon Horace,
Sat. 3. lib. 1.
cites the 27th
Epigram of
Catullus.

Alphene immemor, & unanims false fodalibus (9)!

Forgetful Alphenus, and false to your unanimous Companions!

He introduced *Catullus* to his own Whore:

Varus me meus ad fuos Amores
Visum duxerat & fore otiosum,
Scortillum, ut mihi tum repente visum est,
Non illepidum, nec invenustum (10).

(10) *Catull.*
Epig. 10.

Varus carried me Home from the Forum, being disengaged, to see his Mistress; who appeared to me, upon a sudden View, a smart, pretty, Wench.

And therefore it is not very likely, that he was the

Disciple of *Sulpitius*. *Muretus* was censured for saying, that *Varus*, who carried *Catullus* to his Mistress, was *Quintilius Varus*; and the Censure was grounded on this, that there were at least Fifty seven Years between the Defeat of the three Legions of *Varus*, and the Visit, which *Catullus* speaks of. I make use of this Reason (11). There must be fifty Years, more or less, between this Visit, and the Consulship of *Alfennus* (12), and therefore it is very unlikely, that the Shoemaker of *Cremona*, if he was Consul in the Year of Rome 754, had such an intimate Acquaintance with *Catullus* fifty Years before: For a Country Shoemaker, who leaves his Trade; in order to study in the Capital City, can be no Boy; when he is intimate with Persons of Distinction. Add to this, that he, who did *Virgil* that good Office, commanded beyond the *Pa* forty Years before the Consulship in Question (13). So that there is reason to doubt, whether *Alfennus*, who was Consul in the Year of Rome 754, be the same with *Virgil's* Benefactor: For it is seldom that a Man attains to great Dignities, when the usual time of arriving at them has been long over. This was the Case of those, who, after a Government of a Province, were forty Years without obtaining the Consular Dignity.

(11) See
in *Catull.*
Epig. 10.

(12) It is
placed in the
754th Year
of Rome.

(13) Servius
in *Ecl.* 9.
ver. 29.

ALFONSUS. See the Kings of this Name under That of their respective Kingdoms.

ALYPIUS, of *Antioch*, lived in the Reign of *Julian* the Apostate. He had already commanded in *England*, when That Prince took it into his Head to rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and appointed him Overseer of the Work. *Alypius* promoted the Design with great Application, and was assisted in it by the Governor of the Province (a). Yet he was obliged to desist from the Undertaking; the Flames, which issued out of the Earth, rendring the Place inaccessible. Eight Years after, he found himself involved in a terrible Persecution, which destroyed a great number of People, and which was first raised against those, who had made use of Magic to discover the Successor of *Valens*. When the Commissioners for informing against the Guilty had set the Affair a-going, nothing was to be seen but accused Persons, who were immediately Condemned and Punished. *Alypius*, who had betaken himself to a private Life, in order to enjoy the Pleasures of Quiet, was attacked by the Informers, and accused of being a Poisoner (b). He was banished, and all his Estate confiscated. His Son *Hierocles*, being condemned to Death on the same Accusation, was happily saved, as he was led to the Place of Execution (c). The News of this fortunate Event mitigated *Alypius's* Affliction in his Exile. It is very probable, that the Author of the *Geographical Piece*, which pleased *Julian* the Apostate very much, is the same with our *Alypius* [A]; but I do not believe, that this Work is a Description of the Old World, which *James Godfrey* translated out of Greek into Latin [B]. I know nothing of one ALYPIUS, who wrote a Treatise of Music, entitled Εισαγωγὴ μουσική, *Introductio Musica*, mentioned by *Cassiodorus*; *Maurus*

was

(a) See *Re-*
mark [A].

(b) See *Re-*
mark [A].

(c) See the
manner how,
in the Article
HIERO-
CLES.

(1) See *Re-*
mark [B].

(2) *Athen.*
Marcell. lib.
25. cap. 1.
pag. 350. ad
not. 363.

[A] The Author of the *Geographical Piece*, which pleased *Julian* the Apostate, is the same with our *Alypius*. This Author lived in the Reign of *Julian* the Apostate. We have two Letters, which that Prince wrote to him, which testify, that *Alypius* was the Brother of *Cæsarius*, and that he exercised a considerable Employ (1). This last Character agrees admirably well with *Alypius* of *Antioch*, who, after having been Deputy-Governor in *England*, was sent to *Judea* to superintend the Building of the Temple. *Ammianus Marcellinus* informs us of these Particulars. "Ambitiosum quondam apud Hierosolymam templum — instaurare sumptibus cogitabat immodicus: Negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiocheni, qui olim Britannias curaverat pro praefectis. Cum itaque rei idem fortiter instaret Alypius, juvaretque provinciae rector, metuendi globi flammarum prope fundamenta crebris assultibus erumpentes fecere locum, exultis aliquoties operantibus, inaccessum (2). — He resolved to rebuild the magnificent Temple, which was formerly at Jerusalem, at an immense Expence, and committed the Dispatch of the Work to *Alypius* of *Antioch*, who had formerly commanded in Britain under the Praefect. "But, as *Alypius* was carrying on the Work with great Expedition, and was assisted in it by the Governor of the Province, there issued forth dreadful Balls of Fire, with frequent Eruptions, near the Foundations, which sometimes burnt the Workmen, and rendered the Place inaccessible." Thus he speaks in the Twenty ninth Book: "Ecce

"autem Alypius quoque, ex Vicario Britanniarum, placiditatis homo jocundus, post otiosum & repotitum vitam (quoniam huc ulque injustitia tederat manus) in squalore maximo volutatus, ut veneficii reus, citatus est cum Hierocle filio (3). — Alypius too, formerly Deputy-Governor of Britain, a Man of a pleasant and easy Temper, after a Life of Ease and Retirement (for the Hand of Injustice reached even thither) was treated as the greatest Criminal, and arraigned for poisoning, with his Son Hierocles."

[B] I do not believe, that this Work is the Description of the old World, which *James Godfrey* translated out of Greek into Latin. This Description is an anonymous Work, composed in the Reign of the Emperors *Constantius* and *Constant*. There was an ancient and very barbarous Latin Translation of it, which *Salmafius* communicated to the learned *James Godfrey*, who caused it to be printed, with the Greek Text, and with a new Translation, accompanied with Notes (4). *Vossius* seems to believe, that the Author of this Description is the same *Alypius*, who sent a Geographical Treatise to *Julian* the Apostate; but if so, continues he, it must be said, according to the Remark of *James Godfrey*, that *Alypius* composed it before he was commanded in *England*, for there is nothing said of that Island in it, but on the Credit of others: "Britannia Provincia, scut qui fuerunt narrant, valde maxima." As for me, I should readily conclude from this Passage, that *Alypius* did not write this Description; and this is my Reason. It was long, since his having been Lieutenant in *England*, when

(3) *M. H.*
2. cap. 1.
pag. 556. ad
ann. 371.

(4) *Vossius*
de Scient.
Math. pag.
243.

was the first who published it in Greek (d). Mr Hofman would have done better to have omitted this Article entirely [C].

Ed. Vindob.
in Secret.
Mss. p. 2
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Julian gave him a Commission to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem. "Negotiumque maturandum Alypio dederat Antiocheni, qui OLIM Britannia curaverat pro Praefectis (5). — He committed the Dispatch of the Work to Alypius of Antioch, who had formerly commanded in Britain under the Prefect." He sent his Geography to the Emperor, while he commanded under him in some Province. He was therefore able to speak of England, as an Eye-witness. He is not, then, the Author of the Description of the old World, in which there is nothing said of that Island, but on the Credit of others, who had travelled thither. Let no one object to me, that he wrote two Books, the one before he went into England, the other under Julian the Apostate, and that the first is the Description, published by Godfrey; for it is very probable, that, if he was Author of that Description, he would have inserted it in the Work, which he sent to Julian, and thus the first Work would have been disregarded. It would have been lost, then, and the Book, which Godfrey translated and adorned with Notes, would not be extant at this present Time. We understand from Julian, that Alypius was a Poet: *Εἶπε δὲ, ὡς he (6), ὅτι τὸ διαγεγεμενὸν τὸ ἄριστον βίβλιον, ὃ καλεῖται ὡς αὐτὸς τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον.* — It contains likewise much better Descriptions than the former; besides which you have given it a Poetical Turn by the Iambics, which you have

added to it. Afterwards he approves of the manner, in which Alypius treated the People, and praises him for using sometimes Mildness, and sometimes great Resolution. *Ἰστέον δὲ τὸ διοικῆσαι τὴν αἰσχυρῶς, ὅτι δεξιότητι αἰμα καὶ ἀπαλὸς ἀπαστὰ περὶ τὸν αἰσχυρῶς, οὐκ ἀνέχεται. μέλει δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰσχυρῶς ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ ἰσχύι, καὶ τῇ αἰσχυρῶς αἰσχυρῶς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται, τὴν δὲ τὸν αἰσχυρῶς ἀπαστὰν αἰσχυρῶς ἀπαστὰν αἰσχυρῶς, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται ἑσθλῶς.* — As to your Conduct in Affairs of Government, I am pleased to find, that you study to transact every thing with Assiduity and Humanity; for it requires no small Ability and Virtue so to temper Lenity and Moderation with Vigor and Resolution, as to use the former towards good Men, and exert the latter for the Punishment of the bad.

[C] Mr Hofman would have done better to have omitted this Article entirely. I. In the first Place, he writes Alypius. II. He says, that Alypius of Antioch is Author of the Description of the old World. III. That this Description was published in Latin, in the Reign of Constantius and Constant. IV. That there was another Alypius of Antioch, who wrote a Treatise of Geography. V. That Ammianus Marcellinus asserts This. This is all Mr Hofman's Account; in which there are many Faults of Omission; but the work is, the little he has said is quite full of Faults of Commission.

ALYPIUS, a Philosopher of Alexandria, cotemporary with Jamblicus, and one of the subtlest Logicians of his Time, was as little as a Dwarf; but his Wit made up for this Imperfection. He had many Disciples, to whom he gave only verbal Instructions, without dictating any Thing to them. Which was the reason why they left him, to follow Jamblicus, under whom they might improve both by Lectures and Writings. Jamblicus, having had some Conversation with our Alypius, admired his Judgment, and his Genius; and even composed his Life, wherein he praised his Virtue, and the firmness of his Soul. Alypius died, very old, in the City of Alexandria (a).

(a) Baronius
in Vita
Jamblicus

ALYPIUS, Bishop of Tagasta, where he was born (a), was one of St Austin's good Friends. He was baptized, with him, at Milan, in the Year 388. Five Years after, he travelled into Palestine, and if, on the one hand, the great Character, he gave St Jerom of St Austin, served to cement the Friendship of those Fathers, it seems, on the other hand that, at his return into Africa, he cooled St Austin's Affection. This is ascribed to his relating the scandalous things, which St Jerom's Adversaries spoke of him at Jerusalem. Alypius was not promoted to the Bishoprick of Tagasta, till the Year 394, a Year after his Travels into Palestine. He assisted at the Council of Carthage, in the Year 403, in which an Attempt was made to bring over the Donatists to the Unity of the Church. The Benefactions, which Pinianus bestowed on the Church of Tagasta, when he went thither in the Year 409, with the two Melania's, and Albina his Mother-in-law, exposed Alypius to Calumny, as if, by his fine Discourse and Dexterity, he had extorted too much from these good and charitable Persons. The Inhabitants of Hippo murmured furiously against him, because they looked upon him as the cause of their loosing the Prey, which they thought they had in their Hands. They had obliged Pinianus, even against his Will, to promise them that he would embrace the Priesthood in their City; His great Estate induced them to this Violence; but, the next Day, he left Hippo, and returned to Tagasta, and did not think himself obliged by such a forced Promise as his was. Alypius was one of the seven Catholic Prelates, who disputed, in 411, with seven Donatist Bishops, in the famous Conference of Carthage. In 419, he was deputed to Honorius, by the Church of Africa. Pope Boniface received him with many Marks of Friendship, and employed him to transmit to St Austin some artful Letters, which the Pelagians dispersed in the Churches. St Austin, the best Writer of his Time, was desirous to refute them. He undertook it, and exerted all his Skill in it (b); but Alypius confuted this Heresy more strongly, by the severe Decrees, which he obtained at the Court of Honorius, against the Pelagians [A]. We should be better acquainted with his Actions

(a) It is a
Town in A-
frica.

(b) Taken
from Baro-
nius's An-
nals, under
the Year,
which I
have men-
tioned.

[A] The severe Decrees, — against the Pelagians. Baronius does not affirm, that the African Churches sent Alypius to the Emperor, to desire leave to make use of the secular Arm against the Followers of Pelagius; he only conjectures it, and grounds his Conjecture on the Orders, which

were dispatched, in the same Year, by the Emperor Honorius, against the Pelagians of Africa. But Mr Maimbourg does not speak of this as a doubtful Matter; for, having made an odious Comparison between the Conduct of the Protestant Ministers and that of the Pelagians, he adds (1), "That which has

(1) Maim-
bourg Hi-
stoire du
Pontificat
de St Leon,
lib. 1. pag.
33. Dub.
Edit.

and his Merit, if we had the Work, which St *Austin* promised, in a Letter, which he wrote to St *Paulinus* [B]. To conclude, *Alypius* was very near being married. See the Remark [B] of the Article St *AUGUSTIN*.

"filled all *France* with Joy, is, that so just a Decree was soon followed by That famous Edict of *October*, which gave the fatal Blow to this Heresy, by forbidding the public Exercise of the pretended Reformation, destroying all their Temples, and banishing those Ministers, who refused to renounce their Errors. And this is exactly what the Emperor *Honorius* did against the *Pelagians*, at the Request of the Clergy of *Africa*, presented by *Alypius*. For, by the Edict which that Prince granted him for the Good of the whole Church, that Heresy was exterminated out of the Empire; they, who might yet be suspected of it, were forbidden to meet, and those false Bishops, who would not subscribe to it's Condemnation, were expelled from their Seas."

[B] *The Work, which St Austin promised in a Letter* — to St *Paulinus*.] Because what he says in that Letter (2) may give a general Notion of *Alypius*'s Merit, it will not be improper to produce it here, *Est etiam aliud quo ipsum fratrem amplius diligas, nam est cognatus venerabilis & verè beati Episcopi Alypii, quem toto pectore amplecteris & merito: nam quisquis de illo viro benigne cogitat, de magna Dei misericordia & de mirabilibus Dei muneribus cogitat. Itaque, cum legis petitionem tuam, quæ desiderare te indicat, ut historiam suam tibi scriberet, & volebat facere propter benevolentiam tuam, & molebat propter verecundiam suam, quem cum viderim inter amorem pudoremque fluctuantem, onus ab illo in humeros meos transuli: nam hoc mihi etiam per epistolam iussit.*

(a) It is the 32d.

(a) Demetrius, his Daughter, is very much praised by the Fathers.

(f) Baronius ad Ann. 395. n. 12.

(2) Ibid. n. 19.

(3) Baron. ad ann. 395. n. 20.

"Cito ergo, si Dominus adjuverit, totum *Alypium* inferam præcordiis tuis: nam hoc sum ego maxime veritus, ne ille vereretur aperire omnia, quæ in eum Dominus contulit, ne alicubi minus intelligenti (non enim abs te solo illa legeretur) non divina munera concessa hominibus, sed seipsum prædicare videretur, & tu, qui nostri quomodo hæc legas, propter aliorum cavendam infirmitatem, fraternæ notitiæ debito fraudareris. — *This Brother has still a farther claim to your Affection; for he is related to the venerable, and truly blessed Bishop Alypius, whom you embrace with your whole Heart, an deservedly: for whoever thinks favourably of him, reflects upon the great Mercy, and the wonderful Gifts, of God. Therefore, when he had read your Petition, in which you expressed your Desire, that he would write to you his own History, he was inclined to do it out of good Will to you, but deterred from it by his own Modesty; whom when I saw fluctuating between Love and Modesty, I transferred the Burthen from his Shoulders to my own; as he had desired me by Letter to do. Speedily therefore, with God's Assistance, I shall infuse all Alypius into your Breast; for my greatest Fear was, lest he should conceal Part of the Favours bestowed on him by God, out of a dread of appearing to the Ignorant (for you would not have been his only Reader) rather to preach up himself, than the Divine Gifts bestowed on Men: and that, out of Regard to the Weakness of others, you, who would have rightly understood him, would be defrauded of the Debt of Brotherly Information.*"

(b) Baronius ad Ann. 395. n. 12.

ALYPIUS (FALTONIUS PROBUS) Brother of *Q. Clodius Hermogenianus Alypius* (a), was Prefect of *Rome* in the Reign of the Emperor *Theodosius*. *Baronius* proves it by some Inscriptions (b). He adds, that there are several Letters from *Symmachus* to this *Alypius* [A]; he cites the *Roman Martyrology*, which says, that St *Almachius* was killed by the *Gladiators* [B] in the Prefecture of *Alypius*; Lastly, he conjectures, I. That *Alypius*, Governor of *Egypt*, with whom *John* the Hermit had a Conference [C], is the same with Him, who is the Subject of this Article. II. That this Conversation with the Hermit converted *Alypius*. A learned *Englishman* conjectures, that the Martyr St *Almachius* is an imaginary Saint, and that the Title of the *Almanack* produced this wonderful Canonization [D].

[A] *There are several Letters from Symmachus to this Alypius.* His Words are these: "Ad eundem quoque Alypium complures extant Epistolæ Symmachii, deque eo, meminit in Epistola ad Flavianum (1)." He cites the Eighty second Letter of the second Book of *Symmachus*. In my Edition, I find, at the Eighty second, these Words: "Jam pridem Domino & fratri meo Alipio comitatum sacrum visere atque adire cupienti. — My Master and Brother Alypius, desirous of going to see and attend the sacred Procession."

[B] *St Almachius was killed by the Gladiators.* He endeavoured to suppress the Worship of false Gods, on the Day of the Octave of *Christmas*, (which is the first Day of the Year) and it cost him his Life. These are the Words of the *Martyrology*, on the first of *January*, "Romæ S. Almachii martyris, qui, jubente Alypio Urbis præfecto, cum diceret, hodie Octavæ Domini diei sunt, cessat à superstitionibus idolorum, & à sacrificiis pollutis, à gladiatoribus occisus est (2). — St Almachius, Martyr at Rome; who, at the Command of Alypius, Prefect of the City, having said, To Day is the Octave of Christmas; lay aside your idolatrous Superstitions, and polluted Sacrifices; was thereupon slain by the Gladiators." *Theodoret*, in the Twenty sixth Chapter of the fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical History, speaks of a Monk, whose Name was *Telemachus*, who came from the utmost Parts of the East to *Rome*, to endeavour at the abolishing the Shews of the *Gladiators*. He had the Courage to catechise these People; but the Spectators were so offended at it, that they stoned him to Death. *Honorius*, hearing of it, caused him to be ranked among the Martyrs, and commanded these sort of Games to be abolished. *Baronius* (3) would reduce what you have just now read, and what

I have cited out of the *Martyrology*, to one and the same Fact, and would willingly make us believe, that *Theodoret* called Him *Telemachus*, whom he ought to have called *Almachius*; that he placed in the Reign of *Honorius* what was done in that of *Theodosius*, and that he imputed the Action of the *Gladiators* to the Spectators. At this rate *Theodoret* must be guilty of three Mistakes.

[C] *Alypius — with whom John the Hermit had a Conference.* *Baronius* cites hereupon a long Passage (4), by which we are given to understand, that Good *Palladius* took it very ill, that the Hermit should leave him, to go and converse with *Alypius*, Governor of the Province. His Repentment hereupon inspired him with some Contempt for the Hermit, and with a Resolution to retire. He would have done so, if the Hermit had not sent him Word to defer his Intentions a little while. *Palladius* perceived from hence, that the Man had a great Fund of Spirituality in him, and a very particular Talent of guessing at a Man's Thoughts. He said 'till the Governor was gone, and then the Hermit made his Excuses.

[D] *The Title of the Almanack produced this wonderful Canonization.* They, who cannot procure the *English Book*, printed at *London* in 1688, entitled, *The Embassy of the Church of Rome*, may consult the eleventh Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*, at the One hundred thirty ninth Page. They will see there, that, according to the Conjecture of the *English Author*, "Some ignorant Monk, of the VIth or VIIIth Century, seeing at the beginning of the Calendar, S. *Almanachum*, written, by way of abbreviation, according to the Custom of those Times, S. *Almachum*, took the Word, seldom used in those Times, for the Name of a Saint, " gave

(4) Palladius in Lucif. cap. 22. apud Lipsium. tom. 3.

"gave it a Termination in us, and placed it on the first Day of the Year. Ignorance and Chance had no sooner brought this new Saint into World, but he found Martyrologists, who affirmed that he was killed in the Amphitheatre of Rome in the Prefecture of

Alpius, by the Gladiators, whom he endeavoured to hinder from fighting. No ancient Author mentions this holy Courage (5). *Alpinus* * is the first, who speaks of it, but with some Doubt."

(c) *Test Theodoret* affirms it to be the Monk Telemachus. See Remark [B].

ALKINDUS. Look for ALCHINDUS.

* De Divin. Offic. cap. 4.

ALLATIUS (Læo) Librarian of the Vatican, born in the Island of Chios, was one of the most famous Writers of the XVIIth Century. He was laborious, and indefatigable, greedy after Manuscripts, endowed with a great Memory, very fit to collect Materials, and consequently deserving of the Place which he enjoyed; though he had no very great Penetration, nor a manner of arguing, which favoured of the good Logician. I omit the Employments which he had, before he was made the Pope's Librarian, nor have I examined, whether *Moreri*, who speaks of him at large, is very exact. If I have any thing to say upon this Head, it shall be in the Remarks [A]. So that, omitting here what may be found in his Dictionary, I shall only touch upon some Particulars, which he has omitted. *Allatius* was very serviceable to the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*, in the Dispute they had with Mr *Claude*, about the Belief of the *Greeks* in regard to the Eucharist. Mr *Claude* often calls him the great Author of Mr *Arnaud*, and gives him but an indifferent Character [B]. Mr *Simon* represents him as a Man of no Sincerity [C]. Never was a *Latin* by Birth more zealous against the schismatical *Greeks*, than *Allatius*, nor more devoted to the See of *Rome*. He never was married, nor in Ecclesiastical Orders; the Reason he gives for it deserves to be known [D]. It would be difficult to find in the History of Authors, a more remarkable Particular, than That, which relates to a Pen, which he used [E]. He published several Manuscripts, several Translations of *Greek* Authors and several Books of his own composing. The List of them in *Moreri*'s Dictionary does not distinguish

[A] If I have any thing to say upon this Head, it shall be in the Remarks. I find in *Lorenzo Craffo* (1), that *Leone Allacci* (so he calls him) was but

(1) *Lorenzo Craffo* Istoria de' Poeti Greci, pag. 306. See also his *Elogii d'Uomini Letterati*, Tom. 1. pag. 397. & seq.

(2) *Theat. of the Spinelli*.

(3) *Moreri* places this in the Year 1651. but *Heidelberg* was not taken till 1622.

nine Years of Age, when he was carried from the Island of Chios into Calabria, where he met with the Protection of a powerful Family (2). After some time, he was sent to Rome, where he studied classical Learning, Philosophy, and Divinity, in the *Gregorian* College. He was elected at *Naples* great Vicar to *Bernard Juslinieni*, Bishop of *Anglona*. He returned to his Native Country; but, finding nothing there agreeable to his Inclinations, he returned to Rome, where he studied Physics under *Julius Caesar Lagalla*, and was admitted Doctor in That Science. Afterwards he applied himself to Polite Literature, and taught *Greek* in the College of his Nation. The death of *Gregory XV.* deprived him of the Reward of the Commission, which he had received, to transport the Library of the Elector *Palatine* to Rome (3). Some time after, he went into the Service of Cardinal *Bichi*, afterwards of Cardinal *Francis Barberini*, and at last had the Care of the Library of the Vatican from Pope *Alexander VII.* *Lorenzo Craffo* says nothing more in the Book, which I have quoted. I add, that *Allatius* had been a long time Librarian to Cardinal *Barberini*.

[B] Mr *Claude* — gives him but an indifferent Character. "Allatius was a *Greek*, who had left his Religion to embrace the *Romish*: a *Greek*, whom the Pope had made his Library-keeper, a Man the most attached to the Interest of the Court of Rome, a Man the most malicious, and most outrageous against Persons: a Man the most zealous against the *Greeks*, who are called *Schismatics*, particularly against *Cyril*, and, after all, a true Dealer in Smoak (4). His Zeal for the Court of Rome appears in the very beginning of his Book, *De perpetua Confectione*: for thus he speaks in favour of the Pope: "The Roman Pontiff holds of no one; he judges every one, and is judged of none: Obedience is to be paid to him, though he governs unjustly; he gives Laws without receiving any; he alters them as he pleases, he creates Magistrates, he determines Matters of Faith, he orders the great Affairs of the Church, as he pleases. He cannot err, if he would; for no Infidelity or Error can come near him: and if an Angel should say otherwise, being invested as he is with the Authority of Jesus Christ, he cannot change. The ill Nature, with which he treats those, against whom he disputes, as *Cyrtæus*, *Creygibon*, the Archbishop of *Corfu*, and others, whom he attacks out of Wan-

toness, appears from the mere reading of his Works; each Period honours them with some of these fine Appellations: *Fools*, *Lyars*, *Blockheads*, *Rotten Mulbrooms*, *Infernal Mouthis*, *Wicked*, *Impudent*, and such like Terms †, which are not the Marks of a Temper extremely moderate. To prove to us the Conformity of the *Greek* Church with the *Romish* in Essentials, he lays it down as a Principle, that we must acknowledge, as the true *Greek* Church, no other Party, but that which obeys the See of *Rome*; as for the other *Greeks*, whom he calls *Heretics* and *Schismatics*, he fairly maintains, that it would be right to reduce them to obedience by Fire and Sword. That *Heretics* ought to be proscribed, exterminated, and punished, and, if they are obstinate, put to death and burnt ‡. "They are his own Words." Had *Moreri* reason then to call him good Man? Is this contemptuous Elogy due to those, who talk of nothing but penal Laws, Extirpation, and Fire and Sword, when the Question is, How *Heretics* are to be dealt with?

[C] Mr *Simon* represents him as a Man of no Sincerity. The Design of the whole first Chapter of the *Critical History of the Levant*, is to shew, that *Leo Allatius* had no Reason to be in a Passion with *Caucas*, Archbishop of *Corfu*; that *Caucas* has not imputed any Opinions and Practices to the *Greeks*, which they disown; and that *Allatius*, to please Pope *Urban VIII.* who had at that time formed the Design of re-uniting the *Greeks* to the Church of *Rome* by softning Methods, had abated of the Rigour of several of the *Greek* Opinions. This is plainly to insinuate, that he wanted Sincerity; for if *Caucas* was in the right, he could not be contradicted, out of Complaisance to the Pope, without sacrificing Candour to Maxims of State.

[D] The Reason he gives for it deserves to be known. Pope *Alexander VII.* asked him one Day, why he did not take Orders. It is, answered he, because I would be always ready to marry. Why then, replied the Pope, don't you marry? It is, replied *Allatius*, because I would always be at liberty to take Orders (5). Thus he spent his whole Life in deliberating between a Parish and a Wife: Perhaps, at his Death, he repented, that he had not chosen one or other of them; but he might have repeated thirty or forty Years successively, if he had actually made his Choice.

[E] A remarkable Particular relating to a Pen, which he used. This Particularity comes from the same Hand with the foregoing, to wit, *Jahn Pasfricius*, *Allatius*'s good Friend, Heir of his Books,

† Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 15. 16, 17, 18. & adverb. Creygh. passim.

‡ Allat. de Perpet. Conf. lib. 2. c. 13. Ibid. lib. 3. cap. 11.

(c) *Mabilion* *Museum Ital.* Tom. 1. pag. 61.

* Allat. de Perpet. Conf. lib. 1. c. 2.

distinguish these Three sorts of Works, nor does it comprehend all that *Allatius* published. There is more of Reading and Learning in his Productions, than of Wit and Judgment. He knew how to discover the Faults of those, against whom he wrote, but he did it with too much Sharpness, and after an insulting manner. This is chiefly to be seen in the Dissertations, which he published against Mr *Creygibon* (a), concerning the Council of *Florence*. His Genius and his Memory appear in the Digressions he made from one Subject to another in the same Volume. Mr *Sallo* was far from being his Admirer upon this Account [F]. *Allatius* died at *Rome*, in the Month of *January*, 1669 (b), being Eighty three Years old. He often wrote *Greek Verses*. He composed a Poem in *Greek* on the Birth of *Lewis XIV*, wherein *Greece* is introduced Speaking. This Poem was printed before his Book, *de Perpetua Confectione*, which he dedicated to that King. I forgot to observe, that the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* did not fail to reply to Mr *Claude*, in Favour of *Allatius* [G].

(a) See the Journal des Sçavans of Nov. 15. 1666.

(b) Henn. Witte, Diarium Biograph. Moneri places his Death in 1670.

(6) Ibid.

(7) See the Article of LANCELOT an O-liverian Monk.

(8) Id. Mabilion. pag. 77.

(9) Journal des Sçavans, of Jan. 19. 1665.

(10) Diogen. Laert. in E-pimenide, lib. 1. n. 112.

(11) Teiffier, Catalog. pag. 355.

and Principal of the College of *propaganda fide*. He told *Mabilion* (6), that *Allatius*, having made use of the same Pen (7) for forty Years in writing *Greek*, and looking it at last, was ready to cry for Grief. He wrote very fast; for he transcribed in one Night the *Diarium Romanorum Pontificum*, which *Hilarion Rancatus*, a Cistercian Monk had lent him (8). *Allatius* was not permitted to publish it.

[F] Mr *Sallo* was far from being his Admirer on this Account.] Having observed, that the chief Piece of one of *Allatius*'s Works was a Complaint of the Virgin, he goes on thus: "This Complaint was composed by *Metaphrastes*, from which *Leo Allatius* - - - takes occasion to give us an Elogium of *Metaphrastes*, written by *Pfellus*. And, because *Metaphrastes*'s Name was *Simoen*, he takes occasion likewise from hence to make a very long Dissertation on the Lives and Works of great Men, of the Name of *Simoen*. From the *Simoen* he proceeds to the *Simons*, from those to the *Simondes*, and lastly to the *Simonastides*. This way of writing is the Taste of *Leo Allatius*. For he had before composed Dissertations on the Lives and Works of some Authors, who had equivocal Names, as That of *George, Methodius, Nicetas, Philo*, and *Pfellus*. This is a new invented Project; at least we have nothing like it in the Works of the Ancients (9)." *Diogenes Laertius* seldom forgets to mention, at the end of each Philosopher's Life, those who bore the same Name; and he cites *Demetrius Magnes*, who had wrote a Book, *ὅτι ὁμοῦ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τὰ ἐξ ὁμογενῶν* (10). Of Poets, and Authors, of the same Name. See the Remark [H] of the Article *APOLLONIUS TYANEUS*. Nor is *Allatius* the Restorer of this Project: *Maurius* had published several Treatises of this Nature before him. See Mr *Teiffier*, in his *Catalogus Authorum Bibliothecarum*, where he gives us a List of the Authors, who exercised their Pens on this Subject (11). He calls them *Scriptores de Homonymis*. According to Mr *Sallo*, *Homonymi* ought to be translated those who have Equivocal Names; but, by his Leave, This would be a wrong Translation. It was never said, that Princes of the same Name, as the *Charles*'s, the *Lewis*'s, the *Henry*'s, had equivocal Names. Names of this Sort are such as may be taken in different Senses; such is their Species and their Use, both in Logic, and in common Speech. But,

to return to *Leo Allatius*, I must observe, that he was very fit to draw up Lists or Catalogues. He made this appear when he published his *Apes Urbana*; it is a Book, which grows scarce, and is already very dear in *Holland* (12). It contains a List of all the learned Men, who flourished in *Rome*, from the Year 1630 to 1632, with a Catalogue of their Works. The Reason of the Title is taken from the Bees, which Pope *Urban VIII*. bore in his Coat of Arms. There is another List of *Allatius*, which is less known than this, the Title whereof is *Dramaturgia*. It relates to Dramatical Works, and their Authors. The Book, which he published at *Rome*, in the Year 1636, *De Erroribus magnorum virorum in dicendo*, contains several Remarks stolen from *Claudius Du Verdier*. Mr *Morbof* charges him with it (13).

[G] The Gentlemen of *Port Royal* did not fail to reply to Mr *Claude* in Favour of *Allatius*.] First, they mention part of what Mr *Claude* says of him; and then they go on thus. "But, besides, that these empty Reproaches carry an ill Face; that *Allatius*'s Writings give quite another Idea of him, and that his Brethren * speak of him in a very different manner, and cite him with Commendation; they are likewise contrary to good Sense: for a Man may be zealous or bitter against an Author, whom he refutes, without being a Cheat, and a Forger of false Passages, and false Stories; and there is no Consequence from the one to the other. It is not with the Vices, as it is with the Virtues of Men; there is no Affinity between them; nay, they are often contrary the one to the other: and Persons may be Passionate, Violent, Flatterers, Interested, without giving any occasion to believe, that the Passages, which they cite, are supposititious. There is yet less Reason to believe it of *Allatius*, than of another, because some Books, which he cited, when they were but in Manuscript, having been afterwards printed, have justified his Faithfulness; and because it appears, farther, that he always pretended to the Reputation of a learned Critic; and it is well known, that such Persons are very far from falsifying Authors." It is certain, that Mr *Drelin-court* cites him with Commendation, and makes use of his Doctrine concerning the Witch of *Ender*, who conjured up the Ghost of *Sarnuel*. He cites his Treatise *De Engastrimybo*, published in the Year 1630.

(12) It is not to be met with in Becklet's Shop; but sometimes at Amst.

(13) Mémoires de Paris. pag. 86. Polyhistor. pag. 179.

* Drelin-court Dialogue de la défiance aux enfers. pag. 200, &c. Note, that in my Edition, which is the second, you will find the page 47, and the following page, for which see the notes to the Allatius.

ALMAIN (JAMES) Professor of Divinity at *Paris*, in the College of *Navarre*, flourished in the beginning of the XVIth Century. He was born at *Sens*, and acquired the Reputation of one of the most subtle Logicians, and best Schoolmen of the Times. The great Inclination he had for the Doctrine of *Scotus*, and that of *Occam*, and *Gabriel Biel*, shews the Character of his Genius. He taught Logic and Physics, before he was admitted into the House of *Navarre*, in the Year 1508, and published some Treatises on these two branches of Philosophy, in 1505, and 1508. He took his Doctor of Divinity's Degree in the Year 1511, and the Year following he explained the three Books of *Sentences* in the College of *Navarre*. He was employed at the same time to write for King *Lewis XII* against Pope *Julius II*, and to vindicate the Authority of the Councils against a Piece of Cardinal *Cajetan*. The Council of *Pisa* had sent that Cardinal's Book to the Faculty of Divinity of *Paris* to be confuted by them; they made choice of *Almain* for this Drudgery, and had no reason to repent of their choice. This Doctor died very young in the Year 1515. An Edition of all his Works was published [A] at

[A] An Edition of all his Works was published.] face to it, wherein *Almain* is amply praised. The *Officer Lugdunensis* took this pains, and added a Preface to it, wherein *Almain* is amply praised. The best of his Works are four moral Treatises. *Expositio*

at Paris two Years after (a). They who pretend, that he was a Monk, are mistaken [B].

(a) Launois Hist. Gymn. Navarr. p. 614.

fitio circa decisiones questionum Magistri Gulielmi Occam de potestate summi Pontificis. De auctoritate Ecclesiæ & Conciliorum. Disputata super sententias Magistri Roberti Holcot (1).

(1) Launois Hist. Gymn. Navarr. pag. 611.

[B] *They who pretend that he was a Monk, are mistaken.* Father Labbé (2) accuses Gesner, and his Abbreviator Simler, of having falsely advanced this Fact; Moreri did not fail, in this point, to copy after Father Labbé. Mr de Launoy is more particular in his Accusation against Gesner; he blames him for saying, in his *Bibliotèque*, that *Almaide* was of the Order of the *Franciscans*: He adds, that *Possévin*, in his *Apparatus*, makes him only a Monk (3). Father Labbé did not make use of this Distinction; he says that

(2) De Script. Eccles. Tom. 1. pag. 438.

(3) Ibid. pag. 614.

Almaide was a Monk, according to Gesner, but that, according to others, he was of the Order of St Francis. I do not believe, that Gesner has said what is imputed to him; for I have not been able to find any Passage in his *Bibliotèque*, which mentions *Almaide*. I find indeed a Benedictin, whose Name was *Almannus*; but he makes him live in the Year 890. As for Simler, it is true he says, that *James Almaide*, a Monk, wrote a Book against Cardinal Cajetan. Moreri was not acquainted with this Writer's Age; he flourish'd still, says he, in the beginning of the XVIIth Century. Say rather, that he did not begin to flourish 'till that time.

ALPAIDE, a Concubine of *Pepin*, and Mother of *Charles Martel*. Some Authors say, without good Grounds, that *Pepin* married her, after he had divorced *Plectrude* [A]. It is a general Opinion, that *Lambert*, Bishop of *Liege*, was never so much a Courtier, as to approve of *Pepin's* Amours with this Lady; and that *Alpaide*, enraged at the Liberty he took in censuring them, made *Pepin* consent to the Design she had formed against that Prelate's Life [B]. They add, that *Dodon*, *Alpaide's* Brother, executed this villanous Design, and that, having committed the Murder, he fell into a Distemper, which bred a prodigious Number of Worms in his Body, and obliged him to throw himself into the *Maïse* (a). *Lambert* has been canonized: He was the only Prelate, they say, who durst tell *Pepin* the Truth [C], for which he met with the Fate of St *John* the Baptist. His Morality was so refined, that he refused the Benediction, which was desired of him at Table, for *Alpaide's* Glass [D]. This Lady retired at last into a Monastery (b), where she died. A Cloister is commonly to this kind of Persons, what *Legborn* was formerly to Bankrupts.

(a) Mezerai, Abregé Chron. Tom. 1. pag. 171. ad ann. 707. Cordemoi, Hist. de Fr. Tom. 1. pag. 381.

(b) Moreri says, that this Monastery had been founded by *Alpaide* at Orp-le-grand in Brabant.

[A] *Some Authors say, without good Grounds, that Pepin married her, after he had divorced Plectrude.* Mr de Cordemoi (1) observes, that they built only on the Authority of the second Continuator of *Fredegarus*, who says that *Pepin* married *Alpaide*. "But" besides that Author, who wrote (as every one knows) by the Order of *Charles Martel's* Brother and Nephew, took care not to represent the Amours of *Pepin* and *Alpaide*, otherwise than as a Marriage; he does not say, that *Plectrude* was divorced: Nay, there are several Acts remaining, which shew that, *Plectrude* was never separated from *Pepin*; so that, according to Ecclesiastical or Civil Laws, *Alpaide* could not be look'd upon as his lawful Wife, and "if he married her, he had two Wives at once."

(1) Cordemoi's Hist. of France, Vol. I. pag. 381.

[B] *Enrag'd at the Liberty he took in censuring them - he form'd a Design against that Prelate's Life.* We need not wonder, that the second Continuator of *Fredegarus* should say nothing of *Lambert's* Conduct, nor of the fatal Consequences it was attended with. He could not touch upon it, without incurring the Displeasure of *Charles Martel's* Relations, who made use of his Pen; and therefore his Silence is of no Weight: But the Author of the *Gesta* likewise says nothing of it (2). An Author, who liv'd in those Times, says only, "That St *Lambert* was killed by a Lord, whose Name was *Dodon*, in revenge for the Death of two of his Relations, whom the Servants of that holy Bishop had slain, without his Knowledge (3)." If we knew of what Party this Author was, whether he was for *Charles Martel*, or for *Plectrude*, whether he had any thing to hope for, or to fear, we might know how to judge of his Silence. Mr de Cordemoi adds, that it does not appear "by any Memoirs of that Time, either that *Dodon* was the Brother of *Alpaide*, or that he induced him to kill St *Lambert*; that there are indeed some Expressions in the Martyrologies compos'd about that time, which shew, that this Violence had been done by Order from the Court, and that, as *Pepin* was Master of it, those, who wrote afterwards, thought they ought to explain, "to the Disadvantage of that Prince, and of *Alpaide*, "the conceal'd meaning of the Martyrologies (4)." The safest way, I think, is to place this in the Number of doubtful Facts. They, who tell us, that *Lambert*, Bishop of *Liege*, was the only Person, who durst reprimand *Pepin*, and speak openly of his Bi-

(2) Ibid.

(3) Godefr. in Vita S. Lamberti, esp. 7. apud Cordemoi, ibid.

(4) Cordemoi, ibid. pag. 382.

gamy as of a public Adultery, without suffering himself to be influenced either by the Promises, or the Threats, of *Dodon*, *Alpaide's* Brother (5), did not write 'till a long time after (6); which makes their Testimony less to be depended upon: Besides, the Son of *Alpaide* was so formidable a Person, that nothing can be inferred from the Silence of cotemporary Writers.

(5) Anselm. Ludovici. Canonicus. Sigibert. Monachus Gemblacensis. Nicolaus Ladic. Canonic. Vener. and others cited by Cordemoi, pag. 381.

(6) Cordemoi, p. 381.

[C] *The only Prelate, who durst tell Pepin the Truth.* An Author of an Historical Dictionary will have a thousand Opportunities of observing, that there are no greater Flatterers of Princes than Churchmen. Their Sermons, their Prayers, their Speeches, their Epistles Dedicatory, are so full of extravagant Elogies, that the Condition they put an honest Hearer or Reader into, cannot be better represented, than by the Proverb, *Date mihi pelvium*. "Give me the Basin." If it be said that *Pepin* was no King; I answer, that he had the Key of Tongues and Pens, Rewards and Punishments in his Hands; he only wanted the Title of Sovereign; he had the Reality, and performed the Functions of it. Flatterers do not regard a meer Title: They adore him more devoutly, who has the Power without the Title, than him who has the Title without the Power.

(7) A Proverbiat. S. saying of *Tibse*, who, when anything becomes to very troublesome, as not to be any longer born, (for instance, a flunkey or fullime Haraguer) call for a Flunkey, or Pot, as if they were sick, and wanted to die. See Sui-si, and Erasmus. Adag.

[D] *He refused the Benediction, which was desired of him at Table, for Alpaide's Glass.* Let us see how a modern Historian relates the Matter. "Ad epulas invitatur (B. Landebertus) a principe. Pippinus, ceterique illustres viri qui aderant, scyphum quicquid sum ab Antistite benedicti, aut, ut alii dicunt, de manu ejus poculum accipere, pia ambicione cupiebant. Cum Alpais (nam & ipsa pleno convivio intererat) scyphum suum à Landeberto signari optaret, indignabundus Episcopus palatio excessit, convivarum hilaritate confusa (7). — Lambert was invited by the Prince to an Entertainment. Pepin, and the rest of his illustrious Guests, were piously ambitious, that their Glasses might be bless'd by the Prelate, or, as others say, to receive the Glass from his Hand. But when Alpais (who was present at this grand Feast) desired, that her Glass likewise might receive Lambert's Benediction, the Bishop left the Palace with Indignation, to the Interruption of the Company's Mirth." Compare with this the Stories related in the new Letters against *Maimbourg's* History of Calvinism (8).

(7) Hærian. Valeus. Rerum Francic. lib. 33.

(8) Page 614. & c.

ALSTEDIUS (JOHN HENRY) a German Divine of the Reformed Religion, was one of the most voluminous Writers of the XVIIth Century. He was an indefatigable

(s) The word
fidelitas is
precisely ex-
pressed in Al-
stedius.

(b) Witte,
Diar. Biogr.
Tom. 1.

(c) It is in
Folio, divi-
ded into 4
Tom. 1.

(d) Vossius
de Scient.
Mathem.
pag. 326.

tigable Author, and one who answered his Anagram perfectly well (a). He was a long time Professor of Philosophy and Divinity at *Herborn*, in the County of *Nassau*, from whence he went into *Transylvania*, to be Professor at *Alba-Julia* (b), where he died in the Year 1638, being fifty Years of Age. He was one of the Fathers at the Synod of *Dort*. His chief Employment was to compose *Methods*, and to reduce the several Branches of Arts and Sciences into certain *Systems*. His *Encyclopædia* (c) found Favour with the *Roman Catholics* [A]; for it was reprinted at *Lyons*, and sold very well in *France*. Some are of Opinion, that one of his best Works is his *Theaurus Chronologicus*, of which there are several Editions; others speak with Contempt of it. *Vossius* says nothing of it; he only mentions the *Encyclopædia* in general, and in particular the Treatise of Arithmetic (d). He acknowledges, that the Author had read much, and that his Learning was very extensive. They, who judge of him with the least Flattery, own that there are some good things in his *Methods* and *Systems* [B]. He did not persuade many People of what he endeavoured to prove in his *Triumphus Biblicus*, that the Materials and Principles of all Arts and Sciences may be fetched from the Scripture. It was impossible for him to publish so many Books, without making use of the Labours of others; but he borrowed too much from other Authors, whom he transcribed without any Scruple [C]. *John Himmelius*, a Divine of the Confession of *Augsburg*, and Divinity-Professor at *Jena*, is one of those who wrote against him [D]. *Moreri* was not acquainted with the Year of *Alstedius's* Death [E], and he had better have said nothing about it.

I must not omit, that he was a *Millenarian*. He published, in 1627, a Treatise *De Mille Annis*. He taught, that the Faithful shall reign, with *JESUS CHRIST*, upon Earth, a Thousand Years; after which will be the General Resurrection, and the last Judgment. He pretended, that This Reign would commence in the Year 1694. We are fully assured he was mistaken. His Son-in-law *Bisterfeldius* was of the same Opinion (e).

(f) Heidegg.
Dissert. de
Chilismo,
pag. 652.

[A] His *Encyclopædia* found favour with the *Roman Catholics*.] *Lorenzo Crafft* places *Alstedius* among the great Men, whose *Elogies* he has published. It is very probable, that *Moreri* borrowed from thence the *Incentive*, which he bestows upon *Alstedius*. I find the Reader is referred to a Work of *Sorrel* (1), to be informed concerning this learned German. He must have been better known, and more esteemed than many others among the *Roman Catholics*. Father *Lami*, of the Oratory, is of Opinion, that *Alstedius* is almost the only one among all the Writers of *Encyclopædias*, and *Systems* of Sciences, who deserves to be read, and to keep his Rank in a choice Library (2). See the following Remark.

(1) Of the
Perfection of
a Christian,
pag. 491. a-
pod König,
Bibl. p. 29.

(2) Dialogues
on the Sci-
ences, &c. ed.
by Baillet, in
his Jugemens
des Savans,
Tom. 2. n.
269. p. 328.

[B] There are some good things in his *Methods* and *Systems*.] The following Quotation from Mr *Baillet* is borrowed by him from the anonymous German, who wrote the *Bibliographia curiosa Historico-philologica*. "Alstedius has indeed many good things; but he is not exact enough in many Places: Nevertheless, upon his first Appearance, he was received by the Public with great Applause, and he is of some use to those, who, being destitute of other helps, and not having the Authors, would acquire some Knowledge of the Terms of each Profession and Science. One cannot sufficiently praise his Patience and Labour, and his Judgment and Choice of good Authors, out of whom he made his Abridgments, for they are not mere Scraps and unconnected Rhapsodies; but he lays down the Principles of Sciences and Arts with great Order, and endeavours to be uniform every where, though some Pieces are better than others, and some of them are of no value, as his History, Chronology, &c. ----- It must be confessed, that he is often confused, by endeavouring to be too clear; that he is too full of Divisions and Subdivisions, and that he affects "a Method too much constrained (3)." *Lorenzo Crafft* says, that though there is much more of Labour, than Genius, in *Alstedius's* Works, yet they are esteemed, and that People admire his Industry, which gives him admittance into the Temple of Fame. "Con gloria del suo nome s'è ammirata la fatica fatta nelle Storie, & nella Cronologia de' Tempi: le quali cose, quantunque in libri diversi di Scrittori illustri sacri e profani trovansi, è vi concorra in tale

(3) Baillet,
ubi supra.

"raccolimento più sudore che ingegno, tuttavia l'ordine dato da Giovanni Errico alle sudette fatiche storiche è stato da gli huomini amatori delle antichità, & dell' erudizioni assai commendato (4). — "The great Pains he has taken in History and Chronology, is much to the Reputation of his Name: "which Sciences, though they are to be met in several Works of illustrious Authors, sacred and profane, and though more of Labour than Genius is requisite in such Collections, nevertheless the Order bestowed by John Henry, on the above said Historical Labours, has been sufficiently admired by the Lovers of Antiquity and Learning."

(4) L. Crafft
Elog. d' Hu-
omini Lette-
rati, p. 214.

[C] Whom he transcribed without any Scruple.] Read this Passage of *Thomassin* (5). Hunc in Paratitulis Theologicis quicquid de silentio sacrorum affert, observo prope de verbo descriptissimè à Casaubono, quod nominari tamen etiam lectoris intererat, ut sciret unde plura sibi haurienda forent. verior autem ne quercum eandem alibi quoque excussit, cum in ipso ad lectorem principio reperiam periodum unam alteramque dedicationis Casaubonianæ. — "Whatever this Author advances, in his Theological Titles, concerning the Silence of the sacred Writers, he has copied, I find, Word for Word from Casaubon; whom it was the Reader's Interest he should have nam'd, that he might know where to have farther recourse. But I am afraid, he has shaken the same Oak elsewhere; for, in the very beginning of his Address to the Reader, I find a Period or two Casaubon's Dedication."

(5) Thomassin de
Plagio Literario,
n. 354. pag.
155.

• Tit. In-
cisi, pag.
166, 167,
168.

† Exerc. 16.
ad Baron. n.
43. p. 399.

[D] Himmelius — is one of those, who wrote against him.] His Work is entitled *Anti-Alstedius, sive examen Theologicæ Polemicæ Johannis Henrici Alstedii*. Though this Remark should serve only to give the Title of one of *Alstedius's* best Works, it would not be altogether useless.

[E] Moreri was not acquainted with the Year of *Alstedius's* Death.] *Alstedius*, says he, died about the Year 1645, or 46; others say in the Year 1640, being the Fifty second Year of his Age. Two of the three Authors, whom he cites (6), say nothing of it. *Lorenzo Crafft*, who is the third, says only, that *Alstedius* published the four *Tomes* of his *Encyclopædia*, at the Age of Fifty two Years (7).

(6) Vossius
& Zeiller.

(7) L. Crafft
Elog. d' Hu-
omini Lette-
rati, Tom.
2. pag. 212.

ALTAEMPS (MARK) Son of a Sister of *Pius IV*, was one of the Cardinals, who presided in the Council of *Trent*. *Wolfgang Altaemps*, his Father, was a Count of the Empire in the Diocese of *Constance*. How splendid soever the Dignity of the Pope's Legate was in That Council, this Cardinal obtained it only by the Artifices of some ill affected Persons. The *Borromeo's*, related to the Pope in the same Degree with

(a) See Am-
mon de la
H. d. 1562.
(b) 2. 1562.
(c) Letter of
Altaemps to
the King.
(d) 1562.
(e) The Mar-
quis' Note
of the Pro-
cess of the
Council of
Trent.
p. 445.

with him, desiring to remove him from Court, caused him to be sent to *Trent* (a), where he remained from the Month of *January* 1562, till about the Beginning of Spring 1563 [A]. The Pope recalled him, to raise Troops; for, hearing that the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Wurtemberg*, and the Landgrave of *Hesse*, were raising Forces, and that the *Germans* had a mind to plunder *Rome*, where they had found so great a Booty in the Year 1527; he was not willing to be surprized (b). This Cardinal was very much displeased with *Pibrac's* Speech. His Opinion was, that it ought to be strongly answered; and said that the *Influence* of this *Civilian* ought to be restrained, who was accustomed to treat only with Persons of the meanest Rank (c). He was promoted to the Purple in the Year 1561, and, a little before his Legation, the Canons of *Constance* had chosen him for their Bishop. He had neither the Learning, nor Experience, requisite for presiding in a Council; but his Uncle, *Pius IV.*, was not ignorant that the other Presidents would supply what was wanting in him (d), and would teach him the Intrigues of Oecumenical Councils. When That Pope sent him Nuncio to the Emperor *Ferdinand* in the Year 1560, he sent with him the famous *Cornelius Musso*, Bishop of *Buonito*, as his Instructor (e). *Altaemps* was then Bishop of *Cassano*. That Family rose in Dignity afterwards; for we find a Duke of *ALTAEMPS*, who died in the Year 1620 (f). He was a Man of Learning; and, if I am not mistaken, it was He, who collected the Library, which was so long famous at *Rome*, under that Name, and which was not quite sold, when Father *Mabillon* travelled into *Italy* (g). This Duke of *Altaemps's* Name was *John Angeli*, and he published the Life of Pope *Anicetus*. Another Duke of *ALTAEMPS*, whose Name was *Gaudentius*, and who died in the Year 1677, was no less curious in Books, nor less learned. He published the Life of *St Cbrystofom*, and the *Persecuted Sanctity triumphant* (h).

(b) E. P. 1562.
1562.
(c) Ibid. p. 494.

(d) Ibid. p. 494.

(e) P. 1562.
Hist. Conc.
Trent. 1562.
1562. cap. 13.
n. 10.

(f) Ibid. lib.
14. cap. 13.

(g) Witte.
Diar. Bi. gr.
Tom. 2.
pag. 26.

(h) In 1682.
Societ. Mu-
seum Itali-
cum. Tom.
1. pag. 78.
79.

(i) Witte.
10. pag. 115.

[A] Where he remained from the Month of January, 1562, till about the beginning of the Spring 1563.] *Pallavicini* reproved Father *Paul* for having said, that Cardinal *Simonetta*, and Cardinal *Altaemps*, were named the Pope's Legates both at one time, to be added to the Legates that were already named. He knew not, that *Simonetta* was honoured with the Legation of the Council, at the same time with *Ofus* and *Scripandus*, several Months before Cardinal *Al-*

tacmp was made their Colleague (i). He censures him for another thing; which is, his mentioning *Ofus* and *Scripandus*, only when he is speaking of what happened a considerable time after their Legation. Such Faults are not very material; yet it cannot be thought wrong in a Censor, to take notice of them; since it is the Duty of an Historian to avoid them.

(i) Pallavic.
Hist. Conc.
Trent. 1562.
cap. 13. n.
11.

ALTENSTAIG (JOHN) Doctor of Divinity, lived in the XVIth Century. He was of *Mindleheim*, in *Germany*, and composed a *Lexicon Theologicum*, which is tolerably good [A].

[A] He composed a *Lexicon Theologicum*, which is tolerably good.] He dedicated it to the Bishop of *Angsburg*, the first of *October*, 1517. *Konig* places the first Edition of it in 1519 (1). I never saw it; but I have met with the second, which is of *Antwerp*, for *Peter Bellerus*, in 1576, in Folio; with this Title; "Lexicon Theologicum continens Voca-

"bulorum Descriptions, Definitiones, & Interpre-
"rationes peritules, Theologicæ Studioſis concinna-
"tum. — A Theological Lexicon, containing very
"useful Descriptions, Definitions, and Interpretations
"of Words, compiled for the Use of Students in Di-
"vinity."

(1) *Konig*.
Bibl. p. 29.

ALTHAMERUS (ANDREW) a *Lutheran* Minister at *Nuremberg*, about the middle of the XVIth Century (a), published, not only some Works in Divinity [A], but likewise Notes on the Treatise of *Tacitus*, *De Situ, Moribus, & Populis Germaniæ* — *Of the Situation, Manners, and People of Germany*. They were printed at *Nuremberg* in the Year 1529, in 4to (b), and at *Amberg* in the Year 1609, in 8vo (c); and they were inserted by *Simon Scharckius* in the first Volume of the *German Authors*. He was so eager to reject the Doctrine of the Merit of Works, that he attacked the Apostle *St James* with the utmost Brutality (d). This gives us an Opportunity of examining a Passage of the Controversy between *Grotius* and *Rivetius* [B]. We shall see in this Disquisition, that our *Althamerus* assisted, in 1528, at the Conferences of *Bern*, which were the Forerunners of the Ecclesiastical Reformation in this Canton.

(a) *Micron*.
Hist. Eccles.
pag. 734.

(b) *Gesner*.
Biblioth. fol.
38. v. 16.

(c) *Hertz*.
Biblioth.
German.

(d) See R.
mark [B].

[A] Not only some Works in Divinity.] The Titles of them are: *Conciliones Locorum Scripturæ, quæ Specie tenus inter se pugnare videntur. Annotationes in D. Jacobi Epistolam. De Peccato Originis. De Sacramento Altaris*. He composed likewise a Dictionary of the proper Names, which are to be met with in the Bible, *Sylva Biblicorum Nominum*, &c. This Work was printed at *Basil*, in 1535. The *Conciliones Locorum Scripturæ*, was printed at *Nuremberg*, the same Year, and at *Wittenberg*, in the Year 1582. The Abridgment of *Gesner* takes notice of both these two Editions; but it is certain they were preceded by another, which appeared before the Year 1528 (1).

"tum; that is, I am pleased, that *Rivetius* does not
"follow those, who reject the Epistles of *St James*,
"among whom some go still farther, and in plain
"Terms give *St James* the Lye." The second
Piece is This: *Rivetius* demanded (3), *Who are They,*
who talk in this manner? How many are They? and
added, that, having searched among the Writings of
the Jesuits, and other Controversitists, who eagerly
collect Facts of this kind, whether the Protestants
were ever reproached with a Blasphemy of this Na-
ture, he had met with no such thing. The third
Piece shews us, that *Grotius* mentioned no Author
by Name, in his Reply to his Adversary (4), who
had called upon him to expressly and warmly. This
Silence made *Rivetius* conclude, that *Grotius* had no
Author to alledge. *Quod nunc Auctores non indicet*
harum contumeliarum, ostendit se nullis habere (5).
We find, by the fourth Piece, that *Grotius*, in re-
joyning, cited the Words of *Andrew Althamerus*:
"Is, qui Jacobum accusavit Mendacii, fuit *Andreas*
"Althamerus

(1) *Hofstadi-*
ani Hist. Sa-
crum. part. 2.
pag. 84.

(2) *Græti*.
Animadv. in
Notas Riveti
pag. 1019.
Tom. 3. O-
per. Riveti.

(3) *Rivet*.
Examen A-
nimadv.
Grotius, p. g.
1029. Tom.
3. Op. ejus.

(4) *Grotius*.
Votum pro
Fate Eccles.
ibid. pag.
1024.

(5) *Rivet*.
Apolog.
ibid. p. 1100.

(6) Grotii
Difcu. To A-
polog. t. Ri-
vetiani, pag.
722. Opusc.
Grotii Edit.
Amsteloed.
apud Bleau,
ann. 1679,
in folio.

"Althamerus (6). Liber editus est Argentorati, Anno
"MDCLXXVII. Verba ejus inter cætera sunt: *Vult*
"*nunc probare suam sententiam, sed directè contra scrip-*
"*turam agit. Non possumus hic defendere Jacobum. Ci-*
"*tat enim scripturam falsam: Et solus spiritus sanctus, Legi,*
"*Propheciis, Christo, Apostolicis omnibus, contradicit.*
"*Testimonium ipsius vanum est. Uni ipsi testi non*
"*esse credendum, supra annotavimus, præsertim cum*
"*quo ipse Spiritus sanctus & tot testes veritatis dis-*
"*sentiant. Credendum Multitudini. Paulus multo*
"*dignius sanctiusque rem trahat. Si Abraham ex*
"*operibus justificatus, habet quod gloriatur, sed non*
"*apud Deum; quid enim dicit scriptura? Abraham*
"*credidit Deo, videlicet promissioni divinæ de semine;*
"*& reputatum, scilicet quia credidit, illi ad justi-*
"*tiam. Nonne quod ex filii immolatione justificatum*
"*dicit, recte mentitus est in caput suum? Quinde-*
"*cim enim annos ante immolatum Isaacum justifi-*
"*catus fuit Abraham, etiam nondum nato Isaac;*
"*non ex circumcissione, neque filii immolatione, sed ex*
"*sola Fide. Dicit enim scriptura, Credidit, &c. ut*
"*nihil habet Jacobus ad quod refugiat. Nos Fidei*
"*magistrum constitutus, & jam suis ipsissimis verbis*
"*scimus, nescivisse quid sit Fides. Et in fine Libri; Ne*
"*igitur succenseat nobis, Lector, si durius & vehementius*
"*calamus quandoque in Autorem invehit sumus. Meretur*
"*enim hoc Odium & hunc Spiritus vehementiam, dum*
"*aliam à nobis perfectionem atque Justitiam contem-*
"*dit, quam Fidei. — He, who gave St James*
"*the Lye, was Andrew Althamerus. His Book was*
"*published at Strasbourg, in the Year 1527. His*
"*Words, among others, are These. He then endea-*
"*vours to confirm his Doctrine; but his Proof is*
"*directly contrary to Scripture. We cannot here*
"*vindicate St James. For he cites Scripture falsely,*
"*and opposes his single Authority to That of the*
"*Holy Ghost, the Law, the Prophets, Jesus Christ,*
"*and all the Apostles. His Testimony is nothing.*
"*I have shewn above, that his single Evidence is*
"*not to be believed, especially when it clashes*
"*with That of the Holy Ghost, and so many Wit-*
"*nesses of the Truth. We must be governed by*
"*Numbers. St Paul treats the Subject with greater*
"*Dignity and Sanctity. For, if Abraham were ju-*
"*stified by Works, he hath wherewith to Glory, but*
"*not before God. For what saith the Scripture?*
"*Abraham believed God (to wit, the Divine Pro-*
"*mise in relation to his Seed) and it was counted*
"*to him (namely, his Faith) for Righteousness.*
"*Does not St James truly lie against his own Head,*
"*in saying that he was justified by the offering up*
"*of his Son? For Abraham was justified sixteen*
"*Years before the intended Sacrifice of his Son*
"*Isaac; even before Isaac was born; not by Cir-*
"*cumcision, nor by the Sacrifice of his Son, but*
"*by Faith alone. For the Scripture saith, He be-*
"*lieved, &c. So that St James is left without Ex-*
"*cuse. I formerly looked upon this Apostle as a*
"*Rule of Faith; but am now convinced, from his*
"*own Words, that he did not himself know what*
"*Faith was. And at the end of his Book, Be not*
"*angry with me, Reader, if I sometimes inveigh*
"*too roughly and vehemently against this Author.*
"*For he deserves these Reproaches, and this Indig-*

* Rom. iv.
2, 3.

"nation of Mind, for requiring of us another kind
"of Perfection and Justification than that of Faith."
The last Piece shall be, that Rivetus, finding at last
an exprefs Citation, answered (7), that it was insuf-
ficient; that Grotius had used the Plural Number;
and that one is not many; unus non sunt multi. He
condemns the Words of Althamerus; but he com-
plains, that Grotius had not declared, that he was not
a Calvinist. He proves, that He was a Lutheran;
and charges him with having undertaken the Popish
Cause, at the Conferences of Bern, and with having
maintained the Doctrine of the Real Presence. "Qui
"cum in disputatione Bernensi (8), quam secuta est
"Reformatio Anni 1528, libera ei facta est dispu-
"tandi copia, volens passus est se à parte Pontifi-
"cia deligi, ut Oratoris munere in suggestu fun-
"geretur, & carnealem Christi præsentiam in cena
"defenderet. — At the Conference of Bern, which
"was followed by the Reformation of the Year 1528,
"tho' he had free Liberty of Disputation, yet he suf-
"fered himself to be chosen by the Pope's Party, to
"play the Orator in the Rostum, and to defend the
"corporeal Presence of Christ in the Eucharist."
His injurious Treatment of St James, concludes
Rivetus, does not in the least affect us. The whole
Disgrace of it recoils upon the Papists, and the
Lutherans, whose Cause he pleaded.

From what we have here produced, it is easy to
judge; I. That Rivetus engaged unnecessarily in an
incidental Dispute. He might have passed by this
Remark of Grotius, without any Prejudice to his
Cause; and he might have been satisfied with de-
manding the Names of Those, who had the Bold-
ness to treat an Apostle with such Indignity. II.
That he was mistaken, in believing, that his Ad-
versary could not name any such. III. That, by
dint of importunity, he occasioned a Discovery of
his own Ignorance in a Matter of Fact; the Know-
ledge of which might have been to the Credit of his
Reading and his Library. IV. That he flies for
Refuge to little Evasions, which only serve to pro-
long Disputes, and to multiply unnecessary Addi-
tions. It is certain, that, in common Speech, when
we know that an Author has published any thing,
it is very allowable to say, that Authors have ad-
vanced it. Nor are we obliged to produce more than
one Witness; unless when we expressly say, that
several Persons have cast such a Reproach. But this
is not Grotius's manner of speaking; his Expression
is indeterminate; quidam dixerunt, there are, who have
said; or, some have said. He would have fully ac-
quitted himself, tho' the Author, whom he cited,
were not a Calvinist, but a Lutheran; and it is idle
in Rivetus to allege what passed in the Conferences
of Bern. That is no Proof of Althamerus's being a
Papist. We can only conclude from thence, that he
was so opposite in Opinion to the Zuinglians, on
the Doctrine of the Real Presence, that he made no
Scruple of maintaining it, even in favour of Popery.
If Rivetus was Self-content in this part of his Dis-
pute, it is a Proof, that Controversialists know not how
to distinguish between what is to the Purpose, and
what is meer caviling.

(7) Rivet.
Grotian. Di-
scuss. Dia-
logus, pag.
127. i. Opera
Tom. 3.

(8) He uses
Hosianian's
own Words,
Hist. sacr.
part. 2. p. 84.
with ut ci-
ting them.

ALTHUSIUS (JOHN) a German Civilian, flourished near the End of the
XVIth Century. He wrote a Book of Politics. Some Civilians of his Country are
strangely angry with him, for maintaining, that the Sovereignty of States belongs to
the People [A]. He wrote a Treatise *De Jurisprudencia Romana*, another *De Civilis*
Conversazione, another intitled *Dicaologia*, &c. I forgot to observe, in the former
Editions,

[A] Some Civilians — are strangely angry with him
for maintaining, that the Sovereignty of States belongs
to the People. Boeclerus maintains, that Althusius's
Principle is only fit to break all the Bonds of Civil
Society, and that his Work is so far from deserving
to be recommended to Students, as is done by several
Persons, that it rather deserves to be burnt. "Omnes
reges nihil aliud esse quam Magistratus —
Althusio inter solennia carmina placet, cujus Po-
litica non tradit sane, qui civitatis finis & felicitas
& tranquillitas obtineri debeat, sed quibus modis
omne vinculum societatis ac salutis civilis dissolvi
ac everti possit. Demagogica appelles merito; &
tamen, quia Jurisconsulti nomen præfert, & que-
dam subinde in ostentationem ejus scientiæ jacti,

"commendari juventuti Academicæ audimus librum,
"orco dammandum, judicio eorum qui venena à
"cibis distinguere didicerunt (1). — That all
"Kings are nothing but Officers of the People —
"is Althusius's darling Principle; whose Book of Po-
"litics is not designed to show, how the End, the
"Happiness, and Tranquility of a State is best to be
"obtained, but in what manner every Type of Society
"and Civil Security may be dissolved, and overturned.
"It may properly be called Democratical Politics;
"and yet, because the Name of a Civilian is prefixed
"to it, and there is here and there a pompous Dis-
"play of that Science in it; the Book is, we hear,
"recommended to the University Youth; though in the
"Opinion of those, who have learned to distinguish
"Polity

(1) Boecler.
in Grotium
de Jure Bel-
li, lib. 1.
cap. 3. n. 8.
pag. 235.

Editions, that he was of the *Protestant* Religion; that, after having been Professor of Law at *Herborn*, he had the Dignity of *Syndic* conferred upon him at *Breme*, and that the *Jesuits*, in answering the *Anti-Coton*, placed him in the List of those *Protestants*; who have spoken disrespectfully of the *Regal Power* [B].

"*Poisson from wholesome Food, it deserves the severest Censure.*" The learned *Conringius's* Opinion of it is as follows: "Fundamentum doctrinæ suæ politicæ collocat in eo, quod summa Reip. cujusvis jure sit penes solum populum: qui error pestilens est, & turbando orbi aptus (2). — He lays the Foundation of his Political Doctrine in this; that the Sovereignty of every Republic is in the Hands of the People; which is a contagious Error, and calculated to disturb the Repose of the World." Another German Writer expresses himself with more Force: "In classem istam, says he (3), referendi sunt illi politicorum qui majestatis *ἡγεῖτον* *δεικνύον* populum faciunt, inde politici populares; & quia jugulum omnium principum ac Regum petunt, *Monarchomachi* dicti. Horum hominum nefanda dogmata refertum habet Althusius in sua politica, vulcano publico editio consecranda. — In this Class we must rank those Politicians, who make the People the Source of all Majesty; hence they are called Popular Politicians; and, because they would cut the Throats all Princes and Kings, they are called Anti-Royalists. Althusius has made great

use of these Gentlemen's wicked Doctrines in his Politics; a Work, which deserves to be publicly condemned to the Flames." [B] The *Jesuits* — placed him in the List of those *Protestants*, who have spoken disrespectfully of the *Regal Power*.] I will give you the Words of Him, who presented to the Queen-Mother an Apologetical Answer to the *Anti-Coton*; "After History, man, says he (4), let us add the Doctrines and prels Words of *John Arthusius* (5), Doctor of Law, in his Politics, methodically digested, and printed at *Herborn*, in the Year 1603, in his Chapter of the *Ephori*; in which, to look no farther, he asserts, among other things, that it is lawful to detrone a Tyrant, to take from him the Administration of Affairs, with which he was intrusted; and even to put him to death, if no other Remedy can be found, and to substitute another in his Place." Althusius's Words are these (6). "Ejusmodi Tyrannum ab officio remove, administratione demandata privare, imo etiam, si alter contra vim se defendere non possunt, interficere, & alium in ejus locum substituere, possunt."

ALTIERI. The Dictionary of *Moreri* mentions two Cardinals of this Name: The One died in the Year 1654; the Other was Pope *Clement X.* We may add to these two the Cardinal *Altieri*, who died at *Rome*, the 29th of *June*, 1698.

ALTILIUS (GABRIEL) born in the Kingdom of *Naples*, flourished about the End of the XVth Century (a). He was chiefly esteemed for his *Latin Verses*, which shewed, that he cultivated polite Literature, and that he read the Ancients to great Advantage. This contributed to his Advancement in the Court of *Ferdinand*, King of *Naples*, which still retained some thing of the good Taste it had acquired in the Reign of King *Alphonfus*. He was chosen Preceptor to the young Prince *Ferdinand* [A]. It appears also, that he was employed in State-Affairs, and that he accompanied *Jovian Pontanus* to *Rome*, upon a Negotiation of Peace between King *Ferdinand* and Pope *Innocent VIII* (b). He had a great Share in the Friendship and Esteem of *Pontanus*, as appears from the Writings of the latter (c). *Sannazarius* gave him likewise several Marks of his Esteem in his Poems (d): These two Authors are not the only Persons, who have commended him [B]. One of *Gabriel Altilius's* finest Poems, is That, which he composed on the Marriage of *Isabella of Arragon* [C]. One would scarce believe, that *Latin Poetry* raised him to the Prelature; but it is certain, that it greatly contributed to his obtaining the Bishoprick of *Policastro*. Some find fault with him for neglecting the *Muses*, after his Advancement, which had

[A] He was chosen Preceptor to the young Prince *Ferdinand*.] This is what *Paul Jovius* meant, when he used this Expression, *junioris Ferdinandi regis* (1). *Ughelli* makes use of it likewise (2). *Toppi* is of another Opinion: "Fu maestro, says he, di Re Ferdinando I. d' Aragona, è Vescovo di Policastro nel 1471 (3). — He was Preceptor of King *Ferdinand* I. of Arragon, and Bishop of *Policastro*, in 1471." I believe he is mistaken. *Ferdinand* I. died in the Year 1494, being above seventy Years old: So that he must have been born about the Year 1424; and *Altilius* must have been his Preceptor about the Year 1440. The Preceptor of a King's Son is seldom very young; he must have had time to gain the Reputation of a Man of Learning: And doubtless King *Alphonfus*, who was himself learned, and surrounded with learned Men, would not have chosen *Altilius*, without full Proof of his Abilities. Upon this Supposition *Altilius* must have been thirty Years of Age, in 1440; but, at that time, he was scarce born. He lived but a little more than sixty Years (4); and died in the Year 1501 (5).

[B] These two Authors are not the only Persons, who have commended him.] *Gyraldus* mentions him greatly to his Advantage. *Basil Zanchius* wrote several Verses in praise of *Altilius*, which are to be found in the *Delights of the Italian Poets*. *John Mattheus Tysanus* speaks well of him both in Verse and Prose (6). But if any one is desirous to see an Encomium upon his Wit and Disposition of Mind, let him read *Alexander ab Alexandro*, who describes

at large the manner how he and some others were entertained by *Altilius*, when they went to wish him Joy of his Bishoprick (7). He gave them a Supper more becoming his first Condition, than the Dignity of a Bishop, with which he was then invested; he had not yet dismissed the *Muses*, his first Mistress (supposing he ever dismissed them); thus the Conversation turned upon some Verses of *Marial*, which were sung by a young Musician.

[C] One of *Gabriel Altilius's* finest Poems is That, which he composed on the Marriage of *Isabella of Arragon*.] It was by This, and by his Elegies, that he acquired his Reputation. "Ufque adeo mollior ac admirande in Elegis & Heroico carmine excelluit, sicuti ex Epithalamio *Isabellæ Aragonicæ* perspicitur, ut *Pontani* atque *Actii* testimonio antiquis vatibus æquaretur (8). — He was so great a Master of Elegiac and Heroic Poetry (as may be seen by his Epithalamium of *Isabella of Arragon*) that, in the Opinion of *Pontanus* and *Actius*, he was equal to the antient Poets." *Julius Scaliger* found too great a Profusion of Thought and Expression in his Epithalamium. His Opinion of it is this: "Gabriel *Altilius* Epithalamium cecinit longe optimum, excellentissimum vero futurum, si sibi ille temperasset. Dum enim vult omnia dicere, afficit auditorem aliquando fastidio tanto, quanta in aliis voluptate. Est enim nimius, quod vitium illi genti est peculiare. Est enim totis illis Italæ tractibus perpetua loquendi fames (9). — *Gabriel Altilius* composed an excellent Epithalamium; so did he

(4) Réponse. Apolog. à l'Anti cotton p. 185, 180.

(5) It should be Althusius.

(6) Althusius Politics methodicè digestæ, cap. 14.

(c) He wrote an Epitaph for Altilius, and dedicated to him his Treatise de Magnificencia. See likewise his Dialogue Regium, pag. 147.

(d) Eleg. 11. ver. 17. & Epigr. 7.

(7) Genial. dicrum, lib. 5. cap. 11.

(8) Jovius, ubi supra.

(9) Jul. Caesaris Poetic. l. 6. "beaverer pag. 735.

(c) See below the beginning of the Remark [D].

(f) See the End of Remark [D].

had been so serviceable to him [D]. They discover Ingratitude and Shamelessness (e) in the precipitate manner of his leaving them; and his Fault would seem unpardonable to them, had they not some Regard to the Excuses he might make, that Episcopacy required he should apply himself earnestly to the Study of Holy Writ. I shall endeavour to rectify what is said concerning the time of his Death (f). We find only the *Epithalamium of Isabella of Arragon* in the Collection of *Gruterus*, and in That of *John Matthæus Tuscanus* [E]. It is very probable that most of *Altilius's* other Verses are lost.

"however would have been much better, had he restrained his Genius. For, by endeavouring to say every thing upon this Subject, he becomes as tedious to the Reader, as he is entertaining upon others. He is too diffuse; a Vice peculiar to his Nation; for in all that Tract of Italy they are never tired with talking." This is not very complaisant to the Neapolitans (10).

(10) See Remark [H] of the Article ALEXANDER AN ALEXANDRO, towards the End.

[D] Some find Fault with him for neglecting the Muses, — which had been so serviceable to him. 'Tis hard of Digestion, that a Bishop should be the Author of this Reproach, and that he should express it in such harsh Terms: "Is virtutis merito Pollicastri (ea arbs olim Buxentum fuit) antistes factus, à Mufis, per quas profecerat, celeriter IMPUDENTERQUE discessit, MAGNO hercle INGRATI animi PIACULO, nisi ad spem non injustis venie ob id culpa tegetur, quod ad sacras literas nequaquam ordinis oblitus tempestivè confugisset (11). — Being raised, on Account of his Virtues, to the Bishoprick of Pollicastro (formerly Buxentum), he quickly and SHAMEFULLY deserted the Muses, his Benefactresses; Guilty, in this, of the HEINOUS CRIME of INGRATITUDE; unless he thought to screen himself from reproach, by pleading that, in consideration of his Order, he had opportunely applied himself to the Study of the Scriptures." See Mr Baillet's judicious Reflexions upon this (12). These four Verses of *Latemus* are not amiss.

(11) Paul Jovius, ubi supra

(12) Baillet Jugemens sur les Poët. Tom. 1. pag. 138. See also Tom. 3. pag. 82.

Audiit Altilius desertis transfuga Mufis,
In quædam tabulis nobile nomen erat.
Sed quid peccavit, si demeratur, ut olim
Carminibus Phœbum, nunc pietate Deum?

Censors the Bard Altilius may accuse
Of base Desertion from his friendly Muses
But where's the Crime,
If He, who in Apollo's Temple trod,
His Priest — now serves in pious Prose his God?

(13) Sallust says, Impudens facile suis artibus retinetur, quibus initio partum est. — Power is easily kept up by the same Arts, by which it is at first obtained.

(14) Jovius in Elog. c. 125.

Altilius would have been more to blame, if, after having obtained a Mitre by preaching, he had behaved like many others, who preach no more, after they are made Bishops. The reason is, because, to preserve this kind of Power, it is not necessary to continue the same Expedients, which are made use of to procure it (13). *Paul Jovius* is as unfortunate in Point of Fact. He pretends, that *Altilius* left off writing Verses, after his Promotion to a Bishoprick; and that the finest of his Poems is his *Epithalamium of Isabella of Arragon* (14). I make no doubt but this *Isabella* is the, who was contracted, the first of November 1472, to *John Galeas Sforza*, Duke of Milan. I cannot therefore persuade myself, that *Altilius* is

guilty of the Desertion, with which he is charged. He was made a Bishop in 1471: now the best of his Poems was composed after this time: ought we therefore to complain that the Mitre made him abandon *Parnassus*? Observe, that He wrote this *Epithalamium*, not at the time of the Contract, but upon the Nuptials of *Isabella of Arragon*; that is, in the Year 1489 (15). This is proved by the first Lines of it.

Purpureos jam læta sinus Tithonia Coniux
Extulerat, roseoque diem patefecerat Ortu,
Coruleum tremulo percurrans lumine possum,
Qui cupido sua vota viro desponsaque dudum
Connubia, OPTATOSQUE locos & gaudia serret.

Aurora now, from Tithon rising gay,
Blush'd in the Rosy East, and gave the Day;
Whilst trembling Beams upon the Ocean play;
The Day, which to the Happy Bridegroom's Arms
Consigns the PROMIS'D Fair, with all her Charms.

By this we may convict the Abbot Ugbelli of a gross Mistake; who says, that *Altilius* died in his Bishoprick of *Pollicastro*, in the Year 1484 (16). It may be proved, that he did not die 'till about the Year 1501; for *Jovian Pontanus* observes, in mentioning the News of his Death, that *Sannazarus* was upon the point of going into France with King *Frederic* (17).

[E] We find only the *Epithalamium* in the Collection of *Gruterus*, and That of J. M. *Tuscanus*. I understand by this Collection the Work, entitled *Delicia C. C. Italorum Poëtarum, collectore Renato Gbero*. The Collection of *John Matthæus Tuscanus* is entitled, *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum*. This Author says, in his *Psalm*, that he had only read the *Epithalamium*, and some few Epigrams of *Altilius*. He, who procured a new Edition of *Sannazarus's* [*] Latin Poems, in 1689, and illustrated them with Notes, observes, that he does not remember to have seen any printed Pieces of *Altilius*, but the *Epithalamium*, and an Epigram; from whence he infers, that many of them are lost, since *Paul Jovius* mentions this Poet's Elegies, and *Sannazarus* ascribes some Odes to him (18). To repair this Loss in some measure, he has given us, in the Notes on *Sannazarus*, three or four Pieces of *Altilius*, which he had in Manuscript. *Toppi* mentions three Pieces of *Altilius* inserted "ne' hori delle Rime de' Poët" illustri raccolti & ordinati da *Girolamo Ruscelli*, stampati in Venetia, nel 1558. in 8vo. — In "the Poetical Flowers of the celebrated Poets collected and disposed by William Ruscelli, and printed at Venice, in 1558, in 8vo." These three Pieces are, *Gabrielis Altilii lamentatio, Ejusdem Epithalamium, Ejusdem Elegia*.

[*] [It was the late Mr Bruckhusius. REM. CRIT.]

(15) Mr de la Monnoie communicated this Remark to me.

(16) Ugbell Ital. sacr. p. 796.

(17) Jov. Pontan. in Dial. Ægidius p. 147. 1487. Mr de la Monnoie Revised me this.

(18) Note in Sannazar. P. 184.

(19) Toppi, Biblioth. Napolit. pag. 108.

ALTINGIUS (HENRY) Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg, and at Groningen, was born at *Embsen*, the 17th of February 1583. His Family had been a long time very considerable in *Friesland*. He was designed, from the Cradle, for an Office, wherein his Father had signalized himself [A], I mean the sacred Ministry. For this end

[A] An Office wherein his Father had signalized himself. His Name was *Mensio Altingius*; and he was the Grandson of another *Mensio*, who was given in Hostage to the Duke of *Gelderland* by the States of *Drent* in the Year 1523. Another *Mensio Altingius*, Great Grandfather to Him, who was given in Hostage, had been Counsellor to *Reinold the Fat*, Duke of *Gelderland*, and retired into the Country of *Drent*, in the Year 1561 (1). *Mensio Altingius*, the Minister, was the first, who, with two others, preached the Reformation in the Territory of *Groningen*, about the Year 1566, during the Tyranny of the Duke of *Alba*, Sub ipsa *Albani* ducis grassante

(1) Vita Jacobi Alting.

Tyrannide (2). He was also the first Minister, who preached in the great Church of *Groningen*, after the Reduction of that Place to the Power of the States-General, in the Year 1594. He served the Church of *Embsen* thirty eight Years faithfully, and opposed, with great Courage, the Fury of the Anabaptists, and the Plots of the *Ubiquitarians*. He died, the seventh of October 1612, the same Day that his Son and *Abraham Scultetus* were in danger of being cast away on the Lake of *Harlem*. "Subita ac procellosa coorta tempestate, naufragio ac submersionali proximi (Scultetus & Altingius) agere tandem, toto corpore madentes, salve tamen, divina clementia

(2) I must acquaint the Reader, that the Duke of *Alba* did not arrive in the Low-Countries before 1567; and therefore the Author of Henry Altingius's Life has not been so exact in this Particular, as he should have been.

and he was sent very early to the Schools, and, after he had acquired Classical Learning, and gone thro' a Course of Philosophy at *Groningen*, he was sent into *Germany* in the Year 1602. He was three Years at *Herborn*, where he made so great a Progress under the famous *Pfister*, and under *Matthias Marinus*, and *William Zeppernus*, that he obtained leave to teach Philosophy and Divinity. He was preparing to travel into *Switzerland* and *France*, when he was made Preceptor to three young Counts (a) who studied at *Sedan*, with the Electoral Prince *Palatine*. He entered upon this Employ, the beginning of *September* 1605. The Storm, which threatened the Duke of *Bouillon* from *Henry IV.*, and which was attended with no Consequence, induced the Electoral Prince to leave *Sedan*, with these young Lords, in the Year 1606. *Altingius* followed them to *Heidelberg*, where he continued to instruct the three young Counts. He was also admitted to read some Geographical and Historical Lectures to the Electoral Prince, and became his sole Preceptor in the Year 1608. We may meet with Proofs of this in the *Vatican Library* [B]. He accompanied him to *Sedan* in this Quality, and instructed him in so accomplished a manner, that the young Prince, upon his Return to *Heidelberg*, in 1610, being interrogated on all Points of Religion before the Duke of *Deux Ponts*, Administrator of the Electorate, and several other Persons of Note, answered very pertinently, and in *Latin*. He was one of those, who was chosen to accompany the young Elector into *England*, in the Year 1612, where he became acquainted with *George Abbot*, Archbishop of *Camberbury*; *Dr King*, Bishop of *London*; and *Dr Hakewell*, Preceptor of the Prince of *Wales*. He had likewise the Honour to converse with *King James*. The Marriage of the Elector with the Princess of *England* being celebrated in *London* in the Month of *February* 1613 (b), *Altingius* went before with his former Pupils, and arrived at *Heidelberg*, the First of *April*. In the Month of *August* following, he was made Professor of Divinity Common Places; and, because he could not preside in the Disputes, without being Doctor of Divinity, he took that Degree in the Month of *November*, with the usual Ceremonies. In 1616, he had a laborious Office conferred upon him, which was the Direction of the Seminary, if I may be permitted so to call the College of *Wisdom* at *Heidelberg*. He was offered the Professorship, vacant by the Death of *Coppenius*, in the Year 1618, which was the second Professorship in the Faculty of Divinity; but he refused it, and procured it for *Scultetus*. He gave great Proofs of his Learning in the Synod of *Dort*, whither he was sent with two other Deputies of the *Palatinate* (c). It was at that time that the Degree of Doctor, which the University of *Leyden* had suffered to be extinct, was revived. *Altingius* solemnly created the Professor, *John Polyander*, Licentiate in Divinity, who afterwards received his Doctor's Degree from *Scultetus*, by which means he became invested with the Authority requisite for conferring the Degree of Doctor on his Colleagues. *Altingius*, no doubt, entertained great Expectations a little after his Return to *Heidelberg*. The Troubles of *Bohemia* gave a Crown to the Elector *Palatine*; but these happy Beginnings were soon attended with a dreadful Ruin. *Tilly* took *Heidelberg* by Assault, in the Month of *September*, 1622, and suffered all imaginable Disorders to be committed in it [C]. *Altingius*, having escaped the Fury of the Soldiers, as it were by Miracle [D], followed his Family, which he had sent some time

(a) The Counts of Nassau, Solms, and Hienberg.

(b) Konig does not allow him a proper time, when he says visit anno 1613. His flourishing State was not then arrived.

(c) Abraham Scultetus, and Paul Tullianus. The latter was deputed by the Ecclesiastical Senate, and the other two by the University.

(1) Vir. Hen. Altingii.

"mentia in proximam ripam everserunt (3). — A sudden and stormy Tempest arising, They (Scultetus and Altingius) were in danger of being cast away and drowned; but, at last, they providentially escaped, drenched and wet to the Skin, on the next Shore." His Life, written at large by *Uldo Em-*

(4) Vir. Jacobi Altingii.

[B] We may meet with Proofs of this in the *Vatican Library*.] The Exercises of the King of *Bohemia*, corrected by *Altingius*, are preserved there, and shewn to Travellers, as the Author of That Professor's Life informs us. He adds, that these Monuments deserve as much to be shewn to the Curious, as most Relicks which they see. "Hujus magisterii ejus ne unquam apud posteros instatata queat esse industria, vel Roma, quod miremur, faciet, quæ in Bibliotheca Vaticana inter Heidelbergensia cimelia, dicam an spolia, ostentat themata & exercitia styli Regis Bohemæ Altingii manu emendata, eruditius peregrinatoribus minimeque superficialius visenda, atque non minus credo, quam pleræque ipsorum reliquæ ἀξιοθέατα, digna spectatu (5). [C] Suffered all imaginable Disorders to be committed. They plunder'd, they ravish'd, they kill'd, they tortur'd; in a Word, they committed every Outrage, which the Fury of Soldiers, animated by a false Zeal for Religion, is capable of. "Urbs — impetu & vi capta, omniaque dira exempla passa direptionis, laniænz, libidinis, quæ militaris licentia, victoris insolentia, odium religionis, barbarorum Croatarum feritas comminisci potuerit, aut patrare — Ea nocte infomni & mœsta, inter lamenta & ejulatus,

(c) Vita Hen. Altingii.

"quibus omnia undique perfrestrebant, aut sequioris sexus vim patientis, aut virorum æqualeis subditem, ac per varia tormenta ac vulnere lenta citave morte affectorum, &c. (6) — The Town was taken by Assault; and every dreadful Instance was permitted, of Plunder, Butchery, and Lust, which the Licentiousness of an Army, the Insolence of a Commander, religious Hatred, and the Brutality of barbarous Croats, could contrive or perpetrate. — In that sleepless and calamitous Night, amidst the Cries and Groans, which were heard on all Sides, either of violated Women, or Men suffering variety of Tortures, some dying a quick, some a lingering Death, &c." These are the usual Fruits of War; enough to make those tremble, who undertake to advise it, to prevent Evils, which, perhaps, may never happen, and which, at the worst, would often be less than those, which necessarily follow a Rupture. I shall have occasion, more than once, to remark the Anguish of Mind, to which great Commanders have been reduced, when their Consciences have reproached them with the Ravages they have occasioned.

(6) Ex Vita Henr. Altingii.

[D] Having escaped the Fury of the Soldiers, as it were by Miracle.] The Circumstances of his Escape deserve to be related. He was in his Closet, when he heard that the Enemy, being Masters of the City, began to plunder it. He bolted his Door, and betook himself to Prayer. One of his Friends, accompanied by two Soldiers, came to him, and advised him to retire, by the Back-door, to the Chancellor's House, which was put under a strong Guard; Count *Tilly* intending to secure all the Papers, which were there.

The

time before to *Heilbron*. He met it at *Schorndorf*; where with much Difficulty he abode a few Months: for the *Lutheran* Ministers put in practice the Doctrine of Non-Toleration against him [E]. In the Year 1623, he retired with his Family to *Embsen*, and went from thence to wait upon the King of *Bohemia* at the *Diague*. This Prince retained him as Preceptor to his eldest Son (d), and would not permit him to serve the Church of *Embsen*, which desired him for their Minister, nor the University of *Francker*, which offered him, in the Year 1625, the Professorship of Divinity, vacant by the Death of *Sibrandus Lubbertus*. This Prince was prevailed upon, with great Difficulty, to give him leave, the next Year, to accept of a Professorship of Divinity at *Groningen*. Altingius took Possession of it, the sixteenth of June 1627, and kept it 'till he died. It is true, that, in 1633, he was fully resolved to leave *Groningen* for *Leyden*; but it was upon this Condition, that the States of *Groningen* should consent to it, which they refused to do. It is true likewise, that he listened to the Proposals, which Prince *Lewis Philip* (e) made him in 1634, to come and re-establish the University of *Heidelberg*, and the Churches of the Palatinate; and that he was already arrived at *Francfort*, through many Dangers; but this Design proved abortive by reason of the Battel of *Norlingen*, which the Imperialists won. He was obliged to return to *Groningen* through By-ways. It does not appear, that he had any Thoughts afterwards of removing to any other Place. The last Years of his Life were full of Trouble; Grief and Diseases gave him great Uneasiness. He was so afflicted at the Death of his eldest Daughter in 1639, that he fell into an obstinate Melancholy, which brought him into a Quartan-Agüe, of which he was with great Difficulty cured, though not perfectly; for the Remains of it turned to a Lethargy in 1641. Scarce had the Physicians, by repeated Applications, removed this Distemper, when a domestic Affliction came upon him, which occasioned his bodily Infirmities to return upon him stronger than ever. Altingius lost his Wife in the Year 1643, and grieved so much for her, that he was no longer able to overcome his Melancholy. From this time to the Day of his Death his Infirmities continued.

(d) His was cut away in the Sea of Palatinate, and 1629.

(e) He was Administrator of the Palatinate, and, in 1633, refused to make Altingius Professor of Divinity, and Ecclesiastical Senator.

The Lieutenant Colonel of the Regiment of *Hohenzollern* guarded this House: With this Battle-axe, said he, I have killed ten Men this Day; Doctor Altingius should soon be the eleventh, if I knew where he lies hid: Who are you? continued he, directing his Discourse to the Doctor. Altingius was not so confounded, but he readily replied; I was Teacher in the College of Wisdom: an Answer not the farthest from Truth. The Author of his Elogium compares this Answer to that, which St *Athanasius* made, "Sanè ille Vultus, ille Habitus, ille Sermo, is rerum articulus, quemvis alium percellere poterat: at noster impetriturus, solerti tamen usui responso, nec aperte se negavit Altingium, nec tamen intempestive se prodidit, eadem fere qua olim in casu simili S. Athanasius dexteritate usus, Ego, (inquit) Ludimagister fui in Collegio Sapientie." — In truth, such a Look, such a Mien, and such Language, might have confounded any one else: But our Hero, undisturbed, returned, however, an artful Answer; neither positively denying that he was Altingius, nor unreasonably betraying himself; in which he had recourse to the same Artifice, which was put in practice, in a like Case, by St *Athanasius*. I was a School-master, says he, in the College of Wisdom. The Lieutenant Colonel promised to save him. The next Day the Jesuits took Possession of the House, and sent away this Officer so suddenly, that he had not time to enquire after his Teacher of the College of Wisdom. Thus Altingius found himself in the Hands of the Jesuits; but he hid himself in a Garret; and, by good Fortune, a Cook of the Electoral Court was employed by Count *Tilly*, whose Kitchen was in the Chancellor's House. This Man privately convey'd Victuals to Altingius in the Garret, and even gave him an Opportunity of going to see what past at his own House, attended by three Soldiers of the *Bavarian* Army for his Guard. Altingius found his House in great Disorder, and his Closet in the Power of a Captain; who told him, either in a bantering way, or out of Civility, that he gave him leave to carry away what Book he pleased. He declined the Offer, and only answered, that, if those things belonged to him, he desired God would give him a longer Possession of them, than their first Master had. Altingius ran many Dangers in his return; and, after three Days, Tilly gave him leave to retire. I have read, somewhere, that, had not Altingius been afraid of being thought a Plagiary, he might have saved many Books of the Electoral Library; and that he had removed many of them to the College of Wisdom; but I confess I do not understand this; I find a Contradiction in it. If he convey'd no Books out of the Electoral Library in-

to his own Closet, for fear of being accounted a Plagiary; why do you say, that he carried away several of them to the College of Wisdom, and that he might have saved many? Besides, according to the Author of his Life, he was permitted only to carry away one Volume. Read the following Passage. "Hunc (Quintilianum) & alios illius Bibliothecæ libros sua manu in Collegio Sapientie exceperat Henricus Altingius, atque ex communi illo incendio Bavarico eripisset, nisi suis reculis timuisset, & ne plagiarius haberetur, si antiquus liber in eius suppellectile reperiretur, verius fuisset (7). — Henry Altingius had picked out this (Quintilian) and other Books of that Library, with his own Hands, in the College of Wisdom; and might have saved them from that general Bavarian Conflagration, had he not been afraid of passing for a Plagiary, if the ancient Copy was found in his Possession."

[E] The Lutheran Ministers put in practice the Doctrine of Non-Toleration against him.] At the Request of the Electors, he obtained leave of the Duke of *Wurtemberg* to reside at *Schorndorf*. He continued there 'till the Month of February, which followed the Desolation of the Palatinate. The Lutheran Ministers murmured at his living there, and at the Permission, which the Duke had given him; the Reason of their Discontent was, that Altingius was a Professor of *Heidelberg*. "Ibi ad Februarium usque hæsit, facultate hac per serenissimam Electricem impetrata à Duce Wirtembergico, ejus alias Ministri Lutherani, quasi Ponti Axeni accolæ, aut aves Diomedæ, quæ solos socios granter accipiunt, id ferrebant ægerime, non alia de causa quam quod Altingius Professor esset Heidelbergensis (8). — He continued there 'till February, having obtained leave from the Duke of *Wurtemberg*, by means of the Serene Elector; which was taken ill by the Lutheran Ministers, for no other Reason, but because Altingius was Professor at *Heidelberg*, resembling in this the People bordering on the *Euxine* Sea, or Diomedes's Birds, who receive joyfully only their Fellows." I believe they would have more strictly observed the Laws of Hospitality towards a Merchant of the Palatinate, or towards a Calvinist Professor of a very remote Country, than towards a Professor of *Heidelberg*. The Palatinate was near the Dutchy of *Wurtemberg*; the Professors of *Tubingen*, and those of *Heidelberg*, frequently attack'd each other in Disputations, and Polemical Writings. Behold the Source of Theological and Professorial Enmity! But after all, we cannot excuse their ill Treatment of Altingius. He had escaped from the Popish Flames; the Injuries he had received from the com-

(7) Lomeier de Biblioth. pag. 278. I know not whether a Man may be called a Plagiary, who steals, not the Thoughts of an Author, but a Book or a Volume in kind, without publishing it in his own Name.

(8) Vita Altingii.

continued to increase. He died christianly, and devoutly, on the Twenty fifth of August, 1644. He was a Man of great Merit. The Books he composed [F] are a Proof of his Learning, and his Application to the Discharge of the Academical Duties; and it is well known, that he employed his Abilities other ways, in serving his Neighbours. He went to see the King of *Bohemia* every Year, and reviewed the Studies of the Royal Family. He took a great deal of Pains in the Collections, which were made every where in the Protestant Countries for the Churches of *Germany*, and particularly for those of the Palatinate. He was one of the three Commissioners for the Collections from *England*, and disposed of the Alms of *Lewis de Geer*. I omit the two considerable Commissions he was charged with; one relating to the Revival, which was made at *Leyden*, of the new *Dutch* Translation of the Scripture, and the other relating to the Visitation of the County of *Steinsfurt*. He had Colleagues in the first; but he was sole Inspector-General in the second; the Count of *Bentheim* having sent for him to make Inquisition against *Socinianism*, which threatened his Country, and to regulate the Churches. *Altingius's* Elogy says, that he was not a quarrelsome Divine [G]; he did not spend his Time in trifling, insignificant, Scruples; he was not fond of Novelty; he was zealous for the ancient Doctrine; an Enemy to the Subtilties of the Schools; and relied only on the Scripture [H]. All Persons of his Profession ought to imitate his Conduct in the Management of their domestic Affairs [I]. They were spoken of no otherwise, than as being, in general, right. They afforded no other Topic for Conversation. He married at *Heidelberg* in the Year 1614, and had seven Children, of which one Daughter and two Sons survived him. The eldest was Professor of the Civil Law at *Deventer* (f). The following Article treats of the other.

(f) Taken from James Altingius's Life, among those of the Professors of Groningen, printed in France, in 1654.

mon Enemy, should have served as a powerful Recommendation of him; his Belief did not differ from that of *Wittenberg*, but in things not essential. If Men must hate and persecute each other for Religion, they should wait, at least, 'till they are like the People of *Egypt*, some in the Service of one God, and some in the Service of quite a different God.

Inter finitimos vetus atque antiqua simulas,
Immortale odium, & nunquam fanabile Vultus,
Ardet adhuc Ombos, & Tentyra, fummus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, quum solos credit habendos
Esse deos, quos ipse colit (9).

Ombos and Tentyr, neighb'ring Towns, of late
Broke into Outrage of deep-seated Hate.
A Grudge in both, time out of mind, begun,
And mutually bequeath'd from Sire to Son.
Religious Spite, and pious Spleen, bred first
This Quarrel, which so long the Bigots nurs'd.
Each calls the other's God a senseless Stock,
His own Divine; tho' from the self-same Block
One Carver fram'd them. T A T E.

Thus we see, that the Promoters of Ecclesiastical Wars always suppose, that their religious Disputes are of the greatest Consequence. It is a *Gangrene*, say they, it is undermining the Foundations of Religion.

[F] The Books he compos'd. Those, which have been published, are as follows. *Notæ in Decadem problematum Johanne Behm, de glorio Dei & beatorum cælo*, Heidelbergæ, 1618. *Loci communes cum dialectici tum elenctici: Problemata tam theoretica quam practica: Explicatio Catechesos Palatinæ cum cindictis ab Arminianis & Socinianis*, Amstelodami, 1646, in 3 Volumes. *Exegesis Augustanæ Confessionis una cum syllabo controversiarum Lutheranarum*, Amstelodami, 1647. *Methodus Theologiæ Didacticæ & Catechetiæ*, Amstelodami, 1650. Those, which are not published, are more in Number, and some of them are imperfect: The List of them is to be seen at the end of the Author's Life. I find there, that the *Medulla Historiæ Prophane*, published by *Daniel Pareus*, is a Work of our *Altingius*. It is a *Plagiarism*, which has not been observed by *Thomastius*, nor Mr *Almeloveen* (10). The Ecclesiastical History of the Palatinate, from the Reformation down to the Administrator *John Casimir*, is one of the most considerable among the Manuscript Works of *Altingius*.

[G] He was not a quarrelsome Divine. I shall set down the very Words of his Historian. "Alienus a jurgis & vitiliigiis cuminifectorum, ab iis distinctunculis & ineptis Sophistarum, quibus mysteria solitis potius implicantur quam explicantur; a scrupulofitatibus præciftarum, qui nodum querunt in

"scirpo, colant culicem, camelum deglutientes (11). (11) Vit. Jacobii Alting. "----- He avoided all Quarrels and Disputes about "Trifles, together with the idle Distinctions of the "Sophists, in which the Mysteries of Salvation are "rather taken for granted, than explained; likewise "the scrupulous Behaviour of the Fanatics, who carry "Religion to Superstition, strain out a Gnat, and swallow a Camel." The Sect of the Fanatics made a noise in *Holland*, about forty Years ago (12). It is very well characterised by these Words; they strain out a Gnat, and swallow a Camel; they open a Door to Disputes, which serve only to furnish the Prophane and Libertine with Arms. To go on; "Ab omni denique xaravapovia, & novatione in Theologico, quasi illud semper Tertulliani tenens, primum quodque verissimum. — Lastly, be avoided all Innovations in Divinity, adhering always to that Maxim of Tertullian, The first is the truest." There is no doubt, but that the love of Novelty is a Plague, which, having thrown Universities and Synods into a Flame, shakes and disorders a State, and sometimes overthrows it: So that we cannot too much commend those Professors, who recommend to their Pupils, to avoid this Spirit of Innovation. I confess, the Care, which is taken to recommend the Observation of the ancient and commonly received Doctrine, seems to imply a Principle of Authority in the Church, which is constantly rejected by the Protestants, when they have occasion to dispute with the Roman Catholics. But this ought not to discourage any one from preventing Innovations; for if a Reason were never to be made use of, 'till it were free from all Difficulties, every thing would be at a stand.

[Give me leave to remark here, an Error in our English Version of this proverbial Saying. We render it strain at a Gnat, and swallow a Camel; whereas both the Greek Term *διδυλίζω*, and the Latin *Colo*, signify to STRAIN OUT any thing, out of a Cup, or drinking Vessel, for instance, into which a Gnat or other Insect may have fallen. REM. CRIT.]

[H] An Enemy to the Subtilties of the Schools, and relied only on the Scripture. See what follows: "Theologiam probabat ac tuebatur solidam ac masculam, non ex lacunis Scholasticorum, etsi illarum inextertus non esset, sed ex fontibus Siloë & Scripturarum derivatam; ut gloriæ sibi duceret, se ab imperitis nonnullis ac natus Palæmonibus traduci, tanquam Theologum Scripturarum & Biblicum (13). (13) Vita — He approved of, and maintained, a sound and manly Divinity, not derived from the standing Pools of the Schoolmen, though he was not unacquainted with them, but from the running Brooks of Siloë, and the Scriptures; inasmuch that he thought it an Honour to be traduced by ignorant and scoffing Gramarians, as a Scriptural Bible-Divine."

[I] Persons of his Profession ought to imitate his Conduct, in the management of their domestic Affairs. It was only known, that no one knew the Transac-

(12) I wrote this in 1678.

* See REM. CRIT. below.

(9) Juvenal. Sat. xv. ver. 33.

(10) He has published a Catalogue of the Plagiarists of the End of his Amnestics Theologico-Philologicæ, Amst. 1694.

(14) *Ibid.*(15) *Com-
p. in E-
pist. Re-
m. ad Al-
ting. CRU-
TUS.*

ons of his Family, farther than that all things were done decently, and according to the fear of God. "Hinc in familia ejus omnia semper pacata, omnia ordinata, de qua hoc solum sciretur, quod à nemine sciretur quid in illa fieret, nisi quod piè, compositè, decenter omnia fieri neminem lateret (14)." This is much better than that whatever is said or done in a Minister's House should be the Subject of public Conversation. *Such a Piece of News was talk'd of there this Morning, says one (15); last Night such a Reflexion of a News-Writer was controverted there, will another say; he may excuse himself as Adam did, says a third, and say, The Wife whom thou gavest me, made me do it. What! says a fourth, you only heard this Circumstance at that Place; I mistrust it; it is an ill Office of Intelligence: The Nympha loquax, who prebides there, adds what she pleases to Relations:*

Give me none of her Glosses, or her Commentaries; I appeal to the Text, how uncertain soever it may be. It can be no wonder, that Altingius was so inconsolable after the Death of his Spouse, if it be true, as his Historian Relates, that he lived near thirty Years with her, without any Complaint or Quarrel. Cum ea per annos prope 30 sine rixa sine querela conjunctissime vixit (16). Few Persons can make this boast, and complain, that they are ignorant, whether the Effects of Reconciliation are as sweet in Marriage, as in Gallantry.

Amantium iræ amoris redintegratio est (17).

*Quarrels of Lovers only prove
New Fuel to the Fire of Love.*

(17) *Ter-
Addr. Act.
3. Sc. 3. ver.
23.*

ALTINGIUS (JAMES) Son of the preceding, was Professor of Divinity at Groningen. He was born at Heidelberg on the Twenty seventh of September 1618, during his Father's Deputation to the Synod of Dort. His Childhood was a perpetual change of Place [A]. He went thro' his Studies at Groningen with great Success; and, having a great Inclination to the Oriental Languages, he went to Embden, in the Year 1638, to study under Rabbi Gumprecht Ben-Abraham. He went into England, in the Year 1640; where he made himself known to the greatest Men: he preached there, and was admitted a Priest of the Church of England by the learned John Prideaux Bishop of Worcester. He had once resolved to pass his Life there; but he accepted the Hebrew Professorship, vacant by the Death of Gomar, at Groningen. He was installed there, the thirteenth of January 1643, the same Day that Samuel Des Marets was intalled in the Professorship of Divinity, which the same Gomar had exercised. Altingius's Titles and Offices increased with Time; He was admitted Doctor of Philosophy, the Twenty first of October 1645; Academical Preacher in the Year 1647; and Doctor and Professor of Divinity in 1667. He travelled twice to Heidelberg; once in the Year 1651, and afterward in the Year 1662, and had received a thousand Marks of Esteem from the Elector Palatine Charles Lewis; who solicited him several times to accept a Professorship of Divinity there; but he civilly declined it. He soon quarrelled with Samuel Des Marets, his Colleague, and it was almost impossible it should be otherwise; since their Method of teaching was quite different, nor did they agree in Principles on several Points. Altingius applied himself to the Scripture, without any Mixture of Scholastic Divinity; He was in the full Career of Glory; he still pressed forward, and wanted neither Wit nor Learning to support his Opinions. The first Lectures, which he read, at his own House, on the Catechism, drew so many Auditors, that, for want of Room in his Chamber, he was obliged to make use of the University Auditory. He had most of the Foreign Students on his side. His Colleague accustomed himself to the Distinctions and Method of the Schoolmen; he had been a long time famous; he published many Books, had a ready Wit, and great Learning; and the Students in Divinity of that Country applied themselves to him, as the surest way to obtain a Church; for all the Parishes were served by Ministers, who had studied according to his Method. This was more than sufficient to raise, and keep up a Division, tho' Temper were not concerned in it. Altingius had very great Obstacles to surmount. The Majority of Voices, and Authority of Age, were on his Adversary's side: Besides, Des Marets had an Advantage in his Favour, sufficient to arm all the World against his Antagonist, and to awaken the most venerable Prejudices; which was to represent Altingius as an Innovator; one who removed the sacred Boundaries, which our Fathers had so wisely placed on the Confines of Truth and Falshood. He set up for a public Accuser; and imputed Thirty one Erroneous Propositions to James Altingius. The Curators of the University sent the Accuser's Writing, and the Answer of the Accused Person, to the Divines of Leyden, without giving the Parties notice of it, and desired them to give their Opinion upon it. The Judgment they gave deserves to be taken notice of [B]. Altingius was declared innocent

of

[A] *His Childhood was a perpetual Change of Place.* For, at two Years of Age, he was sent to Christian Chytraeus, Minister of Bretten. The Year following, his Mother was obliged, on account of the impending Siege of Heidelberg, to retire to Heilborn, notwithstanding her being with Child, and she carried him with her; from whence, at the end of the Year, they were obliged to retire to Schorndorf. "Sequentem mox anno, propter imminentem Heidelbergæ obsequium, matre etiam comite, eaque tum gravidâ, Heilbornam, indeque exacto anno Schorndorfium missus est (1)." His Father, Henry Altingius, afterwards brought his whole Family to Embden, through By-ways. From Embden he removed to Leyden, where he was Preceptor to the King of Bohemia. The

(1) *Viti-
cobi Alting.*

Plague obliged him to go from Leyden to Honslaerdijk; lastly, he went from Honslaerdijk to Groningen, being invited thither to be Professor of Divinity, in the Year 1627. James Altingius was then nine Years of Age.

[B] *The Judgment they gave deserves to be taken notice of.* I pretend not to take any part in the particular Affair here in question; and shall content myself with remarking, that, in general, one cannot forbear, on occasion of the like Disputes, to judge, as the Divines of Leyden did. They, who advance new Hypotheses, pique themselves too much upon maintaining them, to the prejudice of Peace, and of the Ecclesiastical and Academical Tranquillity. They may be as Orthodox as they please; but they have not Prudence

(a) Cum Altingium ab omni Herefco notiafolverent, in ipfo autem prudentiam in procedendis novè inventis, in Marefio modèlliam & charitatem requirerent. *Vit. J. c. Altingii.*

of Herefy; they only blamed his Imprudence in framing new Hypothefes; on the other hand, *Des Marets* was declared to want Modesty and Charity (a). The latter refused to acquiefce in this Judgment, and would not accept the Offer of Silence. He infifted upon having the Cause examined by the Confiftories, the Claffes, and the Synods; but the Superiors would not confent to it, and prohibited writing either for or againft the Judgment of the Divines of *Leyden*: Thus *Des Marets's* Book, *Audi & alteram partem*, was fuppreffed. This Conteft made a great Noife, and might have been attended with bad Confequences, by the calling of *Des Marets* to the University of *Leyden* (b); but he died at *Groningen* (c) before he took Poffeffion of that Employ. He made a kind of Reconciliation on his Death-Bed [C]; I fhall fpeak of it in the Remarks. *Altingius* thought he had reafon to complain, that he was play'd upon [D]; and was not eafy after he was delivered from fo formidable an Adverfary. The Clergy murmured continually againft what they called Innovations [E]; but the Secular Power calm'd by it's Prudence thefe Synodal or Confiftorial Storms, and threatened to interdict thofe, who fhould revive the Quarrel of thefe two Champions in any Ecclefiaftical Affembly. *Altingius* enjoyed but little Health during the three laft Years of his Life; at length a continual Fever, which lafted but nine Days, took him out of the World on the Twentieth of *Auguft*, 1679. He died piously, refigning himfelf to the Will of God; and recommended the Edition of all his Works feveral times to his Coufin *Menfio Altingius*, Burgo-Mafter of *Groningen*.

(b) Et res miram habilitura catastrophen, Marefio quam fene ad Theologice Profefionem Lugdunum in Batavis vacato. *Ibid.*

(c) In May 1673.

(3) Alting. Tom. 5. Mantiffæ, pag. 425.

Prudence enough: They are guilty of Rafhnefs; for it is rafh Conduct to difturb the public Peace, without great and urgent Necessity. They, who oppofe a new Method of Teaching, betray too much Paffion: I am apt to believe, that, fometimes, they are not guided by any perfonal Confiderations in their Proceedings; but they carry matters too far, they alarm the whole Church for trifles; they fpread Apprehenfions among the People of a total Depravation of the Confeflion of Faith, when there is yet no Attempt made againft it. They are zealous, but neither moderate, nor charitable, nor equitable. Nay, they are as impudent, as their Adverfaries: They do not confider, that a new Method, of which no notice appears to be taken, falls of itfelf; whereas, if it be zealoufly oppofed, it degenerates into a Party. The new Methodift fhall have fome Relations in the Government, who will fupport him with all their Interelt; and thus you will foon fee a Combination of the Civil and Canon Law, and the Factions of the Church and State, matched together. What may not one apprehend from fuch a Conflict? How many Evils would Religion and the State avoid, if People were only contented to oppofe Fundamental Innovations?

[C] *A kind of Reconciliation on his Death-Bed.* A Minifter of *Groningen*, feeing *Des Marets* paff recovery, propofed to him a Reconciliation between him and his Colleague; and, having his Confent, went and propofed the fame thing to *Altingius*; who answered, that the Silence he had obferved, notwithstanding the Clamours, and the Writings of his Adverfary, was a Proof of his peaceable Difpofition; that he was always ready to accept of Peace on reafonable Terms; but that he defired Satisfaction for the Injuries, which had been publifhed againft his Honour; and that he did not fee, how any one could defire any Friendfhip with him, while he thought him to be fuch a Perfon, as he had reprefented him. The Mediator went away, without propofing any thing farther. A little while after, a Report was fpread all over the Town, that Mr *Altingius* was fo hard-hearted, as to refufe to be reconciled to his dying Colleague: So true it is, that Town Reports are little confiftent with Truth. The Mediator returned with another Minifter to Mr *Altingius*, and got a Formulary of Satisfaction from him. This Formulary did not pleafe the fick Perfon; and That, which the fick Perfon dictated, did not pleafe *Altingius*; more Goings and Comings were employed, than in the Capitulation of a Fortrefs. At laft, the Alteration, which *Altingius* inferted in the Formulary of *Des Marets*, being accepted, on condition, that *Altingius* fhould accept what *Des Marets* fhould add to it, that the Conditions might be equal on both Sides, they figned it; and this was all the Reconciliation. Note, that the Parties retracted only perfonal Injuries; as for doctrinal Accufations, the Accufer left them to the Judgment of the Church (2).

[D] *Altingius thought he had reafon to complain that he was play'd upon.* He founded his Complaint on the laft Edition of *Des Marets's* Syftem, in which he was

very ill treated. He pretended, that his Adverfary was bound to fuppreff all Monuments of their Difagreement; and that, fince he had not fuppreff'd fo outrageous a Libel, his Reconciliation was not fincere. "Poftquam autem ad plures abiit (*Marefius*) ----- monitus fui ego (3) de Syftematis novi perpetuis annotationibus, quæ infandis maledictis cum in alios, tum in me, confarent. Liber ille paucis ante mortem ipfius diebus vendi quidem cœperat, fed nondum in meas aedes fuerat illatus. ----- Curavi ergo afferri, atque inde didici quantopere D. Marefius mihi illuiffet, quando in fpeciem concordiam redintegrari expetit. Etenim quotiefcunque verum illud est ac fincerum votum, non tantum verbis pax initur, fed etiam abolerentur omnia monumenta prioris inimicitie. Tenera namque confcientia ad fuam ipfius infamiam fpectare retur, fi, quod ipfamet damnavit, atque ex fua memoria abolitum voluit, univerforum notitiæ ac Memoriz infixum deerit, editis contumeliofis chartis per univerfum orbem difseminatis. ----- After the Deceafe of *Des Marets*, I was informed of the perpetual Commentary of the New Syftem, which was fraught with unjust Affperfions, both on others, and myfelf. The Book indeed begun to be fold a few Days before his Death, but had not, as yet, come to my Hands. I took Care to procure it, and was convinced by it, how greatly *Des Marets* impofed upon me, when he appeared to follicit a Reconciliation. For, when fuch a Defire is real and fincere, a verbal Reconciliation is not thought fufficient, but all Remains of former Enmity are abolifhed. A tender Confcience will fcruple to perpetuate and fpread over the World, by libellous Writings, what itfelf has condemned, and would willingly forget." If I m^e be allowed to fpeak my Opinion freely, it feems to me unreafonable to expect that *Des Marets* fhould fuppreff a whole large Volume; if he had, the Bookfellerought certainly to have been indemnified; and thus the Expence of the Reconciliation would not have been a meer unpaying, a nullo factum; it would have been a pecuniary Lofs to the Family. The Queftion was not concerning three or four Leaves only, but the whole Work, as *Altingius* himfelf acknowledged. "Cum in ipfius effet poteftate totum opus fuppreffiffe, quæ unica fuprerat in opere uque quaque fibi conformi emendatio (4). ----- When it was in his own Power to have fuppreff'd the whole Work; which was the only Emendation left in a Work fo uniform from Beginning to End." It was enough, that he declared in a Writing under his Hand, that he retracted whatever he might have faid or publifhed againft his Adverfary's Reputation. "Ita ut indidta velit Cl. D. Marefius, fi quæ in didtis & fcriptis ipfius in famam Cl. D. Altingii incurere videantur (5)." With that alone he might die in form; & morto canonice mente*, as they fay beyond the Alps.

[E] *The Clergy murmur'd continually againft what they called Innovations.* The following Words will inform us of the Matter. "Qualis fuerit utriufque ante mortem mutua reconciliatio, ipfufmet Autoris Epifola, initio Mantiffæ tomii quinti pofta, teftatur. "Quiefcente

(2) Taken from a Letter of James Altingius, in the 5th Volume of his Works.

(4) Id. *ibid.*

(5) Id. *ibid.*

* He died canonically.

(d) Ex Vita Jacobi Altingii, in lumine Operum, Edit. Amst. 1687.

(*) In Vita Jac. Alting.

(*) Hor. tit. Arte Poet. lib. 1.

(*) Vita Jacobi Alting.

(*) Ibid.

Groningen. His Request was complied with some Years after his Death, by the Publication of Five Volumes in Folio [F]. He lived a single Life, 'till he was almost Thirty Years of Age; at which time he grew weary of that State, and married [G]. He purposed, if he had lived longer, to have composed two Books, one in *Latin*, and the other in *Dutch*; the first was to have been *An Apology for his Doctrine*, and the other *An History of his Life*, from the time of his Professorship; by which means we should have seen the Injustice which was done him (d), in creating him so many Troubles [H]. This is what I have extracted from his Life, prefixed to the First Volume of his Works. If any one finds Mistakes in this Article, I desire him not to impute them to me, who have only faithfully reported what I find in the Book, which I have cited. I advertise once for all, that I will not warrant the Truth of such Accounts. I conclude with this Remark; that *Altingius* was a Divine much attached to the Text of the Scripture, and to *Cocceianism* and *Rabbinism*. This latter Application exposed him to a terrible Injury [I]. He preached well in three Languages, in *German*, *Dutch*, and *English*.

"Quiescente *Marfio*, non sic tamen quiescendum sibi duxerunt, qui ipsius partium fuerant. Nihil autem adeo dedisse operam videntur, quam ut via quasi ecclesiastica per Synodos, Classes, & quas dicimus Correspondencias, *Altingii* opinionibus obfisterent. Ita variis quidem fluctibus postea jactatus vir optimus, suæ autem sententiæ tenacissimus, tandem fere enavit; siquidem quotiescunque aliquid poneret Ecclesiasticorum ordo, illud mox procerum edito vel consulto rejectum est. Imo exaltationis etiam poena in eos constituta, qui de contro-versiis *Marfio-Altingiani* in cœtu aliquo Pastorum quidquam moverent. Ita factum sæpius est, ut generalibus etiam verbis concepta gravamina de periculosis novitatibus in spongiam incubuerint (6).
"What kind of mutual Reconciliation was between them before his Death, we learn from the Author's own Epistle, at the beginning of the fifth Tome of the *Manitiffa*. Though Des Marets laid aside his Resentment, those of his Party did not so easily quit theirs. But they had no other Aim, than to oppose *Altingius*'s Opinions, in an Ecclesiastical Way, by Synods, Classes, and what we call Correspondencies. Thus this best of Men, but tenacious to the last of his Opinions, after being tossed with various Storms, with much Difficulty at length swam ashore; for, whenever the Order of Ecclesiastics proposed any thing against him, it was immediately rejected by the Authority of the Civil Power. Nay, the Penalty of Deprivation was decreed against those, who should, in any Assembly of Pastors, revive the *Marfio-Altingian Controversy*. Thus Complaints of dangerous Novelties, though couched in general Terms, often undergo the Spunge." Hence it appears, that *James Altingius* would have been in great Danger from the Divines, if he had not been protected by the Magistrate. It is certain that the Secular and Ecclesiastical Power stand in need of each other: The latter serves sometimes as a Spur to the former, and the former as a Bridle to the latter.

— — — alterius sic
Altera poscit opem res, & conjurat amice (7).

Thus mutually they need each others Aid.

ROSCOMMON.

[F] By the Publication of five Volumes in Folio.] The late Mr *Bekker*, then Minister at *Amsterdam*, who had been a Disciple, and good Friend of the Author's, took a particular Care of this Edition. It was published at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1687, and contains several kinds of Treatises, *Analytical*, *Exegetical*, *Practical*, *Problematical*, and *Philosophical*, which witnesses not only the laborious Life of *James Altingius*, but likewise his great Knowledge. His Diligence may be discovered in another Instance. Most learned Men become at length tired of writing Letters; but he never knew this Fault: He wrote Five thousand Letters; but they published but few of them. "Loquuntur Epistolæ, quarum tam paucas ex 5000 publicari potuisset, id equidem dolendum." Erat autem ad scribendas literas impiger (8). The bare Names of the Divines, with whom he corresponded, shew that he was no Poëtion.

[G] He lived a single Life 'till he was almost thirty Years of Age — and then married.] Vitam cælibem ad annum ætatis trigesimum fere perduxit, cuius tandem peritus junxit sibi tori sociam (9). Of eight Children, which God had given him, but three were

living when he died; one whereof was a Physician, another an Advocate, and the third bore Arms. The first and the last died soon after their Father.

[H] The Injustice which was done him, in creating him so many Troubles.] They, who choose the Words of the Original, rather than my Abridgment, may here be satisfied. "Dixit inter alia (*Altingius*) si Deus sibi vitam virelque concederet, stare sibi animum duos libellos in lucem mittendi, alterum quidem, quem orsus etiam est, quo se purgaret coram Ecclesiâ ab heterodoxis & hæreses crimine sibi intentato, alterum verò quo historiam vite suæ publicè panderet, ab eo tempore quando in Academia docere coepisset; unde cuius judicandum relinqueret, quo jure qua injuria tantum ipsi molestiarum creatum fuisset. Præ cæteris autem conquerebatur à malevolorum insidiis atque inimicitiiis stetit, quo minus ut vellet publico infervere potuisset (10). *Altingius* declared, among other things, that, if God granted him Life and Strength, he had determined to publish two Books; one of them (which he had even begun) in Vindication of himself, before the Church, from the Charge of Heterodoxy and Heresy, which had been brought against him; the other, the History of his public Life, from the time of his commencing Teacher in the University; from whence every one might judge, how justly, or unjustly, he had been involved in so many Troubles. But he particularly complained, that the Treachery and Enmity of ill designing Men, had prevented his being as serviceable to the Public, as he could have wished." It is certainly a very melancholy Consideration, that Civil Discord should prevent so many excellent Operators from exerting their Abilities in the Service of their Community, and against foreign Enemies; against whom all the Forces of a Party ought constantly to be kept united. I do not speak of the Scandal it occasions; for, on the contrary, we ought to be scandaliz'd at the little Scandal it gives. Is it, because to be properly diffused requires a Degree of Wit, to which few Persons attain? Is it because Custom renders Men at length less sensible; ab assuetis non fit passus? Whatever the Cause of it may be, it is certain that People have an excessive Indulgence for those, who keep up Discord, by violent, injurious, and cavilling Writings, under the false Pretence of Zeal. Nothing would more effectually correct the prevailing Itch in some People of libelling their Brethren by Book after Book, than for the World to shew they are offended in earnest at such a Conduct, and publicly to express their Contempt and Indignation. But while we see them follow the Party, which knows how to make the most Noise and Bustle, the Disease must be look'd upon as incurable.

[I] This latter Application exposed him to a terrible Injury.] He was called a half Jew; one who differed from a Jew only in the Foreskin; in short, one, who complained sometimes of not being Circumcised, and whose Foreskin was troublesome to him. The Occasion of these Abuses was, his having maintained, that the Points of the *Tetragramma* are not proper to That Name, and that therefore the true Pronunciation of it is not known, and that we ought not to accuse those of Jewish Superstition, who read it *Adonai*. The Judgment passed upon this Opinion was as follows: "Impudentia est Grammaticorum nonnullorum & filiorum Birci negare ex superstitione Judaica oriri, quod id nomen alter pronuncietur quam legitur Sed per nos homines semel Judæi doctrina, studio, affectu, commercio, & qui sole

IN WHAT the Scandal of Controversy at present consists.

"fere pondere præputi, & quo interdum se graviari dolent, distant à recutitis, infamant ut liberit—Vestra est impudentia, petulantia, & superbia in primogradu, quod austeris dicam scribere imperitiæ & ignorantia tot illustribus Ecclesiæ viris vobis etiam longe doctioribus, quod id nominis enunciat & pronunciant uti scribitur (11). — It is downright Impudence in certain Grammarians, and Sons of Bitch, to deny, that the Pronunciation of this Word differs from what it is read in owing to Jewish Superstition — But let these Men, who are Half-Jews in Doctrine, Study, Affection, and Commerce, and who differ from the Circumcised almost only in the Weight of the Prepuce, with which they sometimes complain of being burthened; let these Men, I say, be as mad as they please — Your Impudence, Sauciness, and Pride, is of the biggest Degree, in daring to charge with Unskilfulness and Ignorance so many Ornaments of the Church; whose Learning

far exceeds your own; for uttering and pronouncing this Name as it wrote." Was this a sufficient Reason for being so very angry? and have we not here an Example of what an Heathen Philosopher judiciously remarked? "Crede mihi, levia sunt, propter quæ non leviter exandescimus, qualia quæ pueros in rixam & jurgium concitant. Nihil ex his, quæ tam tristes agimus, serius est, nihil magnum. Inde, inquam, vobis ira & infantia est, quod exigua magno æstimatis (12). — Believe me, we fall into a violent Passion for meer Trifles; such as set Children a fighting. None of these things, which give us so much Uneasiness, are serious; none of them of Importance. From hence, I say, arise this childish Anger of yours, that you set a great Value upon things of little Moment." Could there be a severer Censure, than this, of one who should set his Apostacy to sale, and should only wait for the Solution of three or four small Difficulties in order to turn Jew?

(12) Seneca de Ira, lib. 3. cap. 34.

AMABLE, a Priest of Riom in Auvergne, in the Vth Century, is praised by Gregory of Tours, as a Man admirable for his Holiness, and who wrought many Miracles (a). It is said he had Power over Serpents: Thus that Historian expresses himself; but he speaks of another Particular, as an Eye-Witness. I have seen at his Sepulchre, says he, a Demoniack dispossessed; I have seen a perjured Person there become as stiff as an Iron Bar, and, after confessing his Crime, become as free as before. When such a Man as Gregory of Tours makes use of as it is said, 'tis a sign, that the thing is not very certain; nevertheless this Empire over Serpents has passed for the most unquestionable Fact among all that are attributed to St Amable. One would think it was his Lot, or, to speak like a Mallebranchist (b), that God had established him the occasional Cause of the Cure of those, who were bit by Serpents. A modern Author, tho' a Canon in the City, of which St Amable is Patron (c), confesses that he does not believe all the Miracles, which are reported of him in the Lives of the Saints of Auvergne, and in several other Legends (d); but declares on the other side, that he firmly believes That Saint had a Sovereign Power over Serpents, because the wonderful Effects of it had been universally attested for the Space of 1300 Years [A]; and because he had had the Happiness of seeing some of them himself (e). He questions much the Truth of a certain Tradition, which prevailed at Riom concerning this Saint; to wit, that, when he went to Rome on foot, the Sun attended upon him as his Valet, and carried his Gloves and Cloak in the Air, like an Umbrello, during the great Heat, and kept off the Rain from him in bad Weather (f). This Tradition passeth for so certain in that Country, that they seldom draw St Amable's Picture, without his Gloves and his Cloak being supported in the Air by a Sun-Beam. Credat Judæus Appelles (g), says he, non ego. This is sufficient, without any Reflexion of my own, to give to this Article the Form, which this Dictionary seems to require. A mere Relation of such things is an Heap of Errors.

(c) Riom:

(d) Faydit, ubi supra. pag. 102.

(e) Ibid. p. 101.

(f) Ibid. p. 103.

(g) Thus he writes the Word. Horace, Sat. 6. lib. 1. grevis it Appella, which is more agreeable to the Rules of Quantity.

[A] The wonderful Effects of it were universally attested for the Space of 1300 Years.] This Calculation does not agree exactly with what is said in the following Page; that Gregory of Tours lived but about fifty or sixty Years after St Amable. It is not necessary to prove, that the Words do not signify, that he was born fifty or sixty Years after that Saint; it is plain enough that they import, that he was arrived to Manhood, when St Amable had been dead fifty or sixty Years. According to this, the Death of this

Saint should fall about the beginning of the Vth Century; for Gregory of Tours lived but about Fifty two Years, and died in the Year 594 (1). Now if the Miracles of this Saint of Riom had been seen for the Space of 1300 Years, about the end of the XVIIth Century, he must have flourished about the end of the IVth Century; and, upon this Supposition, it cannot be said that a Man of twenty Years of Age in 562 lived fifty or sixty Years after him.

(1) Father Labbé de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. p. 38. Most Authors place his Death in the Year 596.

AMAMA (SIXTINUS) Professor of the Hebrew Tongue, in the University of Franeker, was a very learned Man. He was of Friesland, and had been a Disciple of Drusus [A]. The University of Leyden, which endeavours to procure the most famous Professors of the neighbouring Universities, by offering them more considerable Advantages, endeavoured to draw him from the University of Franeker (a). It was to succeed Erpenius, who had been one of the most learned Men of his Age in the Oriental Languages. Amama did not absolutely refuse this Invitation, neither did he absolutely accept of it; he consented, upon condition of obtaining his Dismission from his Superiors of Friesland. But they did not grant it (b), and no doubt they gave him such additional Advantages, that he had no reason to repent his not being Professor at Leyden. The first Book he published was a Specimen of a noble Design he had conceived. He had undertaken to censure the Vulgar Translation, which the Council of Trent had declared authentic; and, before his whole Design was executed, he published a Criticism on the Version of the Pentateuch (c); Thus he commenced Author (d). He was preparing the Continuation of this Criticism, when he was called off

(1) Te obsecrantem (says he to Gomarus) primus ille adolecentium meæ fatus in dias luminis oras prodit. Sixt. Amama Anti-barb. Bibl. pag. 20. I believe he had already published, in 1618, a small Treatise de Decimis Mosaicis of 9 Pages in 4to, which was reprinted at London in 1660.

[A] And had been a Disciple of Drusus.] This is evident from several Passages of the Antibarbarus Biellius. As for Sixtinus, whose Disciple they make him in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, I

confess he is absolutely unknown to me; and I question much whether they ever heard of him in the United Provinces.

(c) 1623.

(f) Amama
ubi sup,
pag. 160.

off to other Matters; I mean to collate the *Dutch* Version of the Scripture with the Originals, and the exactest Translations. This *Dutch* Translation had been made from *Luiber's* German Version. He gave the Public an Account of his Labours, in a Work, which he published (e) at *Amsterdam* in the *Vulgar* Language, intitled *Bybelsche Conferentie*. This Work is taken notice of in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary [B]. This Care of collating was full Employment for *Amama*; inasmuch that the Publication of this Book, and of some *Grammatical Pieces*, prevented him a considerable time from applying himself to his Censure of the *Vulgate* (f). He resumed this Work, upon hearing that *Father Merfennus* had undertaken to refute him, as to the Six first Chapters of *Genesis* [C]. Leaving, then, every other Work, he applied himself to justify his Criticisms against that Author. His Answer is one of the Pieces, of which the *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus*, which he published in 1628, is composed. The other Pieces are a Criticism on the *Vulgate* in relation to the Historical Books of the Old Testament, on *Job*, the *Psalms*, and the Books of *Solomon*; with some particular Dissertations. One of them is on the famous Passage of the *Proverbs*, *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his Way*, wherein *Amama* shews, that they, who accused *Drusus* of favouring *Arianism*, were downright Calumniators. The *Anti-Barbarus Biblicus* was intended to consist of Two Parts, each containing three Books. The Author published only the first. It was reprinted after his Death [D]; and the fourth Book was added to it, which contains the Censure of the *Vulgar* Translation, on *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. It is impossible to ward the Blows he gives to the *Vulgate*, and to answer the Reasons, by which he shews the Necessity of consulting the Originals. And indeed few learned Men of the *Romish* Communion will deny it; they only maintain (to save the Honour of the last Council) that they did not pretend to submit the Originals to the Authority of the *Vulgar* Translation. It is not the Question here to examine, whether this can be said in earnest. Our *Sixtinus* so strongly persuaded to the Study of the Original Languages of the Bible, that some Synods, influenced by his Reasons, ordered, that thenceforth no one should be admitted a Minister, without at least a moderate Skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* of the Bible [E]. I must not forget the Zeal he shewed in putting

[B] This Work is taken Notice of in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary.] The Supplement says, that, according to Mr *Simon*, *The design* of *Sixtinus Amama*, in his Book, is to shew, that the *Dutch Bible*, which was read among the Protestants of the Low Countries, and had been translated from the German of *Luther*, was full of Faults; this he shews every plainly, add they. To give the Reader fuller Information in this Matter, I shall set down the very Words of the Author, who is here cited. *The Protestants of the Low Countries*, says Mr *Simon*, in his Letter to Mr P. concerning the Inspiration of the sacred Books, Page 10. built their Reformation only on a *Dutch Version*, which was made from that of *Luther*; but at last — they resolved to set about a new Translation. For this Purpose *Sixtinus Amama* composed a Book in Dutch, intitled *Bybelsche Conferentie*, wherein he shews at large, that it was necessary to publish a new Bible for the Dutch Churches. He says, that the *Dutch Translation*, which they read in their Churches, and which had been taken from that of *Luther*, contained in certain Places more Faults than Verses; and gives a great many Examples of it in that Work. At Page 11. Mr *Simon* has these Words — It is true that the Calvinists of the Netherlands rejected their ancient Translation, and composed a new one. But if they followed, in their new Translation, the Method, which *Sixtinus Amama* proposes in his *Bybelsche Conferentie*, it cannot be exact; for, to make his Reformation, he only follows *Pagninus*, *Junius*, and *Tremellius*, the Bible of *Zurich*, the French of *Geneva*, the German of *Piscator*, the Spanish of *Cyprian* de *Valera*, the Italian of *Diodati*, the English of *Geneva*, and other new Translations: — which are all faulty.

[C] *Father Merfennus* had undertaken to refute him, as to the six first Chapters of *Genesis*.] *Rivetus* informed him of it; otherwise he had run the Risk of being unacquainted with it a long time; for he had never before heard of such a Man as *Father Merfennus*. These are his Words, in his Epistle Dedicatory (1). "Abstine que te fuisse, Cl. *Rivete*, nomen *Merfenni*, qui VI. priorum *Genesis* capitum adversus meas stricuras suscepit patrocinium, etiamnum juxta cum ignarissimis ignorassem. Tu primus mihi indicium, tu vocalum copiam fecisti, tu ad modestam & mansuetam replicationem hortamentis tuis me animasti. — Had it not been for you, *Rivetus*, I had known

"no more, than the most ignorant, of the Name of *Merfennus*, who has patronized the six first Chapters of *Genesis* against my Strictures. You gave me the first Notice of, you procured me a Sight of, the Work, and you animated me by your Advice to a moderate and good-natured Reply." I wonder he did not insert in his *Antibarbarus* the Prelude to his Answer, which he had published in the Year 1627, with this Title *Epistola apud egyptu ad Marinum Marfennum* (2). *Cranius* has inserted it in the third Part of his *Animadversiones* (3).

[D] It was reprinted after his Death.] At *Franker*, in 4to, in the Year 1656. Mr *Baillet* mentioned this Edition in his *Anti*, at the Three hundred and fiftieth Page of the second Tome. "I must not forget, says he, the *Anti-Barbarus*, which a Professor of Hebrew of the University of *Franker*, in *Friesland*, whose Name is *Sixtinus Amama*, published on the Text of the Holy Scripture, in the Year 1626, in 4to, in the Town where he taught. — The Work is intermixed with several small Dissertations and Discourses, which spoil it's Oeconomy." Note, that they have inserted in the new Edition of the *Great Critic* (4), his Criticism on the *Vulgate* of the *Pentateuch*, and his Notes on the Historical Books, on the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, and *Ecclesiastes*, which had never been printed.

[E] Some Synods, influenced by his Reasons, ordered, that thenceforth no one should be admitted a Minister without a moderate skill in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* of the Bible.] These are the Words of the Act, which was passed upon this Account by the Synod of *Friesland*, held at *Harlingen* in the Year 1624. "Decretum est, ut in posterum Theologie Candidati quotquot ad examen Ministerii Ecclesie admitti desiderabunt, præter testimonia Senatus Academici & Theologie Professorum, exhibeant etiam testimonia Professorum Ebraeæ & Græcæ linguæ, quibus doceant se in prædictis linguis eos saltem progressus fecisse, ut originalem Veteris Novique Testamenti textum mediocriter possint intelligere, utque in Classe ista, cujus examini se offerunt, ejus quoque rei specimen edere teneantur. — It is decreed, that, for the future, whatever Candidates in Divinity shall desire to be admitted to the Examination of the Ministry of the Church, besides the Testimonials of the University Senate, and the Professors of Divinity, shall produce likewise

(2) See the Oxford Catalogue, where instead of *Marfennus*, they have put *Marfennum*.

(3) Printed at Leyden in 1656.

(4) Published in Holland, 1698. See Bibliotheca novorum librorum, for July and Aug. 1698. pag. 453.

(1) It is dated Dec. 27, 1626.

putting a stop to a Vice, which prevailed as much in the University of *Franker*, as in those of *Germany*, I mean Drunkenness [F]. He made a warm Speech on this Subject in 1621. They were so well satisfied with him in *Friesland*, that, after his Death, which happened in the Month of *December* 1629 (g), they were very liberal to his Children, as *Nicolas Amama*, one of them, testifies with great Acknowledgment, in the Epistle Dedicatory of a certain Book [G].

rin, who supposes, Exercit. Biblic. part. 1. pag. 61, that he taught at *Franker*, in 1633, are therefore

(g) König, who says, he was living in 1630, and Father Marnifaken.

"Those of the Hebrew and Greek Professors, testifying, that they have made such a Progress at least in the aforesaid Tongues, as to have acquired a moderate Skill in the Original Text of the Old and New Testament; and that they shall be obliged to give a Specimen of their Abilities, in that Class, to whose Examination they offer themselves." It appears, by the same Act, that it was the *Supplex Paraneſis* of *Amama* (5), some Copies of which had been distributed among the Assembly, which occasioned the taking of this good Resolution.

(5) It is a part of the Anti-barbarus Biblicus, and had been already printed twice.

[F] The Zeal he shewed in putting a Stop to — Drunkenness. We must not ascribe the vigorous Resolutions, which were taken against this Irregularity, principally to *Sixtinus Amama*; it is enough if we say that he contributed to it; and had he only harangued, and publicly congratulated those, who reformed the University in this respect, he would merit great Praise. He acknowledges, that *Amſius*, Professor of Divinity, and *Hachting*, Professor of Logic, having been admitted into the Academical Senate, and finding themselves supported by the Rector of the University, undertook the Reformation of this Disorder courageously, and with happy Success. He congratulates them upon it, and dedicates his Speech *de barbarie morata* to them upon that account. The Reader will be pleased to see how he expresses himself, and the Difficulties which those Reformers met with. "Ad primam occasionem — intrepidus & commaculatis animis horrendas illas & feroces belluas Ebrietatem & Licentiam, quæ hic stabulantur, ex Academia ejecisti, ac Christianam disciplinam, jam desperatam, Deo supra quam à quoquam sperari potuisset benedicente, Academicæ redonasti. Cujus præclari & æternæ gratitudinis dignissimi facinoris, sicuti invidiam apud dissolutam & barbaram juventutem sustinuiſti, & quasi præpiliatis hastis objecti fuisti soli, ita & æquissimum cenſeo, ut

"vobis quoque præ aliis tam egregii operis gloria transcribatur (6). — Upon the first Opportunity — with great Courage and Resolution, you drove out of the University those horrible and fierce Monsters, Drunkenness and Licentiousness, which had here stabled, and, by an extraordinary Assistance from Heaven, restored to the University That Christian Discipline, which it despaired to recover. And as this glorious Exploit, so worthy of eternal Gratitude, exposed you to the Envy and rude Attacks of a dissolute and barbarous Youth, so I think it but just, that the Honour of so excellent a Work should be principally ascribed to you." He gives a shocking Account of the Debauchery, which reigned in some Universities. All the new Comers lifted themselves in the Service of *Bacchus* with certain Solemnities, and were obliged to swear by a *St Stephen* of Wood, that they would spend all their Money. If any one had more regard to the Oath, which he had taken to the Rector of the University, than to this pretended Bacchanalian Oath, he was so persecuted by the debauched Scholars, that he was obliged either to leave the University, or to comply with the rest. He added to his Speech some Fragments of *Alfredius's* Complaints on the same Subject. *Bellarmin* deploras, with great Vehemence, in his twentieth Sermon, the Drunkenness, which prevailed in the University of *Louvain* (7).

(6) Sixt. Amama, in Preliminar. Anti-barbari Bibl.

[G] NICOLAS AMAMA — testifies, with great Acknowledgment, in the Epistle Dedicatory of a certain Book. It was printed in the Year 1661. It is an Octavo of Six hundred Pages, entituled, *Dissertationum marinarum decas*, wherein there is much Reading; and the Author departs in many things from *Aristotle's* Opinions, without adding himself to the new Philosophy. He has innovated in the very Orthography.

(7) Amama observes this in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Speech de Ebrietate.

A M A S Æ U S (ROMULUS) Professor of Greek and Latin at *Bologne*, in the XVIth Century [A], and Secretary to the Senate (a), distinguished himself by his Learning, and his Employments. He was originally of *Bologne*, and born at *Udine*, in *Frioul*. Pope *Paul III* appointed him Preceptor to his Grandson, *Alexander Farneſe* (b). He was afterwards employed in more important Affairs; he was deputed to the Emperor and to the Princes of the Empire, and to the Court of *Poland*. No Man of Learning appeared with greater Lustre at the Court of *Rome*, under the Pontificate of *Julius III*. He was that Pope's Secretary. He gave Proofs of his Knowledge in the Greek Language by a Translation of *Pausanias*, and another of a Work of *Xenophon* (c). He composed likewise a Volume of Speeches, and a Work intituled *Scholæ duæ de ratione instituendæ*. As for the two Pieces he had written, in which he made it appear, that the Latin Language is more beautiful than the Italian, they were never printed (d). Some say that he died in the Year 1558, being 69 Years old [B]. He left a Son, whose Name was *Pompilius*, and who did not degenerate; for he understood, and translated, Greek. He was likewise Professor of that Tongue at *Bologne* (e). I believe he translated only

(a) See Remark [B].

(b) And not his Nephew, as Du Rier renders the word Nepos of Thuanus.

(c) His Expedition of Cyrus the younger.

(d) Thuan. lib. 21. pag. 432. and the Additions of Mr. Teiffier.

(e) Bualdus cited by Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, Tom. 4. pag. 400.

[A] AMASÆUS (ROMULUS) Professor of Greek and Latin — in the XVIth Century. Moreri was not mistaken in his Chronology: It should not therefore have been altered, as it is, in the Dutch Edition, where, instead of the XVIth Century, they have put the XIVth. Three things wanted Correction in this Article, which ought not to have been passed over. I. It was too dry, and lean. II. It should have been under AMASÆUS, not ROMULUS. III. It should not have been said, that *Amasæus* translated the Works of *Xenophon*, but that he translated the seven Books, which *Xenophon* composed of the Expedition of *Cyrus the Younger*.

[B] Some say, that he died in the Year 1558, being Sixty nine Years old. Thuanus is mistaken in placing the Death of *Romulus Amasæus* in the Year 1558. For this *Romulus* was dead from the Year 1552. We have a Proof of this in a Letter of *Giovanni Antonio Serone*, an intimate Friend of *Romulus*,

dated the twentieth of October of That Year, and inserted in the Collection of *Turchi*, pag. 257. This is what *M. de la Monnoie* did me the Favour to write to me. Besides, if *Amasæus* died in the Year 1558, there would be reason to say, that he lived Sixty nine Years; for the Day of his Birth is marked, in the Figures of *Luke Gauric*, on the Twenty fourth of June 1489 (1). I have met with three or four Particulars in This Work of *Gauric*, which I shall insert here. *Amasæus* was lean, very tall, bald, and had a small Head. He was Secretary to the Senate of *Bologne*, and taught Eloquence in the same City, having a Salary of Three hundred Crowns per Annum. He taught afterwards at *Rome* in the Time of *Paul III*, having a Pension of Six hundred Crowns, *natus Pauli III. ex lætura in urbe habebat 600 aureos*. *Thuanus* was ignorant of this.

(1) Figures of Gauric, folio 72. Edit. Venet. 1552.

[C] Translated

(f) This is Casaubon's Judgment, in Baillet, *ibid.*

(g) Huetius de claris Interpretibus, pag. 122. Edit. Batav.

only two Fragments of the sixth Book of *Polybius* [C]; in which he discovered a greater Capacity, than *Perottus* and *Musculus* did in translating That Author (f). Yet a learned Man accused him of omitting all the difficult Passages, and contenting himself with referring the Reader elsewhere, for the Interpretation of them (g). As for his Father, it is agreed, that he was a great Lover of Elegancy, and Periphrasis; he enlarged what was too concise, and contracted what was too diffuse; and cleared up obscure Passages (b). His Translation of *Pausanias* stood in need of *Sylburgius's* Revision.

(h) This is Huetius's Judgment of him, *ibid.*

[C] Translated only two Fragments of the sixth Book of *Polybius*.] *Pompeius Amasæus*, having translated those Fragments, which treat of the Military Discipline of the *Romans*, explained them in a Commen-

tary, which is among the Manuscripts of *Tibullius's* Library (2). This Manuscript is in *Italian*. The Author translated those Fragments both into *Latin*, and his Mother Tongue.

(2) Page 433.

AMASTRIS, Niece of the last *Darius*, and Wife of *Dionysus* Tyrant of *Heraclea*. Look for her History in the Article of That *Dionysus*. You will likewise find there the Town of AMASTRIS, built by this Princefs.

AMBOISE (FRANCIS d') a *Parisian*, deserves to be ranked among those, whom the Profession of Letters raised to worldly Honours. He was the Son of a Surgeon to *Charles* the Ninth, and was maintained, by the Liberality of That Prince, in the College of *Navarre*, whilst he pursued his Rhetorical and Philosophical Studies. He taught afterwards in That College; for we find, that, in 1572, he had already taught the second Class four Years. He was then made Procurator of the *French* Nation. He applied himself afterwards to the Civil Law, and became a very good Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; after which he had the Post of Chancellor in the Parliament of *Brittany*; lastly he was Master of the Requests (a), and Counsellor of State (b). He travelled into several remote Countries [A]. He published several pieces of *French* Poetry in his Youth, and some *Latin* Verses; which doubtless he did not think much to his Reputation, when he was advanced to Dignities; for they represent to us a Poet, who sent his Muse backwards and forwards, sometimes with Compliments of Condolance, at other times with Compliments of Congratulation; in a word, they give us the Idea of a Compliment-Bearer of *Parnassus* to the great Lords. You will see below the Titles of some Books of our *Francis d'Amboise*. They seem to me less fit to immortalize his Name, than the Pains he took in collecting the Manuscripts of *Peter Abelard* [C], and in adding an *Apologetical Preface*,

(b) In the Edition of *Abelard's* Works he has the Title of Equitus Regis in functione Consistorii Consiliarii, Rerum Chartarum, &c.

(a) Ex Michaele Thuriotio in laudatione Hadriani Amboisii. See Launoii Hist. Gymnasii. Navar. pag. 739. 800. See also pag. 336.

(1) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franc. pag. 86.

(2) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 365.

(3) At Page 42.

(4) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 365.

(5) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc. p. 87.

(6) Du Verdier, ubi supra.

(7) La Croix du Maine, pag. 87.

[A] He travelled into several remote Countries (1)] *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* remarks, that *Francis d'Amboise* made a Description of the Kingdom of Poland at Warsaw, when the Duke of Anjou, at present King of France, was elected King of Poland (2). This was one of his Expeditions. It cannot be determined by the Words, which I have cited, whether he went into Poland in the Retinue of the new King, or whether he was there, when the Duke of Anjou was elected. This latter Sense would be the only one, which ought to be given to these Words, if *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* were an exact Writer. See *Francis d'Amboise's Treatise of Devices*, where we find (3), that, at the Time of that Election, he was in That Country at the House of the Bishop of *Valence*. This *Treatise of Devices* is a Posthumous Work. It was printed at *Paris*, for *ADRIAN d'AMBOISE*, the Author's Son. This Son published, the following Year, at *Paris*, a little Treatise of his own, entitled *Moral Devices*.

[B] The Titles of some Books of our *Francis d'Amboise*.] Viz. An Elegy on the Death of Anne de Montmorency, Peer and Constable of France, with a Latin Panegyric, and a French Ode on the Disaster of France, in 1568 (4). A Panegyric on the Marriage of Henry of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, and Catherine of Cleves, Countess of Eu, in 1570 (5). The Tomb of Messire Gilles Bourdin, the King's Attorney-General in the Parliament at *Paris*, being three Sonnets, an Elegy translated from the Latin of Antony Valet, and some Latin Hendecasyllabic Verses, in 1570 (6). The Loves of *Clio*; in which there is a Poem intitled, *The Desperadoes*, or Amorous Eclogues, in 1572 (7). Comical Amours, containing several facetious Histories, and, among others, That, which he calls the Neapolitan Ladies, in 1584. The Neapolitan Ladies is a Translation of an Italian Comedy. He calls himself at the beginning of this Translation *Thierry de Timophila G. Picard*, and he takes the same Disguise in the Title of the Funeral Lamentations of certain Animals, which he translated from the Italian in 1576, and in the Title of the Familiar Dialogue of Young Ladies, which he published in 1583. *La Croix du Maine*, who informed

me of this, says that this Author understood many Languages, and that he had published several Works in *Latin*. His Collection of *Devices* was published after his Death, in the Year 1620.

[C] The Pains he took in collecting the Manuscripts of *Peter Abelard*.] His Diligence in this deserved a public Acknowledgment. We are indebted to him for a very good Edition of the Writings of that famous Logician. It contains I. The Letters, which passed between *Abelard* and *Heloise*, to which is prefixed his own Account of his Misfortunes. II. The Letters which he wrote to other Persons; with those of *St Bernard*; the Abbot of *Clugny*, &c. concerning his Errors, his Condemnation, or his Death; and some Treatises, which one of his Disciples published for him. III. Some Dogmatical Treatises of *Abelard*; as his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, That of the Apostle's Creed; That of *St Athanasius's* Creed; His Answer to some of *Heloise's* Questions; a Commentary on *St Paul's* Epistle to the *Romans*. IV. Several Sermons on the principal Holidays. V. An Introduction to Theology, containing his Book of the Trinity. VI. The learned Notes of *Andrew du Chesne* on the History of *Abelard's* Calamities. There are besides some other Works of this Author, which are not printed. You may find the Titles of them in the Supplement of *Father Oudin* (8), with the Libraries where they are to be found. *Francis d'Amboise* procured a French Translation of the Rules, which *Abelard* prefcribed to the Nuns of the *Paraclet*. His Apologetical Preface displeased several People, and it was the Opinion of some, that it occasioned the Proceedings of the Court of *Rome* against the Work, which he published. "And if, not long ago, the printed Works " of *ABAYELARD* were put in the expurgatory " Index of *Rome*, I believe the Fault is not so much " to be imputed to the Author, as to the Preface- " Writer, who, instead of cautioning the Reader a- " gainst such and such Passages of *ABAYELARD*, " undertook to defend them." They are the Words of the Author of the Antiquities of *Milan*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris* (9). It cannot be said, that he wrote the Life of *Peter Abelard* (10); he only

(8) Page 413.

(9) Sebastian Rouillard, pag. 300. His Book was printed at Paris 1623.

(10) Yet it is so said in the Catalogue Astorum Catalogum &c. of M. Telfier, pag. 290.

Preface, which is prefixed to the Edition of the Year 1616 [D]. This Preface informs me of a Particular, which I have not met with in the History of the College of Navarre; to wit, that he published a small Treatise of the Council, and a Preface to the History of Gregory of Tours [E]; in which he vindicates that Historian from the Accusations of Flaccius Illyricus; but gives him up in relation to the two Dionysius's, the Areopagite, and him of Corinth. He holds his Rank, under the fictitious Name of Thierry de Timophile, in the List of Disguised Authors, published by Mr Baillet. I have something to add concerning the Edition of Peter Abelard's Works commonly ascribed to our Francis d'Amboise [F].

only gave a short Account of his principal Adventures. There are many Errors in that Account; this is not a proper Place to take notice of them: But, without departing from the true Subject of this Remark, I may very well say, that Francis d'Amboise did not procure to Peter Abelard all the Glory he intended him by the Edition of his Works. The Public did not find, in the Writings of That Author, that great Subtlety, and Force, which rendered him so Famous during his Life. Let us hear Sebastian Roillard once more: "As to ABATELARD's Writings, they do not seem to me to answer the great Praises and Encomiums bestowed upon him by so many eminent Authors. And therefore I am persuaded, that the Excellency of That Author consisted in a ready Wit, an eloquent and copious Discourse, and a Philosophical Genius, which rendered him formidable and invincible in all kinds of Disputation. As, in our time, we have seen two or three Persons, who acquired a great Esteem by some of these Perfections; and yet what they have printed has fallen very short of what every one would have expected from them (11)."

[D] An Apologetical Preface, which is prefixed to the Edition of the Year 1616.] The Convenience of Arithmetical Figures has likewise it's Inconveniences. Printers commit a thousand Faults in them, which Correctors overlook; this multiplies Beings extravagantly, and without any Necessity. We have an Example of it here. Some place this Edition of Abelard in the Year 1606 (12), others in the Year 1626 (13). No doubt this will induce some Authors to say, that Abelard's Works were printed three times in the Space of twenty Years; and, as some tell us they were printed in Folio in the Year 1616 (14), this is another way of multiplying the Editions without Necessity.

[E] A Preface on the History of Gregory of Tours.] I question not but it is that, of which the Abbot de Marolles speaks thus (15): "His History of the French (speaking of Gregory of Tours) which is the finest of all his Works, was formerly translated by Claudius Bonnet, a Gentleman of Dauphiné (16), who filled himself Doctor of the Civil and Canon Law; on which Mr Henry d'Amboise, Master of the Requests, made a pretty long Preface, address'd to Madame Henrietta de Balzac, Marchioness of Verneuil, which was printed at Paris, in 8vo, for Claudius de la Tour, in 1610."

[F] I have something to add concerning the Edition of Peter Abelard's Works, commonly ascribed to our Francis d'Amboise.] This Remark is not my own; I give it in the express Terms of it's Author (17). "There are Copies of Abelard's Works, which carry in their Title-page the Name of Mr d'Amboise;

"but there are others, to which the Name of Andrew du Chesne is prefixed, with this Title; "Petri Abelardi, Sancti Gildardi in Britannia Abbatis, & Heloissæ conjugis ejus, quæ postmodum prima cenobii Paracletici Abbatis fuit, Opera, nunc primum eruta ex M.S.S. Codicibus, & in lucem edita; studio ac diligentia Andreae Quercetani, Turonensis, Parisiis, Nic. Buon, 1616, in 4to. ----- The Works of Peter Abelard, Abbot of St Gildas, in Brittany, and Eloisa his Wife, afterwards first Abbess of the Convent of the Paraclet, now first published from the Manuscripts, by Andrew du Chesne of Tours, Paris, N. Buon, 1616, in 4to." It is highly probable, that we are indebted to this famous Native of Tours for this Edition. In the Abstract of the Privilege, prefixed to the Copy, which bears the Name of du Chesne, we are expressly told, that these Works were printed under the Care of Andrew du Chesne, edita Studio Andreae Quercetani; whereas in the Copy, which bears the Name of Amboise, the Privilege says not a Word of the Person, who had the Care of collecting these Works. Whence, if a Conjecture may be allowed, we may infer, that, through some secret Motive, which it was not thought proper to transmit to Posterity, du Chesne made over the Credit of this Work to Mr d'Amboise, who, at that time, was in a Condition of being obliged to him for such a Sacrifice. However this be, the two Copies of du Chesne and d'Amboise, which I have seen, are not in all respects alike; for instance, that of du Chesne begins with an Epistle Dedicatory, address'd to Monf. Benjamin Brichant, Bishop of Laon, and Abbot of St Genevieve. This Dedication is wanting in the pretended Edition of d'Amboise, as well as the Preface, which du Chesne added; in which, after telling us, in general, who Abelard and Eloisa were, he gives an Account of what he had done, to render this Edition of that famous Logician as perfect as he could: He speaks respectfully of all those, who had assisted him with their Manuscripts; and acknowledges himself oblig'd to Mr d'Amboise for the Letters, and other small Pieces. After this Preface follow the Testimonia Veterum de Abelardo & Heloissa, which are wanting likewise in the Copy of Mr d'Amboise. The Edition of this Counsellor of State, on it's Part, has an Apologetical Preface for Abelard, which is wanting in du Chesne's Edition. In every thing else they are alike; and the two Copies answer Page for Page. It will not, perhaps, be unnecessary to inform the Public of this double Title, for fear it should occasion hereafter another increase of the Editions of Abelard, as has been already remarked."

AMBOISE (ADRIAN d') younger Brother of the preceding, advanced himself no less than Francis; for he was made a Bishop. He had his share likewise in the Liberty of Charles IX; who maintained him a considerable time in the College of Navarre; and he met with the same Favour from Henry III. He was of the House of Navarre (a), when, in 1579, he was chosen Rector of the University of Paris. During his Rectorship, the University petitioned the King for a Confirmation of their Privileges; and he was their Speaker, attended by a great number of Doctors. He took his Licentiate's Degree in Divinity, in the Year 1582, and was preconised* on that occasion by Michael Thiriot, who, among other Encomiums, said, that he was descended from a very noble Family [A]. He was the King's Preacher and Almoner, and

[A] Said he was descended from a very noble Family.] Nevertheless this Author mentions the Occupation of the Father, who was a Chirurgurgeon, in his Elogy of the Son. I borrow this Nevertheless from Monf. de Launoi, for thus he expresses himself. "Atamen Thiriotus ait, Hadrianum fundatissima & nobilissima satum esse familia. His enim verbis utitur: Franciscus primum in duorum inferiorum Navarre sodalium disciplinam receptus est, & Caroli IX. liberalitate ad Rhetoricæ ac Philosophicæ institutones eruditus. Deinde humaniores literas ibidem docuit, &c. (1) ----- Nevertheless Thiriot says, "that

"bilibissima satum esse familia. His enim verbis utitur: Franciscus primum in duorum inferiorum Navarre sodalium disciplinam receptus est, & Caroli IX. liberalitate ad Rhetoricæ ac Philosophicæ institutones eruditus. Deinde humaniores literas ibidem docuit, &c. (1) ----- Nevertheless Thiriot says, "that

* Preconised in French signifies to make a Report in the Pope's Confistory, that the Party presented to a Benefice is qualified for the same.

(1) Launoius Hist. Gymn. Navarr. pag. 799. 800.

CHARACTER of Abelard's Works.

(11) Hist. of Melun. pag. 343.

(12) Launoius, Hist. Gymn. Navarr. p. 801.

(13) Father Oudin. Suppl. de Script. Eccl. pag. 413.

(14) Spirelinus Specim. Biblioth. Universal. Konig. Bibl. vet. & nov. Christoph. Hendreich. Pandectæ Brandenburgicæ, initio.

(15) Preface, on Gregor. Turonensis.

(16) It is not to be found in Allard's Biblioth. de Dauphiné.

(17) A Manuscript Memoir communicated by Mr Lancelot one of the Under-Librarians of the Mazarine Library at Paris.

(a) Socius Navarricus, Fellow of the College of Navarre; Launoius, Hist. Gymn. Nav. p. 360.

(3) Id. pag.
371, 372.

and Great Master of the College of Navarre (b), when, in 1594, the University of Paris took an Oath of Allegiance to Henry the Great. About this time he obtained the Rectory of St Andrew at Paris; and, lastly, in the Year 1604, he was made Bishop of Treguier. He died the Twenty eighth of July 1616, and was buried in his Cathedral,

"that Adrian was descended from a substantial and honourable Family. For these are his Words. Francis was first initiated in the Studies of the two inferior Classes of the College of Navarre; and brought up, by the Liberality of Charles IX. to Rhetoric and Philosophy. Afterwards he taught Classical Learning in the same Place." A very good Way to reconcile these two Authors, would be to say, that Nobilissima Familia does not signify what the French call a very noble Family, a Gentleman's Family; for if Thiriot understood his Latin so, he would not have expressed himself with Accuracy. Chirurgery is not the Profession of a Gentleman in France. If Monf. de Launoi had understood it in the same Sense, he would have produced Proofs unnecessarily; nor would his Proofs have been of any Force. It is superfluous to prove that the Quality of Gentleman has been ascribed to any one, when it has been said in express Terms, that he was descended from a very noble Family, in the Sense in which the French understand this Phrase; and if, in proof of a Fact of this Evidence, any one should alledge the Quality of Fellow of a College, and that of Teacher of the second Class, which such an one had possessed in the College of Navarre, it is certain he would speak very inconsiderately. Such Proofs of Nobility were never admitted. Perhaps, then, not only Michael Thiriot, but also Monf. de Launoi, took Nobilissima Familia for a considerable Family, and which had made a good Figure, and not for a noble Family. This must be carefully remembered in reading the Latin Elogies of Men of Letters; we should be mistaken, if we should take all those to be nobly descended, of whom it is said, *nobili loco, nobili genere, nobili prosapia oriundi*. I am not ignorant, that Francis d'Amboise styles himself Esquire, in the Edition of Abelard; but the most this proves, is, that his Father or himself were ennobled, but not at all that his Father was both a Chirurgeon, and a Gentleman. A Conjecture is just come into my Mind, which is at the Reader's Service; and that is, that perhaps, the Predecessors of Francis d'Amboise having been degraded, he obtained the Restoration of his Family. Nay, how do we know but he might descend from a Bastard of the illustrious Family of Amboise? This seems to be the most probable Conjecture; for he tells us, that he went to the Convent of the Paraclet, to collect what he could of the Works of Peter Abelard; and that he was very well received by the Abbe de la Rochefoucault, whose Grandmother, by the Father's side, says he, Antoinette d'Amboise, Wife of the Lord de Barbezieux, Knight of the Order, was the only Daughter of Guy d'Amboise, and Grand-daughter and Heiress of Charles, Lord of Chaumont, Marshal of France: So that the whole Succession of that most ancient Family devolved upon her; and she transferred the Estate of the eldest Branch into the Family of la Rochefoucault. *Totam vetustissimam familiam crevit, & primogenita nostra ad Rupificaldos transfudit* (2). It is very extraordinary, that the Son of a Chirurgeon of Charles IX should speak thus. Note, that we must not absolutely deny, that a Branch of the illustrious Family of Amboise remained in, or fell into, Obscurity. The Chirurgeon of Charles IX was, perhaps, of this Branch.

[This Person's Family takes it for granted, at present, (but falsely) from a sameness of Name, that it is a Branch of the illustrious Family of d'Amboise; but we can positively affirm,

I. That JOHN d'AMBOISE, Father of Francis d'Amboise, was a Native of the Town of Douay, in Flanders; that he was successively Chirurgeon to Francis I, Charles II, and Henry III; that he was naturalized by Letters of the Twenty ninth of January, in the Year 1566, being at that Time in quality of Valet de Chambre and Chirurgeon to Charles IX; that he died on the thirteenth of December, 1584; and that he was buried in the Church of St Jervaise, at Paris, with Mary Fromager, his Wife, Daughter of John Fromager, sworn Chirurgeon to the Chatelet de Paris, and Chirurgeon to the King.

II. That FRANCIS d'AMBOISE, son of John, was Baron of Chartre on the Loire, and Lord

of Hemerz and Vezoul, in Touraine, &c. Counsellor, then President of the Parliament of Bretagne; Advocate General to the Grand Council, in the Year 1586; Master of the Requests, in 1597; and Counsellor to the Privy Council; afterwards Counsellor of State, in 1604; that he married, on the 15th of January, 1594, Margaret Cousinet, Daughter of a Notary of the Town of Meaux, who was still alive in the Year 1634; that, in the Month of July, of the Year 1589, King Henry III. created him a Knight, in Consideration of his Father's Services done to four of this Prince's Predecessors. A Copy of this Letter of Knight-hood is as follows.

Letters of Knight-hood; granted by King Henry III, in the Month of July, 1589, to FRANCIS d'AMBOISE, President of the Parliament of Bretagne.

"HENRY, by the Grace of God, King of France and Poland, to all present, and to come, greeting. Whereas it is just and reasonable, that Persons of eminent Virtue should be distinguished by a Title and Degree of Honour suitable to their Merit, that others may be encouraged thereby to rise by their Virtue to the same, or greater Dignity and Exaltation; we give you to understand, that, being fully satisfied of the noble, commendable, and virtuous Deeds, Actions and Conduct, of our dear and well beloved Monf. Francis d'Amboise, Lord of Vezoul, our Counsellor, and Advocate General in our Grand Council, and President of our Parliament of Bretagne; in remembrance of the Services, which his late Father shewed to four Kings, our Predecessors, and to ourselves; and in Consideration of the great, acceptable, and faithful Services, which the said d'Amboise has done to us, as well in the several Charges and Commissions, which he has had in this our Realm, and the Journey which he took into Poland, at the time of our Election, as in the Exercise of his two Functions, in two of our supreme Courts; and which Services the said d'Amboise continues ordinarily to perform near and about our Person, in several and various Ways; and in Expectation of his farther and still greater Services; WE, being willing to reward him in some measure, and to raise him to the Title and Degree of Honour, which his said Virtues and Actions deserve, that his own Descendants, and other Persons of Honour and Virtue may be induced, by his Example, to be equally serviceable to us and our Crown; these and other Reasons moving us thereto, we have made and created him A KNIGHT; and have honoured, and do honour him with this Title, in the Presence of several Lords and Princes of our Blood, and other great and noble Personages of our Court, and have permitted him to enjoy, and for the future to assume, the said Title of Knight, with all the Rights of Nobility, Honours, Authorities, Privileges, Exemptions, Prerogatives, and Precedencies, in all honourable Assemblies, as well in Courts of Justice, as elsewhere, where it shall be needful; in like manner as is enjoy'd by other Knights, created as well by Our Hand, as by that of our Royal Predecessors. In Consequence of which, we have directed our trusty and well-beloved, the Bailiffs, Seneschals, Judges, or their Deputies, belonging to our Courts of Parliaments, and our well-beloved Justices, Officers, and Subjects, in their respective Capacities, to cause, suffer, and permit, the said d'Amboise to enjoy fully and peaceably the said Rights of Knight-hood, Honours, Prerogatives, Privileges, Franchises, and Liberties, thereto belonging, as is above declared, and as is customary upon the like Occasion. For such is our Pleasure; and to the Intent that this our present Gift and Grant may be, and remain for ever, in Force, to the Honour of the said d'Amboise, and his Successors, and that there may be a perpetual Memo-

(2) Franc. Amboisius, Prefat. Apologet. in O-per. Abelardii.

plaints, *Epitaphs, Thirty Four Roundos, and Three Ballads*, was printed at Paris in 1556. Another is entitled, *The Encomium of the Tooth* (b). The *Counter Epistles of Ovid* (c), that is, Letters composed in answer to those, which the Heroines of Ovid wrote to their Husbands or Gallants, seemed to promise great Entertainment; and yet they underwent the Fate of his other Poems; They are quite unknown. He undertook some Translations; he turned four Satires of *Juvenal* (d) into French Verse, the 10th Book of *Ovid's Metamorphosis*, the Eclogues of *Baptista Mantano* (e), and the Italian Treatise of *Antonio Philereus Fregoso*, entituled, *Ris de Democrite, & pleur d'Heracrite* (*Democritus's Laughter, and Heracitus's Tears*) (f). He wrote in Heroics *A Lamentation for the Death of Messire William du Bellai, Lord of Langey* (g), and the *Standard of the Soldiery* (b) in Prose. See the *Bibliothèque de du Verdier-Vau-Privas*.

(f) Printed at Paris, in 1547.

(g) Printed at Paris, in 1543. La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franc. pag. 322.

(b) Printed at Paris, in 1543.

AMBROSIUS, General of the Order of CAMALDOLI. Look for CAMALDOLI.

AMELIA, a City of Italy. It was anciently called AMERIA. It is situated between the *Tiber* and the *Nera*. *Cato* says it was founded 964 Years before the War of *Perseus* (a): So that, as this War began in the Year 581 of *Rome*, it should follow, that *Ameria* was 383 Years older than *Rome*. *Festus* calls the Founder of this City *Amirus*. It appears from Inscriptions, that it became one of those Cities, which the Romans called *Municipia*. *Cicero* confirms this in his fine Oration in defence of *Rofcius Amerinus*. It acquired the Privileges of a Roman Colony under *Augustus* (b). It stands in a fruitful Soil; and the Hills, which surround it, are covered with fine Vineyards (c). It is not certain that the Vines of *Ameria* were formerly in great Esteem. My View in this Article is only to rectify That of *Moreri* [A], and therefore I forbear enlarging upon it. *Leander Albertus* wants likewise to be set right [B].

(a) Apud Plinium, lib. 3. cap. 14.

(b) See Cluverius, Ital. Antiq. lib. 2. cap. 7.

(c) Leander Alberti Descript. Ital. pag. 144.

[A] My View in this Article, is only to rectify that of *Moreri*. I. No Author says, that *Ameria* was built at the time of the War of *Perseus*. II. *Pliny* does not maintain, that it was built in 964, before that War. He only tells us, that *Cato* had said so. III. *Cicero* did not plead for a Comedian, born in that Town; *Rofcius Amerinus*, for whom he pleaded, was different from *Rofcius* the Player, whose Cause he likewise undertook. IV. These Words of *Virgil*,

Atque Amerina parant lentæ retinacula viti (1).

— — — — — and twins
AMERICAN Twigs, to tie the straggling Vine.
DRYDEN.

do not prove, that the Vines of *Ameria* were esteemed in his time. This Verse only implies, that in the Territory of that City there was found a great quantity of Boughs, as pliant as *Ozier*, which they make use of in dressing their Vineyards. "Virgas de quibus vites religantur: quæ virgæ abundant circa Amerinum oppidum — alii genus salicis dicunt, dispari colore à cætera salice: nam est rubra & ad connoscendum aptior, quia præter morem lenta est (2). — Twigs, with which Vines are tied; they are found in great plenty about *Ameria*. — Others say, it is a kind of Willow, of a different Colour from other Willows; for it is red, and fitter for tying, as being uncommonly pliant."

(1) Virgil. Georg. lib. 1. ver. 265. This Verse is very ill cited by *Moreri*, Atque Amerina parent lentæ retinacula viti.

(2) Servius in Virgil. ibid.

[B] *Leander Albertus* wants likewise to be set right. He makes *Cato* say, that *Ameria* was rebuilt above Nine hundred Years before the War of *Perseus*, and that it was first built by the *Vejentes*, a People of *Tuscany*, under the Conduct of *Amerio*, Daughter of the Italian *Atlas*, and of *Plione*. He supposes, that *Pliny* said it was built Nine hundred sixty four Years before the War of *Perseus*, and represents *Cato* and *Pliny* as being of two different Opinions. Afterwards he endeavours to reconcile them; which he does in the following manner. "The Chronology of the one, says he, agrees well enough with the Chronology of the other: *Cato* mentions above Nine hundred Years before the War of *Perseus*, and *Pliny* speaks of Nine hundred sixty four Years before that War: So that it is easy to reconcile them. Tho' one of them uses the Term *Rebuilding*, and the other the Term *Building*, it must not be inferred from thence, that they affirm contrary things; for the Word *condere*, which *Pliny* makes use of, is indifferently taken both for *Founding* and *Repairing*. These vain and chimerical Disputes fall to the Ground, to the shame of their Author, as soon as *Pliny* is consulted; for it appears, that he gives no Opinion of his own; and is contented to say, "Amerium — Cato ante Persei bellum conditam annis 964 prodidit (3). — Cato gave out, that *Ameria* was built Nine hundred sixty four Years before the War of *Perseus*."

(3) Plin. lib. 3. cap. 14. in fine.

AMELIUS, a Platonic Philosopher, of the IIIrd Century, was of *Tuscany*. His true Name was *Gentilianus*; and he preferred the Surname of *Amerius* to That of *Amelius*. He was 24 Years a Disciple of *Plotinus* at *Rome*, after which he retired to *Apamea*, a City of *Syria*, where he resided, when *Plotinus* died. He adopted one *Justin Hefysbius*, born in the same City (a). This doubtless occasioned the Mistake of *Suidas*, who said that *Amelius* was of *Apamea*. He is not less mistaken, when he affirms, that *Porphyry* was a Disciple of *Amelius* [A]. What is certain is, that *Amelius*

was

(a) Porphyry in Vita Plotini.

(1) Porphyry in Vita Plotini.

[A] *Suidas* — is mistaken, when he affirms, that *Porphyry* was a Disciple of *Amelius*. *Porphyry* himself tells us (1), that, when he began to be a Disciple of *Plotinus*, *Amelius* had studied eighteen Years under that Philosopher. He adds, that he was *Amelius's* Fellow-Pupil six Years; after which they both departed from *Rome*, himself for *Sicily*, and *Amelius* for *Apamea*. They continued in the Places, to which they had retired, at least 'till the Death of *Plotinus*. Now as *Porphyry* was then about Thirty eight Years of Age, and was in greater Reputation at *Rome*, than *Amelius*, it is improbable he should be a Disciple of the latter. Add to this, that *Amelius*, in dedicating

to him his Apology for *Plotinus*, desires him to excuse and correct the Faults of it (2). Lastly, the Silence of *Porphyry* is a very strong Argument against *Suidas*. *Porphyry* mentions *Amelius* every Moment, in the Life of *Plotinus*; and would he not have said something of his having been the Scholar of such a Master? *Suidas* might have been deceived by *Theodoret*, who calls *Amelius* the Head of *Porphyry's School* (3), that is, according to the Interpretation of *Monf. de Tillemont*, of *Plotinus's School*, in which *Porphyry* studied (4). And indeed *Suidas* says he was *Porphyry's Master*. (They are *Monf. de Tillemont's* Words.) We may reckon likewise among his Disciples *Cassicius Firmus*,

(2) Ibid.

(3) Theodor. Græcor. Affect. pag. 500.

(4) Tillemont. Hist. des Empereurs. Tom. 3. pag. 1084. printed at Brussels.

was very much esteemed by his Master, and that he returned This Esteem by a singular Veneration for Plotinus. When he began to study under This famous Philosopher, all he knew was what he had learned from one *Lyfimaebus* (b); but by his great Application, he soon surpassed all his Fellow Pupils. He retained Part of *Numenius's* Lectures by heart, having collected and transcribed most of 'em. He made likewise ample Collections of all that he had heard in the Philosophical Conferences; and out of these Collections he drew up an hundred Treatises, which he gave to his adopted Son. He had not yet ventured to produce any thing else, when *Porphyry* came to Rome (c); that is to say, after having profited by *Plotinus's* Instructions for the space of 18 Years. Afterwards he composed 40 Books against *Zoſtrianus*, one of those ancient Heretics, both in Philosophy, and Religion, who made such an horrible jumble of the Doctrines of the Gospel, and of the Philosophers: There arose a great number of these Heretics in *Plotinus's* time; which obliged him to declare War against them. He undertook the Defeat of the *Gnostics*, whilst *Amelius* opposed *Zoſtrianus*, and *Porphyry* attacked the pretended Revelations of *Zoroaster*. *Amelius*, having heard afterwards, that *Plotinus* was accused of adorning himself with the Spoils of *Numenius*, took Pen in Hand to justify his Master, and, in three days, wrote a Book, which he dedicated to *Porphyry*, and which the latter entituled, *Of the difference between the Doctrine of Numenius and That of Plotinus*. What I am going to say is sufficient to shew the Esteem, which *Plotinus* had for *Amelius*. *Plotinus* took no great pains to exert himself; upon which Account he generally left some doubts upon the Minds of his Hearers, and stood in need in some manner of being forced to shew the best side of his Doctrine. This made *Porphyry* propose several Objections to him in Writing, to prove that our Ideas are distinct from our Understanding (d). This Doctrine Father *Mallebranche* has revived in our days. *Plotinus*, having read these Objections, gave them *Amelius* to refute 'em. The Opponent replied; *Amelius* rejoined; and at last *Porphyry*, apprehending *Plotinus's* Doctrine, approved it, and read his Retraction in a full Auditory. *Longinus*, whose Taste was so just, and whose Censures were so formidable, found indeed *Amelius's* Writings to be too verbose; but ranked him nevertheless among the few Philosophers, whose Works seemed to him worthy of Consideration [B]. He wrote a long Letter in answer to That, which he had received from *Amelius*, concerning *Plotinus's* Philosophy. *Amelius* was a Votary of Paganism, and a great Observer of new Moons and Feasts (e) [C]. In one of his Books he cites the beginning of *St John's* Gospel, in confirmation of *Plato's* Doctrine. *Eusebius* alleges this Passage (f), but not so fully as *Theodoret* (g) and *St Cyril* (h).

(b) He was a Disciple of Plotinus.

(c) In 263.

(d) Διδόναι ἀντιγράφας, παραγγέλλων διακρίνας, πειράζοντας, ὥτι ἢ τὸ πρὸς ὁμοίαν τὸ νόημα. Quapropter eum contra scribendo provocare tentavi, conatus ostendere ea quæ intelliguntur extra intellectum esse. Porphyry. in Vita Plot.

(e) T. k. n. from Plotinus's Life, written by Porphyry.

(f) De Praepar. Evang. lib. 11. cap. 29.

(g) Græc. Affection. lib. 2. pag. 500.

(h) In Julian. lib. 8.

Firmus, a Man — who was very serviceable to Amelius. So that here is a modern Author, who falls into the Error of *Suidas*, and goes still farther; for it is plain from the Life of *Plotinus*, to which he refers us concerning *Cassicius*, that it was in *Plotinus's* Lifetime that *Cassicius* had so great an Inclination for *Amelius* at Rome. Now it is undeniable, that, whilst the latter was at Rome, he had no Disciples. He was *Plotinus's* Disciple, and did not set up Altar against Altar.

[B] *Longinus* — ranked him among the few Philosophers, whose Works seemed to him worthy of Consideration.] The Number of them was so small, that it comprehended but two Authors, *Plotinus* and *Amelius*. The Reputation of the latter was upon this Account the greater; yet this did not prevent his Writings from losing, in a little time, their first Reputation. *Eunapius* places them in the same Category with those of two other Fellow-Students of *Porphyry*, and passes this Censure upon them all: Συγγράμματα γὰρ αὐτῶν περισσῶς εἶναι, λόγῳ δὲ

αὐτῶν ἔδῃ εἶς (5). Their Works indeed are extant, but their Reputation is nothing. He gives this as a Reason for it, that they were destitute of the Ornaments of Language, and merely dogmatical.

[C] A great Observer of New Moons and Feasts.] I am aware, that, instead of New Moons, it would be better to say, the first Days of the Month, as *Marcellus Ficinus* did (6), but I thought my Expression would be more easily understood. These are *Porphyry's* Words: φιλοζῶντες δὲ γεγονότι τῷ Ἀμελίῳ, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατὰ νημυνίαν, καὶ τὰς ἑορτάς ἐκπεριόνον (7). *Amelius* being fond of Sacrifices, and a religious Observer of new Moons and Feasts. After this let any one say, that Philosophers are impious Men? If they had been so, they would not have wrote so much in favour of Paganism; they would not have been the only Writers, whom the Christians had to oppose; for, as for the Priests and Sacrificators, they did not concern themselves with it; their Ignorance excused them from it.

(5) Eunap. in Vita Sophistarum, pag. 20.

(6) Per Calendas sacra faceret, says he.

(7) Porphyry. in Vita Plotini.

AMESIUS (WILLIAM) an Englishman, and Professor of Divinity at Franeker, flourished in the XVIIth Century. He was concerned in the Arminian Controversy; and wrote several learned Books against That Sect [A]. He is one of the reformed Divines, who have treated Cafes of Conscience most exactly and methodically. It is almost needless to observe, that he wrote against *Bellarmin* (a); for no one is ignorant, that in those times the Works of that Jesuit were refuted by the greatest part of the Protestant Controversists. *Ameſius* wrote a Book entituled, *Medulla Theologiæ*. He wrote likewise against the *Socinians*, and against *Metaphysics*, and in favour

[A] He wrote several learned Books against that Sect.] He begun the Controversy *vis a vice* with *Gravinobovius*, Minister of Rotterdam; but, being prevented by frequent Interruptions from speaking his whole Mind, carried on the Dispute by Letters, and published what he had objected, and his Adversary's Replies. The Points in question were, The Redemption of Man by the Death of JESUS CHRIST, and

Electio grounded on the Fore-sight of Faith. *Gravinobovius* published another Edition of their Dispute at Rotterdam, in the Year 1615, in 4to. *Ameſius* replied, in a Piece entituled, *Rescriptio Scholastica & brevis*, &c. He wrote a Book likewise under the Title of *Coronis ad Collationem Hagienſem*, in which he replied to the Answers, which the Armenians had made to the Objections of the Ministers of Holland. His

(a) His Book is intituled, *Bellarminus Enervatus*.

favour of Puritanism, of which he was a strict Follower [B]. He published this last Work in *England* in 1610. I say nothing of his Lectures on the *Psalms*, nor of his Explication of the Epistles of St *Peter*. He did not die in the Year 1639, as *Henningus Witte* affirms in his *Diarium Biographicum*. The Epistle Dedicatory of his *Lectures on the Psalms*, in 1635, are a proof that he was then dead. We find in the same Epistle, that, after having been twelve years Professor at *Franker*, he had obtained his Dismission, in order to be Professor at *Rotterdam*.

His Work, entitled, *Anti Synodalia*, contains some Remarks on the *Scripta Synodalia* of the Remonstrants. It was printed at *Franker* in the Year 1629.

[B] He wrote — in Favour of Puritanism, of which he was a strict Follower. You will find in the Preface, which I cite (1), some Extracts of the Book, which he published against Episcopacy, in the Year 1610, where you will see, that, in his Opinion, there were no good Men in *England*, but the Puritans. They distinguished themselves by their Aversion for Stage-Plays, Oaths, Dancing, Gaming, and Treats: The rest were only Gamesters, Drinkers, Swearers, and Children of *Belial*. There was no Medium between these two Extreams, either to sup-

press Episcopacy, or to bring back the Church of *Rome* from Hell. "Hi scilicet foli inter Anglos virei boni, simplices, quadrati: quos ex scelerisfigio fit cognoscere, quibus ex repudio spectaculorum, iuramentorum, chorearum, alearum & commestationum, inditum sit nomen Puritanorum: reliqui vero insignes aleatores, potatores illicui, religionis officia susque deque habentes, verlati infuliores papistarum, ambitionibus pravis corrupti, iuratores impii, homines denique vani, injulii, turpes, & omnes filii Belial. Adeoque vel è medio tollendum ementium hunc Episcoporum ordinem, vel denuo Papam revocandum ab orbe (2)."

(2) Grev. ibi fol. **** iii.

AMESTRIS, Wife of XERXES King of *Persia*. See the first Remark of the Article MASISTES.

AMYOT (JAMES) Bishop of *Auxerre*, and Great Almoner of *France*, was one of the most illustrious learned Men of the XVIth Century. He was born at *Melun* the Thirtieth of October 1514. His Father and Mother, who were good honest Folks, but of a very mean Condition [A], used all their Industry to maintain him at *Paris*, where he went thro' his School-Learning, and a Course of Philosophy, in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*. He had naturally a heavy Genius; but Labour and Application supplied this Defect. Having taken his Master of Arts Degree at 19 Years of Age, he continued to study under the Royal Professors, whom *Francis I.* had established. He heard *James Tusanus*, who explained the *Greek Poets*, *Peter Danaus*, who was Professor of Eloquence, and *Orontius Finæus*, who taught Mathematics. He left *Paris* at Twenty three Years of Age, to go to *Bourges* with the

Sieur

[A] His Father and Mother — were but of a very mean Condition. Some say that Amyot's Father, was a Currier of *Melun* (1); according to others he made and sold Purples, and tagged Points (2); lastly, others say that he was a Butcher. I find three good Authorities for this latter Opinion, *Tbuanus* (3), *Pappyrus Maffo* (4), and *Brantome*. I believe the Reader will not be displeased to see the Words of this last mentioned Author a little at length, for they contain another Particular, which deserves to be known, though it should be false. *Brantome*, having said, that *Charles IX.* in a Speech to the Parliament, said, with a courageous and threatening Boldness, "It is your Business to obey my Ordinances, without disputing or contesting them; for I know better, than you, what is fit and expedient for the Good of my Kingdom", Adds: "Being as yet beardless, he spoke these Words before those old and wise Men, who all wondered at such a bold and grave Speech; which favoured more of a generous Courage, than of the Lessons of his Preceptor, Mr Amyot; who had nevertheless instructed him well, and whom he greatly loved, and had given him very good Benefices, and made him Bishop of *Lizieux* (5), and called him always his Master; and sometimes, in jest, reproached him with his Avarice, telling him, that he lived only on Neats-Tongues; and indeed he was a Butcher's Son of *Melun*, and might well be fond of the Meat, which he had seen his Father prepare. Setting aside his Avarice, he was a Great and Learned Man, both in *Greek* and *Latin*; witness the beautiful and elegant Translation he made of *Plutarch*; though some envious Persons gave out, that he was not the sole Author of it; but that he was assisted by a certain great Man, well skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, who happened, luckily for him, to be confined in the Prison of the Palace of *Paris*, and in Necessity; whom he released and took into his Service; and that they two privately composed this Translation, which Amyot afterwards published in his own Name. But this is entirely false, for He alone wrote it; and they, who were acquainted, and conversed with him, can truly say, that he wanted

"no Assistance in such a Work. To conclude, he educated That brave King very well, and chiefly in the Catholic Religion." Were I to call in question the three mean Professions, which are ascribed to our Amyot's Father, my reason would not be, because his Son has mentioned none of them in the Manuscript of his Life; He was contented to say, that he was born of Parents more virtuous than rich, *parentibus beneficiis magis quam copiosis* (6). This Reason has no Weight with me; for there are few great Men, of mean Extraction, who are not very willing to pass lightly over the Obscurity of their Birth: Particulars on that Subject are disagreeable to them. They will own in general, that they were not Men of Quality; but you must not expect that they should give you any Memoirs, in which you may read, that their Fathers were Butchers, Cobblers, Sellers of tagged Points, or Matches; that they lived upon Alms in their Childhood, &c. They, who make such Confessions, and are willing they should be inserted in their Elogies, are so few, that, though it were true, that Amyot had begged for some time in the Streets of *Paris*, I should not be surprized, that he did not mention such a Particular in his Memoirs of his Life. I shall not therefore refuse by his Silence what is related of his Beggary, and of his having been a Foot-Boy, and of his Abode in the Hospital of *Orleans* (7). It is true, I cannot reconcile this Silence with That part of his Will, wherein he leaves Twelve hundred Crowns to That Hospital, as an acknowledgement for the Charity, which he had met with there (8). It has been observed, that in his Works he never adds his Country's Name to his own, and that, during his prosperous Condition, he had very little Correspondence with the Place of his Birth (9). No doubt he was weak enough to be mortified at That City, and to fancy that his Correspondence with *Melun* would make People talk of the Meanness of his Birth. Yet I have read, that he advanced some Persons of his Family. "He died invested with great Dignities, and worth above Two hundred thousand Crowns, besides a great many other means which he had of advancing his Relations, some of which shared in his Liberality (10)."

[B] He

(1) Grevin-
clovii Pref.
Disserat.
Theolog. de
duabus Ques-
tionibus.

(1) St Real,
Of the Life
of History,
p. 74.

(2) Roulli-
ard's Anti-
quities of
Melun, pag.
605.

(3) Thuan.
Histor. lib.
100. ad ann.
1591. pag.
405.

(4) Lanli fi-
lius erat,
Meloduno
oppido ortus,
vir excellen-
ti ingenio,
Latineque &
Græce doc-
tissimus.
Carolus Ma-
gistrum eum
appellabat,
inter jocos
avaritiam
obiciens &
sordida, quod
lingua bubu-
lis utere-
tur. Pappyr.
Maffo in Hi-
storia Vit.
Caroli IX.

(5) This is
a Mistake;
he should
have said
Aux. 112. and
not Lizieux.

(6) Roulli-
ard, ubi su-
pra.

(7) St Real,
ubi supra,
pag. 76.

(8) Id. pag.
75.

(9) Roulli-
ard, ubi su-
pra.

(10) They
are la Pope-
linere's
Words, pag.
250. of his
idea of His-
tory.

(a) He was Reader of Lectures to Francis I.

(b) William Bouchetel, Sieur de Saffy.

(c) This Book is usually called Heliodorus's Ethiopic History.

Sieur Colin (a), who was possessed of the Abbey of St Ambrose in that City [B]. At the Recommendation of this Abbot, a Secretary of State there (b) took Amyot into his House to be Tutor to his Children. The Progress they made under him induced their Father to recommend him to the Princess Margaret, Duchess of Berry, only Sister of Francis I. Upon this Recommendation Amyot was made public Lecturer in Greek and Latin, in the University of Bourges. He read two Lectures every day for ten Years, a Latin Lecture in the Morning, and a Greek one in the Afternoon. It was during that time that he translated into French, *The Loves of Theagenes and Chariclea* (c). This Translation pleased Francis the First so well, that he soon provided the Author with a Benefice. He gave him the Abbey of Bellofane, which became vacant by the Death of Francis Vetabius [C]. That Prince died soon after; upon which Amyot thought it more for his Interest to go into Italy, in hopes of Preferment there, than to expect any thing from the Court of France. He went to Venice with Morvillier, whom Henry II. sent on an Embassy thither. Morvillier employed him in some Affairs, and sent him to carry the King's Letters to the Council of Trent, in 1551 [D]. Being recalled from his Embassy, Amyot refused to repass the Alps with him, and chose rather to go to Rome, where he met with a very kind reception from the Bishop of Mirepoix. He lodged about Two Years at his House. It was then, that, examining the Manuscripts of the Vatican, to which Romulus Amaſeus, who was the Keeper of That famous Library, gave him free Access, he discovered, that Heliodorus, Bishop of Trica, was the Author of *The Loves of Theagenes*. He met with a more correct and more perfect Manuscript of This Work, than That which he had translated, and was not wanting in taking proper Care to publish a better Edition. His learned Occupations did not take off his Thoughts from the Interest of his Fortune. He made his Court very dexterously to Cardinal de Tournon, and insinuated himself so far into his Favour, that the Cardinal nominated him to the King, when That Prince, having recalled him to France, desired him to recommend to him a good Preceptor for his Two Younger Sons (d). This was about the Year 1558. Thus Amyot became Preceptor to Two of Henry the Second's Sons. Whilst he was in this Post, he finished his Translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, and dedicated it to That Prince (e): Afterwards he undertook a Translation of *Plutarch's Morals*, and finished it in the Reign of Charles IX, to whom he dedicated it. Charles IX. was his great Benefactor; He gave him the Abbey of St Cornelius of Compiègne, and made him Great Almoner of France, and Bishop of Auxerre [E]; and, as the Dignity of Great

(d) They reigned successively, under the Names of Charles IX. and Henry III.

(e) He began it in the Reign of Francis I. to whom he presented some of Those Lives written in a fair hand by Adam Charles, a Writing-Master of Paris, Roullier's Antiquities of Melun, pag. 605.

[B] He left Paris — to go to Bourges with the Sieur Colin, who was possessed of the Abbey of St Ambrose in That City.] Bullart, who generally follows the Antiquities of Melun, goes out of his way here, to inform us of a Particular very little known (11), which is, that Amyot turned Monk in the Abbey of St Ambrose in the Town of Bourges. But that the Abbot, judging him worthy of a more conspicuous Life, than that of a Cloyster, brought him acquainted with the Sieur de Sacy Bouchetel. 'Tis pity he quotes no written Authority for a Particular so little known.

[C] He gave him the Abbey of Bellofane, which became vacant by the Death of Francis Vetabius.] This is altogether inconsistent with the Narrative of the Abbot de St Real. The Author will have it, that, in the Reign of Henry II, Amyot was still in the Obscurity of a small Tutorship, in the House of a Gentleman, who was a Friend of his, and that M. de l'Hospital, who did not know him, recommended him only on Account of a Greek Epigram, which was presented to That Monarch (12). This must necessarily be false, if it be true, as the Manuscript of Amyot's Life says, that this learned Man had been several Years Professor at Bourges, before the Death of Francis I; and that his Works, which were presented to That King, procured him a very good Abbey. Can any one believe, that M. de l'Hospital was unacquainted with a Frenchman, who had published, in 1549, at farthest (13), a Translation of Heliodorus's *Historia Ethiopica*? How are we sure, that Henry II. took a Journey to Bourges before the first Edition of That Translation? Add, that the Manuscript Life of Amyot makes him go into Italy soon after the Death of Francis I. Reconcile this if you can with the Abbot de St Real, who makes him a Tutor at Bourges at the Time of Henry the Second's Journey to That Town.

[D] Morvillier — sent him to carry the King's Letters to the Council of Trent, in 1551.] It will be necessary to correct the Author, who supplies me with this Article (14), though he tells us, that he made use of a Life of Amyot, begun by himself, and finished by his Secretary. We have a Letter of Amyot, which contains the Relation of his Journey to Trent.

A few Days after this Journey, he wrote to Mr de Morvillier, Master of the Requests. Now he is so far from saying, that Mr de Morvillier, Ambassador of France at Venice, had sent him to carry the King's Letters to the Council, that he declares in express Terms, that he was chosen for That Business by Cardinal de Tournon, and by the Ambassador de Selve. This is a convincing Proof, that Morvillier was not Ambassador at Venice, at that time: and this appears still plainer by Amyot's Letter; for it is directed to M. de Morvillier at Court. Observe well these Words of Amyot; Cardinal de Tournon, and the Ambassador de Selve, were pleased to pitch upon me to execute this Commission, when such a thing was the farthest from my Thoughts (15). — It is observable, that not only I was not so much as mentioned in That Letter (16), but the worst is, They had not so much as sent a Copy of it, by which one might know the Contents of it. So that I never saw any Thing so ill managed (17). It was not then the King, who sent him to protest in his Name against the Council; but it was Cardinal de Tournon, and the French Ambassador at Venice, who made choice of him to carry the King's Letter, and to read his Majesty's Protestation Word for Word before the Assembly. He acquitted himself very well of this Commission. You see what I am at. The Abbot de St Real takes it for granted, that Amyot was Preceptor of the Children of France, before the Negotiation, which I have just now mentioned; and he supposes that Henry II. employed him in that Business, because he had experienced the Reality of the good Character which M. de l'Hospital had given of him, when he told the King, that Amyot deserved to be Preceptor of the Children of France. All this is irreparably confuted by Amyot's Letter to Morvillier. Correct, therefore, without Fear, this Falshood, in de Saussai. "Cæterum Amyotus, adhuc Abbas, ad Concilium Tridentinum ab Henrico II. missus fuit, negotiorum magni momenti causa (18). — But Amyot, yet an Abbot, was dispatched by Henry II. to the Council of Trent upon Affairs of great Moment." Henry II. had no Part in this Translation.

[E] Made him Great Almoner of France, and Bishop of Auxerre.] The first of these two Dignities was conferred

(15) Instructions and Letters of the Most Christian King, and other Papers relating to the Council of Trent.

(16) It is that, which the King wrote to the Fathers of the Council of Trent.

(17) Instructions and Letters, &c. pag. 23.

(18) Andr. Suassaius, de Scriptis. Eccles. a. 52.

(11) Acad. des Sciences, Tom. 1. p. 266.

(12) S. Real, ubi supra, pag. 80.

(13) I express myself thus, because du Verdier Vau-Privas mentions an Edition of 1549. But this does not prove that it was the first.

(14) Sebast. Roullier's Antiquities of Melun.

(16) Thuanus, de Vita sua, lib. 4. p. 8. 1222.

(17) At the 30th Institution of this Order, on the 31st of December, 1578.

Almoner, and the Office of Curator of the University of *Paris*, were vacant at the same time, he presented him to them both. *Thuanus* complains very much of this Plurality (f). *Henry III.* had perhaps yielded to the importunate Solicitations of the Bishop of *St Flour*, who had followed him into *Poland*, and earnestly desired the Dignity of Great Almoner; but the Dukes of *Savoy*, the King's Aunt, so strongly recommended *Amyot* to him, when he passed through *Turin*, in his Return from *Poland*, that not only His Office was continued to him; but a new Lustre was added to it, in his Favour: for when *Henry III.* made *Amyot* Commander of the Order of the Holy Ghost (g), he ordained that, in Consideration of his Merits, all the Great Almoners of *France* should, for the future, be, in virtue of their Office, Commanders of That Order. *Amyot*, in the midst of his Dignities did not neglect his Studies; he carefully revised all his Translations, and compared them with the *Greek* Text, and made many Alterations in them: in a word, he designed to publish a more perfect Edition, with the various Readings of the Manuscripts; but he did not live to finish this Work. The Civil Wars and the rebellious Spirit of the People of his Diocese gave him a thousand Disquiets [G]: He was robbed, in his Return from the States of *Blois*, in 1589. He died the 6th of *February* 1593, in his 79th Year [H]. He had preached sometimes on solemn Festival days. He made use of the *Latin* Tongue in composing his Sermons, though he spoke them in *French*. He had a very particular Custom in Preaching; He turned the Door of the Pulpit towards the People, and sat in the middle of it, on a great Chair. He attempted Poetry, but without Success [I]. This is what I have extracted out

(18) Will. du Perron's Ecclesiastical History of the Court, or an Enquiry into the Antiquities of the Chapel and Oratory of the King of France, pag. 302.

ferred on *Amyot*, the sixth of *December*, 1560, by *Charles IX.* at *Orleans*. *Du Puyrat*, who had perused the Registers of the Great Almoners of *France*, mentions this Date as extracted out of the Registers of *Amyot* (19). It is therefore matter of Fact. Now by this means above one half of the History, which the Abbot of *St Real* relates concerning This Prelate's Fortune, comes to nothing. He says, that *Amyot*, in the Reign of his Pupils, *Francis II.* and *Charles IX.* had only the Abbey of *Bellofane*, with the Honour of having spoke the judicious and bold Protestation of *Henry II.* before the whole Council, and that his Fortune would probably have stopped there, had it not been for a lucky Chance, which raised him higher than ever he had hoped for, and which wonderfully shows the Spirit of the Court. This lucky Hit was This: It happened one Day, that, at That Prince's Table, *Charles V.* was praised for several things, but chiefly for having made his Preceptor a Pope. ----- This made such an Impression on *Charles* the Ninth's Mind, that he said, that upon Occasion he would do as much for his own. And, in fact, soon after the Place of Almoner of *France* became vacant, the King gave it to *Amyot*. All this falls to the Ground, when we consult the Registers of this Great Office, in which we find the Post of Great Almoner conferred on *Amyot*, the second Day of the Reign of *Charles IX.* Besides, *Francis II.* was not a Disciple of *Amyot*, but of *Peter Danes*. But to proceed; *M. de St Real* supposes, that the Queen-Mother, upon hearing what *Charles IX.* had done for his Preceptor, sent for the latter into her Closet, where she received him with these dreadful Words: "I have made the Chanciers and the Cbatillions, the Constables and the Chancellors, the Kings of *Navarre*, and the Princes of *Conde*, buckle to, and shall an insignificant little Priest pretend to oppose me." Notwithstanding the Submission of *Amyot*, the Conclusion was, That if he had the Office, he was not to live Twenty four Hours. The Abbot says afterwards, that *Amyot* absconded, and that *Charles IX.* immediately gussing at the Occasion of it, ----- fell into such a Passion ----- that the Queen, who had much ado to govern him, and who feared him, as much as she loved him, gave immediately Orders to look for *Amyot*. This is to suppose, that *Charles IX.* had been King, long before he gave this Office to his Preceptor. But nothing can be more false; He gave it him the next Day after his Accession to the Crown, before *Catherine de Medicis* had talked of the Regency, and had exerted her Power over so many Persons. Every one knows how little Influence she had in the Reign of *Francis II.* After all, I allow the Reflexions of *M. de St Real*, on this Occasion, considered in themselves, to be fine and solid. As for the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*, to be fine and solid. As for the Bishoprick of *Auxerre*, it was not given to *Amyot* in the Year 1568, as *du Puyrat* affirms (20), but in the Year 1570 (21), after the Death of Cardinal *Peñbert Babou*, who was possessed of it.

[F] All the Great Almoners of *France* were, for the future, to be, in Virtue of their Office, Commanders of That Order.] Another Author (22) gives this Account of it. "Henry III. in the Year 1578, instituting the Order of the Holy Ghost, ordained, in * Favour of *Amyot*, that the Great Almoner, and his Successors, should be associated in the same Order with the Title of Commanders; who nevertheless (say he) shall not be obliged to prove their Nobility; which he added, to gratify the said *Amyot*, who was not of a noble Extraction, but entered into the Temple of Honour through that of Virtue." See in *du Saussai* (23), King *Henry the Second's* Answer to the Courtiers, who murmured at the Promotion of a Man of such mean Birth. The same Author says, that *Amyot* drew up, with Skill and Learning, the Statutes and Litanies, or rather the Office of the Order; *Hejus statuta & borarias preces scite & scienter composuit*.

[G] The rebellious Spirit of the People of his Diocese gave him a Thousand Disquiets.] *Thuanus* makes a Remark, very disadvantageous to the Memory of our *Amyot*; for he accuses him of having forgot the Favours, which the two Princes, his Pupils, had heaped upon him, and of having too much indulged the Seditious and Factions Rage of the Inhabitants of *Auxerre*. The Love of Study, together with old Age, induced him to reside upon his Diocese; and he had not the Courage to oppose the Torrent of Rebellion (24). *Sebastian Rouillard* does not speak of him in this manner; but insinuates that he was ill used for his Fidelity. "Afflictions, say he (25), overtook him, when he left the States of *Blois*, in the Year 1589; for, through the Fury of the Troubles, which grew hot at that time, he was robbed and plundered half-way in his return to *Auxerre*; and, being arrived there, he met with great Vexation from the Inhabitants, and even his Clergy. At last, things were pacified by Degrees; so that he continued his Residence, but daily complained, that the Loss of his Estate, and of the Conveniences he enjoyed before, deprived him of the Pleasure of Study." *Sammarthius* owns indeed, that some ill Reports had been spread, but does not believe them to be true (26).

[H] He died the sixth of *February* 1593, in his Seventy ninth Year.] *Thuanus* applied himself to Persons, very ill informed concerning *Amyot*, since they could neither tell him, when he died, nor at what Age. He says, in general, that *Amyot*, whose Death he places in the Month of *July*, 1591, was above sixty Years of Age. *Sammarthius* places it in the Year 1592. "Triennio post Henricum tertium de testabili paricidarum coitione sublatum è vivis ex-cessit (27). ----- He died three Years after the de- testable Assassination of *Henry III.*"

[I] He attempted Poetry, but without Success.] *Sebastian Rouillard*, his Countryman, would doubtless have spared him on this Head, if it had been possible. These are his Words: "As for the *Latin* Poem,

(22) Will. du Perron, ubi supra, pag. 335.

* The Ordinance is to be found in the 18th Book of Henry's Code, Tit. 11. Of the Holy Ghost.

(23) Saussai de Script. Eccles. de 52.

(24) Thuan. ubi supra.

(25) Rouill. ubi supra, pag. 612.

(26) Sammarthius in Per. Eloq. p. 96.

(27) Id. ib.

(28) Hist. Eccles. de la Cour. pag. 431.

(29) There is a note in the Table of Fra-Paulo's Translation, where 'tis said that *Amyot* went Ambassador to Rome, under the Name of Bishop of *Auxerre*, in 1562. The Bishop of *Auxerre* mentioned by Fra-Paulo was not James Amyot.

(18) It is in Latin, and has not been printed; but Sebastian Roulliard Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, who read it, published an *Abstract* of it in his *Antiquitez de Melun*, pag. 605. I have taken this Article from that *Abstract*.

(28) Roulliard's *Antiquities of Melun*, pag. 614.

(29) Id. ib.

(30) It is about two miles from the Longi Poëmenia of Thuanus, and not *ceit* du Ryer, *The Poëmenia* of Longi.

(31) Baillet's *Academy of Sciences*, p. 168.

(32) Du Verdier Vaufray, *Protopography*, Tom. 3. p. 2572.

(33) Jugem's *Scavans*, Tom. 4. p. 521. See also Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *Censura celebr. Aut.* pag. 521.

(34) Thuan. Hist. l. 100. pag. 405.

(35) Girac's *Reply to Coftar*, § 51. pag. 438. Dutch Edit.

* Amiotus hic Poëmenia Longi, Heliadori Æthiopiæ, Diodori Siculi Historiæ, ac postremo Plutarcho in linguam nostram Gallicam de Græcæ veritate, sed hunc majore elegantia quam fide, dum aurius nostris placere, quam de sensu veritate laborare, potius existimamus. Thuan. de Vita sua, lib. 5.

† L'Oiseau de l'Action hypothèque (Of Mortgage) back.

out of a Life of *Amyot*, begun by himself, and finished by his Secretary (b). His Translations are the best of his Compositions [K], though the Critics are not all favourable to him [L] upon this Account; some of whom tax him with Plagiarism [M]. Others have imputed Avarice to him [N]. The Abbot de St Real was acquainted with many curious Particulars, which are not in the Life of *Amyot* (i). They are to be seen in *Moreri's Dictionary*: Which is the Reason why I omit them, though I have no reason to question the Truth of them. If I have any Supplement, or Explication, to add to what I have said, I shall give them in the Remarks.

What *Varillas* relates concerning *Amyot* is full of Falshoods [O]. It stands in need of a Critical Examination; which may serve to disembroil the Chaos.

"Poem, which he wrote on the Coronation of King Charles IX, it appears from thence that he had read *Horace* very much; but he would have proved a very indifferent Poet (28)." The Translation of *Greek Verses* into *French*, to which *Amyot* confined himself in his *Plutarch*, is frightful. Charles IX thought it very coarse, in which his Opinion was followed by many others (29). Roulliard alleges a pitiful excuse; "It is, says he, a Collection out of several Authors, and of different Styles." His Opinion of *Amyot's* Prose is This. "In short, says he, in my Opinion he was more happy in Translation, than in Composition, either in *French* or *Latin*: for what I have seen of the latter appears to me strangely heavy and dull."

[K] His Translations are the best of his Compositions. The first was That of *The Loves of Theagenes and Chariclea*; but That of *Plutarch* procured him his chief Reputation. He translated likewise the *Pastorals of Longus* (30), several Books of *Diodorus Siculus*, and some *Greek Tragedies*. The *Duchess of Savoy*, not finding in *Plutarch* the Life of *Epaminondas*, nor that of *Scipio*, desired him to compose them. He did so; but they were not published. The Preface was ready. Peter Matthieu saw it (31), and therefore we may believe that *Amyot* had put the last hand to That Work. It is said (32), that he was afraid to undertake a Translation of *Philophrastus*, though King Henry III. had often desired him to set about it; but he excused himself, on the Impossibility; and, when that Prince, having seen the Version of *Vigener*, said to *Amyot*, Well, Sir! you told me that *Philophrastus* could not be translated; *Amyot* answered, that 'till then he had thought so.

[L] The Critics are not all favourable to him. Mr Baillet has happily collected the Praises bestowed upon *Amyot's* Translation of *Plutarch* (33). They are fine and greatly to his Credit. I add to them what I heard Mr *Conrart* say in the Year 1675, upon being told, that most of the Copies of *Plutarch*, translated by the Abbot *Tallemant*, had been lost in the burning of a Bookfeller's Warehouse; *The Loss*, said he, will be easily born, whilst we have the Translation of *Amyot*, which contains the finest Turns of our Language, and the best Economy of our Periods. Mr Baillet has not been less careful in collecting the Censures of That Work: He did not forget, that *Thuanus* commends This Translator's Elegancy in his Versions of *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, more than his Faithfulness. *Diodoro ac præcipue Plutarcho, licet majore plerumque elegantia quam fide, Gallice reddidit* (34). But he forgot another Passage of *Thuanus*, mentioned by Mr de Girac. This last Author shall be the only one, whose Words I shall alledge, as a kind of Supplement to Mr Baillet's fine Collection; "As for *Epitimus*, says he (35), who is killed in *Amyot*, whereas in the *Greek Text* it is only his Horse; I should rather think, that this famous Interpreter made use of Copies, different from those at present, than say, as *Thuanus* does *, that his Versions are much more Polite, than Faithful, and that he was not so curious after Truth, as studious, even to Affectation, of pleasing delicate Ears. I know that a learned † and wife Civilian charges him with not comprehending a fine Piece of Antiquity in relation to a Law of *Solon*; for, instead of saying, that this Lawgiver had boasted somewhere in his Poems, that he had delivered the Athenians from all the Debts they had contracted, and taken away the Wisps of lighted Straw, or Pennons, which were fixed in many Places on the Mortgaged Lands; he had rendered it Removing the

* Οτι τῆς το προσηγορίας τῆς ὅρας ἀντὶς πολλὰ καὶ πενήματα. Quod fultus signa oppignoris Terris passim affixa.

† Marks or Signals to distinguish mortgaged Lands.

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Boundaries ‡, which before separated the Inhabitants of the whole Territory of Attica. I could add several Remarks on many Passages, in which good *Amyot* was mistaken; but I cannot commend Mr de Meziriac, who ** in a Discourse concerning Translations, after having praised the Wit, Labour, and Style of this Eloquent Translator in his Version of *Plutarch*, pretends to shew that he has grossly mistaken the Sense of *Plutarch* in Two thousand Places. [M] Some of whom tax him with Plagiarism. We have seen (36), what Brantome says on this Subject. Let us now see what others have said concerning it. "I have heard M. Patin say, says Mr Colomies (37), that he had it from the good Man Lawrence Bochel (who caused the Decrees of the Gallican Church, &c. to be printed) that *Amyot* had translated *Plutarch's* Lives from an old Italian Version in the King's Library, and that this was the Cause of the Faults he had committed. I cannot tell whether this Version be That, which *Baptist Alexander Jaconel* of Rieti made from the *Latin*, in the Year 1428, which is in the same Library." La Popeliniere censures *Amyot* for denying *Turnebus* the Honour which was due to him, in not informing the Public of the Assistance he had from him in understanding the difficult Passages (38). He pretends, that *Turnebus* sent him whole Passages turned into French, where *Amyot* was at a loss, and that several other learned Men assisted him with their good Advice (39).

[N] Others have imputed Avarice to him. I have cited a long Passage of Brantome in the Remark [A], wherein Charles IX. taxes his Preceptor with this Fault. Another Book informs me, that *Amyot*, asking one Day a Benefice of a great Revenue, that Prince said to him, How now Master? you told me, that if you had a thousand Crowns a Year, you would be satisfied; I believe you have that and more. Sir, answered he, Appetite comes by eating; and yet be obtained what be desired (40). You may if you please look upon the Two hundred thousand Crowns, which he amassed, as an ambiguous Proof of his Avarice (41).

[O] What *Varillas* relates — is full of Falshoods. He says, that, the Court of Francis I. stopping some Hours at the Castle of a Gentleman of Berry, *Amyot*, who was Preceptor in the Gentleman's House, took Occasion to present to his Majesty an Epigram of four Greek Verses, which he had just composed. The learned Persons, who followed his Majesty, were so well pleased with the Epigram, that it was thought improper to leave the Author of it any longer in a Province so remote from Paris. The King took him into his Service, and gave him a considerable Pension (42). This whole Account is full of Transpositions of Circumstances; for we have seen (43), that the good Effect which some of *Amyot's* Greek Verses, presented to Henry II, produced, is attributed to *Michael de l'Hospital*. *Varillas* relates in another Book (44), that *Amyot*, Professor of the Greek Tongue at Bourges, made himself known to the Court by his Politeness in writing French, and that *Bouchet* and *Morvillier*, Secretaries of State, recalled him at that time to Paris, and having brought him back to the Communion of the Catholic Church, recommended him to Cardinal de Tournon, who procured him the Abbey of Bellofane, and the Commission of Secretary to the Ambassador at Venice, from whence he set out to execute the King's Orders at Trent, in the Year 1551. Thus this Historian refutes in one Book what he advances in another. He adds, that *Amyot* made a Speech before the Fathers of the Council: He gives the Substance of it, and quotes *Amyot's* Speech. But this Speech is a Chimera; *Amyot* only read the King's Protest. What Assurance is it to cite Manuscripts, which never

(i) See his Treatise of the Use of History. Mr Teillier has borrowed from it whatever relates to *Amyot*, (always citing his Author) in his Additions to the Elgies taken from Thuanus, Tom. 2. pag. 152.

† The Word *ἔπος* signifies indifferently a Boundary, and a Mark of a Mortgage.

** Peliffon's History of the Academy, p. 232.

(36) Above, in Remark [A].

(37) Colomies, Opusc. pag. 124. Edit. of Utrecht.

(38) Popelin's History of the Academy, lib. 3. pag. 259.

(39) History of Histories, pag. 359.

(40) Du Verdier's Protopography, Tom. 3. pag. 2573.

(41) See Remark [A] at the end.

(42) Varillas's History of Henry II, lib. 10. pag. 310. Dutch Edit.

(43) In Remark [C].

(44) Varillas's History of Henry II, lib. 2. pag. 204.

ver were in Being? *Varillas* affirms, that, at the Age of ten Years, *Amyot* was found sick on the Road to *Paris* lying near a Ditch, and that "a Gentleman going by - - - - - set him upon his Horse, and carried him to a House, which was near; where he recovered, and was charitably furnished with sixteen Pence for the Expenses of his Journey home; which he afterwards repaid with Usury, by leaving to the Heirs of his Benefactor Sixteen hundred Crowns a Year (45)." 'Tis said in *Amyot's* Life, that he left Twelve hundred Crowns to the Hospital of *Orleans* (46). It was there that the Gentleman carried him; there he was cured; and there he received sixteen Pence: It was to That Hospital that he left afterwards; a Legacy of Twelve hundred Crowns, according to the Relation of Mr de *St Real* (47). Why does *Varillas* alter these Circumstances, and exaggerate *Amyot's* Gratitude? Why does he by his Hyperboles convert a meer Legacy of Three thousand six hundred Livres into a yearly Rent of Six thousand two hundred Livres (48). He tells us, that "Amyot, being a Student, changed his Religion, and was instrumental in seducing his School-Fellows; till, being discovered, he fled to *Bourges*;" where the same *Volmar*, who had intrusted *Calvin* and *Beza*, procured him a Tutor's Place in "the House of the Abbot of *St Ambrose*, whose

"Nephews were committed to his Care; and chose him afterwards for his Successor in teaching *Greek*. *Amyot* was soon weary of teaching publicly." This Account cannot be reconciled with the Memoirs of *Amyot's* Life, published by *Sebastian Roulliard*. We find there, that he was about Twenty three Years of Age, when he went to *Bourges* with the Abbot of *St Ambrose*, who persuaded him to undertake That Journey (49), and therefore he went thither in the Year 1537. Now *Volmar* left *Bourges* in the Year 1535 (50), and consequently it was not He, who introduced him to the Acquaintance of that Abbot. We find in the same Memoirs, that *Amyot* filled the Professor's Place ten Years, and that he was often heard to say among his Friends, that he had a sufficient Maintenance; that he had never enjoyed better Times than those; and that he took great Delight in performing That Function, because he was perfectly at his Ease (51). And therefore 'tis not true, that he was soon weary of teaching publicly. *Varillas* observes, that *Bouchetel* and *Morvillier* represented to him the Obstacles, which his Heresy threw in the Way of his Salvation, and of his Fortune, and that he profited by their Advice. *Bouchetel* knew him, then, to be a Calvinist; but would he, in such a Case, have made him Tutor to his Children, as he actually did (52)?

(49) Roulliard's Antiqu. p. 607.

(50) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philosph. p. 233.

(51) Roulliard, ubi supra.

(52) Roulliard. ibid.

AMYRAUT (in *Latin* AMYRALDUS) (MOSES) Minister, and Professor of Divinity, at *Saumur*, was one of the most illustrious Divines of *France*, in the XVIIth Century. He was of a good and ancient Family, which came originally from *Orleans* [A]; and he was born at *Bourgueil*, a small Town of *Touraine*, in the Month of September, 1596. Having performed his Course of Philosophy, he was sent to *Poitiers*, to study the Civil Law; and applied himself to it with so much diligence, that he spent 14 Hours every day in Study. He became a Licentiate at the end of one Year (a), but proceeded no farther. Mr *Bouchereau* his Countryman, and Minister of *Saumur*, advised him to study Divinity. The reading of *Calvin's* Institutions gave him an high Relish for this Advice; so that, having told his Father, who had his views in designing him for the Bar [B], that he passionately desired to be a Minister, he obtained, though with much difficulty, the Consent, which he desired. He went to study at *Saumur*, under *Cameron*, who loved and esteemed him in a particular manner; and he was for a considerable time a Student in Divinity. When he was admitted a Minister, he was presented to the Church of *St Aignan*, in the Country of *Maine*, where having lived eighteen Months, he was invited to *Saumur*, to succeed Mr *Dailly*, who quitted his Post, to be Minister of *Charenton* (b). At the same time, that the Church of *Saumur* desired to have him for their Minister, the Academic Council cast their Eyes upon him for the Professorship of Divinity. By this means the Church of *Rouen* and *Tours*, who at the same time requested him of the Synod, were disappointed in their Hopes; for the National Synods had made a Regulation, that the Interest of the Universities should be preferred to That of the Churches. His Admission to the Professorship in 1633, his Examination, which preceded it, and his Inaugural Thesis, de Sacerdotio Christi, procured him great Applause. Two other excellent Professors were admitted with him, to wit, *Lewis Cappe*, and *Josua de la Place*: Thus the University of *Saumur* obtained, at one and the same time, Three Persons who were extremely well qualified to make it flourish; for, besides

(45) *Varillas*, ibid. p. 203.

(46) See Remark [A].

(47) *St Real*, of the Use of History, p. 875.

(48) *Varillas*, ibid. p. 204.

(a) In 1616.

(b) We find in Mr *Dailly's* Life, that he was invited to *Paris* in 1626.

* A kind of Sheriff.

† The German *Hof*, which came into *France*, during the Regency of *Catherine de Medicis*.

(1) In his Notes upon some Extracts of *Edward Dering's* Speeches. This was printed at London, in 1669, with a Piece intitled, Nuncius a mortuis, (News from the Dead) which is a Dialogue between the Ghosts of Henry VIII. and Charles I.

[A] Of a good and ancient Family, which came originally from *Orleans*.] His Great-Grand-father, *Stephen L'Amyraut*, was *Echevin* of *Orleans*, when the Common Law was reformed there in 1509. The Verbal Process of the Common Law proves this. It is pretended, that the first of the Family was one *L'Amyraut*, on whose Tomb is inscribed the Year 1370; which is to be seen in the Church of *St Pierre on Pont*. His Epitaph says, that he came from *Hagenau*, a Town of *Alsace*, being Captain of a Company of *Reifers* †. This Family were Benefactors to the Convent and Church of the *Minimes* at *Orleans*, and, as such, their Coat of Arms is to be seen upon the Glass Windows of the Church. Let me observe, by the way, that an *Englishman* of the *Romish* Communion has very ill latiniz'd the Name of *Amyraut*; for, instead of *Amyraltus*, he calls him *Amuratb*. This would be but a small Fault; if, by a cold and mean Allusion, he had not added to it a very ridiculous Doubt. "Moses quidam *Amuratb*, says he (1), Minister *Salmuriensis*, homo saltem nomine (nescio an & progenie) *Judæo-Turca* - - - - - One *Moses Amuratb*, Minister of *Saumur*, a Man, in Name at least " (if not by Birth) a Jew-Turk." In the following Pages he calls him *Amyratb*. The following Words

of Father *Bartolucci* are very surprizing. "Moses Amyraltus, says he (2), videtur *Judæus Conversus ad fidem*, scripturæ eruditissimus & Catholicam dissertationem de *Mysterio Trinitatis*, deque vocabus, & phrasibus, quibus tam in scriptura, quam apud Patres explicatur. *Parti IV. quæ est de Primordiis Revelationis Mysterii Trinitatis in veteri Testamento, habetur in libro Wagenfiliis inscriptis*, Tela *Ignæ Satanz*, pag. 140. — Moses Amyraut seems to have been a Jew, converted to the Faith; he wrote a most Learned and Catholic Dissertation on the Mystery of the Trinity, and on the Words and Phrases, by which it is explained, both in Scripture, and in the Writings of the Fathers. The fourth Part, which treats of the Beginning of the Revelation of the Mystery of the Trinity, in the Old Testament, is to be found in a Book of *Wagenfilius*, entitled, The Fiery Darts of Satan." Thus the most famous Authors are sometimes unknown to one another. Father *Bartolucci*, not knowing Mr *Amyraut*, otherwise than by a Piece adopted by Mr *Wagenfilius*, took him in earnest for a converted Jew.

[B] His Father, who had his Views in designing him for the Bar.] He intended him for the Office of *Seneschal*, possessed by his Uncle, who had no Children.

[C] He

(2) *Bartol. Biblioth. Rabin. Tom. 4. pag. 66.*

befides their great Learning, there was a wonderful Sympathy between them; which produced a very useful and happy Agreement; a Circumstance, which deserves the greater Commendation, as it is rarely to be met with in Academic Land. Mr *Amyraut* was deputed to the National Synod of *Charenton* in the Year 1631. This Assembly chose him to make a Speech to the King, and to represent to his Majesty their Complaints concerning the Infractions of the Edicts. He was particularly charged to order it so, as not to deliver his Speech upon his Knees [C], as the Deputies of the last National Synod had done; and he managed the Affair with so much Dexterity and Resolution, that he was at last admitted to his Audience according to the ancient Usage, and according to the Desire of the Assembly (c). This Deputation brought him acquainted with Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who was surprized to find so many Qualities in him, which did not favour of the Man of Study. Some time after he published a Piece, wherein he explained the Mystery of Predestination and Grace, according to the Hypothesis of *Cameron* [D]. This Piece raised a kind of Civil War among the Protestant Divines of France [E]. They, who disliked this Hypothesis, decreed it as a Novelty, especially when they saw the great *du Moulin* join them; who incessantly accused Mr *Amyraut* of opposing the Synod of *Dort*, and of favouring *Arminianism*. The Authority of this famous Divine, who had gained the Veneration

(c) The Speech, which he made to the King, is inserted in the *Mercur* *François* for 1631.

[C] He was particularly charged to order it so, as not to deliver his Speech on his Knees.] Mr *Amyraut* was the Person, who represented the State of the Question to the Synod; and who promised, at the same time, to make all possible Instances, if the Assembly gave him their Instructions about it. They charged him, then, to demand the Restoration of the Privilege, which the Ministers had enjoy'd, of speaking to his Majesty standing, as the Clergy of the Kingdom do. He went, accompanied by two Elders, to *Monteaux*, where the Court was; and, having applied to *Monf. de la Vrilliere*, Secretary of State, he understood from him, that the King expected, that the Deputies of the Synod should not address him in any other Manner, than those of the preceding Synod had done. There being always a Commissary on the part of the King in our Synods, he, who assisted at that Time in the National Synod of *Charenton*, had notified to the King, what they had commissioned the Deputies to ask; and, the Court not thinking fit to grant their Request, *Monf. de la Vrilliere* was ordered to declare this Resolution immediately to the Deputies. Mr *Amyraut* represented to him very dextrously, and, at the same time, very respectfully, the Reasons of the Synod; and above a Fortnight passed without any Concessions on either Side. Cardinal *de Richelieu*, being informed of this Minister's Resolution, desired to confer with him on that Subject, and endeavoured to persuade him not to insist any longer upon it. He answered, and replied to all the most plausible Reasons alleged by the Cardinal; at last an Audience was granted, in the manner Mr *Amyraut* desired. The Cardinal discoursed several times with him concerning the Complaints of the Protestants, and was mightily pleased with this Minister's Wit and Behaviour.

[D] He published a Piece, wherein he explained the Mystery of Predestination, according the Hypothesis of *Cameron*.] A Roman Catholic of Quality occasioned this Piece. He had dined, with Mr *Amyraut*, at *Bourguet*, at the Bishop of *Chartres*, to whom this Minister was very well known (3). After Dinner, he turned the Conversation upon a Matter of Controversy, and charged the Protestants with teaching very harsh Doctrines concerning Predestination. Mr *Amyraut* took up the Dispute; and there ensued a kind of Controversy, in a very civil way, between him and the Bishop of *Chartres*, on this difficult Question. The Evening being come, the Company parted; the next Day Mr *Amyraut*, in his return to *Saumur*, called upon the Person of Quality (4), as he had promised, and found him well affected to the Protestant Religion, but very unsatisfied with the Doctrine of Predestination, as *Calvin* had explained it. He removed his Scruples, as well as he could; and, in compliance with the Gentleman's Request, who desired him to write a Treatise, in which the Subject might be more fully discussed, than it could be in Conversation, he wrote and published (5) the Book, which I am speaking of. This is what I find in my Manuscript Memoirs. Mr *Amyraut* does not give this Reason for composing this Piece; he assigns another, which is very different (6).

[E] A kind of Civil War among the Protestant Divines of France.] This Dispute was considerable enough to furnish out a large Article in the Ecclesiastical Annals

of the Protestants. The English Author of a very curious History of our Synods of France (7), can inform us of the Quarrels, which the Doctrine of Universal Grace raised there. I think it would be a cruel Reflexion, to say, that the first Movers of this Question would have done it, though they had foreseen all the Evils, which were to result from it: For where is the Use, the *Cui bono* of such Disputes? Will no Difficulty remain, provided the Hypothesis of *Cameron* be admitted? Is it not true, on the contrary, that there never was a Remedy more palliative than that? Something farther is wanting to satisfy Reason; and if you stop here, you might as well have staid where you was, and have stuck to *Particularism*. But granting, that *Universalism* has in some respects the Advantage, and furnishes the best Answers to some Objections; is that sufficient to counter-balance so many spiritual Crimes, which Factions draw after them, so many wicked Surmises, so many sinister Interpretations, so many false Imputations, so much Animosity, so many injurious Words, so many Libels, and so many other Confusions, which attend upon such a Theological War? If you believe, that *Particularism* damns People, you do well to refute it at any rate. I say the same to those, who may take *Universalism* to be a damnable Heresy. But, since, on either side, you do not pretend to refute a pernicious Opinion, dispute no farther than is consistent with the Public Peace; and be silent, when the Event shews you, that you divide Families, or that two Parties are forming. Continue not to rouse a thousand Passions, which ought to be chained up, like so many wild Beasts; and Wo be to you, if you are the Occasion of their breaking their Chains. Thank Heaven, the Civil War of universal Grace, and some others, have not deserved the Application, which was made, in my hearing, of some Verses to schismatical Disputes. The Preparations, and the auxiliary Troops of the two Leaders, were compared to these Decorations of the Stage.

Aigles, Vautours, Serpens, Griffons,
Hippocentaures, & Typhons,
Des taureaux furieux, dont la gueule beante
Eût trané de frayer le grand cheval d' Atlante,
Un char que des dragons étincelans d' éclairs
Promenoient en siffant par le vuide des airs,
Demogorgon encor à la triste figure,
Et l' Horreur & la Mort s'y voyoient en peinture (8).

Theatric Horrors strike upon the Sight;
Eagles and Vultures on the Scene arise;
With hissing Serpents, winged Griffins join,
Typhons with Hippocentaurs; furious Bulls,
Whose gaping Mouths affright Atlanta's Horse;
A Car, by fiery Dragons drawn through Air,
With Demogorgon, dreadful to behold;
And Death and Horror close the pictur'd Scene.

Mr *Amyraut* had the Satisfaction to be reconciled to his most violent Opposers; and, tho' it be not necessary, that the Great should always interpose in pacifying Quarrels;

(7) John Quick, a London Minister: His book, intitled, Synodicon in Gallia reformata, was printed in Fol. 1692.

A Reflexion on the Mischiefs occasioned by Theological Disputes.

(3) He was of the House of Etampes Valengat, and was afterwards Archbishop of Rheims.

(4) A Plebeian-Ridau.

(5) In 1634.

(6) Prefat. Speciminis Animadvers. de Gratia Univers.

(8) See *Æschylus*'s *Life*, written by *Tanaquil Faber*.

(d) *Intituled A Specimen of Calvin's Doctrine.*

(c) *In 1637.*

(f) *Blondel, A. tes au-
thent. p. 36.*

(g) *Blondel, Ibid. pag. 40,
41.*

(b) *They are
the Authors
of what is
called Theſes
Salmurien-
ſes; a Work
very much
eſteem'd.*

(9) *He recom-
ciled (in the
Caſtle of
Thouars,
October 16,
1649) Mr
Amyraut
with Mr de
Champver-
neu, Miniſter
of Taille-
bourg, and
with Mr
Vincent,
Miniſter of
Rochelle.
See the Ac-
tes Authen-
tiques, by
David Blon-
del, pag. 85.
This Champ-
verneu was
called Will-
iam Rivetus,
and was the
Brother of
Andrew Ri-
vetus, Pro-
feſſor of Di-
vinity at
Leyden.*

(10) *Vindici-
e Apolo-
gie, &c.
pag. 418.*

(11) *See Re-
mark [M] of
the Article
Daillé.*

ration of the People by many Books of Controversy, made such an Impression upon several Ministers, that, though Mr *Amyraut* had published a piece (d), in which he maintained, that *Calvin* had taught the Doctrine of Universal Grace, there appeared, in the National Synod of *Alençon* (e) several Deputies, charged with Instructions against Him; some of whom were so hot, that they talked of nothing but deposing him [F]. The Deputies of the Provinces beyond the *Loire* were the most violent against him. Nevertheless the Assembly, having heard Mr *Amyraut*, who explained his Opinion in several Sessions, and who solved the Difficulties, which were proposed to him, honourably acquitted him, and enjoyed a Silence in respect to these Questions, which was not too well observed. Complaints were made against Mr *Amyraut*, in the National Synod of *Charenton*, in 1645, for having acted contrary to the Regulation, which imposed this Silence; and He, in his turn, complained of some Violations of the same Regulations (f). The Assembly, by an holy Amnesty, suppressed these reciprocal Complaints, renewed the Injunctions of Silence, dismissed Mr *Amyraut* with Honour, and permitted him to oppose Foreigners, who should write against him, in what manner the Synod of *Anjou* should think proper. This Synod permitted him to publish an Answer to the three Volumes of *Spanhemius* concerning *Universal Grace* (g), which occasioned many other Books (g). During the National Synod of the Year 1645, Mr *Amyraut* was desired by the Assembly to enter into Conference with Mr de la *Milletiere*, in order to bring him over to His Opinion. The Conference continued several Days; but they did not come to a better Agreement in this oral Disputation, than they had done in the Books, which they had already published against each other. The Doctrine of Mr de la *Place* concerning Original Sin was attacked in That Synod. Mr *Amyraut*, hearing of it, appeared before the Assembly, to plead the Cause of his Colleague, and shewed, in a long Discourse, that the Doctrine complained of was not at all dangerous. This Action was not only extolled on account of the great Skill, with which the Doctrine of Mr de la *Place* was defended, but also because Mr *Amyraut*'s only aim was the Interest of his Colleague; for his own Opinion in that point was not That of Mr de la *Place*. If I add, that Mr *Cappel* dissented from the common Opinion of the Protestants concerning the Antiquity of the Points of the *Hebrew* Text, I shall have mentioned all the Complaints, which were made against the Academy of *Saumur*. But, notwithstanding these Complaints, a great Number of Students in Divinity resorted thither; which visibly decreased, after the death of these three illustrious Professors (b). Mr *Amyraut* survived his two Colleagues, and had time to publish a very great

Quarrel; yet the Prince of *Tarentum* employ'd his good Offices in this Reconciliation, in the Year 1649. I know not whether the contending Parties gave him more trouble, than the Marshals of *France* meet with from the Differences, which fall under their Cognisance; however he succeeded in his Undertaking (9), and perhaps better than a Synod would have done. As to his Reconciliation with Mr du *Moulin*, it was brought about by Mr de *Langle*, Minister of *Rouen*. Upon the first Proposal, Mr *Amyraut* joyfully consented, and offered to make all the Advances. He wrote a Letter first; which Mr du *Moulin* answered very civilly. These letters were published for the Edification of the Church. They are dated in the Year 1655. Mr *Daillé* has inserted Mr du *Moulin*'s Answer in one of his Books (10). Reason and Charity allow us to believe, that they, who made so much Noise, and raised so many Storms against a Doctrine, which they afterwards acknowledged to be harmless, and the Asserter of which seem'd at last, in their Opinion, a faithful Servant of God, did not die without being covered with Shame and Confusion, at least before the Throne of the Divine Majesty, when they reflected on that mortifying Prepossession, which had represented to them an innocent, inoffensive, Hypothesis, as a dangerous and shocking Doctrine. See what follows.

[F] *Some of whom were so hot, that they talked of nothing but deposing him.* Had they lived thirty or forty Years longer, they must have been greatly mortified; for, at last, that Doctrine, which they judged worthy of the most thundering Anathemas, was found to be that of the greatest Men, who served the reformed Churches of *France*. It was the Doctrine of Mr *Mestrezat*, Mr le *Fauqueur*, Mr *Blondel*, Mr *Daillé*, Mr *Claude*, Mr du *Bois*. The Particularists were soon obliged to acknowledge the Favourers of *Universal Grace* for their Brethren, and faithful Ministers of *JESUS CHRIST*; and we have seen, that the French Ministers, who fled into *Holland*, and who sign'd a Formula in the Synod of *Rotterdam*, in the Year 1686, were not obliged to make any Declaration, which reflected in the least upon the System of Mr *Amyraut* (11). From whence, then, came the Clamour, which was raised at first against

that System? Whence was it, that the same Doctrine was accounted at first a Monster, and afterwards an innocent Thing? Must we not in this acknowledge the Finger of Original Sin, and the Influence of a thousand dark Passions, which ought at last to produce in us, if we are of the Number of the Elect, a salutary and mortifying Humiliation? The work is, Men do not profit by what is past; every Generation betrays the same Symptoms, sometimes in a greater, sometimes in a less Degree. For we shall often have occasion to say, when we see Cafes, Denunciations, Apologies, and Disputations, take the Field, and whole Volumes of Books fly about;

Jamque faces & faxa volant — (12).

Now Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly,
And all the Arms, which Fury can supply.

DRYDEN.

but let them alone; they will soon agree;

Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta
Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescunt (13).

Yet all these dreadful Deeds, this deadly Fray,
A cast of scatter'd Dust will soon allay,
And undecided leave the Fortune of the Day.

DRYDEN.

But this cannot always be said. Things are sometimes carried to extremities: *Res in nervum erumpit.*

[G] This Synod permitted him to publish an Answer to *Spanhemius*'s three Volumes concerning *Universal Grace*. It is entitled, *Specimen Animadversionum in Exercitationes de Gratia Universalis*; and was printed at *Saumur*, in 1648, in 4to. It is not true, as is inserted in the *Melange Critique*, Tom. I. pag. 129, that Mr *Amyraut* attack'd *Spanhemius* first, nor that his Work is against the Thesis of *Spanhemius*. It is against a Work of the latter, in three Volumes; who was likewise the Aggressor.

(12) *Virgil.
Æneid. lib.
3. ver. 1544*

(13) *Virgil.
Georg. lib.
4. ver. 86.*

great number of Books [H]. He wrote as readily as he spoke; and this is to say a great deal; for he had a surprizing Fluency of Tongue both in *Latin* and *French*, and as well in his Divinity Lectures, as in his Sermons. He knew the World; and could furnish a great Variety of Matter for Conversation, in Points, which did not belong to his Profession: And, doubtless, it was This, which contributed, as much, or more, than the Reputation of his Learning, to the Happiness he enjoyed, all his Life, of being considered and respected by the great Men of the Contrary Religion. I have already observed, that Cardinal de Richelieu had a great Esteem for him: I shall not add, that he communicated to him his Grand Design of re-uniting the two Churches [I]; for this would not be a sufficient Proof of his great Regard for him; since the Cardinal had founded several Ministers upon this Head, who were much inferior to Amyraut. The Marshal de Breze [K], and the Marshal de la Meillerie [L], ought to be reckoned among the great Lords, who had a particular Esteem for our Amyraut. Mr le Goux de la Berchere, first President in the Parliament of Burgundy [M], and

[H] He published a great Number of Book. He published his *Treatise of Religions* in 1631. Five Years after he published *fix Sermons on the Nature, Extent, &c. of the Gospel*. He published several other Sermons at different Times. His Book concerning the *Elevation of Faith, and Abatement of Reason* appeared in 1641. The *Defence of Calvin in relation to the Doctrine of Absolute Reprobation* appeared in *Latin* the same Year, and in *French* in the Year 1644. He begun his *Paraphrases on the Scripture* in 1644. The *Epistle to the Romans* was paraphrased first; he then proceeded to the other *Epistles*, and concluded with the *Gospels*; but he had the Prudence, as well as Calvin, not to meddle with *St John's Revelation*. For fear his Name should hinder the Roman Catholics from reading his Paraphrases, he did not prefix it. In 1647, he published an *Apology for the Protestants*, a *Treatise of Free Will*, and another *De Seessione ab Ecclesia Romana, deque pace inter Evangelicos in negotio religionis constituenda*. He treated more amply afterwards of the Re-union of the Calvinists and Lutherans, in his *Irenicon*, printed in the Year 1662. His Book, *Of the Calling of Pastors*, was published in 1649. He preached on that Subject before the Prince of Tarentum, during the holding of a Provincial Synod, of which he was Moderator. This Prince desired that the Sermon might be printed, and that the Matter might be more amply treated; for it was a great Common-Place Topic among the Missionaries. For which Reason Mr Amyraut not only printed his Sermon, but published also a complete *Treatise* on that important Controversy, and dedicated the whole to the Prince of Tarentum. His *Christian Morality*, in six Volumes in Octavo, the first of which was printed in the Year 1652, was the Product of the Conversation he had often had with Mr de Villarnaul, a Lord of extraordinary Merit, and one of the most learned Gentlemen of Europe, who was Heir, in this respect likewise, to Mr du Plessis Mornai, his Grandfather, by the Mother's Side. There are but few Subjects, on which Mr Amyraut did not write. He published a *Treatise of Dreams*; two Volumes concerning the *Millennium*, in which he refutes an Advocate of Paris, whose Name is Mr de Launai, who was a great Chiliasist * (14); the Life of the brave *la Noue*, surnamed *Bras de fer*, i. e. *Iron-Arm*; and several other Works which I omit, or mention in the Sequel of this Article. He mounted likewise on *Parnassus*; for he wrote a Poem, entitled, *St Stephen's Apology to his Judges*. This Work was attacked from a Quarter, which was the less to be dreaded for certain Reasons; for the Attack was not made by the Poets, but by the Missionaries. They pretended, that the Author had spoken of the *holy Sacrament of the Altar*, with the utmost Irreverence; but he published a Piece in his Vindication, of which I can say nothing more to the purpose, that what Mr Daille has said of it. Let us hear him then. "As for St Stephen's Apology to his Judges, which you (15) make use of to convict us of having abused your Sacrament; if you and they, who are so much offended at it, had vouchsafed to read the Letter, which the Author has published in Vindication of himself, you, and they, would not have entertained so ill an Opinion of it; nay, you would perhaps have wondered at the Illusion, which your Prejudices had produced in your Mind, in pretending, that what he has written against the Extravagancy of Pagan Idolatry, was meant of you and your Transubstantiation (16)." all

[I] Cardinal de Richelieu ----- communicated to him his grand Design of re-uniting the two Churches.] The Jesuit, who discoursed with Mr Amyraut upon this Subject, was Father Audebert. Mr de Villeneuve, who was, at that time, the King's Lieutenant at Saumur, having engaged them to dine together, and with so much Complaisance for the Minister, that he gave him the upper Hand of the Jesuit, and that no Grace was said at his Table for that Time, contrived it so, after Dinner, that they had a private Conference. It is true, Mr Amyraut declared he must necessarily communicate to his Collegues the whole Subject of their Conference. The Jesuit told him, that the King, and his Eminence, had sent him to make Proposals of Agreement in Matters of Religion; and then gave him to understand, that they would sacrifice to Peace the Invocation of Creatures, Purgatory, and the Merit of Works; that the Pope's Power should be limited, and that, if the Court of Rome should refuse to consent to it, they would take occasion from thence to create a Patriarch; that the Cup should be given to the Laity; and that, perhaps, they might give up some other Points, if they found a sincere Inclination in the Protestants to Peace and Re-union. But he declared, when Mr Amyraut mentioned the Doctrine of the Eucharist, that they were determined to make no Alteration in that; upon which the other replied, that, if so, there was an end of the Affair. Their Conversation lasted about four Hours; the Jesuit would have exacted Secrecy. But Mr Amyraut protested to him, that, according to the Declaration he had made at first to Mr de Villeneuve, he must communicate their Conference to his Collegues; but that he would answer for their Discretion. That very Evening he gave them an Account of the Conference, and made no scruple to speak of it, upon Occasion, after the Death of Cardinal de Richelieu, and Father Audebert.

[K] The Marshal de Breze ----- had a particular Esteem for him.] He was Governor of Saumur, and never went thither, without sending to desire Mr Amyraut to come and visit him. He often invited him to his Castle of Milly, where he commonly resided; and, when he received the News of the Death of his Son, the Duke of Fronсар, Admiral of France, he would always have Mr Amyraut near him. He received several Visits from him in his last Sickness, and even recommended himself to his Prayers, and desired to be prayed for in the Protestant Church of Saumur. He died in the Castle of Milly, in 1650.

[L] The Marshal de la Meillerie ----- had a particular Esteem for him.] When he was a Protestant, he studied with Mr Amyraut at Saumur. He always remembered his old Acquaintance, and, the Day after his coming to Saumur, when the Court was there, in 1652, he sent to compliment this Minister; who did not fail to go and pay his Respects to him immediately; and he was received by him, as usual, with a thousand Marks of Esteem. This Marshal hearing of Mr Amyraut's last Sickness, sent a Gentleman to see him, and to tell him, that if his Gout would have permitted him to bear the Motion of a Coach, he would have paid him a Visit. He was at that time at his Castle of Montreuil-Bellai, four Leagues from Saumur.

[M] Mr le Goux de la Berchere ----- first President in the Parliament of Burgundy, &c.] He was exiled to Saumur, in the Year 1637, where he lived 'till the Year 1644. Being himself a Man of great Merit and Learning, he was fond of learned Men of

* Millenarian.

(14) See pag. 129, 130. of Tom. 1. of M. Ancillon's *Mélanges Critique de Littérature*.

(15) He all-dresses himself to Father Adam.

(16) Daille's Reply to two Books of Adam and de Cottibay, part 2. chap. 17. p. 108.

and the Intendants of the Province of *Anjou* [N], are of this Number; and we may add to them some Bishops and Archbishops [O], and, above all, Cardinal Mazarine [P], whose Civilities to this Professor were extraordinary. It is very probable he found Favour with this Cardinal, among other Reasons, because he declared openly for the Doctrine of the Obedience of Subjects to their Princes. His Declaration was of Use to the Court of *France*, during the Commotions, in which the Fortune of Cardinal Mazarine was so much tossed; and, on several other occasions, he shewed that it was his favourite Doctrine [Q], so far as to quarrel about it with a Minister of *Rochelle*

all Religions. He soon desired to be acquainted with Mr *Amyraut*, and found him so worthy of his Friendship, that they became very intimate. They saw each other commonly twice a Week; so that it is no wonder, if this Minister could supply some Memoirs for the Life of that President. It is not necessary to observe, that Mr *de la Berchère* died first President of the Parliament of *Grenoble*, and that his Brother succeeded him; but it may be proper to remark, that the latter, desiring to have his Brother's Life written, requested Mr *Amyraut* to communicate his Memoirs of the Particulars, which passed between them. Mr *Amyraut* sent him, among other things, the Account of the Conference, which he had with Father *Audbert*; for, as soon as the Report was spread in *Saumur*, that he had a private Conference with that Jesuit, Mr *de la Berchère* desired an Account of it from his own Mouth. Mr *Amyraut* recited a great part of it, and desired him not to mention it. That part of his Memoirs was not made use of in the Life of Mr *de la Berchère*, which was published. In 1648 he dedicated his Book, *Of the Rights of Marriage*, to that illustrious Magistrate, who was at that time first President of *Grenoble*.

[N] *The Intendants of the Province of Anjou.* He never failed to wait upon them, and they all returned him his Visits, and shewed a great Respect for him. When he went, in 1638, to drink the Waters of *Bourbon*, he received many Civilities at *Bourges*, from Mr *Mandat*, Intendant of the Province. He might have lodged at that Intendant's House, who desired it. He dined, there, with the Archdeacon of *Bourges* and some other Clergymen.

[O] *Bishops and Archbishops.* See what is said above (17), concerning the Bishop of *Chartres*. I add here, that, in the Year 1662, the Archbishop of *Paris*, *Hardouin de Percefixe*, being gone to *Saumur*, on a Vow, which the Queen-Mother had made to *Our Lady des Armoilliers* (18), sent Word to Mr *Amyraut*, that he should be very glad to see him. Mr *Amyraut* was very ready to pay him a Visit, but he let him know that he would not style him *My Lord*. The Archbishop, agreeing to this, received two Visits from this Minister, discoursed two Hours with him every time, and treated him very civilly. They talked, among other things, of Mr *Dailly's* Books, which the Prelate gave a good Character of, as to the Learning in them.

[P] *And above all Cardinal Mazarine.* He came to *Saumur* in 1642, some Days after the King and the Queen-Mother; and, hearing, that a Sermon of Mr *Amyraut* had been much talked of at the Queen's Table, he desired the Count de *Commenges* to tell that Minister, that he should be very glad to be acquainted with him. This Count was Governor of *Saumur*, and had a great Affection for Mr *Amyraut*: He promised him, that the Protestants should meet on *Sundays* as usual, though the King was in the City; but he told him, at the same time, that they must omit their Assemblies the three first Days after the King's Arrival. This Promise was performed. Mr *Amyraut* preached on the *Sunday*, upon these Words, *Fear God, Honour the King*, and was heard by many Persons of the Court, who were very well satisfied with him, and spoke of his Sermon with Commendation, not only to the King, as soon as they came from Church, but likewise in the Evening, during the Queen's Supper. It was then, that Cardinal Mazarine heard of this Sermon, and was informed by Mr *de Commenges* of the Zeal, which Mr *Amyraut*, and all the Protestants of those Parts, had expressed for the King's Service in the last Troubles. The Cardinal was so desirous to see this Minister, that he sent him word of it the very next Morning, by the Judge of the Provostship: So that Mr *de Commenges*, finding that he was not the first Messenger, said to Mr *Amyraut*, smiling: *I see, Sir, that we shall soon stand in need of your Intercession with his Eminence; which*

will convince you of the Usefulness of the Invocation of Saints. The first Visit was very short; but Mr *Amyraut* was desired to come again the next Morning at eight o'Clock. The Cardinal shewed him all manner of Respect, made him sit near the Fire, talked with him about State-Affairs, gave him a particular Account of all the Efforts, which were used in *Xaintonge*, to bring over the Protestants to the Prince's Party, and desired him to endeavour to make all those Attempts usefule. Mr *Amyraut* assured him, that there was nothing to fear from the Protestants of *France*, and that he would write to several Ministers of *Xaintonge*, to the end that the Synod, which they were speedily to hold, should authentically testify their Fidelity. The thing was performed. Two Days after this Audience, the Cardinal, under pretence of seeing the Protestant College, and the Library of Mr *du Pleffis Mornay*, had another Conference with Mr *Amyraut*, in that Minister's Closet. They conversed about the Edict of *Nantes*, and, upon Mr *Amyraut's* being asked, whether *Henry IV.* was under an Obligation of making it, and answering yes, but that, if it were a mere Favour at first, the Observation of it would be indispensable at present; the Cardinal told him, he was in the right, and cited this Maxim of Law, *quod initio fuit voluntatis, ex post facto fit necessitatis*. i. e. *What at first is Voluntary, becomes afterwards Necessary.* The Reader will be pleased to find here, what Mr *de Guistaut* (19) said to Madam de la *Trimoille*, in the Queen's Presence. "His Eminence is with the Minister *Amyraut*; they are both Ecclesiastics; but I am sure they will not talk of Religion; his Eminence will not find his Account in it." During the five Weeks that the King was at *Saumur*, Mr *Amyraut* paid the Cardinal several Visits, and was always kindly received by him; and, when he took his leave, his Eminence told him, that he might write to him directly, whenever he had any Request to make, either for the Party in general, or for his own private Interests. He made no use of this Permission, 'till after the Journey he took to *Paris*, about the end of the Year 1638. He saw his Eminence three or four times, who used him with great Civility. He spoke to him about the National Synod, the calling of which had been desired so many Years. The Cardinal answered, that the Reasons, which had prevented the granting of it, still subsisted, and desired Mr *Amyraut* to write to him about it. He did himself the Honour to write twice to him upon this Affair. The Cardinal answered him with his own Hand; and afterwards, whenever he returned him an Answer, he made use of his Secretary's Pen, but signed *Proprio pugno*, with his own Hand.

[Q] *And, on several other Occasions, he shewed, that it was his favourite Doctrine.* In the Apology, which he published for the Protestants, in the Year 1647, he excuses their Civil Wars in *France*, as well as he can; but he declares, nevertheless, "That he will not in any wise pretend to justify the taking up Arms against one's Prince, upon any Occasion whatever, — and that he always believed it much more agreeable to the Nature of the Gospel, and the Practice of the Ancient Church, to have recourse to no other Arms, than Patience, Tears, and Prayers (20). — And every time, says he (21), that I reflect upon the History of our Fathers, I cannot help sensibly regretting, that they did not crown so many other fine Virtues, of which they have left us Examples, with an Imitation of the first Christians, in that invincible Patience, which they shewed under the Persecutions of the Emperors." A *Latin* Piece (22) which he published two Years after, shews how he maintained his Cause against the Complaints of a Minister of *Rochelle*, who would have done better not to have taken notice of Mr *Amyraut's* Book, than to have taken Offence at it. The Book entitled, *Of the Sovereignty of Kings*, published

(17) In Remark [D].

(18) In the Church of the Fathers of the Oratory, at the End of a Suburb of *Saumur*.

(19) He was Captain of the Queen's Guard, and Uncle to Mr. de Commenges.

(20) Apology for the Protestants, page 75.

(21) Ibid. page 76.

(22) *Latine loquens*, Adversus Epistolam Historicam Criminatorem Moson Amyraldi Defensam.

Rochelle (i): but this did not hinder him, at the same time, from declaring, that, in Cases of Conscience, a King is not to be obeyed [R]. I need not say, that he was much respected by the great Protestant Lords. This is sufficiently evident of itself. He quarrelled with a Minister of *Saumur*, whose Name was Mr *d'Huiffeau*, and did not meet with all the Satisfaction, which he expected, in the National Synod of *Loudon* (k). It is thought, that his great Reputation was prejudicial to him on this occasion; like a great Tree, which shades the little ones, and whose Branches must therefore be lopped. Besides, the Relations of those, who had declared against the Doctrine of Universal Grace, favoured his Enemy as much as possible. He would, 'tis probable, have been one of those, who sat at the Table in This Synod [S]; to which he was deputed by his Province, if he had not been thought to be personally concerned in the Affairs of Mr *d'Huiffeau* with the Church of *Saumur*. He died very christianly on the Eighth of *January* 1664 (l), and was interred with all the Academical Ceremonies. He had a great Command of Mind in his last Sickness, which gave him an Opportunity of making several very edifying Discourses, and of giving strong Proofs of his Faith, in the Presence of many Persons of both Religions. Among his other Virtues, his Charity to the Poor ought to be observed. He gave them the Salary of his Ministry during the Ten last Years of his Life. He gave Alms without distinction of Catholics and Reformed: the Mendicant Friars, who applied to him, never went away with empty hands; and he recommended to Mr *Hervart* (m) the Recollects of *Saumur*, when they had recourse to the King's Treasury for rebuilding their Cloyster, which was burnt: They thanked him for the good Effect of his Recommendation. He left but one Son, who was a very learned Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and who fled to the *Hague*, after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. He had a Daughter, who died in 1645, Eighteen Months after her Marriage with *Bernard de Harnont*, who was afterwards the King's Advocate at *Saumur*. The Grief, which this Loss threw his Wife into, induced him to write a Treatise of the State of the Faithful after Death; which he dedicated to her. It was printed the Year after. The Reader will be pleased to see here the Distich which Mr *du Bosc* wrote with his own hand under a Print of Mr *Amyraut*. It is an Allusion to what the *Jews* have said in praise of the famous Rabbi *Moses Maimonides*:

A Mose ad Mosem par Mofi non fuit ullus:
More, ore, & calamo, mirus uterque fuit:

From Moses down to Moses, none,
Among the Sons of Men,
With equal Lustre ever shone,
In Manners, Tongue, and Pen.

It

published in 1650, on occasion of the Tragical Death of *Charles I.* King of *England*, is a yet stronger Proof of Mr *Amyraut*'s Opinion in relation to Subjects taking up Arms against their Prince. There was no room to be silent; for the Catholics incessantly imputed this Tragedy to the Presbyterian Party, and drew a thousand odious Consequences from it against the Protestants of *France*. Mr *Amyraut* thought proper not to leave the Injustice of these Reproaches unanswered. During the Troubles of the last Minority, This Minister constantly exhorted the People, in his Sermons, to Obedience; and, being consulted in what manner to behave, he answered, That the only way was to adhere to the Royal Party. It is probable that the Persons, who consulted him, were sincere, and did not dive into the Artifice, which prevails in these kinds of Confusions. Rebels ever pretend, that their Aim is only to remedy Abuses, and drive away evil Counsellors from about their Master's Person. One must be very weak to be caught in this Trap, and to want the Opinion of a Casuist. The Distinction of the Pope and the Holy See is not so gross a Sophism. Lastly, Mr *Amyraut* spoke his Thoughts fully in the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Latin* Paraphrase on the *Psalms*. It is there that he maintains and lays down, that, according to the true Principles of Christianity, Subjects ought not to take up Arms against their Sovereigns. He declares openly for that which is called *Passive Obedience*. That Work was dedicated to *Charles II.* King of *England*, soon after That Prince's Restauration. The Author had made himself acquainted at *Paris* with one of that Prince's Chaplains, in the Year 1658. Two Years after, he expressed to him his Joy for the King's Restauration, and congratulated him on the Bishoprick of *Durham*. He was answered, that the King thanked him. This encouraged Mr *Amyraut* to dedicate to

him his Paraphrase on the *Psalms*, but not 'till he knew from the Bishop of *Durham*, whether That Monarch would be pleased with it.

[R] That, in Cases of Conscience, a King is not to be obeyed.] This appeared, when the *Sensibral* of *Saumur* notified to him an Arrêt of the Council of State, which ordered all the Protestants to put out Hangings before their Houses on Corpus Christi Day. He communicated it to him, on the Eve of that Feast, and desired him to order the Protestants to conform to it, for fear their Disobedience should excite the People against them. Mr *Amyraut* answered, that, on the contrary, he was going to exhort his Flock, to put out no Hangings, and that he would be the first, who should refuse it; That he had always preached up Obedience to the Superior Powers; but that he never meant it in such things as concern the Conscience. Leaving the *Sensibral*, he went from House to House to exhort his Parishioners rather to suffer any thing, than to obey that Arrêt. The *Sensibral* caused it to be published with Sound of Trumpet; the Consistory met, thanked Mr *Amyraut* for his Conduct, and charged the Elders to take care that there should be no Hangings put out. The King's Lieutenant refused to assist the *Sensibral*, and prevented the Tumult, which began to be raised. The Arrêt was revoked some time after.

[S] He would, 'tis probable, have been one of those, who sat at the Table, in this Synod.] If all my Readers were French Protestants, this Remark would be unnecessary, but it will not be so to other Readers. In our Synods of *France* there were commonly four Persons, who formed what was called the Table. One of these four Persons was the President of the Company, and was called the Moderator, the other three were the Moderator's Assistant, the Secretary, and the Collector of the Aids.

(i) Philip Vincent.

(k) In 1659.

(l) Kon'g in his Biblioth. and Wette in his Dictionnaire, place his Death (wrong) in 1665.

(m) He was Comptroller of the Finance.

It was some Years after the Death of this Professor, that his Picture was engraved by his Son's Care (n).

Some Particulars concerning Mr Amyraut are to be found in a Work entitled *Melange Critique de Literature recueilli des Conversations de feu Mr Ancillon* (o).—A Critical Miscellany of Literature, collected from the Conversation of the late Mr Ancillon; by which it appears, among other things, that a Passage in a Letter of Mr Balzac (p), wherein the Author of an Apology is much praised, is to be understood of him. We find also there, that Patin esteemed him very much: But take notice, that what is disobliging in Patin's Letter does not relate to the Minister of Saumur. I shall take notice of this in a Remark, as also of some other trifling Mistakes [T].

(n) Taken from the Memoirs communicated by M. Amyraut the Son. Whoever is not founded upon public Profits, in the Remarks of this Article, is taken from the Memoirs.

(23) *Melange Critique de Literature*, Tom. 1. p. 333, 334.

(24) Patin, Letter 114. Edit. 1.

[T] I shall take Notice of it in a Remark, as also of some other trifling Mistakes.] Patin says, in his Hundred and thirteenth Letter of the first Edition (23), "That there was a Physician of Nyort, in 1663, whose Name was Mr Luffand, who proposed to publish an Apology for the Physicians, against those, who accused them of trusting too much to Nature: he says, that This Physician had principally in view Mr Amyraut, a Minister of Saumur, who cast this Reflexion upon them in the last Volume of his *Christian Morality*." — He seems (24) not to be very well satisfied with Mr Amyraut on this Account; for he adds, "If Mr Amyraut will be pleased to give himself the trouble to answer that Book, he is one who can say fine Things upon the Occasion, which Luffand is unacquainted with, and which are not in his Book. I have suggested some of them to him, says he, and among others, fine Passages, and good Authorities; but he pays no Regard to them." This plainly disguised him; for he afterwards expresses himself thus: "And indeed he is in a Province, which is not far from Gaicon, where they are generally more vain than learned, &c." I omit the rest of the Passage as it stands in Mr Ancillon, which is very disobliging; but I must inform my Readers, that the Person, so

much abused by Patin, is the Physician of Nyort, and not the Divine, who makes the Subject of this Article. I must also acquaint them, that the *Treatise of Religions against those who think them indifferent*, is not Mr Amyraut's only Book, of which there have been two Editions (25). I am very certain, that the Apology for the Protestants was printed more than once; that the *Treatise of Predication*, printed in 1634, was reprinted at Saumur in the Year 1658, with the Specimen of Calvin's Doctrine, and the Reply to Mr de la Motte, concerning his offer of a Friendly Conference to examine his Method for procuring a Reunion; that these two last Treatises had been published in the Year 1638, and that the Bookseller, who reprinted them in 1658, with the *Treatise of Predication*, declares (26), that he republishes these three Books, because they were not to be met with. I am assured likewise, that eleven of Amyraut's Sermons on several Texts of Scripture were reprinted in the Year 1653; that the *Life of la Noüe* was reprinted at Leyden; that the *Thebes* of This Professor, and those of his Colleagues, were reprinted at Geneva; and that his *Treatise of the State of the Faithful after Death*, was printed at London in English, and at Utrecht in Dutch.

(o) Printed at Br. 1. 1693.

(p) The Letter to M. Conrart.

(25) As is affirmed by the Author of the *Melange Critique*, pag. 132. The first is in 1651, and the second in 1652.

(26) In his Epistle dedicatory to the Students in Divinity.

(a) He is called, by mistake, Amyraut, in the Supplement to Moreau's Dictionary.

(b) Leo Allatius de Perpet. Conf. lib. 3. cap. 3. pag. 935; & 1379.

(c) Guillet's Hist. of Mahomet II. Tom. 1. p. 441. & Tom. 2. p. 136.

• Proteveftarius.

AMYRUTZES (a), a Peripatetic Philosopher, born at Trebizond, was greatly esteemed in the Court of the Emperor David, his Master, and wrote in Favour of the Greeks against the Decisions of the Council of Florence (b); but he lost all his Reputation by his Apostacy. He was one of those, who accompanied the Emperor David to Constantinople, when Mahomet II. caused him to be brought thither, after the taking of Trebizond, in the Year 1461. This Philosopher, being gained over by the Promises of the Sultan, renounced Christianity, and turned Turk, with his Children; one of whom, under the Name of Mehemet-beg, translated several Books of the Christians into Arabic, by order of Mahomet II. This Prince gave Amyrutzes considerable Employments in the Seraglio, and converted sometimes about Learning and Matters of Religion with Him, or with Mehemet-beg (c). According to Allatius's manner of Expression, one would be apt to take this Philosopher for Groom of the Stole * to the Emperor of Trebizond [A]. I must not forget to observe, that Amyrutzes did not then begin to be in Esteem with Princes, when the Emperor of Trebizond honoured him with his Affection; for he had been a long time greatly respected in the Court of Constantinople. He was one of the chief learned Persons, whom the Emperor John Paleologus consulted about his Journey into Italy (d), and he accompanied that Emperor in his Expedition (e), as he himself relates (f) in his Account of what had passed in the Council of Florence, and which he inscribed to Demetrius Governor of Napoli di Romania. He affirms, among other things, that the Patriarch of Constantinople was strangled during the Session of that Council, and that the Physicians attested the Fact (g).

(d) The Political History of Constantinople names him as one before Bessarion, and Gemistus. See Allat. de Perpet. Conf. p. 283.

(e) This Emperor arrived at Venice, Feb. 8. 1438.

(f) Apud Allatium, pag. 386.

(g) Id. ib. pag. 903.

[A] According to Allatius's manner of Expression, one would be apt to take him for Groom of the Stole to the Emperor. Allatius, in the Nine hundred and thirty sixth Page of his *Perpetuus consensus*, speaks only by Conjecture of the Book, which this Amyrutzes composed against the Council of Florence; but, in the Additions, he tells us, that the Work itself was sent him from the Isle of Chio: Afterwards he says, that Dorotheus, Archbishop of Monembafsa, discovers the Condition of this Person *, *cujusnam conditionis vir iste fuerit*. He infers the Passage of Dorotheus in Greek and Latin. The Greek imports, that Mahomet caused the Emperor David, and some other Persons to embark for Constantinople, and among others τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἀμυρῦτον τὸν ἀρπυλαεὶς ἱεροφίλοσφον Ἀμυρῦτον Προτεβεστάριον. Thus Allatius translates and Points. And therefore doubtless he believed, that Amyrutzes, and the Proteveftarius, were one and the same Person, and that he un-

derstands of him the Sequel of the Passage of Dorotheus, which informs us, that this Person was first Cousin of Mahomet Bassa, that he had betrayed the Emperor David, and that, after the taking of Trebizond, he received great Honours from his Cousin, and from Sultan Mahomet; that he was Cunning, Tall, Well-shaped, a good Archer, and qualified for every thing. His Relation to Mahomet arose from his Mother's being Mahomet's Mother's Sister; these two Sisters were Daughters of Jagrus. I give no great Credit to this Account; for I find that Mr Guillet, citing the *Turco-Græcia* of Crusius, says, that the Name of the Proteveftarius (Groom of the Stole) of the Emperor of Trebizond was George; that he was of a graceful Mien, and had such great Skill in Archery, that he surpassed therein all the Greeks and Turks; that he was the Son of a Daughter of a Christian Prince, called Jagrus, who had married his other Daughter in Serbia, where she had a Son, who was the Renegade

* In Synopsi Historiarum.

(r) Guillet, History of Athens, vol. II. Tom. I. pag. 439. negado *Macbmus* (1). I would willingly therefore place | order to make This Philosopher, and the *Protophysi-*
a *Comma*, in the Passage of *Dorotheus*, *Αμμόνιον*, in | us, whom *Allatius* confounds together, Two Persons.

AMMONIUS. Many Writers have been called by this Name. *Athenaeus* cites two Works of a very different Nature, composed by an Author, whom he calls AMMONIUS. One of them treats of *Altars and Sacrifices* (a); the other of the *Courtezans of Athens* [A]. He does not positively say, that these two Books were wrote by the same *Ammonius*; neither does he say any thing, which intimates the contrary; besides he makes no mention of the Author's Country, nor of the Age, in which he lived. We are informed by another Author, that he, who wrote the Book concerning *Altars and Sacrifices*, was a Native of *Lampria* (b) [B]. *Suidas*, such as we have him at present, speaks only of *Ammonius Saccas*: but, without doubt, he mentioned an *Ammonius* different from this; for what we find in his Dictionary cannot be applied to one and the same Person. It is impossible, that the same *Ammonius* should have abjured the Christian Faith, and have succeeded *Aristarchus* in the School of *Alexandria*, before the Reign of *Augustus*. These are the two Particulars we find in *Suidas* concerning *Ammonius*. Was he so ignorant as to believe they were not inconsistent? I see no probability of it. One Author (c) conjectures, that there is an *Hiat* in this Passage (d), and that *Suidas* might have spoken in this *Hiat* of the *Ammonius* mentioned by *Athenaeus*. If this were true, we must say, that the Treatise of *Sacrifices and Altars*, or that of the *Courtezans of Athens*, or both, were written by a Grammarian, who was *Aristarchus's* Successor. The second AMMONIUS, I propose to speak of, is a Philosopher of *Egypt* (e). *Plutarch*, whose Preceptor he was, makes frequent mention of him. See particularly the 70th and 385th Pages of his *Moral Works* in the Edition of *Francfort* 1620. But it is falsely pretended in *Moreri's* Dictionary, that he speaks of him with Praise, particularly towards the end of the *Life* of *Aristotle* [C]. *Moreri* is not more successful in his Account of AMMONIUS the Son of *Hermias* [D]; to whom he attributes, among other Works, a Book composed in the Reign of *Valentinian*. That *Ammonius* was Son and Brother of a Philosopher (f). The Learned believe, that he flourished in the Reign of *Anastasi*, in the beginning of the VIth Century; and that it is He who composed the Commentaries we have, under the Name of *Ammonius*, on some Treatises of *Aristotle*, and particularly on his Book of *Interpretation* (g). The Author of this last Commentary says, at the beginning, that he was a Disciple of *Proclus*. It is to him that some ascribe the *Life* of *Aristotle*, which goes under the Name of *Ammonius* (b). He is the same, no doubt, who was refuted by *Zacharias Mylenensis*: See the Remark [H] of the following Article. He is likewise the same, of whom *Jonstus* (i) understands a Passage of *Photius*, in which he mentions One *Ammonius*, who took great Delight in explaining the old Poets, and making Critical Remarks on the Greek Language (k). This induces some to believe, that the Treatise *Of the Difference of Greek Words* ought to be ascribed to him (l). But Mr *Ménage* says, that *Herennius Philo* was the Author of it (m). The same *Ammonius*, to whom the abovementioned Passage of *Photius* relates, had an *Asis* of a wonderful

(a) Athen. lib. II. pag. 476.

(b) It was a Town in Asia.

(c) Jo-fius, de Script. Hist. Phil. lib. pag. 169. and in the Index.

(d) Gesner, in Biblioth. actus et exultant, that he is sensible of the Absurdity of it.

(e) Eunapius Proem. Vit. Soph.

(f) Suidas in Epist. See under the Article HERMIAS.

(g) Vossius de Phil. Sclis, p. 90. § 117. Labbé, de Script. Eccl. Tom. I. pag. 59.

(h) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 567.

(i) Vossius de Histor. Graecis, pag. 502.

(b) Jonstus, Hist. Phil. pag. 300.

(i) Id. ib.

(k) Photii Biblioth. n. 242. pag. 1040.

(l) Jonstus, ubi supra.

(m) In Laert. lib. 2. n. 5.

(j) In Voss. de Phil. pag. 112.

(k) Henr. Valefius, Notis in Notis Mauffac, pag. 112.

(l) Ibid.

[A] *Of the Courtezans of Athens* (1). They, who, in these latter times, have wrote Books entitled *The Harlotry of Rome*, or of some other great City, were not original Authors. Antiquity saw many Works of this Nature, which are happily lost. Not one of them is come down to us.

[B] We are informed by another Author, that he who wrote the Book — was a Native of *Lampria*.] We are not indebted to *Harpocration* for this Information, as Mr *Lloyd* affirms, but to the Author of the Book *De differentiis vocum*. *Vossius*, and several others, call him *Ammonius*. If Mr *Lloyd* had translated *Vossius* right, he would not have said, *Ammonius historicus* in τῷ περὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυνάμεων titulus ab *Harpocratione* in Ἀμαζόνιον, uti & in voce Ἑσχαδεα. Ex quo etiam discimus *Lampriensem fuisse*, ut *Gesnerus* falso *Alexandrinum* vocet. — *Ammonius the Historian*, in his Treatise of *Altars and Sacrifices*, is cited by *Harpocration* under the Words Ἀμαζόνιον and Ἑσχαδεα; who informs us likewise, that he was of *Lampria*; so that *Gesner* is mistaken in saying that he was of *Alexandria*. This is one of the Faults of the Abbreviators, which I have so often mentioned. *Vossius*, having said, as far as the Word Ἑσχαδεα, what I have just now quoted from *Lloyd*, adds ἐν ἀρχῇ περὶ δυνάμεων ab *Ammonio* lib. de differ. voc. in βασιλ. Ubi & Ἀμαζόνιον fuisse dicitur, ut *Gesnerus* falso *Alexandrinum* vocet (2). *Lloyd*, being unwilling to transcribe the whole Passage of *Vossius*, and having skipped a Line of it, fell into a great Mistake; for it is not true, that *Harpocration* informs us, that *Ammonius*, whom he cites, was a Native of *Lampria*. If he had a mind to have omitted any part of it, he should have left out the last Line, in which *Vossius* tells an Untruth.

Gesner does not say, that *Ammonius*, the Author of the Book concerning *Sacrifices*, was an *Alexandrian*. There is a third Passage of *Harpocration* (3), in which our *Ammonius* is cited; Ἀμμόνιος ἐν τετραπλῇ περὶ βασιλέων γράφει ταῦτα; *Ammonius in the fourth Book of Altars writes these things*. The learned *Mauffac* has thus corrected the Text of *Harpocration*; he puts *ἑσχαδίων* (*Altars*) instead of *κώμων* (*Towns or Villages*), because no one ever said that this Author wrote a Book, *De oppidis vel pagis*. *Valefius* approves of this Correction (4). One might conjecture, that, since *Ammonius* wrote a Book concerning the *Courtezans of Athens*, he likewise composed one of *Festivals or Revellings*, περὶ κώμων; upon which Supposition, there will be no occasion to pretend, that, according to the common reading of *Harpocration*, the Book of *Ammonius* related to the *Towns*, or the *People*, of *Attica*: Yet *Mauffac's* Correction appears to me highly probable. It appeared so to *Vossius*, who mentions it as his own. *Valefius* cites a Passage of the Scholiast upon *Hermogenes*, in which the Author of the Book concerning *Altars* is called *Ammonius of Lampria* (5).

[C] It is falsely pretended in *Moreri's Dictionary*, that *Plutarch* speaks of him with Praise, particularly towards the end of the *Life* of *Aristotle*.] This *Life* of *Aristotle* is a Chimera. *Moreri* should have said *Theophrastus*, and not *Aristotle*. Now it is true, indeed, that *Plutarch* mentions *Ammonius* at the end of the *Life* of *Theophrastus*; but it is not true, that he praises him. He speaks neither well nor ill of him.

[D] *Moreri* is not more successful in his Account of *Ammonius the Son of Hermias*.] He has committed at least three or four gross Faults. 1. He is ignorant, that *Proclus* flourished in the Reign of *Theodosius* the Younger, and a long time after; for, if

wonderful Taste for Poetry; for he would abstain from eating his Provender and suffer hunger, rather than interrupt his Attention, upon the reading of a Poem (n). The third AMMONIUS, of whom I intend to speak, was a Poet, who lived in the Vth Century. He composed a Poem on the War with Gainas King of the Goths, and, upon his repeating it before the Emperor Theodosius the younger, was greatly applauded (o). I propose to speak, in separate Articles, not only of some Moderns, who have born the Name of Ammonius, but likewise of an ancient Philosopher, who has given greater Lustre to it than all the rest.

(n) Phot. Biblioth. n. 242. ex Damascio, in Vita Isidori Philosophi.

(o) Socrates, Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 6. & ex e. Nicephor. lib. 13. cap. 6.

(6) Proclus in the Reign of Julian; the second Ammonius, his Disciple, who wrote so well on Aristotle's Book of Interpretation, in the Reign of Valentinian. Rapin Compar. de Platon & d' Aristote, pag. 394.

he had known it, would he have said that Ammonius, Disciple of Proclus, wrote a Book in the Reign of Valentinian? Would he have been such a faithful Transcriber of Father Rapin's Errors (6)? II. What a strange way is this of denoting Emperors? There were three of this Name; and the first must be understood to be meant, when we talk of Valentinian without any Addition. The first Valentinian died in the Year 375; judge then whether the Disciple of Proclus could write in That Emperor's Reign. III. If Mrerri had understood the Author, whom he followed, I mean Father Labbé, he would have learned,

that Ammonius, the Disciple of Proclus, and Son of Hermias, flourished in the Reign of the Emperor Anastasius; who did not begin to reign 'till above thirty five Years after the Death of Valentinian III. IV. Father Labbé observes, that frequent mention is made of One Ammonius in the *Catena* of the Greek Fathers on St John's Gospel, and other Books of the Scripture; and he believes, that Ammonius, the Son of Hermias, is different from Him. Instead of this, Mr Mereri tells us, that some Authors ascribe the Explication of the Greek Fathers on the Gospel of St John to Ammonius, the Son of Hermias.

AMMONIUS, surnamed Saccas [A], was one of the most famous Philosophers of his Time. He flourished about the beginning of the IIIrd Century. He was of Alexandria, and, as he was bred up in the Christian Faith from his Infancy, he persevered in it to the last, as his Works testify. Eusebius, who says this, accuses Porphyry of a manifest Falshood (a), in saying, that Ammonius renounced Christianity, in which he had been educated, and embraced the public Religion, when he was of Age to philosophize [B]. This great Philosopher gave a wonderful Lustre to the School of Alexandria, and put the Science, which he professed, upon an honourable Foot. He found it miserably depraved by the vain Subtilties of the Disputants. We have seen, in *Christendom*, what they are able to do; I say, we have seen it in the Controversies of the Thomists and Scotists, and of the Realists and Nominalists. They all professed to follow Aristotle, and yet they multiplied Disputes in infinitum. What can we think, then, of the Disputes, which prevailed in ancient times, when, the Philosophers, being divided into several Sects, under different Heads, some condemned Plato, and others Aristotle, &c.? It was a Chaos of mere Chicanery, which dishonoured the Profession. The right way to restore the Science to it's former Credit was to banish all useless Disputes, and to adhere to the Doctrines, in which Plato and his Disciples were agreed. No doubt they were the most certain, and consequently, the most important, Doctrines. This was the Reason, why Ammonius thought himself particularly obliged to reconcile these two Heads of Sects [C], and to clear up the Misunderstanding, on which their pretended Oppositions were built; and it is difficult to express the great Reputation he acquired by this manner of philosophizing. He was extoll'd as a Person inspired, as one taught by God [D]; and

(a) Euseb. Hist. Ecc. lib. 6. cap. 19.

[A] AMMONIUS, surnamed Saccas.] Ammonius Marcellinus (1) and Suidas (2) witness, that he had this Surname. It is generally believed, that, by his first Trade, he was a Carrier of Sacks, and Suidas is alleged in proof of it. These are the Words of the learned Henry Valefius: "Saccas videtur ex eo dictus Ammonius, quod mercibus ex portu Alexandrino comportandis victum sibi quaesivisset, cuiusmodi homines Saccarii antiqui vocabant; ut videre est in Codice Th. tit. de Saccariis portus urbis Romæ. Suidas, πλωτῖς, inquit, μαθητὴς Ἀμμόνιου τῷ πρώτῳ γενόμενος σακκοφόρος (3). — Ammonius seems to have been surnamed Saccas, because he gained his Living by carrying Goods from the Port of Alexandria; which kind of Men were called by the Ancients Saccarii; as may be seen in Cod. Th. tit. Of the Saccarii of the Port of Rome. Suidas says, Plotinus, a Disciple of Ammonius, who was originally a Sack-Bearer."

(1) Henry Valef. in Amm. Marcell. lib. 22.

(2) Suidas in Ἐπεὶ τῶν.

[B] A manifest Falshood, in saying that Ammonius renounced Christianity, — — — when he was of Age to philosophize.] Let us see the Original. "Ὅτε τῷ πορφυρίῳ καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἡ ψαλτο, εὐδὲς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετέβλετο (4). — As soon as he was capable of thinking for himself, and had begun to taste Philosophy, he exchanged his manner of Life for That which was agreeable to the Laws. Porphyry, in saying this, was animated by the Spirit, which I have mentioned in the Remark [E] of the Article ABULPHARAGIUS.

(4) Porphyry. lib. 3. adv. Christianos, apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. c. 19.

[C] Thought himself particularly obliged to reconcile these two Heads of Sects.] We learn this from Hierocles, Author of a Book concerning Providence, of which we have some Extracts in the *Bibliothèque* of Photius. According to this Author, none but

Men, governed by a Spirit of Contradiction, and an itching Desire of Disputation, or by their Prejudices, and the Darkness of their Minds, found any Disagreement between the Doctrines of Plato and Aristotle. Τὸς μὲν ἐκόντας ἑαδὶ καὶ ἀπορία σφῶς αὐτὸς παραδείκνυται, τὸς δὲ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀμαθίαν δειδωκόμενος (5). — Some voluntarily giving themselves up to Strife and Madness, others enslaved to Prejudice and Ignorance. The first of these kind of Disputants were very numerous, before the Light of Ammonius came to enlighten the World. "Donec Ammonii aliquando sapientia orbi illuxit, quem etiam divinitus eductum appellari prædicat. Hunc enim veterum philosophorum opinionibus perpurgat, & resecit quæ utrimque excreverant nugis, in præcipuis quibuscumque & maxime necessariis dogmatibus concordem esse Platonis & Aristotelis sententiam demonstrasse (6). — Till at length the Philosophy of Ammonius shone upon the World, who, he tells us, was called the Inspired. For, having thoroughly purged the Doctrines of the old Philosophers, and pared off every useless Excrecence, he demonstrated, that Plato and Aristotle agreed in the principal and most important Points."

(5) Photius Biblioth. n. 214. p. 543.

(6) Hierocles, apud Phot. ibid.

[D] He was extoll'd as a Person Inspired, as One taught by God.] I have set down a Passage of Hierocles, wherein these Words are to be found "Ὁν καὶ θεοδιδάκτορον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι οὐκ ἔστι, who, he tells us, was called the INSPIRED. I shall add another, in which the same Author relates, that the Followers of Plato and Aristotle were so fond of perpetuating their Quarrels, that they corrupted the Text of these two great Philosophers, to demonstrate more easily the Opposition between them. This Disorder, adds He, continued 'till the Time of Ammonius,

and whom a Divine Instinct had guided into this Path. *Moreri* and many others were ignorant of the true Foundation of this Elogy [E]. Others are no less mistaken, when they say, that *Ammonius* taught his Disciples the Mysteries of the Gospel, under the Seal of Secrecy [F]. Some have confounded his Theological Works with those of other Writers [G]; but at last they have been distinguished. He had, among other Scholars, *Plotinus* and *Origen*. He died about the Year 230 (b). I believe we ought

(b) According to Cave, Hist. Liter. pag. 724.

nus, the Disciple of the great God; for, being carried away by an Enthusiasm in search of Philosophical Truth, he dived into the bottom of both Sects, and reconciled them together, and gave his Hearers, particularly his learned Equals, *Plotinus*, *Origen*, and their Successors, a System of Philosophy free from Strife and Contention. "Εως Ἀμμόνιον τῷ Θεοδιδάκτῳ ἐπὶ τῷ γὰρ πρῶτῳ ἐνδεσίδας πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθινὴν, καὶ τὰς τῶν πολλῶν δόξας υπεριδῶν, τὰς πλείους οὐκ ἐφ' ἐπιστοφῆς ἀφελόμενος, εἰς ἐκὼς τὰ ἐκείνους, καὶ συνήγαγεν εἰς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν νῦν καὶ ἀσάδιασεν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν παραδίδωκε πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτῷ γνωρίμοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν αὐτῷ συγγεγονότων Πλωτῖνῳ καὶ Ὀριγίνῳ καὶ τοῖς ἑξῆς ἀπὸ τούτων (7). Uique ad divinitus edocuit Ammonium. Hic enim primus æstu quodam rapuit ad Philosophiæ veritatem, multorumque opinionum, qui magnum dedecus Philosophiæ attulerunt, contemnit, utramque sectam probe calluit, & in concordiam adduxit, & a contentiosis liberam Philosophiam tradidit omnibus suis auditoribus, & maxime doctissimis æqualibus suis Plotino & Origeni & Successoribus.

[E] *Moreri* and many others were ignorant of the true Foundation of this Elogy.] According to Mr *Moreri*, *Ammonius* "applied himself more particularly to the Divine Philosophy of JESUS CHRIST. He acquired such an Esteem by it, that he was looked upon as a Man, who had been particularly instructed by God, and for that Reason he had the Name of *THEODIDACTUS* given him." He is mistaken: I shall not contest with *Ammonius* his Theological Learning; but certainly, it was not upon that Account, that he was called *Theodidactus*. He was honoured with this Title on Account of his Philosophical Lectures, which spoke only of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, but made no mention of JESUS CHRIST and the Gospel. His Auditors were divided; some professed Paganism, and others Christianity; and therefore it was necessary he should set aside Matters of Religion, and chiefly those, which related to Piety. Would *Hierocles*, who was a Pagan Philosopher, have expressed himself in the manner he has done, if the Knowledge of the Gospel had procured *Ammonius* the Elogy we are speaking of? I can easily believe, that *Ammonius* was not accounted a Christian among the Pagans, and that it is This, which moved *Porphyrus* to say, that *Ammonius* renounced Christianity, as soon as he was capable of philosophizing. He was known to be a Christian among his Brethren, and gave Proofs of his Faith in certain Writings, which were, in all likelihood, little known to the Pagans. Would *Plotinus* have followed *Ammonius* so long, if he had believed him to be an Enemy to the Established Religion? The Christians were not yet so considerable.

[F] Others are no less mistaken, when they say, that *Ammonius* taught his Disciples the Mysteries of the Gospel, under the Seal of Secrecy.] I was surprized to find Father *Labbé* so greatly mistaken in these Words. "Idem *Porphyrus*, says he (8) in vita Plotini Platonice lectæ Philosophi, narrat Ammonium Religionis Christianæ arcanis discipulis suis fuisse lentius religione communicasse, & Herennium, Originemque æque Plotinum obstrictissimè, eumque Herennium primus eam fregisset, nec Originem nec Plotinum promissis fessisse. — The same *Porphyrus*, in the Life of Plotinus, a Philosopher of the Platonic Sect, relates, that *Ammonius* communicated the Mysteries of the Christian Religion, to his Disciples, upon an Oath of Secrecy; which when Herennius had first broken, neither *Origen* nor Plotinus stood to their Promise." Here are two notorious Mistakes: First, it is not true, that *Ammonius* made his Disciples swear not to impart to any one what they had learned of him. In the second place, it is false, that *Porphyrus* speaks of any other Doctrines, but Those of Philosophy. All that he says may be reduced to this. *Erennius*, *Origen*, and *Plotinus*, had

agreed not to make public the Lessons they had been taught by *Ammonius*, and which appeared to them to be greatly laboured, and very refined. *Plotinus* kept his Word; but *Erennius*, having broke his, was soon imitated by *Origen*. This is not a proper place to shew, that this *Origen* is not He, who wrote so many Books, and who so greatly allegorized the Scripture; but, as great part of my Readers may not have a *Plotinus* at hand, I shall set down his own Words. Επὶνῶν δὲ καὶ Ὀριγῖνῳ καὶ Πλωτῖνῳ συνδικῶν γογόντων μηδὲν ἐκκαλύπτειν τῶν Ἀμμόνιον δόγματων ἀ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἀποδόσεσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκκιδάρτο, ἔμνε καὶ ὁ Πλωτῖνῳ, συνῶν μὲν τισὶ τῶν περὶόντων, τῶν δὲ ἀνεκπυσα τὰ παρὰ τῷ Ἀμμόνιον δόγματι. Επὶνῶν δὲ πρῶτος τὰς συνδικὰς παραδόντῳ, Ὀριγῖνῳ μὲν ἠκολούθει τῷ φθόσαντῳ Ἐπὶνῳ (9). Cum vero Erennius & Origenes & Plotinus olim inter se constitissent, ne Ammonii dogmata ederent, quæ audita ab eo tanquam in primis purgata præcipue comprobarent; Plotinus quidem stetit promissis, familiariter quidem nonnullos excipientes salutantes, infututa vero Ammonii secreta integreque conservans. Erennius autem primus pacta dissolvit, & Origenes anticipantem Erennium est deinde sequutus." Another Cause of wonder is, that these two Faults of Father *Labbé* are to be found likewise in *Lucas Holstenius* (10).

[G] Some have confounded his Theological Works with those of other Writers.] St *Jerom* places *Ammonius* among the Ecclesiastical Writers, and ascribes to him, among other Works, the Invention of the Gospel-Canons (11), and adds, that *Eusebius* copied after this Model upon a like Design. If this were true, *Eusebius* would be a great Impostor, since he affirms in a Letter (12), wherein he explains the Nature and Use of his ten Canons on the Harmony of the Gospels, that he invented them, on occasion of a Book of *Ammonius*. This Book is entitled, *Monotessaron*, or *Diateffaron*. It's Difference from the Gospel-Canons consists in this. "These Canons are only Indices of the Passages of the Gospels, which are continued in one, two, three, or four Evangelists; whereas *Ammonius's* Harmony (the same with the *Diateffaron* or *Monotessaron*) contained the entire Text of the four Evangelists, which *Eusebius* had made use of in compiling his Canons; which related to this Harmony, and were in the Nature of an Index to it (13)." 'Tis therefore a Mistake to say, as *Moreri* does, that the Gospel Canons, and the Harmony of the Gospel, are the same thing. *Victor*, Bishop of Capua; *Zacharias*, Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, *Tribemius*, and several modern Authors, relying upon St *Jerom's* Authority, and not attending to the abovementioned Letter of *Eusebius*, say, that *Ammonius* invented the Gospel-Canons. Here is another Confusion. There are in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* two Harmonies of the four Gospels. One of them was ascribed to *Tatian* by *Victor*, Bishop of Capua, who translated it into Latin (14) about the Year 545, and added a Preface to it (15). Hence it came to pass, that the other Harmony was ascribed to *Ammonius*. But the Harmony, fathered upon *Tatian* by the Bishop of Capua, cannot be That Author's, since it contains all the Genealogies of JESUS CHRIST mentioned by the Evangelists; whereas *Tatian* left out of his Harmony all the Passages of the Gospels, which shew that JESUS CHRIST sprung from David (16). On the other hand, the Harmony, ascribed to *Ammonius*, wants these Passages (17). *Sixtus Siensis*, *George Ederus*, and several others have followed *Victor's* Error. But *Zacharias*, Bishop of *Chrysopolis*, made it appear, above Five hundred Years ago, that *Ammonius* is the Author of That Harmony (18), which is *Baronius's* Opinion. We ought to take particular notice of a Circumstance, which we learn from Father *Udin*, viz. that the Harmony, to which *Ammonius's* Name is prefixed, which is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed in the Year 1575, and which has been translated into Latin by *Ottomarus Lufcinus*, is neither *Ammonius's*, nor *Tatian's*

(7) Hierocles apud Phot. p. 251. pag. 1381.

(9) Porphyr. in Vita Plotini.

(10) Lucas Holstenius de Vita & Script. Porphyr. p. 28.

(11) Hieron. de Script. Eccl. c. 55.

(12) Ad Carpianum: Je 12 prefixed, with the ten Canons de Confonantia quatuor Evangeliorum, to the Greek Testament of Rob. Stephens, Paris 1550. See Father Labbé de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. p. 308. item pag. 58.

(13) Du Pin. Biblioth. Tom. 1. p. 120. Edit. Amst.

(14) Udin, Suppl. de Script. Eccl. pag. 15. Bellarmine de Script. Eccl. pag. 226.

(15) Labbé, de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. pag. 57.

(16) Eusebius de Theodoret affirm. ibid. See Labbé, ubi supra, p. 57.

(17) Cave, Hist. Liter. p. 72.

(18) Comm. in eam Harmoniam, apud Labbé, ibid.

(8) Labbé de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. pag. 58.

to distinguish him from the Peripatetic AMMONIUS [H], who was, according to *Philostatus*, the most learned, and the best read Man of his Age.

I find a very gross Mistake in one of the Commentators upon *Boetius*. He says, Our *Ammonius* corrupted *Plato's* Doctrine about the Eternity of the World more than any one else: but nothing can be more false, than this Accusation [I].

(19) Oudin, ubi supra. *Tatian's* (19). We have lost *Ammonius's* Book, *de consensu Mosis & Jesu*. If we may believe *Henry Valesius*, all his other Books are also lost: *Huius Ammonii, quod sciam, hodie nihil extat*, says he, in his Commentary upon the last Chapter of the Twenty second Book of *Ammianus Marcellinus*. Had he forgot the *Harmony of the Gospels*, which is to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, or did he believe that *Ammonius* was not the Author of it? *Hadrian Valesius*, having made no Observation upon this in the second Edition, plainly shews, that he is of his Brother's Opinion.

[H] I believe we ought to distinguish him from the Peripatetic *Ammonius*.] A very learned Man seems not inclined to make this Distinction. "Hic esse videtur," says he (20), *Ammonius Peripateticus* Philolophus, quem πολυπραγματώτατος fuisse sæculi sui testatur *Philostatus* in *Sophistæ Hippodromi* vita, quo qui plura legisset neminem se vidisse. — This seems to be the Peripatetic *Philolophus* *Ammonius*, who, according to *Philostatus*, in his Life of the *Sophist* *Hippodromus*, was "a Man of the most extensive Reading he had ever met with." But if he had attended to the Words of *Longinus*, inserted in *Plotinus's* Life, he would have made no scruple to distinguish between these two Philosophers. *Longinus* observes, that some Philosophers composed Books, and others taught only viva voce. He mentions some of each of these two Classes; some are Platonists, others are Stoics or Peripatetics. He reckons *Ammonius* and *Origen* among those of the second Class, and says they followed *Plato's* Philosophy. He adds that he was acquainted with them, and that they surpassed all the Philosophers of their Time. Οἱς ἡμεῖς τὸ πλεῖστον τῶ χρόνῳ περὶ σοφιστῶν ἀνδράσιν ἐκ ἀλγῶν τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς εἰς οὐκ οὐκ δὲ διενεγκῶσι (21). *Quibusum nos diu versati sumus, viris profecto intervallo non parvo sui sæculi Philosophos intelligentia superantibus*. Afterwards he names some Stoics, who belonged to the second Class of Philosophers, viz. of Those, who wrote nothing, or but very little. Lastly, he mentions two Peripatetics of the same Class, viz. *Ammonius* and *Ptolemy*, who exceeded all the learned Men of their Age in Philology: This he says particularly of *Ammonius*. Ἀμμόνιος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος φιλολογῶνται μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἀμφοτέρωθεν, καὶ μάλα δ' Ἀμμόνιος. ὃ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅτις ἐκείνῳ γέγονεν εἰς πολυμαθεῖαν παρεκκλίσις (22). *Ammonius atque Ptolemeus, disciplinarum ambo profecto maxime omnium suo tempore pleni, præsertim Ammonius: nullus enim ad disciplinarum illius eptam prope accessisse videtur*. Here we have the Philosopher *Ammonius* mentioned by *Philostatus*; he is therefore a very different Person from Him, who taught Philosophy at *Alexandria*, and who was the Master of *Plotinus* and *Origen*. It appears from *Longinus's* Letter, that these learned Peripatetics wrote only some Poems and Orations. This great Critic supposes they did not intend those Pieces for Posterity; for, says he, if they had, they would have been more exact in their Compositions.

(21) *Longinus*, apud *Porphyr.* in *Vita Plotini*. (22) *Id. ib.*

[I] Nothing can be more false than this Accusation.] I shall set down the Words of the Commen-

tator at large, that the Reader may the better understand his Error. "Nulla autem *Platonis* sententia est, quam *sædus* corruperint, & obliuio defenderint, veteres *Platonis* interpretes; seu quia eorum alii ita sentirent, seu ut *Christianam* fidem impugnarent. Eorum signifer *Ammonius* fuit, fidus alioquin ac illustri doctrinæ *Platonice* assertor; quem *Zacharias* dialogo, cui *Ammonius* titulus est, confutavit. Mox ejus discipuli, *Plotinus* passim lib. suis; & quod mirum est, ne à magistro dissentirent, fax illi fidei *Origenes*; cujus errorem *S. Methodius* lib. *περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν*, ut est apud *Photium*, redarguit (23). — There is no Doctrine of *Plato*, which has been more basely corrupted, and more obstinately defended, by the ancient Interpreters of *Plato*, than This; either because some of them really thought so, or with a view of opposing the *Christian* Faith. At the Head of these is *Ammonius*, in other Respects a Faithful and Illustris Assertor of *Platonism*; whom *Zacharias* confuted in his Dialogue entitled *Ammonius*. Next to Him were His Disciples, *Plotinus* in several Parts of his Works, and, what is wonderful, That Luminary of Faith, *Origen*, who would not dissent from his Master; whose Error *S. Methodius* refutes in his Book *περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν*, as it is in *Photius*. You see plainly, that he speaks of *Ammonius*, who was *Origen's* Master. Would he have been guilty of such an Oversight, if he had consulted the Originals, and if he had not cited the Treatise of *Zacharias* upon the Authority of others? For we read at the very beginning of That Treatise, that *Ammonius*, against whom it was written, was still living, and taught at *Alexandria* with great Ostentation, after he had been *Proclus's* Disciple at *Athens*. The Author, I mean *Zacharias* Bishop of *Mitylene*, lived in the VIth Century; for he assisted at the Council of *Constantinople*, in the Year 536; and therefore 'tis not true, that he confuted *Origen's* Master. But it is true, that the Philosopher *Ammonius*, whom he refuted, taught, that God and the World were, and would always be, Co-eternal. This Book of *Zacharias* was translated out of Greek into Latin by *Genebrard*, and inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (24). *Passevin* observes, that *Cassianus* censures *Gelsus*, for saying, that *Zacharias's* Book *de Mundi Eternitate* was different from That, which is entitled *Ammonius* (25). This Censure would be very well grounded with respect to *Simler*, who abridged *Gelsus*; but it is unjust with respect to *Gelsus* himself, who says, in express Words, that the Dialogue, entitled *Ammonius*, seems to him to be the Same with the Treatise *de Rerum Eternitate*. I must observe, that I was surprized to find that a Heathen Philosopher was permitted to be a Professor at *Alexandria*, in the VIth Century, and to teach openly the Eternity of the World, in opposition to the Doctrine of the Christians. He was so far from concealing his Opinion, that he publicly maintained it in his Lectures, and no one could be ignorant that many of his Scholars imbibed This Doctrine. One of them (26), who was afterwards the chief Professor of Physic in That City, warmly maintained the same Opinion. This appears from the Treatise of *Zacharias Mitylenensis*.

(23) *Renaud Vallinus*, Not. ad lib. c. *Boetii de Consolat. Philosoph.* pag. 96.

(24) It is in Vol. 9. of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, p. 331, Rec. of the Paris Edition 1644.

(25) *Passevin*, Apper. Tom. 2. p. 552.

(26) *Effie* Name upon *Gelsus*. See the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Tom. 11. pag. 339.

AMMONIUS (ANDREW) born at *Lucca*, went to seek his Fortune in *England*, towards the beginning of the XVIth Century, and would probably have advanced himself there, if he had lived longer [A]. He applied himself to polite Literature, and

[A] Would probably have advanced himself there if he had lived longer.] This is not my own Conjecture; it is the Sentiment of *Erasmus*. "Periit," says he (1), & apud *Gallos* *Fauftus*, & apud *Brianos* *Andreas Ammonius*, quorum alter diu regnavit *Lutetie*, alter ad summam dignitatem emer- surus erat, si vita diuturnior contigisset. — In France died *Fauftus*, in *England* *Andrew Ammonius*; the former of whom flourished long at Paris; the latter would have risen to the highest Honours,

"had he enjoyed a longer Life." He gave this Judgment of him, not only whilst the Wound was fresh, that is, when, a little after the Death of *Ammonius*, Affliction prompted him to celebrate his Praise, but even when a considerable number of Years had effaced the first Impressions of Regret and Sorrow. "Quam multos," says he in a Letter, which he wrote in the Year 1524 (2), hic ex veteris sodalitis desiderio. "Primum *Andream Ammonium* *Lucensem*. Deum immortalẽ quanta ingenii dexteritate, quam fidei memoria

(1) *Erasmus*, Epist. 24. lib. 2. pag. 332. scripta anno 1518.

(2) *Id. Ep.* 5. lib. 21. p. 1210.

and *Latin Poetry*: His Merit, as an Author, arises chiefly from his *Latin Verses* [B]. *Erasmus* and He were intimate Friends, and maintained a constant Epistolary Correspondence. *Ammonius* lodged some time with Sir *Thomas More* (a), and afterwards in *St Thomas's Hospital* (b), for he had not Money enough to hire, and keep, a House. He declared to *Erasmus*, that he repented of having left *Rome*, and that he was not very well pleased with his Condition in *England* (c). The Advice *Erasmus* gave him was very conformable to the fraudulent Ways, which are necessary to be used in advancing ones self in the World [C]; but we must suppose that *Erasmus* gave it only in jest. He wrote very fine Iambic Verses in his Praise, which shew, that *Ammonius* had a great many Perfections both of Body and Mind (d). But we must not rely much on Poetical Elogies; *Erasmus's* Prose (which we shall produce in our Remarks) will be a greater Confirmation of the Worth of his Friend. Fortune becoming more favourable to *Ammonius*, He was made Secretary to King *Henry VIII* (e), and had likewise a public Character in the Court of That Monarch, conferred upon him by Pope *Leo X* (f). Had he not died before the Age of Forty Years, he might have been advanced higher. He was in the Army in the Year 1513 (g), when the *English* gained the Battel of the *Spurs*, and took *Teroüenne* and *Tournay*; he wrote Verses on these Victories, as also on that which they obtained over *James IV*, King of *Scotland*. He died of the Sweating Sickness in *England* [D], in the Year 1517 [E]. One of the greatest

(a) *Erasmi*. Epist. 2. lib. 8. pag. 408.

(b) *Id. Epist.* 23. pag. 422.

(c) *Id. Epist.* 25. pag. 426. Item Epist. 11. pag. 413.

(d) *Id. Epist.* 22. pag. 422.

(e) *Balaeus*, apud *Similicrum* Epist. Gefneri.

(f) *Andreae Ammonius* tunc Sanctitatis apud Anglos Nuncius litteris significabit. — — — *Andrew Ammonius*, your Holiness's Nuncio in England, will inform you by Letter. *Erasmi*. Ep. 6. lib. 2. pag. 104.

(g) *Id. Epist.* 40. lib. 2. pag. 434.

"memoria præditum! Tum animus quàm erat excelsus, quàm alienus à livore, quàm alienus à foribus! Hunc & suis dotibus & omni principum applausu florentem, maximis rebus destinatum, subita mors interceptit, natu minore annis quadraginta. Cujus equidem deceffum non possum non dolere, quoties in mentem venit quàm mihi fuerit jucunda ejus familiaritas. — How many of my old Acquaintance do I lament the Loss of in this Place? First, *Andrew Ammonius* of *Lucca*; a Man, blest with the Happiest Genius, and most Faithful Memory. Then his Mind, how free was it from Envy, how remote from every thing Low and Sordid! This Illustrious Man, flourishing by his own Abilities, and the general Applause of the Great, and destined to the biggest Honours, was taken off by a sudden Death, before he was forty Years old. Who's Decease I cannot but lament, when I recollect how happy I was in his Acquaintance and Conversation."

[B] His Merit, as an Author, arises chiefly from his *Latin Verses*. The Abridgment of *Gefner's Bibliotheca* gives us this Catalogue of *Ammonius's* Poems. *Scotici consiliis Historia* lib. 1. *Bucolica*, seu *Ecolæ* lib. 1. *De rebus nibili* lib. 1. *Panegyricus quidam* lib. 1. *Epigrammata* lib. 1. *Poëmata diversa* lib. 1. *Balæus* is quoted for it. What is called here *Panegyricus quidam* is a Poem on the Victories, which the *English* obtained, in the Year 1513, at the Battel of the *Spurs*, at the taking of *Teroüenne*, *Tournay*, &c. *Erasmus* gives his Opinion of this Poem in a Letter (3) which is dated on *St Thomas's Day*, 1510. This is an undeniable Proof, that sometimes they have added the date of his Letters without any care; besides they are misplaced. The Answer precedes, sometimes by several Pages, the Letter, which is the Subject of the Answer (4).

(3) The words of the 316 Book.

(4) See the Article CARMILIANUS.

[C] The Advice *Erasmus* gave him was very conformable to the fraudulent ways, which are necessary to be used in advancing ones self in the World. "Be ashamed of nothing, said he to him, interfere in every one's Business;

Coudoyez un chacun, point du tout de quartier (5).

Elbow each one; no Quarter ever give.

"make your Interest the Rule of your Love and Hatred; give nothing but to those, who will return it with Usury; be complaisant to every one in every thing; have two Strings to your Bow; suborn some to invite you away; pretend you are going, and seem to prepare for your Departure; produce Letters, in which you are promised a thousand Advantages." "Principio perfica frontem, ne quid usquam pudeat. Deinde omnibus omnium negotiis te misce, protrude quemcunque potes cubito. Neminem nec ames nec oderis ex animo, sed omnia tuo compendio metiare. Ad hunc scopum omnia vitæ ratio spectet. Ne quid des, nisi unde speres sœnus: assentare omnibus omnia. At ista vulgaria sunt, inquit. Age quando ista via, accipe peculiare consilium, sed heus in aurem. Nosti τὴν Βετανικὴν ἡμερολογίαν, hac in tuum bonum a-

(5) Mollere; in his Remerciement au Roi. The whole Passage is as follows: Jettez vous dans le foule, & tranchez du notable; Coudoyez un chacun, point du tout de quartier; Pressiez, Poussiez, Fourrez le Diable, Pour vous mettre le Premier.

"butere. Duabus fedeto fellis. Suborna diversos procos qui te ambiant. Minare & appara discessum. Offende literas quibus magnis pollicitis avocar. Subducito te nonnunquam, ut subtrahat copia defiderium acuat (6)." *Alciatus* made use of the last mentioned Artifice (7).

[D] He died of the Sweating-Sickness in England. Consult the History of the Divorce of *Henry VIII*. composed by *Mr le Grand*, and you will find there what kind of Sickness This was. It was called the Sweat, because People died Sweating. This kind of Plague began to be felt the first time in 1486, and was not known before. All the Remedies, which were used against it, were in vain, and it carried off a great Number of People, before the Physicians knew how to treat it. It was a Scourge, with which God was pleased at first to punish the *English* alone. In what place soever they were, they were attacked with it, without it's having any Effect upon Strangers, with whom they converted (8). Among the Proofs which *Mr le Grand* has produced (9), there are some Letters from the Bishop of *Bayonne*, the French Ambassador in *England*, which speak of this Distemper. *Anne Bullen* was infected with it, as also that Ambassador. This Distemper had already infected, for some time, others besides the *English*; for our *Italian Ammonius* died of it in the Year 1517, notwithstanding the Hopes he had conceived of preserving himself from it by his great Sobriety. Sir *Thomas More* wrote to *Erasmus* about it in these Terms. "In his, (quod tibi quoque dolori esse doleo) *Andrea* nostro Ammonio, in quo & literæ & omnes boni magnam fecere jacturam. Is valde sibi videbatur adversus contagionem victus moderatione munitus: qua factum putavit ut quum in nullum pene incideret ejus non tota familia laboraverat, neminem adhuc è suis id malum attigerit; id quod mihi & multis præterea jactavit non admodum multis horis antequam extinctus esset, nam hoc sudore nemo nisi primo die perit. Ego uxore & liberi adhuc intacti, reliqua familia tota revaluit. Hoc tibi affirmo, minus periculi in acie quàm in urbe esse (10). — Among those, who have died, is our Friend *Andrew Ammonius*, in whose Death Learning and all good Men have suffered a Loss. He thought he had sufficiently guarded against the Contagion by Sobriety, and Moderation in his Diet; which was the Reason, as he thought, why none of his Domestic had been visited with the Distemper, at the same time that he scarce met with any one, whose whole Family was not afflicted with it. This he boasted of to me and several others not many Hours before he died; for This Sweat is not mortal after the first Day. I and my Wife and Children have hitherto escaped; and the rest of my Family has recovered from it. This I affirm to you, that there is less danger in a Field of Battel, than in this City."

(6) *Erasmi*. Ep. 13. lib. 8. pag. 414.

(7) See the Remark [D] of the Article ALCIATUS.

(8) *Le Grand's History of the Divorce of Henry VIII*. He dies Goodwin.

(9) *Ibid.* Tom. 3. p. 137. & 138.

(10) *Mori* Epist. 4. lib. 7. among the style of Erasmus.

[E] He died in the Year 1517. Sir *Thomas More's* Letter, from whence I have just now cited a long Passage, is dated the nineteenth of August, 1520. It seems, then, as if *Ammonius* did not die in the Year 1517; for how unlikely is it that Sir *Thomas More* should

pieces of Service he did *Erasmus*, was his supplying him constantly with the best Wines at *Cambridge* [F]. He uses an hyperbolical Expression in one of his Letters, in which he says, that so many Heretics were daily burnt, that it raised the Price of Wood [G].

(11) Ammonius mortem scribitur fuisse ferro. I am greatly afflicted at the Death of Ammonius. pag. 198.

Should let three Years pass without taking any notice of it to *Erasmus*? I answer, that this Objection can be of no Force against the Letters, in which *Erasmus* himself mentions the Death of *Ammonius*. He observes in the Twenty fourth Letter of the second Book, and in the twentieth of the third Book, both dated in the Year 1518, that That Year was fatal to learned Men, as *Musurus*, *Paleottus*, *Faufus*, *Andrelus*, and *Ammonius*. In the Thirty first Letter of the third Book, dated the ninth of September, 1517, he mentions *Ammonius's* Death (11). This Letter is dated right; for *Erasmus* mentions the Departure of the King of Spain as a Piece of News. Now it is well known, that the King set sail in the beginning of September, 1517. Let us say, then, that *Baleus* is mistaken one whole Year, when he places the Death of *Ammonius* in the Year 1518 (12). *Erasmus* might well say, in the Year 1518, that several great Men had died that Year. One of his Letters, in which he says so, is dated in *March*; when he said *this Year*, he meant the ten or twelve preceding Months. This is confirmed by a Letter of *Bombafius* (13), justly dated the sixth of December, 1517, in which we find, that *Musurus* died at *Rome* the last Autumn, and that *Paleottus* died eight Months before.

(12) Apud Simlerum Epit. Gelece.

(13) The 23d of the 2d Book.

[F] His supplying him constantly with the best Wines at *Cambridge*.] The Letters of these Friends frequently mention the sending of Wine; but the following Passage proves, that *Erasmus* was not quite averse to this Liquor, and that he rather chose to stay in a Country infected with the Plague, than drink Water. "Simul atque Anglicum solum teigi, ubi locorum esse rogare coepi, siquidem Cantabrigiensem pestem fugere te scripsisti. Unus tandem Sixtinus mihi dixit, te quidem Cantabrigiam ob pestem reliquisse, & concessisse nescio quo, ubi cum vini penuria laborare, & eo carere gravius peste duceres, Cantabrigiam appetisse, atque inibi te nunc esse.

(a) Erasmus calls him so. Valerius Andreas says Livinus.

(b) Livinus Ammonius, vir eruditio-ne juxta ac pectate insignis. Erasmus Epist. 23. lib. 23. pag. 2704.

AMMONIUS (LIVINUS) (a) distinguished himself among the *Cartusians* in *Flanders*, not only by the Character of Procurator, with which he was honoured at *Ghent*, the Place of his Birth, but also by his Learning and Piety (b). *Erasmus* had a great Esteem for him; and it appears, by two Letters (c), which he wrote to him, that he thought he was free from the Prejudices and Passions of Persons of his Rank [A]. *Ammonius* discovered to him the Uneasiness of his Situation, and the Resolution he had taken to submit to the Hardship of his Condition. We may easily conjecture, that he could have wished for more leisure to improve his Mind and Studies. But his Superiors were not pleased that he should; they rather desired that he might be ignorant, and attend only to the external Observances of their Order. However, he had the Credit of being an Author: The Titles of his Works are to be seen in *Moreri*; but there is no depending upon the Citation of *Vander-Linden* [B].

(14) Ammonius, Epist. 3. lib. 3. inter Erasmusianae, pag. 410.

(c) The ninth fourth of the twenty-third Book, and the twentieth of the twenty-fifth.

[A] Erasmus—thought he was free from the Prejudices and Passions of Persons of his Rank.] If he had not, he would not have taken the Liberty of telling him, that, when he recollected what kind of Persons the Monks were, he could not help thinking, that the Enemy of Mankind had a share in the Institution of Monasteries; he added, that in those Places the Ignorant acquire the greatest Esteem by placing their Merit in the exact Observation of outward Ceremonies. "Quum interdum mecum reputo, Ammonie charissime, cujusmodi ingenia premaner ac sepeli-

"O fortem Bassaei commilitonem, qui in summo periculo ducem deferere noluisset (14). — Upon my first Arrival in England, I immediately enquired the Place of your Abode; for you had informed me by Letter, that you had left Cambridge for fear of the Plague. Sixtinus at last told me, that you had indeed left Cambridge for fear of the Plague, and had retired I know not whither; but that, not meeting with plenty of Wine, the want of which you seemed worse than the Plague itself, you were returned to Cambridge; and that you continue to reside there. O valiant Fellow-Soldier of Bassaeus, who in the greatest Danger didst refuse to desert your Leader! Thus *Ammonius* writes to *Erasmus*.

[G] He uses an hyperbolical Expression in one of his Letters, in which he says, that so many Heretics were daily burnt, that it raised the Price of Wood.] They were neither those Papists, nor Protestants, who ran equal Hazard of being punished in England, under King Henry VIII, after he had renounced the Pope's Supremacy, but another Set of Men; since the Letter, which mentions these Executions, is dated in the Month of November, 1511. The Flames could not extirpate their Opinions. Read this. "Lignorum pretium auctum esse non miror: multi quotidie Haeretici holocaustum nobis praebent, plures tamen succedunt. Quin & Frater Germanus mei Thomae, stipens verius quam homo, sectam (si diis placet) & ipse instituit, & discipulos habet (15). — I do not wonder, that the Price of Wood is enhanced; for though every Day affords us Holocausts of Heretics, yet more daily spring up. Even the Brother of my Friend Sir Thomas More, a Stick rather than a Man, is, forsooth, Author of a Sect, and has his Followers."

[* They were the Remains of the Wickliffites. See Burnet's History of the Reformation. REM. CRIT.]

"antur in istis ceremoniis, interdum subit animum cogitatio fortassis humana, istiusmodi vitae ergastula non sine instinctu satanae fuisse instituta. — Ac fere fit ut quo quisque indoctior stupidiorque est, hoc in isto vitio instituto plurius habeatur, tumidus fiducia ceremoniarum, & alieni spiritus iniquus aestimator (1)."

[B] Upon the Citation of *Vander Linden*.] This Author did not write the *Bibliotheca Belgica*; he is there put for *Valerius Andreas*. It was the *Bibliotheca Medicorum*, which he composed.

(1) Erasmus Epist. 20. lib. 25. pag. 1361.

(a) In the Article AGIS.

AMPHARES, one of the *Lacedemonian Ephori*, was the chief Instrument in the Tragical Death of King *Agis*. We have observed in another Place (a), that, after the Re-establishment of his Colleague *Leonidas*, This Prince took Sanctuary in a Temple. *Amphares* was one of those, who familiarly visited him there, and accompanied him, when he went from thence to the Bath, and back again to the Temple. As he was returning one day in this manner from the Bath, *Amphares* seized on him, and obliged him to appear before the *Ephori*, and give an account of his Conduct: He carried him by force to a Prison; The *Ephori*, and their Assistants, immediately repaired thither to set in Judgment upon the King. He assured them, that he had no other Intention than to settle Affairs on the same foot as *Lycurgus* had left them, and that he should never repent of so good a Design. Whereupon he was condemned to Death, and the Officers were commanded to conduct him to the Place

(4) See the Article ALCMÆON, Son of AMPHIA-RAUS.

upon her Husband, at the Time of the Preparation for the Theban Expedition, was a villanous Action. *Amphiarus*, discovering by his prophetic Spirit, that he should perish in this War, concealed himself, and refused to go; but his Wife, being bribed by a Present, discovered where he was (e). He was obliged, therefore, against his Will, to accompany the other Princes to the Expedition of *Thebes*; which proved unfortunate; and he perished in it after a very extraordinary Manner; for, the Earth being opened by a Thunder-bolt, he was swallowed up in the Abyss, with his Chariot [B]. They (f) who pretend, that this Misfortune happen to him the same

(f) Charles Stephens, and Lloyd, in their Di-chronicles. Oliverus apud Val. Max. lib. 8. sub. finem, and many others.

Day

[B] He was swallowed up in the Abyss, with his Chariot.] Pindar and Apollodorus, are among those who say that a Thunder-bolt opened the Earth, and that it was a Stroke of Favour from *Jupiter*: for otherwife *Amphiarus* would have had the Disgrace of being killed by *Periclymenus*, who pursued him.

----- δ δ' Ἀμφιάρῳ
σχίσαν κεραυνῷ παμμία
Ζεύς τὰν βαδύστερον χθόνα,
κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἱπποῖς,
ἔσπε' Ἀμφικλυμένῳ πρὶν
ῥῆτα τυκίνα μαχάταρ
δυμὸν αἰσχρὸν ἔμμεν (10).

(10) Pindar. Nemean. Od. 9. pag. 611, 612. See Apollodorus, lib. 3. pag. 193.

Jove saw Amphiarus' threatened Shame,
And darted from on high the misty Flame.
The Womb of Earth, disclosing at the Blow,
Alsort the Hero to the Shades below,
Quick with his Car descending: ere the Spear
Of Periclymenus, approaching near,
Had in his Back infix'd the Conard Wound,
And an inglorious Death the warlike Chief had found.

(11) Id. Pind. Od. 6. Olymp. pag. 98.

You find in this, and another Passage of the same Poet (11), that *Amphiarus* and his Chariot fell both together into the Precipice. This is the most general Tradition (12): But others pretend, that he fell from his Chariot during the Battle, and that the Chariot was afterwards transported empty to another Place (13). Their Reason is, because the Temple of *Amphiarus* was but a little distant from a certain Village, which was called *Harma**, and which borrowed its Name from his Chariot. They pretended, that the Temple was built where the Prophet died, and that the Village *Harma* was built where the Chariot was transported (14). *Pausanias* calls it a Town, and says expressly, that it was built, where it is pretended that the Earth had swallowed up *Amphiarus* and his Chariot (15). This was the Pretension of the *Tanagrarians*; for those of *Thebes* shewed another Place, situate on the great Road from *Potnie* to *Thebes*, and encompassed with Columns, concerning which they related two pleasant Miracles. One was, that the Birds never perched on those Columns; the other, that no Beast touched the Grass, which grew in that Place (16). *Stephens* of *Byzantium*, in mentioning the Town of *Harma*, entirely contradicts the Tradition, and the very Author, whom he cites (17); for he asserts, that this Town was so called, because it was said, that *Amphiarus* retreated thither in his Chariot, and that the Inhabitants would not deliver him up to those, who pursued him (18). Is not this to pretend, that he saved his Life, and to give the Lye to a great number of Authors, who tell us, that he was swallowed up in the Bowels of the Earth? The great *Salmastus* imagined, that there are wanting two or three Words in this Article of *Stephens*; namely, that, after mentioning the Chariot of *Amphiarus*, he turned the Discourse to that of *Adrastus*; so that what relates to the Refusal of the Inhabitants, must be referred to the latter (19). This Conjecture is ingenious, and may be confirmed by a Passage of *Strabo*, where it is said, that the Inhabitants of *Harma*, in *Boeotia*, saved the Life of *Adrastus*, after his Chariot had been broke in that Place (20). The like Conjecture cannot be made in Favour of *Eustatius*. It must be affirmed, without any Hesitation, that, according to his Account (21), the Chief, whom the Inhabitants of *Harma* saved, was *Amphiarus*, and not *Adrastus*.

(12) See Di-odorus Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 68.

(13) Strabo- lib. 9. pag. 2. 8.

* *Agma*, in Greek, signifies a Chariot.

(14) Id. ib.

(15) Pausan. lib. 9. pag. 296.

(16) Id. ib. pag. 288.

(17) He quotes the 9th Book of *Pausanias*.

(18) Steph. Byzantin in voce *Agma*.

(19) See Berkelius's Notes upon this Passage of *Steph.* Byzant.

(20) Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 278.

(21) Eustatius, in Il. lib. 2. pag. 266.

Note, That *Strabo* has committed a Mistake, which *Salmastus* has not failed to censure. *Ἐν τῷ δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιαράου ἐστὶ τελεμαχὸν ποτὶ μαν-*

τίον, ὅπου ἐν τῷ ἄλφει τὸν Ἀμφιάρεον, ὡς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς,

Ἐδῆξατο γαυῖσα Θηβαία χθίς,
Ἀυλοῖσιν ὅπλοισι, καὶ τέτραρμον δίφῳ (22).

(22) Strabo, ibid. pag. 275.

Near which Place was the Oracle of *Amphiarus*, formerly had in Veneration, where, according to *Sophocles*,

The Theban Earth, wide opening, swallowed down
The sinking Chief, his Chariot, and his Arms.

Strabo would prove, that the Oracle of *Amphiarus*, in the Territory of *Oropus*, was situated in the same Place, where this Prophet was swallowed up by the Earth; and, as a Proof of this, he cites two Verses of *Sophocles*, which testify, that the Earth opened itself in the Territory of *Thebes*, to swallow up *Amphiarus* and his Chariot. *Salmastus* censures this with a great deal of Reason (23). *Isaac Vossius* has taken *Strabo's* part; but, on this Occasion, he has made it appear, that too eager a Desire of finding Faults in the Writings of an Adversary is a dangerous guide.

(23) Salmast. Exercit. Plin. pag. 167.

"Definat quoque mirari, *says he* (24), quod multi Oropum urbem in regione five agro Thebano collocant. Refle enim hoc ab illis factum, cum Oropus non sui juris, sed propria fuerit Thebanorum. Hoc manifeste Dicaearchus docet, ἡ δὲ πόλις τῶν Νεμεπίων οἰκία Θηβῶν ἐστὶ. -----

(24) K. Val. fous, in Pomep. Mehem. pag. 154.

"Let him cease to wonder, that many place the City Oropus in the Region or Territory of Thebes. For this is rightly done by them, since Oropus is not an independent Town, but under the Jurisdiction of Thebes. This Dicaearchus plainly teaches; The City of Oropus, *says he*, belongs to Thebes."

In the first place, what is advanced by *Dicaearchus*, being taken in general Terms, and so as to suit to all Times, is not true. *Oropus* was a long time a Matter of Dispute between the *Athenians* and the *Thebans*. At last the former obtained a full Possession of it, after *Philip* of *Macedon* had taken the City of *Thebes* (25). In the second place, because *Oropus* belonged to the *Thebans*, it does not follow, that it was in the Territory of *Thebes*, in agro Thebano. An Author, quoted by *Plutarch*, affirms that the Town of *Harma* was built, where the Battle was fought between the *Argives* and *Thebans*, and where *Amphiarus* was swallowed up (26). It is a Geographical Error; but much less ridiculous, than what the same Author relates, that, on the Day, which preceded the Battle, an Eagle carried away the Lance of *Amphiarus*, while the Generals were at Dinner together, and, having carried it aloft, let it fall again: It took root in the Earth, and became a Tree. *Τὸ δὲ πᾶν ἐν γῇ δόρπον ἐγένετο* (27). Being fixed in the Earth, it became a Laurel. The following Words of the Scholiast upon *Statius* have been censured. "Civitas in illo loco post est condita, in quo hiatus terræ Amphiarum recepit, quæ Amphiarum vocatur, ut Homerus ait, quod illic curru, quem Græci ἀστρα, vocant, deciderit, in quo etiam Oraculum est, quod Græcè Amphiaræon vocatur. ----- A City was afterwards built in the Place, where the opening Earth swallowed up *Amphiarus*, which, according to *Homer*, is called *Amphiarum*, because there he fell from his Chariot, called by the Greeks ἀστρα; where likewise is an Oracle, called in Greek Amphiaræon." *Barbinius* (28) pretends, that this Scholiast alleges, improperly, the Testimony of *Homer*, since nothing like it is to be found in the Book of the *Odyssey*, where mention is made of *Amphiarus* (29). He adds, that, perhaps, the Name of *Homer* crept in by the Error of the Copyists; and that, without this Supposition, we must say, that the Scholiast's Memory failed him; a Misfortune to which he is frequently subject, as well as others. "Vel alium ergo autorem nominavit intruso nunc Homeri ti-

(25) Pausan. lib. 1. pag. 31. See also *Pausanias's* Notes upon *Stephanus Byzantinus*, voce *Amphiaræon*.

(26) *Plutarchus* fane Possessus, which shows that etiam Town belonged to the Athenians.

(27) Triffrnachus, lib. 3. de conditis urbibus, apud Plin. in Parallelis, pag. 107.

(28) Id. ib.

(29) *Barbinius*, in *Statii* Theb. lib. 8. vers. 507. pag. 831. Tom. 2.

(30) Odyss. O. vers. 245.

"tulio

Day the Army drew near *Thebes*, are mistaken; for he did not die till the Day of the Retreat; and the Siege had continued for some time. This Tragical Adventure has been the Theme of many Writers; whence it has happened, that the Circumstances have not been uniformly related. Several weak Reflexions have been made on this kind of Death [C]. It was believed, that *Amphiaras* returned from Hell

"tulo Lutatius, vel errorem erravit nec ipsi Infoli-
tum, nec aliis parvis momenti auctoribus infrequen-
tem (30)." This Criticism is not just; it should
have been applied another Way. *Barthius* should
have said, in the first place, that the Town, built
where *Amphiaras* perished, was called *Harma*, and
not *Amphiarma*: Secondly, that *Homer* has only men-
tioned it, without making any Etymological Re-
mark.

(30) *Barthius*,
ubi supra.

(31) *Homer*,
Iliad lib. 2.
ver. 499.

"Οἱ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀρμ' ἐνέμοντο" (31)

Or *Harma*, where *Apollo's* Prophet fell. POPE.

In the third place, that the Oracle of that Prophet
was not at *Harma*.

I shall conclude this Remark with a Passage of
Barthius, who informs us, that some have thought,
that the Pagans alluded here to the Story of *Korab*
and *Abiram*. "Placet non plane absurdum conjectu-
ram veteris adnotatoris proponere; per hunc casum
alludi a paganis scriptoribus ad vindictam divinam in
"Sacerdotes Hebraei populi, Datamum nimirum, &
"Abiramum, quos, non rite rebus sacris ministran-
tes, Deus Omnipotens coram omni illa gente vivos
"ad inferos per hiatum terræ subitum deiecit. Ei
"rei respondere nonnihil etiam posterius dicti voca-
bulum; facile enim ex *Abiram* gentium deliria
"Amphiarum fecisse, quem, *Israëlitæ* gente jam eo
"loco remota, quo loco ista absorptio acciderit, con-
"secrasse postmodum, Satana insituyente oraculum.
"Et inde cultum impii hominis aliorum longe late-
"que propagatum (32). ----- I shall set before
"you the plausible Conjecture of an old Annotator;
"namely, that the Pagan Writers, in this Event,
"alluded to the Divine Vengeance on the Hebrew
"Priests, Dathan and Abiram, whom, at the Com-
"mand of God, the Earth opening swallowed up alive;
"in the sight of all the People, as a Punishment for
"their prophane Ministration of the Sacred Rites.
"And indeed the Name of the last mentioned in some
"manner confirms this Conjecture; it being easy for
"the wild Imaginations of the Gentiles, to convert
"Abiram into Amphiaras; and, as the People of
"Israel were removed from that Place, where this
"swallowing-up happened, they afterwards deify'd
"this Person; the Devil at the same time instituting
"an Oracle to him. Thus the Worship of an otherwise
"impious Man was spread far and near."

[C] Several weak Reflexions have been made on this
kind of Death.] Some have thought, that the Order of
Nature was overturned by it; That Order, I mean,
according to which the Parts of a Compound, when
dissolved, ought to return each to its proper Place:
For Example, when a Man dies, his Soul ought to
fly up to Heaven, from whence it came; and his Body,
taken from the Earth, should return thither. *Amphiaras*:
did not enjoy this Privilege; for the Earth swallow-
ed him up. Body and Soul: She was not satisfied
with refusing what belonged to her; she must needs
determine likewise what she had no right to. The South-
eyer *Theodamas* seems to complain of this.

----- liceat, precor, ordine belli

Pugnaces efflare animas, & reddere cœlo.
Ne rape tam subitis spirantia corpora bustis,
Ne propera: veniemus enim quo limite cuncti
Qua licet ire via (33).

(33) *Statius*,
Thebaid.
lib. 8. ver.
323.

Let us the common Fate of Battel share;
O! let us breath our warlike Souls in Air;
Permit the Hero's Spirit, when he dies,
Ascending to regain its native Skies;
Nor bid our Chiefs thus immaturesly go,
Alive and breathing, to the Shades below.
Forbear to hasten Life's approaching Date,
Nor thus anticipate the Hero's Fate.
Death, suited to their Lives, awaits the Brave,
And soon we all shall reach th' appointed Grave.

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A Commentator says hereupon, "Iniquitas manifesta
"Telluri hic exprobratur, qua animam Amphiarai cum
"corpore egerit deorsum (34). ----- The Earth is
"here charged with a manifest Act of Injustice, in
"carrying downwards the Soul of Amphiaras, toge-
"ther with his Body." He had just before mentioned
an excellent Doctrine of *Epicharmus*. Man was made
by an Union of two Parts; they separate; and each
returns from whence it came; the Earth to the Earth,
and the Spirit on high: There is nothing amiss in this.
Καλῶς δὲ ἐπὶ χαρμῶν, συνεκρίθη, φησὶ, καὶ δις-
κρίθη, καὶ ἀπ' ἑαυτοῦ ἕδωκε ἑλθε παλιν, γὰρ μὲν
εἰς γᾶν, πνεῦμα δὲ ἀνω. τῶν δὲ κατεστῶτων
ἕδωκε ἐν. *Præclarè igitur Epicharmus, concretum, in-
quit, fuit, & discretum est, redditque unde venerat,
terra deorsum, Spiritus sursum. Quid ex his omnibus
iniquum est? nihil* (35). This Thought is to be met
with in the Writings of several Pagan Authors (36),
and even in the Verses of *Lucretius*, as I have observed
in another Place (37). This was at least to have a
general Notion of the Truth: But they, who imagined
that the Soul of *Amphiaras* did not enjoy the Liberty
of re-uniting itself to its Principle, were grossly mis-
taken. Although it had not been immaterial, but of
the Nature of the Stars, it would easily have found
the Means of remounting. The Poets, who said, that
he was yet alive, when he came into Hell, made the
return of his Soul to the Celestial Regions more diffi-
cult; for it seems to be more easy to mount upwards,
if the tendency that way begins but a little below the
Surface of the Earth, than if we sink to the Center
of it, before we begin our Flight towards Heaven.
But these Poetical Fancies are not serious enough to
be regarded, and I fear my Readers will scarce excuse
me, if I insert the following Lines.

(34) *Barthius*
in *Statium*,
Tom. 3.
pag. 362.

(35) *Platarch*, de
Consolat.
pag. 110.

(36) See *Platarch*,
this; who
quotes many
of them, in
his Comment.
upon *Statius*,
Tom. 2. pag.
284.

(37) In the
Remark [E]
of the Article
PRUDEN-
TIUS.

----- alte præcepis humus, ore profundo,
Disilist, inque vicem timuerunt sidera, & umbræ.
Illum ingens haurit specus, & transire parantes
Mergit equos: non arma manu, non frena remisit;
Sicut erat, rectos derict in Tartara currus (38).

(38) *Statius*,
Thebaid.
lib. 7. ver.
810.

----- when lo! the Ground,
Parting, disclod'd its opening Mouth profound.
Stars trembled at the Sight; Ghosts fled dismay'd,
And mutual Fear both Heav'n and Hell betray'd.
As o'er the Plain the rattling Car he drove,
And to o're-leap th' Abyss his Horses strove,
Deep in Earth's Womb engulph'd the Hero fell,
And, arm'd, descended to the Shades of Hell.
Even in his Fall, he govern'd still the Car,
And, sinking, brandish'd still the threat'ning Spear.

He was yet alive, when he first saw the *Definies*:
they did not cut the Thread of his Life, 'till after
their surprize at seeing the Prophet in his Chariot,
in the infernal Regions.

----- quin cominus ipsa
Fatorum deprensâ colus; visoque paventes
Augure, tum demum rumpebant flamina Parcæ (39).

(39) *Id. ib.*
lib. 8. v. 11.

His Thread of Life not yet its Length had run;
The Wheel revolv'd, and still the Parcæ spun.
When Pluto's Courts they saw the Augur tread,
Then first th' astonish'd Sisters cut the Thread.

It will be thought less strange, that I observe the
Contradiction, into which this Poet is fallen. He sup-
poses, that *Amphiaras*, a little before he was swallow-
ed up, restored to *Phæbus* the Prophetic Ensigns,
as things, which ought not to be carried down to *Plu-
to's* Kingdom.

Accipe commissum capiti decus, accipe laurus,
Quas Erebo deferre nefas (40).

(40) *Id. ib.*
lib. 7. ver.
784.

Hell [D], and the Scene of his Resurrection has been described: he was placed among the Gods: Temples were consecrated to him: His Oracle was very famous [E]. The Games, which were instituted in Honour of him (b), made a great Noise.

'Tis

(b) See Be-
medius ap-
on Pindar.
Od. 7. O-
lymp. pag.
143.

and now,
Receive these Laurels, Phœbus, from my Brow.
To Death, thus crown'd, your Prophet must not go,
Nor bear these Honours to the Shades below.

In another place, he supposes, that Phœbus confessed, that his Prophet descended into Hell, with all the Ensigns of his Office:

utinam indulgere precanti
Fata darent! en ipse mei (pudet) irritus arma
Cultoris, frondeſque ſacras, ad inania vidi
Tartara, & in memet verſos deſcendere vultus (41).

(41) Id. ib.
lib. 9. ver.
652.

O! that Apollo might have lent an Ear,
Propitious, to his dying Prophet's Prayer!
But Fate withſtood: Unable to aſſiſt,
I ſaw deſcend to Hell my facr'd Prielt.
MY Laurels grac'd him, in that fatal Hour,
And all the ſacred Enſigns of my Power.
In vain with ſupplicating Looks he pray'd;
In vain Apollo's Prielt implor'd Apollo's Aid.

Barthius, who has taken notice of this Miſtake, obſerves, that there are ſeveral of the ſame Nature in the Thebaid of this Poet. "Hoc genus plurima con-
nivēt magnanimitas hic Vates: & duodecim tamen
annorum linam referre vult ſuam Thebaidem (42).
— This lofty Poet has inadvertently let ſlip ſe-
veral Errors of this kind: and yet he pretends,
that his Thebaid carries the Poſſiſh of twelve
Years."

(42) Barth.
in Stat.
Tom. 3.
pag. 773.

[D] It was believed that Amphiaraus returned from Hell.] Some Authors affect to ſay, that he diſappeared: Ἀμφιάρεω δὲ χάρινος τῆς γῆς ἐμπιστῶν οἷς τὸ χάσμα μέγα τὴν ἀρμαλὴν ἀφάνης ἐγένετο
(43). Amphiaraus vero debilitatus terra cadens in
biatum cum curru inconspicui evaſit. Apollodorus adds
this Reaſon, becauſe Jupiter had immortalized him.
Ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἀρμαλὶ --- ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθά-
ναλον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν. Is vero cum curru abſorptus
eſt, & poſtea nunquam viſus: illum enim Jupiter immortalitate donavit (44). This was ſufficient to induce the

(43) Diodor.
Sicil. lib. 4.

(44) Apollo-
dor. lib. 3.
pag. 193.

Hebraizers to ſay, that the Pagans alluded in him to the Hiſtory of Enoch. Some other Authors are poſitive in the matter: They ſuppoſe that Amphiaraus died, and that he actually deſcended into Pluto's Kingdom; but that, afterwards, he re-aſcended to the upper Regions; nay they marked the very place, where he aſcended; which was a Fountain near the Temple, which the Inhabitants of Oropus (45) built in Honour of him. The Devotion paid to this Fountain was remarkable: No Sacrifices were offered there; the Water of it was not uſed, either in Purifications, or in waſhing of Hands; only thoſe, who were healed of any Diſeaſe, by means of the Oracle, caſt a piece of Gold or Silver into it. "Εἰς δὲ ὁρματίους ἀνὴρ πλυσίον τὴν νύξ, ἢν Ἀμφιάρεω καλῶσιν, ἕτε δὲ οἷον ἔδεν ἐς αὐτὴν, ἐδ' ἐπικαθάρτοις ἢ χερσὶν χερσὶν νομίζοντες. Νόον δὲ ἀκισθίους ἀνδρὶ μαλ' ἰσχυρῶς γινόμενος, καθίστηκεν ἀργυροῦ ἀπείρου καὶ χρυσίου ἐπίσημον ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ. ταῦν γὰρ ἀνελθόντων τὸν Ἀμφιάρεον λίσσονται ἢ δὲ δόν (46). Eſt etiam apud Oropios fons templo proximus, quem Amphiarai nuncupant: ad quem neque divinum rem faciunt, neque aut ad luſtrandum, aut ad manus lavandas, aqua ea uti fas patant: Solum, qui morbo oraculi monitu levati fuerint, ſignatam aurum argentumque more majorem in fontem abijciunt. Hinc enim jam deum Amphiaraum aſcendiſſe tradunt. Note, that the Reſurrection of Amphiaraus was not univerſally believed, and that there were ſome, who ventured to deny it upon the Stage: Witneſs this Verſe, quoted by Cicero.

(45) A Town
ſituated be-
tween Attica
and Boeotia.

(46) Pauſan.
lib. 1. p. 53.

Audiſne hæc, Amphiarae ſub terram abdite (47)?

From Earth's dark Womb, O Prophet, doſt thou bear?

(47) Cicero
Tuſcul.
Quæſt. 1. 2.
ſub fin.

[E] Temples were consecrated to him: His Oracle was very famous.] The Inhabitants of Oropus were the

fiſt, who deified Amphiaraus. They built a Temple to him, twelve Stadia from their Town, in the place where the Earth opened and ſwallowed up him, and his Chariot (48). We have already ſeen (49), that there were divers Opinions about the true Situation of the Place, where he was ſwallowed up. However it be, all Greece joined with the Oropians (50), in the Apotheoſis of this Prophet. They agreed, that the Oracle of this new God was to be conſulted in the Temple, which they had built to him. Pauſanias informs us, that a Collection of Oracles in Hexameter Verſe contributed greatly to give the People an high Opinion of Amphiaraus; becauſe the Author of this Collection inſerted the Anſwer, which this Diviner had given, concerning the War of Thebes. This was much to his Reputation; for People were prejudiced with an Opinion, that, in former times, only Perſons inſpired by Apollo gave Anſwers viva voce; I mean, after the manner of an Oracle. Other Soothſayers were employed only in explaining the Prefaſes of Birds, and Victims, or Dreams. But, whatever Advantage this gave our Amphiaraus over his Fellows, yet People were not perſuaded, that his true Function was the ſame with that of the Divinity of Delphi; for they conſulted him only to receive Anſwers from him by Dreams; which is a Proof, that, during his Life, he chiefly applied himſelf to the Interpretation of Dreams. This ſeems to me to be the Subſtance of Pauſanias's Narrative (51). I do not find that Romulus Amſeus has rightly tranſlated it; and I chuſe to depend upon the Verſion of Vigenere, though not very exact. It is this. "Jophon Cnoſſien, l'un des interpretes des Oracles, publica ceux d'Amphiaraus, en vers hexametres, &c. i. e. Jophon of Cnoſſus, one of the Interpreters of Oracles, publiſhed thoſe of Amphiaraus in Hexameter Verſe; which had ſuch an Influence upon the People, that they flock'd to them on a ſudden from all Parts. For none of the Soothſayers, except thoſe, who formerly were inſpired by the Enthuſiaſm of Apollo, pronounced any Oracles, but were all Interpreters of Dreams, or foretold things to come by the Flight of Birds, or by the Entrails of ſacrificed Beaſts. Whence it appears, that Amphiaraus addiſted himſelf chiefly to the Interpretation of Dreams; which we infer from hence, that, after his Deification, he inſtituted this manner of Divination. And, in the firſt place, thoſe, who go to his Oracle, muſt be well and duly purged: Which Purgation or Cleaning conſiſts in orderly ſacrificing to this God, and performing the requiſite Ceremonies as well towards him, as towards all the reſt, whoſe Names are written there. After this, having offered a Sheep, they ſtretch the Skin on the Ground, and ſleep upon it, expecting the Anſwer to their Requeſt, which they are to receive in a Dream (52). Philoſtratus informs us of ſome other Ceremonies, which were obſerved in that Place. "The Gods, ſays he (53), are wont to grant Oracles to thoſe, who are ſober; for there was once a Prophet in Greece, whoſe Name was Amphiaraus. I believe, interrupted the King, who mean him, who was the Son of Iſetes, who, in his return from Thebes, was ſwallowed up by the Earth. Him, and none eſe, answered Apollonius; who, to this Day, pronounces Oracles in the Arabian Territory, and ſends to thoſe, who require it of him, an Anſwer to their Demands by Dreams. But the Prieſts of the Place enjoin thoſe, who come thither to conſult him, to abſtain a whole Day from all manner of Fleſh, and three Days from Wine, to the end that they may the better conceive and retain in their pure Thoughts the Reaſons of the Things, which ſhall be declared to them in Dreams. If Wine were a proper means to cauſe Sleep, the ſage Amphiaraus would, without doubt, have preſcribed it to the Dreamers; and would have enjoined them to eat and drink to exceſs, before they deſcended into the moſt private Reſſeſſes of the Temple, where ſuch Oracles were given." Obſerve, that Philoſtratus aſſures us, that, in the Time of Apollonius, the Oracle of Amphiaraus was ſtill in Repute; and yet Plutarch confeſſes, that all the Oracles of Boeotia (54), among

(48) Pauſan.
ubi ſupra.

(49) In Re-
mark [B].

(50) Pauſan.
ibid.

(51) Id. ib.

(52) Vigenere upon the
Amphiaraus of Philoſtratus,
p. 400.
Tom. 1.

(53) Philoſtratus Vita
Apollon. lib.
2. cap. 11.
pag. 476.
agreeable to the Tranſlation
of Vigenere.

(54) Plutarch, de O-
ratorum defectu,
pag. 411.

'Tis thought that he chiefly excelled in Divination-by Dreams; but this was not all; for he was the Inventor likewise of Divination by Fire [F]. He conceived such an inveterate Hatred against his Wife, that he commanded the Children, whom he had by her, to kill her (i), as soon as their Age would permit. Great Praises have been bestowed upon him; and among others This, That he endeavoured to be an honest Man,

(i) This was executed by his Son Alcmæon. See his Article.

(57) He executed of Lebædia.

(56) See Pausanias, lib. 1. p. 33. and Strabo, lib. 9. pag. 255.

(57) Clemens Alexandrinus, mentions That of Amphiaræus by Name (57); thus here is a second Evidence against the Hero of Philostratus. Let us remark by the Way, that he takes notice of it in another Place, which his Translator has perverted. It is this: "Ἡ τὸν Ἀμφιάρεον τὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐξελθούσας μὲν γενεὰ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως προσέβλεπον φερόμενον." The Translator says *Amphiaræum, qui, cum septem qui adversus Thebas bellum gesserunt, fertur Troja capta una generatione fuisse posterior.* He should have said *prior* (58). The Sense is; Or *Amphiaræus*, who, with the seven, who warred against *Thebes*, is said to have lived one Generation before the taking of *Troy*.

(58) Id. Strom. lib. 1. p. 134. C. Barthius in Stat. Tom. 2. pag. 138. adopts the Fault of the Translator, and imputes it to Clemens Alexandrinus.

(59) Herodotus, lib. 1. cap. 45. & seq.

(60) Id. ib. cap. 52.

(61) Id. lib. 8. cap. 134.

(62) Barthius, ubi supra, pag. 137.

(63) Plutarch de Oric. defectu, pag. 412.

(64) Aristides Orat. in Aſclepiadas, apud Barthium, in Statium, pag. 133.

(65) Valer. Maximus, l. 3. sub fin.

(66) Cicero de Divin. l. 1. cap. 4.

among which he reckons this; were ceased (55). Let us lay no Stress upon *Apollonius's* placing this Oracle in *Attica*, and not; as *Plutarch* does, in *Bœotia*. They both mean the same Place; for the Country of *Oropus* being contested between the *Athenians* and the *Thebans*, the former pretending it belonged to *Attica* (56), and the latter, that it was part of *Bœotia*; hence it was, that some Authors tell us, that the Temple of *Amphiaræus* was in *Bœotia*, and others, that it was in *Attica*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*, object- ing to the Pagans the Cessation of their Oracles, mentions That of *Amphiaræus* by Name (57); thus here is a second Evidence against the Hero of *Philostratus*. Let us remark by the Way, that he takes notice of it in another Place, which his Translator has perverted. It is this: "Ἡ τὸν Ἀμφιάρεον τὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐπὶ Θήβας ἐξελθούσας μὲν γενεὰ τῆς Ἰλίου ἀλώσεως προσέβλεπον φερόμενον." The Translator says *Amphiaræum, qui, cum septem qui adversus Thebas bellum gesserunt, fertur Troja capta una generatione fuisse posterior.* He should have said *prior* (58). The Sense is; Or *Amphiaræus*, who, with the seven, who warred against *Thebes*, is said to have lived one Generation before the taking of *Troy*.

Herodotus can inform us, how much this Oracle was esteemed; for he says, that of all those, which *Cræsus*, King of *Lydia*, sent to consult, this alone, and That of *Delphi*, returned proper Answers, and received noble Gifts from that Monarch (59). I am surprized at what he observes, that the Presents, sent by *Cræsus* to the Oracle of *Amphiaræus*, were deposited in the Temple of *Apollo Ismenius*, in the City of *Thebes* (60). Why were they not consecrated in *Amphiaræus's* own Temple? Or why, in default of this, were they not rather carried to any other City, than *Thebes*, whose Inhabitants had incurred a Mark of Ignominy, with respect to this Oracle; for they were forbidden to sleep in the Temple of *Amphiaræus*; which was the only way to be informed of future Events in that Place? The Reason of this Prohibition was, that, *Amphiaræus* having offered the *Thebans* to be their Soothsayer, or their Fellow-Soldier, they made choice of the latter. You will find these Particulars in *Herodotus* (61), with so clear a Distinction between the Temple of *Apollo Ismenius*, and that of *Amphiaræus*, that I wonder how *Barthius* (62) could say, there was no Difference between them. *Herodotus* relates this, speaking of an *European*, who was sent by *Mardonius*, to consult the Oracles of *Greece*. He could not tell by what Dream *Amphiaræus* discovered to this General of the King of *Persia* the ill Fortune which attended him. *Plutarch* was better informed of it; for he relates the Dream (63). Some Authors say, that *Amphiaræus* appeared to those who consulted him.

Ἀμφιάρεος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Τερψιφῶ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ ἐν Ἀλβιδίᾳ χρησμοδῶσι τε καὶ φαίνονται. ἔτοι δὲ πανταχὲ τῆς γῆς διατέττυεν ὥστε ἀέρες ἀερίπολοι (64). I believe they mean, that he appeared to them in a Dream. However it be, his Oracle was no less esteemed, than that of *Delphi*, or that of *Dodona*, or that of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Valerius Maximus* tells us this. "Eadem gens summo consensu ad Amphiaræum decorandum incubuit, locum, in quo humatus est, in formam conditæque templi redigendo, atque inde oracula capi instituendo. Cujus cineres idem honoris possident, quod Pythicæ Cortine, quod aheni Dodonæ, quod Hammonis fonti datur (65). -----

"The same People were unanimous in honouring Amphiaræus, by building a Temple over the Place, where he was buried, and ordering that he should be enquired of, as an Oracle. The same Honour was paid to his Abode, as to the Pythian Tripod, the Cauldron of Dodona, and the Fountain of Jupiter Hammon." *Cicero* does not say so much; yet he speaks with Commendation of it. "Amphiaræum sic honoravit fama Græciæ, deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab ejus solo, in quo est humatus, oracula peterentur (66). -----

Amphiaræus was so honoured by Greece, that he was deified, and the Place, where he was buried, became oracular."

Note, That there was at *Corinth* a Temple of *Amphiaræus* (67); but give no credit to *Pomponius Mela* (68), nor to *Solinus* (69), who say there was one at *Rhannus*; for they are mistaken: It was not there, but near *Oropus*, as I have already observed, and as may be proved from *Diæarchus*, *Strabo*, and *Panjanias*, &c. See *Isaac Vossius*, pag. 151 of his Commentary on *Pomponius Mela*.

[F] He chiefly excelled in Divination by Dreams ----- for he was the Inventor likewise of Divination by Fire.] As to this Invention, I can only cite these Words of *Pliny*: "Aruspicium Delphus invenit ignificia Amphiaræus, auspiciæ avium Tiresias Thebanus, interpretationem ostentorum & fontium Amphictyon (70). ----- Delphus was the Inventor of Divination by the Entrails of Beasts, Amphiaræus of that by Fire, Tiresias the Theban of that of Birds, and Amphictyon of the Interpretation of Prodigies and Dreams." *Statius* makes no mention of this Particular; though he is pleased frequently to take notice of the Ability of *Amphiaræus*, in prophesying by several Methods. His Words are;

Quis mihi fidereos lapsus, mentemque sinistri
Fulguris, aut cæcis saliat quod numen in extis,
Quando iter, unde moræ, quæ sevis utilis armis,
Quæ pacem magis hora velit, quis jam omne futurum
Proferet? aut cum quo volucres mea fata loquen-
tur (71)?

Who now shall read the Omens of the Skies,
Or tell the Thunder's meaning, as it flies?
Who in the panting Entrails shall explore
What Heaven decrees, and read each lucky Hour;
For journeying which or best or worst is found;
When War or Peace shall with Success be crown'd?
Who, after him, Futurity shall scan,
And from the Birds enquire the Fate of Man?

Thus he expresses the Grief of the whole Army for the Death of this Prophet. He says, in another place:

----- quantum subito diversus ab illo,
Qui tripodis lauribus sequi, qui doctus in omni
Nube salutato volucrum cognoscere Phæbo (72).
How on a sudden chang'd from him, who late
Learn'd from the Tripod the Decrees of Fate;
Skillful (due Honours first to Phæbus paid)
The winged Oracles of Air to read!

I omit several other Passages of the same Nature; chusing rather to observe, that this Poet does not insist on the chief Character of this Prophet, which was to foretell by Dreams, as I have already observed (73). He was the first who abstained from Beans, as being prejudicial to this Science (74). Ἰπέρτω δὲ ἀπὸ χειρὸς κρυμμένον Ἀμφιάρεος δια τὴν δὲ δόξαν μαντικῆν. *Amphiaræus primus abstinuit a fabis ob divinationem per somnia* (75). It will not be improper to take notice, in this place, how he became a Prophet. "He went into a certain House, as ignorant of Futurity as any one else; but the next Day he came out of it perfectly qualified to be a Prophet. The House was shut up from that time, and was called *Fatidica*, *The House of Prediction*." It had, with respect to Divination, the same Virtue, which the Poets ascribed to *Parnassus*, with respect to Poetry.

Nec in bicipiti somniasse Parnaso
Mèmini, ut sic derepente Poeta prodirem (76).
Nor on Parnassus (well I know it)
Slept I myself into a Poet.

It made a Man a Prophet in one Night; and it might then be said, that Good comes by sleeping. We learn this from a Passage of *Pausanias*; and that this Metamorphosis

(67) Pausan. lib. 2. p. 65.

(68) Pomponius Mela, lib. 2. cap. 3.

(69) Solin. cap. 7.

(70) Philopon. lib. 7. c. 56.

(71) Statius, Thebaid. l. 8. ver. 176.

(72) Id. ib. lib. 7. ver. 706.

(73) In Remark [E].

(74) See Remark [I] of the Article PARNASSUS.

(75) Geoponic. lib. 2. apud Barthium, ubi supra, Tom. 2. pag. 137.

(76) Persius, in Prologo.

Man, and not to appear so [G]. A noble Subject for Reflexions [H]. If I am not mistaken,

(77) *ΑΤουμ*
of Pelopon-
neus.
Metamorphosis of *Amphiarus* came to pass at *Phthia* (77). "Ὅτιον δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ἔστιν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενος ὑπὸ Φλιασίων μαρτυρικός. ἐς τῶτον Ἀμφιαρεὺς ἐλθὼν, καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἐγκατακοιμῶν, μαντεύσθαι τῷ πρῶτον, ὡς οἱ Φλιασίοι φασιν, ἡξάλο. τῶς δὲ ἦν Ἀμφιαρεὺς τῷ ἐκείνων λόγῳ, ἰδίῳ τῆς καὶ ἡ μαντικῆς, καὶ τὸ οἰκνῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς συγκύλλεισας τὸν πᾶντα ἡδὴ χρόνον. In *phica* fori parte domus est, quam *Pbliasti* *Fatidicam* nuncupant: in eam enim ingressus *Amphiarus* (quemadmodum ipsi narrant *Pbliasti*) cum noctem unam obdormisset, statim divinare cepit, cum ante indoctus plane fuisset. Id cum ita evenisset, in reliquum omne tempus oculos ille aedes fuerant.

[G] Great Praises have been bestowed upon him
----- that he endeavoured to be a Virtuous Man,
and not to appear so.] *Adrastus*, in his Complaint for the Death of *Amphiarus*, declares, that he had lost the Eye of his Army, both a Prophet, and a good Soldier.

Ποθὼν φερτιάς
Ὀφθαλμὸν ἐμὰς, ἀμρότερον,
Μαντίν τ' ἀγαθὸν
Καὶ δὲ μὲν μαρτυράσθαι (78).

(78) *Pindar.*
Od. 6. O-
lymp. p. 99.

Desidero exercitus oculum mei
Utrumque vatem bonum et ad pugnandum basta.

Indeed he was a Diviner, not active in Mind alone; His Arm of Flesh was formidable, and he excelled in bodily Exercises. It is said that he made a terrible Slaughter of the Enemy the Day in which he died.

Ardet inexpleto sævi mavoris amore,
Et fruitur dextra, atque anima flagrante superbit.
Hic hominum casus lenire & demere fatio
Jura frequens, quantum subito diversus ab illo,
(80).
Innumera ferro plebem, ceu letifer annus,
Aut jubar adverſi grave fideris, immolat umbris
Ipse suis (81).

(80) *What is*
wanting,
be e, but is en-
cited in the
foregoing Re-
mark.

(81) *Statius,*
Thebaid.
lib. 7. ver.
703.

Insatiate Love of Battle fires his Breast,
And his Soul's cruel Transport stands confest.
He triumphs in his own unconquer'd Might,
Exults in Slaughter, and enjoys the Fight.
He, who was wont to mitigate, of late,
The Woes of Mortals, and controul their Fate,
How on a sudden chang'd, &c.
By his dire Sword, with Blood of thousands red,
(So baleful Stars their murderous Influence shed),
To his own Ghost, e'er yet it sunk to Hell,
Whole Hecatombs of human Victims fell.

In a Word, he was an Hero, as well as a Prophet; a Quality proper for one, who to Royalty joined the Knowledge of Futurity. *Statius* calls him the Royal Prophet.

Jamque erit ille dies, quo te quoque conscia fati
Templa colant, reddatque tuos responsa sacerdos,
Talia *FATIDICO* pergant solennia *REGI* (82).

(82) *Id. lib.*
l. 8. v. 206.

Altars and Temples soon shall rise to Thee,
And Priests, thy own, reveal the Fates' Decree:
Such Rites be thine, as at his Votaries Hands
Even now the sage PROPHETIC KING demands.

As for what concerns his Dexterity in the Exercises, in which the Greeks strove so much to obtain the Victory, I need only observe, that our *Amphiarus* obtained the Prize of the Race, and That of the Discus, in the *Nemean Games*, which the Generals celebrated in their March against the City of *Thebes* (83). Take notice of these Words of *Stesichorus*:

Ὁρώσκων μὲν γὰρ Ἀμφιαρεῶ
Ἀκροῖ δὲ νίκασιν Μελισσῶν (84).

Amphiarus bore away the Prize in Vaulting, Melager in throwing the Lance.

(83) *Apollo-*
dor. lib. 3.
pag. 189.

(84) *Athen.*
lib. 4. c. 21.
pag. 172.

As to the rare Qualities of his Soul, see the eighth Book of the *Thebaid*, and the Tragedy of *Æschylus*, entitled *ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θέβας, septem contra Thebas*, out of which I shall produce a Passage in the Remark [I], and three fine Verses in the following Remark. See likewise the Commendations bestowed on his Modesty, in a Fragment of the Emperor *Julian* (85).

[H] A noble Subject for Reflexions [The Matter of Fact, according to *Plutarch*, is this. " *Arifides* " was never puffed up with any Honour which was " paid him, nor dejected and troubled at any Re- " pulse or Refusal; being always of Opinion that a " good Citizen ought to offer himself Body and Soul " for the Service of his Country without hoping or " expecting the mercenary Hire either of Riches or " Glory. For which Reason it was, that, at the re- " cital of these Verses of *Æschylus*, on the Stage, in " Commendation of the old *Agur Amphiarus*,

(85) *Pape*
305; *Of Ju-*
lian's Works,
Edit. Lips.
1696.

Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶν δεῖσας, ἀλλ' εἶναι θέλει,
Βαδύην δόξα διὰ φρονὸς καρπόμενος,
Ἐξ ἧς τὰ κατὰ βλαστάει βουλευματα *.

* *Æschyl.*
Ævva in
Θέβας, v.
554.

He aims at being just, not seeming so;
The Fruit of Virtue grows up in his Mind,
Whence sage Advice and prudent Counsels spring;

" The Eyes of all the Spectators were immediately " turned on *Arifides*, as if the Elogium of this Vir- " tue was particularly applicable to him. For he was " a most strenuous Champion for Justice, nor was " ever induced to violate it, either by Favour and " Friendship, or by Hate and Repentment (86)." This is the finest Encomium in the World. *Amphiarus* was worthy of Admiration, if he deserved it: *Arifides*, who seemed to deserve it, is an incomparable Man.

(86) *Plu-*
tarch. in
Vita *Arif.*
pag. 150.
Arifides
pag. 156. &
de *Arifides*.
Post. p. 54.

Let us make a few Reflexions on a Subject, which will afford an infinite Number, and observe, I. That if the Pagans did not practise true Virtue, at least they perfectly understood it; for they praised those, who, in doing a good Action, did not propose to themselves either a pecuniary Interest, or public Applause; and they despised those, whose End, in the Exercise of Virtue, was Reputation, Glory, or the Applause of their Neighbour. Be as disinterested as you please with respect to Riches and Employments; if you are not so, with respect to Praise, you still act meanly; you are not recovered from the Disease of Self-love; you are only disengaged from the grossest Snare; you only wear finer Chains: In a word, you will find your Picture drawn in the Treatise of Mr *Esprit*, concerning the Deceitfulness of human Virtues. Apply to all Virtues the excellent Rule, which *Seneca* has prescribed concerning Liberality, and then they will be True; but, without That They will not be so. The Philosopher answers this Objection, *May not he, to whom I have done good, know of whom he has received it?* " *Quid ergo?* " ille nesciet à quo accepit? " *Primum nesciat, si hoc ipsum beneficii pars* " *est: deinde multa alia faciam, multa tribuam, per* " *quæ intelligat & illius auctorem. Denique ille* " *nesciat accepisse se: ego sciam me dedisse. Parum* " *est inquis; parum, si scenerare cogitas; sed si dare* " *quo genere accipietis maxime profuturum erit, da-* " *bis, contentus eris te teste. Alioquin non benefa-* " *cere delectat, sed videri beneficisse. Volo, inquis,* " *sciat: debitorem queris. Volo utique sciat: quid, si* " *illi utilis est nescire? si honestius? si gratius? non in* " *aliam partem abibis? Volo sciat: ita tu hominem* " *non servabis in tenebris? Non nego, quoties pa-* " *titur res, percipiendum gaudium ex accipientis* " *voluntate: sed adjuvari illum & oportet, & pudet;* " *si quod præstamus, offendit, nisi absconditur: be-* " *nificium in acta non mitto. Quidni? ego illi* " *non sum indicaturus me dedisse; cum inter prima* " *præcepta ac maxime necessaria sit, ne unquam ex-* " *problem, imo ne admodum quidem? Hæc enim* " *beneficii inter duos lex est, alter statim oblivisci* " *debet dati, alter accepti numquam (87). — What?* " *Shall he not know to whom he is obliged? I answer,* " *first, no; if this very Ignorance be Part of the Be-* " *nefit. I will continue to be his Benefactor, I will* " *oblige him farther, till by repeated Services he* " *discovers the Author of them. Nay, let him not* " *even know, that he has received a Favour, so long* " *as*

(87) *Seneca*
de *Benefi-*
lib. 2. c. 16.

mistaken, *Apollodorus* is the only Author, who has inserted him in the Catalogue of the *Argonauts* (k); for neither *Apollonius*, nor *Hyginus*, nor *Valerius Flaccus*; have done so. He is ranked among the wife Men, who have had the misfortune to be engaged in Undertakings directed by hot-head Men [L]. This is without doubt a very deplorable

(k) *Apollod.*
lib. 1. pag.
53.

"as I am conscious of having conferred one on him. This is too little, you say. Too little indeed, if you propose to lend out your Favours to Usury; but, if you will bestow them in the manner most advantageous to the Receiver, you will freely give them; you will be satisfied with your own Conscience. Otherwise you are not pleased with being serviceable, but with appearing to be so. Still you insist upon his knowing it. But, What if it is more to his Advantage not to know it, if it is more honourable, if it is more acceptable? Will you not alter your Opinion? Still you persist. Will you not even upon these Accounts keep him in the Dark? I do not deny you the Pleasure, which arises from the Disposition of the Receiver, whenever it is proper: but, if your Assistance be required, where it is inconsistent with Decency to let it be known; if the Service you do offends, unless it be concealed; the Benefit must not be made public. Why not? Shall I not let him know, that I am his Benefactor, because it is one of the principal and most necessary Precepts, that I must never reproach another with, nor even hint at, the Favours I have once conferred upon him? For This is a Law between the Giver and Receiver, that the former ought immediately to forget, that he has bestowed, the latter never, that he has received, a Benefit."

My second Reflexion is, That it seldom happens, that the Desire of Applause is the only End of those, who are not satisfied with the Testimony of their own Consciences. Observe the Persons, who aspire to these two Things: the one to be virtuous, and the other to appear so; and you will find, that the Ambition of the former is not contented with the Reality, nor That of the latter with the Appearance, of Virtue. The meer Steam of Incense does not satisfy their Desires; they wish for something more solid to attend it. Reputation alone seems to them a Reward too spiritual; they endeavour to incorporate it with the Conveniences of Life: They soon make a Merit of the Praise and Approbations of the World to those, who have the Distribution of Honours and Employments, and then make use of this Credit, to enrich themselves, or to gratify all their Passions. The surest way therefore to preserve the Purity of the Soul, is to follow the Example of *Amphiarus* and *Aristides*. Endeavour to be a virtuous Man; let That be your chief End; seek not to appear so, for such an Endeavour is attended with more dangerous Consequences, than you are aware of.

III. *Socrates* is reported to have said, "That the shortest way of attaining to Virtue, was to endeavour to be such as one would desire to be thought." *Semper id egisti, ut qualis haberi velles talis esses: quam viam ad gloriam proximam Es quasi pendiarium Socrates esse dixit* (88)." *Socrates's* own Words are: *Συντομωτάτη τε καὶ ασφαλέστατη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδὸς, ἣ κελεύεται, ὅτι ἂν βέλῃ δοκῆν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι, τὴν τοιαύτην γενέσθαι ἀγαθὸν πεπρωμένον* (89). "Velim, O Critobule, scias hanc esse brevissimam, securissimam, optimamque ad hæc omnia viam, in quocunque volueris bonus apparere, in eodem effici quoque bonus conari." So likewise *Horace*

Tu rectè vivis, si curas esse quod audis *.

This Advice is very judicious; for the Desire of appearing with Lustre, and of obtaining public Applause, is so strong and common, even among those, who have no great Inclination to be internally virtuous, that we may expect great Advancements in Virtue from him, who will endeavour to produce a perfect Conformity between the real State of his Soul, and the Opinion he would have others entertain of Him. But it must be confessed, that there is less diffidence in This way, than in That of *Amphiarus*. "Seem to be an honest Man, and be so: enjoy a fair Reputation, but deserve it; do not usurp the Esteem of your Neighbour." This is the Counsel of *Socrates*: He would not deprive any one of the Incense of Praise. *Amphiarus* would have said, "Be an honest Man, and do not trouble yourself

whether it be known to others, or whether you are praised for it."

IV. You will say, perhaps, that these two things generally go together, and that, if a good Reputation may be acquired by false Virtues, that is to say, by the Art of concealing a bad Heart under the Appearance of Honesty, it may be more certainly obtained by real Virtues. You will conclude from hence, that *Amphiarus*, and others like him, valued themselves upon despising a thing, which they very well knew they could not want. I answer, that oftentimes it is easier to be an honest Man, than to be accounted so; and that there is no necessary Consequence from one of these things to the other, wherever you begin. To become a virtuous Man, you have nothing to do but to conquer your own Passions; but to appear so, you must conquer those of others, and triumph over them. You have cunning and violent Enemies, who spread many ill Reports of you: Those who hear them give Credit to them, and become new Spreaders of Calumny: If they are incredulous, they form Difficulties, by which they teach your Enemies how to propose their Calumnies after a more plausible manner. Sometimes you are ignorant of these Machinations; and, if you knew them, either wholly, or in part, can you go from place to place to justify yourself? If you are an honest Man, as I suppose you to be, are you able to discover the Contrivances of your Enemies, and the oblique ways of working upon the Minds of the Vulgar? Had you not rather leave the Vulgar in an Error, than spend all your Leisure in disputing the ground with Calumniators? Will your Vigilance be sufficient to remove the Impressions, which their Malignity has made upon credulous Men, who are infinitely more susceptible of Calumny, than of the best Reasons you can alledge in your Vindication?

You may see in the Remark [L] of the Article *CÆSAR*, that the same Commendation, which *Æschylus* bestows upon our *Amphiarus*, was bestowed by *Sallust* upon *CATO* of *Utica*.

[I] He is ranked among the wife Men, who have had the Misfortune to be engaged in Undertakings directed by hot-headed Men.] It is of little Consequence, whether I myself, or another, furnish a Commentary on this Text. We are not here to consider Style, but Facts, and Sentiments. I shall therefore boldly produce the *Old French* of the Commentator on *Philoptratus* (90). "Icy pouvons nous remarquer, qu'il appert par ces échantillons de nostre pauvrete, et nostre misere, &c. i. e. Here we have an Instance of our Wretchedness and Misery; since prudent and good Men are obliged to suffer for the Folly of those, who are inconsiderate and wicked. Is it not strange, that *Tideus*, a hot-headed, peevish, quarrelsome, and brainless Fool, a disturber of the public Quiet, though a Stranger, and notwithstanding all the Remonstrances, Predictions, and Admonitions of the wisest Man of *Greece*, who was also accounted a Prophet, should have a Voice in the Council, and be so far credited, as to cause a War to be undertaken, which was no way necessary, and would turn to the Ruin and Destruction of them all? Nay, those who oppose the same with the most probable and best Reasons, must be Partakers of, and even have a great share in, the Danger of these giddy-headed Men. So true it is, that bad and pernicious Counsels have always prevailed over good and wholesome ones! Wherefore, not without Reason, or at Random, the Poet *Æschylus*, in the Tragedy, entitled *Septem contra Thebas*, laments, in the Person of *Eteocles*, the good and wise *Amphiarus*, in this manner:

Φηὶ τὸ ἑυαλλάσσοτος ἔργους βεγτοῖς
Δίκαιον ἄνδρα τοῖσι δυσσεβέσιν.
Ἐν παντὶ παρὰ γὰρ δ' ἑσθ' ὁμιλίας κακῆς
Κακίῃ, ἔδεν καρπὸς ἡ κομισίος.

"What an unhappy thing it is, says he, that a good Man should be associated with impious and wicked People! Certainly there is nothing worse than bad Company; from whence no Good can come

(88) *Petrus* Alcyonius, in *Medice legatio priore*, circa finem.

(89) *Xenophon*. *Memorab.* 1. 2. pag. 474. See also *Plato*, *Epist.* 4. pag. 1274. and *Cicero*, de *Officiis*, lib. 2. c. 12.

• Lib. 1. *Epist.* 16. See *Postel* on this Passage, in the *Epistle* Dedicatory to his *Oriental History*.

(90) *Vigenere* upon the *Amphiarus* of *Philoptratus*, p. 473, 404. of the first Vol. *Edit* in 4^{to}.

(U) In Remark [F] of the Article MÆLAM-PUS.

deplorable Case, and is but too common. The manner, in which he comforted a Woman, who bewailed the Death of her Son, deserves a Remark [K]. I would willingly see the Particulars of the Action, which the Farmers of the Taxes * brought against his Priests [L]. I have shewn, in another place (I), the Invalidity of an Argument,

* In French Les Particuliers.

(91) The Thebans were usually to blame in this War, and yet they came off victorious in the Battle.

(92) See Remark [C] of the Article BRUTUS (MARCUS).

(93) Cicero, Epist. 6. lib. 6. ad Famili- har. p. 319.

(94) See the Commentary on the Life of Apollonius, translated into French by Vigenere, Book 2. chap. 11. p. 488.

(95) Plutarch. de Consolatione ad Apollonium, p. 210, 111. Mr Bayle cites the French Version of Amyot; which therefore was fit to be.

" come - - - - This Soothsayer (I mean the Son of Oedipus) a prudent, just, sincere, and devout Man, a Foreteller of things to come, by keeping Company with Men, wicked and presumptuous, and deprived of all Sense and Reason, who endeavoured to come against us with a great Army, (Jupiter permitting it to be so) shall be drawn in with them to his final Perdition and Ruin." This is what Vigenere says. We must not imagine that Amphiarus was in hopes, that the Errors of the Managers would be repaired by the Justice of the Cause (91). He was too understanding a Man to believe This: he knew that a just War stands as much in need of Human Assistance, as an unjust one (92), and that, without being at least very near as powerful as the Defenders of Injustice, we shall generally come off by the work. He is therefore justly alleged as an Example of the Sacrifice, which upon some Occasions we ought to make of our Lives or our Prudence to other Considerations. Read these Words of Cicero (93). "Valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus sum deesse Pompeii salutem, cum ille aliquando non defuisset me. Itaque, vel officio, vel fama bonorum, vel pudore, victus, ut in fabulis Amphiarus, sic ego prudens & sciens ad pettem ante oculos positam sum profectus. — Upon this Occasion, Shame had a greater Influence on me than Fear. I was afraid of being wanting to Pompey's Health, who once was not wanting to mine. Therefore, being prevailed upon by Duty, or Reputation, or Shame, like Amphiarus in the Fable, I ran prudently and knowingly into the midst of a Plague, which was before my Eyes." To conclude: there is some Reason to upbraid this Prophet with the Imperfection of his Knowledge, and to rally him upon this Account. He foresaw, that, if he went to the War, he should be killed; but he did not foresee, that he should go, and that, notwithstanding his Precautions, he should be forced to engage in the Undertaking (94).

[K] The manner in which he comforted a Woman - - - - deserves a Remark.] Plutarch, having mentioned the Reasons, which ought to be employed in comforting those, who are afflicted at the untimely Death of their Children, adds (95): "And Amphiarus, in a Poem, seems to me to offer no imperfect Consolation to the Mother of Archemorus, who was uncommonly afflicted for the Loss of her Son, who died unexpectedly: For he says to her: 'No Man was ever happy all his Life; he produces Children upon the Earth; then buries them; at last he dies himself; and Men always lament those, whom they carry in their Coffins to their Grave, in like manner as Ears of Corn grow out of the Earth, and are afterwards cut down. Thus it must be, that some, newly born, come into Being, and others go out of it. Why then should Men grieve for all this, which, according to the Course of Nature, ought always to be so? It is never grievous to suffer, or do, what cannot be avoided by Man. In general, every one, whether in meditating by himself, or in discoursing with others, should take this for a Rule, that not the longest Life is the best, but That, which is the most virtuous.' Plutarch seems to me to have alleged this Passage improperly; for it doth not relate more to the Death of young People, than of others. I might observe likewise, that the Comparison drawn from Ears of Corn would be absurd, if the Design was to moderate an Affliction, grounded on the Youth of the Person, who is bewailed; for, according to the usual course of things, the Harvest of Corn is not 'till the Ears are ripe. It would be more proper to make the afflicted Person consider the State of Fruit-Trees. Count the Apples, when they are in the Bud; and count them every Week afterwards, and you will find that the Number of them is always decreasing. It is extraordinary if one half of them remains 'till the time of gathering. As for the other Reasons of Amphiarus, they are good enough; but there is nothing in them but what is common; nay, he concludes with a Maxim, which in one Sense is more apt to encrease

Grief, than to cure it (96). We shall see presently how the Philosopher Carneades censured this Reasoning.

Amyot has not justly rendered the Greek of Plutarch, ὁ παρὰ τῇ μοιρῇ Ἀμφιάρεως, by Amphiarus, in a Poem *. This Version manifestly insinuates, that Amphiarus wrote a Poem; but Plutarch means, that there was a Poet, who introduced Amphiarus making use of those Reasons. It was Euripides. "Dicuntur nonnulli in mœrore, quum de hac communi animi conditione audivissent, ea lege nos esse natos, ut nemo in perpetuum esse posset expers mali, gravius tamen tulisse. Quo circa Carneades, ut video nostrum scribere Antiochum, reprehendere Chryppum solebat laudantem Euripideum carmen illud:

Nemo mortalis est, quem non attingat dolor, Morbusque: multi sunt humandi liberi, Rursus creandi, morisque est finita omnibus. Quæ generi humano angorem nequiquam afferunt. Reddenda est terræ terra (97). Tum vita omnibus Metenda ut fruges, sic jubet necessitas.

"Negabat genus hoc orationis quicquam omnino ad levandam ægritudinem pertinere. Id enim ipsum, dolendum esse dicebat, quod in tam crudelem necessitatem incidissemus. Nam illam quidem orationem ex commemoratione alienorum malorum ad malevolos consolando esse accommodatam (98). — It is said, that some Persons in Affliction, when they have been put in mind of the common Fate of all Men, that the Condition of our Birth is such, that no Man can be perpetually exempt from Misery, instead of receiving Consolation, have thought this an Aggravation of their Misfortunes. For which reason Carneades, as Antiochus informs us, was wont to reprove Chryppus for commending these Verses of Euripides;

No mortal lives, whom Grief does ne'er attack,
Or whom Disease spare; our Children die;
Others are born; and Death attends us all.
No Anguish hence the human Breast should feel;
Earth must to Earth, and Dust to Dust, return;
And Life be gathered like matur'est Fruits:
Such is th' inevitable Law of Fate.

"He denied that this way of speaking tended in the least to mitigate Sorrow. For this very thing, he said, was matter of Affliction, that we are obliged to so cruel a Necessity: For such a Consolation, as arises from the Recollection of other Men's Misfortunes, can administer Relief only to the Ill-natured." Let us now produce the Answer to this Criticism of Carneades. "Mihî vero longe videtur secus. Nam & necessitas ferenda conditionis humane quasi cum deo pugnare cohibet, admonetque esse hominem, quæ cogitatio magnopere luctum levat: & enumeratio exemplorum, non ut animum malevolum oblectet, affertur, sed ut ille, qui mœret, ferendum sibi esse sentiat, quod videt multos moderate & tranquillè tulisse (99). — I am of a different Opinion. For the Necessity of submitting to the Condition of Humanity both restrains us from fighting, as it were, against God, and admonishes us, that we are Men; a Consideration which contributes greatly to mitigate Affliction: Besides which, the setting Examples before our Eyes is not intended to gratify a malevolent Ill-natured Disposition, but to convince the afflicted Person, that his Grief is to be born, by shewing him that many have endured the like with Patience, and Composure of Mind."

[L] The Action which the Farmers of the Taxes brought against his Priests.] Give me leave to apply this Application to those, who levy'd the Tribute of the Roman Republic in the Provinces. There was a Law, which exempted the Lands consecrated to the immortal Gods from all Taxes; upon which Amphiarus's Priests pretended to this Exemption,

(96) See Remark [E] of the Article FOUL-QUES.

* Amphiarus, en un Poem. Ami-α.

(97) The Greek Verse mentioned by Plutarch, which answers this, is, αὐτὸν ὅσον ὅσους ἄνθρωποις ἔσται. — Barthius in Statium, Tom. 3. p. 275. conjectures that it should be read, αὐτὸν ὅσον ὅσους ἄνθρωποις ἔσται.

(98) Cicero Tulci. Quæst. 1. 3. cap. 25.

(99) Id. ib.

gument. by which they pretended to prove the Certainty of his Prophecies. He left several Children [M], one of which was the Founder of *Tibur* in *Italy*. *Pliny* makes this Remark in a Passage, wherein he relates several curious Particulars concerning the long Life of Trees.

and maintained, that the Lands, which belonged to that Deity, were not subject to any Taxes; and without doubt they pretended, that the Text of the Law was clear and express in their Favour. The Farmers replied; that these Lands did not come within the Intent of the Law; since they were consecrated to a dead Man, and that it was plain, that a Person, who is dead, is not one of the immortal Gods. This Argument, though suggested to them by Covetousness, and not by a Zeal for Religion, which such Men seldom regard, where their Interest is concerned, yet it was so demonstrative, that they ought to have carried the Cause: But I believe they lost it. It is pity all the Records of this Trial are not extant: All we know of it is this; "An Amphiarus Deus erit & Trophonius? Nostri quidem publicani, cum essent agri in Bœotia deorum immortalium excepti lege censoria, negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent (100) — The Question was, whether Amphiarus and Trophonius should be esteemed as Gods. Our Publicans, allowing the Censorial Law, by which the Lands in Bœotia, consecrated to the immortal Gods, were exempt from Taxation, denied those to be Immortals, who had once been Men." If they had been suffered to go on, they might have affected most of the Gods, and have subjected much consecrated Ground to Taxes; for what Titles to Divinity or Immortality would have been Proof against their Exceptions? What would they not have obtained at the Tribunal of an Intendant, who should have had Orders to favour their Proceedings? If Farmers of the public Revenues were

ordered to make an Enquiry into false Worship, the Number of them would quickly decrease. But where would such Inquisitors be safe? We shall see in another place (101), how solid this Argument appeared to many Heathens; He is dead, therefore he ought not to be worshipped as a God.

[M] He left several Children.] I have composed the Articles of *ALCMÆON* and *AMPHILOCHUS*, who were his Sons. I do not find that any Greek Author, now extant, mentions *Tiburtus*, who was likewise his Son; but they mention *Eurydica*, *Demomassa*, and *Alcmena*, Daughters of *Amphiarus* and *Eriphyle* (102). *Pliny* speaks of *Tiburtus* in this Manner: "Tiburtes originem multo ante urbem Romam habent. Apud eos exstant lices tres, etiam Tiburto conditore eorum vetustiores, apud quas inauguratus traditur. Fuisse autem cum tradunt filium Amphiarai, qui apud Thebas obierit una ætate ante Illicum bellum (103). — The Tiburtes are more ancient than the building of Rome. They show three Oaks, older than Tiburtus their Founder, where Tradition says he was inaugurated. They tell us he was the Son of Amphiarus, who died in the Expedition to Thebes, about an hundred Years before the Trojan War." I fancy *Pliny's* Account of this Matter is not true: how could the three Oaks, under which *Tiburtus*, Founder of *Tibur*, and Son of *Amphiarus*, was inaugurated, have remained 'till the Time of *Vespasian*? Note, that *Solinus* says, that *Tiburtus* was Grand-Son, and not Son of *Amphiarus*. I shall set down his Words in the Article *TIBUR*.

(101) In Remark [A] of the Article TROPHONIUS.

(102) Pausanias, lib. 5, pag. 165.

(103) Plinius, lib. 16, cap. 44.

(100) Cœro de Nat. Deorum, lib. 3, pag. 631.

(a) Pausan. lib. 5, pag. 165.

(b) Apollod. lib. 3, pag. 295.

(c) Id. ib. pag. 297.

(d) Pausan. lib. 1, p. 33.

AMPHILOCHUS, the Son of *Amphiarus* and *Eriphyle* (a), was a famous Soothsayer. He accompanied his Brother *Alcæon* to the second War of *Thebes* (b), and some say he assisted him in the Murder of *Eriphyle* (c); but most Authors are of a different Opinion. The Altar, which was consecrated, to him at *Aibans* (d) contributed much less to the Glory of his Name, than the Oracle which he had at *Mallus* in *Cilicia* [A]. He and *Mopsus* founded That City after the *Trojan War* (e); afterwards they quarrelled, and kill'd each other in a Duel, as I have observed elsewhere (f). Some affirm, that *Amphilochus* was kill'd by *Apollo* (g). He was both a King and a Prophet (h), for he reigned at *Argos*. It is true he could not support himself in That Kingdom, but left it in discontent, and built a City upon the Gulph of

(c) Strabo, lib. 14, pag. 454. See also Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 1, c. 40.

(f) In the Article MÆSUS.

(g) Strabo, lib. 14.

(h) Cicero, ubi supra.

[A] The Oracle which he had at Mallus in Cilicia.] *Pausanias* affirms, that, in his Time, there was no Oracle so much to be depended upon as this: From whence we may infer, that all the Pagan Oracles did not cease upon the planting of Christianity. Τὸ δὲ Ἀμφιλόχου καὶ πατρὸς Ἀδριανοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει Βωμοῦς, καὶ Κλητείας ἐν Μάλλῳ μυστικῶν ἀφαιδύεσθαι τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ (1). *Amphilochus* in ipsa urbe apud Athenienſes ora sua eff: in Cilicia vero urbe Mallo ejusdem oraculum quod omnium est quæ ætate mea extant minime fallax. The Answer of this Oracle were given by Dreams. Ἐστὶν ἐν Μάλλῳ πόλις τῆς Κιλικίας Ἀμφιλόχου χρηστέων, καὶ πατρὸς δι' ὀνειράτων (2). *Est Malli, quod est optatum Ciliciæ Oraculum Amphilochi, quod per somnia consulentibus respondit*. They, who consulted it, passed the Night in the Temple, and what they dreamed was the Resolution of their Question. *Dion Cassius* mentions a Picture, wherein *Sextus Condianus* caused the Answer, which he had received from this Oracle, in the Reign of *Commodus*, to be represented (3). The following Passage of *Lucian*, induces me to believe, that *Amphilochus* was accounted a great Prophet at that time. Οἷός τε γὰρ ἔξ' Ἀλφειοῦ ὑπερῆεν οἰκαδε, αὐτὸν τὸ ἐν Μάλλῳ τετὸ μυστικῶν ἐπιφανέσθαι τε καὶ ἀνδύεσθαι οἶμαι, καὶ χρᾶν ὑπερῶν πρὸς ἑτοῖς ἀποκρινόμενον, οἷς ἂν ἐγγράφας τις εἰς τὸ γραμμαστεῖον παραδῶ τῷ περὶ τῆς, καλῶς δ' ἔχῃν ὑπὸ σάμνῃ ἐν παραπλῶν περὶ δεινῶν τῷ χρηστικῷ, καὶ τι περὶ μελλόντων συμβεβησέναι τῷ δῶ (4). — When I returned from Egypt, and was informed that the Oracle at Mallus was the plainest, and at the same time the truest, and that it's Answers were so clear, as to give a particular and distinct Solution of all Questions, which were proposed to the Pro-

phet, written on a scroll of Paper; I thought it would be right, as I sailed by, to try the Oracle, and propose some Questions to this Divinity, concerning future Events. Take notice of the Circumstance mentioned by *Lucian*, which is, that the Questions, to which an Answer was demanded of *Amphilochus*, were proposed in Writing. Let no one say, that *Lucian* forged the Stories, which he relates in this Work; for this does not weaken our Proof; since it is certain he would not have said, that this Oracle was famous, if it had never been consulted for the space of an hundred Years. Thus *Mr Van Dale* solves this Objection (5). He cites another Passage, taken out of the History of the false Prophet *Alexander*, wherein *Lucian* testifies, that the Oracle at *Mallus* was famous. He might have quoted a third Passage, which I find so favourable to this Observation, that I will give it at length. Τὸν Τροφόνιον, ὃν Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ μάλας με ἀποκρίνομαι, τὸν Ἀμφιλόχον. ὅς ἐνεργῶν ἀνδρώων, καὶ μυσταίων ὡς ὧν, θεοπιδεῖ ὁ γυναικῶν ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, φερόμενος τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ γονεῖων τῶν δυνὸν δολοῦν ἄνεκα (6). — I am more angry, O Jupiter, with *Amphilochus*, than with *Trophonius*; for the former, though the Son of a Villain and a Parricide, yet is famous for prophesying in Cilicia, lying much, and playing the Wizard for two Obols. I shall examine hereafter what *Lucian* says, that *Amphilochus* was not the Son, but the Grand-son of *Amphiarus*. In the mean time I shall observe, that the Oracle of *Amphilochus* was still famous in *Plutarch's* Time. Ἐστὶν ἡμεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ παρὶς τοῖς, καὶ τὸ Μόλυ καὶ τὸ Ἀμφιλόχου μυστικῶν (7). Cum autem esset in Patria, staret adhuc Mopsi & Amphilochi Oracula.

(5) Van Dale, de Oraculis, pag. 98.

(6) Lucian. in Deor. concilio, p. 957. Tom. 2.

(7) Plut. do Oraculis. Defectus, p. 434. C.

(1) Pausan. lib. 1, p. 33.

(2) Xiphilinus in Eptome Dionis, pag. 285, 286.

(3) Id. ib.

(4) Lucian. in Philopseude, pag. 500. Tom. 2.

of *Ambracia* [B]. *Livy* has mistaken him for another, in a Passage which I shall quote [C]. *Moreri* too is liable to Censure [D]. We must not confound our Sooth-layer with one *Amphilochus*, whom a Goofe fell in Love with [E]. In the Remark below I shall give *Pliny's*, and other Authors, Account of this Matter.

[B] He left Argos in discontent, and built a City upon the Gulph of Ambracia. We have this from a grave Historian. Ἀργεῖοι τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἐκτίσεν μετὰ τὰ τρωικά δικάδ' ἀναχωρήσας, καὶ ἐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἀργεὶ κατ' αἶσάν τε Ἀμφιλόχος ὁ Ἀμφιδάμω, ἐν τῷ Ἀμπερχικῷ κλάπῳ, ὁμῶν μόνον τῇ ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἀργεῖ ὀνομάσας. Καὶ ἢ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ μεγίστη τις Ἀμφιλοχίας, καὶ τὸς δυνάμειδ' εἶχεν δακτύλους (8). *Amphilochus*, the Son of *Amphiarus*, returning home, after the Trojan War, and being dissatisfied with the State of Affairs at Argos, founded Amphilocheian Argos, and all the Region of Amphilocheia, upon the Gulph of Ambracia, calling the City, after the Name of his native Town, Argos; which City was the largest and most powerful of the whole Amphilocheian Territory. *Strabo* alleges this Testimony of *Thucydides*; but adds a Circumstance to it; to wit, that *Amphilochus*, being dissatisfied with the Government established in Argos, went into *Atarnania*, where he took possession of his Brother's Estate (9). *Thucydides* does not say this; and consequently *Strabo* is in the wrong to ascribe it to him. They, who pretend, that he follows the Opinion of *Thucydides* (10), are mistaken; for he seems to prefer the Historian *Ephorus*, who said, that the City of *Amphilochian Argos* was built by *Alcmaeon*, and that it's Founder gave it the Name of his Brother. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμπερχικὴν τὸ Ἀργεῖοι τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν ἐκτίσεν Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ τῶν παίδων (11). After *Ambracia* follows *Amphilochian Argos*, a City built by *Alcmaeon* and his Sons. It cannot be said, that *Amphilochus* has neither followed *Thucydides*, nor any other Writer, when he says that *Amphilochus* was the Son of *Alcmaeon* (12); for he reports this only on the Credit of *Euripides* (13). Note. He observes, that this *Amphilochus* went, by the Advice of *Apollo*, to live at *Amphilochian Argos*.

I must take notice of a great Difference between *Thucydides* and *Strabo*. The one says, that *Amphilochus*, being returned to Argos, after the taking of Troy, and not finding Affairs in such a Condition as he could have wished, retired towards the Gulph of *Ambracia*, where he built a Town (14). The other tells us, that *Amphilochus*, having built *Mallus* in *Cilicia*, after the taking of Troy, returned to Argos, and being displeased with the posture of Affairs there, went back into *Cilicia*, where he was killed, and buried (15). But there are other Difficulties still. *Euripides* says, that *Alcmaeon*, being mad, lay with *Menis*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*, by whom he had a Son and a Daughter; the Son was called *Amphilochus*, and the Daughter *Tiphone* (16). This *Amphilochus*, in Obedience to an Oracle, settled in *Amphilochian Argos*. We have seen (17), that *Lucian* says, that *Amphilochus*, whose Oracle was so famous at *Mallus*, was the Son of *Alcmaeon*; others say that he was the Son of *Amphiarus*. Amidst all this Confusion there are two ways to choose. One is, to say, that there was but one *Amphilochus*, whose History has only been related by Piece-meal, that is, by Authors who have omitted part of his Adventures. The other is to assert, that there were two *Amphilochus*, the one the Son of *Amphiarus*, and the other the Son of *Alcmaeon*; and that Authors have sometimes ascribed to one what belonged to the other. I could easily believe that *Amphilochus*, whose Oracle was in *Cilicia*, was the Son of *Amphiarus*; and that he, who settled in *Atarnania*, was the Son of *Alcmaeon*. The City of Argos, in that Country, was built by *Alcmaeon* and his Sons. Τὸ Ἀργεῖοι τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν ἐκτίσεν Ἀλκμαίωνος καὶ τῶν παίδων (18). Argos *Amphilochicam Urbem* ad *Alcmaeonem ejusque liberis condita*. This is my first Argument. *Amphilochus*, the Son of *Alcmaeon*, was admonished by the Oracle to go and reside in this City of Argos (19). This is my second Argument. *Pausanias* observes, that the Posterity of *Melampus* reigned in Argos, till *Amphilochus*, after the taking of Troy, retired into the Country, which was called, from his Name, *Amphilochia* (20). This is the *Amphilochian Argos*, and the adjacent Country. Now there are six Generations from *Melampus* to

this *Amphilochus*; Ἀπὸ δὲ Μελαμπεδοῦ γενεαὶ τεῖς καὶ ἀνδρες ἐσσι μάχης Ἀμφιλόχου τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν (21). A *Melampede* sex per t. idem etatis usque ad *Amphilochum Amphiarai filium*; and therefore the latter cannot be the Son of *Amphiarus*, as *Pausanias* affirms, but of *Alcmaeon*. And indeed *Melampus* was the Father of *Antipater*, who was the Father of *Oicles*, who was the Father of *Amphiarus*, who was the Father of *Alcmaeon*, who was the Father of *Amphilochus*. If you end with *Amphilochus*, the second Son of *Amphiarus*, you will not find the six Descendants which *Pausanias* mentions. This is my third Argument.

[C] *Livy* has mistaken him for another, &c.] He has mistaken the Son for the Father, in these Words of the Forty fifth Book: "Oropum Atticæ, ubi pro Deo vates *Amphilochus* colitur, templumque vestrum est fontibus rivisque circa æmœnum (22). — "Oropus of Attica; where the Prophet *Amphilochus* is worshipped as a God, whose Temple is pleasantly situated amidst Fountains and Rivulets." It is certain that the chief Deity of the Temple, which this Historian mentions, was *Amphiarus*; he should therefore have said, ubi pro Deo vates *Amphiarus* (not *Amphilochus*) colitur. *Pausanias*, who made these things his particular Study, and had a Genius capable of Success therein, is much more to be credited than *Livy*. Now he not only affirms, that the Inhabitants of *Oropus* built a Temple to the Sooth-layer *Amphiarus*; but seems likewise to say, that *Amphilochus* had no share in the Altar, which was divided into five Portions, each of which belonged to some Hero or God (23). Indeed we find in this Partition the Children of *Amphilochus*, but not *Amphilochus* himself. I confess, the Sequel of the Reasoning might induce one to believe, that *Pausanias* has not omitted him. I could willingly make a Correction in the Greek Text of this Author; I would read, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ Ἀμφιλόχῳ, & filio *Amphilochi*, and not καὶ τῶν παίδων Ἀμφιλόχῳ, & filii *Amphilochi*; see the Margin (24). But, after all, this is no Proof, that *Amphilochus* was the God of the Temple of *Oropus*.

[D] *Moreri* too, is liable to Censure.] I. *Amphilochus* is not a certain Greek Captain, whom *Homer* mentions in his *Odyssey*; for *Homer* only says, that *Alcmaeon* and *Amphilochus* were the Sons of *Amphiarus* (25). II. This being so, *Moreri* should not have expressed himself in this manner. It is said that he was the Son of *Amphiarus* and of *Eriphyle*. He should have had more regard to the Authority of *Homer*; and no Author, ever so little acquainted with the Ancients, would have made use of an, It is said, upon this Occasion. III. *Amphilochus*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, is not different from the *Amphilochus* of *Homer*: It was the same, whose Oracle was consulted at *Mallus* in *Cilicia*. IV. He ought not to have said, that he carried the Oracle to one *Thespius* of *Solos* (26). This is to metamorphose a God into a Messenger. V. He has omitted a Circumstance, which should have been express'd, viz. That this *Thespius* led a good Life after his Resurrection. See *Plutarch* (27).

[E] One *AMPHILOCHUS*, whom a Goofe fell in Love with.] *Pliny's* Account is this: "Quin et fama amoris (anferi) Egii dilecta forma pueri Olenii (28). — It is reported that a Goofe fell in love with an Olenian Youth at Egium." Thus *Father Hardouin* has corrected this Passage. In the other Editions it runs thus; Argis dilecta forma pueri nomine Oleni. Thus two Errors had crept into the Text of *Pliny*; one concerning the Place, where the Goofe was in Love, and the other concerning the Name of the beloved Youth. This Adventure did not happen at Argos, but in the Town of Egium (29). The Goofe's Favourite was called *Amphilochus*, and not *Olenus*; but, because he was born at Olenus, he had the Appellation of *Olenius*. A Passage of *Ælian* enabled *Father Hardouin* to correct the Passage of *Pliny*. Ἐν Ἀργεῖο τῆς Ἀχαιῆς πατρὶς Ὀλενίου γένος ἵνα μὲν Ἀμφιλόχῳ ἐσθλὸς γυν. οὐρεγος λέγεται τῷ τῷ (30). At Egium, a Town of Achaia, a Goofe fell in love with a Youth of Olenus, named *Amphilochus*.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Titus Livius, lib. 45. c. 27.

(23) Pausanias, lib. 1. p. 33.

(24) Perhaps the Words of Pausanias should be rendered thus, & ex filio (Amphiarai) *Amphilochi*.

(25) Homer. *Odysseia* l. 15. ver. 248.

(26) This Error has been corrected in the Dutch Editions.

(27) *Plutarch* de Senarum nominibus vindicta, pag. 563. & seq.

(28) *Plinius* lib. 10. cap. 22. p. 408.

(29) Situated in Achaia, near Sicyon. See *Pausanias* lib. 7. p. 230.

(30) *Ælian*. *Hist. Anim.* lib. 8. c. 20. See *Father Hardouin's* *Emendat.* 21. in l. 1. *Plinius*, pag. 474.

(8) *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

(9) *Strabo*, lib. 7. pag. 225.

(10) *Berkeley*, in Steph. Byzant. p. 124.

(11) *Ephorus* apud *Strabonem*, lib. 7. pag. 225.

(12) *Yr Berkeley* (1791) in his Notes on Steph. Byzant. p. 124.

(13) *Apollodorus* lib. 3. pag. 201.

(14) *Thucydides*, lib. 2.

(15) *Strabo*, lib. 14. pag. 424, 425.

(16) *Euripides* apud *Apollodorum*, l. 3. p. 201.

(17) In the preceding Remark, Citation (6).

(18) *Strabo*, lib. 7. pag. 225.

(19) *Apollodorus*, lib. 3. pag. 201.

(20) *Pausanias*, l. 2. pag. 60.

enius. Theophrastus relates this. Athenæus relates the same Story, and quotes Clearchus and Theophrastus; but correct a Fault, which has crept into his Book. Read *ἐν Ἀργίῳ*, and not *ἐν Ἀργείῳ*. Were it not for this, it might be said, that Father Hardouin is too bold in these Words, “*Neque enim Argis sed Ægii*

"prope Sicyonem res gesta narratur (31). — *The*
"Affair did not happen at Argos, but at Ægium
"near Sicyon." Do we not find in the Translation of
Asineus, apud Argivos puerum amavit asner, and
in the Greek, ἢ Ἀργείων δὲ παῖδα ἐν νῆσσοις
χρῖν (32)? At Argos, a Gase fell in love with a Boy:

(31) Har-
doun, ibid.

(72) Athen.
lib 13. c. 8.
pag. 6. 6.

AMPHITRYON, the Son of *Alcaeus* [A], Son of *Perseus*, is less known by his Exploits, than by the Adventure of his Wife *Alcmena*, who afforded a Subject to the Comic Poets [B]. She was the Daughter of *Electryon*, King of *Mycene*. The Sons of *Pterelaus* had made an Incurfion into the Territories of This Prince, which proved fatal to them; for they all perished in it (a); but they had before destroyed, all the Sons of *Electryon* (b). The latter, making the necessary Preparations to revenge the Death of his Sons, left his Kingdom and his Daughter *Alcmena* in the hands of *Amphitryon*, and made him promise, with an Oath, not to lie with his Daughter. They, who accompanied the Sons of *Pterelaus*, had brought the Flocks of *Electryon* into the Country of *Elis*. The Flocks were recovered by *Amphitryon*; but, in delivering them up to their Master, he had the Misfortune to be the innocent Cause of the Death of That unhappy Prince [C]. Upon this, being obliged to leave the Country of the *Argians* (c), he retired with *Alcmena* to *Creon* King of *Thebes*, and received from him the Ceremonies of Expiation. After this he made Preparations for a War against the *Teleboe*s [D], in Revenge for the Death of *Alcmena*'s Brothers; a Condition, which she required of the Person, who desired to marry her [E]. In order to engage *Creon* to follow him, he agreed to free him from a Fox, which did him a great deal of Mischief: This he did by the Assistance of *Cephalus*, who lent him the Dog, which *Procris* had brought from the Isle of *Crete*. *Amphitryon*, assisted by several Nations, entered the Territories of *Pterelaus*, and ravaged them; but the great Success of this War was owing to the Treachery of *Cometba*, the Daughter of *Pterelaus*. This Lady fell in Love with *Amphitryon*; for whose sake she plucked off the golden Lock of Hair from her Father's Head, on which his Life depended. The unhappy Father died immediately; and *Amphitryon* took possession of all his Dominions. He caused *Cometba* to be put to death, and returned to *Thebes*, loaded with Booty. The first News, with which he was greeted, was, that He had spent the last Night with *Alcmena*, tho' he had good reason to be assured, that it was false. At last it was discovered, that *Jupiter* had play'd this Trick, by assuming the Shape of *Amphitryon*. The latter, without any Concern for the matter, lay with *Alcmena*, and made her an instance of *Superfætation*, which has been quoted a thousand times. She had already conceived *Hercules*, and became pregnant with another Son. But, to distinguish which was his own Son, and which was *Jupiter*'s, he threw two Snakes on their Beds. *Hercules* was not afraid of them; but the other fled. There wanted no other Proof, to shew, that *Hercules* was not the Son of *Amphitryon*. It is said, that *Alcmena* put an Ornament on her Head, which informed the World, that *Jupiter* had

(4) *Except*
Lievman us a
Barrard. Id.
pag. 99.

(c) It is not true, as is said in the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary, that Amphitryon succeeded Electryon.

(x) Except
one, who
stand behind
to guard the
ships. Apol-
lodorus. lib. 2.
pag. 97.

[A] *The Son of Alcæus.* Apollodorus says, that (1) Apollod. *Hippomene*, the Daughter of *Menæceus*, was the Mother of *Amphitrion* (1). Others make him the Son of

(2) Pausan. lib. 8. pag. 248. *Lyfdice*, the Daughter of *Pelops*; and others say, that *Laonome*, the Daughter of *Guneus*, was his Mother (2). Note, that he was Uncle to his Wife; for his Sister

(3) *Id. ib.* [B] *Who afforded a Subject to the Comic Poets.* *Ambitryon* is one of the best of *Plautus's* Comedies, in the Opinion of *Madam Dacier*, who translated it into *French* with excellent Notes. See the last Remarks of the Article *TELEBOES*. *Moliere* wrote a Comedy with the same Title; which is one of his best Pieces. He has borrowed many things from *Plautus*, but gives them a different turn: And, were a Comparison between these two Pieces to decide the Controversy, which has been raised of late Years, about the Superiority or Inferiority of the Ancients, I believe *Mr Perrault* would soon carry his Cause. There are many fine Turns in the *Ambitryon* of *Moliere*, which greatly exceed the Pleafantry of the *Latin Ambitryon*. How many things in the Comedy of *Plautus* were necessary to be omitted, which would not have succeeded on the *French Stage*? How many Ornaments and Touches of a new Invention has *Moliere* been obliged to insert in his Work, to procure it the Applause, which it has received? The bare Comparison of the Prologue is sufficient to adjudge the Advantage to the modern Author. *Lucius* has furnished the Subject, on which the Prologue of *Moliere* turns, but not the Thoughts. A good Judge will never say upon this Occasion, that of a good Original he has made a bad Copy, applying the Words of *Terence*.

Qui bene vertendo, & eas describendo male, ex
Græcis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas (4).

(4) Terent.
Prol. Eu-
nuch.

I beseech the Reader not to take me wrong: I grant, not only that the *Ambiphryon* of Plautus is one of his best Pieces, but also that it is most excellent in some Respects. It seems it was still acted in the Time of *Arnobius*. "Ponit animos Jupiter, si *Ambiphryon* fuerit actus pronuntiatusque Plautinus (5)."
"Jupiter lays by haughty Carriage, in the Representation of the *Ambiphryon* of Plautus." I wish we had the *Ambiphryon* of Euripides, and the two *Ambiphryons* of *Archipous*.

(5) Arnob.
lib. 7. pag.
238.

[C] In delivering up the Flocks to their Master, be bad the Misfortune to be the innocent Cause of the Death of that unhappy Prince.] The thing fell out thus: "Cum bos una aufergeret, in ipsam Amphitryonem tam quam manibus forte clavam gestabat immisit, quæ de bovis cornibus repulsa in Electryonem caput reiliens ipsum vita privavit (6). ----- One of the Cows endeavouring to run away, Amphitryon threw a Club after it, which be happened to have in his Hand; which rebounding from the Horns of the Cow dashed against Electryon's Head, and killed him." In the Supplement to Moreri's Dictionary instead of a Club it is a Stone.

(6) Apollod.
lib. 2. p. 99.

[D] He made Preparations for a War against the Teleboæi. I observe in another Place (7), who the Teleboæi were, and wherein Apollodorus, whom I follow, differs from the Scholiast on Apollonius.

[E] *A Condition, which he required of the Person, who desired to marry her.*] We shall see in the Article, to which I refer the Reader in the foregoing Remark, that *Alcmena* chiefly required, that the Death of her Father should be revenged.

(7) In the
Article TE-
LEBOES.

B b b b

[F] Pub

tripled the length of the Night, in order to carefs her the longer [F]. It is not true, that *Amphitryon* taught Men to mix Water with their Wine [G]. *Alcmena* survived her Husband (d). The Ruins of their House were still to be seen at *Thebes*, in the Time of *Paufanias* (e). We must remember, that *Amphitryon* was born at *Argos* (f). Some Authors call him King of *Thebes* (g).

(d) *Paufan.*
lib. 1. p. 39.

(e) *Id.* lib. 5.
pag. 29c.

(f) *Apollod.*
lib. 2. p. 97.

(g) *Virgil.*
Æneid. l. 6.
ver. 785.

[F] Put an Ornament on her Head, which informed the World, that Jupiter had tripled the Length of the Night, in order to carefs her the longer (8).] This is very singular. She might have been satisfied with seeing the Head of her Husband loaded with Horn-work and half Moons, which might have vied with the Towers of the Goddess *Cybele*.

----- qualis Berecynthia mater

Invehitur eurna Phrygiæ turrita per urbes (9).

High as the Mother of the Gods -----

Then, when in Pomp she makes the Phrygian round,
With Golden Turrets on her Temples crown'd.

DRYDEN.

Why did she wear three entire Moons on her Fore-head?

----- parvoque Alcmena superbit

Hercule, tergemina crinem circumdata Luna (10).

Proud of her Son, behold Alcmena wear

Three Moons, an Ornament to grace her Hair.

Most Interpreters understand these three Moons to be a Symbol of the three Nights, which *Jupiter* passed with her. A fine Trophy for poor *Amphitryon*! A noble Monument of the Safety of his Honour! Would he have every one, who looked on her Head-dress, remember the triple Night, which her Charms had produced. Her Husband could not be well pleased with such a Dress. I appeal to *Mother*, who makes him approve the Reflexions of his Servant. *Amphitryon's* Friends being informed, that *Jupiter* was willing to make amends for the Injury, began to express their Joy: But *Sofia* interrupted them.

Messieurs, voulez-vous bien suivre mon sentiment?

Ne vous embarez nullement,

Dans ces douceurs congratulantes:

C'est un mauvais embarrquement,

Et d'une & d'autre part, pour un tel compliment.

Les phrases sont embarrassantes.

Le grand Dieu *Jupiter* nous fait beaucoup d'honneur,

Et la bonté sans doute est pour nous sans seconde,

Il nous promet l'infailible bonheur,

D'une fortune en mille biens seconde,

Et chez nous il doit naître un fils d'un très-grand cœur;

Tout cela va le mieux du monde.

ANABAPTISTS, a Sect, which sprung up soon after the Rise of *Lutheranism*. *Nicolas Storch*, *Mark Stubner*, and *Thomas Munzer*, gave birth to it, in the Year 1521. It was founded upon the Abuse of a Doctrine, which they had read in a Book, published by *Luther*, in the Year 1520, *De Libertate Christianâ*. This Proposition, which they met with in it, *A Christian Man is Master of every thing, and is subject to no one*, and which *Luther* intended in a very good Sense [A], seemed to them

[A] It was founded upon the Abuse of a Proposition ----- which *Luther* intended in a very good Sense.] Namely That, which he affixed to it, in explaining his meaning, when he perceived in what manner these People perverted his Expressions. "Quæ verba sano sensu à Luthero — Scripta & "prolixè ἐξηγήτης declarata, oppositæque aphorismo, eundem omnium seruum esse, & omnibus "subiectum, exposita, detorta fuere in sensum sequiorem ab hominibus suæ pariter & alienæ quietis impatientibus (1). — Which Words, written and "interpreted by *Luther* in a good Sense, and explained "by the opposite *Abhorism*, The same is a Servant "of All, and Subject to All, were perverted to a "worse meaning by Men, impatient of their Own, "and the Peace of Others." His most zealous Adversaries confessed, that he disapproved of a seditious

Mais enfin coupons aux discours,
Et que chacun chez soi doucement se retire.
Sur telles affaires toujours
Le meilleur est de ne rien dire.

Gentlemen, will you please to follow my Advice?
— By no means embark in these Congratulations: 'tis a scurvy Venture: and both one side and t'other is at a loss to find Expressions for such a Compliment. The great God *Jupiter* does us abundance of Honour, and his Goodness towards us is, undoubtedly, not to be equalled; he promises us the certain Felicity of a Fortune, abounding with a thousand Blessings; and in our House shall be born a mighty stout-hearted Son. — All this goes on the best that can be. But, in short, let's cut the Discourse off here, and let every Body go Home in Peace. In these kind of Affairs, 'tis always best to say nothing.

MOLIERE translated by several Hands.

Amphitryon found this so reasonable, that by his Silence, he gave entire consent to it.

[G] It is not true, that *Amphitryon* taught Men to mix Water with their Wine. If *Athenæus* may be believed, this Invention is another's (11). But this other's Name being *Amphitryon*, a learned Critic has confounded him with the Husband of *Alcmena*. I make no doubt, that the like Mistakes often occasion the various Opinions, which are to be found among Authors. Read *Athenæus*, and you will say that *Amphitryon*, King of *Athenæ*, invented the mixing of Water with Wine. Read *Cassaubon* and you will ascribe this Secret to *Amphitryon*, King of *Thebes*. Whence it will happen, that some pretty good Compilers will form two Opinions: Some, will they say, ascribe this Invention to *Amphitryon*, and others to *Amphitryon*. *Cassaubon's* Words are: "Quod mox de Amphitryonis (I make no Alteration in the Orthography of the Words) invento temperandi vinum sequitur quo pertinet subobscure est. Spectat autem eo, ne quis miretur, quod postea dicit *Homerum* varia temperamenta vini habuisse nota, cum τὸς τὴ οὖν κρητῶνος inventor sit *Amphitryon*, quem ante *Iliacæ* Tempora *Thebis* regnasse nemo dubitat. (12). — The Design of mentioning *Amphitryon's* Invention of tempering Wine is to prevent any one's being surprized, to find, that *Homer* was acquainted with the various ways of mixing Wine, since no one doubts, that *Amphitryon*, the Inventor, reigned at *Thebes* before the Trojan War."

(f) *Plaut.*
Amphitr. in
Prolog.

(g) *Servius*
in *Æneid.*
lib. 8. ver.
103.

(11) *Athenæ.*
lib. 4. cap.
27. p. 179.

(12) *Cassaub.*
in *Athenæ.*
p. 323, 324.

(1) *Frider.*
Spanhemius,
de Origine,
Progressu,
Sectis, &
Nominibus,
Anabaptis-
tarum, p. 106.
I made use of
the Edition
inserted
in the *Gan-*
græna Theo-
logiæ Ana-
baptistice of
Cloppen-
bourg.

(2) *Maim-*
bourg's Hi-
story of Lu-
theranism,
Book 1.
pag. 114.
Dutch Edit.

Behaviour, which seemed to be accidentally owing to his Doctrine. Father *Maimbourg* relates, that the Rebels, having sent their public Declaration to *Martin Luther*, were disappointed in their Expectation of it's receiving his Approbation (2): "For, adds "he, *Luther* perceiving that many accused him of "giving Occasion to this Rebellion, by the Books, "which he had written in the Vulgar Tongue, in "Defence of Evangelical Liberty, against the Ty- "ranny of those, who overlaid it by human Tradi- "tions, answered this Accusation in a long Dis- "course, in which he shews them, that the Scrip- "ture enjoins Obedience to Princes and Magistrates, "even though they should abuse the Power, "which God has intrusted them with; that they "ought to address themselves to God, and in "the mean time suffer with Patience, in Expecta- "tion

them calculated to influence the Vulgar. This they employ'd all their Industry in doing, each according to his Abilities. *Storch*, being wholly illiterate, boasted of Divine Inspiration. *Stubner*, who had Wit and Knowledge, looked out for crafty Explanations of the Word of God. *Munzer*, who was bold and vehement, trusted to Assurance, and gave the Reins to the most restless and disorderly Passions. They were not satisfied with decrying the Ecclesiastical Tyranny of the Court of *Rome*, and the Authority of Consistories; they taught likewise, that the Power of Princes was meer Usurpation, and that, under the Gospel, Men ought to enjoy full and absolute Liberty. They re-baptized their Followers; and, the better to encourage this Practice, they taught that *Infant-Baptism* was invalid. As to the rest of their Tenets, they insisted much on strict Morality; they recommended Mortifications, Fasts, and a Simplicity of Dress; by which means they gained a prodigious number of Followers. After these successful Beginnings, *Munzer* became so rash, as loudly to exhort the People to resist Magistrates, and constrain Princes to divest themselves of their Authority. A Gospel of this kind was so pleasing to the Peasants of *Germany*, who were weary of their Masters Yoke, that they rose in several Places, and committed infinite Disorders. They were soon reduced, and great numbers put to death. *Munzer*, who had seduced them by his Pretences to Inspiration (a), was taken, and beheaded, in the Year 1525 (b). His Disciples, whom he had left in *Switzerland*, increased the Sect in that Country, and were the occasion of great Troubles; inasmuch that the Magistrates were obliged to have recourse to the most severe penal Laws, to stop the Progress of *Anabaptism*. The same was necessary in several Towns of *Germany*, and other Places. The Protestant Clergy, it is true, were very diligent in refuting these Sectaries; but as this was found not effectual, the Magistrates interposed, and supplied this Defect by their Authority [B]. The

(a) See his
Article.

(b) *Munzer* is
mistaken in
saying, that
this Heresi-
arch pre-
tended, about
the Year
1542, that
the Holy
Ghost re-
vealed to
him, &c.

Anabaptists

"tion of his good Pleasure; and that the Way of
"Arms, which they had taken up, would be the
"Occasion of their Damnation, if they refused to
"lay them down." We shall see in the Article
MUNZER, that he rejected the Propositions of
this Fanatic.

[B] The Protestant Clergy were very diligent in
refuting these Sectaries; but — the Magistrates inter-
posed — with their Authority.] It would have
been difficult for the most violent Opposers of Lu-
theranism to conceive a more effectual way of stifling
it in the Birth, than this Schism of *Munzer* and
his Adherents. They preached up a Doctrine destruc-
tive of all Society, and they put it in practice with
inconceivable Havock and Devastation. They had
been united to *Luther*, and agreed with him in
this, that Christianity ought to be reformed accord-
ing to the pure Word of God (3). Thus the Re-
sultment, conceived against *them*, recoiled upon *him*,
and his Followers; and, when Men beheld the fatal
Consequences, which the Enterprize of the Re-
formation had so soon produced, they were tempted
to believe, that it was not the Work of God. This,
no doubt greatly retarded the Progress of *The Reform*.
We are not to wonder, that the Protestant Divines
called it the Depths of *Satan*; and said, that the
Enemy of our Salvation had made use of this Arti-
fice to support his Kingdom against the new Apostles,
which God had raised up against him (4). This
Language is the natural Result of Theological Hy-
potheses. The Disputants of the Romish Party took
Advantage of this Conjunction with extraordinary
Addresses, to cry down the Reformation, and to ani-
mate all the Powers against it. But the Reformers
were not less vigilant to guard against the *Odium*,
which their Enemies attempted to throw upon them.
They exclaimed with all their Force against the *Ana-
baptists*; they refuted them by Writing; they engaged
them in Disputation as much as possible. "Ut
"labem istam sibi eque ac doctrinæ Evangelicæ ad-
"spersam abstergerem, Heroes illi Dei causam
"publicis scriptis sibi agendam censuerunt. Quod inter al-
"ios alacriter præstitere *Lutherus, Melancthon, Zwing-
"lius, Bullingerus, Menius, Regius*, alii; et in seditiones
"et seditiosos graviter investiti, subditos peruelles, de
"suo erga potestates superiores officio ex Dei verbo
"monendo, tribunitios istos concionatores perstrin-
"gendo, & omnes ad quietam & debitam Principibus
"suis reverentiam hortando, nihil reliqui fecerunt, ut im-
"petum hominum ad scelera & cruces furibundis ani-
"mis ruentium sufflaminarent. *Lutherus* vel impi-
"mis concitator non *παροτρυντικὰ* tantum scripta
"contra seditiosos, verum etiam *κατακλιτικὰ* emisit,
"et peculiari libello contra *Saturnos & Homicidas*
"Russicos vulgato ipse classicum in illos cecinit, *Fris-*

"cipes hortatus, ut vi & armis atrociorum islo-
"rum impetum sicerent, & eos ad quietem coge-
"rent, qui persuaderi nollent (5). — To wipe off
"these Aspersions from themselves and the Doctrine
"of the Gospel, these Heroes determined publicly to
"write in Defence of the Cause of God. This was
"readily undertaken, among others, by *Luther*,
"Melancthon, Zwinglius, Bullinger, Menius, Re-
"gius, &c. who inveighed strongly against Sedition
"and the Seditious, admonishing rebellious Subjects,
"from the Word of God, of their Duty towards
"the higher Powers; reproving those turbulent Ha-
"ranguers of the Mob; and exhorting all to a peace-
"able and due Reverence for their Princes: in short
"they omitted nothing, which might restrain the Fury
"of Persons, rubbing on to Acts of Villany and Out-
"rage. *Luther* in particular, more zealous than the
"rest, published not only Exhortatory Writings, but
"even Invectives against the Seditious; and, in a
"singular Work against the rustic Robbers and Mur-
"derers, sounded the Alarm against them, exhorting
"Princes to repress by Force of Arms their violent
"Proceedings, and oblige those to be quiet by Com-
"pulsion, who refused to be so by Persuasion." The
"Minister, whose *Latin* I cite, mentions certain Towns,
"in which these Sectaries were confounded in Dispu-
"tation; but the Burden of the Song is always, that
"at the last the Magistrates exerted their Authority.
"He tells us, that, at *Zurich*, the Heads of the *Ana-
baptists*, having disputed three times, to their Confu-
"sion, with *Zwinglius* (6), were condemned to Silence
"by a solemn Decree. "Senatus Tigurinus solenni
"Edito Pædobaptismum facit, & Anabaptismi Do-
"ctrinæ silentium & quietem imperat (7). — The
"Senate of *Zurich* confirms *Infant-Baptism* by a
"solemn Edit, and enjoins the Teachers of *Anabap-
"tism* to be silent." *Balthasar Habmeyer*, one of
"them, having promised to make a public Recantation,
"yet continuing to preach up his Errors, was com-
"pelled to abjure them, and then expelled the City (8). (8) *Id. ib.*

(5) *Spanh.*
ubi supra,
pag. 198.

(6) In Janu-
ary, March,
and Novem-
ber, 1525.

(7) *Spanh.*
ubi supra,
pag. 202.

(8) *Id. ib.*

(9) *Id. ib.*

"cit;

(3) See
Spanhem.
ubi supra.

(4) See the
Remark
[KK] of
the Article
MAHO-
MET.

Anabaptists made a considerable Progress in *Moravia*, and would have done so more, in spite of the Severity, with which they were opposed by the Secular Arm, had they not been divided into two Factions (c). No Town was more infested with these People, than That of *Munster* [C]. Every one knows, that they became Masters of it; and that *John of Leyden*, King of this New Jerusalem, defended himself as long as he could; but that at length, the Town being taken, he was put to death in the Year 1536. The *Anabaptists* of *Friesland* and *Holland* disapproved, in many things, of the Conduct of their Brothers of *Munster*; and yet they were the occasion of great Troubles (d). One of their principal Chiefs was named *Mennon*. The most effectual Means that could be thought of were put in practice for the Extirpation of this Sect; but in vain (e). It still subsists in the *United Provinces*. It is true, the principal Follies of the Sect have by degrees been worn off [D]: It no longer pretends to

Enthusiasm;

(c) That of the Hutterians, and that of the Gabrielists.

(d) See Remark [D] of the Article PICARDS.

(10) Spanhemius, ubi supra, pag. 203.

(11) Id. ib. p. 203, 204.

(12) Turbines urbe ejecti fuerunt. Id. ib. pag. 204.

(13) Id. ib.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 205.

(15) Id. ib. pag. 212.

(17) Hornbeek summa Controversie. pag. 381.

(18) Id. ib.

(19) Id. ib. citing Strada's Hist. Belg. lib. 4.

* An invincible Argument is proverbially called Argumentum Achilleum. See the Article ACHILLES, Remark [L]. REM. CRIT.

(20) He was Governor of the Sons of the Duke of Cleves, and afterwards Counsellor to the Duke, and was at the Siege of Munster.

"cit; actoribus vero pervicacibus non item; ita in prudentissimi senatus, & strenui Gloriar divinarum vindicis, in Anabaptistarum sectariis coecondendis auctoritate, Ecclesiarum Basilienfis tranquillitati simul & puritati confulendum ibidem fuerit (10)." They were refuted at *Bern*, in a public Disputation, in the Year 1527; yet they privately declared, that their own Reasons still appeared to them to be good. In order therefore to confirm the Triumph of Truth, another Disputation was appointed; which lasted nine Days. The Acts of it were published. This had great Effect; but the rigorous Edicts of the Senate of *Bern* were incomparably more useful (11). These seditious Persons would have established their safe Retreat at *St Gall*, had not the Magistrates banished them from thence (12). It was there, that *Thomas Schucker* cut off his Brother's Head, in the Year 1527. He called together a numerous Assembly, and declared to the Company, that he perceived himself under the Influence of the Spirit of God. Upon which, he commanded his Brother to kneel down, and took a Sword. His Father, and Mother, and some others, demanded what he was about to do. *Be satisfied*, replied he, *I will do nothing but what is revealed to me by our heavenly Father*. The Company waited impatiently for the Event; when they saw him draw the Sword, and cut off his Brother's Head. He was punished by the Magistrates as his Crime deserved; but he shewed no Signs of Repentance, and declared upon the Scaffold, that he had only executed the Orders of God. You may imagine, that the Decrees of Banishment were repeated with greater Severity, upon such an Instance of Fanaticism (13). At *Strasbourg*, there were both Disputations, and rigorous Edicts, against this Sect (14). *Melchior Hofman*, one of it's Ringleaders, was confined there, and died in Prison (15). The Sect spread itself over *Moravia*, *Bohemia*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, and *Silesia*. Some of it's Heads were delivered over to the Executioner. *Balthasar Hubmeyer*, being conducted to *Vienna*, was burnt there. This Execution passed with the Sect for a Martyrdom, and inflamed their Zeal.

Add to this, that, upon their first Arrival in *England*, in the Year 1560, *Queen Elizabeth*, by a Proclamation, commanded them instantly to leave the Kingdom (17). The Elector *Palatine* drove them out of his Dominions, in the Year 1594. The Diets of *Spire*, in the Years 1529, and 1544, and That of *Ausbourg*, in the Year 1551, put out cruel and bloody Decrees against them (18). *Philip II.* ordered the Governours of the *Netherlands* to be very severe in punishing the *Anabaptists* (19). Consult the Annals of this Sect, composed by *Henry Ottius*; you will there find an ample Recital of all the Edicts published against them in several Parts of Europe. What is sometimes said of Artillery, that it is the last Argument of Kings, *Ratio ultima Regum*, is applicable to penal Laws: they are the *Ratio ultima* of Divines, their most convincing Argument, their *Abilities*, &c.

[C] No Town was more infested with these People, than that of *Munster*.] What passed in this Town, from the time that *Anabaptism* got footing in it, to the Death of *John of Leyden*, is one of the most memorable Events of the XVIth Century. We meet with an Account of it in several Books. See particularly the Letter, which was written to *Erasmus* by *Conrad Heresbachius* (20), in the Year 1536, and which was printed at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1637, cum *Hypomnematis ac notis Theologicis, Historicis, ac Politicis, Theodorici Strachii, Pastoris Padericensis*. See likewise *Lambert Hortensius's* Book, *De Tumultibus Anabap-*

tistarum, That of *John Wigand*, *De Anabaptismo Publicato*, and the Relation of *Henry Dorpius*, a Citizen of *Munster*, published in the Year 1536.

[§ Mr BAYLE has omitted, through inadvertence I believe, a Latin Heroic Poem in two Books, composed by *Herman Kersebroeck*, recited by the Author in a full Assembly of the University of *Cologne*, and printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1445, in 8vo. This Piece is dedicated to the Bishop of *Munster* and *Osnabrug*, *Francis*, Count of *Waldeck*; and the Title is, *Belli Monasteriensis contra Anabaptistica Monstra Geſti brevis atque succincta descriptio*. REM. CRIT.]

[D] The principal Follies of this Sect have by Degrees been worn off.] It is upon this Account, that the *Anabaptists* of these times complain, that they are refuted in the same manner their Ancestors were. An illustrious Divine of the *Dutch Academy* found himself exposed to this Censure, in a Letter, which an *Anabaptist* published in *Dutch*; but he replied to the Author, that he did not pretend to impute all the Errors he had taken notice of to the Sect in general. "Has (Sectis) ut minime confundimus in controversiis singulis, ita nec notatos errores omnes omnibus imputamus ---- minus volumus imputatos illis qui intra *Waterlandorum* dictas confessiones, bona fide, procul fallaciis Mennoniticis, hæerere sese profitentur. Absit ut cuicumq; invito & deprecanti Hæresim impingamus! Sed nec illi aliorum apologiam suscipiant, aut alios esse ac fuisse negent, quos hic Elenchus sub generali *Enthusiastarum* & *Anabaptistarum* nomine, ne sciat Juventus nostra, coarguit. Factum tamen novissime, ut diximus modo, à *Rypensi* scriptore *Epistolæ* in modum Belgico sermone mihi opponenda. Qui errores hic complures notatos dum à suis *Waterlandis* amolitur, si modo verè & sincerè, hoc ipso non se aut suos in talibus controversiis peti, sed familias alias ex dicto grege, intellexisse debuit. Frustra ergo est omnis ipsius expostulatio, quasi ignorem quid *Rypenses* *Anabaptistæ* sentiant, aut quasi *Lectoribus* meis imponam (21). ---- As I do not confound these several Sects in particular Controversies, so neither do I impute all the Errors, which I remark, to All without Distinction ---- much less would I impute them to those, who profess to adhere to the aforeſaid Confessions of the *Waterlandians*, in Sincerity, and free from the Fallacies of *Mennon*. Far be it from me to fix Heresy upon any Man against his Will, and against his express Declaration to the contrary. But let not such Men undertake the Defence of others, and deny that there are, or ever were, such others, as this Table, for the Information of our Youth, reprehends under the general Name of *Enthusiasts* and *Anabaptists*. Yet this was lately done, as I observed before, by the *Rypensian* Author of an Epistle against me in the Dutch Language. Who, whilst he endeavours to vindicate his own *Waterlandians* from many Errors here taken notice of, if indeed he does it with Truth and Sincerity, might in this very Attempt have seen, that neither himself nor his Friends were aimed at in such kind of Controversies; which were levelled against other Folds of the aboveſaid Flock. All his Expostulation therefore, insinuating that I am unacquainted with the Opinions of the *Anabaptists* of *Rypen*, and that I impose upon my Readers, is nothing to the Purpose." Hornbeek has been so just, as not to impute the Heresies of particular Persons to the Sect in general. "Hic quidem imprimis à communibus illorum & singularibus cœtum dogmatibus discernenda sunt propria aliqua doctorum ipsorum (22). ---- We must here distinguish between

(c) T. Ken from a Dissertation of Frider. Spanhem. ubi supra, De Origine, Progressu, & Nominibus Anabaptistarum; printed at Leyden. John Clappenburg has inserted it in his *Gangæne Theologie Anabaptistice*, printed at Francfort in 1556, in 4to.

(21) Frider. Spanhem. F. filius, in Elencho Controversiarum pag. 87. Edit. Amst. 1694.

(22) Hornbeek summa Controversie. pag. 183.

Enthusiasm; it does not oppose Magistrates; nor does it at present preach up an entire Freedom from all Subjection, a Community of Goods, and the like. It has been split into a great Variety of Subdivisions [E]; as must always happen to every Sect, which is not supported by Authority. It boasts of a great number of Martyrs [F]; It's Martyrology is a large Volume in Folio. I believe no Author has represented this Sect with so much Justice, as *George Cassander* [G]. The Protestant Divines

"the particular Opinions of some learned Men among them, and the common and singular Tenets of the Self." He mentions two by Name, the Opinion of *James Outreman*, and That of *Wicks Wallis*. The former admits three Essences in the Deity, and pretends, that the Essence of the Father is confined to Heaven, and does not pass this Boundary. The other teaches, that *Judas* was a good Man, and that he was saved; that he committed no Crime in betraying *JESUS CHRIST*; that the Priests and Scribes were no more guilty, in persecuting our Lord even to Death; and that both the Thieves were saved. *Outreman* taught at *Harlem* in 1605. *Wallis* taught in the Territory of *Groningen*, in 1673. He was banished from the Province; and, as he retired into *Friesland*, the Protestant Synod, which was held at *Franker*, in the Year 1644, caused him to be expelled that Country.

[E] It has been split into a great Variety of Subdivisions. I should be afraid of tiring my Readers, were I to produce here the Catalogue of the several *Anabaptist Sects*: I shall content myself therefore with pointing out a Book, where the Curiosity of those, who desire to see this List, may be satisfied. Consult, then, the Preface to *John Henry Ottius's Annals* of Anabaptism.

[F] It boasts of a great Number of Martyrs. Could it only produce those, who were put to Death for Attempts against the Government, it's bulky Martyrology would make but a ridiculous Figure; but it is certain, that several *Anabaptists*, who suffered Death courageously for their Opinions, had never any Intention of rebelling. Give me leave to cite an Evidence, which cannot be suspected. It is that of a Writer, who has exerted his whole Force in refuting this Sect (23). He observes, that it's great Progress was owing to three Things. The first was, that it's Teachers despatched their Hearers with numberless Passages of Scripture: The second, that they affected a great Appearance of Sanctity: The third, that their Followers discovered great Constancy in their Sufferings and Deaths. He shews, that not one of these three Particulars is a Mark of Orthodoxy. Concerning the last, he expresses himself thus. "The third Distinction, by which the *Anabaptists* seduce the Simple and Wavering, is their Contancy in Sufferings and Death. But this can never make their Anti-Christian Doctrine good and wholesome; since, according to St *Cyprian*, it is not the Punishment that makes the Martyr, but the Cause, for which he suffers. The Scripture (24) assures us, that those only are truly Martyrs and Saints, who suffer for Righteousness, for Truth, and for the Name of *CHRIST*. But the *Anabaptists*, which is to be lamented, do not suffer for this Truth, but for a Doctrine of Anti-Christ. And surely Princes and Kings do not take the proper Method to extirpate this Sect, when they put to death these ignorant Wretches, the greatest part of whom have been seduced. They should rather imitate the good Kings *Exechias* and *Josias*, who extirpated all kinds of Idolatry out of their Kingdom, and, as far as they could, reformed the true Religion. Thus they should cause the true Apostolical Doctrine to be publicly preached; and, when this done, I am of Opinion, there would be no Occasion for so much Fire, to put to death these poor, ignorant, seduced, People (25)." Afterwards he alleges Examples of Persons, who have suffered courageously, though not in the Cause of Justice. He instances in the impenitent Thief, the *Essenians*, the Popish Martyrs, *Arians*, *Mahometans*, and the Philosophers *Zeno*, and *Socrates*. But he gives not the least Hint, that the *Anabaptist* Martyrs suffered Death for taking up Arms against the State, or stirring up the People to Rebellion. He represents their Martyrs, as weak, ignorant, People. See what is cited below, in relation to *George Cassander*.

Observe, by the Way, that this Author refutes his Adversaries, just as the Catholics refute the Protestants.

V O L I.

"The first Mark, says he (26), by which they impose upon so many People, is, when, without Sense, Judgment, or Reason, they quote numberless Texts of Scripture at random, as if they fed upon the Bible; whereas, generally speaking, they know not an Hawk from an Handlaw, according to the Proverb. However, the poor Wretches are at a stand, and amazed at such a Profusion of Scripture; and believe they have met with most learned Instructors. But I beseech these poor Wretches to consider, that there never was an Heresy, which did not make use of Scripture, by corrupting and perverting it, to support it's Blasphemies. The Knowledge of Scripture is not the Occasion of Error and Heresy, but the contrary, according to Christ. Do ye not therefore err, because ye know not the Scripture? As to the second Mark, by which the *Anabaptists* seduce and subvert the Minds of the Simple, namely, the Appearance of Sanctity,"

he proves by Examples, that it is often the Character of false Teachers. It is certain, that the Catholics had to reply to these three Difficulties, I. That the Protestants talk of nothing but the Bible, and are for ever citing it; II. That they condemn Dancing, Finery, frequenting Taverns, &c. III. That many among them die courageously for their Religion. They refute these Difficulties, just as the Protestant Author above-mentioned has refuted them. This is a farther Proof, how greatly prejudicial the Sect of the *Anabaptists* has been to the Protestants; who were obliged to refute it by Arguments, which were turned against themselves by the Papists.

There are some *Anabaptists*, likewise, in the Martyrology of *Geneva*. Take notice, that they have published two Martyrologies, one at *Harlem*, in the Year 1615, the other at *Horn*, in 1617. These two Works discovered the Disagreement between the *Anabaptists*; for those of *Horn* censured (27) the Martyrology of *Harlem*, as an unfair Work. In answer to this Censure (28), they had recourse to Recrimination; they charged the Compilers of the Martyrology of *Harlem* with inserting Persons, who had subscribed the Confession of the Reformed, in relation to the Article of the Incarnation of *JESUS CHRIST* (29). The principal Compiler of the Martyrology of *Horn*, was one *James Outreman*. The Preface to this Work is as injurious to the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, as to the Papists: It accuses them all of Tyranny (30).

[G] No Author has represented this Sect with so much Justice as *George Cassander*. He says, that the *Mennonites* discovered an honest Mind, a pious Mind; and that they erred from the Faith through a mistaken Zeal, rather than an evil Disposition; that they condemned the outrageous Behaviour of their Brethren of *Munster*; that they taught, that the Kingdom of *JESUS CHRIST* was to be established only by the Cross: They deserve therefore, adds he, to be pitted and instructed, rather than to be persecuted; and he applies to them a fine Passage of St *Austin*. "Hujus, quem dixi, Mennonis, cui nunc hic Theodoricus successit, Seditores ferè sunt omnes, qui per hæc Belgicæ & Germaniæ inferioris loca huic Anabaptistice Hæresi affines deprehenduntur; in quibus magna ex parte pii cujusdam animi Argumenta certas, qui, imperito quodam zelo incitati, errore potius quam animi malitia à vero divinarum literarum sensu, & concordati totius Ecclesiæ consensu, desciverunt; quod ex eo percipi potest, quod Monasterienfibus & Batenburgicis furoribus, novam quandam restitutionem regni Christi, quod in delatione impiorum per vim externam positum sit, meditantibus, acerrimè semper resisterunt, & in sola Cruce regni Christi inlaurationem & propagationem consistere docuerunt; quo fit, ut qui hujusmodi sunt, commiseratione potius & emendatione quam insectatione & perditione digni videantur. His enim multo magis convenire videtur, quod de Manichæis disputans inquit Augustinus †. Quan-

(26) Ibid. pag. 5.

• Mark xii. 24.

(27) In the Preface to the Edition of 1625.

(28) They answered it in a Dutch Piece printed at Harlem in 1630, and compiled by *Haris Alenfon*.

(29) Ottius's Annals, ad ann. 1615. num. 6. pag. 233.

(30) Id. ib. ann. 1626. num. 2. pag. 251.

† Contra E-pistolam Fundamentis

(23) Guy de Bres, Epistle Dedicatory to his Racine, Source & Fondement des Anabaptistes. This Book was printed in 1565.

(24) Matth. v. 11. 1 Pet. iv. 20. 1 Joh. iv. 3.

(25) Guy de Bres, ubi supra, p. 9.

Divines have zealously opposed It in the *United Provinces*, and have obtained at different Times several Edicts to restrain it [H]. Yet it continues to be tolerated there. They say that Mr *van Beuning* reasoned one Day upon this Affair with Mr *de Turenne* [I] in a very strong and lively manner. The Books, which have been wrote concerning

"quam Dominus per servos suos regna subvertat Erroris, ipsos tamen homines, in quantum homines sunt, emendandos esse potius quam perdendos jubet. — Atque Utinam, qui atrociores in hocce miseros sunt animo, mansuetudinem & prudentiam hujus sancti viri imitentur, qui in disputatione adversus Manichæos — his verba est usus §. Illi, inquit, in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniunt, & quam difficile caveantur Errores. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris Hominis, ut possit intueri solem suum. Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis & gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantalacunque parte possit intelligi Deus (31). —

(31) G. Casfander, Præfat. Tractat. de Baptismo Infantium.

"Almost all those of Lower Germany, who lean to the Anabaptist Herefy, are followers of Mennon, who is now succeeded by Theodoric; in which People you may, in general, discover Marks of a certain pious Disposition of Mind; who, carried away by a Zeal, not according to Knowledge, have, erroneously, not maliciously, departed from the true Sense of the Inspired Writings, and the general Consent of the whole Church; which is evident from hence, in that they always strenuously opposed the rash Attempts of those of Munster, who were contriving a new sort of Establishment of the Kingdom of CHRIST, which consisted in destroying the Impious, by external Force; and have always taught, that the Establishment and Propagation of CHRIST's Kingdom depended solely upon the Cross; whence it is, that such Persons as these seem rather to merit Pity and Instruction, than Persecution and Extirpation. And indeed St Austin's Words, in his Controversy with the Manichæans, is more applicable to these People. Though the Lord, says he, overthrows the Kingdom of Error by his Servants, yet he commands that Men, considered as Men, should be instructed and set right, not destroyed. — And I heartily wish, that they, who are so very angry with these poor Creatures, would imitate the Temper and Prudence of this holy Man, who, in his Controversy with the Manichæans, expressed himself thus. Let those, says he, be angry with you, who know not the Difficulty of coming at Truth, and avoiding Error. Let those be angry with you, who know not the Difficulty of curing the Mind's Eye, and enabling it to bear the Light of it's proper Sun. Let those, I say, be angry with you, who know not what sobat Groaning and Pains the least Knowledge of the Deity is acquired." Thus our Author expresses himself in a Book, which he dedicated to the Duke of Cleves, in which he proves, that Infant Baptism was always allowed by the Primitive Church. He looked upon the universal Consent of all Christians for many Centuries, as so strong, a Proof that a Doctrine is Apostolical, that he thought the Anabaptists could not be better refuted, than by the force of this Argument. He had experienced it's Virtue; for he tells us, that an Anabaptist Teacher, who was Prisoner in the Castle of Cleves, together with several of his Adherents, were converted, upon seeing this Collection of Testimonies, in proof of the Antiquity of Tradition in this Point. It was this, which induced Cassander to publish his Work. Let me observe, that he had two Conferences with the Anabaptists, the first at Cologne, with one Matthias, in the Year 1556; the other with John Kremer, who was Prisoner in the County of Mark, in the Year 1558. I transpose the Method of the Writer I borrowed this from; for his Iterum is a Contradiction. "Georgius Cassander, says he (32), bis cum illis coram disputavit, de quo inter cetera Operasol. "1227: semel cum Johanne Kremer, a. c. 1558 LVIII, captivo in comitatu Marciæ, iterum, a. c. 1558 LVI, cum Matthia aliquo, Coloniae."

(32) Hornbeck, summa Controversæ. p. 394.

[H] The Protestant Divines have zealously opposed this Sect in the *United Provinces*, and have obtained several Edicts to restrain it. They have often challenged the Anabaptists to Disputation. The Synod of Horn passed an Act hereupon, and even had recourse to the Authority of the Governor. "Ecclesie nostræ semper bonum ac utile censuerunt, Adversarios ad Disputationem & Colloquia provocare. Synodus

"Hornana, a. c. 1558 LXXX, & a. c. 1558 LXXVI, implorata eum in finem Gubernatoris Theod. Sonoyi auctoritate — decernit provocandum, &c. (33)" Three or four Synods passed like Acts before the End of the XVIth Century (34). The Churches thought proper, in the Year 1599, to compose a Work, comprehending a Body of Anabaptist Controversies. Arminius, Minister of Amsterdam, undertook it, and began it; but laid it aside, when he was made Professor of Divinity at Leyden; and alledged the Reasons, in the Synod of Alenar in 1605, why he could not go on with such a Work. The Synod of Enchuse, in the Year 1624, employed two Ministers to examine the Confessions of the Mennonites, and discuss the Points in question. One of them being left alone, in the Year 1626, demanded a new Partner; the Synod of Amsterdam, in 1628, appointed Dorellaar to be his Assistant. They applied themselves diligently to their Commission, and published a very good Book, in Dutch, in the Year 1637. It is a Body of Anabaptist Controversies; in which the Variations of this Sect are exactly distinguished (35). The Author, who tells us these Particulars, observes, that the Churches, in Conjunction with the Secular Arm, took care, that this Sect should not encrease; they stand Centinel, says he, to check it, if it produces new Branches, or attempts to exceed it's Bounds. Pro cœrendis aut noviter pullulantibus aut sua pomaria extendentibus juxta cum Politicis Ecclesiæ vigilant (36). He adds, that the Synod of Friesland is perpetually solliciting the States of that Province, to revive the Edict, which was published against the Anabaptists, in the Year 1598; and that they press the Execution of it, with regard to the new Assemblies, and new Places of Worship, which this Sect has ventured to set up. He adds farther, that it being discovered, that the Synod of the Anabaptists, held at Haerlem, in the Month of July, 1649, had set up several new Congregations, it behoved the Orthodox Pastors to restrain, by some Means or other, these Innovations; and the rather, as they were authorized so to do, by an Edict of the Year 1651, by which their High Mightinesses decree, that the Sects should be restrained, and not suffered to spread. Sectas cobendas & in ordinem redigendas, neque permittendum ut in plura loca quam bodie sunt diffundantur (37). After the same manner, the Protellants, in France, were forbid all Places of religious Worship, which they could not prove they were in possession of at the time of the Edicts. See *Fotius's Politica Ecclesiastica* (38), in which he examines, whether this Sect ought to be tolerated; he distinguishes upon it; but, generally speaking, he inclines most to the Negative.

[I] Mr van Beuning reasoned one Day upon this Affair, with Mr de Turenne. Mr de Turenne, being in a Coach with this Ambassador, expressed to him his dislike at the Toleration, which the States General granted to all sorts of Religions. I omit Mr van Beuning's Answer, with regard to the other Sects; and confine myself to that Part of it, which respects the Mennonites: "Why are you, says he, averse to a Toleration of this Sect? They are very honest People, and the most easy in the World; they never aspire to Employments; they thwart no Man's Ambition; they traverse no Man's Views, by Competition or Intrigues. It were to be wished, that in every Country half the People would make a Conscience of aiming at Dignities; the other half would arrive at them with less Difficulty, and without employing so many mean Arts, and unlawful Methods. We have no reason to apprehend the Rebellion of a Sect, one of whose Articles of Faith is, that it is unlawful to bear Arms. How great a Security is it to a Sovereign, to know that his Subjects are restrained from mutinying by such a Bridle, whatever Imposts or Tallage are laid upon them? The Mennonites contribute their Share to the Charges of the Government. This is sufficient; with this we levy Troops, which are more useful to us, than these People would be, were they to enlist themselves. They edify us by the Simpli-

(33) Id. ib. Note, that he transposes the Order of Time: he places the Synod of 1556, after that of 1580.

(34) Id. ib.

(35) Id. ib. p. 395, 396.

(36) Id. ib. p. 391.

(37) Id. ib. p. 392.

(38) B. 4. Part 1. pag. 538.

concerning this Sect, and against its Tenets, are innumerable [K]. I must not omit, that they have not been able as yet to extinguish it in Switzerland, notwithstanding the rigorous Methods made use of at different times (f). I shall produce some of the Reasons alledged in Justification of their Severity [L]. The Dutch E-

(f) See Stoupe. Reliq. of Hol. Lett. 4. pag. 100, &c. But, principally, See (Ntius) Annals of Anabaptism, printed at Basil, 1672.

"city of their Manners; they apply themselves to Arts and Business, without squandering away their own Patrimony, or the Wealth they acquire, in Luxury and Vice. Other Communions behave differently: Voluptuousness, and the Expenses of Vanity, are in them a constant Source of Scandal, and a weakening of the State. But they refuse to swear; a mighty matter indeed. The Authority of the Tribunals receive, no Prejudice thereby. These People think themselves as much obliged by an Affirmation of the Truth, as they could be by an Oath. All the use of administering an Oath consists in this, that the Person, who violates it, is in fear of being the more severely punished by God, and exposes himself to Infamy, and even corporal Punishment from Men. The Mennonites fear the same Consequences, if they violate their Affirmation; they are therefore bound by the same Obligation with other Men."

[K] The Books, which have been wrote concerning this Sect, and against its Doctrines, are innumerable. I have pointed out some in the Remark [C]. Others are as follows. Herman Modeus wrote a Book de initiis Sectæ Anabaptistice. Andrew Meibovius wrote, in Latin, An History of the Anabaptists. An anonymous Author published, in Dutch, The Anabaptistic Succession, printed at Cologne, in the Year 1603. There is likewise a Book in Dutch, De Origine & Progressu Sectarum inter Anabaptistas. Mr Ottius, Protector at Zurich, compiled the Annals of this Sect, down to the Year 1671. All these Works are taken notice of, either by Hornbeck (39), or by Micrahus (40), or by Spanheim (41). I do not find, that they mention a Book, which Cassander describes after this manner. "De Origine vero hujus Anabaptistice Sectæ, ejusque Progressu, & quæ ex hoc capite monstra quam varia & absurda atque inter se pugnantia prodierunt, luculente, copiose, summaque cum fide scripsit Nicolaus Bleidick, qui, quod aliquando hujusmodi errore per imperitiam ætatis deceptus fuerit, eo nunc instructior & vehementior est in its erroribus resellendis, id quod et cum B. Augulino commune est (42). — As to the Origin and Progress of this Sect, with the various, absurd, and discordant Manners, which it has produced, they have been clearly, fully, and faithfully described, by Nicolas Bleidick, who, having been formerly deceived by this Error, through the unskillfulness of Youth, was the better qualified, and the more eager to oppose it; a Circumstance common to him with St Austlin." Hornbeck mentions only an History of Saint George, composed by Nicolas Bleidick, Son-in-law of this David, and published by Revius (43). An History of the Anabaptists, in French, was published at Amsterdam, in 1695, and one more ample in 1700. The Authors, who have wrote against them, are Zuvinglius, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, Oecolampadius, Urban Regius, Justus Menius, Bullinger, John Lascus, Guy de Brie, Tassinus, Hannius, Osiander, Cloppenbourg, Spanheim, and several others, whom it would be tedious to recount (44). But I must not forget a Book called Babel, published in the Year 1621, by Herman Fautellius, Minister of Middelbourg, and one of the Fathers of the Synod of Dort. He shews, in this Work, the prodigious Variety of Opinions, which prevail among the Anabaptists. The latter appealed from him to a Confession of Faith, which they published in the Year 1624, at Amsterdam. They made Reprizals; for they published a Babel of Pædobaptists (45). The Author of it was Antony Jacob (46). Observe, that, at first, they wrote but few Books; at length they produced several Authors, and published many Books, some Didactic or Historical, others Polemical. They printed, at Horn, in 1624, A Confession of Faith, which they confirmed by Passages of Scripture, and other Authorities. At the end of twelve Years, they published another (47), to shew the Agreement of their Sentiments. There have appeared Apologies for their Confessions; likewise Catechisms, and Manuals of Religion. They refute the Declaration of Zurich, in 1644. Abraham de David (48), one of them, published a

Book, the same Year, against a Minister of Haarlem, named Bontemps, entitled, "Sinegna Holandicum contra maculas quas P. Bontemps Mennonitis adscripsit. — The Dutch Soap against the Apherions, which Peter Bontemps has thrown upon the Mennonites." The same Minister was attacked in other Works; in the Absteris Accusationum gravium Petri Bontemps, facta per P. V. K. 1643; the Consultatio argumentorum quibus P. Bontemps probare conatur, Anabaptistas injuriosos esse in Deum & Homines, 1643; the Spongia ad ablundas Maculas Petri Bontemps contra certam Anabaptistarum Sectam; the Judicii Henrici Lixivii contra ejusdem maculas; and the Probatio Lixivii D. Bontemps ubi per G. V. V. fidei positum Autoris & Methodus agendi sollicitatur (49).

[L] Some of the Reasons alledged in justification of their Severity. Let me produce here the Substance of a Letter, written the Twenty first of August, 1642, to Mr Hotten, Minister of the Wallon Church at Amsterdam, by Mr Breitinger, Dean of the Ministers of the Church of Zurich. A War being kindled almost all over Europe, in 1622, the Magistrates of Zurich gave orders, that, conformably to the usual Practice of all times, in the like Cases, the People of that Canton should be exercised to the Trade of Arms by Reviews. The Anabaptists refused to obey, and repesented to those, who were preparing to comply, that a War ought to be considered as a divine Chastisement, and that the State was to be defended by a good Life, and not by taking up Arms. They intimated, that they should chuse to abandon their Country, their Wives, their Children, and all their Possessions, rather than repulse the common Enemy by Arms. The good Subjects conceived such Indignation at this, that they were for extirpating the whole Sect; but the Magistrates tried Expedients of a milder Nature. They employed the wisest Heads of the Senate, to regulate with the most moderate Divines, what was to be done in this Conjuncture. This Committee began with recommending themselves to the Prayers of the whole Church; after which they came to these Resolutions; that nothing should be omitted, which might seem proper to remove the ill-grounded Scruples of the Anabaptists; that none of them should be condemned either to Death, or to the Gallies; and that nothing should be done, which favoured of Cruelty, Precipitation, or Passion. After this, it was thought proper to confer with them; and they had their choice of three Places to assemble at, where they might hear what was to be proposed to them. They met at an appointed Place; where the principal Points of the Christian Faith were proposed to them, both by Word of Mouth, and in Writing; all of which they admitted, except one, which related to Magistracy. The Senate, being informed of what passed in these Assemblies, sent for some of their Heads. They appeared; they gave in their Reasons, which were answered with Calmness; but nothing could influence them; yet they were dismissed with a great deal of Clemency. They retired, however, as if they were afraid of some Design upon their Persons; which they confessed the next Day, when they were asked why they shewed a Distrust of the safe Conduct, which the Magistracy had granted them. This Mildness of the Government was displeasing to many Persons; however, it was resolved to try moderate Methods still farther. The principal Heads of the Anabaptists were called together; they were assured, that the usual Oath upon these Occasions should be dispensed with, and that the Government would be satisfied with their Affirmation, or Negation; that they should be excused from bearing Arms, provided they would contribute, by their Prayers, and other pious Means, to the public Good; and that, in requiring of them to be present at the Sermons of the Ministers, they did not pretend to abridge them of the Liberty of disapproving what they should judge contrary to the Word of God; that they only desired they would not pass their Censures, till they had conferred either with their Pastors, or with some other Ecclesiastical Person. They concluded with Promises of Protection, and pathetic Exhortations. But when

(39) In Summa Controversiarum.

(40) In Synagmæ Histor. Eccles.

(41) In Elencho Controversiarum.

(42) G. Cassander, Epist. Dedicat. Tractat. de Baptismo Infantium.

(43) Hornbeck, Summa Controversiarum, p. 373.

(44) Id. ib. pag. 394. and John Vagert, in the Theses which he maintained at Wittenburg in 1688, de Secta Mennonitarum.

(45) These, who bold false Baptism.

(46) An Anabaptist Teacher, and Physician at Amsterdam.

(47) At Dort.

(48) He professes the three initial Letters G. V. V. i. e. Gerard Vryburg, Hoogerkerk, Biblioth. Theolog.

(49) 11. ib.

dition of *Moreri* distinguishes the Tenets, which are at present peculiar to the *Anabaptists*; for which reason I shall not give a particular Account of them. It is certain, that the Description, which the *Sieur Moreri* gives of this Sect, does not agree with the Time, in which he wrote; and I doubt a little, whether ever there was reason to charge them with two Doctrines, which he imputes to them [M]: one is, that *they held, that a Woman was obliged to consent to the Passion of those, who desired to obtain her*; the other is, that *they condemned the Marriage of Persons, who did not adhere to their Sentiments*. We must consider as a Legendary Tale what is reported by some Authors, that there have been *Roman Catholics*, who, upon becoming *Anabaptists*, have immediately been able to read, and discourse on Matters of Religion; but who, upon returning to Popery, have forgot every thing, and become as ignorant as before (g).

(g) *Lindanus*, Dial. 3.
Dubitantii,
& Thyreas
de Demoni-
acis, cap. 21.
apud The-
oph. Ray-
naud. Theo-
logie Natur.
Diff. 4. n.
33. p. 4c4.

when they found, that these People persisted in their Opinion, they civilly entreated them to retire somewhere else; they gave them permission to carry away as much of their Effects, as was necessary for their Subsistence; they promised Restitution to those, who, being cured of their Errors, should return; and they declared, that the Children and Wives, who should renounce the Sect, and continue in the Country, should enjoy a suitable Portion of the Goods of their Fathers and Husbands. The *Anabaptists* replied, that the Earth is the Lord's, and not the Magistrate's, and rejected the Conditions. Then they had recourse to Murders and Fines; and, upon their refusal to pay them, and protesting against the Tyranny of these Proceedings, they confiscated their Estates. They now murmured more; they assembled by Night; they petitioned Heaven to repress the Madness of the Government by Plague, Famine, and such other Calamities. It was now absolutely necessary to have recourse to more effectual Remedies; several were imprisoned; most of whom made their escape (50) thro' a Breach, which they made in the Wall, and appeared no less turbulent than before: They were remanded to Prison; they were exhorted from time to time to submit, or willingly to quit the Country; they persisted to demand unconditional Liberty. They offered to give an account of their Doctrine before the whole People; this was denied them; but it was thought proper to offer them a Disputation in Writing, and even to propose to them the Points of Controversy: Their constant Answer was, that they could not defend themselves, whilst they were in Prison. Note, that those of them, who escaped, spread grievous Complaints every where, of the barbarous Treatment they pretended to have met with, during their Imprisonment.

This Apology, you see, is founded upon that long Patience, which preceded so rigorous a Treatment; but there are other more particular Reasons, resulting from the Nature and Constitution of the Government of this Country. The *Swiss* do not repulse the Enemy with auxiliary or hired Troops, but by fighting every Man in Person; and one way of their Substance is the Permission they give, of levying Troops among them, for the Service of Strangers. It is therefore for the Interest of their Governors, that all their Subjects should be trained to Arms, and be fond of War. This is the Reason, why the *Anabaptists* were disagreeable to them; People who would neither wound nor kill any one, and who endeavoured to intimidate the most Warlike, by inspiring them with Scruples of Conscience, in relation to the effusion of human Blood, and the Passions inseparable from the Trade of Arms.

[M] *I believe there never was reason to charge them with the two Doctrines, which Moreri imputes to them.* He learned from *Prætorius*, that, according to the *Anabaptists*, the Women were obliged to lend the Use of their Bodies to every Man, who demands it of them; and that the Men, in their turns, are obli-

ged to satisfy the Desires of every Woman, who requires it. *Dicunt postremo quolibet mulierem obligatam esse ad cõundum cum quolibet viro eam petente. Et contra eodem vinculo adstringunt omnem virum ad tantundem reddendum cuilibet mulieri hoc ab illo petenti* (52). Upon this Principle, there would be a natural Marriage between all Men, and all Women; I mean, that the Sexes would be mutually obliged, in point of Duty, to gratify each other upon Demand. The Duties, which *St Paul* lays down (53), which teach, that *the Husband has not Power over his own Body*, and that he ought to consider it as transferred to his Wife; and that she, in like manner, ought to consider *the Power over her Body*, as transferred to her Husband; those Duties, I say, so just and reasonable in the Marriage of one with one, would have no Bounds; they would extend to the Power of every Man over every Woman, and of every Woman over every Man; a Doctrine so extravagant, so villanous, so abominable, that it is difficult to conceive, that any Sect of the *Anabaptists* really taught it. The Laws of Nature would, upon this Foundation, be much more difficult to be fulfilled, than the Laws of the Gospel; and we might justly, upon this Account, renew the Complaint, *It is a Yoke, which neither we, nor our Fathers, were able to bear*. In a Word, it cannot be a Law of Nature; for Nature obliges us to nothing impossible (54). Beauty, and a tender Conscience, united under such a Law, would be a Weight, under which the most Vigorous and Robust would sink. The Handsome, and the Conscientious would have the most reason to complain. And observe, that the Doctrine of a Community of Wives, is much less shocking than this. That does not deprive us of the Liberty of refusing; it does not tie down the Conscience to an indispensable Compliance.

Perhaps I shall not be mistaken, in conjecturing, that the Writers of *Heretical Catalogues*, *Prætorius's* Originals, have forged this Chimæra, by giving a bad turn, through Ignorance or Malice, to one of the Consequences of the Doctrine of *Equality of Condition*. It is certain, that the *Anabaptists*, at first, taught this Equality; the Consequence of which was, that a young Lady, of a good Family, ought not to refuse Propositions of Marriage from the Son of a Peasant, and that a Gentleman ought not to decline the Courtship of a Country Girl. If our Catalogue-Writers build the absurd Doctrine, which they impute to the *Anabaptists*, upon this Foundation, are they less impertinent, than the Doctrine itself?

I am as little satisfied, that these Sectaries looked upon the Marriage of other Christians as unlawful; and that they confounded Bastards with the Children of married Persons; that they thought, for instance, that the Birth of *Calvin* was not less sullied, than that of *Erafmus*. But Mr *Moreri* did not look so nearly into the Matter; and, provided he could diffame Heretics, he was satisfied.

ANACREON, a Greek Poet, born at Teos, a Town of Ionia [A], flourished, when Polycrates reigned in Samos [B], and when Hipparchus enjoyed at Athens the Dominion

[A] Teos a Town of Ionia. In the Article TEOS I confute those, who say, that *Anacreon* was a Native of Teos, on the Euxine Sea.

[B] *Flourished when Polycrates reigned in Samos.* I have not set down the Olympiad; for I think we need not be so very exact, in regard to a Person who lived Eighty five Years; and indeed those, who

pretend to it, differ very much. *Eusebius* (1), who pitched upon the LXXII Olympiad, could not hinder *Suidas* from chusing the XXXIId, and *Tanquil Faber* (2) from pitching upon the LXXIId. But I shall decide nothing as to *Suidas*; for his Text is certainly corrupted, and his Translators are unpardonable, for having suffered the horrid Blunder, which

(52) *Prætorius* in *Elem-cho Herese-ôn.*

(53) 1 Cor. vii. 4.

(54) *Impossibile necesse tenetur.*

(1) *Calvisius* makes him say, that *Anacreon* flourished in the 22nd Olympiad, I don't find this in *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, published by *Scaliger*.

(2) *Life of the Great Poet.*

tion, which his Father *Pisistratus* had usurped. This cannot be doubted of, if we read *Plato* and *Herodotus*; for we find in *Plato*, that *Hipparchus* invited *Anacreon* to come to *Athens* (a) [C]; and *Herodotus* says, that *Anacreon* was in the Chamber of *Polycrates*, when *Audience* was given to an Envoy of *Oretes*, Governor of *Sardes* (b) [D]. *Cambyses* was then King of *Persia*: This I observe, that my Reader's may more readily apprehend the Time, in which *Anacreon* lived. This Poet had a delicate Genius; and there are inexpressible Graces, and Charms, in his Poetry: but he was too fond of Pleasures; and of such an amorous Complexion, that he must have Boys, as well as Girls [E]; and, besides, he was addicted to drinking. Doubtless this last Fault made him very remarkable at *Athens*; since his Statue, which was erected there, represented him as a drunken Man singing (c). If we had all his Poems, we should find in them many Strokes of his voluptuous Humour [F]; but the few Remains we have of them sufficiently prove it. There

(a) *Plato* in *Hipparcho*.
Ælian. Var. Hi. l. lib. 8. cap. 2.

(b) *Herodot.* lib. 3. cap. 121. See also *Pausanias*, lib. 1. p. 2.

(c) *Pausan.* ibid. p. 23.

we

is found in his Book, to pass uncorrected. It is said there, that *Anacreon* lived in the Time of *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, in the LIIId Olympiad; or, according to others, in the time of *Cyrus* and *Cambyses*, in the XXVth Olympiad. It appears from *Herodotus*, that *Polycrates* and *Cambyses* died much about the same time (3). *Eusebius* makes them Contemporaries under the LXIIId Olympiad; and he is in the right: Therefore it is not true, that we ought to reckon Twenty seven Olympiads between these two, and bring back *Cyrus* from the LVth Olympiad, in which the Epoch of the *Persian* Monarchy is generally fixed, to the XXVth. *Vossius* makes *Suidas* say, that *Anacreon* lived in the LXIst or LXIIId Olympiad (4), which is not to be found in the printed *Suidas*. As for *Tanaquil Faber*, who pitched upon the LXXIIId Olympiad for the exact time of the Life of *Anacreon*, it is easier to confute his Arguments, than to shew that our Poet did not live at that time. That Critic argues thus: *Anacreon* came to *Athens* in the time of *Hipparchus*: The latter had a Brother, whose Name was *Hippias*, who solicited *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, to undertake the Expedition, which he made against the Athenians. This being so, says he, you see exactly the Year 489, before JESUS CHRIST, and the LXXIIId Olympiad. I confess, that the Expedition of the *Persians* against the Athenians, spoken of here, in which *Darius* was not in Person, though the Expression of *Tanaquil Faber* implies that he was, belongs to the LXXIIId Olympiad, and the Year 489 before JESUS CHRIST (5). But we must remember, that this pretended Expedition of *Darius* was not 'till twenty Years after that *Hippias* was expelled from *Athens* (6), and that his Exile was in the fourth Year after the Death of *Hipparchus*, and the eighteenth after the Death of *Pisistratus*; from whence it must be concluded, that *Hipparchus* had reigned fourteen or fifteen Years. It is therefore very possible, I. That he might have invited *Anacreon* to come to *Athens* thirty Years before *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes* complied with the Instigations of *Hippias* against the Athenians. II. That the Death of *Anacreon* might have fallen out some Years before the LXXIIId, and the Four hundred and eighty ninth Year before JESUS CHRIST, which is so precisely set down by *Tanaquil Faber*, as the time, in which *Anacreon* lived. I have another Remark to make. He wrote his *Lives of the Greek Poets* in 1659 (7). Now in his *Anacreon*, printed in 1660, he makes this Poet flourish Five hundred and fifty five Years, or thereabouts, before JESUS CHRIST; and he agrees with *Suidas*, that *Anacreon* might have lived in the LIId Olympiad. Since, says he, he lived very familiarly with *Polycrates*, who flourished at the same time that *Amasis* reigned in Egypt. This Critic has been therefore a little too inconsistent in his Chronology as to *Anacreon*. It can never be said, without a Mistake, of one, who might have flourished in the LIId Olympiad, that he lived precisely in the LXXIIId Olympiad. Besides, it is a wrong way of proving, that a Man might live in the LIId Olympiad, to allege his Intimacy with *Polycrates*, who was Contemporary with *Amasis*: For the latter died at the end of the LXIVth Olympiad; and the former two Years after (8).

[C] *Hipparchus* invited *Anacreon* to come to Athens. I pretend not to censure *Tanaquil Faber* for saying, that "*Hipparchus*, the Son of *Pisistratus* (9), sent a Ship of fifty Oars to Teos, with very civil and obliging Letters, in which he invited *An-*

creon to cross the *Ægean* Sea, and make a Voyage to Athens; assuring him that he would find there some Admirers of his Virtue, who were good Judges of the value of noble Compositions, and of the Merit of excellent Persons." I shall not censure these Words, on pretence that I find nothing in *Plato* but this; "Επ' Ἀνακρίοντα τὸν Θίων πεινυκόντοσιν εἰλάς ἐκόμενον εἰς τὴν πόλιν (10). He caused *Anacreon*, born at Teos, to come to our City, by sending a Vessel of fifty Oars for him; nor on pretence that *Ælian* uses the same general Expression (11). For, besides that *Faber* might have read, in Books unknown to me, the Particulars, which he relates; the Rules of Probability will allow, that *Hipparchus* wrote, or caused obliging Letters to be written, to *Anacreon*; and then we may adopt the Supposition of this Critic; I say, we may adopt it with the less scruple, because a Narrative would generally be jejune and ungrateful, if the Originals were literally translated. But I confess I cannot forbear censuring him, when he alleges *Plato* as his Author.

[D] He was in the Chamber of *Polycrates*, when Audience was given to an Envoy of *Oretes*, Governor of *Sardes*.] This is all the Account *Herodotus* gives us of it; nevertheless I am very sure, that *Tanaquil Faber* might say, as he did, That *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, generally kept *Anacreon* near his Person, and would have him bear a share both in his Business and Pleasures. For, it being certain on the one hand, that *Anacreon* (12) was in great Favour with *Polycrates*, and on the other, that the chief Employment of this Tyrant (13) was his Diversions, we run no great Risk in believing *Faber's* Account. You know it (adds he); for 'tis not two Years ago since *Herodotus* was read at your Father's Table. This to me does not seem exact: since there is nothing in *Herodotus*, from whence we may reasonably infer, that *Anacreon* had any concern in the Affairs of *Polycrates*. I am sorry, that some Men of good Parts, and great Learning, should believe, without examining the Matter, that *Plato* and *Herodotus* have said all that this learned Critic has fathered upon them. They should have distinguished the Text from the Flourishes and Glosses of the Author, who quotes it.

[E] Of such an amorous Complexion, that he must have Boys, as well as Girls.] Besides *Bathyllus*, and *Smerdias*, of whom more hereafter (14), he was in love with the fair *Cleobulus*. He had like to have killed him in the Arms of his Nurse, by rudely jostling her, as he reared one Day through the Streets, when he was in his Cups; and, not content with this, he abused the Child with railing Language (15). The Nurse wished, that he might one Day commend him more, than he had then abused him. Her Wishes were fulfilled; for *Cleobulus* grew to be a beautiful Youth; *Anacreon* fell in love with him, and wrote several Verses in his Commendation (16). Behold a pretty kind of Punishment, and a Nurse finely revenged!

[F] Many Strokes of his voluptuous Humour.] The following Passages, among others, mention the general Theme of his Poetry. "Ἀποτῷ δ' Ἀνακρίων, ὁ αἰῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ποίησιν ἐξαρτίσας μὲν (17). Foolish *Anacreon*, whose Poetry turns upon nothing but Drinking. "Ἀνακρίων ὁ τῷ αἰῶνι παρὰ μετὰ Σαπφῶ τὴν Ἀσσίαν τὰ πολλὰ ἐν ἑστραπείᾳ ἐρωτικῶν ποίησας (18). *Anacreon* of Teos, who first, after *Lesbian* *Sappho*, spent the greatest Part of his Poems in Love Matters. Let us hear what *Horace* says of the Amours of *Anacreon*;

D d d

Non

(3) *Herod.* lib. 3. cap. 120. & seq.

REMARKS on *Tanaquil Faber*.

(4) *Vossius*, de Poët. Græc. p. 22. *Hofman* says the same of *Ter* him; but *Moreri*, who transcribes him likewise, says 60 instead of 61.

(5) See *Calvinius*.

(6) *Petav.* Ration. Temporum, lib. 3. cap. 2. & part. 2. lib. 3. c. 9.

(7) See the End of the Preface.

(8) See *Calvinius*.

(9) *Moreri* and *Hofman* say *Philostatus*.

(10) *Plato* in *Hipparcho*.

(11) *Ælian*. Var. Hi. lib. 8. c. 2.

(12) *Pausan.* lib. 1. p. 2. *Ælian*. ubi supra, l. 9. cap. 4. *Strabo*, l. 14.

(13) *Athen.* lib. 12. cap. 9, 10.

(14) In *Remark* [G].

(15) *Maximus Tyr.* Orat. 11. circa init.

(16) *Dion Chrysostom* mentions some of them.

(17) *Athen.* lib. 10. c. 7. pag. 429.

(18) *Pausanias*, lib. 7. pag. 23.

we meet with his violent Passion for *Bathyllus* [G]; and if, as this sort of Love was not then branded with Infamy, as it is among Christians, he does not merit such Detestation, as a Christian Poet would in the like Case, the hardened Age he lived in ought to suffer for him: I mean, That the Reader ought to vent his Indignation against the Times, when it cannot discharge itself against particular Persons. *Anacreon*, notwithstanding his Debaucheries, lived Eighty five Years, if we may believe *Lucian*, who places him among the long-lived. It is said, that he supported himself, at this great Age, by eating dry Grapes; and that a Grape-Stone, happening to stick in his Throat, choaked him. *Valerius Maximus* ascribes to easy a Death to a particular Favour of the Gods [H]. No Author that I know of has remarked either the Time or Place of his Death [I], or decided what was his Father's Name [K].

There

Non aliter Samio dicunt aruisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Teium,
Qui persæpe cava testudine flevit amorem (19).

(19) Horat.
Epod. 14.
ver. 9.

Thus soft Anacreon for Bathyllus burn'd,
And oft his Love he sadly mourn'd;
He to his Harp did various Grief rehearse,
And wept in an unpolish'd Verse.

CREECH.

See also *Cicero* in the fourth Book of his *Tusculan Questions*, and *Suidas*.

[G] His violent Passion for Bathyllus.] This Instance refutes the excessive Charity of *Ælian*, who will not allow us to entertain any ill Suspicion of our Poet's Love for *Smerdias*, one of *Polycrates*'s Minions (20). What is most to be wondered at is, that *Ælian* goes upon this general Reason, that we ought not to accuse *Anacreon* of Incontinency, and Intemperance. Μὴ γὰρ τις ἡμῖν διαβαλλέτω πρὸς Θεῶν τὸν Πονητὴν τὸν Τεινὸν, μὴ δ' ἀνόλασόν εἶναι λεγέτω (21). I intreat that no one would slander the Teian Bard, or call him intemperate. *Polycrates* became furiously jealous, when he perceived, that our Poet had insinuated himself very far into the good Graces of *Smerdias*, by the flattering Verbes he made on him; and his Jealousy rose to high, that he caus'd the Youth to be shaven (22). The Rival, apprehending very well the meaning of this, very complaisantly wrote a Poem upon the Occasion, in which he took care not to displease *Polycrates*. They, who remember these four Verses of *Petronius*,

Quod solum formæ decus est, cecidere capilli,
Vernantefque comas tristis abegit hyems.
Nunc umbra nudata sua jam tempora mœrent,
Areæque * attritis ridet adusta pilis.

* Area, Ulcus
genus est in capite.
Cell.
A Sore in the
Head, which
makes the
Hair fall.
REM. CRIT.

His Form's sole Ornament, his Locks are shed;
Crupt are the springing Honours of his Head,
And his vex'd Temples mourn their ravish'd Shade.
Whilst the gall'd Wound rejoices to be bare,
Free from the fretting Load of cumbrous Hair.

will conclude, from the Action of *Polycrates*, that he had rather his Minion should lose his Beauty, than find him unfaithful. *Strabo* observes, that *Anacreon* perpetually mentions this Tyrant of *Samos* in his Verses; τὸν συνδίδωσεν Ἀνακρεὼν ὁ μελοποιεὺς, καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ποίησις πλήρης ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ μνήμης (23). Cum hoc vixit *Anacreon* Lyricus, & mentione ejus preplevit sua carmina; from whence *Fossius* had Reason to conclude, that it was no wonder he was beloved by him. "Polycrates, says he (24), carus" suit. Quod mirum? cum versibus suis cum celebraret? It should be quid mirum? cum versibus suis eum celebraret? — He was dear to *Polycrates*; and no wonder, since he celebrated him in his Verses." We shall see, in the Article BATHYLLUS, how *Tanaquil Faber* has justified the Amours of *Anacreon*.

[H] A Grape-Stone — choaked him. *Valerius Maximus* ascribes so easy a Death to a particular Favour of the Gods. His Words are these: "Cui quidem (*Pindaro*) crediderim eadem benignitate Deorum & tantum poeticae facundiae, & tam placidum vitæ finem attributum; sicut *Anacreonti* quoque, quamvis statum humanæ vitæ modum supergresso; quem vitæ passæ succo tenues & exiles virum reliquias soventem unius grani pertinacior in aridis faucibus humor absorpsit (25). — This

(25) Valer.
Max. lib. 9.
cap. 12. See
also Plin. l.
7. cap. 7.

"Poet (*Pindar*), in my Opinion, owed his great Genius for Poetry, and the easiness of his Death, to the same Kindness and Favour of the Gods; as was likewise the Case of *Anacreon*, though he had exceeded the usual Bounds of human Life; for, as hecried his little Remains of Strength with dried Grapes, the Stone of one, which he endeavoured in vain to swallow, was the cause of his Death."

[I] No Author that I know of has remarked the Time or Place of his Death.] It is true, *Suidas* says, that *Anacreon*, being driven from Teos, on account of the Revolt of *Hippias*, retired to *Abdera*, in *Thrace*: But this does not imply, that he died there; we can only conjecture from it, with some Probability, that he did. And, indeed, *Anacreon* must have been very old at that time, since the *Victories*, which the *Persians* obtained over the Favourers of the Revolt of *Hippias*, are much later than the Death of *Hippias*, and fall under the LXXXIst Olympiad. It may be conjectured from this Passage of *Suidas*, that, after *Anacreon* had left *Athens*, whither *Hippiarchus* had invited him, he retired to Teos; which makes it probable, that he retired also to Teos, after the Ruin of *Polycrates*; and that *Hippiarchus* sent him thither the Fifty-Oar'd Vessel, as *Tanaquil Faber* asserts. We need not wonder, that *Anacreon* made choice of *Abdera* for his Retirement; it being a Town, which those of Teos had built, after they had left their Habitations, when *Harpagus*, the Lieutenant of *Cyrus*, made himself Master of *Ionis* (26). *Strabo* does not speak of their Transmigration in this manner: He only says, that the Teians, in the time of *Anacreon*, being unable to bear the Insults of the *Persians*, retired to *Abdera* (27). This may be the same Event, mentioned by *Herodotus*; for *Harpagus* invaded *Ionis* in the LXIth Olympiad, at which time *Anacreon* made some Figure in the World.

(26) Herod.
lib. 1. cap.
168.

(27) Strabo,
lib. 14.

[K] No Author has ——— decided what was his Father's Name.] *Suidas* mentions four Persons, who have passed for the Father of *Anacreon*. If it be a Compliment to *Homer*, that several Towns contended for his Birth; it must be confessed, that this is a very poor one to *Anacreon*; for, in short, it is a Proof of the Obscurity of his Family, rather than any thing else. For had his Father been a noted Man in Teos, Authors would not so easily have lost sight of him, or have confounded him with others. Nevertheless I find, that *Madam Dacier* cites *Plato* to prove, That *Anacreon* was a Man of great Birth, and related to *Solon*, whose Father was of the ancient Family of *King Codrus*, and his Mother Cousin German to the Mother of *Pisistratus* (28). He pretends to prove this from a Passage in the Dialogue of *Temperance*, where she finds, that the Father of *Charmides* descended from the ancient Family of *Dropidas*, and of *Anacreon*, and *Solon*, which had been always distinguished from others by their Beauty, Virtue, and Riches. Persuaded as I am of the Learning of this Lady, I find myself reduced to believe one of these three things; either that her *Plato* is very different from mine; or that she has not taken this Passage from the Original; or that she has too closely followed the ill Translation of *Serranus*. I find in my *Plato* nothing more, than that the paternal Family of *Charmides* had been celebrated by *Solon*, *Anacreon*, and several other Poets, as being remarkably endowed with the Advantages of Beauty, Virtue, &c. "Ἡ τε γὰρ πατὴρ σου οὐκ οἶκία ἢ Κερτίη τῷ Δρωπίδῃ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀνακρεὼτος καὶ ὑπὸ Σόλωνος καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν Παιστών ἐγκωσμαιμένη παρρησιάζεται ἡμῖν ὅς διαφέρουσα καλλῆς τε καὶ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ λεγομένη εὐδαιμονία." This is the Passage, as it stands in the Edition of *Frankfort* in 1603. That of *Serranus* differs

Whether A-
NACRE-
ON was a
Man of
great Birth.

(28) Life of
Anacreon.

(d) Tanaquil, Faber, Notis in Anacreon. Madam Dacier bis, Daughter, does not always agree with him in this. See her Preface to Anacreon.

There are several Translations of his Poems [L]: But some Critics will not allow, that all the Verses, which are at this day extant under his Name, are His (e). They, who have mentioned his Love for *Sappho*, have not regarded Chronology, as I shall prove in the Article of That Lady. It is said that a Present of Money, which *Polycrates* sent him, gave him so much disturbance, that he could not sleep for several Nights; and that he returned it to That Prince. This is not very probable, tho' *Stobæus* gives us *Aristotle* for his Voucher. *Gyraldus* cites only the Greek Collections of *Arsemus* in proof of it (e).

(e) Gyrald. Hist. Poet. Dial. 9. pag. 471.

fers only in the Word *ἰγνακισμῶν*, which, by a Mistake of the Printers of *Frankfort*, has been put instead of the *ἰγνακισμῶν* of the Edition of *Serranus*; but *Ficinus's* Version is much better, though perhaps not so good as the following. "Nam, quæ paternum vobis genus est, domus Critiæ filii Dropidæ, tum ab Anacreonte, tum à Solone, multæque aliis Poetis laudata nobis tradita fuit, ut præcellens forma, virtute, cæterisque quæ felicitatis nomine veniunt. — For we find, that the House of Critias, the Son of Dropidas, from which you are descended by the Father's side, was celebrated by Anacreon, Solon, and many other Poets, as being remarkable for Beauty, Virtue, and other Perfections, which Happiness includes." *Serranus's* Version is as follows. "Nam Paternum quidem Genus, quod cum isto Critia commune habes, à Dropida, Anacreonte, Solone, & aliis multis celeberrimis Poetis, deductur, & vobis traditur, veluti robore & virtute & alio omni genere felicitatis instructissimum. — For your paternal Descent, which is common to you with Critias, is derived from Dropidas, Solon, and many famous Poets, and descends to you adorned with Strength, Virtue, and every kind of Happiness." I omit observing, that one might be defended, by the Father's Side, from *Solon* and *Anacreon*, without *Solon* and *Anacreon* being related to each other. Every Person has two sorts of paternal Relations, the Family of his Father's Father, and That of his Father's Mother.

[L] There are several Translations of his Poems. Those, which *Madam Dacier* has mentioned, are as follows. The Reader will be pleased to see her Opinion of them. "It is a long time, says she, since Anacreon was translated into French by *Remi Belleau*; but, besides that his Translation is in Verse, and consequently very unfaithful, it is in such an antiquated Style, that it is impossible to find any Pleasure in reading it. It was translated into Italian some Years since; but the Translator has no more kept to the Greek, than *Remi Belleau*; nevertheless his Translation is pleasing enough, tho' it is sometimes very different from the Sense of Anacreon, and though he takes every Moment so great a Liberty, that it ought rather to be accounted a Paraphrase, than a Translation. The Latin Version, part whereof was done by *Henry Stephens*, and the other by *Elias Andreas*, which is generally used, seems to me to be the best; yet it is not without Faults, and, being also in Verse, it is often very obscure, and, in several Places, attributes to Anacreon what he never thought of."

This is what *Madam Dacier* says, in the Preface to her *Anacreon*, published at *Paris*, in the Year 1681, with the Greek Text on one side, and the Translation in French Prose on the other, and some Remarks on each Piece of *Anacreon*. Give me leave to add, that the Translation of *Remi Belleau* appeared in the Year 1556. It has been said, that *Daurat* was the true Author of the Translation, which *Henry Stephens* ascribed to himself. *Colomies* assures us, that *Isaac Vossius* told him, That he had an *Anacreon* in his Possession, in which Scaliger had remarked with his own Hand, that *Henry Stephens* was not the Author of the Latin Version of the Odes of That Poet, but *John Dorat* (29). The Italian Translation, which *Madam Dacier* speaks of, is That of *Bartholomew Corsini*, which *Mr Regnier des Mairais* caused to be printed, at *Paris*, in the Year 1672 (30). I do not wonder, that *Madam Dacier* takes no Notice of the Translation of *Anacreon* done by a Youth, who is since become very famous under the Name of the Abbot de la TRAPPE; for I believe That Translation was never printed; *Mr Baillet* informs us of many things relating to it. "He knew so well,

"ten Years of Age, he understood the Greek Poets very well, especially *Homer*; and he had scarce attained to the Age of twelve or thirteen Years, when he published a new Edition of the Works of *Anacreon*, with Greek Remarks, which were admired by the Learned. This Edition appeared in 8vo, at *Paris*, in the Year 1639; and Time has not in the least diminished the Astonishment, which these Remarks still give to those, who compare them with the tender Age of the Author. I say nothing of a French Translation, which he then composed of the same Poet; tho' it pleased very much those, who, at that time, were perfecting our Language, and showed, that he could write as politely in French, as he understood Greek and Latin." *Mr Baillet* mentions neither the Place, nor the Year of the Impression, and does not so much as say, in general, that the Work had been published; which makes me believe, that it had only appeared in Manuscript. I am the more confirmed in this Thought, by finding, that *Mr de Longe-Pierre* says not a Word of this Translation; though he takes notice, that *Henry Stephens* rendered the same same Odes of *Anacreon* into French Verse, which he afterwards turned into Latin. He observes likewise, that *Ronsard* translated many of them; he says this in the Preface to his Version. His Work was published in the Year 1684. The Greek (2) is on one side, and the French Translation in Verse on the other: And there are critical Remarks at the end of each Piece. *Mr Regnier des Mairais*, perpetual Secretary to the French Academy, gave, in the Year 1693, a Version of *Anacreon* in Italian Verse, with Remarks.

(32) See the Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, for Novemb. 1783. Art. 85.

The following curious Supplement is taken Word for Word out of a Letter, which I have received from *Mr de la Monnoie*. "No earl has been taken, hitherto, to collect, and examine several curious Particulars, concerning the Poems, which are extant, of *Anacreon*. It has been said, that *Henry Stephens* first brought them to light; but, Where or How, few Persons know. He met with the Ode *Ἀντακρίναι αἱ γυναικες*, on the Cover of an old Book, as we read in *Vislorius*, who inserted it in the seventeenth Chapter of the twentieth Book of his *Varie Lectiones*. 'Till then, nothing had been seen of *Anacreon*, but what *Aulus Gellius* and the *Anthologia* had preserved. By chance two Manuscripts, containing several Pieces of this Poet, fell into the Hands of the same *Henry Stephens*. He was obliged for the first to *Joh. Clement*, an Englishman, Servant to Sir *Thomas More*; and he brought the second, after a long Journey, from Italy into France. And, having carefully compared the one with the other, he formed the Edition, which he published, the first time, at *Paris*, in the Year 1554. This Book met with a Reception attended with different Opinions. Most of the Learned looked upon it as an happy Discovery; some distrusted it. *Robertel*, in his Dissertation concerning the Art of correcting Books, did not acknowledge it to be genuine. *Fleisius Ursinus* inserted no other Poems of *Anacreon* in his Edition of the Greek Lyrics, but those, which he found mentioned by the ancient Authors, as specifying the rest. It were to be wished, that the two Manuscripts, before mentioned, and which are the only ones, which have been seen, had been preserved. But *Henry Stephens*, unhappily falling into a kind of Distraction towards the latter end of his Days, suffered them to perish with several others, which he communicated to no one, not so much as to his Son-in-law *Casaubon*. He translated into French Verse the same Odes of *Anacreon*, which he rendered into Latin Verse. *Eas Anticreontis Odas*, says he, in the Preface to his Annotations upon the *Paris Edition of Anacreon*, in 4to, 1554, quas jam ante Gallicas feceram, in a

(29) Colomies, Opusc. pag. 108.

(30) See the Acta Erudit. 1693. pag. 236.

(31) Baillet, *Enfance célèbre*, p. 359. "Affiduity and Application to his Studies, that at

"*liquet amicorum gratiam Latinè quoque aggressus*
 " *sem vertere.* What has been reported of *Isaac Vof-*
 " *fius*, who said, that he had an *Anaxoron* in his

" Possession, wherein *Scaliger* had noted with his
 " own Hand, that *John Dorat* was the Author of the
 " *Latin* Translation of this Poet, ascribed to *Henry*
 " *Stephens*, ought not to be regarded. Either *Vof-*
 " *fius* was mistaken, or *Scaliger* was misinformed.
 " *Henry Stephens*, who was no Plagiary, was very
 " capable of making such a Version as That; and,
 " if it had been *Dorat's*, he would not have failed
 " to have laid claim to it. It was from this that
 " *Remi Belleau* made his in *Frenib Veris*, which
 " perhaps appeared so fine to *Henry Stephens*, that,
 " after he had read it, he durst not publish That,
 " which he had composed in the same Language.

" *Richard Renvoisy*, Master of the singing Boys of
 " the Holy Chapel at *Dijon*, made, according to
 " the Testimony of *Antony du Verdier*, page 34 of
 " his *Bibliotèque*; another *French* Version of the
 " Odes of *Ana reem*. In This probably du *Verdier* is
 " mistaken. I take it to be the Version of *Belleau*,
 " which *Renvoisy* set to Music in the Year 1558,
 " or 1559; which du *Verdier* himself gives us suf-
 " ficiently to understand, when, at Page 1222, he
 " quotes this *Renvoisy* only as a Musician. As for
 " the *French* Version of the same Poet, composed by
 " Mr *Boutbillier de Rance*, at the Age of twelve
 " or thirteen Years, it was never printed; and it
 " is very likely, that, if there was such an one,
 " it was in Prose, though the Authors, who have
 " mentioned it, do not positively say so."

(a) In Latin
 Taberna.
 Hence it is
 called Ta-
 bernas.

ANANIA (JOHN LAURENCE d') a Native of *Taberna* (a) in *Calabria*, lived about the End of the XVIth Century. He is Author of a Geographical Book in *Italian*, and a *Latin* Work, intitled, *De Natura Dæmonum*, which was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1582, in 8vo. The other Work is intitled *Cosmographia, ovvero l'universale Fabrica del Mondo*—*Cosmography, or the Universal Fabric of the World*, and was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1576, in 4to (b). *Vossius* has omitted this Author in his Catalogue of Geographers.

(b) Bandrad
 Tom. 2.
 pag. 446.
 mentions only
 the Edition of
 Venice in
 1584.

ANAXAGORAS, one of the most illustrious Philosophers of Antiquity, was born at *Clazomenæ*, in *Ionia*, about the LXXth Olympiad, and was a Disciple of *Anaximenes*. His noble Extraction, his Riches, and the Generosity, which induced him to resign his whole Patrimony to his Relations [A], made him very famous. He

applied

[A] To resign all his Patrimony to his Relations.
 Before the Gospel had taught Men to renounce the World and it's Riches, in order to make a swift Progress towards Perfection, some Philosophers were sensible of this, and parted with their worldly Goods, to attend more freely to the Study of Wisdom, and the Search of Truth. They believed, that the Cares of a Family, and an Inheritance, were Clogs, which hindered our Advancement towards the End most worthy of our Esteem. *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus* (1), were of this Opinion. "Quid ergo, (says Cicero) (2), aut Homero ad delectationem animi ac voluptatem, aut cuicumque docto desuisse unquam arbitramur? An in ita se res haberet, *Anaxagoras*, aut hic ipse *Democritus*, agros & Patrimonia sua relinquissent, huic discendi quærendique divinæ delectationi toto se animo dedissent? — What then can we think wanting to complete the Satisfaction and Pleasure of Homer, or any other learned Man? Without this perfect Happiness, would *Anaxagoras*, or this *Democritus*, have resigned their Possessions and Patrimones, and given themselves up entirely to the divine Pleasure of acquiring Knowledge?" It was to such a Renouncing of the World, that *Anaxagoras* thought himself indebted for his Learning, or, to use his own Expression, for his Safety. "Quali porro studio *Anaxagoram* flagrare credimus? Qui, cum de diutina pregrinatione patriam repetisset, possessioneque deserta vidisset, 'non essem,' inquit 'ego salvus,' nisi ista perisissent (3). — How eager after Knowledge must we suppose *Anaxagoras* to have been; who, upon returning home, after a long Absence from his native Country, and seeing his Possessions lying desolate and in ruins, made use of this Expression, 'Had not these perished, I myself should not have been safe.' *Socrates*, with his usual Irony, shews, that "the Sophists of his Time were wiser than *Anaxagoras*; for, instead of quitting their Patrimones, as he had done, they took a great deal of pains to enrich themselves, being convinced of the Folly of the old Times, and persuaded, that the principal Wisdom consisted in promoting one's own Interest; that is to say, in the Art of heaping up great Riches." *Τὴν αὐτὴν γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρα φασὶ συμβῆναι ἢ ὕμιν. καὶ λαλοῦσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ πολλὰ χρημάτων καὶ μαλίσσας, καὶ ἀπολίσσαι πάντα, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀνίστασθαι λέγεσθαι. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τῶν παλαιῶν ἐτεσὶ τοιαῦτα. τὸ τοῦ μὲν ἐν μοι δεκάς καλὸν τεκμεῖον ἀποφαίνει περὶ σοφίας τῶν νῦν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν καὶ πολλοῖς συνδεκῆναι, οὗ τὸν σοφὸν αὐτὸν αὐτὸ μάλα δὲ σαφὲν εἶναι. τὴν δ' ὅρα ἵσθαι ὅτι ἐὰν πλείονος ἀργύρου σίρῃσθαι (4). *Cum* *Anaxagoras*, contra ac vobis*

contigit, amplum patrimonium cum accepisset, neglexisse dissipasseque dicitur, adeo stulte philosophatus est: deque cæteris illorum sapientibus alia quædam bujusmodi tradunt. Quapropter optimam banc attulisse conjecturam videris, quod sapientes nostri superioribus præstant, multique in hoc consentiant, sapientem in primis sibi ipsi sapere oportere. Hujus autem hæc est summa, ut argentum plurimum acquiratur. This puts me in mind of a Distinction which I have read in *Aristotle*. "We find, says he (5), that *Anaxagoras*, and *Thales*, and such like Philosophers, were wise, but not prudent Men, because they were ignorant of what was useful to them (6): They were acquainted with abstruse, lofty, wonderful, and divine Things; but they turned to no account; for they disregarded the good things, and Advantages of this Life." This is the Sense of a great many Men; they condemn all Employments, which do not tend to raise a Fortune. Whatever does not treat de pane lucrando, or is of no use, ἀπὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, that is, in the vulgar Phrase, to make the Pot boil (7), entersquidem seems to them vain and superfluous. *Anaxagoras* had quite another Notion. He abandoned his Lands to the Mercy of the Sheep, that he might apply himself wholly to Astronomy and Physic. *Philo* (8), *Plutarch* (9), *vident* *con* *Philostatus* (10), *Himerius* (11), and *Suidas*, speak of this. *Democritus* and *Crates* are seldom forgot upon this Occasion. The Fathers of the Church likewise mention it (12): But *St Chrysostom* (13) declares, that the Conduct of these Philosophers was mere Folly, and not a Contempt of Riches. The Devil, says *saire* *bailliver* he, has always been studious to depreciate and defame God's Creatures, because of the Incapacity of some Men to make a right use of their Money. This is paying the Heathens in their own Coin, who accounted all the Christians, who parted with their Possessions, and retired into Solitudes, Fools and Madmen (14). Thus things are praised or blamed, according to the different Prejudices of Men. Observe, that *Apollonius* [?] of the *Tyaneus* censured the Conduct of *Anaxagoras*, as the Action of a Philosopher, who had more regard to the *MOCR* Advantage of the Brasts, than that of Men (15). *Vig* nere has miserably rendered the Passage of *Apollonius*: he makes him say, that *Anaxagoras*, giving himself up to the feeding of Camels, and white Cattle, employed his Philosophy rather in the Service of the Brute Creation, than of Men. The Latin Version of *Rhinucci* is equally bad. *Aiebat Clazemenius Anaxagoram gregibus & camelorum armentis nutriendis intentum pecorum gratia magis quam hominum philosophatum esse.*

(1) See Remark [B] of the Article DEMOCRITUS.

(2) Cicero, Tusculan. lib. 1. cap. 10.

(3) Valer. Maxim. l. 3. cap. 7. n. 6. in extern.

(4) Plato, in Hippo a major, (and not in Phædo, as Menage quotes it, in Diog. Laert. lib. 2. n. 6.) pag. 2346.

(5) *Arist.* *Eudem.* l. 1. lib. 1. cap. 7. pag. 184.

(6) *Enchiridion*, lib. 1. cap. 1. § 1. *Enchiridion*, lib. 1. cap. 1. § 1. *Enchiridion*, lib. 1. cap. 1. § 1.

(8) *Philo de Vita con-*

(9) *Philo de Vita con-*

(10) *Philo de Vita con-*

(11) *Himer.* apud *Philo.* pag. 1087.

(12) *Laet. l.* *Enchiridion*, lib. 1. cap. 1. § 1.

3. cap. 22. Origen. contra Celsum, lib. 2. 1. cap. 2.

(13) See *lit* 7th

(14) See *Rutilius*

(15) *Philostr.* in *Vita* *Apollon.* li. 1.

applied himself wholly to the Study of Nature, without intermeddling in any public Affairs; which occasioned some One to ask him, whether he had no Concern at all for his Country. His Answer was admirable; nor could a Christian Philosopher have given a better; *Yes*, said he, stretching his Hands towards Heaven, *I have an extraordinary Concern for my Country* (a). He was asked, another time, *To what End are you born?* he replied, *To contemplate the Sun, the Moon, and the Heavens* (b). Accordingly he placed the supreme Good, or the End of Human Life, in Contemplation, and that Freedom of Condition, which it produces (c). He was but Twenty Years of Age, when he began to philosophize at *Athens* (d). Some Authors say, He was the First, who removed the School of Philosophy thither, which had flourished in *Ionia* from the Time of it's Founder *Thales*; which I shall examine in the Article of the Philosopher *ARCHELAUS*. It is certain he had several Famous Disciples at *Athens*, and particularly *Pericles*, and *Euripides*; and some add *Themistocles* and *Socrates*. But Chronology is against them as to *Themistocles* (e). There is scarce any thing, which gives us a greater Idea of his Ability, than the Nature of the Progress, which *Pericles* made under him; for he inspired him with those grave and majestic Manners, which enabled him to govern the Republic (f); he qualified him for that sublime and victorious Eloquence, which made him so powerful (g); and he taught him to fear the Gods (h) without Superstition. Add to this, that his Counsels assisted him greatly in supporting the Weight of Government (i). He distinguished himself by the Novelty and Singularity of his Doctrines. He taught, that there were Hills, Vallies, and Inhabitants

(f) Id. in *Pericles*, pag. 154.

(g) See Remarks [E] of the Article *PERICLES*, at the end.

(h) See Remarks [A] and [B] of the same Article, etc.

(i) See Citation (19).

in

This Censure looks like a Caviil; for, to say nothing of the Profit, which public Pasturage bring to Men, is it not plain, that *Anaxagoras* had reason to believe, that those Lands, which he forsook, would be cultivated by his Relations? The four Verses in the Life of *Virgil*, which begin with *Sic vos non vobis*, contain a great Truth, which is, that the Care, which is taken of Sheep, Oxen, &c. redounds to the good of Men. *Eusebius* has been more just to *Anaxagoras*, than *Apollonius Tyaneus*; for he represents the abandoning of his Lands, as a greater Proof of his Attachment to Philosophy, than all the other Philosophers had ever given. *Φασι γὰρ ὅς τις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀποστρέφεται, καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς χώρας δι' αὐτὴν εἰσὶν ἰσχυρὰν ὠφελίαν* (16). *Et vero superiores omnes quantum in Physiologia studio superavit, vel ex eo intelligi, quod agros ipse suos magnitudine passionis uberrimos ejus amore reliquerit. I make use of the Vulgar Version, which is that of Francis Vigerus; but I observe, that it is faulty as to μολύβδον γάλακτος, which ought to be rendered agros ovibus depascendis, and not agros magnitudine passionis uberrimos.*

There remain still some Remarks to be made on the Disinterestedness of *Anaxagoras*. He was one, who would have very well discharged the Duties of public Offices; for his Counsels were not only very serviceable to Him, who governed the *Athenians*, but even necessary (17); yet he always avoided interfering with the Government. He would never make use of the Authority and Credit of *Pericles*, to raise himself to Employ; but confined his Desires to Philosophical Speculations, being altogether free from all Ambition, which many other learned Men are incapable of subduing, even when they have not, as he had, an insight into Affairs of State, or the Protection and Favour of those in Authority. I question not but *Cicero* had our Philosopher particularly in view, when, speaking of several great Men, he says, That it was a Misfortune to the Commonwealth, that they wholly applied themselves to the Study of Nature. His Words are, "Eadem autem alii prudentia, sed con- filio ad vitæ studia dispari, quietem atque otium sequuti, ut Pythagoras, Democritus, Anaxagoras, à regendis civitatibus totos se ad cognitionem rerum transferunt; quæ vita propter tranquillitatem, & propter ipsius scientiæ suavitatem, quæ nihil est hominibus jucundius, plures quàm utile fait rebus publicis delectavit (18). — With the same Prudence, but with a view to different Studies, others, seeking for Retirement and Ease, as Pythagoras, Democritus, and Anaxagoras, have quitted the Government of States, to give themselves wholly up to the Study of Nature: a Life, which, on account of it's Tranquillity, and the Sweetness of Knowledge itself, has engaged more Persons to embrace it, than the public Good can spare." He not only slighted all Honours, but was careless, even with regard to the Necessaries of Life. He considered not, how easy it was

for him to heap up Riches, by the Credit and Friendship of *Pericles*; nor did he provide against the Wants of old Age. His Enquiries into the Secrets of Nature swallowed up all his other Passions. He found, at last, that his Contempt of Riches ought not to have been so great; for, in his old Age, he was reduced to Want, and, in this Necessity, he took up a calm Resolution to starve himself to death; but *Pericles*, having notice of it, prevented it. Let us hear *Plutarch*: "*Pericles*, says he (19), assisted several poor People with his Riches, and, among others, *Anaxagoras*; of whom it is related, that, *Pericles* being so busy, that he had no leisure to think of him, he found himself forsaken by every one in his old Age, and, having muffled up his Head, laid himself down with a Resolution to die of Hunger. *Pericles*, being informed thereof, went immediately to him in great Concern, and earnestly entreated him to alter his Resolution, and live, bewailing, not *Anaxagoras*, but himself, that he should lose such a faithful and wise Counsellor in the Occurrences of public Affairs. *Anaxagoras*, upon this, uncovered his Face, and said to him; 'They, *Pericles*, who desire the Light of a Lamp, put Oil into it to keep it alive.' Would you see another Proof of the little Ambition of this Philosopher? They offered to pay to his Memory all the Honours he could desire; but he rejected the Favour, and only desired, that the Day of his Death might be a Play-day for School-Boys. *Τὰς διδασκάλους ἀπὸς τιμῆς, ἡττοῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην καὶ τὴν ἀν' τελευτῆς τὴν παιδείαν ἀπέναι παίζον σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων* (20): *Honoribus qui offerbantur recusavit, postulatque ut ea qua decessisset vivis die pueris scholarum vocatio et discendi concederetur.* Was not this to wish, that his Death might be a Subject of Pleasure to many, and not of Affliction; and that he had an extraordinary contempt for every thing, which flatters most the Vanity of Mortals?

I shall make two short Reflexions on this Passage of the Life of *Pericles*. It informs us, that *Anaxagoras* was very well skilled in Politics, though he only made Profession of speculative Philosophy. Why then should we not believe, that he composed the *Treatise de Regno*, out of which *Ælian* alleges a Sentence (21)? Granting it to be the Work of another *Anaxagoras*, as *Meursius* and *Menage* suppose (22), yet the Reason, which *Menage* gives for it, is not a good one (23): He himself would have been sensible of it, if he had recollected this Passage of *Plutarch*. This is my first Reflexion. The other is, that the old Age, ascribed to our Philosopher, does not agree with the Account of those, who say, that he came to *Athens* at twenty Years of Age, and that he lived there thirty Years. He must then have received *Pericles*'s Visit, mentioned by *Plutarch*, at about fifty Years of Age. I shall conclude with a Passage of *Ovid*, which tells us, that the first Astronomers must needs have been free from Sensuality, and from the

(19) *Plutarch* in *Vit. Pericli*, pag. 162.

(20) Id. in *Præcept. Reip. gerend.* p. 820.

(21) *Diog. Laërtius*, as appears by the Text of this Article, relates the Circumstances somewhat differently.

(22) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 4. c. 14.

(23) See *Kuhniius*'s Notes upon this Passage of *Ælian*.

(24) *Allius* igitur fuerit ab *Anaxagora* postro, &c. *Menage*, in *Laërt.* l. 2. n. 7. He draws the Conclusion from *Anaxagoras*'s never applying himself to Affairs of Government.

(a) *Diogen. Laërt.* l. 2. n. 6, 7.

(b) Id. lib. n. 10.

(c) *Clem. Alexandrin.* Stromat. lib. 2. pag. 416.

(d) *Diogen. Laërt.* ibid. n. 7.

(e) *Plutarch.* in *Themist.* pag. 112.

(16) *Euseb.* Prepar. Evang. lib. 14. cap. 14. pag. 730.

(17) See below, *Plutarch*'s Words, Citation (19).

(18) *Cicero* de Oratore, lib. 3. c. 16. (and not lib. 2. as *Mr. Menage* quotes it in *Diog. Laërt.* n. 7.) fol. 91. B.

in the Moon; and that the Sun was a fiery Mass of Matter [B], and bigger than Peloponnesus (k). He said, that Snow was black (l), for which he assigned a very poor reason; for he built his Notion, on the one Side, upon this, that Snow is condensed Water; and he supposed, on the other side, that black is the true Colour of Water (m). He believed, in general, that our Eyes are incapable of discerning the true Colour of Objects, and that our Senses deceive us; and that therefore it is the business of Reason, not of our Eyes, to judge of things (n). He held that the Heavens were made of Stone (o), and that it was the Swiftness of their Motion, which hindered them from falling (p). Others assure us, that he believed the Heavens to be of the Nature of Fire as to their Essence; and that the Stones of the Earth being snatched upwards, and set on fire, by the Rapidity of it's Revolution, became Stars (q); and that, at the beginning, Animals were formed out of the Earth, and a warm Moisture (r), and that afterwards they produced each other, the Males on the right side, and the Females on the left (s). He admitted as many sorts of Principles, as compound Bodies; for he supposed, that each kind of Body was made up of many similar Particles, which he called *Homœomeria*, by reason of this Conformity. But this led him to grant a thing, which perplexed his System; namely, that the Seeds, or Principles, of all Species, are to be found in each Individual. *Moreri* has misrepresented this Opinion [C]. *Lucretius* has well explained, and solidly refuted

(k) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 8.

(l) Cicero, Acad. Quæst. lib. 2. c. p. 23. & 31. Laërt. lib. 5. cap. 3.

(m) Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. lib. 1. c. 13.

(n) Id. adv. Mathem. l. 7. p. 133.

(o) See the beginning of the *Re-marks* [I].

(p) Diogen. Laërt. s. lib. 2. n. 12.

(q) Plutarch. de Placitis Philosph. lib. 2. c. 13.

(r) Diogen. Laërt. ibid. n. 12.

(s) Id. ib. n. 9.

Care of attaining to Honours and Riches: *Anaxagoras* is a pregnant Instance of it.

Felices animos, quibus hæc cognoscere primis,
Inque domos superas scandere cura fuit!
Credibile est illos pariter vitiosique locisque
Altius humanis exeruisse caput.
Non Venus & vinum sublimia pectora fregit;
Officiumque fori, militiæve labor.
Nec levis ambitio, persufusque gloria fuco;
Magnarumve fames sollicitavit opum.
Admovere oculis distantia fidera nostris;
Ætheraque ingenio supposuere suo.
Sic petitur cælum: non ut ferat Ossan Olympus;
Summaque Pelicæ fidera tangat apex.
Nos quoque sub ducibus cælum metabimur illis,
Ponemusque suos ad statâ signa dies (24).

(24) Ovid. Fast. lib. 1. ver. 297.

Twice happy they, who first, with Souls refin'd,
To these Pursuits their generous Care confined;
Who, nobly spurning Earth's impure Abodes,
Assay'd to climb the Mansions of the Gods.
Such Breasts, sublime, Intemperance never broke;
Such ne'er submitted to Love's shameful Yoke.
Such fled the wrangling of the noisy Bar,
The hideous Din of Arms, and painful Tails of War;
Foes to Ambition, and her idle Lure,
From Thirst of Fame, from Thirst of Gold, secure.
Such Souls, examining the distant Skies,
Unveil'd it's bidden Lights to mortal Eyes.
Let huge Olympus lofty Ossa bear;
Let Pelion tow'r on Ossa high in Air;
Mountains on Mountains short of Heav'n must rise;
This only Ladder reaches to the Skies.
Led by these Guides, to measure Heav'n we try,
And to each Sign it's stat'd Days apply.

[B] He taught — that the Sun was a fiery Mass of Matter. I make use of this general Expression, because the Interpreters do not agree about the true Sense of these Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*; Τὸν ἥλιον μὲν ὡς πῦρ λέγειν (25). Some will have them to signify a Mass of burning Iron; others rather understand by them a flaming Stone; and others, a fiery Globe, neither of Iron nor Stone. *Videtur mihi Anaxagoras*, (thus speaks *Cassianus*) per μῦθον διαπύρον non tam lapidem aut ferrum, quàm globum quendam ignem, λέγοντα ὡς πῦρ, ut ait *Plutarchus*, intelligere voluisse (26). Most of those, who have mentioned this Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, have adhered to the second Explication; which agrees perfectly with the Hypothesis of this Philosopher, as will appear hereafter (27). I begin with *Xenophon's* Words. Φάσκον δὲ τὸν ἥλιον λίθον διαπύρον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅτι λίθος μὲν ἐν πυρὶ ὡς ἔτε λυμπεῖ, ἔτε πολλὸν χρόνον ἀντέχει. ὁ δὲ ἥλιος τὸν πᾶν χρόνον πᾶν ἡμεραν λαμπρύνει ὡς διαμύειν (28).

(25) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 8.

(26) Id. Ca. fab. 1. hunc I cum Diog. Laërt.

(27) In *Re-marks* [I].

(28) *Xenophon*. Memorabil. l. 4.

This is, according to Mr *Charpentier's* Translation, Saying also, That the Sun was only a fiery Stone, he did not consider, that a Stone does not shine in the Fire, neither can it continue long there, without being consumed; whereas the Sun continues always, and is an inexhaustible Source of Light. *Plato* shall be my second Evidence. He introduces *Socrates*, who, finding himself charged with saying, that the Sun was a Stone, and the Moon an Earth, answers, They take me for *Anaxagoras*, whose Books are full of such Discourses; and they fancy that I am so foolish as to teach young People these Absurdities: They would laugh at me, if I should ascribe to myself a Doctrine, contained in the Works of another Man, which are sold very cheap (29). I have only given a general Notion of the Words of *Plato*; and therefore I shall set down the very Words of that Philosopher, for the Satisfaction of those, who are not contented with the Substance of an Evidence. Ἀναξαγόρου οἱ καὶ ἡγοῦσιν ὅτι φέρεται. καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἀπορροῖς τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀπείρους γραμμάτων εἶναι, ὥστε καὶ εἶναι ὅτι τ' Ἀναξαγόρου βιβλία τὰ Κλασικῶν γράμματα τῶν λόγων. καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νῦν ταῦτα παρ' ἐμὲ μαρτυροῦνται ὡς ἐξ ἐστὶν ἐνίοις, εἰ πάντων πολλὰ, διαχρῆται ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, Σωκράτης καὶ ἀγαθῶν, τὰν περὶ σοφίας αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰς τὴ καὶ ὅτις ἀποστα ὄντα (30). *Anaxagoras* tu quidem, o amice Melite, accusare tibi videris, atque ita vos parvi facis, existimares literarum ignarus esse, quasi nesciant libros *Anaxagore Clazomenii* ejusmodi opinionibus esse plenos. Jovenes vero hæc id me dicant? quibus liceret interdum, etiam si multa sint, unius drachmæ pretio ementibus ex archestra *Socratem* deridere, si sua esse fingeret, præsertim quum tam absurda sint. You will find in *Plutarch*, that *Anaxagoras* was condemned as an impious Man, for having said, that the Sun was a Stone (31). *St Cyril of Alexandria* (32), and *St Austin* (33), are to be reckoned among those, who have said, that, according to *Anaxagoras*, the Sun was a fiery Stone. *Suidas* renders μῦθον διαπύρον, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, by πῦρον λίθον. And therefore I wonder, that Mr *Charpentier* chose rather to say, that *Anaxagoras* maintained, that the Sun was only a fiery Mass of Iron (34).

(29) *Tō* μὲν ἥλιον, λίθον φέρεται εἶναι, τὸν δὲ ἀλλόθεν, γὰρ ἐκ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐνίοις, εἰ πάντων πολλὰ, διαχρῆται ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς γενομένης, Σωκράτης καὶ ἀγαθῶν, τὰν περὶ σοφίας αὐτοῦ εἶναι, ἀλλὰς τὴ καὶ ὅτις ἀποστα ὄντα. *Plato* in *Alcibiades* Socratis, p. 21. A.

(30) Id. ibid.

(31) *Plutarch*, de Superstitione, pag. 169. E.

(32) *Cyrillus* lib. 6. contra Julian.

(33) *Augustine*, de Civitat. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 41.

(34) *Charpentier's* Life of *Socrates*, p. 7.

[C] *Moreri* has misrepresented this Opinion. *Lucretius* has well explained, and solidly confuted it. I shall sum up, in this Remark, all the Mistakes of *Moreri*. I. He supposes, that *Anaxagoras* taught, That the first Causes of Things had in them the Characters of the Parts; for, as Gold is composed of small Particles united together, so likewise this great World is composed of similar Particles, which make up the whole, and are the Primum Mobile of all things. What Nonsense! What Darkness! Did ever *Heracitus* express himself so obscurely? To what purpose is the Example of Gold composed of small Particles united together? Does this belong to Gold, more than to any other compound Body? He should have added, that those little Particles, of which Gold is compounded, are also Gold themselves. This *Anaxagoras* taught: He believed, that a visible Bone was composed

refuted it. This will give us an Opportunity of making some Reflexions on this Doctrine. What was most excellent in his System, was, that, whereas, till then, they had reasoned about the Formation of the World, by admitting only, on one side, *unformed Matter*, and, on the other, *mere Chance*; or a *blind Fatality*, which put it

posed of several invifible Bones, and that the Blood, which we fee, was compofed of divers fmall Drops, each whereof was Blood; and therefore he called his Principles *ἰσχυρῆσαι* (35), *fimilarity*. Read thefe Verfes of Lucretius.

(35) Plu-
tarch. de
Placit. Phi-
lofoph. l. 1.
c. 3. p. 876.
Diog. Laërt.
lib. 2. n. 8.

Nunc et Anaxagoræ scrutemur Homœomerian,
Quam Græci memorant, nec noſtrâ dicere linguâ
Concedit nobis patrii fermonis egeſtas.
Sed tamen ipſam rem facile eſt exponere verbis,
Principum rerum quam dicit Homœomerian.
Oſſibus; ſic & de paucillis atque minutis
Viſceribus viſcus gigni; ſanguenque creati
Sanguinis inter ſe multis coctantibus guttis;
Ex aurique putat micis conſiſtere poſſe
Aurum; & de terris terram concreſcere parvis;
Ignibus ex ignem; humorem ex humoribus eſſe.
Cætera conſimili fingit ratione, putatque (36).

(36) Lucret.
l. 1. v. 830.

Now let's examine with a curious Eye
Sage Anaxagoras' Philoſophy,
By copious Greece term'd Homœomery.
For which our Latin Language, poor in Words,
Not one expreſſive ſingle Voice affords.
Yet by an eaſy ſhort Periphrasis
We plainly can diſcover what it is.
For this it means: That Bones of minute Bones,
That Fleſh of Fleſh, and Stones of little Stones,
That Nerves take other little Nerves for Food,
And Blood is made of little drops of Blood.
That Gold from parts of the ſame Nature roſe,
That Earths do Earth, Fires Fire, Airs Air compoſe;
And ſo in all things eſe alike to thoſe.

CREECH.

I will not repeat all the Arguments alledged by Lucretius againſt this Doctrine: I ſhall only inſiſt on the firſt. He ſhews, that, upon this Hypotheſis, the firſt Principles of things would be as corruptible as the moſt Compound Bodies themſelves. This Conſequence draws two great Inconveniencies after it; one is, that the Difference, which ought to be between Principles and Compounds, is not to be found in Anaxagoras's Hypotheſis. The Difference I ſpeak of is, that the firſt Principles (37) ought always to continue the ſame, how often ſoever Compound Bodies be deſtroyed. Compound Bodies alone are born, and die, and paſs through a thouſand Viciffitudes of Generation and Corruption; but Principles retain their Nature unchangeably under all the Forms, which are ſucceſſively produced. Anaxagoras could not ſay this of HIS Principles; for (to give an Inſtance) if thoſe of Fleſh had the Nature of Fleſh, they would be no leſs ſubject to Deſtruction, than a great Maſs of Fleſh; and ſo of the reſt, for he admitted no indiviſible Parts in Matter.

(37) Under-
ſtand by This
Word the
Matter, or
Subjectum
ex quo.

Nec tamen eſſe ulla parte idem in rebus inane,
Concedit, neque corporibus finem eſſe ſecundis (38).

(38) Lucret.
lib. 1. v. 843.

But he admits no void, he grants no leaſt,
And therefore errs in that, with all the reſt.

CREECH.

(39) In Re-
mark [C].

We ſhall ſee hereafter (39), whether he could have ſuppoſed, that Principles, being eternal and uncreated, ought to be Incorruptible. The other inconvenience is, that the Deſtruction of firſt Principles is the ſame with what is called *Annihilation*; for when they ceaſe to be, they do not reſolve themſelves into other things, of which they are compoſed, ſince the Simplicity, which is peculiar to them, will not admit of any Composition. They periſh therefore entirely, and are annihilated. Now the Light of Nature cannot conceive the Poſſibility of ſuch a Change.

At neque recidere ad nihilum res poſſe, neque autem
Creſcere ex nihilo, teſtor reſ ante probatas (40).

(40) Lucret.
ib. ver. 857.

But former Arguments have clearly taught,
That things nor periſh to, nor riſe from, nought.

CREECH.

The Deſtruction of Compound Bodies is not liable to this Difficulty; they ſubſiſt always in their Principles; for inſtance, Wood, when deſtroyed by Fire, ceaſes not to exiſt as Matter, or extended Subſtance. Thus there is a great Defect in the Syſtem of Anaxagoras: His Principles are compoſed of Matter and Form, and have not conſequently the Simplicity and Immutability, which Order requires. This Defect could not be remedied, by ſuppoſing, that the Intelligence, which preſides over Generations, never ſuffers them to be deſtroyed. Was it not a ſufficient Inconveniency, that of their own Nature they were ſubject to Corruption, and could not be preſerved from it but by a Privilege, or, rather, by a Miracle? I ſay nothing of their great Number, which is likewiſe a remarkable Defect; for it is eſſential to a good Syſtem, that an infinite number of Effects ſhould flow from a very few Cauſes.

Lucretius was not aware of an Objection, which would have deſtroyed the very Foundation of Anaxagoras's Hypotheſis. This Philoſopher's Motive, in his Suppoſition of the Homœomeries, or Homogeneties, was, that no Being can be made out of Nothing, or reduced to nothing (41). Now if the Earth, for Example, was formed of Things, which were not Earth, it would be made of nothing; and if, having been Earth, it ſhould ceaſe to be Earth, it would be annihilated: It muſt then be formed of what is Earth, and, in that which is called Deſtruction or Corruption, it muſt needs be reduced to, or reſolve itſelf into, Parts, which are Earth: According to this, there is no Generation, or Corruption, properly ſo called; no Birth, or Death. The production of an Herb is nothing eſe but the Aſſemblage of ſeveral ſmall Herbs: The Deſtruction of a Tree is nothing but the Separation and Diſperſion of ſeveral Trees. "We ſee, added he (42), that the ſimpleſt Food, as Bread and Water, is converted into Hair, Veins, Arteries, Nerves, Bones, &c. there muſt be therefore little Hairs, Veins, and Arteries, &c. which indeed our Senſes do not diſcover; but they are not invifible to our Reaſon or Underſtanding." It is evident, that he went upon this falſe Suppoſition, to wit, that ſomething would be made out of nothing, if the parts of Bread, which ſupply the Bones with Nouriſhment, had not the Nature of Bones, in the Bread itſelf. It is ſurprizing, that ſo great a Genius ſhould reaſon in this manner. Could he not perceive, that a Houſe is not made out of nothing, though it be built with Materials, which are not an Houſe? Do not four Lines, none of which are ſquares, make a Square? Is it not enough, that they are placed in a certain manner? Is not a Doubler made of ſeveral Pieces of Cloth, none of which is a Doubler? Is there any Creation in this? Since, then, in artificial Things, the bare change of Figure, and ſituation of Parts, is ſufficient to form a whole, which, as to it's Species and Properties, differs from each of it's Parts; could he not apprehend, that Nature, which infinitely exceeds human Art, can form Bones and Veins, without putting together Parts, which are already Bones and Veins; and that it need only work upon ſuch Particles, as are capable of receiving ſuch or ſuch a Situation or Figure? By this means, without any Creation, properly ſo called, That, which was not Fleſh, will become Fleſh, &c. This is what Lucretius might have objected to our Anaxagoras; and by this he would have entirely deſtroyed his Hypotheſis of the Homœomeria. I proceed to other Faults of Moriri (43).

II. Anaxagoras, ſays he, was ſurnamed Νῆς, or the Mind, on account of the Subtlety of his Doctrine. Diogenes Laërtius ſays nothing of this Reaſon; he only tells us, that he had this Surname given him, becauſe he taught, that an intelligent Being had cleared up the

it in order; he was the First, who supposed, that an Intelligence produced Motion in Matter,

(45) Diog. Laert. lib. 3. n. 6.

(45) Timon Philistius, in Silis, apud Laert. lib. 2. n. 6.

(46) Harpocrat. in voce Αναξαγόρας.

(47) Plutarch's Words may be seen in the Remark [D], Citation (62).

(48) See, above, the Words of Lucian, in the Citation (36).

(49) In the Remark [K], Citation (156).

(50) Theodoret. de Græc. Affect. serm. 2. pag. 489.

(51) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. n. 9.

(52) Plut. de Placit. Phil. lib. 2. cap. 8. pag. 887.

(3) Diog. Laert. lib. 2. n. 15.

(54) Id. ib. n. 8.

Chaos (44). Timon (45), and Harpocratation (46), say the same. I do not deny, that Plutarch mentions the Reason alleged by Moreri; but, since he alleges also That, which we find in Diogenes Laërtius (47), and which is the more probable one, Moreri should not have suppress'd it.

III. He falsely charges our Anaxagoras with having admitted of Atoms (48). This Error is so much the grosser, because he had before said, that Anaxagoras admitted of infinite Parts in all Bodies. These two Opinions destroy each other; for, though, generally speaking, the Atomic System may admit of an infinity of Corpuscles; yet it requires, that their Number should be determinate in each Body; since one of the Reasons of the Atomists, in their System, is, that they avoid the Absurdities of a Divisibility in infinitum, which necessarily follows from the Supposition, that each Body is composed of an infinite Number of Parts.

IV. It is not true, that Lucian feigns, that Jupiter struck Anaxagoras dead with a Thunder-bolt. We shall see, below, the Words of Lucian.

V. I know not upon what Foundation Moreri says, that Anaxagoras travelled into Egypt, where he learned the Secrets and Mysteries of the learned Men of that Country: I do not remember to have read this in any ancient Author. For I desire I may be allowed to place Theodoret among the Moderns, in this respect; Theodoret, I say, who mentions this Journey of Anaxagoras (50), but who is otherwise mistaken, in supposing this Philosopher to be cotemporary with Pythagoras. However, I shall have still reason to censure Moreri, since he has not quoted Theodoret, nor any Author, who mentions this Journey.

VI. He believed, that the Stars (they are Moreri's Words) had at first a confused Motion, which was afterwards regulated. This was not at all the Opinion of Anaxagoras. According to Diogenes Laërtius, he believed, that, at first, the Stars moved in such a manner, that the Heavens, being in the Form of a Vault, the Pole, which never sets, was vertical to the Earth, but that it inclined itself afterwards (51). By his leave, this was to have a very imperfect Knowledge of the Sphere. He was ignorant, that the North Pole, inclining to the Horizon of Ionia, and several other Countries, is no less vertical to the Earth, with respect to a certain Place, than it could be at the beginning. If Anaxagoras meant, that this Pole, being formerly in the Zenith of Ionia, afterwards declined towards the Horizon, he expressed himself very ill, and must have believed, that Ionia was formerly a very miserable and unhappy Country. Plutarch relates this somewhat differently. He says, that Anaxagoras believed, that, after the World was created, and the Earth had produced living Creatures, the Earth of itself (ἐκ τῆ αὐτομάτης) inclined towards the South; perhaps provisionally (ὡς οὐκ ἀεὶ νοεῖται) that there might be habitable and uninhabitable Parts, through excessive Cold, scorching Heat, and Temperature (52).

VII. It is not true, that Diogenes Laërtius mentions an Orator, whose Name was Anaxagoras, and who was Disciple of Socrates. He makes him a Disciple of Isocrates (53).

VIII. It is still faller, that our Anaxagoras taught, that the similar Parts were the Primum Mobile of all Things. We shall see, in the following Remark, that, according his Opinion, the first Mover was a Spirit, distinct from the Homœomeria. If Moreri had understood the Author of the Life of this Philosopher, he would not have fallen into this Mistake. "Ἐκ τῶν ὁμοιομερῶν μικρῶν σώματων τὸ πρῶτον συγκροτῆσαι, καὶ οὐκ αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν κινήσεως (54). Ex parvis similibus partium corporibus hoc totum esse compositum, MENTEMQUE INITIUM ESSE MOTUS.

IX. Moreri has misrepresented the Sense of the first part of this Greek of Diogenes Laërtius. All this great World, says he, is made up of similar Parts, which constitute the whole. I have already complained of the Non-sense of these Words; but I shall here consider them more fully, in order to shew, in what manner a Modern Writer ought to guard against Ambiguities, to which he is liable, when he forgets, that an Expression, which was clear to the Greeks, may be very obscure at present, unless expressed by a Periphrasis.

I say this, without intending to justify good Diogenes Laërtius, who generally did not know what he said, when he abridged the Opinions of the Philosophers. I wish Moreri had expressed himself thus: The World is the Effect or Result of the Choice of small similar Parts. According to his own Expression, one would take the World to be an Whole, each of whose Parts has the same Name and Quality with all the rest (55). This is so false, that it is but opening one's Eyes, to be convinced of it. The very Blind may know it, and cannot be ignorant of it; for they know, that they are composed of Flesh and Bones; and that their Hair is not like their Nails. They, who have the least Tincture of School-Philosophy, know, that an Homogeneous Compound is That, whose Parts have the same Nature and Qualities with the Whole; and that an Heterogeneous Compound is That, whose Parts are not named as their whole is, and have not each the same common Properties. Water, Milk, Wine, Flesh, and Bones, are Homogeneous Compounds; for Instance, each drop of the Liquid, which composes a River, is called Water, and has the Essence of it. But it is quite otherwise with an Heterogeneous Compound; its Parts have not its Name, nor its Nature; neither have they the Names and Qualities of each other. Such, for Example, is the Body of an Ox; it is composed of Blood, Flesh, and Bones, and of several other Parts, which have each their distinct Names and Qualities. This being so, no one can say, that the Universe is an Homogeneous Compound. Some of its Parts are opaque, and others transparent; some liquid, and others hard: Here is Earth; there Air and Water; here a Meadow, and there a Wood. Anaxagoras would have been more extravagant, than the most absurd Visionary that ever was put into a Mad-House, had he entertained any Doubts about it; and yet Moreri's Expressions plainly intimate, that he taught, that the Universe was Homogeneous; and therefore he falsely charges him with a shocking Absurdity. He should have made use of another Phrase to describe his Opinion, and pitched upon such Terms, as would not confound the collective Sense of the Word Whole, with the distributive (56). I will explain myself by an Example. Let us suppose, that all the Citizens of a great City are divided into ten Classes; and that those, who have Twenty thousand Livres are placed in the first, those, who have Fifteen thousand, in the next, and the rest accordingly. Now whoever should say, This Town is composed of Inhabitants equally Rich, must intend it only in a distributive Sense. His meaning must be, that the ten Parts, which constitute this People, are each of them composed of Men equally Rich; But his Thought would be involved in improper, obscure, and intricate Words; and, to make himself understood, he ought to add, That this equality of Riches is only to be found, in comparing the People of the same Class with each other; for if he be of the tenth Class, he compared with those of the first, there will be a great Inequality. This is the ill Office, which those do our Anaxagoras, who maintain, that he said, that the Universe was altogether composed of similar Parts: They make their Readers suspect, that he advanced a ridiculous Enigma; and, if the Writer does not explain himself by a that is to say, they are at a loss to understand him, and grow very angry with such an Author. To free them from such a Perplexity, I will endeavour to explain the Sentiment of this Philosopher.

His meaning seems to me to be, that the Intelligence, which formed the World, had, in infinite Matter, found infinite Kinds of minute Corpuscles, which resembled each other; but which by a confused Mixture were surrounded with other Corpuscles, or small Bodies, not of the same Nature. The Intelligence united the several Corpuscles of the same Species; and, by this means, formed here a Planet, there a Stone, in other places Water, Air, Wood, &c. This Action divided the Universe into several Masses of similar Parts; but in such a manner, that the Particles of one Mass did not resemble those of another. And, therefore, the Word All or Whole, must not be taken in a Collective, but in a Distributive Sense; otherwise you will have as much Reason to say, that the World is made of Dissimilar, as of Similar, Parts. Ludovicus Vivès, having observed, that this Passage of St Austin, Anaxagoras

(55) That is, according to Anaxagoras's Opinion.

(56) Mr Arnauld, in his Difficulties to Mr Steyner, part 6. pag. 122, &c. makes some Observations on the two Senses of the Word WHOLE.

AN EXPLANATION of the D. H. of ANAXAGORAS.

Matter, and reduced the Chaos into Form [D]. This was, without doubt, the true Reason,

Anaxagoras — dixit ex infinita materia quæ confaretur dissimilibus inter se particulis, &c. — Anaxagoras — said, that of infinite Matter, consisting of dissimilar Particles, &c. — was read in the old Manuscripts, Similibus inter se particulis — of similar Particles — adds, utramque rectè — both Readings are right.

As to the Objections, which Anaxagoras had to fear, I shall take some notice of them in the Remark [G].

[D] He was the first, who supposed that an Intelligence produced motion in Matter, and reduced the Chaos into Form.] These are Facts well attested. Πρῶτον τὴν ὅλην νῦν ἐπισκεύον, ἀρχαίον ὅτι τὴν συγκολλημένην, ὡς ἐστὶν ἡδὴ καὶ μεταμορφώσας πρὸς αὐτὴν. πᾶν ἄνθρωπος ἡν ὁμοί, εἴτα νῦν ἐλθὼν αὐτὸ διέκοσμος (57). He was the first, who superadded a MIND to Matter, expressing himself at the beginning of his Work, in this pleasing and sublime manner: "all Things were confused; afterwards an Intelligence, interposing, reduced them into Form and Order." I thought it proper to begin with this Passage of Diogenes Laërtius, because it contains Anaxagoras's own Words (58).

Let us take a view of Aristotle's Remarks on this Subject. He condemns the Philosophers, who, treating of the Principles of Things, stopped at the material, without searching for the efficient, Cause of Generation and Corruption. The material Cause, says he, never changes; Brass does not convert itself into a Statue, nor Wood into a Bedstead; there is another Principle of this Change. To search after this Principle, is to ascend to the first Mover. His Words are so remarkable, that it is proper to repeat them.

Εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάστις πᾶσα θορόα καὶ γίνεσθαι ἐκ τῆς, ὡς ἐνός ἢ καὶ πλεόντων ἐστίν, διὰ τί τὴν συγκολλημένην, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐστὶν γὰρ δὴ τὴν συγκολλημένην αὐτὴ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτῇ. λέγων δ' οἷον, ὅτι τὸ εὐλογεῖται ὅτι ὁ χαλκὸς αἰτίον τὸ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτῇ αὐτῶν. καὶ δὲ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν εὐλογεῖται, ὅτι ὁ χαλκὸς ἀνδραγαθία, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τῆς μεταβάλλει τὸ αἰτίον. τὸ δὲ τὴν ἡσίων, ἐστὶν τὴν ἐτέραν ἀρχὴν ἡσίων, ὡς ἂν ἡμῖς φαίμεν, ὅταν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως (59). Nam est quædam maxime omnis corruptio, & generatio ex aliquo ut ex uno aut ex pluribus sit, cur hoc accidit, & quæ causa est? Non enim ipsum subiectum sese mutari facit, ut puta, dico quod neque lignum, neque æs causa est, ut utrumque eorum mutetur. Neque lignum quidem lectum, æs vero statum facit, sed aliud quippiam mutationis causa est. Hoc autem querere, aliud principium querere est, perinde atque id, quod non unde principium motus dicimus. He adds, I. That, when the Insufficiency of the Elements came to be known, the Force of Truth obliged the Philosophers to look for another Mover. II. That it is not probable, that Fire and Earth, &c. are the Causes of the beautiful State of certain Beings, and of the Generation of others; nor that those ancient Philosophers believed it. III. That it would be unreasonable to attribute too grand an Effect to Chance and Fortune. Οὐδ' αὐτὰ αὐτομάτῳ καὶ τύχῃ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιστρέφει ἀπράγμα καλὸς ἔχει. Nec rursus Cæsi & Fortunæ tantam attribueret rem probè se habet (60). IV. That, for this Reason, Anaxagoras, who said that there is a Spirit in Nature, as well as in Animals, which is the Author of the World, and of Order, seemed to be a Person of good Sense, in comparison of the Philosophers his Predecessors, who were great Talkers about nothing. There is more Force in the Original, than in the Idea which I give of it. Those, who are able to understand the Greek, which I am going to produce, will find my Confession sincere. Νῦν δὲ τις εἰπὼν εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸν αἰτίον καὶ τὸ κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τάξιν πᾶσιν, διὸν ἦσαν ἰσάμην παρ' εἰκὴ λόγοντας τὴν πρῶτον. φανερὸν μὲν ἐν Ἀναξαγόρῳ ὅτι οἷον ἀλάμουν τῶν τῶν λόγων (61). Wherefore he, who said, that an Intelligence, in Nature, as well as in Animals, produced the World, and the Order of Things, appeared a sober Reasoner, in comparison of the vain Discourses of the more ancient Philosophers. We know, that Anaxagoras was the Person, who openly taught this Doctrine. If these Testimonies are express, That of Plutarch is, perhaps, still

more so. Let us produce the Words of That Author.

Ὁν (Ἀναξαγόρῳ) ἐστὶν τὸν ἀνθρώπον νῦν πρὸς αὐτὸν, εἴτα τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτὸν μεταβαλὼν ἐκ φυσιολογίας καὶ περὶ τὴν διατάξιν αὐτῶν διαμορφώσας, εἰς τὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον ἐστὶν τὴν ἀνθρώπου, διακοσμήσας ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπισκεύον καθάρην καὶ ἀνεκρίνον, ἐμμετρίμηνος πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀποκρινοῖς τὰς ὁμοιομορφίας (62). Who (Anaxagoras) was by his Contemporaries filed The Mind, either because they admired his singular and excellent Penetration in Natural Philosophy; or, because he was the first, who did not ascribe the Formation of the Universe to Chance or Fate, but to a simple and uncompounded Intelligence, which separated the similar Particles of Matter from all others, with which they were confused. This Passage is quoted by some Authors, as if it ought to be read ἐμμετρίμηνος, instead of ἐμμετρίμηνος; but I choose to reject both these readings, and substitute ἐμμετρίμηνος. So the Author of the Latin Translation supposes it ought to be read, Quem (Anaxagoram) illius temporis æquales Mentem appellaverunt, vel quod perfectiorem ejus singularem excellentemque in Natura perfectiorem admirarentur; vel quod universitatis, non Fortunam neque Fatum ordinatæ descriptionis Principium, sed mentem principem ac sinceram præferret, cum omnibus aliis confusas secerentem particulas similes. Though Vossius quotes this Passage in Greek, with the Word ἐμμετρίμηνος, yet he renders it as if it was ἐμμετρίμηνος: This is his Translation (63): Non fortunam neque fatum ordinatæ descriptionis principium, sed mentem puram ac sinceram præferret, ab aliis omnibus admixtis similes particulas secerentem. Within a few Pages after, he makes use of the same Passage, to prove, that Anaxagoras taught, that God is entirely blended with Matter. Quare ex ejus sententia opifex mundi Deus est, at ex Plutarcho antea monitum, nec καθάρης καὶ ἀπείρου ἐμμετρίμηνος πᾶσι, Mens pura ac sincera omnibus permixta (64). I do not believe, that Plutarch intended any Mixture of the Divine Nature with the parts of Matter; this would be inconsistent with the Epithets καθάρης & ἀπείρου, which he had just before made use of, and by which he clearly shews, that Anaxagoras believed, that God is a pure and unmixed Spirit, distinct and separate from Matter. His meaning, in my Opinion, is, that this Immaterial Spirit separated the Homœomeries, or similar Parts, which lay confused with all other Bodies. Thus we see how difficult it is for the most learned Men, such as Vossius was, to write much, and to be always upon their Guard: Their Attention frequently fails them, and they forget, in one Place, what they have said in another: Nay, sometimes what they say in the beginning of a Period does not perfectly agree with the Conclusion of it.

I have farther Reason to believe, that Plutarch meant what I attribute to him; for, besides what I shall alledge out of Tertullian (65), I find in Aristotle, that Anaxagoras said, that the Spirit, which had put Matter into Motion, was free from all Mixture. Πλὴν ἀρχὴν γὰρ τὸν νῦν τίθεσθαι μάστις πᾶσιν. μὴν γὰρ γὰρ οἷον αὐτὸν τῶν ὄντων ἀπλὴν εἶναι, καὶ ἀμειγρὴν τε καὶ καθάρην. ἀποδείξωσι δ' αὖ μὴ τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρχῇ, τὸ, τε γινώσκον καὶ τὸ κινεῖν, λέγων νῦν κινῶσα τὸ πᾶν (66). He lays down an Intelligent Mind as the Principle of all Things; and says, that That alone, of all Things, is simple and unmixed, pure and uncompounded. And to this Principle he ascribes two Properties, to wit, Knowledge and Motion; saying that the Mind put the Universe into Motion. This is more clearly expressed in the following Words. Φησὶ (Ἀναξαγόρῳ) δ' εἶναι μίμνησιν πάντα, πλὴν τὸν νῦν τῶν δὲ ἀμειγρῶν μόνον καὶ καθάρην (67). Anaxagoras taught, that all things were compounded, except the Mind, but that This was unmixed and pure. The next is the Testimony of Plutarch; from which it manifestly appears, That Anaxagoras ascribed to God the first Production of Motion and Order. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς εἰρήνη καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸ σάμα, νῦν δὲ αὐτὰ διέκοσμος ἐστίν, καὶ τὰς γίνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων ἐποίησεν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἔχ' ἐγκότα υπὲρ τὸ πᾶν σάμα, ἀτάλως δὲ κινῶμενα. διὰ καὶ τοῦ (φησὶν) ἐπισήσας ὡς τάξις ἀτάλως ἐστὶν βελίον, διακοσμήσας τὰς

(62) Plut. in Pericle, pag. 1. 4. B.

(63) Vossius de Origine & Progressu Idololatriæ, lib. 1. c. 10. pag. 5.

(64) Id. ib. cap. 2. p. 12.

(65) In Remarck [E].

(66) Aristotle de Anima, lib. 1. cap. 2. pag. 4. n. D. See also the 4th Chapter of the 3d Book p. 553. G. where we find, that Anaxagoras said, that the Intelligence must be free from all Mixture, in order to be Mover.

(67) Anaxagoras taught, that all things were compounded, except the Mind, but that This was unmixed and pure. The next is the Testimony of Plutarch; from which it manifestly appears, That Anaxagoras ascribed to God the first Production of Motion and Order. Ὁ δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας φησὶν ὡς εἰρήνη καὶ ἀρχὴ τὸ σάμα, νῦν δὲ αὐτὰ διέκοσμος ἐστίν, καὶ τὰς γίνεσθαι τῶν ὄντων ἐποίησεν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων ἔχ' ἐγκότα υπὲρ τὸ πᾶν σάμα, ἀτάλως δὲ κινῶμενα. διὰ καὶ τοῦ (φησὶν) ἐπισήσας ὡς τάξις ἀτάλως ἐστὶν βελίον, διακοσμήσας τὰς

(67) Aristotle Metaphys. lib. 1. c. 7. pag. 651. E.

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(57) Diogenes Laërt. in Anaxagora, init. lib. 2. a. 6.

(58) They are to be found likewise in Plutarch, de Placitis Philosophor. lib. 1. c. 3. pag. 576. D.

(59) Aristotle Metaphys. lib. 1. cap. 3. pag. 645. H.

(60) Id. ib. pag. 645. C.

(61) Id. ib.

Reason, why this great Philosopher was firnamed Νῆξ, that is to say, *The Mind*, of Understanding (u). But his Orthodoxy was not sufficiently refin'd [E]; there remained still

(68) Plutarch. de Placit. Philosph. l. 1. cap. 7. pag. 381. A. τα (68). Anaxagoras taught, that, in the beginning, Matter was without Motion, and that the Mind of God put it in order, and gave rise to every thing. Plato laid it down, that the first Bodies were not motionless, but that they moved irregularly. But God, says he, perceiving that Order was preferable to Confusion, adjusted them. You see here a remarkable Difference between Anaxagoras and Plato. The first supposes, that God found Matter at Rest. The second, on the contrary, that God found it in Motion. I am amazed at the Reflexion, which Plutarch makes upon these two Doctrines; it not only contains an horrible Impiety, but likewise a very gross Contradiction. He had blamed the Philosophers, who acknowledged but one Principle. He had said (69), that "it is impossible, that Matter should be the sole Principle of all things, and that an efficient Cause must be added to it; for Silver alone is not sufficient to produce a Vessel, unless there be a Workman to make the Vessel. The same may be said of Brass, Wood, and of all other Materials." In the same Page he had commended Anaxagoras for admitting an Intelligence, which had united the similar Particles; Τὰς μὲν ὁμοιομερείας ὕλης, τὰ δὲ ποικίλους τὸν νῦν τὰ πᾶν/α διατάξα- μένους (70). Homœomerias statuit materiam, causam vero efficientem mentem quæ disponeret universa; that is, for adding the efficient Cause to the passive Subject, and the Artificer to the Materials. Ἀποδεικ- τὸς ὅτις ἐστὶν ὅτι τὴν ὅλαν τὸν τεχνίτην ἀποδεί- ζουσιν (71). *Hic Approbandus est, quod materia Artificem adjunxerit.* What does he mean then, when, five Pages after, he censures Anaxagoras and Plato; the first for having attributed to God the Motion and Disposition of Bodies, and the latter for having attributed to Him the ranging of them? Their common Error, says he, is in thinking, that God takes care of human Things, and that he has framed a World to that end. Κοινὸς ἔν ἀμαρ- τανῶν ἀμώρτησι, ὅτι τὸν ὅλον ἐποίησαν ἐκιστορεῖν τὸν ἀθανάτων, ἢ καὶ τότε χάζον τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα (72). *Com- munis ambobus hic est error, quod deum faciunt res humanas curantem, ac ea de causa mundum adornantem.* After which, he lays down the most specious Reasons, which an Atheist can alledge, against those, who attribute to God the Creation and Government of the World. How then? Does he approve of Anaxagoras for admitting an Intelligence, which was the first Mover of Matter, and the efficient Cause of the World; and does he blame him for taking this first Mover to be God? Can any one reason in a more pitiful and incoherent manner than he does? And, should we suppose, that there is no Contradiction in this, must we not confess at least, that he has confused, in this Place, a great many other Passages in his Books, in which he supposes a Providence?

(69) Id. ib. cap. 7. pag. 381. A. that "it is impossible, that Matter should be the sole Principle of all things, and that an efficient Cause must be added to it; for Silver alone is not sufficient to produce a Vessel, unless there be a Workman to make the Vessel. The same may be said of Brass, Wood, and of all other Materials." In the same Page he had commended Anaxagoras for admitting an Intelligence, which had united the similar Particles; Τὰς μὲν ὁμοιομερείας ὕλης, τὰ δὲ ποικίλους τὸν νῦν τὰ πᾶν/α διατάξα- μένους (70). Homœomerias statuit materiam, causam vero efficientem mentem quæ disponeret universa; that is, for adding the efficient Cause to the passive Subject, and the Artificer to the Materials. Ἀποδεικ- τὸς ὅτις ἐστὶν ὅτι τὴν ὅλαν τὸν τεχνίτην ἀποδεί- ζουσιν (71). *Hic Approbandus est, quod materia Artificem adjunxerit.* What does he mean then, when, five Pages after, he censures Anaxagoras and Plato; the first for having attributed to God the Motion and Disposition of Bodies, and the latter for having attributed to Him the ranging of them? Their common Error, says he, is in thinking, that God takes care of human Things, and that he has framed a World to that end. Κοινὸς ἔν ἀμαρ- τανῶν ἀμώρτησι, ὅτι τὸν ὅλον ἐποίησαν ἐκιστορεῖν τὸν ἀθανάτων, ἢ καὶ τότε χάζον τὸν κόσμον κατασκευάζοντα (72). *Com- munis ambobus hic est error, quod deum faciunt res humanas curantem, ac ea de causa mundum adornantem.* After which, he lays down the most specious Reasons, which an Atheist can alledge, against those, who attribute to God the Creation and Government of the World. How then? Does he approve of Anaxagoras for admitting an Intelligence, which was the first Mover of Matter, and the efficient Cause of the World; and does he blame him for taking this first Mover to be God? Can any one reason in a more pitiful and incoherent manner than he does? And, should we suppose, that there is no Contradiction in this, must we not confess at least, that he has confused, in this Place, a great many other Passages in his Books, in which he supposes a Providence?

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(72) Id. ib. cap. 7. pag. 381. A. (72) *Com- munis ambobus hic est error, quod deum faciunt res humanas curantem, ac ea de causa mundum adornantem.* After which, he lays down the most specious Reasons, which an Atheist can alledge, against those, who attribute to God the Creation and Government of the World. How then? Does he approve of Anaxagoras for admitting an Intelligence, which was the first Mover of Matter, and the efficient Cause of the World; and does he blame him for taking this first Mover to be God? Can any one reason in a more pitiful and incoherent manner than he does? And, should we suppose, that there is no Contradiction in this, must we not confess at least, that he has confused, in this Place, a great many other Passages in his Books, in which he supposes a Providence?

(73) Plato, in Phædon, pag. 72. (73) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

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(75) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. l. 2. pag. 354. (75) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(76) Euseb. de Prepar. Evang. l. 14. cap. 14. pag. 750. (76) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(77) Themist. Orat. 23. (77) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(78) August. de Civit. Dei lib. 8. c. 2. (78) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(79) I set down his Words at the end of Remark [F]. (79) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(80) Proclus in Timæum Platonis. (80) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(81) Simplic. in Aristotel. de Physic. auct. cult. (81) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(82) Cicero, de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1. cap. 10, 11. (82) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(83) He was the 4th Predecessor of Anaxagoras. (83) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(84) Id. ib. pag. 36. (84) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

"of Anaximenes, was the FIRST, who held, that "the Disposition and Order of all Things was planned and effected by the Power and Understanding of an infinite Mind. In which he is not aware, first, that there can be no Motion joined with Sense in what is infinite, nor any Sense at all, which cannot affect it: Nature. In the next place, if he would have this Mind to be a kind of Animal, there will be something more internal, from whence to denominate this Animal. But what is there more internal than a Mind? It is therefore surrounded with an external Body. Though you will not allow this, I am of Opinion, that an un bodied, simple, Mind, unaffected by any thing, which may have Sense, is beyond the Force and Comprehension of our Understanding." It is somewhat surprizing, that Cicero should say, that Anaxagoras was the first Philosopher, who acknowledged such a Doctrine, since he had before told us, that Thales (83) had acknowledged a Mind, or a God, who had formed all things out of Water. "Thales Milesius, qui primus de talibus rebus quæsit, aquam dixit esse initium rerum: deum autem, eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret (84). How could Cicero so soon forget his own Words? Can it be imagined, that he meant, that Thales only ascribed to God the Power of converting Water into other Bodies; but that Anaxagoras made God the Author of the Order and noble Symmetry of the Parts of the World? This does not seem to me to be probable, and I should rather suspect that this Passage is corrupted. The Confusion and Obscurity, which is to be found in the following Words, may confirm this Conjecture. However it be, I would not have this Testimony of Cicero be opposed to those of so many ancient and celebrated Writers, who unanimously affirm, that Anaxagoras was the first, who superadded the efficient Cause to the material, that is to say, who acknowledged an Intelligence to be the Author of the Oeconomy, or Architecture, of the Universe. St. Austin paid so little regard to this Testimony of Cicero, that, in the very Place, where he mentions the Opinion of the Philosophers of the Ionian Sect, agreeably to that of Cicero in other Respects, he expressly contradicts him as to what concerns Thales. "Iste autem Thales, ----- rerum naturam scrutatus, suasque disputationes literis mandans, eminuit ----- aquam ----- putavit rerum esse principium, & hinc omnia elementa mundi ipsumque mundum, & quæ in eo gignuntur, existere. Nihil autem huic operi, quod, mundo confiderato, tam admirabile afficimus, EX DIVINA MENTE præposuit (85). — This Thales, examining into the Nature of Things, and committing his Disputations to Writing, taught that Water was the Principle of all Things; and that to this the several Elements of the World, the World itself, and all things in it, owed their Existence. He supposed NO DIVINE MIND to preside over the wonderful Works of the Creation." Observe, that Cicero himself, in another Book, denies, that Thales was the first, who taught the Doctrine we are speaking of, and that he ascribes it solely and absolutely to the Philosopher Anaxagoras. I shall set down his Words in the Remark [F].

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(85) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2. pag. 711. (85) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(86) LeCarp. in Cic. de Nat. Deor. p. 40. (86) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

(87) See the 56th Letter of St. Austin, pag. 2. l. 1. & seq. (87) I should be tedious, were I to set down all the Testimonies, which prove one or both of these Truths. I. That Anaxagoras admitted an Intelligence, which put Matter in Motion, and formed the World, by the choice of the Homogeneity. II. That he was the first Philosopher, who advanced this System. Let it suffice, then, to point out Plato (73), Ter- tullian (74), Clemens Alexandrinus (75), Eusebius (76), Themistius (77), St. Austin (78), Theodoret (79), Proclus (80), and Simplicius (81). I shall not do the same with respect to Cicero; but I shall produce his Words; because they furnish a Particular, which ought to be examined. "Inde Anaxagoras, says (82), qui accepit ab Anaximene disciplinam, PRIMUS omnium rerum descriptionem & modum mentis infinite vi ac ratione designari ac confici voluit. In quo non vidit, neque motum sensui junctum & continentem in infinito ullum esse posse, neque sensum omnino, quo non ipsa natura pulla sentiret. Deinde si mentem istam quasi animal aliquod esse voluit, erit aliquid interius ex quo illud animal nominetur. Quid autem interius mente? Cingitur igitur corpore externo. Quod quoniam non placet, aperta simplexque mens nulla re adjuncta quæ sentire possit, fugere intelligentiæ nostræ vim & notionem videtur. — Anaxagoras next, who was brought up at the Feet

[E] His Orthodoxy was not sufficiently refin'd. Ter- tullian blames him for being inconsistent with himself; for, on the one hand, he said, that God was a pure and simple Intelligence, and, on the other, he mixed and confounded him with the Soul. "Quam Anaxagoræ turbata sententia est! initium enim omnium commentatus animum, universitatis oscillum de

The Jesuit LeCarpelier (86) endeavours to reconcile this Contradiction, by supposing, that Anaxagoras was the first, who published this Doctrine; the Philosophers, who lived before him, having only taught it in their Auditories. This is no very good Solution; for, since the Doctrines of the Predecessors of Anaxagoras were known, and wherein they differed from each other; I say, since this was known, tho' Anaxagoras was the first, who published Books, it might as well have been known what they taught concerning the efficient Cause of the World. As to the Objections against the Doctrine of this Philosopher, contained in the above-cited Passage of Cicero, I refer you to St. Austin, who confutes them solidly (87).

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"de

still many Imperfections in it; which is less to be wondered at, than to find, that the Philosophers, who lived before him, were ignorant of the great Truth, which he discovered; a Truth so very plain, and so often sung by the Poets [F]. It will be proper

" de illius axe suspendens, purumque eum adfirmans,
 "& simplicem & incommiscibilem, hoc vel maxime
 " titulo segregat ab animæ commissione, & tamen
 " eundem alibi animæ addicit (88)." *Aristotle* had

of Heterodoxy, with respect to the universal Interposition of God, the first Cause of all Beings. Therefore, if no other Complaint could be brought against *Anaxagoras*, but that, in explaining several Effects of Nature, he reasoned ill, and without Sense; it would have been unjust to reproach him with abandoning or spoiling the Hypothesis, in which he admitted of an Intelligence, which presided over the Production of the World. This Reproach therefore must have been grounded, not upon the impertinent Explanations, which he gave, but upon what he advanced to the Prejudice and Exclusion of that Intelligence. In the second place, *Eusebius* alleges, as his Authority, a long Passage of *Plato*, which contains a Complaint, that *Anaxagoras* explained Things, without having Recourse to an Intelligence, or to the Causes of the Beauty and Order of the Universe; but that he stopped at the Air, the Æther, the Water, &c. as the Causes of Beings (93). Who does not perceive from hence, that 'tis very probable *Eusebius* meant the same Defect? In the third place, I observe, that *Anaxagoras*, as *Plutarch* informs us, taught, that certain things come to pass by Necessity, others by Destiny, others by Deliberation, others by Fortune, and others by Chance. "Α μὲν γὰρ αἱ καὶ ἀνάγκη, αἱ δὲ καὶ δέσμιαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ βουλευαῖαι, αἱ δὲ καὶ τυχῆς, αἱ δὲ καὶ δὲ εὐχαιαῖ (94). *Fort enim alia necessitas, alia fatus, alia infinitum animi, alia forte fortuna, alia casu*. There is no question, but that, in the detail of these inexplicable Distinctions, he robbed the Divine Intelligence of several Events; and that this was the Reason of the Complaint of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, copied by *Eusebius*.

I know not whether what *Anaxagoras* said of our *Hands* ought to be placed among his Errors. He asserted, that they have been the Cause of the Wisdom and Industry of Man. *Plutarch* takes him to task for this. "The contrary is true, *says he* (95), for "Man is not the wisest of Animals because he has "Hands; but, because he is naturally rational and "ingenious, he has obtained such Tools from Nature." The Books of *Anaxagoras* are not extant; and therefore it cannot be decided, whether he gave occasion for this Censure; but I am apt to think he did not deserve it. His System engaged him to think quite otherwise in this Matter, than those Philosophers did, who attributed to Chance all the Beings, of which the World is composed. This impious Tenet induced them to maintain, that Organs were not given to Man for his Use, but that, finding them fit for certain Purposes, he employed them to such Uses. See the fourth Book of *Lucretius* (96).

Observe these Words of a Father of the Church: "Anaxagoras autem, qui & **THEUS** cognominatus est, dogmatizavit facta animalia decedentibus & cœlo in terram feminibus, quod & hi ipsi in matris fœtu transulerunt semina, & effe hoc semen feipsum & tim conficentes apud eos qui sensum habent, & ipsos esse quæ sunt Anaxagoræ **IRRELIGIOSI** semina (97). But Anaxagoras, *firmated the ATHEIST, taught, that Animals were formed of Seeds, which fell from Heaven; which these Persons have transferred to the Seeds of their Mother, readily acknowledging to Men of Sense, that this Seed is 'Themselves, and that Themselves are IMPIOUS 'Anaxagoras's Seeds.'* You see here, that *Anaxagoras* was *firmated the ATHEIST*; and that *St Iræneus* treats him as an *IMPIOUS Man*. *Vossius* does not complain of this; he only says, That *Justin Martyr*, in his Exhortation to the *Greeks*, calls this Philosopher an *Atheist*; and he makes some Reflexions upon it (98). I meet with nothing like it in this Work of *Justin Martyr*; and I think *Vossius* had better have reserved his Excuses for *St Iræneus*. If *Justin Martyr* stands in need of them, it is only for having misrepresented the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*. He suppresses the beautiful Part of it; and says nothing of the Intelligence, the first Mover, but only speaks of his *Homœomeria* (99).

[F] *The Philosophers, who lived before him, were ignorant of the great Truth - - - - so often sung by the Poets.* We might bring a Cloud of Witnesses in proof of this Fact, that *Anaxagoras* is the first Philosopher.

(88) Tertullian
de Anima.

(89) Aristot.
de Anima,
lib. 1. c. 2.
pag. 478. G.

(90) Id. Metaphys. lib.
I. cap. 4.
pag. 646. H.

(or) Clem.
Alexandrin.
Stromat. lib.
2. pag. 364.

(62) Euseb.
Præpar. E-
vang. lib. 14.
c. 14. p. 750.

(.3) See Remark [R].

(94) Plut. de
Placit. Philo-
soph. l. 1. r.
cap. ult. p.
885. See *l.*
so the Pas-
sage quoted
by Menage
in Diog.
Laert. lib. 2.
n. 6. and
taken from a
Book falsely
ascribed to
Galen 'Tis
the Philosoph-
ou icopia.

(95) Plut. de
Amicitia
fraterna init.
pag. 478.

(96) Lucret
lib. 4 ver.
821. & seq.

(17) Irenæus
lib. 2. adv.
Hæres. c. 19.

(38) *VoTus*
de Orig. &
Progr. idolo-
lat. lib. 1.
cap. 1. page
52.

(cc) Just.
Martyr. O-
rat. ad Gre-
cos, pag. 4v

per to examine, whether the Doctrine of the *Homœomeria* does not imply many Contradictions

(100) See the Remark [D].

(101) Cicero, Acad. Quest. lib. 4. cap. 37.

(102) Pererius, de communibus omnium rerum naturalium principiis, lib. 4. cap. 4. pag. 206.

(103) Thomassin: Method of studying Philosophy, Book 1. chap. 14. pag. 162, 163. See also pag. 165.

who ascribed the Arrangement of Matter to the Wisdom of a first Mover (100). *Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes*, who preceded him in the School of *Ionia*, endeavoured to explain every thing without it. "Principes *Thales*, unus ē septem, cui sex reliquos concessisse primas ferunt, ex aqua dixit constare omnia. At hoc *Anaximandro* populari & sodali suo non persuasi. Is enim infinitatem naturæ dixit esse & qua omnia gignerentur. Post ejus auditor *Anaximenes* infinitum aëra, sed ea quæ ex eo orirentur definita: gigni autem terram, aquam, & ignem, tum ex his omnia. *Anaxagoras* materiam infinitam, sed ex ea particulas similes inter se minutas, eas primas confusas, postea in ordinem adductas mente divina (101). — *Thales, one of the seven, whom they say the remaining six acknowledged as their Master, was the first, who taught, that all Things were formed of Water. But he could not convince his Countryman and Companion Anaximander of this. For the latter held, that all things sprang from an infinite Nature. After him, his Scholar Anaximenes taught, that Air was infinite, but that those things, which were produced from it, were finite; that Earth, Air, and Fire, were first produced; then all things out of these; Anaxagoras held the Infinity of Matter; but that it's minute similar Parts, which were at first confused and blended together, were afterwards reduced into Order by a divine Mind.*" Who can forbear wondering, that such great Men should be guilty of such gross Ignorance? This Reflexion has not been neglected by the Jesuit *Perrerus*. "Ferunt primos Philosophorum, *says he* (102), *Pherecydem Syrum & Anaxagoram, illum quidem, immortalitatem animi nostri, hunc autem, Deum, quem ipse Mentem vel Intellectum vocabat, esse mundi cunctarumque rerum opificem, Græcos docuisse: ut permixtum sit, priores Philosophos, qui hæc ignorarunt, sapientium nomen, & honorem habuisse; & duas has res, quarum cognitio cunctis mortalibus optatissima est, & ad bene pique vivendum maxime necessaria, tam ferè ad Græcorum notitiam pervenisse.* — "The Chief of the *Philosophers*, *Pherecydes and Anaxagoras, are said to have taught the Greeks, the one, that our Souls are immortal; the other, that God, whom he calls the Mind or Intelligence, created the World, and all things in it; whence it is very strange, that the preceding Philosophers, who were ignorant of these things, were honoured with the Name of wise Men; and that these two Principles, the Knowledge of which is so highly beneficial to all Mankind, and so necessary to a good and pious Life, should so late come to the Knowledge of the Greeks.*" Father *Thomassin* has a remarkable Sentiment upon this Occasion. "All the Poets, *says he* (103), who were the most ancient Philosophers, and all the Sages of the fabulous Times, as they are called, not having mentioned, or celebrated, in their Writings, any other Cause, than the first and supreme Deity; how came it to pass, that, presently after, *Thales*, and his immediate Successors, were ignorant of, or passed over in Silence, that which had employed all the Sages, and every Age 'till then? It is therefore probable, that these first *Ionian* Philosophers, presupposing what was incontestable, and 'till then uncontested, concerning the first efficient Cause of all Things, treated only of second Causes, which were 'till then unknown, and had not been so much as enquired after. They were afraid, that, if they should refer all particular Effects to God, Men would fall again into the old Custom of neglecting to enquire into second Causes, and resting contented with the first. The same may be said of Angels. *Homer*, and the other ancient Poets or Philosophers, made them the sole Authors of all Things, under God. The Disciples of *Thales*, to establish the Power of corporeal or immediate Causes, omitted the mention of Angels. — But, at last, *Anaxagoras* judged, that, in his time, the World was able to apprehend the Subordination of corporeal Causes to angelical Substances, and of both to the Wisdom and Power of God. — It was purely on a Supposition of the Truth of these Parts of Philosophy, in which the World had been sufficiently instructed, that *Thales*

and his Disciples made no mention of Ethics, or Metaphysics; and with a View of engaging Mens Attention wholly in cultivating that Branch, which 'till then was unknown. But, when it was perceived, that the Knowledge of second Causes was very uncertain, and that it was to be feared it would make Men forget the Knowledge of God, of Angels, and Morality, which was more constant, useful, and necessary, *Anaxagoras, Socrates, and Plato*, restored Theology and Morality to their ancient Lustre and Credit."

This is a fine Sentiment; an ingenious Notion: But perhaps it has more of Brilliant than Solid; for we see, that *Anaximenes*, the Master of *Anaxagoras*, did not treat of Philosophy, as one, who supposed, that the Existence of God, in quality of the first Cause, was so well known, that there was no occasion to mention it. He spoke of the Gods; but he was so far from considering them as Principles, that he maintained, that they themselves owed their Existence to the Principle, which he established. "Qui (*Anaximenes*) omnes rerum causas infinito aëri dedit: nec deos negavit aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipsis aërem factum, sed ipsos ex aëre ortos cre-

(104) August. de Civ. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2. See also Cicero, lib. 1. de Nat. Deorum, pag. 38. ubi *Thales* & *Anaximenes* aërem Deum statuit, eumque signat.

(105) *Thales* Anaxagoram & Diogenem Apolloniæ.

(106) August. ubi supra. See also Cicero, ubi supra. ubi *Thales* & *Anaximenes* aërem Deum statuit, eumque signat.

(107) See Cicero Tuscul. 5. circ. init.

• Virgil. Ecl. 6. v. 31.

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(107) See Cicero Tuscul. 5. circ. init.

• Virgil. Ecl. 6. v. 31.

Namque canebat, uti magnum per inane coacta
Semina terrarumque, animæque, marisque, fuissent,
Et liquidi simul ignis; ut his exordia primis
Omnia, & ipse tener mundi concreverit orbis*.

*He sung the secret Seeds of Nature's Frame;
How Seas, and Earth, and Air, and active Flame
Fell thro' the mighty Void, and in their Fall
Were blindly gather'd in this goodly Ball.*

DRYDEN.

It was therefore necessary that they should explain themselves about the Nature of God, and exhaust the whole Doctrine of first Principles; after which they might be permitted to account for the particular and constant Effects of Nature, without going back to the first Cause. At present the Philosophers consider only second Causes, Matter, and Form, &c. But it is not, because they suppose, that the Knowledge of God, as the first Cause, is sufficiently established. It is, because they treat of it at large, in a part of their Courses of Philosophy, distinct from Physics

Contradictions [G]. It seems to me to be full of them; and, in general, the Ideas of

(108) In their Metaphysics.

Physics (108). However, we may be sure, that these ancient Philosophers were not ignorant of what the Poets had said of God. Why then did they not imitate them? Was it, because they laid no great stress on Poems, in which they found so many Trifles, and so many popular Opinions, which were not proof against a philosophical Enquiry (109)? Aristotle insinuates this Reason (110). Did they judge of the Poets, as Socrates did, when he said, that they resembled Fanatics, and that, like them, they understood not what they advanced? Ἐβαν ἔν αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ τῦτο, ὅτι ἡ σοφία ποιοῖεν, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινι, καὶ ἀνδυσιαζόντες, ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάνεις καὶ οἱ χρησμοδοί. καὶ γὰρ εἰσι λῆναι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ, ἵσασι δὲ ὅδ' ἐν ἡμῶν λῆναι. τοιούτων γὰρ ἐκείνων παρὰ θεοῦ καὶ ποιητῶν παρὰ θεοῦ (111). I soon discovered this in the Poets; namely that they were not directed by Wisdom, but by a kind of natural Enthusiasm; not unlike those, who prophesy by Inspiration. For these indeed utter many excellent Things; but understand nothing of what they say. After the same manner the Poets appear to me to be affected. It is certain, that the most Orthodox Poets have greatly erred concerning the Nature of God; for Orpheus, who sung, that God made Heaven, calls him only the Firstborn of all Creatures, and says, that the Air was his Father,

Πρωτογενὸς Παῖτων ἀερίπνεος ἥρος υἱός (112).
Primo-genitus Pæhton, Alti Aeris filius.

Diogenes Laërtius pretends, that Anaxagoras borrowed one of his Tenets from the Poet Linus (113), but it was not with respect to the Intelligence, the first Mover. Note, that Aristotle, in this Particular, makes a great Difference between Anaxagoras and Thales (114). I shall conclude with a fine Passage of Theodoret, from whence it appears, that the Philosophers, who lived before Anaxagoras, were altogether ignorant of the first Cause. Ἀναξαγόρας - - τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γεννημένων φιλοσόφων ἐδὲν παραίτερον τῶν ὁραμένων νενοκῶτων, πρῶτον μὲν ἔφησαν ἵσταναι τὸ κόσμον, καὶ τῶτον εἰς τὰς ἐν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας ἀναλεῖν τὰ τοιοῦτα (115). Anaxagoras - - - observed the Philosophers before him carried their Thoughts no higher than the Visible Creation, was the first, who taught, that an Intelligence presided over the World, and reduced the Elements from Confusion into Order.

[G] Whether the Doctrine of the Homœomerizæ does not imply many Contradictions. I shall not make use of Aristotle's Arguments (116), however solid and refined they may be; and, if it appears that my Reflexions agree with his, it will be merely accidental.

I. We have seen (117), why Anaxagoras taught, that every thing was composed of similar Particles: This he asserted, to shew, that Bodies were not made out of nothing. Now, as the simplest Food may administer Nourishment to all the Parts of an Animal, he was necessarily obliged to acknowledge, that the Grains of a Meadow contains Bones, Nails, Horns, Blood, Flesh, Skin, Hair, &c. It is not therefore composed of similar Particles; it is rather a Collection of all kinds of Heterogenities: To what purpose then was the Doctrine of the Homœomerizæ? Was he not obliged to depart from it in all particular Cases, after having supposed it in general? What I have said of Grains, may be applied likewise to Milk, Wine, Water, Bread, and many other things. Is there any Body, which does not serve as Matter to several others, in the Changes, which are called Generation and Corruption? Therefore these first Principles both are, and are not, Homogeneous. They are Homogeneous, according to the Supposition of Anaxagoras; but in reality they are not so; for since compound Bodies, according to his Opinion, ought to be of the same Nature with their Principles, and are only a Mixture of dissimilar Parts, it follows, that the Principles are Heterogeneous. I shall retouch this Argument in the Vth Paragraph.

II. Besides, it will be found, that, upon this Supposition, Names have been wrong imposed; for (to give an Instance of it) if the Blood of Animals was contained in the Herbage they have fed upon, it would better deserve the Name of Blood, than that

of Hay. Anaxagoras answered, that certain Particles being more numerous in a compound Body, or placed on the Surface, made it appear uniform, and procured it a specific Name (118). Lucretius has refuted this Answer by the false Consequences which arise from it. It would result from hence, says he, that, when Corn is bruised, some Particles of Blood may be drawn from it, or of some other Organs, of which our Body is composed. But this is contrary to Experience.

Linquitur hic tenuis latitandi copia quædam;
Id quod Anaxagoras sibi sumit, ut omnibus omnes
Res putet immixtas rebus latitare; sed illud
Apparere unum, cujus sint plura mixta,
Et magis in promptu, primæque in fronte locata.
Quod tamen à verâ longe ratione repulsum est.
Conveniebat enim fruges quoque sæpe minutas,
Robore cùm saxi franguntur, mittere signum
Sanguinis, aut aliûm, nostro quæ corpore aluntur.
Consimili ratione herbas quoque sæpe deceptat,
Et laticis dulces guttas, similique sapore,
Mittere, lanigeræ quali sunt ubera lactis:
Scilicet & glebis terrarum sæpe friatis
Herbarum genera, & fruges, frondeque videri,
Dispertita, ac in terris latitare minute:
Postremo in lignis cinerem fumumque videri,
Cum præfracta forent, igneque latere minuitos.
Quorum nil fieri quoniam manifesta docet res,
Scire licet non esse in rebus res ita mixtas (119).

But there's a little Shift, a slight Excuse,
Which Anaxagoras's Scholars use.

Tho' such lie mix'd in All, That Part alone
Appears, That only to the Sense is shewn,
Which, in the Composition, does comprize
The greatest Part, and on the Surface lies.
But this is false; or, through the weighty Mill,
From broken Corn wou'd bloody drops distil,
Or some such Parts, as in our Bodies grow,
From Herbs and Flow'rs a milky juice would flow;
In broken Clods each searching Eye might see
Some lurking, scatter'd, Herb, or Leaf, or Tree;
And in cleft Wood, and broken Sticks, admire
Smoke, Ashes, Flame, and little Sparks of Fire.
But, since, on strictest Search, no Parts appear,
We must not fondly fancy they are there.

CREECH.

This Confutation is not amiss; for, in short, mix several Sorts of Grain together as you please; take an hundred times more Wheat, than Barley; put as many Grains of Barley as you can in an Inclosure of Wheat; what will you get by it? Will you make People believe, that there is nothing but Wheat there? Will any one continue in this Error, even after your Heap is scattered? Will no Grain of Barley appear? Nothing can be more foolish, than such an Assertion. Anaxagoras could not have solved this Objection, but by supposing, that each sensible Part of a Grain of Corn is so qualified, that the Heterogenities are there in a less Number, and wrap up in the Particles of Corn; and that this is the Reason why, when Corn is bruised between two Mill-Stones, we never discover the Heterogeneous Parts; but that, if we could proceed in the Division as far as the insensible Particles, then the Blood, the Flesh, the Bones, &c. would appear to Eyes finer than ours. In a word, he could not get clear of this Difficulty, but by the divisibility of Matter in Infinitum; which is to imitate a Man, who, to avoid the thrust of a Sword, throws himself headlong down a Precipice of an inconceivable Height. But I will insist only on the Difficulties, which imply some kind of Contradiction.

III. I say, in third the place, that Anaxagoras ought to have supposed, that the similar Particles are found, both in greater and lesser Numbers, in Bread: In greater Numbers, because the Compound is called Bread; in lesser Numbers, because a few Hours after the Bread

of the Ancients, who have mentioned the Chaos, were no less confused than the Chaos itself.

is eat, it becomes *Chyle*, and discovers nothing in all its sensible Particles, but the Qualities of *Chyle*. This Objection will be more easily apprehended, if Dough be compared with Corn, or Bread with Dough. It will appear, that this Philosopher must have owned, that the *Homogeneities* are both more and less numerous in the same mixed Body; In Dough, for Instance; for, while it is Dough, it contains more Corpuscles of Dough, than of any other Species of Body; But, when it is converted into Bread, it contains fewer Corpuscles of Dough, than of Bread; and yet the Corpuscles of Bread are only derived from Dough.

IV. Here follows another Contradiction. It is contradicting one's self, to lay down an Hypothesis, which involves on one side the same Inconvenience it removes on the other. This is the Misfortune of *Anaxagoras's* System. This Philosopher, having supposed, that the Parts of Matter had eternally been in a State of Confusion; that is to say, that the smallest *Homogeneous* Particles had been every where surrounded with *Heterogeneous* ones, supposed, that, at last, an intelligent Being put an end to This Disorder, by separating the similar Particles from those, which were dissimilar. But He himself overthrew his own Supposition; being obliged to confess, that all the kinds of *Homomeries* were blended together in all kinds of Bodies; and This even with respect to the insensible Particles. According to His Opinion, there is an Infinity of small Bones, and little Drops of Blood, &c. in each Blade of Grass, and in each Morfel of Bread: Every thing was mixed with every thing, since every thing was made of every thing.

Διὸ εἰσι πάντες ἐν παντί μίχθεται, διότι πάντες ἐκ πάντων ὡσαν γένεσιν (120). *Qua propter inquit quodque in quolibet esse mixtum, quia quodlibet ex quocvis oriri videbunt.* *Anaxagoras* μίχθεται πάντες ἐν παντί φησι (121). *Anaxagoras omne in omni miseri ait.* Can there be a greater State of Confusion? It was *Plato's* Opinion of it; for more than once he alleges the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras* as a Symbol of the Chaos. *Kān ei sunkripnoiso mēn pantiā, diakripnoiso dē mē, tachō an tō tū Anaxagorē gignous ēin, oūk pantiā chrēmata* (122).

Moreover, if all things were confused, and never separated, *Anaxagoras's* Doctrine would presently be verified, that all Things were together. He says, in another place, *Tō tū Anaxagorē an polū ēn, ē zēle pōle* --- *ōmē an pantiā chrēmata epureō ēn tō anō, akritōn t' oūsan tōn te ōrganōn kai iatritōn kai o-panōnlikōn* (123). That of *Anaxagoras* would come to pass, *Friend Polus*. --- All things would be blended together, Those which relate to Medicine, and Health, and Those which relate to Cookery. *Menage* tells us, that *Luther* called those Divines *Anaxagorists*, who find every thing in every Text of Scripture. "Atque inde est, quod 'Luthero Theologus Anaxagoristicus dicitur is, qui quodlibet in quolibet loco scripturæ sacre invenire possit' (124).

V. His first Principles were, and were not, such: they were first Principles, according to his Supposition; and were not in reality so; since they were as much compounded and corruptible, as any other Body. He admitted of a Divisibility in *Infinitum*; and therefore must have believed, that there is an Infinity of Corpuscles in the least Drop of Water; and consequently that it contains as many of them, as the whole Earth. Besides, this infinite number of Corpuscles was an Heap of all kinds of *Heterogeneities*. It was not, then, more simple than a Tree; and, in this respect alone, it differed from mixed Bodies, that human Eyes could not discover the dissimilar Parts, as they discover them in a Tree. Lastly, the Intelligence, which moved Matter, could as easily have divided these pretended first Principles, as Fire divides Wood: They were, then, as perishable as Wood; from whence it follows, that, if they existed in the Nature of things, it was not in quality of first Principles. Besides, can any thing be more absurd, than to lay down for Principles what has no Existence at all? Now, according to the Hypothesis of *Anaxagoras*, it is certain there were no *Homomeries* in the Universe.

Let us examine an Answer, which he might have made: He might have supposed, that the Essence

of the *Homomeries* does not consist in the Resemblance of all their Parts, but in the Conformity, which is found, between the Contexture of the *Heterogeneities* of a small Bone, for instance, and the Contexture of the *Heterogeneities* of any other Bone. He might have said: "I do not pretend, that a Bone of ten Inches, divided into an Hundred thousand Parts, or, which is the same thing in my Hypothesis, into an Hundred thousand Bones, does not absolutely contain any Particle, but what is similar to all the rest; I own, that each of these small Bones is a Mixture of all kinds of Principles; it contains Flesh, it contains Blood and Membranes, &c. But, because these different Materials are ranged according to the same Symmetry in each of these small Bones, I have reason to maintain, that the Collection of an Hundred thousand of these small Bones is an *Homogeneous* Compound, or an Heap of *Homomeries*; and, whereas I suppose, that the Intelligence, which made the Choice of them, found them ready made; I may very well assert, that each of them, taken separately, is incapable of Destruction; for they always existed of themselves."

This Answer consists of two Heads: one is the Explication of the Hypothesis with respect to the Sense of the Word *Homomeries*; the other concerns the Incorruptibility of these *Homomeries*. I am going to illustrate the first by an Example. Put all the Copies of the same Book, bound after the same manner, into a Library: it will be a Collection of Books, which are all alike; an *Homogeneous* Collection; not because each of these Volumes is composed of Parts, which are perfectly alike; but because the White and the Black, the Spaces, Letters, Accents, Points, Comma's, and the other *Heterogeneous* Parts, have the same Symmetry in one, as in all the rest. Setting aside this Explication of *Anaxagoras*, I shall only argue against the second Part of his Answer.

VI. I ask him not, why the Intelligence, which he acknowledged, left the *Homomeries* in Confusion, from all Eternity; nor how it came to think so late of moving and uniting them; nor why he denies, that something may be formed out of nothing; he, who confesses, that Motion had a beginning? These three Objections, and some others, strangely puzzle those, who admit of a Matter, eternal, uncreated, and distinct from the divine Being; but, because these Difficulties may be urged against other Philosophers, as well as against *Anaxagoras*, it will not be proper to insist upon them. I will only illustrate the last. It is certain, that the Production of a Quality, distinct from its Subject, does not differ from a true Creation. This the modern Philosophers (125), prove demonstratively against the *Aristotelians*; who admit an Infinity of substantial and accidental Forms, distinct from Matter; for, since they are not composed of any pre-existent Subject, it follows, that they are formed out of nothing. The best Answer, that the Followers of *Aristotle* can make, is to resort to this Objection, and to say, that the *Cartesians* are obliged to acknowledge, that Motion cannot be produced, but by Creation. The *Cartesians* own this Consequence; and attribute the Production of Motion only to God; and they say, that to put Matter in Motion, is to create it at every Moment, in different Places. Let us conclude from hence, that *Anaxagoras*, and several others, contradicted themselves, when, on the one side, they would not acknowledge, that something might be made out of nothing, and owned, on the other side, that Motion, or some other Modification, had a beginning in the eternal Chaos (126). But, waving this, I shall only insist on the Difficulties, which relate particularly to *Anaxagoras*.

VII. I allege this Maxim against him: All things, which are distinct between themselves, may be separated or divided from each other; and from hence I conclude, that each *Homomery* may be divided in *infinitum*; for it is composed of all Kinds of Principles jumbled together. And, therefore, since Motion is a necessary Principle of Division, and God has produced Motion in Matter, it follows, that, by this moving Force, he might disunite each part of the Universe, and break in pieces any *Homomery* whatever, which you would take for an Unit. If it was an *Epicurian* Atom, a Body perfectly simple, single, and free

(117) *Arist.*
Ph. Physic.
lib. 1. c. 4.
p. 236. G.

(121) *Id.*
A'cuphy.
lib. 3. c. 5.
p. 571. C.

(122) *Plato,*
in *Phædone,*
p. 54.

(123) *Id.* in
Gorgia,
317.

(124) *Men-*
in *La-*
crt. lib. 2.
p. 73.

(125) *See*
Collected
Phys. § 1.
lib. 7. c. 2.

(126) *See*
Methodus,
apud *Phot.*
cod. 236.
p. 943.

itself. I may venture to say, without an Hyperbole, that they are not just, and that these Philosophers

free from all Composition, I own, that nothing could divide it: but *Anaxagoras* does not acknowledge any such Bodies, nor any *Homœomeria*, be it ever so little, but what contains an Infinity of distinct Corpuſcles, and even different from each other in their Qualities. It is therefore true, that what he calls first Principles are as subject to Destruction, as the most compounded Bodies; for instance, an Ox; this, I say, is very true, even though it be supposed, that the *Homœomeria* exist eternally of themselves; for it is sufficient, that an external Cause can make them pass from Motion to Rest; though it has not the Power of giving them Being, or of annihilating them. To recur to a Progress in infinitum, would be unnecessary upon this Occasion. It cannot be said, in answer to this Objection, that, the *Homœomeria* being composed of an Infinity of Corpuſcles, those, which compose a small Bone, may be divided in infinitum, without ceasing to be a small Bone, and that they only become a smaller Bone, after each Division. This is no good Reply; for there are two things to be considered in each *Homœomeria*: I. That it contains an Infinity of Particles; this is common to it with others. II. That the Particles are ranged after a certain Manner; this is peculiar to it; this is it's specific Form; it's Essence; by this it is either a little Bone, or a drop of Blood, rather than any other Species of the first Principles. And, therefore, in order to take from the *Homœomeria* of a Bone it's Essence, and it's Species, it is sufficient to range the Particles, which compose the same, after another manner. Now, if it be admitted, that the Intelligence, which was the first Mover, could divide Bodies, and disentangle them from each other, it might also have divided the Corpuſcles of each particular *Homœomeria*, and given them another Combination; it would therefore change their Species, as Flower changes it's Species, when it is kneaded; that is, when it's Particles are jumbled and combined in a different manner.

I do not object to this Philosopher, That he acknowledged a Difference between the Parts of Matter, before they were put in Motion. This Objection always appeared to me very weak. I conceive very clearly, that a Division supposes a Distinction, and that an Iron Pin, fixed into a piece of Wood, and perfectly at Rest, is as different from the Wood, as if it moved together with the Wood.

VIII. I proceed to the last Objection. What would be the Consequence, if we should grant this Philosopher, That the same necessity, which causes Bodies to exist, causes them to exist distinct, in an infinite Number of *Homœomeria*; each of which must necessarily continue for ever entire; the Nature of things being such, that there must be fixed Bounds in each Species; as we usually say, there is a *minimum quod sit* (127), in each Species of living Bodies? Would not such a Concession be of great Service to the Hypothesis of *Anaxagoras*? Would it not allow him the Incorruptibility, and internal Immutability, of his first Principles? Would they not be so small a Bone, that, becoming less by the actual Division of their Parts, they would cease to be a Bone; and so with regard to other Species? And would it not signify, that natural Necessity made them Indivisible? I allow all this; but it is only avoiding one Inconvenience by another: I should still find this Fault with the System; that the Nûs, or Intelligence, would come in, against all Rules, to undertake the easiest Task, after the most difficult was performed by a blind Necessity. It is incontestably true, that every Philosopher, who will give a good Account of the Order, which appears in the several parts of the Universe, must suppose an Intelligence as the Author of this beautiful Regularity. He need not fear, that reasonable Persons will reproach him with imitating certain Poets, who introduce a God, a Σίσυφ'ος, upon the Stage, to unravel Difficulties, which are not worth his Trouble. But if, after having supposed, that the *Homœomeria* were formed without the Direction of an intelligent Cause, he pretends, that such a Cause disentangled, and put them in order, he may be told, that he imitates such Poets, contrary to all Rules.

Never presume to make a God appear,
But for a Business worthy of God.

ROSCOMMON.

To be sensible of the Force of this Objection, we need only observe, that it is much more difficult to make good Watches, than to separate them from: a parcel of Medals and Shells, with which they are intermixed, and then to range and mix them after a better manner. A young Apprentice, a Child, could make this Choice, and produce this new Regulation. Every one will grant me, that the Formation of Men (129) is a Work, which requires more Direction and Ability, than the Art of ranging them according to Military Evolutions. The greatest part of modern Philosophers suppose, that the general Laws of Nature are sufficient to make a Fœtus grow, provided it has been well formed, and well organized, in the Seed; but they suppose, that the *Animalcula*, which are organized in the Seed, are the Work of a most wise and powerful Creator. They believe, therefore, that the principal Difficulty, which stands in need of the Direction of an Intelligence, consists in the first formation of an organized Machine; that is to say, in the forming those *Animalcula*, which they suppose to be in the Seed. To speak properly, each of these *Animalcula* is an *Homœomeria* of *Anaxagoras*. It is, therefore, more difficult to form *Homœomeria*, than to cause Animals to grow by the help of Nourishment. It is, therefore, in order to explain the Formation of the *Homœomeria*, that the Direction of an intelligent Being is chiefly requisite; for every *Homœomeria* is a certain Collection of infinite kinds of Bodies: And this Collection must be made according to certain Proportions and Situations: The Collection, necessary for the *Homœomeria* of a Bone, is different from that, which is necessary for the *Homœomeria* of Flesh; and, if you were not exactly to follow this Symmetry, you would not have the first Principles of Blood or Marrow, but those of some other Mixture. Now *Anaxagoras* did not suppose the Necessity of an Intelligence, towards the Formation of infinite Species of *Homœomeria*; each of which is a certain Conjunction of all kinds of Bodies, mixed together in such a manner, that those of one Species must prevail in Number, and be placed in one certain manner, rather than in any other, and that, in general, one Proportion and Symmetry must prevail more than another. He has therefore assigned a blind Necessity as the Cause of what was most difficult. And therefore he did not reason consequentially, when he believed an Intelligence to be necessary for what was less difficult. According to his Doctrine, the whole Function of the Intelligence consists in ranging what was confused, in moving what was at Rest, in separating such things as were mixed, and adorning those, which were destitute of Ornament. Ἀναξαγόρας - - - ταῦτα καὶ εὖτε, ἀρχὴ πάντων ὁ νῦς, καὶ ἐπὶ διττῷ καὶ κινεῖται τὸν δαόν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ταύτην τοῖς δακτύλοις, καὶ κινεῖται τοῖς αὐχνοῖς, καὶ διακρίνει τοῖς μεμυσμένοις, καὶ ἕκαστον τοῖς ἀλόγοις (130). *Anaxagoras hæc docet: Mens omnium est initium, eaque causa & omnium minima est, & ordinem sensus præbet, & motionem immutabilibus, & discernit commixtis, & ornatum innovat.* He might have been attacked both in Front and Rear. He might have been told, You say both too much, and too little. If you believe, that Nature, without any Direction or Knowledge, formed all the *Homœomeria*, you must believe, that she could have moved, separated, and distributed them: And therefore your Intelligence is superfluous. But if you believe it necessary for the Separation and Distribution of these *Homœomeria*, you ought likewise to ascribe their Formation to it; you do not extend it's Influence wherever it is wanted. Thus one part of your System destroys the other: It is not made up of well sorted and well connected Pieces (131). If this Philosopher's Works were extant, or all those of *Theophrastus* (132), we might perhaps find, that he answered some of the Difficulties, which I have just now started; that he owned he was not satisfied with his own Hypothesis; and that he sunk under the weight of the Myſteries of Nature. He said, that every thing was surrounded with Dark-
ness. *Anaxagoras προσηύχεται περιεσπῆσθαι ἐστὶν ὁμίαντα* (133). Several other Philosophers make the same

(129) I do not mean what Parents contribute towards it; I do not mean the Material, but the Efficient Cause, which organizes it's Fœtus, and forms this admirable Machine.

(127) That is a Degree of Smallness, below which an Animal, for instance, an Ant, could not be an Ant.

(130) Herminius in Philoſoph. Irriſione. This Work of Herminius is to be found in the Bibliotheca Patrum, and at the end of Justin Martyr's Works, Paris, 1636, and Cologne, 1686.

(131) See a Passage of Aristotle in Remark [R].

(132) He wrote a Book upon τὸν Ἀναξαγόρου, de Anaxagoræ decretis. See Lacert. in Theophrast. lib. 5. n. 42.

(133) Laërt. lib. 3. c. 8. pag. 217.

(128) Florent. de Art. Poet. ver. 191.

Nec Deus interit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit (128).

Complaint;

Philosophers could not pretend, with any shew of Reason, that this state of Confusion subsisted no longer [H]. It is related, that *Anaxagoras* foretold, that the Stone, which fell from Heaven into the River *Ægos*, and was preserved and honoured as a holy Relick, would fall from the Body of the Sun [I]. Some other Predictions are likewise ascribed to him (x). He applied himself very much to Geometry (y); and it was found, that, in Prison, he wrote concerning the Quadrature of the Circle (z). His vast Genius was equal to every thing; the most difficult *Phænomena* of Nature, Comets, the Milky-way, Earthquakes, Winds, Thunder, Lightening (aa), the overflowing of the Nile (bb); Eclipses, and such like things, which he accounted for. All These, together with his Astronomical and Geometrical Speculations, did not prevent his reading the Poems of *Homer*, with the attention of a Man, who was desirous of making Discoveries, and improving Litterature. He was the first, who supposed them to be Moral Works, in which Virtue and Justice are explained by Allegorical Narrations (cc). The Circumstances and Issue of the Action, which was brought against him at *Athens* for Impiety, are variously reported; some say, that he was condemned;

(aa) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 9.

(bb) Diod. Sicul. lib. 1. cap. 38.

(cc) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 12.

others,

Complaint; so far as to imagine, that the removal of the Darknels mentioned by *Moses*, which was upon the Deep, before God created the Light (134), was only with respect to the corporeal Eye; for, say they, the Darknels of the Mind still covers the Face of the Deep. The Light of Truth, concentered in this Abyss, never emerges from it; it only sends out a few Rays, which reach our Minds, after so many Reflexions and Refractions, and after having mixed their Brightness with so many obscure Corpuscles, in the dark Spaces, through which they pass, that they are only proper to form false Images.

[H] They could not pretend, with any shew of Reason, that this State of Confusion subsisted no longer. I had resolved to make some Reflexions on this Subject; but since the foregoing Remarks, and those which remain to be made, will sufficiently, if not too much, enlarge this Article, I have altered my Resolution, to avoid Prolixity. I shall not want an Opportunity of giving, in another Article, what I suppress here.

[I] *Anaxagoras* foretold, that the Stone — would fall from the Body of the Sun. This is related by *Diogenes Laërtius* (135); and *Plutarch* mentions this Prodigy in these Words: “Others fancied, that a Stone, which seemed to fall from Heaven, was an Omen of this great Overthrow (136). It was of a vast bigness; and fell by the River *Ægos*. The *Peloponnesians* esteem it very much; and shew it among their Curiosities to this Day. And it is said, that the Philosopher *Anaxagoras* foretold, that one of those Bodies, which are fixed to the Vault of Heaven, should one day be loosened by a violent Shock or Convulsion of the whole Machine, and fall to the Earth. For he said, that the Stars were not in the very places, in which they were first formed; seeing they were heavy Bodies, and of the Nature of Stones; and that they shone by the Reflection of the elementary Fire, and had been drawn up by force and were kept there by the Impenetrability and Violence of the circular Motion of the Heavens; having been placed there at the beginning of the World, and hindered from falling upon the Earth, when cold and heavy bodies were separated from the other substances of the Universe (137).” I have set down the whole Passage, that the Tradition of *Anaxagoras*, may be seen at the same time. The Words of *Pliny* deserve no less to be quoted. “Ce-lebrant Græci, sibi be (138), *Anaxagoram* Clazomenium, Olympiadis septuagesimæ octavæ secundo anno, prædixisse cœlestium literarum scientiæ, quibus diebus saxum casurum esset de Sole. Idque factum interdictum in Thraciæ parte ad *Ægos* flumen. Qui lapis etiam nunc ostenditur, magnitudine veldis, colore adusto, comete quoque illis noctibus flagrante. Quod quis prædictum credat, simul fateatur necesse est, majoris miraculi divinitatem *Anaxagoræ* fuisse: solvique rerum naturæ intellectum, & confundi omnia, si aut ipse Sol lapis esse, aut unquam lapidem in eo fuisse credatur: decidere tamen crebro, non erit dubium. In Abydi gymnasio ex ea causa colitur hodieque, modicus quidem, sed quem in medio terrarum casurum idem *Anaxagoras* prædixisse narratur. Colitur & *Cassandra*, quæ *Potidæa* vocitata est. — The Greeks have a Tradition, that, in the second Year of the Seventy eighth Olympiad, *Anaxagoras* of *Clazomenæ* fore-

told, by his Knowledge of the Heavens, at what time a Stone would fall from the Sun; which came to pass in the Day-time, in a part of Thracæ, by the River *Ægos*. This Stone is still seen, of the bigness of a Bar, and of a burnt Colour, and as having been attended with the Appearance of a Comet. But if any one really believes, that this Prodigy was foretold, he must own, at the same time, that the divine Knowledge of *Anaxagoras*, is the greater miracle of the Two; and that the Knowledge of natural Causes is destroyed, and all things confused, if it be believed, either that the Sun is a Stone, or that there ever were Stones in it; though there would be no room to doubt of their frequent fall. Upon this Account a Stone is at present had in reverence by the School of *Abydos*; it's Size is but small; but it is that, whose fall to the Earth was foretold by *Anaxagoras*. It is revered likewise at *Cassandra*, now called *Potidæa*.” By this you see, that *Anaxagoras* had more than once foretold the falling of these Stones, and that the Worship of them increased proportionably. Note, that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Tzetzes*, make use of the Plural Number, in relation to the Prodigy of the River *Ægos*. They pretend, that *Anaxagoras* foretold, that Stones would fall from Heaven (139). *Philostratus* has expressed himself after the same manner. I shall set down his Words at length, because they will afford Matter for Criticism. “*Apollonius*, then, would have been unjustly charged with Impiety and Error, for having foreseen several things, and foretold others, after the same manner as *Socrates* was fully informed of them by Spirits, before they came to pass. And *Anaxagoras* also; for who knows not, that, once upon a time, being gone to the *Olympic Games*, covered with a Cloak, as a Prediction that it would Rain (140), though the Day was so clear and serene, that there was no probability of it; yet a little while after it rained violently? Having, another time, foretold that a House would fall in a few Days, it fell accordingly. Again, having foretold, that the Day at Noon would in an Instant become as dark as Night; and, another time, that great Stones would fall from Heaven into the River *Ægos*, it came so to pass. Now, if it be acknowledged, that these Things, and others of the like Nature, foreseen by *Anaxagoras*, were only a Proof of his very great Skill, how can they be imputed to *Apollonius*, as Art Magic (141).” Upon this a Commentator has made a very ridiculous Observation. “There are no Astrologers at present, though ever so mean, who cannot do as much as *Philostratus* says *Anaxagoras* did, in foretelling Rain, and the fall of a Stone from Heaven, and the like (142).” What an Absurdity is this! As great Fools as the Astrologers of our Days may be, they have not the Rashness to foretel, that Stones will fall from Heaven. Our Almanack-makers, and our most renowned Calculators of Horoscopes, are careful not to hazard their Reputation so shamefully. They know too well, that to foresee such Falls surpasses all their Skill. *Pliny* had reason to say, that the Prediction of *Anaxagoras* would have been a greater Miracle, than to see the Stone fall from the Body of the Sun (143). Observe, that there is an Interval of about sixty Years between the Time of this Prediction, according to *Pliny*, and it's Accomplishment, according to *Plutarch*. I have another Observation to make.

(139) *Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. c. 8. pag. 308. Tzetzes. chil. 2. ver. 892.*

(140) *Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 10. Ælian. de Animal. l. 7. cap. 5. and Suidas, mention it likewise.*

(141) *Phil. in Vita Apollonij, lib. 1. cap. 2.*

(142) *Artes Theomag. Sr. d'Embriz, Annotations on the Life of Apollonius, Tom. 1. p. 91.*

(143) See his Words above, *Cicet. (128).*

Photius,

(x) See Remark [I].

(y) *Proclus Diadachus, lib. 2. in I. librum Euclidis.*

(z) *Plutarch. de Exilio, pag. 607.*

(134) See Genesis 1.

(135) *Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 10.*

(136) *Names by the Destruction of the Athenian Fleet by Lyfander.*

(137) *Plutarch. in Lyfandor, pag. 439.*

(138) *Plin. lib. 2. c. 58.*

others, that he was acquitted [K]. *Pericles*, who protected him on this occasion, was suspected of Atheism, for having been instructed by such a Master. I have taken notice of this in another place (dd). *Diogenes Laërtius*, in reporting a witty Saying of *Anaxagoras*,

(dd) In the Remarks [C] and [D] of the Article *PERICLES*.

Photius, in his Abstract of the Life of *Apollonius*, pretends, that *Anaxagoras* was accounted a great Prophet, for having foretold, by Magic, that it would rain (144). I cannot believe, that *Photius* so little understood *Philostatus's* Meaning; I ascribe this egregious Mistake to the ill State his Work has been put into by Transcribers. And I cannot sufficiently wonder, how the Translator (145) could resolve to let this Passage be printed. His Translation is a Series of such gross Impertinence, and monstrous Reasoning, and withal so expressly contrary to the Original of *Philostatus*, that we can comprehend nothing of his Conduct. Did he believe, that the Text of *Photius* was correct? He must, then, have dream't of something else. Did he believe his Readers would be so stupid as to think his Performance a good one? He was, then, strangely secure. I desire those, who are qualified for it, to examine this Passage of *Photius*; they will find such Wounds in it, as require the Dexterity of the ablest Hand; and perhaps they may heal them, by the Assistance of the Manuscripts, compared with the Text, of *Philostatus*.

[K] Some say that he was condemned, others that he was acquitted. He was accused of Impiety, by *Cleon*, for having said, that the Sun was a Mass of inflamed Matter; and, notwithstanding *Pericles's* Protection, he was condemned to Banishment, and fined five Talents, as *Sotion* relates (146). But others say, that *Thucydides* informed against him, and accused him not only of Impiety, but of Treason likewise; and that the Accused was condemned to Death for Contumacy (147). Others relate, that he was in Prison, when Sentence of Death was pronounced against him. They add, that *Pericles*, addressing himself to the Judges, said, *Do you find that he has committed any Crime?* And, perceiving that none was imputed to him, he said, *I am his Disciple; destroy him not, therefore, through Prejudice; believe me rather; and give him his Liberty.* He obtained his Request; but the Accused took his Trial so much to heart, that he resolved to die (148). Others report, that he was brought before the Judges by *Pericles*; and that his Melancholy had reduced him so low, that he could scarce walk; inasmuch that he was discharged; not on account of his Innocence, but because of the Compassion, which he excited (149). I have observed elsewhere (150), that *Pericles* found no better means of saving this Philosopher, than by causing him to leave Athens.

Take notice of four Things. I. The Accusers of *Anaxagoras* (151) were Men of a Faction contrary to *Pericles*. It was not, therefore, out of Zeal for Religion, that they persecuted this Philosopher; but with a Design of supporting their Cabal, and weakening the Authority of *Pericles*, by maliciously causing the Suspicion of Irreligion to fall upon him. The most probable means of succeeding in this Design was to accuse *Anaxagoras* of Impiety. This is generally the first Inducement to this kind of Accusations; we want to be revenged of some one, or to remove an Obstacle to our Authority, and Fortune; we call the Passions of the People to our Assistance, and pretend, that the Honour of God is concerned in our Cause.

II. It is not true, that the Accusers of *Anaxagoras* grounded their Accusation on his acknowledging, that the divine Intelligence created the World; they proceeded upon this, that, in saying the Sun was a Stone, he robbed it of it's Divinity; which was likewise the Foundation of his Sentence of Condemnation (152). And therefore *Vossius* is guilty of an Error in these Words. "Laërtius industria nobis ipsa *Anaxagoræ* verba conservavit. Sunt autem hujusmodi: *ἡλίου χρηματὰ ἢ ὀκνῶ, εἴτα ὕς ἐστι θὼν αὐτὰ δεικνύμενα.* Omnia simul erant: deinde cessit *Mens*, eaque composuit. Quam aperte hic officem ab officio distinguit! Hoc ferre non potere Athenienses, ac ἀθεύοντα vel ἀσέβειαν vocarunt (153). — We are obliged to the Care of *Diogenes Laërtius*, for preserving the very Words of *Anaxagoras*; they are these: All things were confused; afterwards an Intelligence, interposing, reduced them into Order. How plainly does he distinguish here between the Workmanship and the Ar-

tificer! The Athenians could not bear this; and charged him with Atheism or Impiety." *Anaxagoras* was not condemned merely for distinguishing between God, and his Works; but for not teaching, as the Poets did, that the Sun was both the Work of God, and itself a God: For, according to the Belief of the People, grounded upon the Writings of the Poets, the Sun was *Apollon*, the Son of *Jupiter*, and one of the great Deities. *Vossius's* Error is, as if one should say, That the Inquisition has condemned a Person to death, for teaching, that God alone, the Author, Preserver, and sovereign Lord of all things, deserves the supreme Worship, *θεολογία*, and that no Creature in Paradise merits our Invocation, or the Worship *δωλεία*. This Doctrine comprehends two Points; and a Man would be punished in *Salamanca* only for the second. Would not a Protestant be in the wrong to say, that such a Man was punished for maintaining the first Point? However, *Eusebius* had reason to think it strange, that *Anaxagoras* was in danger of being stoned, as an Atheist, notwithstanding his Orthodoxy as to the Existence of a God, the Author of this World; a Doctrine, which he was the first who taught, among the Greeks. *Θαυμάσας δ' ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπὶ πρῶτον παρ' Ἑλλήσις τῶτον θεολογῶσας τὸν τρώτοιν, δόξας ἀθναίους ἀθεῖν εἶναι, ὅτι μὴ τὸν ἥλιον ἐθελοῖεν, τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ποιεῖν, μισοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰλευθεῖν ἔθαιεν* (154). In quo sane permixtum illud est, quod princeps apud Græcos eam theologicam rationem intulerat, eam Atheniensibus, quod non jam Solem, at Solis ipsius effectorem Deum statueret, atheum esse visum, ac propterea parum abfuisse, quin ab iis lapidibus necaretur. This, I say, is astonishing; for, in short, (which is my third Remark) it is scarce conceivable, that, in so learned a City as Athens, a Philosopher could not explain the Properties of the Stars by Physical Reasons, without running the risque of his Life. Is it not a deplorable thing for a Man to be more knowing than a superstitious Mob, conducted by senseless Men? To what purpose serves this Superiority of Genius and Knowledge among such a People? Is it not rather a Crime? Does it not expose a Man to a thousand Infamies and Dangers? And might we not enjoy the Conveniences of Life much better, by following the Current of Ignorance and Superstition? Οἱ περιεσσευμένοι τῷ Χριστῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον λόγον πεισθέντες τὰ πρῶτα μάλ' ἀπειροῦν καὶ ἐλπίσαι, ὡς ἀσέβεις καὶ ἀθεοῖς εἰς δικαστήρια ἤχθησαν (155). The *Pericles* before CHRIST were dragged before Tribunals, as impious and officious Persons, for endeavouring to speculate upon, and explain, things, to the Understanding of Men. I observe, in the fourth Place, that we cannot but wonder, that so remarkable a Trial as That of *Anaxagoras*, in which *Pericles*, the chief Man of Athens, was so far concerned, was not better known to Historians. They mention it with a Thousand Variations; nay, some of them, in the principal Points, assert what others deny; which is not for the Honour of Antiquity.

I must not omit a fine Passage of *Lucian*, in which he supposes, that the greatest of the Gods endeavoured to crush *Anaxagoras* to pieces, but that he missed him; and that the Thunder-bolt, being averted by *Pericles*, burnt a Temple, and was almost broken to pieces against a Rock. *Δίῳιν δῶσαντος ἐπειδὴ τὸν κερμαίνον πισχυδῶν κατὰσφραῖναι γὰρ αὐτὴν, καὶ ἀποσυρμέναι εἰσι δύο ἀκτίνες αἱ μέσσαι, ὅπῃτε φιλομύθεον ἡνέλιον παρὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀναγκάζοντες, ὡς ἐπαθεῖ τὰς ὀμνίαντας μὴδὲ δῶας εἶναι τίνας ἡμᾶς τὸς θεοὺς. ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν δὴν μαρτυροῦν ὑπερίσχετο γὰρ αὐτὴ τὴν χεῖρα Περικλέους. ὁ δὲ κερμαίνων, εἰς τὸ ἀνάκλιον παροικηλάς, ἐκείνῳ τε κατέφαλε, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀλίγῳ εἰν συνερίσθη παρὰ τὴν αὔρεαν* (156). They shall smart for it, as soon as my Thunder is in Order. For two of it's largest Forks were bent and broken; when, not long ago, I darted it too eagerly at the Sophist *Anaxagoras*; who endeavoured to persuade his Acquaintance, that there were no such Gods, as we Gods. I missed my aim, it is true; for *Pericles* interposed with his Hand, and protected him; and the averted Bolt, falling on the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, burnt it down,

(144) Phot. Biblioth. cod. 241. p. 1017.

(145) Andr. Schottus.

(146) Sotion, in Successionibus Philosophorum, apud Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 12.

(147) Satyrus, in Vitis apud Diogen. Laërt. ubi supra.

(148) Hermyppus, in Vitis apud Diogen. Laërt. ubi supra, n. 13.

(149) Hieronymus, in secundo libro Commentariorum. Varior. apud Diogen. Laërt. ubi supra.

(150) In Remark [M] of the Article *PERICLES*.

(151) Cleon, or Thucydides. See Plutarch in the Life of *Pericles*, p. 270, & 155.

(152) See Josephus, l. 2. contra App. p. 1079. F. S. Cyril. lib. 4. contra Julian.

(153) Vossius de Orig. & Progr. Idolol. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 5.

(154) Eusebius. Prepar. Evang. l. 14. cap. 14. p. 750. C.

(155) Just. Martyr. A. pol. 1. p. 48.

(156) Lucian. in Timon. p. 65. Tom. 1. O. perum.

Anaxagoras, has committed a Blunder in Chronology [L], which I wonder has been so long unobserved. The Confrancy of this Philosopher on the News of his own Condemnation, and at That of the Death of his Sons, was wonderful [M]. He was very little concerned, whether he lived and died out of his own Country (ee); and he had a true Discernment of human Happiness [N]. Some Authors pretend, that he was never feign to laugh, or even to smile (ff). Cicero ascribes a remarkable Gravity to him; *Maxima fuit & gravitatis & ingenii gloria* (gg). He died at *Lampfacus*, where he had an honourable Burial, and a very glorious Epitaph; nay, they went so far as to build

(ee) See Remark [M].

(ff) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 8. c. 13. Plutarch in the Life of Pericles.

(gg) Cicero, *Quæst. 2. Acad. dem. lib. 2. cap. 23.*

down, and was itself almost broke in pieces against a Rock. *Vossius*, who says only, that *Jupiter* darted his Thunder-bolt against this Philosopher (157), occasioned *Moreri* to say, that *Anaxagoras* was crushed to pieces by it. It was very natural to believe so; for we cannot easily conceive, that a Thunder-bolt, designed for the Death of any Person, should not kill him. But this should teach us to have recourse to the Originals, and not to stop at modern Authors, who mention only such Circumstances of a Fact, as they have present Occasion for. *Vossius*, for Example, who had no occasion, in this Place, to tell us, whether *Jupiter* succeeded or not, suppressed *Lucian's* Rallery. This Omission led *Moreri* into a Snare, which he might have avoided, if he had but translated the Latin of *Vossius*. Why did he left the part of a Paraphrase? *Lambert Barleus*, commenting on this Passage of *Lucian*, asserts, that *Anaxagoras* was accused of Atheism, on account of his Doctrine concerning the divine Intelligence, The first Mover, &c. (158). This is an Untruth, which he borrowed from *Vossius*, and which I have already confuted. He says, farther, that a Talent was promised as a Reward to any one, who should kill this Philosopher (159). This seems to me to confound *Anaxagoras* with the Atheist *Diogenes*. Lastly, in point of Orthodoxy, he compares *Anaxagoras* with *Lucian*, and complains, that *Justin Martyr* ranks *Lucian* among the Atheists. "*Anaxagoras* — goræ non æbulis fuit *Lucianus* nofter, quem immerito *ἀθεος* vocat *Justinus Martyr*, in oratione contra Græcos (160). — Our *Lucian* was not unlike *Anaxagoras*, whom *Justin Martyr*, in his Oration against the Greeks, unjustly files The Atheist." But his Comparison is as false, as his Complaint; the Occasion of his Error was as follows. He had read in *Vossius*, "*Lucianus*, in *Timone*, ait "*Jovem in Anaxagoræ caput* — — — sed *Lucianum* quid dico? Ecce *Justinus Martyr*, oratione ad Græcos, eum *ἀθεος* vocat (161) — — — *Lucian*, in his *Timon*, says, that *Jupiter* darted on the Head of *Anaxagoras* — but why do I mention *Lucian*? "*Justin Martyr*, in his Oration against the Greeks, calls him an Atheist." And he did not apprehend, that *eum* (*him*) relates to the Philosopher *Anaxagoras*, and not to *Lucian*.

(157) *Vossius* de Orig. & Progr. Idol. lib. 1. cap. 1. p. 5.

(158) *Diogenes Laërtius*, in reporting a witty Saying of *Anaxagoras*, has committed a Blunder in Chronology. He says, that *Anaxagoras*, seeing the Tomb of *Mausolus*, cried out, It is a Monument of the Conversion of Gold into Stone. I do not confine myself to a literal Translation; but these are the Greek Terms: *Τὸ αὐτὸ χρυσοῦν ἐκ χρυσοῦ ἐστὶν ὡς ἐκ χρυσοῦ* (162). Monumentum pretiosum in lapides conversarum divitiarum imago est. We may suppose, that he really expressed himself thus, at the Sight of a sumptuous Sepulchre; but it was not upon seeing That of *Mausolus*; for his Death preceded the building of that Monument by several Olympiads. "*Anaxagoras* — — — *Olymp. LXXXVIII. mortuus est. Mausoli autem sepulchrum ante Olymp. CVII. conditum non est. Aut igitur hæc verba Philosophus ille non dixit: aut alia certè occasione dixit: Mausoleum enim nunquam vidit: quod ab Illustratoribus Laërtii nondum opinor observatum est. Verba sunt Joannis Pearsonii viri undecunque doctissimi, in libro de epistolis Sancti Ignatii, pag. 9. secundæ partis; quibus ego assentior. Id ipsum observatum à Gifferto Cuperio in antiquis numismatibus explicatis viro elegantissimi ingenii (163). — *Anaxagoras died in the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. But the Sepulchre of Mausolus was not built 'till the CVIth Olympiad. Either, therefore, our Philosopher did not speak these Words; or he spoke them on some other Occasion; for he never saw the Mausoleum; which I think has never been observed by the Commentators on Laërtius. They are the Words of John Pearson, a Man of great Learning, in his Book concerning the E-**

(161) *Me-nage*, in *Diogenes Laërtius*. p. 77. col. 2.

"pistles of *St Ignatius*, p. 9. Part II. with which I agree. "The same Observation was made by That great Genius "*Gisbert Cuperus, in his ancient Coins explained.*"

[M] The Confrancy of this Philosopher on the News of his own Condemnation, and at That of the Death of his Sons, was wonderful. On the first News, he said, *Nature has long ago pronounced her Sentence as well against them* (164), as against me; and on the second, *I knew very well, that I begot them mortal* (165). *Diogenes Laërtius* intimates, that he lost them all; and adds, that, according to *Demetrius Phalereus*, his Sons buried him with their own Hands (166); which would be a Contradiction among Authors. But it may be cleared up, by supposing, that, after he had shewed this Confrancy, he had other Children; or that he gave this Answer, only upon hearing of the Death of one of his Sons. Cicero employs the singular Number. "*Quem (Anaxagoram) ferunt nunciata morte filii, dixisse, sciebam me genuisse mortalem* (167). — *Who (Anaxagoras) is reported, ed, upon hearing of the Death of his Son, to have said, I knew that I begot him mortal.*" *Valerius Maximus* (168), *Plutarch* (169), and *Simplicius* (170), use the same Number; but *Ælian* observes, that *Anaxagoras* had only two Sons, and that he spoke these Words, upon hearing of the Death of both (171). Note, that he received this News, whilst he was reading a Lecture in Philosophy (172).

I shall insert here his Answer to his Friends, who asked him, at *Lampfacus*, whether he desired, after his Death, to be carried to *Clazomenæ*, where he was born. *That is unnecessary, said he, the Infernal Road is as short from one Place, as from another. Præclare Anaxagoras, qui quum Lampiaci moriretur, querentibus amicis, velletne Clazomenas in patriam, si quid ei accidisset offerri, nihil necesse est, inquit, undique enim ad inferos tantundem via est* (173). *Diogenes Laërtius* supposes, that he said this to a Person, who was unwilling to die out of his own Country (174). I have often wondered, that the fine Sayings of the Ancients are so variously reported: I have enquired into the Reason of it; and the most probable seems to be this. Readers retain the Subtance of a Fact better than the Circumstances; and therefore, when they have a mind to relate it, they supply what they have forgotten in the best manner they can; and, as their Tastes are different, it happens, that some supply one thing, and some another. I say nothing of the Supplements, which are designedly made to accommodate things better to the Subject in hand. They are artificial Variations, and proceed from Insincerity: I say nothing of them. What I have said of Readers, may be universally applied. We are still more apt to falsify what we hear, than what we read.

[N] He had a true Discernment of human Happiness. He believed those to be most happy, who seem least to be so; and that we must not look, among the Rich and Great, for Persons, who taste true Happiness; but among those, who till a small Parcel of Ground, or apply themselves to the Sciences, without Ambition. *Valerius Maximus* will express it better than I can. "*Nec parum prudenter Anaxagoras interroganti cuidam, quisnam esset beatus: Nemo, inquit, ex his quos tu felices existimas: sed eum in illo numero reperies, qui à te ex miseris constare creditur. Non erit ille divitiis & honoribus abundans: sed aut exigui rursus, aut non ambitiosæ doctrinæ fidelis ac pertinax cultor, in secessu quam in fronte beator* (175). — *Anaxagoras, being asked, who was happy, replied, with great Prudence, none of those, whom you esteem to be so, but He, whom you think to be miserable, will be found to be of the number. He will not be one, who abounds with Riches and Honours; but either one, who cultivates a small Farm, or is a true and constant Follower of unambitious Sciences, happier in his Retirement, than he appears to be.*"

[O] He

(164) *Thucydides*, against his Judges.

(165) *Diogenes Laërtius*. lib. 2. n. 13.

(166) *Id. ib.*

(167) Cicero, *Tuscul. Quæst. 1. 3. fol. 261.*

(168) *Valerius Max.* lib. 5. in fine.

(169) *Plutarch* *Consol. ad Apollon.* p. 118. de cohib. ira, p. 463. &c. de tranquill. Animæ pag. 474. *His Menage* in *Laërtius*. lib. 2. n. 13. q. 2. as reported by *Plutarch*, the Treatise de cohibenda ira, and *æpist. dædyp. etæc.*

(170) *Simplicius*. in *Epictet. Enchirid.* c. 22.

(171) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 2.

(172) *Plutarch*. de *Consol. ad Apollon.* p. 118.

(173) *Ælian*. *supra*. *Stobæus Serm.* 105.

(174) Cicero *Tusculan.* Quæst. 1. 2. fol. 253. D.

(175) *Diogenes Laërtius*. lib. 2. n. 11.

(176) *Valerius Max.* lib. 7. cap. 2. n. 9. in externa. pag. 504.

I have to make on his Discourse. One of the Reasons, why he neglected Astronomy, was, because *Anaxagoras*, who had extremely applied himself to it, was very much mistaken

"me; and only to enquire, with respect to the
"Proportions of Swiftneſs and Revolution, &c. which
"are found between the Sun, Moon, and other
"Planets, what is the beſt Reaſon that can be al-
"ſigned, why theſe Bodies, in Quality of Agents
"and Patients, are what they are; for I could never
"have imagined, that a Philoſopher, who ſays, that
"an Intelligence governs all theſe Things, would
"allege any other Cauſe; but prove, that the State,
"in which they are, is the beſt that can be. I be-
"lieved likewiſe, that, having in this manner ex-
"plained the particular Nature of each Body by ſuch
"a Cauſe, he would, in general, explain their com-
"mon Good. Full of this Hope, I applied myſelf
"with the greateſt Eagerneſs to the reading of his
"Writings, that I might ſpeedily know what is moſt
"excellent, and what is wrong; but I found that
"this Philoſopher does not employ an Intelligence,
"nor any Cauſe of Arrangement; but refers all
"Things to the Air, the Æther, the Water, and ſuch
"other impertinent Subjects, as to their Original
"(192). This is juſt as if any one, after having
"ſaid, that whatever I do, I do by my Underſtand-
"ing, ſhould afterwards account for all my parti-
"cular Actions after this manner. *Socrates* ſits, be-
"cauſe his Body is compoſed of Bones and Nerves,
"which, by the Rules of Mechanifm, are the Cauſe,
"that he can bend his Limbs. He ſpeaks, becauſe the
"Motion of his Tongue impels the Air, and con-
"veys it's Impreſſion to the Ear, &c. Such an one
"would forget the true Cauſe, to wit, that the
"*Athenians* having judged it beſt to condemn me,
"I thought it better for me to ſit down here; and
"that it was more juſt, that I ſhould ſuffer the
"Puniſhment, which they have ordained. Now, if
"any one objects, that, without my Bones and
"Nerves, &c. I cannot perform what I would, he
"judges right; but if he pretends, that I perform
"it, becauſe of my Bones and Nerves, &c. and not
"thro' a Choice of what is beſt, ſince he ſuppoſes
"that I aſt by my Underſtanding, his Diſcourſe is
"very abſurd (193).

You ſee plainly the Taſte of *Socrates*. He had for-
"gotten the Study of Natural Philoſophy, and applied
"himſelf wholly to Moral; wherefore he required,
"that all Natural Things ſhould be explained by moral
"Reaſons, and by the Ideas of Order and Per-
"fection. I dare aſſert, that he cenſured *Anaxago-
"ras* improperly. Every Philoſopher, who has once
"ſuppoſed, that an Intelligence has moved Matter,
"and ranged the Parts of the Univerſe in order,
"is no longer obliged to have recourſe to This
"Cauſe, when he is to give a Reaſon for each Effect
"of Nature; his Buſineſs is to explain, by the Action
"and Re-aſtion of Bodies, by the Qualities of the
"Elements, by the Configuration of the Parts of Mat-
"ter, &c. the Vegetation of Plants, Meteors, Light,
"Gravity, Opacity, Fluidity, &c. Such is the Me-
"thod of the Chriſtian Philoſophers, whatever Sect they
"are of. The Schoolmen have an Axiom, That a
"Philoſopher ought not to have recourſe to God, *Non
"eſt Philoſophi recurrere ad Deum*: They call this Re-
"cource the Sanctuary of Ignorance. And indeed
"what could you ſay more abſurd, in a Piece of Phy-
"ſics than this: Stones are hard, Fire is hot, and Cold
"freezes Rivers; becauſe God has ordered it ſo? The
"*Carteſians* themſelves, who make God not only the firſt
"Mover, but alſo the only, continual, and perpetual
"Mover of Matter, make no uſe of his Will and Ac-
"tions in explaining the Effects of Fire, the Properties
"of the Loadſtone, Colours, Smells, &c. they only
"conſider the ſecond Cauſes, the Motion, Figure, and
"Situation of the Corpufcles. So that if the Remark
"of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, mentioned above (194),
"was grounded only on this Diſcourſe of *Socrates*, it
"would be very unjuſt. To approve of it, we ſhould
"know, not that *Anaxagoras* explained many Things
"without mentioning the Divine Intelligence; but that
"he expreſsly excluded it, in explaining part of the
"*Phænomena* of Nature. Perhaps, he had ſaid in ſome
"Parts of his Writings, what his Diſciple *Euripides* after-
"wards ſaid, viz. that God concerns himſelf only with
"great Things, and leaves the leſſer to Chance: Τῶν
"ἀγᾶν γὰρ ἀπείλει Θεὸς, τὰ μικρὰ δ' εἰς τύχην

ἀνείξεται, κατὰ τὴν Εὐριπίδην (195). *Summa* (196) *Plu-*
procurat modo Deus, inque fortunam minora rejicit,
ut ait Euripides. As if the World was like the Tri-
"bunal of the Prætors; *de minimis non curat Prætor*.
We have obſerved above (196), that this Philoſopher
"attributed ſome Effects to Chance, and others to Ne-
"ceſſity, &c. and that he only called the ſupreme
"Intelligence to his Aſſiſtance, when he could not
"make it appear, that Neceſſity had produced a Thing
"(197). It may be ſuppoſed, in general, that he had
"not fully explained his Syſtem, and that he had left
"many Parts of it ill connected. *Ariſtotle* intimates
"as much, when he ſpeaks of the firſt Philoſophers,
"who acknowledged two Cauſes, the Material, and
"the Efficient. He compared them to Men, who have
"not learned the Art of Fighting, and yet often wound
"their Enemies; which they do, without obſerving
"the Rules of That Art. In like manner theſe Phi-
"loſophers were not Maſters of their Subjects. Οὗτοι
"μὲν ἔν----- δυνὶ αἰτίαν ἐπιβαλο-----
"τῆς τε ὕλης, καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἡ κινήσεως. ἀμυνδρῶς
"μὲν τοὶ καὶ ἰδὲν σαφῶς, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
"οἱ ἀγυμναστοὶ ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι περιεφρο-
"μένοι τυτῆσι πολλάκις καλὰς πληγὰς. ἀλλ'
"ὅτε ἐκείνοι ἀπὸ ἐπιτήδεως, ὅτε οὗτοι εὐκασιν εἰ-
"δόςι λίσσιν ἀλίσσιν (198). *Atque hi quidem-----*
duas causas----- attingunt, materiam, & unde
motus obicitur tamen, & non clare: sed quedammodo
inexercitati in prælio faciunt. Etenim illi cir-
cumstantes, egregias plerumque plagas infligunt. Sed
nec illi ex scientia, nec isti videntur scire quid dicant.
You will ſee in another Place (199), that there are
"ſome Things, which *Anaxagoras* did not explain, and
"which he would infallibly have admitted, if any one
"had made the Diſcovery to him; and, laſtly, that
"many fine Doctrines would reſult from his Principles,
"if they were cleared up and explained.

I ſhould not condemn *Socrates* for deſiring ſuch
"an Explication of the Univerſe, as he mentions; for
"what could be more excellent, or curious, than to
"know diſtinctly and particularly, why the Perfection
"of the Machine of the World required, that each
"Planet ſhould have the Figure, Magnitude, Situation,
"and Swiftneſs, which it has, and ſo of all the reſt?
"But this Science was not deſigned for Man; and it
"was very unjuſt to expect it from *Anaxagoras*. And
"unleſs we had the Idea, which God followed in creat-
"ing the World, it will be impoſſible to give the Ex-
"plications, which *Socrates* deſired. All that the great-
"eſt Philoſophers can ſay, upon this Occaſion, amounts
"to this: That, ſince the Earth is round, and ſitu-
"ated at ſuch a Diſtance from the Sun; This
"Figure and Situation were neceſſary to the Beauty
"and Symmetry of the Univerſe; the Author of
"this vaſt Machine having an infinite Intelligence,
"and Wiſdom. From hence we know, in general,
"that every thing is right in this Machine, and that
"there is no Defect in it: But, if we ſhould under-
"take to make it appear, Piece by Piece, that every
"thing is in the beſt State it could poſſibly be in,
"we ſhould infallibly aſſign very wrong Reaſons. We
"ſhould aſt like a Peaſant, who, having no Notion of
"a Clock, ſhould undertake to prove, that the Wheel,
"which he ſees through a Chink, muſt neceſſarily be of
"ſuch a Thickneſs, and Bigneſs, and precieſly placed
"there; becauſe if it were leſs, thinner, and ſet in another
"Place, great Inconveniences would follow. He would
"judge of this Machine, as a blind Man doth of Co-
"lours, and without doubt he would be a wretched Rea-
"ſoner. The Philoſophers are not much better quali-
"fied to judge of the Machine of the World, than this
"Peaſant of a Clock. They know but a ſmall part of
"it, and are ignorant of the Model of the Artiſt, his
"Deſign, his Ends, and the reciprocal Relation of
"all the Parts. If you ſay, that the Earth muſt be
"round, that it may turn the eaſier on it's Axis, you
"may be answered, that it would be better if it were
"ſquare, that it might turn more ſlowly, and af-
"ford us longer Days. What could you reaſonably
"reply, if you were obliged to ſpecify the Inconve-
"nencies the World would ſuffer, if *Mercury* were
"greater, or nearer the Earth? Would Sir *Iſaac New-*
ton, who has diſcovered ſo many Methematical and
"Mechanical Beauties in the Heavens, pretend to

warrant,

(192) Ὅμοι-
α ἄνθρω-
πὸν καὶ
τὸν οὐρανὸν
ἡμεῖς τινὰς
αἰτίας ἐ-
καστοῦ
ἐν εἰς τὸ
διανεμεῖν
τὰ πρά-
γματα, ὡς
ἂν καὶ
αἰθέρας καὶ
ὕδατα αἰ-
τιώμενον
καὶ ἄλλα
πολλὰ καὶ
ἀόρατα. Ho-
minem vi-
deo mente
nisiquam uti,
omnibusque
rerum causis
afferre nul-
las; Sed ac-
reas natura
& ætheras
aqueasque &
alia multa
abſorda pro
rerum causis
affigere. Id.
ib. pag. 73.
D.

(193) Πολλὰ
δὲ καὶ
κατὰ τὴν
θεοῦ φύσιν
καὶ ἀγνοῖ.
Negligens
admodum
ac ſupina fu-
tura eſt hæc
eius oratio.
Id. ib. pag.
74. A.

(194) In Re-
mark [E]
Citat. 194.

(196) *Plu-*
tarch. in
Reip. ser.
p. 811. D.

(196) In Re-
mark [E]
Citat. 194.

(197) *Abſol.*
Citat. 197.

(198) *Ariſt.*
Metaphyſ.
lib. 1. c. 4.
pag. 146. G.

(199) Id. ib.
cap. 7. pag.
651. C.

WHY we
cannot de-
monſtrate by
particular
Reaſons,
that each
Body in the
Univerſe
is in the beſt
State it could
poſſibly be
in.

This is to rob him of his Doctrine of the *Homœmeria*. It was not unknown to *Sidonius Apollinaris*; but he ascribed it, without Reason, to the Philosopher *Anaximander*. He attributed likewise to him the *σπέρμια*, that is, the Seeds of all things were every where: a Doctrine, which belonged to the Philosopher *Anaxagoras*. It was likewise *Democritus's* Doctrine, as *Aristotle* has observed, in the fourth Chapter of the third Book of his *Physics*.

----- sed rebus inutile ponit

Principium, dum credit aquis subsistere mundum.
Hujus discipuli versa est sententia, dicens,
Principiis propriis semper res quaque creari,
Singula qui quosdam fontes decrevit habere
Æternum irriguor, ac rerum semine plenos.
Hunc etiam sequitur, qui gignere cuncta putabat
Hunc ærem, pariterque Deos sic autumat ortos.
Quartus Anaxagoras Thaletica dogmata servat:

Sed divinum animum fecit, qui fecerit orbem (202).

An useless Principle to Things He (208) gives,
Who Water makes the World's Original.
A different Sentiment his Scholar held;
That all Things had their proper Principles;
Each Principle it's everlasting Spring,
From whence the Seeds of all things ever flow'd.
Him follow'd That Philosopher, who taught,
That this surrounding Air gave Nature birth,
And peopled Heaven itself with all it's Gods.
The fourth in order, Anaxagoras,
Subscribed to Thales' Doctrine; yet acknowledg'd
A Mind Divine, Creatress of the World.

(207) *Sidonius Apollinaris*. Carm. 15. ver. 81. P. 153, 157.

(208) *Thales*.

The learned *Savaron* has taken no Notice of these Mistakes in his Remarks on this Poem of *Sidonius Apollinaris*.

ANAXANDRIDES, King of *Lacedemon*, the Son of *Leo*, was the only Man of his Country, who had two Wives at once (a). It was not so much his own Fault, as That of the *Ephori*, who would have obliged him to divorce his Wife, because she was barren, and to marry another, who might bring him Children: As he was very fond of his Wife (b), he protested, that he would never divorce her. The *Ephori*, finding him resolute, propos'd to him to marry another Wife, without divorcing the first; and gave him to understand, that, if he refused, it would be the worse for him. He accepted the second Proposal; but would not lodge his two Wives under the same Roof, but in separate Houses. His new Spouse was soon delivered of *Cleomenes*: This good Fortune of *Anaxandrides* extended likewise to his first Wife: she also proved with Child. The Domesticks of the other Queen, being displeased at this, spread many scandalous Reports, and pretended it was but a Feint to deceive the World by a supposititious Child. These Slanders had such an Influence on the *Ephori*, that, when the time of her Delivery drew near, they placed Guards about the Queen (c), to prevent being deceived. It proved no Feint; for the Lady was delivered of a Boy, who was named *Dorieus*. Some time after she was delivered of Twins, one of which was the brave King *Leonidas*, who died so gloriously at the Streights of *Thermopylae*; the other's Name was *Cleombrotus* (d). The Son of the second Wife had scarce common Sense; on the contrary *Dorieus* surpassed his Equals in every thing. Nevertheless his Pretensions, which were, that they should pay more regard to Merit than Birthright, were rejected; and *Cleomenes*, notwithstanding his Unworthiness, succeeded to the Crown (e): the Laws of the Country required it, and were observed. *Anaxandrides* was more favoured by Fortune, than the Kings his Predecessors, with respect to the *Tegeates*; for the *Lacedæmonians* began to conquer them in his Reign (f); I mean about the LXth Olympiad [A]. *Plutarch* has left us a Collection of the Apophthegms of *Anaxandrides* among those of the *Lacedæmonians*. The Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary is full of Mistakes on this Head [B].

(a) *Paulinus*. lib. 3. p. 84.

(b) She was the Daughter of *Anaxandrides's* Sister.

(c) The words of *Herodotus* may be rendered so as to import, That They themselves were the Queen's Instructors, or Guards.

(d) Some say, that *Leonidas* and *Cleombrotus* were born at different Times.

(e) *Herodotus*. lib. 1. c. 39. & seq. See also *Paulinus*. lib. 3. p. 84.

(f) *Paulinus*. lib. 1. c. 67.

[A] The *Lacedæmonians* began to conquer the *Tegeates* about the LXth Olympiad. Historians observe, that the *Tegeates* were not overcome by the *Lacedæmonians*, till the latter had transported to their City the Bones of *Orestes*, who was buried at *Tegea*. This Translation was made in the LVIIIth Olympiad. "Prætorum autem testantur molem etiam 'Orestis suprema, cujus ossa Olympiade quinquagesima & octava Tegeæ inventa à Spartanis Oraculo monitis discimus implevisse longitudinem cubitorum septem (1).—The Ancients inform us likewise of the 'Statue of *Orestes*; whose Bones, which the Spartans, 'by the Advice of the Oracle, found at *Tegea*, in the 'LVIIIth Olympiad, were seven Cubits long." We know farther, that *Cleomenes*, the Son and Successor of *Anaxandrides*, was exhorted to wage War against *Polystrates*, Tyrant of *Samos* (2), who died a miserable Death, in the second Year of the LXIVth Olympiad (3). I omit, that *Cleomenes* had reigned a considerable time, when the Successors of *Pisistratus* were obliged to leave *Athens*, which happened about the LXVIIth Olympiad (4). *Moreri* ought not to have said, That the Time, when *Anaxandrides* lived, is unknown, nor that the *Ephori* obliged him to divorce his first Wife, nor that the eldest Son of his first Wife was called *Dorieus*. He should have called him *Dorieus*. I say nothing of his Omissions, tho' they are not inconsiderable. I must not pass over in Silence, that it is not difficult to reconcile *Solinus* and *Herodotus*, with respect to Chronology. *Solinus* places the Translation of *Orestes's* Bones in the

LVIIIth Olympiad. But, according to *Herodotus* (5), the *Lacedæmonians* had already obtained several Advantages over the *Tegeates*, after this Translation, when *Cræsus* courted their Alliance; which he did, before he made War with *Cyrus*; and his Expedition against *Cyrus* fell out at the end of the fifty sixth Olympiad (6); how then can the Chronology of *Solinus* be reconciled with That of *Herodotus*? However it be, *Moreri* ought not to have said, that the time, when *Anaxandrides* reigned, is unknown; for do we not find in *Herodotus*, that he reigned in the Days of *Cræsus* (7)?

[B] The Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary is full of Mistakes on this Head. To the Three Faults of *Moreri*, which I have mention'd, I add those of his Continuator. I. It is not true, that *Anaxandrides* was the Son of *Euryclides* the Second: He was his Grandson, (8) and the Son of *Leo*. II. It is not true, that *Anaxandrides* took the City of *Tegea*, before the Bones of *Orestes* were carried away from thence. It was not till after this Translation, that Fortune caus'd to favour the *Tegeates*. How then could their Capital City have been taken before the Removal of these Bones? Is not the taking of the Principal City the entire Ruin of such little Republics? III. It is not true, that *Glycas* (9) made his Entry into *Tegea* in the Retinue of the Victorious *Anaxandrides*: He enter'd it, as People, in peaceable Times, do the Cities of their Neighbours. IV. It was not He, who found the Tomb of *Orestes*, and carried his Bones away; He only reported, at his Return to *Lacedæmon*, that he

(1) Lib. 1. cap. 68, 69.

(2) See *Calvisius*, ad *Annum mundi* 339.

(3) *Herodotus*. lib. 1. c. 67.

(4) *Paulinus*. lib. 3. p. 83.

(5) It should be *Lychas*, as before.

believ'd

believ'd, that the Sepulchre of *Orestes* was at a Blacksmith's in *Tegæ*. For this Blacksmith had inform'd him, that, as he was digging a Well in the Court of his House, he met with a Tomb of seven Cubits, and that it appeared, by the Bones, that the Person, for whom it was made, was of That Stature. *Lyctas* concluded from hence, that it was the Tomb of *Orestes*, because the Oracle had said, that it should be found at *Tegæ*, in a Place, where two Winds were driven with Violence, and where a Representation of a Fight, and Wounds upon Wounds, were to be seen. He applied all this to the Smith's Bellows, Hammer, and Anvil. He only conjectur'd this, and communicated it to his Superiors, who thereupon banished a Criminal. This Man retired to *Tegæ*, and hired of the Blacksmith the Place, where the Tomb of seven Cubits had been discover'd; and took away the Bones of *Orestes*, and brought them to *Lacedæmon*. V. It is not true, that the Oracle had said, *That, in order to this Translation, the Winds, the Striker, and the Strick-*

en, were to be removed, with the Plague and Ruin of Men. *Herodotus*, who is quoted in the Supplement, says no such Thing. VI. There was no occasion to remove all these things, in order to find the Tomb of *Orestes*; for it was not under the Forge; but in a Court, where the Smith set himself to dig a Well. VII. *The War did not cease* as soon as the Bones of this Prince were buried at *Lacedæmon*. *Herodotus* says only, that from That time the *Lacedæmonians* had the Advantage in all their Wars with the Inhabitants of *Tegæ*. Ἀπὸ τῆς τῷ Χρόνῳ ὕστερ ἐπε-
ρῶν] οἱ ἄλλοι πολλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν
ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (10). Quæ ex tempore
Lacedæmonii, quoties cum Tegæatibus congressi sunt, su-
periores existerent. VIII. And therefore it is not true, that the latter were wofully subdued by the *Lacedæmonians*, as soon as the Bones of *Orestes* were buried in *Lacedæmon*. IX. There was no occasion to quote *Plutarch*; for he says nothing of what the Article im-
ports.

(10) Herod.
lib. 1. c. 68.

ANAXANDRIDES, a Comic Poet, a Native of *Camirum* [A], in the Isle of *Rhodes*, flourished about the Clift Olympiad [B]. According to *Suidas*, he was the first, who brought upon the Stage Love-Adventures, and the Disgrace, which attends young Ladies, who forfeit their Virginity (a). I can easily believe, that it was not till the Cth Olympiad, that they began to introduce upon the Stage a Character so difficult to support as is That of such young Ladies; but I cannot believe they deferred till that time intermixing Love in their Comedies. *Anaxandrides* was tall, and of a graceful Mien; he was very careful of his Hair, and dressed magnificently; he wore a purple Gown fringed with Gold (b). This Equipage did not suit with a Poet. He affected Pomp to such a degree, that, on a day, when he was to read a Poem at *Athen*, he rode to the appointed Place, and recited part of the Piece on Horseback. This Behaviour makes what is farther said of him probable; viz. That he was extremely disgusted, whenever his Pieces did not obtain the Prize (c). He did not, like Others of his Profession, revise and correct his Comedies, that they might enter the Lists again with more Advantage. This capricious and morose Behaviour towards his Audiences occasioned the Loss of several fine Comedies of his Composition. But his Disguist must have often given way to paternal Affection; for he carried the Prize but ten times (e), and we find above twenty of his Plays quoted (see, in the Remark [C], the Reflexion of *Athenæus*); he composed Sixty five (f). The *Athenians* condemned him to be starved to Death, for censuring their Government [D]. Perhaps the Comic Poet *Alexandrides* is only a Fault of the Transcriber; if so, we may substitute our *Anaxandrides* wherever we meet with the other [E].

(a) Πρώτος
ἦν οὗτος καὶ
πρῶτος
ἔθηκεν αὐ-
τοῦ γένους.
Primus amo-
res, & stu-
pra virginum
introduxit
in scenam.
Suidas.

(b) Chamæ-
leon Hera-
clæotes, l. 6.
de Comædia
apud Athen.
lib. 9. pag.
374.

(c) Οὐ γὰρ
μὴ νικῶν
λαμβάνει
ἱκανὸν ἀεὶ
τὸν λιβαν-
ωτὸν κα-
ταμαίνου-
σθαι. Ὥθεν
βέβαια συμ-
περι-
τίθεται. His
Plays to
be sure so
pleased, and so
were up
Franklin's
with 14. lib.

(d) *Suidas*.

(f) *Idem*.

[A] A Native of *Camirum* (1.). *Suidas* says so as well as *Chamæleon*; but he observes, that it was not the Opinion of all Authors. They were divided in their Sentiments concerning it; some of them would have *Anaxandrides* to be a *Colophonian*; others a *Rhodian*.

[B] He flourished about the Clift Olympiad. The anonymous Author of the Olympiads agrees, in this, with *Suidas*; and, as the latter observes, that *Anaxandrides* assisted at the Games of King *Philip* of *Macedon*, he gives us a Matter of Fact, which fixes this Age of *Anaxandrides*. Besides, it is well known, that this Poet abused *Plato* (2), and that some of his Comedies were cited by *Aristotle* (3). He must, therefore, have lived at the time mention'd by *Suidas*.

(2) *Laërtius*,
in *Platon*.
lib. 3. n. 26.
Edit. 1692.

(3) *Aristot.*
Rhetor. l. 3.
cap. 12.

(4) *Athen.*
l. 9. p. 373.

[C] See in the Remark the Reflexion of *Athenæus*. Having quoted (4) a Verse out of the *Tereus* of *Anaxandrides*, a Piece of no great Value, he takes an opportunity of mentioning what I have quoted from *Chamæleon*; after which, he asks, with an Air of Astonishment, how it came to pass, that the *Tereus*, and such other Pieces of the same Author, which had not come off with Victory, were preserv'd? He might have found the Solution of this Difficulty in the very Words of *Chamæleon*; for they clearly intimate, that *Anaxandrides* did not vent the Spleen, he had conceived from the Judgment of the Spectators, against his own Pieces, till he was an old Man. He, therefore, spared several of his vanquish'd Comedies, before Old Age had sour'd his Temper. Πολλὰ ἔχοντα κομ-
μῶς τῶν δραμάτων νεανίεζε, δυσχαλαινὸν τοῖς
θεαταῖς διὰ τὸ γῆρας (5). He destroy'd many ex-
cellent Performances, being exasperated, through the
jealousy of old Age, against the Spectators.

(5) *Id.* lib.
p. 374.

[D] The *Athenians* condemn'd him to be starv'd to Death, for censuring their Government. In one of his Comedies he has this Verse,

Ἡ πόλις ἐκυλεῖ ἥ νόμον ἔδην μέλει,
that is,

The State will have it so; the State, which pays no regard to the Laws.

He only alter'd a single Word in this Verse of *Euripides*.

Ἡ φύσις ἐκυλεῖ ἥ νόμον ἔδην μέλει (6).

that is
Nature, which observes no Laws, will have it so.

(6) *Euripid.*
ver. 295. in-
ter incerta
in Edit. Bar-
neæ.

See *Euphratius*, on the Tenth Chapter of the Sixth and Seventh Books of *Aristotle's* *Morals*. It is thought, that *Ovid* intended this Punishment of *Anaxandrides*, when he said in his Poem, in *lib. ver.* 523.

Utque parum stabili qui carmine læsit Athenas,
Inivis percas deficiente cibo.

Depriv'd of Food, may starving be thy Fate,
Like *His*, whose Satire lash'd the Athenian State.

[E] We may substitute our *Anaxandrides* wherever we meet with the other. This is the Opinion of *Cassaubon* (7). His Reason is, because *Suidas* makes no mention of *Alexandrides*; and because the same Piece (8), which he ascrib'd to *Alexandrides*, in the Eleventh Book of *Athenæus* (9), is cited under the Name of *Anaxandrides*, in the Fourteenth Book (10). *Cassaubon* adds a Third Reason. *Pollux*, in the Sixth Chapter of the Ninth Book, quotes the *Architis* of *Alexandrides*: Now it is certain, that *Anaxandrides* compos'd a Piece with this Name; *Athenæus* cites it in the 18th Chapter of his 6th Book (11). *Meursius* is altogether of *Cassaubon's* Opinion. He will have the two or three Dramatic Pieces, which are ascrib'd to *Alexandrides*.

(7) *Cassub.*
in *Athen.* l.
6. cap. 18.
pag. 455.

(8) Entitled
μαλακωτος.

(9) Cap. 2.
pag. 460.

(10) Cap. 20.
pag. 654.

(11) P. 263.

- (12) Suidas in 'ΑΒΙΑΤΟΡΕΣ.
(13) Id. in 'ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ.
(14) Vossius de Poët. Gr. pag. 49.
(15) Diogen. Laërt. l. 3. n. 26.
(16) In Alcestid. init.
(17) Plut. in Lyandro, pag. 443.
(18) Id. in Quæst. Romanis, pag. 232.
Alexandrides, in the Editions of *Athenæus*, to belong to *Anaxandrides*. And he ascribes the *Helena* (12) and the *Pisander* (13), mention'd by *Suidas*, under the Name of *Alexandrides*, to *Anaxandrides*. See page 87. of his Treatise of the Isle of *Rhodes*. *Vossius* is of the same Opinion (14). So that, according to this Account, which is probable enough, there are Thirty Pieces of *Anaxandrides* quoted. His *Trojæus*, mention'd by *Diogenes Laërtius* (15), was unknown to *Mæursius*. There is the like Confusion with respect to one *ANAXANDRIDES* of *Delpbos*. The Scholiast upon *Euripides* cites him, (16) *Αναξανδρίδης ὁ Δελφός*, in relation to the Penalty, impos'd on *Apollo*, of serving *Admetus* for Wages, as a punishment for having kill'd the Serpent *Python*. *Plutarch* cites him, (17) *Αναξανδρίδης ὁ Δελφός*, in relation to the Money, which *Lyander* deposited in the Temple of *Delpbos*. He mentions elsewhere (18) an *Anaxandrides*, in speaking of the Times, when the Priests of *Delpbos* delivered her Oracles. At first she delivered

them but once a Year. A long time after, she delivered them once a Month. It is very probable, that, in these two Places, *Plutarch* quotes the same Author, and that this Author is the same with Him, who is mention'd by the Scholiast upon *Euripides*. The Question is, whether his Name be *Alexandrides* or *Anaxandrides*. *Vossius* cannot tell what to think of it (19). Without doubt, The Work, mention'd in the Collection of Proverbs, publish'd by *Andreas Schottus*, from a Manuscript of the *Vatican*, must be ascrib'd to the same *Anaxandrides*. The Subject of the Work, mention'd in That Collection, relates to the Sacrileges committed in the Temple of *Delpbos*, *Περὶ τῶν συληθέντων ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, de anathematibus quæ sacrilegis Delphi fuisse sublata*; and was written by one, whose Name was *Anaxandrides*. He relates a Story, which occasion'd the Greek Proverb, *ἄνω λῆξαι, καὶ μέσον ἔχειν*, *Take the upper Part, and you'll be sure of the Middle*. See *Vossius*, pag. 320. *de Historicis Græcis*.

(19) Voss. de Hist. Græc. pag. 502.

A N C H I S E S, a *Trojan Prince*, descended from *Dardanus*, and the Son of

- (a) *Homer*. Il. lib. 20. vers. 239.
(b) *Ἀνχίσην τὴν Φιλότητος*. Imperfecti verberis concessi s. *Homer*. in *Hymno Veneris*.
(c) *Ἐπὶ τῇ Φιλότητι μὲν γυναικὶ αὐτῆς ἐννέων. Quæ minus tibi in amore miscere stitit nunc. Id. ib.*
(d) *Ἀνχίσης* (d) *Id. ib.*
Carys (a), pleas'd *Venus* so much, that she appeared to him in the Shape of a Nymph, in order to declare her Passion to him. She told him, that her Destiny oblig'd her to offer herself to him in Marriage; assuring him, that he should find her a Virgin (b), and intreating him to present her to his Relations, that the Contract of Marriage might be speedily drawn up. *Anchorises* replied, like a brisk Man, that, since she was no Goddess, nothing should hinder him from enjoying her upon the Spot (c). She took him at his Word, and to Bed they went, &c. Towards Evening, *Anchorises* fell asleep, and, when he awaked, he perceived, that he had lain with a Goddess. He feared he should not long survive such an Adventure [A]; but *Venus* revived his Spirits, and told him, she should have a Son by him, whose Name should be *Æneas*; that she would employ the Wood-Nymphs to nurse the Child, 'till he was five Years of Age; and that, then, he should be put into His Hands. She desired him to beware of boasting, that he had lain with *Venus*; and assured him, that if ever he should be so indiscreet, he would be Thunder-struck by *Jupiter* (d). It is said, that *Anchorises* could

[A] He fear'd he should not long survive such an Adventure.] It was a Tradition, in those Times, that Mortals, who lay with Goddesses, were not long liv'd. Wherefore *Anchorises*, discovering his Adventure, supplicated *Venus* to have Compassion on him.

Ἄλλα σε πρὸς ζῆνός γυναιζομας αἰσιόχοιο
Μή με ζῶντ' ἀμνηστὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἰδῆς
Ναίειν ἄλλ' ἰταίης, ἐπεὶ δὲ βιοθάλαμῳ ἀνδρὸς
Γίγνηται, ὅς ἐστις ἰναζέταται ἀθανάτης (1).

(1) *Homer*. in *Hymno Veneris* pag. 345.

By Jove I beg, the Pow'r who gave thee Birth,
Let me not drag a wretched Life on Earth;
But, O! some pity shew; since short the Date
(Such is th' irrevocable Will of Fate)
Of Him, who takes a Goddess to his Arms,
And boasts th' Enjoyment of immortal Charms.

This Sentiment of the Antients appears, at first View, to be ill-grounded; for this intimate Union of Mortal with Immortal Beings, this Mixture, this Confusion of Principles, ought to have been look'd upon as productive of Immortality, not as tending to shorten Life. Hence it is, that the most refined *Cabala* teaches, that the Elementary Inhabitants repair the Misfortune of their Destiny, which subjects them to Annihilation, by the Alliance, which they contract with Mankind—Thus a Nymph, or Sympid, becomes immortal, and capable of the Beatitude, to which we aspire, when she is so happy as to be married to a Philosopher: And a Gnome, or Sylphe, ceases to be mortal, as soon as he marries one of our Females (2). But if we consider the Matter in all its Lights, we shall find, that *Anchorises*'s Fear, and the Maxim he alledged, were founded upon a specious Reason. According to the Notions of the Pagans, The Gods were jealous of their Superiority, and took great Care, that Men should not forget their Inferiority: It was therefore their Business to exclude them from the Enjoyment of Goddesses, to make them understand, that such dainty Mortals were not for Them. It was proper to threaten an exemplary Punishment, such as a speedy Death, if they presumed to taste a Pleasure of this Nature, which the Gods reserv'd for themselves. It was requisite to deter Mortals, not only from being so bold

as to tempt a Goddess, but even from yielding to Declarations of Love made them by Goddesses, tho' under the Appearance and Disguise of Women. Don't we see, that Human Laws punish with Death Servants, who debauch their Masters Wives, or Daughters? 'Tis in vain for them to alledge in their Excuse, that they have resisted repeated Solicitations; and that so many Advances have been made them, and so many Threatnings denounc'd against them, that it was impossible for them to avoid the Snare; the Judge delivers them up to the Executioner, even upon a Supposition that their Excuses are real and undeniable. The Gazettes have lately (3) inform'd us, that a Footman was hang'd at *Paris* for such an Act. And, as, in some Cases, the Publick Interest requires, that the Rigour of the Law should go beyond Justice, because an Injury done to a private Person (4) is less an Evil, politically speaking, than the Publick Advantage, which accrues from it, is a Good; I do not believe, that Judges, animated with a rigorous Zeal for the Preservation of Chastity in Families, would regard the Apology of a Servant, who should alledge, that his Master's Daughter, or Wife, came to him in the Disguise of a Servant-Maid, &c. It is necessary, that Lacqueys should have no Pardon to hope for, even when they can plead Ignorance; because such Severity will keep them more upon their Guard, and make them look with Horror upon the pretended Advantage of being belov'd. It will serve them as a Precaution against Promises, Threats, and cunning Disguises. If they could promise themselves Impunity, in case they debauch'd a Lady in Disguise, they would expect it in the Case of Simple Seduction; and, might they hope to go unpunished, by pleading Solicitation, they would quickly venture to turn Solicitors themselves, wherever they had the least Hopes of Success. It is necessary, therefore, to keep them in awe as much as possible; for a Master, who has no reason to believe, that his Servant will be so honest as to resist all Solicitation, can never be entirely free from Suspicion. Now, as the Pagans look'd upon Men of the highest Rank to be more inferior to the Gods, than a Lacquy is to a Great Lord, we cannot wonder, that the Courts above expos'd *Anchorises* to a severe Punishment, tho' he enjoy'd *Venus* under the Disguise of a Woman.

(4) See Tacitus, Annal. l. 14. c. 44.

(2) See the Comte de Gabalis, p. 54.

could not keep the Secret of his good Fortune [B]; and that it escaped him, as he was one day drinking with his Friends. *Venus's Menace* had it's Effect; he was struck with a Thunder-Bolt; but was not killed by it [C]. Some say he only lost his Sight by it [D]; others pretend, that the Wound could never be closed [E]. It is

[B] *It is said, that Anchises could not keep the Secret of his good Fortune.* Yet *Venus's Menace* was very terrible.

Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐξείπης καὶ ἐπεύξῃαι ἄφρονι θυμῷ
Ἐν φιλότῳ μιγῆναι εὐσεφάνῳ Κυθερείῳ,
Ζεὺς σε χολώσεται. Βαλλεῖς πολέοντι καρῶν.
(5)

*But, indiscreet, should'st thou reveal my Love,
Thunder shall blast Thee from the Hand of Jove.*

(5) Homer.
in Hymn.
Vener. sub
finem.

This Adventure is a Picture, which is often copied. Ladies of the highest Quality, who fall in Love with their Inferiors, are obliged to make all the Advances. They exact Secrecy, and threaten Indiscretion with terrible Punishment: And yet The Favourite, when he is a little heated with Wine, will be blabbing. Sometimes Vanity prompts him to say too much, even when he is sober. I shall quote some Authorities in relation to this Indiscretion of *Anchises*. "Fulminatus est Anchises, quia se cum Venere concubuisse jactabat." — *Anchises was thunder-struck for boasting, that he had lain with Venus.* They are *Servius's* Words (6). *Hyginus* says, "Venus Anchisem Affraci filium amasse, & cum eo concubuisse dicitur: Procreavit Æneam, eique praecepit ne id apud homines enunciarret. Quod Anchises inter fodes per vinum est elocutus. Ob id à Jove fulmine est ictus (7)." — "Venus is said to have fallen in Love with Anchises, the Son of Affracus (8), and to have lain with him. She conceived Æneas by him, and enjoy'd him not to reveal it to Men. But Anchises in his Cups disclosed the Secret to his Companions; for which Reason he was thunder-struck by Jupiter."

(6) Servius
in Æneid.
lib. 2. ver.
643.

(7) Hyg.
cap. 94.

(8) Hyginus
should have
said that Cap-
pys was his
Father, and
not Affracus,
who was Cappy's
Father.

[C] He was struck with a Thunder-bolt, but was not killed by it. *Venus*, discovering that *Anchises* had boasted of the Favours he had bestowed upon him, made her complaints to *Jupiter*, and obtain'd that he should be Thunder-struck: But, not being willing to destroy him, and knowing he could not recover from the Stroke of a Thunder-bolt, she took care to turn it aside. "Cum inter æquales exultaret Anchises, gloriatus traditur de concubitu Veneris, quod cum Jovi Venus quæstæ effect, emeruit ut in Anchisem fulmina mitterentur. Sed Venus eum cum fulmine posse vidisset interimi, miserata juvenem in aliam partem detorsit. Anchises tamen afflatus igne coësti semper debilis vixit (9)." This is another Original, of which Copies have been taken in all Ages. The Fair are angry with an indiscreet Gallant, and are fond of making him sensible of his Fault; but They do not carry it too far; there is room left for Repentance.

[D] He only lost his Sight by it. *Servius* informs us, that *Anchises's* Sight was blasted by Lightning for boasting of the Favours he had received from *Venus*; Quod cum jactaret Anchises afflatus est fulmine, oculoque privatus est (10). The Singular Oculo must not make us think, that he lost but one Eye; for, in another Place (11), *Servius* makes use of the Authority of *Theocritus* to inform us, that it was a real Blindness.

[E] Others pretend, that the Wound could never be closed. In *Virgil*, he complains only of a great Weakness, which the Thunder had occasioned in him.

Jampridem invitus divi & inutilis annos
Demoror, ex quo me divum pater atque hominum Rex
Fulminis adflavit ventis, & contigit igni (12).

'Tis long, since I, for my celestial Wife,
Loath'd by the Gods, have dragged a lingering Life;
Since ev'ry Hour and Moment I expire,
Blasted from Heav'n by Jove's avenging Fire.

DRYDEN.

I wonder, that *Scarron*, whose Burlesque Paraphrase of this Passage of *Virgil*, shews that he was not

ignorant of the Cause of this Misfortune, has not given it a more humorous Turn; the Subject, I think, was capable of being set in a very ludicrous Light, especially in the Hands of such a Poet. However, this is his Translation.

Vieil, cassé, mal propre à la guérre,
Je ne fers de rien sur la terre;
Spectre qui n'ai plus que la voix,
J'y suis un inutile poids.
Depuis le tems que de son foudre
Jupin me voulut mettre en poudre,
Depuis le tems qu'il m'effraya
Ce grand Dieu qui me giboya,
Par une vengeance secrète;
Mais je suis personne discrète,
Je n'en dirai point le sujet;
Suffit que j'aurois eu mon fait
Sans Venus qui faura ma vie.
J'ay depuis eu cent fois envie
De m'aller pendre un beau matin,
Et finir mon chien de destin.

Crazy, and old, I curse my Birth,
An useless Load to Mother Earth;
Since Jove, to crush Anchises dead,
Darted his Thunder at my Head.
A secret Vengeance on me fell;
The Reason why ----- I must not tell ----
A Vengeance, which had been my end,
Had not Dame Venus flood my Friend.
An hundred times I have intended
This wretched Corps should be suspended;
And, hanging on some fatal Tree,
To end That Birth, my Destiny.

If we compare together a Passage of *Plutarch*, and another of *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, we shall prove, that the Thunderbolt inflicted a Wound, which never closed up. *Plutarch* says (13), that if Musk gives a good Scent to the most ragged Cloaths (14); on the other hand, an Ulcer makes the richest Garments stink. This is his Thought; but, whereas I make him speak in general, he instances particularly in *Anchises*. The Greek runs thus;

Τὸ δ' Ἀρχίσε τὸ ῥάκος ἱχῶρα πορνῶν ἐξεδίδυ,
Μοτὴ καλὰ δ' ὄντα βύσσινον φάρος.

Now, since, according to the common Acceptation, the Word *ῥάκος* signifies Rags and Tatters; it is not probable, that it is the true reading of the Greek Text: Wherefore a learned Critic reads *ἔλκος*, a Wound, or an Ulcer, instead of *ῥάκος* (15). The Sense, then, is This; *Anchises's* Wound, oozing thro' the dressing, disstained his Linnen Garment. It is not sufficient to know, that *Plutarch* quotes the Words of a Poet; we should know who he is (16). *Meziriac* will inform us of this: He found them in *Dionysius Halicarnassus* (17), who quotes some Lines of *Sophocles*, the third whereof is the same which *Plutarch* quotes.

Νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Ἀνείας ὁ τῆς Σεῦ
Πλάγης ἐπ' ὤμων παλῆρ' ἔχων, κερῶν
Μοτὴ καλὰ δ' ὄντα βύσσινον φάρος (18).

Next the Son of Venus appeared at the Gates; carrying his Father on his Shoulders, whose Wound, caused by Thunder, still continued to stain his Linnen Garment.

Meziriac has corrected a Fault in the beginning of the third Verse of *Sophocles*; instead of *νῦν*, as we read in all the Editions *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, he has put *μοτὴ*. In which there is nothing contrary to the Rules of Criticism. The comparing of Authors, who

(13) Plutarch de Virtute & Virtute, Oper. moral. pag. 100.

(14) I keep to the Sense, not the Words, of Plutarch.

(15) Meziriac, Ovid's Epistles, p. 671.

(16) Ibid. pag. 670.

(17) Dion. Halicarn. lib. 1. c. 48.

(18) The Verses of Sophocles are taken from his Laocoon.

(9) Servius upon Æneid. two Lines of the first Book of the Æneid; & Tunc ille Æneas, quem Dardanio Anchise Alma Venus Phrygiæ genuit Simoentis ad undas?

(11) In Æneid. lib. 2. ver. 687.

(12) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2. ver. 647.

is said he lived to the Age of Eighty Years, and was buried on Mount *Ida* [F], where his Tomb was honoured by the Shepherds. This Opinion differs very much from That of *Virgil*; for, according to That Poet, the same Night that *Troy* was taken, *Aeneas* took his Father upon his Shoulders [G], and carried him to a Place of Safety; nor did the old Man die, before the *Trojans*, who joined *Aeneas*, arrived in *Sicily*, after innumerable Fatigues. This Affection of *Aeneas* for his Father, and the Care he took to save the *Penates*, are the Foundation of the Character, which distinguishes him from other Heroes: This Character consists in Piety (e). Some say, that *Anchoris* lived 'till his Son's Arrival in *Italy*, That Land of Promise, which the Destinies commanded him to go in search of, amidst a thousand Dangers (f). *Cato*, *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, and *Strabo*, are of this Opinion. See the end of the Remark [F]. Lastly, the Love of *Venus* for *Anchoris* was not a transient Passion; her first Lying-in did not satisfy her; she bore a second Son to *Anchoris*, as *Apollodorus* tells us in the third Book of his *Bibliotheca*.

(e) *Virgil*
often calls
him *Pius*
Aeneas.

(f) See among other
Passages the
first Book of
the *Aeneids*,
ver. 205, &
258.

who have, at different times, quoted the same Passage, often discovers the true Reading. *Sylburgius*, who revised the Latin Translation of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, done by *Sigismund Gelenius*, has not corrected the third Verse of *Sophocles*. *Gelenius*'s Version of the three Lines is This;

*Nunc in porta est Aeneas Deae filius,
Humeris bajulans Patrem fulminata
Terga amicum fluxa veste byssina.*

Here is nothing of the suppurating Wound; besides, *Anchoris* is represented as wounded in the Back; that is, the Translator has omitted what *Sophocles* said, and added what he did not say. If the ancient Writers were to return into the World, they would be amazed to find so many things in their Books, which they never dreamt of.

[F] He was buried on Mount *Ida*.] *Eustathius* relates this (19), but *Pausanias* is of a different Opinion. He says, that *Aeneas*, going to *Sicily*, put into *Laconia*, and built there two Cities; and that *Anchoris*, dying at the Foot of a Mountain in *Arcadia*, was buried there; for which Reason the Mountain was called *Anchoris* (20). *Pausanias* adds, That the Ruins of a Temple of *Venus* were seen near this Sepulchre of *Anchoris*; and that the Inhabitants of *Troy* could no where shew the Tomb of This old Man. *Stephen of Byzantium* says, that *Anchoris* was buried in a City of *Thrace*, built by *Aeneas* (21); or rather, he quotes an old Scholiast, whose Name was *Theon*, who said so. *Tertius* is of the same Opinion; only he says, that This City was in *Macedonia* (22). *Virgil* carries the good Man as far as *Sicily*, where he makes him die; with this he concludes the long Story, which his Hero related to Queen *Dido*.

(19) *Eustathius*, in
Iliad. l. 12.

(20) *Pausanias*,
lib. 8. pag.
247.

(21) *Steph.*
Byzant. in
"*Arvensis*."

(22) In *Lycoph.*

*Hinc Drepani me portus & illætabilis ora
Accipit. Hinc pelagi tot tempestatibus actus,
Heu genitorem, omnis curæ casusque levamen,
Amitto Anchisen. Hic me, pater optime, fessum
Deferis, heu tantis nequiquam crepte periculis* (23).

(23) *Virgil*,
Aen. lib. 3.
ver. 707.

*At lengb on Shore the weary Fleet arriv'd;
Which Drepanum's unhappy Port receiv'd.
Here, after endless Labours, often tost
By raging Storms, and driven on ev'ry Coast,
My dear, dear Father, spent with Age, I lost;*

*Ease of my Care, and Solace of my Pain,
Saw'd thro' a thousand Toils, but sav'd in vain.*

DRYDEN.

Servius tells us, that *Anchoris*'s Tomb was on Mount *Eryx* near *Drepanum* (24). I have named three Writers, who say, that *Anchoris* died in *Italy*. *Cato* (25), *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (26), *Strabo* (27), are my Authorities.

(24) *Serv.* in
Aen. lib. 1.
ver. 570.

(25) *Apud*
Servium ib.

[G] Took his Father upon his Shoulders.] The Words of *Virgil* are so excellent, that they deserve to be inserted in this place.

(26) *Antiq.*
lib. 1. c. 64.

*Ergo age, chare pater, cervici imponere nostræ,
Ipse subibo humeris, nec me labor iste gravabit* (28).

(27) *Lib.* 5.
pag. 158.

*Hæc fatus, latos humeros subjectaque colla
Veste super, fulvique interior pelle leonis,
Succedoque oneri. Dextræ se parvus Iulus
Implicuit, sequiturque patrem non passibus æquis* (29).

(28) *Virgil*,
Aen. lib. 2.
ver. 707.

(29) *Ibid.*
ver. 724.

*Nunc omnes terrent auræ: sonus excitat omnis
Suspensum, & pariter comitique onerique timen-*
tem (30).

(30) *Ibid.*
ver. 728.

*Haste, my dear Father, ('tis no time to wait)
And load my Shoulders with a willing Freight.*

*Thus, ordering all that Prudence could provide,
I cloath my Shoulders with a Lion's Hide,
And yellow Spoils; then on my bending Back
The welcome Load of my dear Father take:
While on my better Hand Anchoris hung,
And with unequal Paces trips along.*

*At ev'ry Shadow I am seiz'd with Fear,
Not for myself, but for the Charge I bear.*

DRYDEN.

The Poets have highly extolled this Action; and it deserved it. They say, that the Flames had a regard for *Aeneas*, and that, for fear of hurting a Son, who shewed so great an Affection for his Father, they divided, and left a free Passage for him (31).

(31) See several
authorities for
this in *La*
Cærdæ's Com-
mentary upon
this Passage
of *Virgil*.

(a) *Discourse*
on the Life
of *Mr.*
Ancillon, p. 6.

(b) *Ib.* p. 3.

(c) *Ib.* p. 9.

(d) *Ib.* p. 13.

(e) *Ibid.* p.
13, 14.

(f) *Ibid.*
pag. 14.

(g) *Ibid.*
p. 13.

(b) *Ibid.*
pag. 20, 21.

(f) *Ibid.*
pag. 31.

(k) *Ibid.*
pag. 31.

ANCILLON (DAVID), Minister of the Reformed Church at *Metz*, was born in that Town (a), the Seventeenth of *March*, 1617. At Nine or Ten Years of Age, he studied in the College of the *Jesuits*, which was then the only One at *Metz*, where good Literature was taught (b); and from the very first he proved so hopeful a Youth, that the chief Persons of the Society neglected nothing to give him a Relish of their Religion, and make him one of their Order; but he vigorously opposed them; and from that time took up a Resolution to study Divinity (c). He was so indefatigable in his Studies (d), that it was often necessary to employ the paternal Authority to interrupt them; for he was excessively, and, if I may so say, intemperately studious (e). He took a Journey to *Geneva*, in the Year 1633 (f), where he went through a Course of Philosophy under *Mr du Pan* (g), and studied Divinity under the Professors *Spanheim*, *Deodati*, and *Tronchin*, who had a particular Love and Esteem for him (h). He left *Geneva*, in the Month of *April* 1641, and presented himself to the Synod of *Cbarenton*, to be admitted into the Ministry (i). His Examiners admired his Capacity, and the Ministers of *Paris* his Modesty (k); and the whole Af-

sembly was so well pleased with him, that they gave him the most considerable vacant Benefice (1); which was That of *Meaux*. He exercised his Ministry there, with all imaginable Satisfaction, 'till the Year 1653. He was tenderly beloved by his Flock; and He married very advantageously [A]. He acquired a great Reputation by his Learning, Eloquence, and Virtue; and the Roman Catholics themselves had a particular Esteem for him. He display'd his fine Talents, with greater Lustre and Success, at *Metz*, where he was Minister from the Year 1653, 'till the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz* in 1685. After this fatal Blow, he retired to *Francfort* (m), and, having preached in the French Church at *Hanaw*, the whole Congregation were so edified, that they immediately desired a meeting of the Heads of each Family, to request him to afford them his Ministry (n).—He agreed to the Proposal, which was made to him by some Deputies, who obtained all that they desired. He began to exercise his Ministry in That Church, at the end of the Year 1685 (o). We shall see, why he soon returned to *Francfort* [B]; where he would have taken up his Residence, had not the Condition of his Family, which was numerous, obliged him to go where he might settle them (p). He made choice of *Berlin*, and met with a very favourable Reception from his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg* (q). He was made Minister of *Berlin*, and had the Satisfaction to see his eldest Son appointed Judge and Director of the French, who were in that City (r); and his other Son gratified with a Pension, and maintained in the University of *Francfort* on the *Oder*, and at last Minister in Ordinary of the Capital (s). He had likewise the Satisfaction of seeing his Brother made Judge of the French, (t) Ibid. pag. 366.

[A] He married very advantageously.] The manner how this Affair was managed is very curious. The chief Heads of the Families at *Meaux*, being sensible of the great Worth of their Minister, and hearing him often give out, that he would return to *Metz*, to visit his Father, and his Relations, whom he had not seen for several Years, were afraid of losing him. They sought a thousand Expedients to engage his longer Continuance among them. The surest way, they thought, was to marry him to a rich Person, worthy of him, and whose Estate lay in that Country, or in the Neighbourhood. Some one recollected, that he had heard say, that Mr *Ancillon*, having preached one Sunday Morning at *Charenton*, met with a general Applause; but that, above all others, Mr *Macaire*, a venerable old Man, of an exemplary Virtue and Piety, and who had a great Estate in *Paris*, and about *Meaux*, bestowed on him a thousand Benedictions, and Praises, and said in the hearing of many, who sat near him at Church, That he but one Daughter, his only Child, whom he tenderly loved, but that, if That Gentleman, meaning Mr *Ancillon*, should come and demand her of him in Marriage, he would give her to him with all his Heart. They went to him, and asked him, whether he continued in the same Mind. He answered, that he did; and added new Testimonies of Esteem and Affection for Mr *Ancillon*; inasmuch, that the Marriage was concluded in the Year 1649, and consummated a little while after. D. Mary *Macaire*, his Spouse, was very young, being but fourteen Years of Age. But, having, at these tender Years, every growing Virtue, it will appear, by the Sequel of this Discourse, that she proved not only an Help to him in Piety, and an agreeable Companion; but that he relied upon her entirely in the Management of his domestic Concerns (1).

[B] He soon returned to *Francfort*.] His Sermons were soon the Subject of Conversation at *Hanaw* (2). Several Persons, who had left the French Congregation out of Discontent, returned to it again. The Professors of Divinity, the German and Dutch Ministers, were often his Hearers. The Count of *Hanaw* himself, who had never been seen in that Church, was pleased to come and hear Mr *Ancillon*: They came thither from the neighbouring Places, and even from *Francfort*. ----- People, who did not understand French, came thither in Crouds, saying, it was a Pleasure to them to see him speak. *Inde ira & lacrymæ*. This Distinction gave Jealousy to the other two Ministers: Nature, disordered by this Passion, forgot her Duty (3). They took Umbrage at the Marks of Esteem and Affection, which were shewn to this new Colleague; they were chagrined at it; and created him a thousand Disquiet, to oblige him voluntarily to quit a Post, from which they could not drive him. The Virtue of Mr *Ancillon* was exposed to a second

Trial. For his two Relations (4), who had shewn a great Readiness to oblige him, and seemed to wish they could turn Stones into Bread, for his Comfort, all the Time he was in their City, as a Stranger, began to shun him, when he had the Direction of their Flock: They created him a thousand Mortifications; and, if it had been in their Power, they would willingly have turned Bread into Stones, to expel him; so burthenfome was he grown to them. ----- This Conduct produced two considerable Effects (5): One was, That the Roman Catholics, and the Prophane, made it a Subject of Raillery. The other, that it exasperated the People (6). Mr *Ancillon* was their Favorite, and, if he would have made use of it, might, perhaps, have surmounted the Malice of his Enemies; but, as he was of Opinion, that a faithful Pastor ought not to establish himself at the expence of a Division between the Flock, and their Ministers, and as he had ever been an Enemy to Parties, and exclaimed against Cabals and Factions, he would take no Advantage of the Disposition of the People towards him, nor suffer them to stir in the Affair. ----- Having, therefore, tried whatever Charity and Honesty suggested to him, in Order to bring these two Men to their Duty, he resolv'd to leave *Hanaw*; a Town, which he had looked upon as a Place of Refuge, or a secure Harbour, after a Storm; but which was now become a Field of Battel, in which he must continually fight, and where his Patience, which had already undergone several great Trials, might at last be overcome; he therefore determined to abandon it (7). ----- He left *Hanaw*, without Noise, when it was least expected; or rather, he suffered himself to be rescued out of the Hands of his Enemies, and of his Friends (8). The former, holding him, as it were, by one Hand, treated him ill; the latter, holding him by the other, endeavoured to rescue him from Oppression; and both were ready to come to an Engagement, and try their Strength. To avoid this Scandal, he sacrificed his Interest to the Public Peace; he went away privately, least his Friends, by endeavouring to stop him, should kindle a Fire, lurking under the Ashes, which he was willing to extinguish.

I have observed, I think, elsewhere (9), that the Jealousy of Eloquence is of all the most violent; the scandalous Divisions it produces are but too frequently the Reflexions, which may be made upon it, are only fit to be suppressed. The Subject is too nice, and too invidious. I shall only remark, without alluding to any particular Case, that, in this Affair, the People do not behave with due Prudence and Charity. They should chuse Pastors of nearly equal Abilities; or, if one among them is remarkably superior to his Colleagues, they should not distinguish him in so particular a manner. They have no regard to human Weakness; they run in Crouds to the Sermons of one Preacher, and leave the Auditory of the rest

(1) Discourse on the Life of Mr *Ancillon*, pag. 75. & seq.

(2) Ibid. pag. 354.

(3) Ibid. pag. 356.

(4) One of them had been married to Mr *Ancillon's* Sister, and the other was actually married to his Niece. Ibid. pag. 353.

(5) Ibid. pag. 357.

(6) Ibid. pag. 359.

(7) Ibid. pag. 360.

(8) Ibid. pag. 361.

A REMARK upon the Jealousy of Eloquence.

(9) In the Remark [B] of the Article ATTILUS.

(r) Ibid.
p. 395.

(u) Ibid.
p. 487.

French, in the States of Brandenburg [C]; and Mr Cayart, his Son-in-law, Engineer to his Electoral Highness (t). He enjoyed these Comforts, and several others, 'till his Death, which he underwent with all the Sentiments of Piety of a true Minister of JESUS CHRIST, at Berlin, on the 3d of September 1692, being Seventy five Years of Age (u). I could have made this Article much longer than I have done; for the Book, out of which I have taken it, contains many Particulars: But it being a Work, which it will be more easy to consult, than to procure this Dictionary, I thought it more advisable to refer the Reader to it, than to make too many Extracts from it (x). I should take another Method, if I had only Manuscript Memoirs. I shall insist but upon two Particulars; one of which relates to the Library of the late Mr Ancillon, and his manner of studying [D]; the other relates to the Books, which

(x) It is intitled, *A Discourse on the Life of the late Mr Ancillon, and his last Moments. It was printed at Basil in 1698, and contains 500 pages in 12mo.*

(10) See the full wing Cistation.

(11) Est apud Heraclitum physicum de principio Ephemorum Hermo. 1. 10. Universos ait Ephoros esse morie mulcandos, quod quam civitate expellerent Hermo. 1. 10. ita locuti sunt: Nemo de nobis una excedat, si q. existerit, alio in loco, et apud alios sit. Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. 1. 5. fol. 278.

(12) Discourse on the Life of Mr Ancillon, p. 93.

(13) He was Mr Ancillon's Cistation at Metz.

(14) He had been a firm as Advocate at Metz.

(15) Discourse, &c. pag. 102, 332, 393.

(16) He often said, of himself, that he was Book-mad, ibid. pag. 105.

(17) Ibid. pag. 77.

rest almost empty. They take so little Care to conceal their Preference, that their Imprudence may be accounted the chief Cause of the Discord. It is a Seed of Diffension: wife Men are not so indiscreet: All Auditors should follow this Model; but, because it can scarce be expected that the People will be so prudent, perhaps the best way would be, that those, who proceed to Elections, should avoid too great an Inequality of Talents, and consider, that, in some Professions, many Persons approve of this Law of the Ephorians; Let no one among us excel; and, if any one has this Advantage, let him be rather any where else, than in our City (10). This Law was condemned by Heraclitus (11); but he was a Philosopher. The following Remark was made by the Author of the Book, which I have often quoted. "Mr Ancillon, says he (12), having none of the Faults, which have been observed to be the usual Cause of the Divisions, which happen among Ministers of the same Church, viz. I. A fond Conceit of one's own Opinions, and a Desire of spreading them; II. A love of Esteem and worldly Glory; III. A love of Power; IV. A love of Interest; and having besides a respect for Mr Ferry's old Age (13), and his Merit, which was Proof against a great Number of Years, forced, as it were, that great Man to remain constantly united to him."

[C] He had the Satisfaction of seeing his Brother (14) made Judge of the French, in the States of Brandenburg. "An Office, which he still actually exercises with Honour; but, as laborious as it is, it does not so wholly engross his Time, as to prevent him from publishing several solid and judicious Pieces, in the Journals of Berlin, which shews the Solidity, and vast Extent, of his Knowledge and Learning (15)."

[D] The Library of the late Mr Ancillon, and his manner of Studying. The Estate, which he gained by his Marriage, having put him in a Condition of gratifying his favourite Passion (16), he bought all the capital Books, which may be called the Pillars of a great Library; such as the most curious Bibles, either for the Editions or Notes; several Dictionaries; the most excellent Commentaries on the Scripture; the Works of the Fathers; Collections of Councils; Ecclesiastical Histories; and several others of the like Nature; all of the best Editions (17). He observed this Maxim ever after, and gave good Reasons for it. An Account of which would be too tedious; however, the Substance of them, in few Words, is this. He said, that the less the Eye is fatigued in reading a Book, the more at liberty the Mind is to judge of it. That, as the Beauties and Faults of it are more easily perceived, when it is printed, than in Manuscript; so the same Beauties and Faults are more clearly seen, when it is printed in a fair Character, and upon good Paper, than when it is printed on bad Paper, or with a bad Letter. Having thus laid a good Foundation for a Library, he increased it with all the good Books, which came out afterwards. He had the Pleasure of reading all the new Books; for his Friends in Paris, Holland, England, Germany, Switzerland, and Geneva, with whom he kept a strict Correspondence, sent them to him, as soon as they were exposed to Sale. The Opinion of those, who say, that the first Editions are the least valuable, because they are of no use, but to make the Works of an Author appear in a fairer Character, did not abate his Curiosity. He was not ignorant, that the famous Mr Menage, Dean of St Peter's, at Angers, in his Epistle Dedicatory

to his Etymologies of the French Tongue, speaking to Mr Du Pay, tells him, That he had formerly learnt from him, that Mr Loyzel, a famous Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, used to say of first Editions, That they only serve to make the Works of an Author appear in a fairer Character; that it was very probable this Judicious Gentleman said this of all sorts of Books, but that it was more true of Dictionaries, than of any other kind of Books. He knew very well, that others were of Opinion, that the first Editions of Books were only to be looked upon as imperfect Essays, which Authors propose to the Learned, to have their Opinion of them. But this was no restraint to his Eagerness; and, the Event teaching him afterwards, that he ran no great risque (18), he did not discontinue it. And, indeed, we have seen, hitherto, but few Authors, in this respect, like Cardinal du Perron, who spared neither Pains nor Expence in his Works, and who had them twice printed; the first time, to distribute only a few Copies to particular Friends, on which they might make their Observations; and the second time, to give them to the Public, such as he at last determined to publish them; and who, to prevent their being published against his Will, after the first Manner, caused them to be printed in his own House, where he set up a Printing-Press for that purpose."

Mr Ancillon's Library was "very curious and large; he increased it, daily, with all that appeared new and valuable in the Republic of Letters; in such a manner, that, at last, it became one of the finest of any private Man in the Kingdom. Foreigners of Curiosity did not fail to see it, as they went through the City of Metz; it being the greatest Rarity of that Town (19)." As soon as he saw the Catalogue of the pretended Heretical Books, drawn up by the Archbishop of Paris, in the Year 1685, he selected all the Books, "which were ordered to be suppressed, which made up his Library in foreign Countries (20); his own having been, as it were, given up to be plundered, after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. None would have remained, if those, which he concealed, had not escaped the Greediness, with which the rest were carried away. — The Monks, and the Clergy of Metz, and the adjacent Towns, had long coveted Mr Ancillon's Library (21); his forced and hasty Departure supplied them with a fair Pretence to appropriate it to themselves. Some proposed to buy it in the Grois; others would have it sold by Retail; but neither of them intended to pay for it; they only desired to get it into their Possession. The last Expedient was followed, as being more proper to favour this unjust Design: A Crowd of Ecclesiastics of all Orders came in, from all Parts, to this noble and rich Library; which had been Forty four Years in collecting, with Pleasure and Choice; and which consisted only of rare Books, and worthy of the Curiosity of the most learned Men: They made several Parcels of them, and, going away, they gave Money to a young Girl, of about twelve or thirteen Years of Age, who was looking upon them, that they might say they had paid the Price of them. In this manner Mr Ancillon saw his precious Collection dispersed, which he had made, and on which he had set his Affections, and, as we may say, his very Heart." Note, That the loss of this Library was attended with the loss of a vast Number of Letters, which were designed for the Press (22), and which Mr An-

(18) See below Cistation.

(19) Discourse, &c. p. 102, 103.

(20) Ibid. pag. 328.

(21) Ibid. pag. 383.

(22) Ibid. pag. 342.

which he published [E]. As to the rest, I shall observe, in general, that the *Discourse*, which

(24) Instead of the usual Tale Monsieur, they called each other My Dear Atticus. Ibid.

REFLECTION on the Fate of some Libraries, and the Indolence of those, who wait for second Editions.

Acillon had received from many learned Men. He designed chiefly to print those, which Mr *Dailly*, his intimate Friend (24), had wrote to him. What a Loss was this!

This may afford copious Matter for Reflexion: For is it not a deplorable Consideration, to think, that a single Day may undo, what has been compleated with a thousand Cares, and, at a vast Expence, during many Years? Is it not a melancholy Fate, to be exposed to lose, in a Moment, what has been a long time purchasing, by innocent Means, and been treasured up, as a perpetual Source of very lawful Pleasure, and honest Instruction? To be deprived, in a Moment, of a vast Number of Volumes, which have been so carefully collected, and so much one's Delight, is it not as hard and cruel Destiny? If the Flames had devoured them, one could more easily bear the Loss; but, without a special Grace of God, one cannot support, that they should become the Prey of an unjust Possessor, who is at no other Trouble, than that of transporting them to his own House. The *Triumvirate*, which dispossest of their Lands, those, who had cultivated them, during their whole Life, and gave them to others, who had contributed nothing towards their Improvement, did not occasion so sensible a Grief, as that of the Learned, who have seen their Libraries plundered, and fallen into the Hands of a Persecutor, worthy of hatred, if he acted against his Conscience, and deserving of Pity, if his false Devotion persuaded him, that it was a thing acceptable to God.

Impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habebit,
Barbarus has fegetes (25)?

(25) Virgil. Ecl. 1. v. 71.

Did we for these Barbarians plant, and sow?
On these, on these, our happy Fields bestow?

D R Y D E N.

This was the Complaint of those good People of Italy, who found themselves obliged to surrender their Patrimony to the Soldier of the *Triumvirate*.

- - - en! queis consuevimus agros!

(26) Id. Ib.

Inferre nunc, Melibæe pyros, pone ordine vites (26).

Now let me graft my Pears, and prune my Vine;
The Fruit is theirs, the Labour only mine.

D R Y D E N.

- - - vivi pervenimus advena nostri,

Quod nunquam veriti sumus, ut possessor agelli

Diceret, hæc mea sunt, veteres migrate coloni (27).

(27) Idem, Ecl. 9. v. 2.

The Time is come, I never thought to see,
(Strange Revolution for my Farm and me)
When the grim Captain, in a surly tone,
Cries out, pack up, ye Rascals, and be gone.

D R Y D E N.

Mr *Acillon*, and many others, might have adapted most of these Expressions to their Fortune. Perhaps it were better to have no Affections, than to set them on a Library; when, perhaps we may be reduced to address it in this manner:

Nuper sollicitum quæ mihi tædium,

Nunc desiderium, curaque non levis (28).

(28) Horat. Od. 14. lib. 2. v. 17.

O! lately, thou, my anxious Fear,
Now my sad Loss, and heavy Care!

But, if possible, let us forget the unhappy and fatal Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, which was attended with so many Acts of Injustice. Let us rather cast our Eyes on Objects, which do not raise the Passions into a Ferment. Let us praise the good Taste of this able Divine. He was for having the first Editions of Books, though it was very probable they would be reprinted, with Additions and Corrections (29). This was to understand things; this we may call Love of Books, and Eagerness after Instruction: But they, who can rest satisfied without a Book, 'till it be reprinted, make it appear, that they are satisfied

(29) He often found that this probable was without any Effect. See, above, Gilet. (18).

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with their Ignorance, and that they had rather save a few Pistoles, than acquire Instruction. I speak of those, (and the Number of them is very great) who are persuaded, on the one side, that a new Book will afford them much Information; and who, though they are able to purchase it, defer the buying of it, because they are told, that there will be published better, or cheaper, Editions. This Delay cannot be sufficiently blamed: It is a shameful Neglect of Learning. Mr *Bigot* told me, one Day, that a Man of *Roüen*, who applied himself to the Study of Genealogies, would willingly have improved by the Works of Father *Angelm*; and yet he did not purchase them; but waited for the second Edition, which never came out; thus he died, without satisfying his Curiosity. Mr *Bigot* represented to him, several times, that it was better to have two Editions of a Book, than to deprive one's self of the Advantage, which might accrue by reading the first; and that a Man judges wrong of the value of things, who prefers three or four Crowns to such a Profit. They, who can afford it, ought to provide themselves with the first Editions. I confess the foreign Editions of Books are not so expensive: But are they faithful? Is there nothing altered in, or added to, them? Did not the Abbot *de la Roque* publicly complain (30), that the Printers of *Holland* had corrupted his Book? I have been assured, but a few Days ago, that the History of *Davila*, and That of *Strada*, printed in the *Netherlands*, are not exactly the same with the *Italian* Editions; the Bookellers of *Flanders* having suppressed, or altered, some things, out of Complaisance to some illustrious Families. I may be told, that the Author often corrects his Faults in the second Edition; I own it: But they are not always real Faults; they are Alterations, which he sacrifices to prudential Reasons, to his Repose, and to the Injustice of his too powerful Censurers. The second Edition, which *Mezzerai* publish'd, of his Chronological Abridgment, is the most correct; for he left out some Mistakes; but he omitted likewise some Truths, which were ungrateful; and, for this Reason, the Curious endeavour to get the Edition in Quarto, which is the first; and pay a great Price for it. I say nothing of the Advantage of comparing Editions. It is so great, when an able Writer has carefully revised his Work, that his first Essay deserves to be kept. All this will make you sensible, that Mr *Acillon* knew very well what belonged to a Library.

I proceed to his Method of Studying. "He spent "no time in vain and useless Studies. He read, "indeed, all sorts of Books, even the ancient and "modern Romances. He believed, that there was "no Book; but what might be useful; and used to "repeat these Words, ascribed to *Virgil*, *Aurum ex "stercore Ennii colligo* (31). — "I collect Gold out "of Ennius's Dung. We find, said he sometimes, "even in neglected Authors, very curious Particulars, "which are not to be met with elsewhere; and, if "it were only the Style, there is always something "to be got by the reading of them. But he did not "apply his Mind to them; he made only important Books, and serious Things, the principal Subject of his Studies. — He made a very great Difference between the reading of Books, which, as "he himself said, he only looked into, that he might "not be ignorant of any thing, and the reading of "those, which were useful to his Profession. He "read the first but once, and curiously, perfunctorily, "and, as the Latin Proverb says, *sicut canis ad Nilum bibens* & fugiens; but he read other Books "several times over, with Care and Application: "The first time, he said, served only to give him a "general Notion of the Subject, and the second enabled him to observe the Beauties of it. Indexes; "which other great Men have called *The Soul of "Books*, were entirely useless to him, because he "read them with Application, and oftener than once. "Besides, he had a very happy Memory, and, particularly, a local one, of great use to Men of Letters. He read them exactly, without omitting the "very Title, the Name of the Printer, or the Place, "and Year, of the Impression: In his Opinion, "every thing was of some use. He marked his Books "with his Pen, as he read them, and placed in the Margin References to other Authors, who had treated

(30) In a Preface to his Journal des Savans. See also the Remark [F] of the Article PELISSON, towards the end.

(31) Discourse on the Life of Mr *Acillon*, p. 107.

which has been published, on his *Life*, represents him as a Person of extraordinary Merit. It is, properly speaking, the Idea of an accomplish'd Pastor. He appears in it Learned, Eloquent, Wise, Pious, Modest, and Charitable; dispensing his Censures meekly, or rigorously, according to the Exigency of the Case; practising what he

(32) Ibid.
pag. 109.

† Πίσις πα-
τασθῶν αὐ-
τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀ-
νασταύσαντος.

(33) Ibid.
pag. 111.

"the same Subject, or had made use of Expressions akin to what he read (32). — Sometimes he changed his Readings, which served him instead of Rest. He did not read every Book through; sometimes he studied the Subject thoroughly, and then consulted Authors, who had treated of it; he often met with the same thing in different Books, at which he was not disgusted; on the contrary, he said, they were so many new Strokes, which completed the Idea he had conceived, and brought it to an entire Perfection. He had a great Table in the middle of his Chamber, which was commonly full of Books, most of them open (33). The famous *Fra-Paolo*, whom I have mentioned, studied also in the same manner; and, as the exact and faithful Author of his Life informs us, he never left off, 'till he had seen all; that is to say, 'till he had confronted Authors, Places, Times, and Opinions. He persisted in this Practice, that he might have no more Occasion to doubt, or think again on the same Subject; and that he might know what to depend upon. Thus Mr Ancillon studied sometimes, and he has often been heard to give the same Reasons for it. As he read much, he found many things worth taking notice of; and, though he had an admirable Memory, he had Books, in which he collected what he thought most considerable. He was not ignorant, that *Goveau*, for Example, who would not have so much as an Ink-horn in his Study, *Salmajus*, *Menage*, and several other great Men, have condemned Collections, and that, so far from thinking, that they facilitated the Acquisition of Learning, on the contrary, they looked upon them as an Obstacle, which interrupted the Course of Reading and Meditation, and destroyed the Effect of them. But he was of Opinion, that, since, thro' the Unhappinefs of the present Age, it is not sufficient to be Master of a Subject, and all the Reasons, on which it is built, but it is necessary likewise to produce Authorities, and express Texts; there was occasion for a Book, which, like a Vein, or Stream of Water, may direct one to the Fountain Head, and the rather, because, being to speak in public before certain People, who were rather his Spies, than his Hearers, and who often demanded of him Authorities and Proofs for what he advanced; it was in some fort necessary to have a Repertory, to assist his Memory, and to prevent his looking a long time for what he wanted, according to the different Conjunctions he was in." These Particulars may, I think, be of use to many Readers. I shall speak below (34), of his constant Application to Study.

(34) In Remark [F].

(35) Ibid.
pag. 218.

(36) Ibid.
p. 207, 208.

(37) Ibid.
pag. 212.

(38) Ibid.
pag. 213.

(39) Ibid.
pag. 214.

(40) Ibid.
pag. 217.

[E] *The Books he publish'd.* In the Year 1657, he publish'd a Book in Quarto at Sedan, wherein the *subtle Controversy concerning Traditions* is fully and solidly examined (35). 'Tis a faithful Relation of what passed in the Conference, which he had with Mr de Bedacier, Doctor of the Sorbonne, Bishop of Augusta, and Suffragan of the Bishop of Metz (36). He disputed with him; First, in his own House (37), in the Presence of many Persons, and afterwards at the Bishop's Palace (38), before a Crowd of People. All the Articles were committed to writing, and sign'd. "He maintain'd this Disputation with Honour, and finish'd it with Success. Having answer'd, methodically, all the Objections, which were made to him, he represented, that He was likewise to propose his Arguments, in his Turn; but, as he had given several Mortal Blows to Error, in his Answer, it was fear'd he would utterly destroy it, if he was allow'd to establish what he pretended to be the Truth. Mr de Bedacier resolv'd to break up the Conference, and, in order to conceal the real Motive of his Conduct, he pretended, that, for the future, it would be better to carry on the Dispute in Writing, than by Word of Mouth; Nevertheless in this agreed, on both Sides, that neither Party should cause the Acts of this Conference to be printed (39)". But there was a Monk, who publish'd spurious Acts of it (40). And whose Impudence was so great, that, though Mr Ancil-

lon had obtain'd very great Honour in This Conference, he endeavour'd to persuade the Publick, that it had prov'd fatal both to him and his Party, and that he had been entirely vanquish'd (41). This oblig'd Mr Ancillon to publish the Work I have mention'd. Hottinger commends it very much, in the 6th Chapter of the 3d Book of his *Bibliothecarius Quadrupartitus* (42). Father Clavier, a Minime, and Provincial of his Order, undertook to confute this Work; in order to which, he compos'd a Book, intitled, *Le Port des Traditions abbatu par les Maximes de Mr David Ancillon. — The Port (or strong Hold) of Traditions demolish'd by the Maxims of Mr David Ancillon*. Others wrote *Satires* against it; but all these Libels were unsuccessful (43). The Roman Catholics themselves advis'd Mr Ancillon not to answer them, as he had undertaken to do; they assur'd him, that He, and his Book, were so far superior to these Hackney Writers, that it was beneath him to enter the Lists with them (44). As soon as the Method of Cardinal Richelieu came out, "He wrote a large and excellent Answer to it. But he was inform'd, that Mr Martel, Professor at Montauban, had wrote one, which was just upon the Point of being publish'd; and that Mr Claude, who had the same Design, had laid it aside for the like Reason, as it now appears by the Sixth Letter, in the Collection of his Letters, in the Fifth Volume of his Posthumous Works. He, therefore, suppress'd what he had wrote; and nothing of it was made Publick, but a few Sheets, which contain'd an Answer to the 6th Chapter of That Method, or, to speak more properly, an Apology for Luther, Zuinglius, Calvin, and Beza, which is the Title of it in the Edition of Hanaw, 1666. Mr Ancillon wrote the Life of William Farel; or, *The Idea of a Faithful Minister of Christ*. The famous Mr Conrart, who was one of his intimate Friends, read, and approv'd of it, and with his own Hand wrote some Notes in the Margins of the Manuscript. It was a Work, which deserved to be publish'd; but he could not be persuaded by any means to give his Consent to it; and his Refusal occasion'd a Copy, full of Errors, to be taken from it, which fell into the Hands of a Bookseller in Holland, who put it to the Press, on the Reputation of the Author. Every one was surpris'd to see such a wretched Edition, as That was; and, if ever the same Book should be printed from the Copy, revised by Mr Conrart, This Piece will appear so mangled, that it will not easily be known again. Tho' Mr Ancillon had expounded some entire Books of the Holy Scripture, and committed all his Sermons to Writing, he could never be persuaded to print them --- (45) All of this kind, which was printed, is a Sermon, which he preach'd at Metz, on a Fast-day: His Consistory exerted some Authority over him, to force it out of his Hands, and caus'd it to be printed at Paris in the Year 1676. This Sermon, was compos'd on the 18th and 19th Verses of the third Chapter of St Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and is intitled, *The Tears of St Paul*. Lastly, he wrote an excellent Answer to the *Pastoral Advice*, the *Circular Letters*, and the *Method*, which the Clergy address'd to the Reformed of France, in the Year 1682; but he kept it close in his Study, till, some considerable Persons having oblig'd him to publish it, he sent it to his old Friend Mr Turretin, Professor of Divinity at Geneva, giving him full Liberty to dispose of it, as he should think fit; but it is probable, that the Copy miscarried; for it has been never heard of since. Mr Ancillon had so little concern for his own Works, that he never enquir'd after it; and yet this was the Answer, which the Public expected, and of which mention is made in the Preface to a solid and judicious Book, intitled, *Examen des Methodes*, &c. in the Place, where it is said, *There will be publish'd an Answer by an able Hand at Metz* (46).

(41) Ibid.
pag. 218.

(42) Ibid.
pag. 220.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid.
pag. 221.

(45) Ibid.
pag. 225.

(46) Ibid.
pag. 227.

[F] Ed

(9) See, con-
sidering the
activity of
preaching &
discourse;
Discourse,
Sec. p. 175,
& seq.

he preached (9); wholly employ'd in the Discharge of his Ministry [F], without interfering, as many others do, with what belongs only to Laymen; or keeping his Doors open to Informers, and Newsmongers [G]. How learned his Conversation was [H],

[F] He was wholly employ'd in the discharge of his Ministry. They, who devote themselves to the Pastoral Office, "Stand in need of all their time, to study, labour, and to perform worthy the Duties of their Calling; and, without doubt, this is the reason, why the Sixth Canon, among those which are call'd Apostolical, imports, that no Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, shall meddle with Secular Matters, or engage in any Public Office; and that the Sixth Canon, among those of Africa, forbids Persons of This Character to take upon themselves the Management of the Affairs, or Law-Suits, of other People. The Loss of time, which is spent in these Worldly Occupations, is not the least Motive of these excellent Constitutions; but I believe they are not the only Considerations, which occasion'd them. Experience has made it appear, that the Intrigues of the World, the Hurry of Business, and the Ambition of making their Court to great Persons, are three Rocks, which have always been, and ever will be, fatal to them. They depart insensibly from That Apostolical Simplicity, which ought to be one of their chief Ornaments; they learn the Maxims of the World; they accustom themselves to its Subtilties, and Artifices, and are led insensibly to practise them (47)." The Minister, I am speaking of, shunn'd all these Rocks; he lov'd Study, Repose, and Retirement; and never embarrass'd himself with Worldly Affairs (48). "He was appointed, by the Laws of his Country, and against his Will, Guardian to his Brother and Sister: But he left the Administration of the Estate, and the Management of Affairs, to his Brother, who, though under Age, was already a very able Man——So that, the Pupillage being ended by the Majority of the Orphans, the Minor gave an Account to his Guardian, and the Guardian, for Form sake, did the like to his Minors; quite contrary to the usual, natural, and common Custom. He absolutely renounced all Worldly Affairs, and, like a true Anchorite, banish'd himself from the Conversation of Men, and employ'd his whole Thoughts on God, and his Church (49). He had a very curious and large Library——He was always to be found in it——(50). He never went out of his House, but in order to go to Church, or to perform, elsewhere, some other Function of his Office. He never left his Books, but upon this Account; and, as if the Day were not long enough, he spent part of the Night in Meditation, or Study. Though he had several Country Houses, and One had been purchas'd for him very near the City, the more easily to engage him to spend a few Days, or at least Hours, at it; yet he was never seen there above three or four times, in two and thirty Years, that he exercis'd his Ministry at Metz. He was constantly in his Chamber, being a Stranger to Jealousy, which makes other Men pass so many uneasy Moments: In this manner he liv'd peaceably at home, regardless of the Credit which is got by frequent Visits, troublesome Cares, and great Measures, which are exactly to be observ'd."

This is the Model, by which all Ministers of the Gospel should regulate their Lives. They have all, like Mary, *chosen the good part* (51); but some of them imitate *Martin*, who was *craggy and troubled about many things* (52). They meddle with State Affairs; They enter into the Intrigues of the Town; They are inquisitive after all kinds of News; They traffick in them, and make use of them in making their court to their Superiors. Nay, They sometimes venture to suggest Advice, in regard to War, or Negotiations; and are not discouraged at the Contempt, which is artfully shewn for their idle Projects. They are often seen in the Anti-Chambers of Princes; and wait impatiently for an Opportunity of being introduced; not upon Matters of Conscience, but to ask a thousand Favours, to recommend their Children, their Relations, and their Friends, with respect to honourable and profitable Places. They have the first Intelligence of a Vacancy, and endeavour to get it fill'd up upon their Recommendation. They would de-

serve Commendation, if they employ'd their Credit only in procuring Bread to those, who want it; but they employ it chiefly in favour of those, who are already rich, and who would not dare to have recourse to their Solicitations, if they believ'd them to be true Ministers of JESUS CHRIST; for then they would expect a Censure; they would be afraid of being put in Mind of St Paul's Precept, that, provided we have Food and Raiment, we should be therewith content (53). It is not the Duty of a Pastor to procure to his Flock a stronger Attachment to worldly Things; he should rather endeavour to draw them off from it, and combat their Covetousness and Ambition; and no doubt he would do so, were he himself free from the gnawing Cares of Vain-glory. But, because, in order to gratify his Passions, he wants to have the Offices of a Town in the Hands of Men, who may be obliged to him for them, and who, by way of Acknowledgment, or in hopes of new Favours, will always be ready to serve him, he uses his utmost endeavours to raise them; he commends their ambitious Views; and, to support himself in the Management of Affairs, he is obliged to be a Man of Intrigue, and to have his emissaries every where. Such a Man stands in need of being threatened, as Bishops are sometimes, when they set against the Canons, which oblige them to Residence; and little thinks, that his Office is of such a Nature, that the utmost Human Ability is scarce sufficient for it. They, who consider this, will imitate *Mr Ancillon*, and not throw away so much time in Visits of Interest.

Forumque vitat, & superba civium
Potentiorum limina (54).

The Clamours of contentious Law,
And Court and State be wisely shunn;
Nor, brid'd with Hopes, nor dar'd with Aims,
To servile Salvations run.

DRYDEN.

Note, that they, who do not imitate his Conduct, sometimes employ their Interest for Persons, who are distress'd in their Circumstances; but if you observe, you will find, that these Persons are servicable Men, fit for any thing, and inclin'd to consecrate all their Leisure to the Passions of Him, whose Protection has procur'd it for them. He is their Deity;

----- Deus nobis hæc otia fecit;
Namque erit Ille mihi semper Deus; illius aram
Sæpe tener nostris ab oculibus imbuet agnus (55).

These Blessings, Friend, a Deity bestow'd;
For never can I deem him less than God.
The tender Firrings of my woolly Breed
Shall on his Holy Altar often bleed.

DRYDEN.

They acknowledge themselves his Creatures, and perform all the Duties, which This Character requires.

[G] His Doors were not open to Informers and Newsmongers. "He neither loved Tales, nor Tale-bearers; and laid it down as a Maxim, that little Credit was to be given to them; saying, that a Report is never so pure, but it relishes of the Passions of him, who makes it; and that it is like Water, which always retains the Quality of the Veins of Earth, or Minerals, through which it runs. He had, particularly, a vast Aversion to those, who go into Houses to learn what passes there, and to let People a talking, and then report what they have, as it were, extorted from their Mouths by Cunning and Artifice——(56). He said, that it was very dangerous lightly to believe what is said of others. He was upon his Guard in this Respect (57). The House of such a Pastor was far from being a Place of Resort for News-Writers. I have consider'd this matter above, in the Remark [H] of the Article ALTING

(53) 1 Tim. ii. 8.

(54) Horat. Epod. Qd. 24. ver. 7.

(55) Virgil. Eccl. i. v. 6.

(56) Discourse on the Life of Mr Ancillon, p. 229.

(57) Ibid. pag. 230.

(47) Ibid. p. 95, 96.

(48) Ibid. pag. 100.

(49) Ibid. pag. 102.

(50) Ibid. pag. 103.

(51) Luke x. 42.

(52) Ibid. ver. 41.

(z) In Remark [F] of the Article FERRI.

(aa) Difficult, &c. pag. 7.

(c8) See the Acta Eruditorum for June 1698. pag. 287.

(59) He published several Books; most of them anonymous.

was [H], cannot be better known, than from the Book mentioned in the Remark [G]. I shall, in another Place (z), examine some Particulars concerning a Print of Him. But I must not pass over in silence, That he was the Son of a Learned Civilian; that one of his Ancestors was formerly President au Mortier in one of the chief Sovereign Courts of France; and that Georgin ANCILLON, one of the Principal Members of the Church of Metz, was also one of the first Founders and Governors of it (aa).

"(HENRY); and I shall farther confider it in the Remark [N] of the Article GRUTERUS (JANUS).

[H] How Learned his Conversation was.] The Work, from whence we have our Information, is intitled, *Melange critique de Litterature*, and was collected out of Mr Ancillon's Conversations (58). It was printed at Basil, in the Year 1698, in Two Volumes in Twelves, by the Care of Mr Ancillon the Advocate, eldest Son to This Minister, who had already distinguish'd himself in the Common-Wealth of Learning (59). I shall have frequent occasion to

speake of this Miscellany; and if, sometimes, I do not find every thing in it so exact as it should be, I do not intend to prejudice, thereby, the Author or Publisher of these Pieces. It is much more surprizing, that the late Mr Ancillon, in speaking off-hand, should be so exact in many things, than strange, that his Memory fail'd him in some particulars. As to his Son, it was his Duty to deliver things as he had them from Mr Ancillon's Mouth. See what I have observed concerning the *Menagiana* (60): the Case here is the same. You may see, in the Preface to This Miscellany, why it was intitled *Ancilloniana*.

(60) In Remark [A] of the Article MENAGE.

ANCRE (The *Mareschal d'*). Look for CONCINI.

ANDLO (PETRUS AB), a fictitious Name, under which a Cartesian disguised himself, in order to write against the Dissertation *De Abusu Philosophiæ Cartesianæ surreptente, & vitando in rebus Theologicis & Fidei*. Mr Des Marets, Professor of Divinity at Groningen, the Author of this Dissertation, published it in the Year 1670, to represent to the Protestant Churches the great Evils, which were to be feared, if the Opinions of Des Cartes were suffered to pass from the Schools of Philosophy to those of Divinity. Some Months after, there came out a Piece intitled, *Petri ab Andlo Batavi Specimen Confutationis Dissertationis de Abusu Philosophiæ Cartesianæ, &c.* Never was any Confutation written in a more vehement Style. Des Marets was treated in it after the most disobliging manner. He quickly published an Apology, intitled, *Vindiciae posteriores Dissertationis de Abusu Philosophiæ Cartesianæ*, in which he loaded his Adversary with all kinds of Abuse. He treated him as a most impudent Socinian, a Spinozist, an impious and unchristian Man, and an Atheist. Petrus ab Andlo speedily published a Reply, intitled *Animadversiones ad Vindicias Dissertationis, quam Samuel Maresius edidit, de Abusu Philosophiæ Cartesianæ*. If he was passionate in his first Dissertation, he was still more so in his second; intermixing, nevertheless, as he had done at first, several Strokes of Raillery with his Anger. He positively denied, that he had any Acquaintance with Spinoza, that he had ever seen him, or that he approved his Opinions (a). Des Marets received this second Piece of Petrus ab Andlo, the Nineteenth of December 1670, and confuted it so speedily, that his Rejoinder was finished the Third of January following (b). It was intitled, *Samuelis Maresii Clypeus Ortbodoxiæ, sive Vindiciarum suarum priorem pro sua Dissertatione de Abusu Philosophiæ Cartesianæ, &c.* The Author declared, that he would write no more against so obscure an Author [A], but should be always ready to enter the Lists, in Defence of Truth, with a Learned, and Honest Adversary, who was not ashamed of his Name. He kept his Word; for he left the third Piece of Petrus ab Andlo unanswered; It was intitled, *Specimina Bombomaciæ Samuelis Maresii se defendentis Clypeo Ortbodoxiæ, seu vindiciæ vindiciarum Dissertationis de Abusu Philosophiæ Cartesianæ*. This ended this Controversy, which verified the Proverb, *Nullum violentum durable*,—*Nothing violent is of long Continuance*; tho' it frequently proves false in a Paper-War [B]. Des Marets could never discover the true Name of his Adversary [C]. There appeared, in 1673, a small Book in 4to, intitled DANIELIS AB ANDLO, *Petri filii, κατ' ὄνομα ἀδελφῶν ἐλεγχόμενος, sive ad Clarissimi Theologi Samuelis Maresii Traictatum brevem de Studio Theologico Notæ breves*.

(a) Spinozism nec novit Petrus, nec vidit, nec audivit, nec absurda eius dogmata probat. Animado. ad Vindicias, pag. 7.

(b) Vindiciæ Vindiciarum Dissertat. sub fin.

(c) Petrus de Andlo.

(d) Mich. Hertzius, Biblioth. German. n. 224.

(1) Maresii Vindiciæ Vindiciarum Dissertat. sub fin.

(2) Id. in Iudicio de Theolog. Pacifica Wittichii sub fin.

[A] Declar'd he would write no more against so obscure an Author.] The Term he makes use of, is the same, which the Scripture uses against the Gods of the Gentiles, calling them Gods of Dung. "Animo non ulterius hanc ferram cum hoc sterco reo homine recipiendi (1) — Having resolv'd to dispute no longer with this dirty Fellow". "In antecessum me protestari nihil amplius mihi futurum negotii cum hoc hominis sterquilino & infami nebulone quem pudet sui ipsius (2). — I protested before-hand, that I wou'd have nothing more to do with this Dung-bill of a Man; this infamous Rascal, who is ashamed of being known.

[B] The Proverb *nullum violentum durable frequenter proves false in a Paper-War*.] I need not go far to find an Instance of what I say. The Quarrels between Des Marets, and Voëtius were extremely violent, and continued near thirty Years, as long as the German War, which ended at the Peace of Munster.

[C] Des Marets could never discover the true Name of his Adversary.] All his Conjectures, and the Enquiries of his Friends, were to no purpose: So that, being weary of such an unsuccessful Chase, he resolv'd to leave his Adversary masked. *Quis sit ille larvatus Petrus ab Andlo, Batavus — ut nec haëanus conjectura assequi, nec amicorum diligentia rescire potui.*

*gatus, ita nolo amplius inquirere. — Who this disguised Petrus ab Andlo Batavus is — as I could never get guess, nor discover by the Diligence of my Friends, I resolve to make no further Enquiry after him. This is what he says, at the beginning of his *Chypus Orthodoxie*. He had Friends every where, who, being more zealous than discreet, which is the usual Character of those, who are accounted the Flail of Innovators, made him believe, that there was a Minister in Zealand, whose Name was *Petrus ab Andlo*, married to the Daughter of *Cocceius*. He published this News; but, being informed, that the Son-in-law of *Cocceius* was called *Anselae*, he caused his Excuses to be made to him. "Apud R. D. Anselae curavi me honestè excusari, quod id mihi exisset ex relatione honesti cujusdam R. viri,*

"etiam in Cartefianisimū ----- prioris, cui non erat cur ultro asserenti fidem detractarem (3). — "I took care to excuse myself honourably to Anselae for spreading a Report, the Truth of which I could not question, as it came from a Reverend and Honourable Person, and one who was even inclined to Cartesianism." He says somewhere (4), that there was a Report, that three Persons had been concerned in the Defence of *Wittichius*, and that they had published their Work under the feigned Name of *Petrus ab Andlo*. We shall see, whether Mr *Placcius*, or Mr *Baillet*, will be more lucky, than I have been, in unmasking this Pseudonymous Writer, whom I take to be *Regnier Manfvelt*, Professor of Philosophy at *Utrecht*.

(3) *Vindicia-Vindicia-rum*, pag. 6.

(4) In *Judicio de Theol. Pædism. Wittichii*.

ANDRADA (DIEGO DE PAYVA D'), in Latin *Andradus*, a learned Portuguese, born at *Coimbra*, signalized himself in the Council of *Trent*, whither King *Sebastian* sent him, as one of his Divines (a). He preached before the Assembly, the second Sunday after *Easter*, 1562. He was not contented with the Service he did, in explaining the Matters, about which he was consulted; he employed his Pen likewise in Defence of the Canons of That Council. This he did in a Book, intituled, *Orthodoxarum Explicationum Libri X* (b). In which he particularly answers a Piece published by *Chemnitius* against the Doctrine of the Jesuits [A], before the breaking up of the Council of *Trent*; and, as *Chemnitius* took this Opportunity to write a very large Book, which he intituled, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*; *Andrada* thought himself obliged to vindicate his first Piece against this learned Adversary [B]. He, therefore, composed a Book, which his two Brothers published after his Death at *Lisbon*, in the Year 1578. It is intituled, *Defensio Tridentinae Fidei Catholicæ, quinque Libris comprehensa, adversus Hæreticorum calumnias, & præsertim Martini Kemnitii*. These Works of *Andrada* have been printed several times (c), and yet they are so scarce at *Paris*, that Mr *Pellisson* could not meet with them in the *Rue de St Jacques* * [C]. There is scarce any Catholic Author, who has been more quoted by the

(b) Printed at *Cologne* in 1564. The first of these ten Books, which is an Appendix for the Jesuits, was printed in French, at *Lyons*, in 1565. Du Verdier. *Bibl. Francoise*, pag. 266.

(c) Ex *Nicolaï Antonii Bibliotheca Hispan. Tom. 1. p. 236.*

* *St James's Street*.

[A] A Piece published by *Chemnitius* against the Doctrine of the Jesuits. A Lutheran Minister, who wrote an Encomium upon *Chemnitius*, expresses himself thus; "Breve quidem, sed nervosum scriptum, durante adhuc Concilio Tridentino, Jesuitarum Theologiz opposuit, cujus opusculi cum *Andradus Lusitanus* in se suscepisset refutationem, Chemnitio occasione subministravit conscribendi insigne illud ----- opus, quod *Tridentini Concilii examen nuncupavit* (1). ----- During the Session of the Council of *Trent*, he wrote a short, but nervous, Piece against the Doctrine of the Jesuits; which when *Andradus* the Portuguese undertook to refute, *Chemnitius* laid bold of the Opportunity of writing That famous Work, which he called, "An Enquiry into the Council of *Trent*." To which I add a Passage of *Eisengreinus*, because it will give occasion to a small Remark. This Author pretends, that *Andrada* did Wonders against the Heretics, in his Orthodox Explications, and chiefly against *Chemnitius*: "Præsertim contra Martini Kemnitii petulantem audaciam, qui Coloniensem censuram quam à viris societatis Jesu compositam esse ait, una cum ejusdem sanctissimæ Societatis vitæ ratione temerè calumniandam suscepit (2). — Particularly against the insolent Boldness of *Martin Chemnitius*, who took upon him to abuse the Censure of *Cologne*, which he says was drawn up by the Jesuits, together with the manner of Life of the Gentlemen of That venerable Society." *Nicolas Antonio*, having quoted this Passage, censures *Eisengreinus*, for believing that *Andrada* was a Jesuit. *Hæc ille*, says he, *falsus, saltem in eo quod Andradam nostrum unum ex Jesuitico sodalitate credidit*. If this Censure be only grounded upon the Words, quoted by *Don Antonio*, I believe it to be false.

[B] Though himself obliged to vindicate his first Piece against this learned Adversary. This Epithet is due to *Chemnitius*; and, at the Bottom I say no more in his Favour, than *Don Nicolas Antonio* does. At first Sight, indeed, these Words of the Spanish Author, "Cui cum reposuisset profligatissimus hæreticus liberum, in quo gravissimas adversus universalem Ecclesiam contumelias intorquebat, descendere de novo in campum sibi opus esse Paiva vidit, ut immanem hostem totis viribus profigeret. — This abandoned Heretic having published a Reply, in which he most scandalously abused the whole Church,

"*Payva thought himself obliged to enter the Lists once more, and exert his whole Strength in demolishing this Gigantic Adversary*." These Words, I say, at first Sight, appear not very much to the Credit of *Chemnitius*; but, if they be well considered, they will be found to redound greatly to his Honour; for must it not be very pleasing to a Man, to find himself represented as the *Goliath*, or the *Polypemur*, of his Party, by those of the contrary Side, when, besides, he believes himself engaged in a good Cause?

[C] That Mr *Pellisson* could not meet with them in the *Rue de St Jacques*. An Account of this Matter will not displease the Curious. Mr *Leibnitz*, in his Remarks on the *Reflexions on the Disputes in Religion* (3), alledged, among other things, that *Andrada* had composed a Work intituled, *Explicationes Orthodoxæ de controversis Religionis capitibus*; in which he teaches in express Terms, "That the Philosophers, who used all their Industry to come at the Knowledge of the true God, and to honour him religiously, had That Faith, by which the Just live. — That it would be the greatest Cruelty in the World (neque immanitas deterior ulla esse potest) to condemn Men to eternal Torments, for wanting a Faith, which they could not attain to (4)." Mr *Pellisson* immediately replied, "That he had never met with This Author, and that, to satisfy his Curiosity, he would enquire after his Book, when he came to *Paris* (5)." Some time after he acquainted the Public, that he had carefully enquired after the Book of the Portuguese Doctor, *Payva Andradus*; but he added, "It is no easy thing to find it in *Paris*: It is unknown in the *Rue de St Jacques*; nor is it to be met with in the most voluminous Libraries; no, not in That of the Jesuits; which is very remarkable, because he wrote in their Favour. At last, It has been found in the Library of the *Sorbonne*. The Abbot *Pirart*, a Person of Merit, if there be one this Day in *France*, or elsewhere, and one of the most eminent and illustrious Members of that House, who knew as little of the Author, as myself, has given himself the Trouble to peruse it at my Request. — This Writer has Merit, and is no dry or jejune Scholastic, as so many others are; he discovers a more than ordinary Elegance, and Vivacity; in a Word, he answers the Reputation, which he bore in the Council of *Trent* (6)." It is surprising,

(3) It is the Title of a Book of Mr *Pellisson*.

(4) See Mr *Pellisson's* Book, entitled, *Of a Toleration of Religions*, pag. 19. It was printed at *Paris*, in 1692.

(5) *Ibid.* pag. 71.

(6) *Ibid.* printing, pag. 83.

(a) *Palavic. History of the Council of Trent*, lib. 19. cap. 16. p. 7.

(1) *Spizellus*, in *Temple Honoris* pag. 4.

(2) In *Catalogo Testium Veritatis*, apud *Nicolas Antonii*. *Bibl. Hispan.* Tom. 1. pag. 235.

Protestants, than He, because he maintained some Opinions a little too extravagant, concerning the Salvation of the Pagan Philosophers. He was a Preacher; His Sermons have been published in three Parts; the second of which was translated out of Portuguese into Spanish, by *Benedict de Alarcon* (d). The *Bibliothèque* of the Spanish Writers does not mention all his Works [D]. Many Encomiums have been bestowed upon *Andrada* [E], which may be seen in the Remarks.

(d) Id. lib.

(c) At the end of his Treatise concerning the Virtue of the Hebræan.

prizing, that a Book, so little known to the greatest Bookellers, and scarce to be found in the largest Libraries, should be quoted by an hundred Authors, whose Collections are very small. This, I say, is surprizing to those, who are ignorant, that the *Enquiry into the Council of Trent*, by *Chemnitius*, is a very common Book, and that *Dr Andradus* is frequently quoted in it. An hundred other Authors have expressed them as positively as he has done on this Subject, as *la Morbe la Payer* shews in one of his Books (7). How comes it, then, that they have not been quoted so often as *Andradus*, when the Question was to excuse *Zuinglius*, by way of Recrimination, or to object to the Papists, that they have leaned towards the *Pelagian Heresy*? What, I say, can be the Reason of this, if I have not hinted at the true Cause of the frequent Quotations of *Andradus*?

[D] The *Bibliothèque* of the Spanish Writers does not mention all his Works. The Book he wrote concerning the Pope's Authority, during the Council,

in the Year 1562, is not to be found in it (8). The Pope's Legates, being very well pleased with This Work, sent it to Cardinal *Borromeo*. The Court of Rome liked it extremely, and the Pope very obligingly returned the Author Thanks. I believe this Work is the same with That, which is entitled, *De Concilio Autoritate*, the first Book of which has been quoted by *Palavizini* (9).

[E] Many Encomiums have been bestowed upon *Andrada*. You have already seen Mr *Pellissier's* Opinion of him. *Oforius*, in his Preface to the Orthodox Explications of *Andradus*, ascribes to him a great Wit, an eager Application, a Knowledge of Languages, and the Zeal and Eloquence of a good Preacher. *Rojewide* speaks of him thus: "Ad Concilium Tridentinum & profundissimi Theologi mentem, & linguam eloquentissimi Oratoris, attulit (10). — He carried with him to the Council of Trent the Understanding of a most profound Divine, and the Eloquence of a consummate Orator."

(8) Palavizini. lib. 19. cap. 16. n. 7.

(9) Id. lib. 24. cap. 10. n. 17.

(10) In *Legge Talionis* Catubono retaliata, apud Nicol. Antonium, Tom. 1. pag. 236.

ANDREAS (JOHN), a famous Canonist of the XIVth Century, was the Son of a Priest [A], and was born at *Mugello*, near *Florence*. He was yet very young, when he went to study at *Bologne* (a); where he would have scarce been able to maintain himself, had he not met with a Tutor's Place; but, by the help of this Employment, he was in a Condition to apply himself, at his Ease, to the Study of the Canon Law, in which he made a great Progress, under the Professor *Gui de Baif* (b). He had always a particular Respect for the Person, and Glosses, of this Professor; He paid as great a Deference to his Glosses, as to the Text itself. He was beholden to him in a Particular, which we are, generally, more thankful for, than for Instruction. *Gui de Baif*, perceiving, that, for want of Money, he durst not petition for his Doctor's Degree, put him upon demanding it, and obtained it for him gratis. *Andreas* himself confesses this (c). The same *Gui* encouraged him likewise to stand for a Professorship; which was attended with all the Success he could wish. Our *Andreas*, we find, was Professor at *Padua*, about the Year 1330, and also at *Pisa*; but he was recalled to *Bologne* (d), where he acquired a greater Reputation, than any where else. We are told wonderful things concerning his austere Life [B]. He mortified

(a) Bononi- am admodum adole- cens venit, ubi ob pau- peritatem Paedagogum gessit, Scrip- ptam filii- um Maiori- di Ubaldini erudiendo. Valterr. lib. 21.

(b) He is now known by the Name of Archidia- conus, which was that of the Ecclesiastical Dignity he was possessed of at Bologne. Donatus Pren. Canon. pag. 602.

(c) In prim. Sexti Decretal. apud Dujat. ibid. pag. 603.

(d) Panzi- rol. de cla- ris legum Interpret. lib. 3. cap. 19.

[A] Was the Son of a Priest.] All Authors agree, that the Father of *John Andreas* was a Priest, but not that he was so, when he begot this Child. "Patrem constat Presbyterum fuisse; an filium ante, an post Sacerdotium genuerit, incertum. --- It is certain, that his Father was a Priest, but uncertain whether he begot his Son before, or after, his Priesthood." Thus Mr *Dujat* speaks of him (1), after having read *Panzirus*, who positively asserts, that *John Andreas* was born, before his Father was a Priest. "Is ex Andrea Presbytero, antequam Sacerdos fieret, & matre nomine Novella, genitus (2)." It is a Sign Mr *Dujat* laid no great Stress on *Panzirus's* Decision of the Matter; and for what Reason, I desire to know, should the latter be credited in it, rather than *Volaterran*, who has affirmed the quite contrary? "Joannes Andreas patre Andrea Presbytero & matre concubina natus, apud Mugellum agri Florentini Oppidum, juris scientia virtutibusque aliis natalium pudorem contexit (3). — John Andreas, Son of John Andreas, a Priest, and his Concubine, born at Mugello, near Florence, covered the meanness of his Birth by his Knowledge of the Law, and his other Virtues." He has expressly said, that *John Andreas* was the Son of a Concubinary Priest; and no one will venture to affirm, that *Novella* was ever married to the Father of *John Andreas*. It is, therefore, past doubt, that our celebrated Canonist was, at least, born, like *Erasmus*, out of lawful Marriage, of a Father, who was a Priest. We must not imagine, that *Forster* says he was not ordained a Priest, 'till after he had begot this Child. He only means, that the Father of *John Andreas* was a Priest, in the Place, where he was born. "Patre Joanne Andrea, cive initio, deinde Presbytero Mugellano; natus est (4). --- Son of John

(1) Prenot. Canon. pag. 604.

(2) De clari- legum interpret. lib. 3. cap. 19. init.

(3) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. 81.

(4) Forst. Histor. Juris Civil. lib. 3. cap. 26.

"Andreas, first a Citizen, afterwards a Priest, of Mugello."

[B] We are told wonderful Things concerning his austere Life.] The following Commentary has been communicated to me (5): I make no Alteration in it. "What you observe concerning the austere Life of *John Andreas*, is attested by good Authors. "But if the Story, which *Poggius* tells of him, in his *Facetiae* be true, there is Reason to believe, that afterwards this Doctor degenerated very much from his former Continence. *Joannem Andream*, says *Poggius*, Doctorem Bononiensem, cujus fama admodum vulgata est, subagitantem ancillam domestice uxore deprehendit. Re infusa suspensa mulier in virum versa: ubi nunc, ait, Joannes, est sapientia vestra? Ille nil amplius locutus, in vulva istius, respondit: loco admodum sapientie accommodato." Perhaps the Translation of these Words into French Verse will not be unacceptable to the Reader.

(5) *Fy* Mr de la Memoire.

Jean dit André, fameux docteur és loix,
Fut pris un jour au péché d'amourette:
Il accolloit une jeune soubrette.
Sa femme vint, fit un signe de croix.
Ho ho, dit-elle, est-ce vous? non je pense;
Vous, dont par tout on vante la prudence.
Qu'est devenu cet esprit si subtil?
Le bon André, poursuivant son negoce,
Honteux pourtant: ma foi, repondit-il,
Prudence, esprit, tout gît dans cette fosse.

In English, thus,

A learned

tified his Body with Fasting and Prayers, and slept every Night, for twenty Years together, on the hard Ground, wrapped in a Bear's Skin (e). He pretended, that he had obtained several things by his Prayers (f). He married a Woman called *Milantia*, whom he mentions sometimes in his Writings; and confesses, that he had learned several things of her; and, among others, that, if Names were to be sold, Fathers and Mothers ought to buy fine ones for their Children (g). I forgot to tell you, that his Mother's Name was *Novella*, and that he had a Daughter of the same Name, who was so learned, that she read Lectures for him [C], when he had no leisure to mount the Chair. It was out of Love to his Mother and Daughter, that he intitled his Commentary on the Decretals of *Gregory IX*, *Novellæ* (b). He had a Natural Son, whose Name was *Baniconcius*, who published some Books [D]; and it is said, that, having lost him, he adopted *John Calderini*, a learned Canonist, and married him to his Daughter *Novella* [E]. He had another Daughter, whom he married to a celebrated Professor of the Canon Law at *Bologne*. Her Name was *Betina*; and she died at *Padua*, in the Year 1355 (i), whither her Husband had been invited, to accept of the like Professorship. *Andreas* died of the Plague at *Bologne*, in the Year 1348, after he had been Forty five Years Professor, and was buried in the Church

(e) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. 781.

(f) Apud Panzirol. ubi supra.

(g) In cap. cum secundum, Ex. travag. de prebend.

(b) Panzirol. de claris Legum Interpret. lib. 3. cap. 19.

(i) His Epitaph is to be seen in Panzirolus, ubi supra.

*A learned Canonist, of Fame,
(John Andreas was the Doctor's Name)
Once on a time in bed was laid,
Solacing it with Madam's Maid.
When Chance, That Sower of all Strife,
Brought in, curst Luck! the Doctor's Wife.
And is it you, the Lady cries?
Blest me, I scarce can trust my Eyes.
Inconstant Wretch, of shameless Brow!
Where is your boasted Wisdom now?
'Tis here, the Doctor, blushing, cries,
'Tis here, dear Wife! my Wisdom lies;
A proper Place (the Place he shows)
For wearied Wisdom to repose.*

Since it is agreed, on all Hands, that *John Andreas* had a Bastard, this Story might be true at the bottom, and perhaps his Wife surprized him with the Mother of *Baniconcius*: If it be so, we may place him in the List of the *Menagiana* (6).

(6) See the Remark [E] on the *Ad teile* BRISSEIS.

[C] His Daughter read Lectures for him.] I have met with this Particular, not in *Forster*, or *Panzirrolus*, or *Mr Doujat*; but in the *Cîte des Dames*, written by *Christina de Pise*. This Book was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1536, and composed in the Reign of *Charles VI*. The following Passage is taken from it. "To speak of the late times, without quoting ancient Histories, about sixty Years ago *John Andreas*, a noted Civilian at *Bologne*, did not think there was any harm in a Woman's having some Learning. For he took care, that his handsome Daughter *Novella*, whom he was very fond of, should be bred a Scholar; and so well versed was she in the Knowledge of the Law, that, when he had not leisure to read Lectures to his Scholars, he sent his Daughter *Novella*, to supply his Place in the Schools; and, to prevent her Beauty from diverting the Thoughts of the Auditors, a little Curtain was drawn before her. Thus she sometimes assisted her Father, who loved her so well, that, to preserve the Memory of her, he wrote a famous Book of Law, which he intitled *Novella*, it being the Name of his Daughter (7)." It is strange, that a Particular of this Nature, so singular and rare, should not be found in all the Authors, who mention *John Andreas*, or at least in most of them; and I confess this inclines me to doubt of the Truth of it. But, be that as it will, it may occasion a diverting Problem, viz. Whether this Lady promoted, or retarded, the Improvement of her Hearers, by hiding her handsome Face. An hundred things may be said pro and con. I am apt to think the Scholars would have amused themselves so much with her Beauty, as to be little attentive to her Lectures; but, on the other hand, what proceeds from a fine Mouth, is much more taking, and persuasive; and some Women, though charmed with the good Air and Mein of a Preacher, remember, nevertheless, what he says. What an ancient Poet says of *Virtue*, that it is more pleasing in a beautiful Body, *Gratior & pulchro veniens in corpore virtus* (8); may be applied to Learning. However it be, if the Daughter of the Professor, *John Andreas*, drew a Curtain between her and

(7) Cite de Dames de Christine de Pise, part 2. cap. 38.

(8) Virgil, *Aen. lib. 5.* ver. 344.

her Hearers, least the Darts of her Beauty should wound their Hearts, and interrupt their Attention, she made them a considerable Sacrifice, which they would willingly have dispensed with. They would, probably, have been very well pleased to see her; and she, on her part, would not have been displeased to be seen, had she not preferred their Improvement to her own Satisfaction. This is a probable and natural Account; since she was not one of those learned Women, who have reason to say, with *Sappho*,

Si mihi difficilis formam natura negavit,
Ingenio formæ damna rependo meæ (9).

(9) Ovidius *Epist. Sapph.* ver. 31.

To me what Nature has in Charms deny'd,
Is well by Wit's more lasting Charms supply'd.

P O P E.

[D] *Baniconcius*, who published some Books.] It was the Name of his Grandfather. The Books he published are, *De privilegiis & immunitate Clericorum: De accusationibus & inquisitionibus: De appellationibus*. This I find in *Panzirrolus*.

[E] And married him to his Daughter *Novella*.] The ancient practice of Adoption would not have permitted such a Marriage (10): And perhaps the Adoption of *Calderini* is only to be understood in this Sense, that *John Andreas* made him his Son-in-law. It is said, that *Calderini* frequently consulted his Wife. *Is conjugem velut eruditus parentibus (Milentia, the Wife of John Andreas, was a learned Woman) ortam prudentem natum sepe ob sapientiam consuleret consueverat* (11). But, if we may judge of other Points, in which he had recourse to this domestic Oracle, by that which *Calderini* has mentioned, we shall find nothing, which comes up to the Character *Christina de Pise* gives us of *Novella*; and most Women may be said to be as knowing, as she was. The Fact is this. "Calderini asked his Wife, one Day, whether he, who gives an Invitation, ought to send to the Persons invited, when the Hour of Eating is come?" She answered, that this ought to be done to Ladies and Strangers, but not to others, unless they "happen to be Persons of Importance." *Francis Hotomanus* tells us this Story in his ludicrous Way. *Vtrum enimvero medius fidius*, says he (12), *nequaquam inficiandum aut dubitandum est quin mulieres concilium dare possint, quando quidem (ô dignam bisforiam & digito ligandam) refert Job. Calderinus Canonist. famosissimus, quod semel consuluit suam uxorem, an convicator teneatur hora prandii mittere ad conivas, at veniant; quæ sapienter & tanquam altera Sybilla respondit, ad faminas & extraneos esse mittendum, qui se facile non ingerunt, sed non ad alios nisi essent graves persone.* *Joban. Calderin. in c. ult. de renunt. & post eum Agid. Bell. in c. quidam col. 3. vers. tertio quæro. eo. ti. & Panormit. in c. cum inter universas in fin. de elect. & de hoc etiam per Collect. in cap. à crapula, Ext. de vit. & bon. cleric. & Bal. in præm. Gregor. col. 5. vers. quære, quidam scholaris.* What most inclines me to believe, that *Calderini* was married to a Daughter of *John Andreas*, is, that one *John Calderini*, who caused the Tomb of *John Andreas* to be repaired, in the Year 1501, calls him his fourth Grand-Father, his *Atacus*; and says, that one *John Calderini* was his

(10) Octavianus Claudius, antequam Neroni traderet, ne sororem in suam ducere videretur, Claudii & ipse filius adoptivus, in aliam familiam adoptandam dedit. — before he gave Octavia in marriage to Nero, lest it should seem as if he married his Sister, being himself etc adopted Son of Claudius, gave her to be first adopted into another Family. Torrensius in Sueton. Claudii, cap. 3. ex Xiphil. & Zonara.

(11) Panzirol. lib. 3. cap. 21.

(12) Adversus Italogillum Martellii, pag. 214.

Church of the *Dominicans*. He wrote many Books [F]. Extravagant Commendations have been bestowed upon him [G]; but he is said to have been an egregious Plagiary [H]. We are told, that the excessive Smallness of his Stature made the Cardinals laugh heartily [I], at the Audience, which *Boniface VIII.* gave him in a full Consistory. It is said, that he foretold his Death a Year before it happened (k).

(h) Ex Panzirolo. *ibid.*

(i) See Panzirol. lib. 3. cap. 19.

his third Grand-Father, his *Aboas* (13). I question whether the Adoption of these latter Ages has laid down such Degrees of Kindred, to the fifth Generation. And I scarce think, that, if *Mademoiselle de Gournai* had left a Family, her Descendants would, at this Day, simply and absolutely stile themselves, in a public Inscription, the Grand-Children, or Great-Grand-Children, of *Michael de Montagne*.

[F] He wrote many Books. His first Work was a Gloss on the sixth Book of the Decretals. He was very young, when he composed it; afterwards he revised, and enlarged it. He wrote also some Glosses on the *Clementines*, and afterwards a Commentary on the Decretals, which he entituled *Novelle*, for the Reason above-mentioned. He published a Commentary, *In regulas Sexti*, which he entituled *Mercuriales*; either because he wrote it on *Wednesdays*, or because he inserted his *Wednesdays* Disputations in it. He enlarged the *Speculum of Durandus*, in the Year 1347. I omit some other Treatises, which he published. It is pity he followed so closely the Method of the *Pyrrhonists*; for he very strongly confirmed his own Opinion, when he thought proper; but this he very seldom did; he chose rather to report the Sentiments of others, and to leave his Readers in the middle of a Controversy (14).

[G] Extravagant Commendations have been bestowed upon him. In the Epitaph of his Daughter *Betina*, he is called *Archidoctor Decretorum* — *Arch-doctor of the Decretals*; in his own Epitaph, he is stiled *Rabbi*

Doctorem, lux, censor, normaque morum. — *The Rabbi of the Doctors, the Light, Censor, and Rule of Manners*. It is reported, that Pope *Boniface VIII.* called him *Lumen Mundi* — — — — — *the Light of the World* (15).

[H] He is said to have been an egregious Plagiary. Most of his Additions to the *Speculum of Durandus* were taken, Word for Word, out of a Work of *Oldradus* (16); inasmuch, that *Baldus*, who discovered it, could not forbear calling him a notorious *Pisifer of other Men's Works, insignis alienorum fur* (17). This was the more inexcusable, because, in these very Additions, he proves *Durandus* to have been a great Plagiary (18). He is accused likewise of having stolen the Treatise *De Sponsalibus ac Matrimonii*, composed by *John Anguissola of Cesena* (19).

[I] The excessive Smallness of his Stature made the Cardinals laugh heartily. Some Decretals, they say, being suspected of Falsity, the University of *Bohlogne* deputed *James de Castello*, a little ugly Man, to *Boniface VIII.* He came into the Consistory, attended by a great many Persons. The Pope received him very graciously; and, thinking that he was still upon his Knees, ordered him, three times successively, to rise (20). The Deputy was so ashamed, that he had not a Word to say. A Cardinal said, That he was another *Zacchus*; which raised a general Laugh. Many Writers affirm, that it was not *Castello*, but our *Andreas*, a Man of small Stature, and very ugly, who met with this Adventure (21).

(15) *Id. ib.*

(16) *Intinled Confilia.*

(17) Panzirol. de Claz. Leg. Interp. lib. 3. c. 19.

(18) See *Thomafius, de Plagio Literario*, n. 359, 414.

(19) Panzirol. ubi supra. Donatus Prens. Conon. p. 604.

(20) See *Remark [I] of the Arch-ALBERTUS (MAGNUS)*.

(21) Panzirol. ubi sup.

(14) Ex Panzirolo, ubi supra.

(a) The Presbyter's Name was Marques A. de laza.

ANDREAS (JOHN), Author of a Book, intituled *The Sect of Mahomet demolished*, was born a *Mahometan*, at *Xativa*, in the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and succeeded his Father in the Dignity of *Alfauqui*, in the same Town. He was converted to the Christian Faith, by a Sermon, which he heard in the Great Church of *Valencia*, on the Day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, in 1488 (a). He demanded Baptism, and, remembering the Call of St *John* and St *Andrew*, he obtained the Name of *John-Andrew*, or *Andreas*. "Having received Holy Orders (says he) (b), "and, from an *Alfauqui*, and Slave of *Lucifer*, become a Priest and Minister of "CHRIST, I began, like St *Paul*, to preach and publish the contrary to what I "had falsely believed and affirmed; and, by the Assistance of the most high Lord, "first converted, and led to Salvation, several Souls, among the unbelieving Moors, "who would otherwise have lost them in Hell, under the Power of *Lucifer*. After "which I was invited by the most Catholic Princes, King *Ferdinand* and Queen "Isabella, to come and preach to the Moors of the Kingdom of *Granada*, which "they had conquered. By my preaching, and the Will of GOD (who would have "it so) a prodigious Number of Moors renounced *Mahomet*, and were converted "to CHRIST. A little after I was created a Canon by their Bounty, and was "again invited by the most Christian Queen *Isabella*, to come into *Arragon*, and "endeavour the Conversion of the Moors of that Kingdom; who, to the great Con- "tempt and Dishonour of our crucified Saviour, and the Peril of the Christian "Princes, persevere to this day in their Error; but this most pious Intention of Her "Highness was prevented, by her Death, from taking Effect." He adds, that, to employ his leisure Hours, he translated, out of Arabic into the Language of *Arragon*, the whole Law of the Moors, to wit, *The Koran*, and it's Glosses, and the Five Books of *Suna*. He did this at the Command of *Martin Garcia*, Bishop of *Barcelona*, and *Inquisitor* of *Arragon* (c). After he had finished this Undertaking, he wrote the Work, which I mentioned at the beginning [A]; and which has been thought tolerably good [B].

(b) John Andreas's Preface to *The Sect of Mahomet demolished*, fol. 3. verso.

(c) Taken from the same Preface. —

[A] The Work, which I mentioned at the Beginning. I mean the Book, entituled, *The Sect of Mahomet demolished*. It contains twelve Chapters; in which the Author has collected *The fabulous Inventions, Impossibilities, Follies, Absurdities, Inconsistencies, Impossibilities, Lies, and Contradictions, which the Impostor Mahomet, to deceive the ignorant People, scattered up and down in the Books of the Sect; particularly in The Koran; which, he tells us, was revealed to him, in one Night, by an Angel, in the City of Mecca; though, upon the other Occasions, he affirmed, in Contradiction to himself, that he was twenty Years in composing it; which aforesaid Work I have intituled, The Sect of Mahomet demolished* (1). He informs us (2), that he composed this Work, so the end, that Christians, not only the Wise and Under-

standing, but the Simple and Ignorant likewise, may, on the one side, laugh at such Follies and Absurdities, and, on the other side, express their Concern for the Blindness and Perdition of this People.

This Work, which was first published in Spanish, has been translated into several Languages; particularly into French, by *Guy de la Boderie*, from the Italian; and was published at *Paris*, for *Martin le June*, in the Year 1574, in 8vo.

[B] This Work — has been thought tolerably good. All the Writers against *Mahometanism* cite it frequently. Among others, see *Hornbeck* in his *Disputatio de Muhammedismo* (3); *Hottinger*, in his *Historia Orientalis*, and *Samuel Schultetus*, in his *Ecclesia Muhammedana breviter delineata*.

[A] Where

(3) It is part of his *Summa Controuersiarum*.

(1) John Andreas's Preface, fol. 4.

(2) *Id.*

ANDREAS (TOBIAS) Professor of History, and the Greek Tongue, at *Groningen*, was born at *Braunfels*, in the County of *Solms*, the Nineteenth of August 1604. His Father was Minister of the Count of *Solms-Braunfels*, and Overfeer of the Churches dependant on That Count. His Mother was the Daughter of *John Piscator*, a famous Professor of Divinity at *Herborn*, in the County of *Nassau*. He went through his School-Learning at *Herborn*; and, then, studied Philosophy, in the same Place, under the Direction of *Alstedius*, and his Uncle *Piscator* (a); after which, he went to *Bremen*, where he lived seven Years [A]. He was one of the most constant Attendants on the Lectures of *Gerard de Neuville*, a Physician, and a Philosopher; and, as he aspired to the Office of Teaching publicly, he prepared himself for it, by reading private Lectures in Philosophy. He returned to his own Country in the Year 1628; and, after a short Stay, he went to *Groningen*, being invited thither by his good Patron *Henry Altingius*. He read there, for some time, private Lectures in all Parts of Philosophy: After which *Altingius* gave him his Children to instruct; and, when they had no longer occasion for a Tutor, he procured him the same Employment with a Prince *Palatine*; this continued three Years, which he spent partly at *Leyden*, and partly at the *Hague*, in the Court of the Prince of *Orange*. In the Year 1634, he was invited to *Groningen*, to succeed *James Gebhardus*, who had been Professor of History, and the Greek Tongue (b). He discharged the Duties of this Employ with an extraordinary Application, till his Death, which happened the Seventeenth of October 1676 (c). He had been Library-Keeper to the University, and a great Friend of *Des Cartes* [B]; which he testified, both during the Life [C], and after the Death, of that Illustrious Philosopher [D]. He wrote some Books in his Vindication, as will appear in the Remarks. He married the Daughter of a *Swede* (d), who, among other things, was famous for his Charity towards those, who suffered for the sake of the Gospel.

(a) Son of the Professor of Divinity.

(b) See the Lives of the Professors of Groningen, pag. 124.

(c) Witte, Diar. Biograph.

(d) Lewis de Geer.

[A] Where he lived seven Years.] My Reader ought not to have believed this, if the Author of the Lives of the Professors of *Groningen* had not been more exact in this Calculation, than he is, as to the time, when *Tobias Andreas* was at *Herborn*. It is strange, that a Corrector of the Press should overlook such Errors in the Space of five or six Lines, though the Avocations of the Author hindered him from perceiving them. You will find, in the Life of our *Andreas*, that he went to *Herborn*, in the Year 1610 CXVIII; that he studied five Years, there, in the Schools, and one Year in Philosophy, and that he pursued the same Studies at *Bremen*, for seven Years; and that, afterwards, having taken a turn home, he came to *Groningen*, in the Year 1615 CXVIII. There is nothing written in Cyphers, the Errors, probably, were in the Copy. *Paul Freberus* has very innocently transcribed it (1), without perceiving any Error in the Calculation.

(1) Theat. Vincom II. Indr. pag. 2538.

THE EXCELLENCE of Indulgence towards him, who accused *Des Cartes* of Atheism.

(2) The Condemnation of Schoockius fell indirectly upon Voetius.

(3) See the Life of *Des Cartes* by M. Baillet, Tom. 2. p. 212. & seq. ad annum 1645.

(4) Tom. 3. of his Letters pag. 17. ap. Baillet, ubi supra, pag. 257.

[B] A great Friend of *Des Cartes*.] He heartily served him in his Law Suit with *Martin Schoockius*, Professor of Philosophy at *Groningen*. This Professor was prosecuted by *Des Cartes* for Scandal, in having publicly accused him of Atheism. Though *Des Cartes* had not seen our *Andreas* more than once in his Life, he recommended his Cause to him, perceiving, that he was very much in his Interest. The French Ambassador, *Monf. de la Thuillerie*, and *Des Cartes*'s Friends acted on one Hand (2); the Enemies of *Voetius*, at *Groningen*, acted on the other; and by this means *Des Cartes* had Justice done him. His Accuser acknowledged his Innocence (3), and was thereupon acquitted; which was a scandalous Indulgence, and a bad Example: For, if they had made him suffer the Punishment of Retaliation, as he very well deserved, it would have restrained, in some measure, the boldness of those seditious Writers, who so readily, and so rashly, accuse so many honest Men of Atheism. "*Des Cartes* wrote, the Twenty sixth of May, 1645, to Mr *Andreas*, to thank him for his good Offices, and to desire him to return his most humble thanks to the Judges. Seeing how mildly his Adversary had been treated, though he deserved to be punished as a Calumniator — he nevertheless acknowledged, that the Judges had given him all the Satisfaction he desired, or could lawfully pretend to. For, said he (4), to the Magistrates of *Utrecht*, private Persons have no right to demand either the Death of their Enemies, or that they should suffer in their Honour or Estates. It is sufficient they are indemnified by the Judges. Any thing farther does not concern them, but the Public alone." The Text of my Remark neces-

sarily obliging me to mention the good Offices done by *Andreas* to *Des Cartes*; I believed the Reader would be pleased to know, in general, the Issue of this Affair, without turning to another Page.

[C] Which he testified during the Life, &c.] We have just seen a Proof of this. I add, that he favoured *Des Cartes*'s Disciples, and procured him as many Followers as he could. It was by his Advice, that *Claubergius* became a *Cartesian* (5); which was a glorious and useful Victory for the whole Party.

(5) *Clauberg*. Epist. Dedicat. Logice.

[D] And after the Death of that illustrious Philosopher.] He wrote in his Defence, against a Professor of *Leyden*, whose Name was *Reuvius*, and published a vigorous Reply, in the Year 1653, entitled, *Methodi Cartesianæ assertio opposita Jacobii Revii* — Praef. *Methodi Cartesianæ considerationi Theologicæ*. The second Part of this Answer came out the following Year. He wrote also, in the Year 1653, against Mr *Regius*, in Vindication of the Remarks, which *Des Cartes* had made on a *Programma*, containing an Explication of the human Mind (6). He taught, in his own House, the *Cartesian* Philosophy, though his Profession did not require it of him, and even when Age had very much impaired his Strength. Mr *Des Marets* informed me of these Particulars, on account of a *Swiss* Student in Divinity, who durst not attend the Philosophical Lectures of *Andreas*, for fear it should be known in his own Country, and should prove an Obstacle to his Promotion to the Ministry. "Nec desuit unus ex illis, cujus nomini parco, bene alias doctus, & in Philosophiam Cartesianam valde propensus, qui, dum hic esset, professus est, non audere se frequentare Collegia Cartesianæ Cl. Tobiae Andree (qui, Cilenicus licet, quod summopere doleo, Deumque venero ut illi suas vires restituat, ea solet habere in superpondium suæ professionis, nec enim ad philosophiam, sed ad linguam Græcæ & Historias est vocatus) ne hoc in sua patria recitetur, & suæ promotioni obesse (7). — Nor was there wanting one, among them, whose Name I forbear to mention; a Man, otherwise, of good Learning; who, during his abode here, declared, that he durst not frequent the Cartesian School of *Tobias Andreas*, lest it should be known in his own Country, and binder his Promotion; I mean the Cartesian School of That *Andreas*; who, tho' almost Bed-ridden (which I am very much concerned for, and beg of God to restore him to his Strength) yet continues to teach a Science, over and above his Profession; which requires of him a Knowledge of History, and the Greek Tongue, not of Philosophy."

(6) This Piece is intitled, *Brevi Replicatio brevi Expositioni Mentis Humanæ Dn. Henrici Regii reposita*.

(7) *Maresius*, in *Justicio de Theologia pacifica* Witichii, printed in 1671.

(a) See the
Epidemics
of Pavia as
called.

(b) See the
Epic De-
dicatory of
the second
Part of her
Poems.

(c) See Re-
mark [A].

(d) See the
Verses writ-
ten in her Praise,
prefixed to
her Poems.

ANDREINI (**ISABELLA**) born at *Padua*, was, towards the end of the **XVth** and beginning of the **XVIIIth** Century, one of the best Actresses of *Italy*. This was not the only Qualification, for which she was admired; she was likewise a compleat Poetess. This we learn, not only from the Praises, which many learned Men, and great Wits, have bestowed upon her, (tho' this would be but a doubtful Proof) but also by the Works, which she published. The *Intensi* (a) of *Pavia* thought it an Honour to them to admit her into their Society; and, to testify her Acknowledgment, she never forgot, among her Titles, That of *Academica Intensa*; but, without doubt, she looked upon it as an Honour done to her. Her Titles were, *Isabella Andreini, Comica Gelofo, Academica Intensa, detta l'Accesa*. In one thing she excelled the most excellent Actresses; for she was a beautiful Woman; so that, on the Stage, she charmed, at once, the Eyes and Ears of the Audience [A]. Cardinal *Cinibio Aldobrandini*, Nephew to *Clement VIII.*, had a great Esteem for her, as appears by many Poems, which she composed for him, and by the Epistle Dedicatory of her Works. She came into *France*, and was graciously received by their Majesties, and Persons of the first Quality at Court (b). She composed many Sonnets in their Praise, which are to be seen in the second Part of her Poems. She died, at *Lyons*, the Tenth of *June 1604*, of a Miscarriage, in the Forty second Year of her Age. Her Husband, *Francis ANDREINI*, buried her in the same City; and honoured her with an Epitaph [B], which imports that she was very pious and chaste. Since That, he discovered, how greatly he regretted [C], and esteemed her. The Death of this excellent Actress set all *Parnassus* in Tears. Nothing but Funeral Elegies appeared, in *Latin* and *Italian*. Many of them were prefixed to her Poems, in the Edition of *Milan*, 1605. Nor did they forget the ingenious Inscription, made in her Praise, whilst she was still alive, by *Erycius Puteanus*, at that Time Professor at *Milan* (c). Besides her Sonnets, Madrigals, Songs, and Eclogues, there is a Pastoral of her Composition, intitled *Myrtilla*. There are extant likewise some of her Letters, which were printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1610. She sung well, and play'd admirably on several Instruments; she was not ignorant of Philosophy (d), and understood *French* and *Spanish*.

[A] She charmed, at once, the Eyes and Ears of the Audience.] This supplied Flatterers with many Thoughts. These Words were wrote under her Picture, "Hoc Histricæ eloquentiæ caput, lector admira-
" ris? quid si auditor fies? — Do you admire,
" Reader, this Head of Theatrical Eloquence? What
" would you have done, had you been her Hearer?"
The Antiticks and Witticisms of *Erycius Puteanus* turn chiefly upon this.

Hanc vides, & hanc audis;
Tu disputa, Argus esse malis, ut videas,
An Midas, ut audias.
Tantum enim sermonem vultus,
Quantum sermo vultum commendat.
Quorum alterutro æterna esse potuisset,
Cum vultum omnibus simulacris emendatorem,
Et sermonem omni Suada venustiore possidet.

You see her; and you hear her;
Consider now, whether you would be an Argus, to see,
Or a Midas, to hear.
For her Looks as much recommend her Voice,
As her Voice her Looks.
Either of which might have rendered her Immortal;
Since no Painting can equal the Charms of her
Face;
No Music the Harmony of her Voice.

[B] Her Husband — honoured her with an Epitaph.] If it be but to undeceive those, who talk so much of the Rigour of the Church, in regard to the Burial of Players in Holy Ground, I shall copy the Epitaph of *Isabella Andreini*, in which her Profession, as an Actress, is mentioned next to her Hopes of the Resurrection

D. O. M.

Isabella Andreina, Patavina, mulier magna virtute prædita, honestatis ornamentum, maritalique pudicitie decus, ore facunda, mente secunda, religiosa, pia, Musis amica, & artis Scenicæ caput, hic resurrectionem expectat.

Ob abortum obiit 4. Idus Junii 1604. annum ægens 42.

Franciscus Andreinus mœstissimus posuit.

Isabella Andreini, of Pavia, a Lady remarkable for Virtue, Honour, and Conjugal Fidelity, Eloquent, and Ingenious; Religious, and Devout; A Friend to the Muses, and Head of the Theatrical Art; lies Here, in expectation of the Resurrection.

She died of a Miscarriage, June 10, 1604.
Ætat. 42.

This Monument was erected by *Francis Andreini*, her afflicted Husband.

You will see, in the next Remark, how tenderly she was beloved by her Husband *Francis Andreini*.

[C] Since That, he discover'd, how much he regretted her.] The Preface to his *Bravure del Capitano Spavento*, informs us, that he was born at *Pistoia*, and that, whilst he was among the Company of Comedians *Gelosi*, he took great delight in acting the Part of a Braggadocio. He took upon him the Title of *Captain Spavento da Vall' Inferna, Captain Bluff of the Infernal Vale*; and left off personating the part of a Lover, in which he had chiefly signaliz'd himself: *io lasciai di recitare la parte mia principale, laquella era quella dell' innamorato*. This Company of Players acquir'd a surprizing Reputation; which began to decay after the Death of *Isabella Andreini*. Her Husband thought it best from a Player to turn Author; and, for the Subject of his Works, he made choice of That, in which he had distinguish'd himself on the Stage, I mean the Rhodomontades of a *Captain Bluff*. He publish'd some Dialogues, or *Regionamenti*, in Prose, with the Title above-mentioned. The 4th Edition, which I make use of, is of *Venice*, 1623, in Quarto; but, the Licence being dated in the Year 1607, the first Edition ought to be placed in That Year. The Complaints of the Shepherd *Corinto alla desunta sua Filide* (he calls her his Wife) & *alla sua Boscareccia Sampogna*, are prefixed to the Book. Never did Lover utter more tender Expressions, or complain more strongly of the inexorable Rigor of Destiny. They are *Andreini's* Lamentation for the Death of his *Isabella*; the following Words put it past doubt: "Finito che fu quel termine, e venuto meno il vi-
" vere d' *Isabella* mia dilettaissima consorte (la quale
" fu lume e splendore di quella virtuosa e honorata
" compagnia) fui da molti amici miei consigliato à
" scrivere alcuna cosa e donarla alla stampa per lasciar
" qualche memoria di me, e per seguitare l'honorato
" grido della moglie mia, la quale haveva lasciato al
" mondo

(a) Preface to the Capitano Spavento.
 "mondo can-tanta sua gloria e con tanto suo honore
 "il suo bellissimo Canzoniero, la sua bellissima Mir-
 "tilla Favola Boscarea, e il compendio delle sue
 "bellissime lettere (1). — After the Death of my
 "dearest Canſor Iſabella (who was the Light and
 "Ornament of this ingenious and honourable Com-
 "pany); I was adviſed by many of my Friends to
 "write, or publiſh ſomething, to perpetuate my Me-

"mory, and to emulate the Reputation of my Wife,
 "who, left behind her, ſo much to her Glory,
 "and ſo much to her Honour, her beautiful Col-
 "lection of Sonnets, her Paſſional of Myrtilla, and
 "the Abridgement of her beautiful Letters." There
 is one John Baptiſt ANDREINI, who wrote a
 Tragedy, entituled La Florinda; printed at Milan,
 in the Year 1606.

ANDRELINUS (P. FAUSTUS) born at Forlì, in Italy, was a long time Profeſſor of Poetry in the Univerſity of Paris. Lewis XII. made him Poet Laureat (a). I know not, whether Queen Anne of Bretagne, or ſome other Queen, honoured him with her ſpecial Protection; but I am not ignorant, that Erasmus, who was intimately acquainted with him, ſays, that he was not only Laureat to the King, but to the Queen likewiſe [A]. He was not contented with Poetry; He wrote likewiſe ſome Moral, and Proverbial, Letters in Proſe, which have been printed ſeveral times. They were printed at Straſburg, in the Year 1517, and again, from the ſecond Reviſal of the Author, in the Year 1519 (b). Beatus Rhenanus prefixed a Preface to them, in which he greatly commends them [B]. John Arboreus, a Divine of Paris, wrote a Commentary upon them. Moſt of his Poetry conſiſts of Diſtichs; they have been printed, with a Commentary of Jodocus Badius Aſcenſius, being tranſlated, Verſe for Verſe, into French by a Poet of Paris, whoſe Name was Stephen Privé (c). This Tranſlation came out in 1604, and is only fit to bring the Original into Contempt. John Paradin had before turned (d) into French Tetraſtichs about an hundred Diſtichs, which Andrelinus ſcrib'd to John Ruſé, Treafurer-General of the Finances of King Charles VIII, to return him Thanks for a large and honourable Penſion, which that Prince cauſed to be paid him with extraordinary Care; and which did not deſerve the Contempt this pleaſant Poet deſigned to throw upon it, by leaving us room to think he was paid for his Verſes by the Quarter, or the Hundred (e) [C]. The Poems of Andrelinus have been infer'd in the firſt Volume of the Delights of the Italian Poets; tho' good Judges ſet no

(a) Faustus Andrelinus item, Poeta ſuaviſſimus, à Ludovico XII, Francie regis, laurea coronatus. Leon. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag. 478.

(b) Gefner. Biblioth. pag. 573.

(c) Baillet, Jugem. ſur les Poetes, Tom. 3. p. 121.

(d) In 1545.

(e) Baillet, ibid. who quotes Colletet, p. 118, 125, 126. Art. Poët.

[A] Erasmus, who knew him very intimately, ſays, that he was not only Laureat to the King, but to the Queen likewiſe. [B] Theſe are his Words. "Faustus Andrelinus Foroliviensis, poeta non ſolum laureatus, verum etiam regius, atque etiam, ſi diis placet, regineus, vetus congero meus, qui plus quam triginta jam annos in celeberrima Pariſiorum Academia poetice docet, in carmine quod de Pavimento Pariſienſi inſcripſit, adagionem (Syracuſana Menſa) in Anglos derivavit, Menſa, inquam, Britannia placet (1). — My old Friend, Fauſtus Andrelinus, of Forlì, Poet-Laureat both to the King and Queen, who has taught Poetry more than thirty Years in the famous Univerſity of Paris, in his Poem de Pariſienſi Pavimento, applies the Adage Syracuſana Menſa to the Engliſh, ſaying, Give me a Britiſh Table".

(1) Erasmus. Adag. 68. cent. 2. child. 2.

* A Syracuſian Table. The People of Syracuſe were remarkably luxuri-ous.

(2) Lib. 5. pag. 316. Edit. Londiniensis.

(3) Epist. 23. lib. 5. pag. 321.

(4) Epist. 10. lib. 5. pag. 315.

AUTHORS cenſured, who uſe the indefinite Term. See Remark [B] of the Article ABULFE-DA, n. 4.

There are, among Erasmus's Letters (2), two or three Billets, which Andrelinus wrote to him, in ſuch a Laconick Style, that Brutus's Letters, if compar'd with them, would paſs for long ones. Erasmus, who anſwer'd him in the ſame Style, is ſomewhat more diſcuſe, when he deſires him to promote the Sale of his Adagies (3); and when he deſcribes the Pleaſures of England, to induce him to take a Journey into that Country (4). I ſhall, by the way, take notice of an ill Cuſtom, which prevails among Authors, of denoting the time, when they write, by ſuch general Words only as, Nunc, jam, &c. whereas they ought preciſely to mark the Year; for, beſides that ſome Books take up an Author ſeveral Years, or are not publiſh'd till a long time after they are finiſh'd, are there not many printed ſeveral times? How, then, can a Reader know, at what time a Book was written, when he meets only with theſe Words, hoc anno, nunc, and the like? Erasmus ſpeaks of Andrelinus as one, who was then alive, and had taught Poetry at Paris, for the ſpace of 30 Years. This he ſays, in a Book printed in 1546; there is no Date to the Preface; but the Epistle Dedicatory is dated the 13th of Auguſt 1528. Wou'd not this induce one to believe, that Andrelinus was alive in the Year 1528? and muſt we not infer from hence, that the greateſt Men, when they reviſe their Works for a new Edition, leave a great many things in them, which ceaſe to be true? I have obſerved this Fault in the laſt Edition of the large Hiſtory of Mezerai.

[B] Beatus Rhenanus — greatly commends them.] Theſe are Gefner's Words. "Beatus Rhenanus, in præſatione, commendat has epistolâs tanquam eruditâs, lepidâs, & utiles; "eſt enim hic Author (inquit) in nonnullis opusculis genuino poetarum more liſticiuſculus ſit, hic tamen integrum ac mo-

"deſtum oratorem agit (5). — Beatus Rhenanus, in "his Preface, commends theſe Epistles, as being learn- "ed, entertaining, and uſeful. For "Tho' this Au- "thor (ſays he) like other Poets, is a little too obſcure, "in ſome of his Works; yet here he aſſumes the per- "fect and modeſt Orator.

(c) Gefn. in Biblioth. fol. 573.

[C] By leaving us room to think, he was paid for his Verſes by the Quarter or the Hundred.] M. Baillet proves it by theſe four Verſes, tranſlated from the Latin of Andrelinus, by Paradin (6).

(6) Jugem. of the Poets, Tom. 3. p. 122.

Croiffez mes vers, foyez en plus grand nombre,
 Car c'eſt aux frais & ſalaries du Roi.
 Seure richeſſe, empechant tout encombre,
 Exige vers en copieux arroi.

A freſh Recruit, my Muſe, of Numbers bring;
 'Tis at a Monarch's ſole Expence you ſing.
 The ſure Reward, which bids each Care retire,
 With copious Fewel feeds the Poet's Fire.

We meet with a remarkable Inſtance in the Tenth Eclogue of Andrelinus; I mean of a Poet, who, far from complaining of the Ingratitude of the Age, or finding fault with the Muſes for not taking care to maintain thoſe, who engage in their Service, acknowledges that he had a large Penſion, and that, when he recited his Poem on the Conqueſt of Naples, before Charles VIII, that Prince preſented him with a Bag of Money, which he had much a-do to carry upon his Shoulders.

Dum ſtupro totus viſu deſixus in iſto,
 Jupiter ecce venit magno ſtipatus honore,
 Ipſe olim vultus inter nutritus agreſtes.
 Admiror primo aſpectu; mox poplite flexo
 Ante ipſum quæſita Jovem modulamina fundo;
 Scilicet ut bello claram expugnâvit aperto
 Parthenopem, patrios victorque redivit in agros,
 Quamvis Heſperio vetitus foret orbe reſgreſſus.
 Neſcio qua noſtri captus dulcedine cantus
 Ipſe fuit, fulvi ſacrum donavit & æris;
 Vix iſtis delatum humeris, cunctoſque per annos
 Penſio larga datur, qualem non lentus habebat
 Tityrus umbroſis reſonans ſua gaudia ſylvia.

Whilst on this Sight, with fixt Regard, I gaze,
 See Jupiter in ſplendid Pomp appear;

Himſelf

(f) Morhof.
Polyhist.
pag. 258.

no great Value on them [D]. His Death is placed in the Year 1518 [E]. The Letters, which he wrote, by way of Proverbs, were thought worthy of a new Im-
pression at *Helmstadt*, in the Year 1662, after the Edition of *Cologne* of the Year 1509 (f). The Morals of this Author, tho' none of the best, were not taken notice of, because he was an Ornament to the University of *Paris*. He was so happy, that the Liberty he took of offending the Divines brought him into no Trouble. *Erasmus* informs us of these Particulars [F].

Note, That I have left this whole Article, in this Edition, just as it stood in the first, tho' I have been informed, that it stood in need of Correction in several Places. I thought it would be more modest to give the Corrections, which have been since imparted to me, by themselves [G]. You'll find them in the Remark [G].

Himself once conversant with Rustic Looks;

At first, in Admiration lost, I stand;

Then, on my Knee, present the Verse, required;

The Verse, which paints Parthenope's deſtrojd,

And from Hesperia † Charles's bleſt Return,

In vain forbidden, to his native Land.

Pleas'd with the Numbers, which his Conquests sung,

A Load of Gold the generous Prince bestow'd,

Too weighty for the sinking Bard to bear;

A Pension too, larger than what of old,

Reclin'd at Ease, gay Tityrus † enjoy'd,

Courting his Muſe beneath the Beachen Shade.

* Naples.

† Italy.

¶ VIRGIL,
under the
Character of
TITYRUS.

[In this Poem, *Andrelinus* says, that the Brand (the *Stigmata*) of *Charles VIII*'s Victories, appeared still imprinted on the Brows of the *Italians*. *Brantome*, who, instead of *vera Stigmata*, read *vera Stemmata*, makes this Poet say, that the Victories and warlike Actions of *Charles VIII* appeared on the Brows of the *Italians*, as so many Crowns or Laurels. See *Brantome's Illustrious Frenchmen*, Tom. 4. pag. 25. REM. CRIT.]

[D] *God Judges set no great Value on them.* *Fausſus* mentions three Authors, who abounded in Words without Meaning (7); the first is the Orator *Anaximenes*; the second is *Longolius*, who was likewise an Orator, and the third is the Poet *Andrelinus*. As to the first he says, that *Theocritus* of *Cibies*, seeing him about to make a Speech, cried out, *A River of Words begins to flow with but a Drop of Sense.* *Ἀρχαίαι λίζων μιν πῶταμος, ὅς δὲ σαλαγμός.* He lays, upon the Authority of *Francis Luſſinus*, that *Constantin Lascaris* passed the same Judgment upon *Longolius*; and that *Andrelinus* was still more liable to Censure, in whose Poems there was wanting but one Syllable, as *Erasmus* very ingeniously observed. This Syllable was *νῦν*, which signifies *Sense, Understanding, Wit*. If I knew where this Passage of *Erasmus*, so little agreeable to the great Compliments and Praises he bestows upon *Andrelinus* (8), is to be found, I would inform the Reader. I make no doubt, that the Judgment, which *Julius Scaliger* passed on the Poet *Fausſus*, relates to our *Andrelinus*, rather than *Gerhardus Fausſus*. "Fausſi facilitas, *says* he (9), "viventis in scribendo secundo plausu excepta est; "scholas tamen sapit illa juniorum, à qua nihil aliud "quam hoc ipsum expectas. . . . The Knack of "Writing, which *Fausſus*, when alive, was Master of, "was received with Favour and Applause; yet it savours of the Schools of Youth; from which you can expect nothing farther."

[E] His Death is placed in the Year 1518. I shall not cite *König's Bibliothecque*, nor the Letters of the learned *Reineſius* to *Dauminius* (10). I can produce a cotemporary Writer, who, in a Letter, dated the sixth of *March*, 1518, takes notice, that That Year had carried off several learned Men. "Hic annus "multos eximios viros tui similes absumpsit, *Marcum Musurum Romæ, jam Archiepiscopum designatum, " & ante hunc Palcotum Canillum, Lutetie Fau-* "rum immortalitate dignum (11). — Several great "Men, like yourself, have died this Year; particu- "larly, *Marcus Musurus, Archbishop Eleſ, at Rome, "and, before him, Palcotus Camillus; at Paris, Fau-* "flus, worthy of Immortality." It cannot be concluded, from these Words, that *Andrelinus* died in the Year 1518; for it is certain, that *Musurus* died in the Year 1517 (12).

[F] *Erasmus informs us of these Particulars.* The Reader will not be displeased to see the Original. "Parifensis Academicæ candorem ac civilitatem jam "olim sum admiratus, quæ tot annos *Fausſum* tulerit,

"nec tulerit solum, verum etiam aluerit exeveritque. "Cum *Fausſum* dico, multa tibi succurrunt quæ no- "lim literis committere. Quæ petulantia solius est "ille in Theologorum ordinem debacchari? Quam "non casta erat illius professio? Neque cuiquam ob- "secrum erat qualis esset vita. Tantum malorum "Galli doctrinæ hominis condonabant, quæ tamen "ultra mediocritatem non admodum erat progressa " (13). — I have long wondered at the Good nature "and Courtesy of the University of Paris, which bore, "so many Years, with *Fausſus*; and not only bore "with, but supported, and advanced, him. When "I mention *Fausſus*, many things occur to you (14), "which I avoid committing to Writing. How viru- "lently was he wont to twinge against the sacred "Order? How far from Chast was his Profession? "Nor was his manner of Life a Secret to any one. "The French, however, pardoned his bad Qualities, "in respect to his Learning, which yet did not very "far exceed the Bounds of Mediocrity." You may ob- serve, that *Erasmus's* Letters to *Andrelinus*, and those he wrote to others concerning him, are written in a very different Strain. However, it cannot be denied, that he sometimes commends him in his Letters to other Persons (15).

[G] Give the Corrections, which have been imparted to me, by themselves. The following Remarks were communicated to me by *Monſ. de la Monnoie*. "I. Instead of *P. Fausſus*, it should be *Publius Fausſus*, at length; least any one should think that *P.* signifies *Petrus, Paulus*, or some such other Christian Name. It is probable, that *Fausſus* assumed the Name of *Publius* at *Rome*, in imitation of those Academicians, great Lovers of Antiquity, of whom *Pomponius Laetus* was the head. II. It ought not to be said, in a Dictionary, that *Fausſus* was only Professor of Poetry in the University of *Paris*. He taught, there, not only Poetry, but Rhetoric, and the Doctrine of the Sphere, and even explained the *Psalms* of *David*. III. It was at *Rome*, long before the Reign of *Lewis XII*, that *Fausſus*, who was not then Twenty two Years of Age, carried the Laurel (16). His Love Verses divided into four Books, entitled, *Livia*, which was his Mistress's Name, appeared so fine to the *Roman Academy*, that they adjudged him the Prize of the Latin Elegy; which was the Reason why, when he printed his *Livia* in 4to, at *Paris*, in the Year 1490, and his three Books of Elegies, four Years after, in the same City, he styled himself *Poëta Laureatus*, and afterwards *Regius*, and *Regineus*, with respect to *Charles VIII*, *Lewis XII*, and Queen *Anne*. IV. To find the thirty Years that *Fausſus* was Professor at *Paris*, we must suppose, that *Erasmus* made this Computation in the Year 1517. By this means we go back as far as 1487, at which Time, or thereabout, *Fausſus* settled at *Paris*. This Chronology is so much the more certain, because there was an Edition of *Erasmus's* *Adagies* (17), in 1517, which he mentions in the *Chronicæ* as inserted. V. *Fausſus* did not compose above two hundred Distichs, and consequently they were but a very small part of his Poems; for, besides the four Books of his Love Verses, and the three Books of Miscellaneous Elegies, which I have mentioned, there are twelve Eclogues of his writing, printed in 8vo, in the Year 1546, in the Collection of Thirty eight Bucolic Poets, published by *Oporinus*. *Fausſus* promised several other Pieces in Prose and in Verse; Ten moral Satires; an hundred Epistles; and the Christian Advent; (which, perhaps, is the same with what he calls, in another place, a Treatise of the true Religion;) a Dialogue on the Sphere; and Observations on the Latin Tongue."

(13) *Erasmus*.
Epist. 20.
lib. 21. pag.
1090.

(14) He
writes to *Lan-*
dovicum Va-
res.

(15) See Re-
mark [E].

(16) This
concerns *Le-*
ander Al-
bertus, whom
I have quoted.

(17) *Eras-*
mus's *Fausſus*,
as I have ob-
served in the
Remark [A]
has in this
that he did
not alter the
Chronology,
in the last E-
dition.

(8) See the
2nd Letter of
the 1st Book
of *Erasmus*.

(9) *Jul. Caſſ.*
Scalig. de
Poët. l. 6.
pag. 266.
See *Baillet*,
ubi supra.

(11) *Eraſm.*
Epist. 20.
l. 1. ad *Pe-*
trum Barbi-
rum. See
also *Epist.*
24. lib. 2.

(12) See the
Remarks in
lib. 1. d.

I should certainly have supplied the Defects of my Article of ANDRELINUS, if I had had the Works of this Author; but, not being able to procure them, I was obliged to follow those, who have mentioned him, without consulting them; and thus the *Blind* lead the

Blind. It is a great Misfortune, not to have all the necessary Books, in the Composition of such a Dictionary, as this; but it is a Misfortune, I cannot avoid, in the Situation I am at present in.

ANDRINOPE, or ADRIANOPE, a City of *Thrace*. It owes its Name to the Madness of the Emperor *Hadrian*. *Moreri* mentions this; but very confusedly [A]. It has been said, that this Town was built by *Orestes*, and bore his Name [B]. It was also called *Uscudama* (a). The two Latin Verses, quoted by *Moreri*, serve only to shew, that he was a careless Writer [C]. I omit what he further says of *Andrinople*: The Reader may have Recourse to his Dictionary.

(a) See the Remark [C].

[A] *Moreri* mentions this; but very confusedly. These are his Words. "Some Pagan Authors say, that this Prince, having been cured there of a Dropsy, by invoking the mad *Orestes*, took delight in beautifying this City." These Pagan Authors are not *Spartian*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the two cited by *Moreri*; and I am very much mistaken, if we must not reduce them to *Ælius Lampridius* alone. Let us see then how the latter expresses himself. "Et Orestam quidem urbem *Adrianus* suo nomini vindicari iussit, eo tempore quo furore cooperat laborare, ut ex responso quum ei dictum esset ut in sacrosi aliquid domum vel nomen irreperet. Nam ex eo emollitum infaniam ferunt, per quam multos fenatores occidi iusserat (1)." If we compare these Words with Those of *Moreri*; we shall find him guilty of three, or four, gross Mistakes. I. It is not true, that *Hadrian* was cured in the City of *Andrinople*. II. It is not true, that his Distemper was a Dropsy. III. It is not true, that he recovered his Health, by invoking *Orestes*. IV. It is not true, that he took delight in beautifying This City, after his Recovery. *Lampridius* only says, "That *Hadrian*, being fallen into a Phrenzy, commanded the City *Orestia* to be called by his Name, in Obedience to an Oracle, which advised him to seize on the House, or Name, of some Mad-Man;" and we are told, that by this Means his Fits of Madness went off.

(7) *Lampridius*, in *Antonino Hellagabalus*, pag. 809.

[B] That it was founded by *Orestes*, and bore his Name. I shall cite only *Lampridius* for this. "Et Orestem quidem ferunt, says he (2), non unum simulachrum *Dianæ*, nec uno in loco posuisse, sed multa in multis. Postquam se apud tria flumina circa *Hebrum* ex responso purificavit, etiam *Orestam* condidit civitatem, quam sæpe cruciari hominum sanguine necesse est. Et *Orestam* quidem urbem *Adrianus* suo nomini vindicari iussit, &c. --- They say likewise, that *Orestes* erected, not one Statue alone of *Diana*, or in one Place only, but

(a) Id. ib.

"many in several. And after that, in Obedience to the Oracle, he had purified himself at three Streams, near *Hebrus*, he built, likewise, the City *Orestia*, which must frequently be polluted with human Blood. This City, *Orestia*, *Hadrian* ordered to be called by his own Name, &c." I have let down this Passage at length, to shew what City of *Andrinople* is here meant. The Emperor *Hadrian* gave his Name to several Towns at a great Distance from each other (3): But it is plain, that *Lampridius* meant That of *Thrace*; and that *Orestes* built it, where the *Hebrus* receives two other Rivers. Note, that *Pinedo* makes *Lampridius* say, that *Hellogabalus* built a Town near the *Hebrus*, which he called *Orestia*; and that, afterwards, *Hadrian* gave it his own Name (4). This is an Instance of the usual Distraction of Mind, from which the most learned Writers are not free.

(3) *Quum titulus in operibus non amaret, multas civitates *Andrinopolis* appellavit, ut ipsam *Carthaginem* & *Athenarum* partem. *Spartianus* in *Adriano* cap. 20. Sic *liberius* *Orestia* *Thesauri* *Geographici* *cur*."*

[C] The two Latin Verses, quoted by *Moreri* --- shew, that he was a careless Writer. These are his Words. "It is said to have been built, first of all, by *Orestes*, who called it *Orestia*; which Name was afterwards changed into That of *Uscada* or *Uscudama*."

Tandemque Uscudamæ mutato nomine præco
Matricida suo de nomine dixit Orestam.

(4) *Pinedo*, in *Steph. Byzant.* pag. 211. n. 43.

At length the Parricide *Orestes*, changing it's ancient
Name Uscudama, called it *Orestia*, after his own Name.

These two Verses prove quite the contrary to what *Moreri* produces them for. They evidently prove, that *Orestes* found This Town with the Name *Uscudama*; and that he afterwards changed it to his own. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, cited by *Moreri*, at Lib. 4. (5); informs us, in the fourth Chapter of the Twenty seventh Book, that *Andrinople* had been called *Uscudama*. Post hanc *Æmimentus* *Hadrianopolim* habet; quæ dicebatur *Uscudama*.

(5) The thirteen first Books of this History are lost.

ANDROMACHE, Wife of the Valiant *Hector*, was the Daughter of *Ætion*, King of *Thebes* in *Cilicia* (a). She was advantageously married on all accounts; for, besides that her Husband was accounted the Bulwark of his Country, and the greatest Support of the Throne, he proved very kind to her; and they say, that she was free from the Difficulties, which commonly attend the Wives of Great Heroes; I mean, that he ever preserved his Conjugal Fidelity towards her [A]. *Euripides* denies this; but, at the same Time, he informs us, that it did not in the least disturb the Happiness of this Lady; her Disposition being very easy and complaisant in this respect

(a) *Homer*, li. lib. 6. This *Cilicia* was not far from *Troy*.

[A] *Hector* ----- ever preserved his conjugal Fidelity towards her.] *Andromache*, in some Verses of *Euripides*, declares, that she loves the very Mistress of her Husband, to please him, and that she gave suck to his Bastards (1): The Scholiast upon this says, that *Anaxicrates* gave out, that *Hector* left behind him two legitimate Sons (2), who escaped from the Hands of the *Greeks*, and a Bastard (3), who was taken at *Troy* (4), but he pretends, that *Euripides* and *Anaxicrates* advance a Falshood; and maintains against them, that *Hector* never had a Bastard; and that it must be very incongruous to advance the contrary. *Ovid* represents *Hector* as a good Husband; who overlooked every thing, that was disagreeable, in his Wife.

(1) *Euripides*, in *Andromach.*

(2) *Amphitruus*, and *Scamandrius*.

(3) *Called* *Palæteus*.

(4) *Anaxicrates*, *Argolicor.* lib. 2.

(5) *Ovidius*, in *Epist. Oenone*, ad *Parisem*, ver. 107.

Felix *Andromache*, certo bene nupta marito!
Uxor ad exemplum fratris habenda sui (5).

Happy *Andromache*, who justly art
Possessed of a firm and loyal Heart.

A Faith like Hers Thou hast beheld in me,
And *Hector's* Virtue should have shined in Thee.

Mr J. COOPER.

Thus he makes *Oenone*, the Wife of *Paris*, express herself. In another Place he says, that every one thought *Andromache* too tall; but that she seemed to her Husband to be of a middle Stature.

Omnibus *Andromache* visa est spatiosior æquo.

Unus, qui modicam diceret, *Hector* erat.

(6) *Id. lib. 2. de Arte Amandi*.

Colomies has rightly observed (7), that *Mercerus*, in his Notes on the fourth Book of *Diogenes Cretensis*, should not have said, That *Antiquity* knew nothing of *Hector's* loving any Woman beside his Wife, or that he had Children besides those she brought him. *Mercerus* had forgot the Historian *Anaxicrates*, and the Poet *Euripides*. But *Colomies*, who farther observes, that this Historian was unknown to *Vossius*, should have told us, that he had from *Mexiriac* the Passages

(7) *Bibl. chois.* pag. 109.

spect [B]. The Death of *Hector* proved, therefore, a terrible Blow to *Andromache*; yet she survived it, as well as the Grief she conceived, some time after, upon the taking of *Troy*, upon the Loss of her dear Son *Astyanax*, who was thrown headlong from the Top of a Tower, and her own Slavery. She fell to the Lot of a Master, who, tho' of a fierce and bloody Disposition, used her very kindly. *Pyrrhus*, the cruel Son of the cruel *Achilles*, proved gentle and tractable towards *Andromache*; shared his Bed with her [C], and made her Condition so happy, that the beautiful *Hermione*, whom he married some time after, grew very jealous at it (b). After the Death of This Prince, or even in his Life-time, *Andromache* married *Helanus* [D], the Son of *Priam*, her Fellow-Captive; and reigned with him in part of *Epirus*. She had Children by *Pyrrhus* [E], and one likewise by *Helanus*. Some Authors are of Opinion, that the Kings of *Epirus* down to That *Pyrrhus*, who made War with the *Romans* (c), descended from a Son of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*. This Princess had seven Brothers, who were slain by *Achilles*, together with their Father, in one and the same Day (d). An Author tells us, that she accompanied *Priam*, when he went to beg of *Achilles*, that he would sell him the dead Body of *Hector* (e); and that, to excite the greater Compassion, she carried with her her two Sons, who were but Infants (f). She has been the Subject of many fine Tragedies both Ancient and Modern

(b) Euripid. in *Andromache*.

(c) See the *Remarks* [E].

(d) Il. lib. 6. ver. 414. & seq.

(e) Diogenes Cretensis, lib. 3.

(8) Parallelopom. de Hellen. Græciæ, pag. 5.

Passages alleged by him, and that *Mallinacut* (8) mentions *Anaxerates*, without saying any thing of the Work quoted by the Scholiast upon *Euripides*: He only says, that *Strabo* alleges the Authority of *Anaxerates*, in speaking of *Arabia*, in the fourteenth Book.

[B] Her Disposition was very easy and complaisant in this Respect.] See the foregoing Remark. It does not appear from hence, that *Andromache* carried her Complaisance so far, as *Livia* and *Cromwell's* Wife did. The latter, out of Ambition, favoured the amorous Intrigues of her Husband (9). *Livia* occasionally acted the Part of a Bawd to *Augustus*, to keep up her Credit. "Circa libidines hæsit (*Augustus*) postea quoque ut ferunt, ad vitandas Virgines promptior, quæ sibi undique etiam ab uxore conquirentur (10). . . . Augustus continued after wards his Debaucheries, being fond of violating young Women, whom even his Wife procured for him from all Parts." *Andromache* proposed only domestic Peace, by giving her Husband no Disquiet.

(9) Let's Life of *Cromwell*, in *Monf. de Beauval's Journal*, 1692, pag. 499.

(10) Sueton. in *Aug. cap.* 74.

[C] *Pyrrhus* . . . feared his Bed with her.] *Virgil*, in order to preserve a Decorum, introduces *Andromache* grieving chiefly at This; for *Aeneas* no sooner asked her, whether *Hector's* Widow was married, but she cast down her Eyes, and told him, blushing, that she was so against her Will; and that she envied the Fate of *Polyxena*, whom Death had freed from the like Necessity. We are not obliged to understand this altogether in a literal Sense.

Hectoris, Andromache, Pyrrhin' continubia servas?
Dejecit vultum, & demissa voce locuta est,
O felix una ante alias Priamæa Virgo,
Hostilium ad tumultum Trojæ sub mœnibus altis
Jussa mori, quæ fortitus non pertulit ullos,
Nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile!
Nos, patria inœnsa, diversa per æquora vectas
Strepis Achilleæ fastus, juvenemque superbum,
Servitio enixæ tulimus, qui deinde secutus
Ledaam Hermionem Lacedæmonioque Hymenæos,
Me famulam famuloque Heleno transiit habendam (11).

(11) Virg. *Æneid.* lib. 3. Ver. 320.

Still are you *Hector's*, or is *Hector* fled,
And his Remembrance lost in *Pyrrhus's* Bed?
With Eyes dejected, in a lowly Tone,
After a modest Pause she thus began.
Oh only happy Maid of *Priam's* Race,
Whom Death deliver'd from the Foe's Embrace!
Commanded on *Achilles's* Tomb to die;
Not forced, like us, to hard Captivity,
Or in a baughty Master's Arms to lie.
In Grecian Ships unhappy we were born;
Endur'd the Victor's Lust, sustain'd the Scorn.
Thus I submitted to the lawless Pride
Of *Pyrrhus*, more a Handmaid, than a Bride.
Closet with Passion, he forsook my Bed,
And Helen's lovely Daughter sought to wed.

Then Me to Trojan *Helenus* resign'd,
And his two Slaves in equal Marriage join'd.
DRYDEN.

But we must do her Justice; she is not represented as a Woman of an amorous Complexion. Tho' she was a Mother, *Ovid* could scarce believe, that she had lain with her Husband.

Nunquam ego te, *Andromache*, nec te, *Tecmessa*,
rogarem,
Ut mea de vobis altera amica foret.
Credere vix video, cum cogar credere partu,
Vos ego cum vestris concubuisse viris (12).

When youthful Heat, inspir'd by female Charms,
Prompts me to take a Mistress to my Arms;
Nor you, *Andromache*, should gain my Voice,
Nor you, *Tecmessa*, be the Poet's Choice.
Scarce can I think such cold and lifeless Dames
(But that the Fruit the sure Embrace proclaims)
'Ere blest the Nuptial Bed, or burnt in Hymen's
[Flames.]

(12) *Ovid.* de Arte Amandi, lib. 3. ver. 519.

[D] Or even in his Life time.] I thought this Alternative necessary, because Authors are not agreed about the Time, when *Andromache* married *Helanus*. We have just now seen, that, according to *Virgil*, this Marriage preceded the Death of *Pyrrhus*. *Justin* is of the same Opinion (13). But, according to *Servius*, the only Reason for her becoming *Helanus's* Wife, was, that *Pyrrhus* ordered it so upon his Death-bed (14). *Pausanias* likewise places their Nuptials after the Death of This Prince. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀρδποῦ μὲν ἀνέπαυσε ἀπὸ δουλείας ἐν Δελφοῖς Πύρρῳ (15). Huic enim *Andromache* nupsit, morituro *Delpho* *Pyrrho*.

(13) *Justin* lib. 17. cap. 3.

(14) *Servius* in lib. 3. *Æneid.* ver. 519.

(15) *Pausan.* lib. 7. p. 10.

[E] She had Children by *Pyrrhus*.] Some compute, that she had three Sons by him, viz. *Molossus*, *Pielus*, and *Pergamus* (16); or *Pyrrhus*, *Molossus*, and *Æacides* (17). Others mention only *Molossus* (18), from whom, according to *Euripides* (19), the Kings of *Molossia* descended. *Pausanias* says, they sprung from *Pielus*. As for *Pergamus*, the same *Pausanias* informs us, that he went into *Asia*; that his Mother *Andromache* followed him thither; and that he killed *Atreus*, Prince of *Teutrania*, having fought with him in single Combat for the Sovereignty; that he called the Town by his Name; and that his Tomb, and That of his Mother, were to be seen there. *Servius*, upon the Seventy second Verse of the sixth Eclogue of *Virgil*, gives a very different Account of the whole Matter. As for the Son of *Helanus*, by *Andromache*, his Name was *Cestrinus*; and he went and settled, with a Company of *Epirots*, who willingly followed him, in a Province situated above the River *Thyatis*: This he did after his Father's Death, and when the Kingdom had been restored to *Molossus*, Son of *Pyrrhus* (20).

(16) *Id.* lib.

(17) *Schol.* in *Æneid.* lib. 3. ver. 319.

(18) *Servius* in lib. 3. ver. 319.

(19) In *Andromache*.

(20) *Pausan.* lib. 7. p. 10.

[F] She

Modern [F]. Her lofty Stature was known to all Posterity [G]. Her Dialogue with Hector, in the sixth Book of the *Iliad*, is one of the best Passages of That Poem [H].

She was so careful of Hector's Horses, that she fed and watered them, before she served Him (g). Some have alledged this Example, to shew, that Women ought to condescend to the most servile Offices of a Family [I].

(g) Homer. *Iliad*. lib. 6. ver. 138.

[F] She has been the Subject of many fine Tragedies both ancient and modern. That of Euripides is still extant; and, if the Reader desires to know what was the Success of That, which was acted upon the French Stage at Paris, he need only read what Montfauy, a famous Player, says, in the *Parallèle Reformé*; to which he may add a Passage of a modern Poet. "If any one desires to know what I died of, (they are Montfauy's Words) he must not ask, whether it was of a Fever, a Dropsy, or the Gout: No, it was of *Andromache* ---- I with all those Writers of Tragedies, who invent these murderous Passions, had to do, like *Corneille*, with such a Man as the Abbot d'Avignac; they would abate of their Fury. But what vexes me most, is, that *Andromache* will grow more famous by the Circumstance of my Death; and that, for the future, every Poet will want to have the Honour of killing a Player once in his Life (21)." Add to this these few Verses.

(21) Guenee's *Parallèle Reformé*, pag. 108, 109.

----- Un Marquis
Eaist de son savoir chez les Dames aigis,
Ennemi du bon sens qu'à grand bruit il attaque,
Va pleyer au Tartuffe & rire à l'Andromaque.

----- A Marquis
Vain of Experience, gain'd among the Fair,
And Eye to Sense, which rudely by attack,
Shall, by inverted Rule, make Tartuff war,
And paint Andromache a laughing Dame.

[G] Her lofty Stature was known to all Posterity. I have already produced two Verses of Ovid upon this Subject, in the Remark [A]. Here are two more of the same Author.

Parva vehatur equo: quod erat LONGISSIMA, nunquam

Thebais Hectoreo nupta refedit equo (22).

The Dapper only shoud the Steed bespide;
The Wife of Hector walk'd, too tall to ride.

Martial refutes Ovid, as well in this Particular, as in what has been already cited. These are his Words,

Mastrabantur Phrygii post ostia servi,
Hectoreo quotes federat uxor equo (23).

Behind the Doors the Phrygian Slaves were fed,
Oft as on Hector's Horse his Consort rode.

Journal was not ignorant of Andromache's Stature; for, speaking of those Ladies, who raised several Stories of Ornaments and Hair upon their Heads, he says, they resembled so many *Andromache's* before, but appeared very little behind.

Tot præmit ordibus, tot adhuc compagibus altum
Ædificat caput. Andromachen à fronte videbis,
Post minor est (24).

With Curls on Curls they build her Head before,
And mount it with a formidable Tower.

A Giants * she seems; but look behind,
And there she dwindles to the Pigmy kind.

DRYDEN.

Thus the old Roman Ladies wore something like our *Top-Knots*. Another Poet expresses himself in the following Manner,

----- Celsæ procul apice frontis honores
Suggestumque comæ (25).

----- behold the tow'ring Honour of her Head,
The rising Mount of Hair.

The Mother of the Gods, with her Towers upon her Head (26), would be nothing to our Ladies, if once they should enlarge the Mode of their *Top-Knots*. See Mr. Almeloveer's *Amanitates Theologica-Philolo-*

gica, where you will find (27), a Collection of curious Learning about the Antiquity of *Top-Knots*. See also the Article *Canache*, and this Passage of *Æneid*. Μένειν γὰρ (28), speaking of a Bride, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡδίσταν ἐδύμην ταῖσι νύμφαισι τε καὶ αὐτοῖσι φόβον καὶ δάπτειν ἢ ἑὸς ἑλάν πεισθέντος εἶναι. She will be adorn'd with this Head-dress, those seven Days; and walk about, like Cybele, with Turrets on her Head. But, to return to *Andromache*, I must observe, that Dares Phrygius says, she was endowed with many fine Qualities; and he does not forget her tall Stature, "Andromacham oculis claris, candidam, longam, formosam, modestam, sapientem, pudicam, blandam. ----- Andromache, Fine-Eyed, Fair, TALL, Handsome, Modest, Wise, Chaste, and Good-natur'd."

(27) Bag. 106, &c.

(28) Synes. Epist. 3.

[H] Her Dialogue with Hector --- is one of the best Passages of That Poem. This is the Judgment Mr. Perreault passes upon it. He translated This Dialogue into French Verse, and read his Version to the French Academy, when the Abbot Fenelon was admitted into it (29). He first made a short and ingenious Discourse, in which he declared, that he believed Homer to be the most Excellent, the most Copious, and the finest Genius, Poetry ever knew; and that, in order to convince the Incredulous, that he honoured him according to his Merit, he had translated This Part of the *Iliad* into French. He owns, that he has left out some Digressions, which seemed to him too languid. This is Homer's Fault; he is too talkative, and too downright; though otherwise a Writer of great Genius, and so full of noble Thoughts, that were he now alive, he would write an Epic Poem, free from all Defects. He would not introduce *Andromache*, among other Complaints for the Death of her Husband, lamenting, that young *Astyanax* must no longer eat, upon his Father's Knees, the Fat and Marrow of Sheep. This is to paint after Nature, it must be confessed; but such Simplicity is not allowable, at present, in Epic Poetry; it appears to us too Citizen-like; and only fit for Comedy. I believe our Countesses and Marchionesses would think they expressed themselves too much like City Dames, should they say, as the Queen of Carthage does in *Virgil*,

A REFLECTION on the Epic Poetry of the Ancients.

(29) On the Thirty first of March, 1693. This Version was printed in the first part of the Recueil de Pièces curieuses, at the Hague, for Moetteux, 1694.

----- si quis mihi parvulus Angles
Luderet *Aeneas*.

This Fault is not to be ascribed to the ancient Poets; but to the time they lived in. Properly speaking, the Question is not, whether Men have better Parts now, than they had in former times; but whether we have better Notions of Perfection, and may apply to Homer what Horace says of another Poet.

----- sed ille,
Si foret hoc nostrum fato dilapsus in ævum,
Detereret sibi multa, recideret omne, quod ultra
Perfectum traheretur (30).

Yet did he now again new Life commence,
He wou'd correct; he wou'd retrace his Sense,
And pare off all that was not Excellence.

CRÆÆUS.

[I] Some have alledged this Example, to shew, that Women ought to condescend to the most servile Offices of a Family. Read these Words of *Tiraquellus* (31). "Quæ loca Franciscus Barbarus in suo libello de re uxoria quem apud Gallos imprimendum primi omnium dedimus, solerter sciteque annotavit, monens 'his exemplis uxores ne res hujusmodi contemnant quas Andromache, &c. ----- & hoc quoque è nostris commemoravit Jo. Lupus in rep. rubr. de don. inter vir. & uxor. & Bo. Curtil. in tract. nobilitatis, in 38. privilegio. --- Which Passages Franciscus Barbarus, in his *Traité de re Uxoriz*, first published by me in France, wisely distinguished, putting Women in mind, from these Examples, not to overlook those things, which Andromache, &c. --- The same Remark has been made by our Countryman Jo. Lupus, in his *Rep. Rubr. &c.* and by Bo. Curtil. in his *Traité*"

(30) Horat. Sat. 10. lib. 1. ver. 67.

(31) Andr. Tiraquel. de Nobilit. cap. 20. n. 101. pag. 78.

(22) Juv. Sat. 6. ver. 500.

* An Andromache.

(24) Stat. Silv. 2. lib. 1. ver. 113.

(26) *Qualis Beroë abia mater Trochiter curru Phrygiæ turris per urbes.* Virg. Æn. lib. 6. ver. 785.

"*Treatise de Nobilitat. &c.*" *Tiraquellus* made no thought this Example would prove too much; and Reflection upon this Circumstance, viz. that *Andromache's* Husband was not first served. Doubtless he such a Notion.

ANDROMACHUS. I shall mention but six Persons of this Name. The First ANDROMACHUS, born in Sicily, was the Father of the Historian *Timæus*, and the Founder of *Tauromenium*, now called *Taormina*. He was a Man of Courage, and very rich. He gathered together (a) upon a rising Ground, called *Taurus*, near *Naxos*, the Inhabitants of That Town, who had fled away, when the Tyrant *Dionysius* destroyed it. He supported himself a long time in this Post; which was the Reason why he called it *Tauromenium*. The Fugitives of *Naxos* were very prosperous in this new Habitation; so that in a little time it became a very considerable Town (b). *Andromachus* received *Timoleon* into it, and permitted him to make it a Place of Arms. This *Corinthian* General came only to deliver Sicily from the Tyrants, who oppressed it. *Andromachus* was a professed Enemy to Tyrants, and had a long time solicited the *Corinthians* to undertake the Deliverance of Sicily. He, therefore, and *Timoleon*, quickly resolved to act in Concert, in order to restore the Public Liberty (c). The Second ANDROMACHUS served under *Alexander* the Great, and was Governour of *Calo-Syria*. The *Samaritans* burnt him alive; but *Alexander* punished the Authors of this cruel Action according to their Deserts (d). I find no other *Andromachus* in *Quintus Curtius*, tho' *Moreri* pretends there are many Persons of this Name mentioned by That Historian. The Third ANDROMACHUS was Brother-in-law to *Seleucus Callinicus* King of Syria, and had a Son (e), who invaded the Provinces, situated on this side of Mount *Taurus*, and caused him to be proclaimed King, in the time of *Antiochus* the Great. This *Andromachus* was kept Prisoner a considerable time in Egypt. The *Rhodians* obtained his Liberty, not from *Ptolemy Evergetes*, as is said in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary, but from *Ptolemy Philopator* [A]. The Fourth ANDROMACHUS was a Traytor, who discovered to the *Partians* all the Designs of *Craffus*, and, being chosen as a Guide, led the Roman Army into a Place, where they could not avoid being cut to pieces. See *Plutarch*, pag. 562, of the Life of *Craffus*. The Fifth ANDROMACHUS was *Nero's* Physician, who makes the Subject of the following Article. The Sixth ANDROMACHUS was a Sophist, who taught in *Nicomedia* under the Reign of *Dioclesian*; as we read in *Suidas*.

(a) In the *Cyris Olympiad*, about the Year of Rome, 395.

(b) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 16. pag. 411.

(c) Plutarch. in *Timoleonte*, pag. 240. See also *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 26.

(d) Curtius, lib. 4. cap. 9. Eusebius ad *Olympiad*. c. xii.

(e) His Name was ACHÆUS. See his Article.

[A] The *Rhodians* obtained his Liberty, not from *Ptolemy Evergetes* — but from *Ptolemy Philopator*. The Fault of the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary will be manifest to any one, who considers, that, when the *Rhodians* obtained *Andromachus's* Liberty, his Son had been gone, two Years, over Mount *Taurus*, with *Seleucus Ceraunus*, King of Syria, to make War upon *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*. Now this Expedition was undertaken the same Year, that *Ptolemy*

Evergetes died, and was succeeded by *Ptolemy Philopator* (1). It was therefore *Ptolemy Philopator*, who set *Andromachus* at Liberty, to please the *Rhodians*, who wanted to deprive the City of *Byzantium* of the Favour of *Achæus*, and who thought, that the most effectual way to make a Friend of that Prince, was to procure the Liberty of his Father. See the Remark [A], of the Article ACHÆUS.

(1) See *Calvinus ad ann. 3. Olympiad*. c. xxi.

ANDROMACHUS, a Native of the Isle of *Crete*, and Physician to the Emperor *Nero* (a), is chiefly known by the Antidote, which he invented, by mixing the Flesh of Vipers with *Mitridate* (b). This Antidote was called *Theriace*, on Account of this Mixture. We call it *Treacle*. *Onpior* signifies a Beast; but Physicians understand by *Onpior* particularly venomous Beasts (c). This Antidote banished the use of *Mitridate*, which 'till then had been in great Esteem (d). *Andromachus* wrote a Description of his Antidote in Elegiac Verse, and dedicated it to *Nero* (e). His Son, whose Name was ANDROMACHUS, wrote the like Description in Prose (f). *Democritus* did it in Iambic Verse, in a Poem which he wrote concerning Antidotes (g). We read, in *Galen*, that *Andromachus*, the Father, wrote a Treatise *De Medicamentis compositis ad adfessus externos* (h), and that he was a Learned and an Eloquent Man (i). *Erotian* dedicated his *Lexicon* to him. I wonder how *Meursius* could forget so famous a Physician, in his List of the Illustrious Men of the Isle of *Crete*, in the fourth Book of his Treatise of That Island. Some will have it, that this Physician was a good Astrologer [A].

(a) *Galen*. lib. 1. de *Theriaca*, ad *Pisonem*.

(b) *Vossius* de *Philosophia*, cap. 12. pag. 95.

(c) *Galen* de *Ther. ad Pampphilum*.

(d) *Vossius* ubi supra.

(e) *Galen*. lib. 1. de *Antidotis*. *Tzetzes* *Chil.* 12. n. 397. pag. 224.

(f) *Galen*. lib. 1.

(g) *Id.* de *Theriaca* ad *Pisonem*.

(h) *Apud Vossium* de *Philosoph.* pag. 96.

(i) *Lib. 1. de Antid.* cap. 1.

[A] That this Physician was a good Astrologer. I begin with *Vossius's* Words. "Circa Olympiadem CXL, (the Printer has left out a C; it should be CCXL) ad deinceps, nempe extremis Neronis temporibus, & sub Vespasiano, magnum sibi decus hac scientia peperit *Andromachus*, Cretensis, qui primus dicitur edidisse theoricas Planetarum. — About the CCXLth Olympiad, and afterwards, namely, about the end of the Reign of *Nero*, and in that of *Vespasian*, *Andromachus*, of *Crete*, acquired great Reputation in this Science, who is said to be the first, who published Theories of the Planets." This is *Vossius's* Text in the Hundred sixty first Page of his Book, de *Scientiis Mathematicis*, to which he adds the following Commentary, according to his usual Method. "Consentiant de eo *Lucas Gauricus*,

& *Christophorus Clavius*, nisi quod *Gauricus* perperam *Andronicum* vocat, qui Clavio rectius *Andromachus*. Illum vide in *Calendario Ecclesiastico*. hunc Commentario † in *Sphæram Joan. de Sacrobosco*. — *Luke Gauric*, and *Christopher Clavius*, agree in relation to this Person; except that *Gauric*, by mistake, called him *Andronicus*, whom *Clavius* rightly calls *Andromachus*. See the former in his Ecclesiastical *Calender*, the latter in his Commentary on the Sphere of *John de Sacrobosco*. I wonder *Vossius* did not tell us, whether, or no, he believed this *Andromachus*, the Astrologer, to be the same, with him, who invented Treacle. The Time, wherein he places him, and the Country, he says he was born in, would induce one to think he means one and the same *Andromachus*. I am apt to believe, that

* Fol. 16. Edit. Venet. apud Juntas, ann. 1550.

† Commentar. in cap. 1. pag. 4.

that *Vossius's* Silence in this matter was the Effect of Prudence: He wanted farther Information; and therefore would not venture to decide peremptorily. *Moreri*, a much bolder Author, affirms, that *Andromachus*, *Nero's* Physician, and *Andromachus* the Astrologer, the first who wrote concerning the Theory of the Planets, are one and the same Person. *Andromachus*, the Astrologer, seems to me to be a Chimera; for *Mr Drelincourt*, whom I never consulted, without admiring his vast and accurate Learning, was pleased to acquaint me, among many other things, which I make use of in this Article, that the Words *Inventor Theoricarum*, in *Clavius*, ought to be read *Inventor Theoricarum*. This Correction utterly destroys the two Authorities alleged by *Vossius*, as to what concerns the Theory of the Planets; one speaks only of *Andromachus*, and the other ascribes the Invention of Treacle alone to *Andromachus*. We have here a plain Instance of the Mistakes of learned Men, occasioned by the Errors of Printers and Transcribers. *Blancanus* places *Andromachus* among the Mathematicians: "*Andromachus Cretensis, quem Theoricarum inventorem facit Clavius* (1). — *Androma-*

"thus of Crete, whom *Clavius* makes the Inventor of 'Theories.' The same may be said of *Vossius*. So that they, who pretend, that *Andromachus* was the first, who wrote concerning the Theory of the Planets, have no Ground for it, but a False-Print, by which the Word *Theoricarum* has been changed into *Theoricarum*. *Mr Drelincourt* alleged this Reason, among others, for his Conjecture, viz. that the Epithet *Inventor* has nothing to do with the Theory of the Planets; which, besides, was known before *Nero's* Reign; whereas *Inventor*, added to *Theoricarum*, is very properly applied to *Andromachus*. Perhaps the same kind of Mistake of the Printers, or Transcribers, occasioned our *Andromachus* to be taken for an Astrologer, by *Clavius*, or by the Author, whom *Clavius*, mediately, or immediately, followed. The Word *Andromachus* was, perhaps, printed instead of *Andronicus*, or some such Name. Whence it was, that they, who knew, that one *Andromachus*, of Crete, was *Nero's* Physician, and the Inventor of Treacle, added these Titles and Encomiums to the Word *Andromachus*, in their Lists of Astrologers.

(1) *Blancanus*. In *Mathem. Chronol.* pag. 50.

ANDRONICUS, a *Peripatetic* Philosopher, born in the Island of *Rhodes*, came to *Rome*, in the time of *Pompey* and *Cicero* [A]; where he laboured powerfully to raise the Credit of *Aristotle*, whose Works he brought into request [B], after having regulated, and disposed them after a better Method [C]. There was something very singular in the Fate of these Writings, as I shall shew in another place (a). One cannot sufficiently express, what great Service *Andronicus* did to the Sect of the *Peripatetics*. Perhaps, It had never been so famous, if he had not taken a particular Care of the Works of it's Founder. *Andronicus* acquired a great Reputation by it (b). Some learned Men do not ascribe to him the *Paraphrase upon Aristotle's*

(a) In the Remarks on the Article **TYRANNION**.

(b) Quem cum acutum diligentemque Aristolicorum librorum & judicem & repertorem judicaverit antiquitas. *Boetius* *Proem. Libri de interpretatione*.

[A] Came to *Rome* in the Time of *Pompey* and *Cicero*.] This may be inferred from two Passages of *Plutarch*; one in the Life of *Sylla* (1), and the other in the Life of *Lucullus* (2). The first informs us of three things; I. That *Sylla* sent, from *Athens* to *Rome*, *Apellicon's* Library, in which most of *Aristotle's* Works were to be found. II. That the Grammarian *Tyrannion* took many Books out of *Sylla's* Library. III. That *Andronicus*, the *Rhodian*, had *Aristotle's* Works from *Tyrannion*. We learn, from the second Passage of *Plutarch*, that *Tyrannion* was taken by *Lucullus*, when *Mithridates* was defeated, and that *Murena*, having asked him of *Lucullus*, gave him his Freedom. We know, besides, that this Grammarian enriched himself at *Rome*, and collected a large Library. *Andronicus* must, therefore, have been at *Rome*, at the time I have mentioned, since he had *Aristotle's* Works from *Tyrannion*. We shall see, in the Remark [C], whether *Father Rapin* is in the right, to say, that *Andronicus* did not come to *Rome*, 'till after the Death of *Tyrannion*.

(1) *Pag.* 468.

(2) *Pag.* 584.

[B] Whose Works he brought into request.] This supposes they were before unknown at *Rome*; and I have reason to affirm it, since *Cicero* does; nay, *Plutarch* tells us, that they were little known to the *Athenians*, when *Sylla* seized on *Apellicon's* Books (3). *Father Rapin* has before observed, what I here suppose. "It was That *Andronicus*, says he (4), who brought *Aristotle* into request at the time, when *Cicero* was raising himself, by his great Reputation, to the most considerable Dignities of the Republic. — *Cicero* had heard of *Aristotle* in *Greece*. He was acquainted with part of his Merit, which was not very well known at *Rome*; as appears from the Surprise of *Trebatius*, who paid a Visit to *Cicero*, at his Country Seat of *Tusculum*, and going into his Library with him, happened to light upon *Aristotle's* Topics, of which *Cicero* had a Copy. *Trebatius* asked him, what Book it was, and what it treated of; for, though he was no ignorant Man, he had never heard of *Aristotle*. *Cicero* told him, That it was no wonder, since that Philosopher was known to very few (5). I cannot forbear saying, that this agreeable Writer is not exact, in reporting this Passage of *Cicero*. This, I think, ought not to be ascribed to Inadvertency; but to a Desire of Brevity. It is an Inconvenience inseparable from exact Writers; they cannot avoid a Prolixity, which tires the Reader; who is better pleased with an easy and short Account of a thing, though not perfectly exact, than with a long one, though ever so

(3) *Οὗτος ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὑποκρίτου τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Σύλλας. Ηὐδ δὲ μὲν σὺν τοῖς βιβλίοις. Plut. in S. I. l. 1, pag. 458.*

(4) *Rapin*. Comparaison de *Platon*, & d'*Aristot.* pag. 374.

(5) *Father Rapin* quotes the following Words in the Margin. Quod quidem minime sum admiratus cum Philo-phum Trebatium non esse cognitum, qui ab ipsis Philosophis, præter admirandum puerum, ignoretur. *Cicero's* *Epist. ad. int.*

accurate. *Father Rapin*, in order to give the Substance of *Cicero's* Passage, should have said, that *Trebatius*, turning over several Books in *Cicero's* Library, met with *Aristotle's* Topics; that, being surprized at the Title, he immediately asked *Cicero* what Book it was, and, being informed, desired him to explain it to him; that *Cicero* advised him to read it himself, or to get it explained to him by an able Rhetorician; that *Trebatius* tried both these Methods without any Success, being himself discouraged by the Obscurity of the Book, and being told by the Rhetorician, that *Aristotle* was an Author unknown to him; that *Cicero* was not surprized at it, though such an Ignorance appeared to him inexcusable; and that, at the Request of *Trebatius*, who was a learned Civilian, he wrote upon *Aristotle's* Topics (6). "Utrumque, ut à te audiebam, es expertus. Sed à libris te obscuritas reject. Rhetor autem ille, magnus ut opinor, Aristotelica se ignorare respondit. Quod quidem minime sum admiratus, cum Philosophum rhetori non esse cognitum, qui ab ipsis Philo-sophis præter admodum paucos ignoretur. Quibus eo minus ignoscendum est, quod non modo rebus iis quæ ab illo didicæ & inventæ sunt allici debuerunt; sed dicendi quoque incredibili quandam cum copia, tum etiam suavitate (7). — You have, as you yourself informed me, try'd both these Methods. But the Obscurity of the Book deterred you. Besides which, your Rhetorician, of great Fame, I think, replied, that he knew nothing of *Aristotle*. Which I was not at all surprized at; namely, that a Rhetorician was unacquainted with this Philosopher, who is unknown to the Philosophers themselves, a very few excepted. This they are the less to be forgiven; since not only the Subject of his Writings, but even the wonderful Copiousness and Elegance of his Style, ought to have engaged them to read him." To conceal nothing from the Reader, I must acquaint him, that *Strabo* informs us (8), that the Library-Keeper of *Sylla* permitted the Book-sellers to get *Aristotle's* Works transcribed; but that they made use of ignorant Transcribers, who, besides, did not compare the Copies with the Originals; which occasioned these Works to be published with abundance of Faults. This cannot be alleged in confutation of what I have said; for I may answer, that *Andronicus's* Edition, being more correct, raised the Curiosity of the Learned, who made no account of the faulty Editions. See the Marginal Note (6).

(6) He compared this Work, after Cæsar's Death; whence we may infer, that the Edition of *Andronicus* did not immediately make *Aristotle's* Works commonly known at *Rome*.

(7) *Cicero* initi Topi-corum.

(8) *Lib. 13. pag. 419.*

[C] Disposed them after a better Method.] *Plutarch* says, that *Andronicus*, having received *Aristotle's* and *Theophrastus's*

Aristotle's Ethics [D]; others pretend he is the Author of it, and likewise of a small Treatise on the Passions, published by David Hoefbelius, in 1593. It is certain, that *Andronicus* was an Author; for *Aulus Gellius*, in a Chapter (c), wherein he mentions the two kinds of Lessons, which *Aristotle* gave his Scholars, sets down word for word a Letter of *Alexander* to *Aristotle*, and *Aristotle's* Answer; and informs us, that he met with these two Letters in a Work of the Philosopher *Andronicus*. No one can say, whether this Work was the Paraphrase upon the Categories, or That on The Physics. It is well known, that *Andronicus* paraphrased those two Treatises of *Aristotle* [E]. I am not of Opinion, that he was *Strabo's* Master [F].

(c) It is the fifth of the twentieth Book.

(g) Plutarch in Sylla, pag. 468.

(10) Porphyry in vita Plotini.

(11) Rapin. Comparaison de Platon & Aristot. pag. 373, 374.

(12) Ammonius apud Joannem de Scriptor. Hist. Philol. pag. 60.

Theophrastus's Books from *Tyrannion*, published them with Indexes. Παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Ῥόδιον Ἀνδρόνικον εὐπορήσαντα τῶν ἀντίγραφων εἰς μέσον θήσας, καὶ ἀναγράφει τὰς τῶν φεγμένους στίχους (9). The following Passage of *Porphyry* may be added to this of *Plutarch*. Μιμησάμενος δ' Ἀπολλόδορον τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, καὶ Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Πειραιεῖσιον, ἐν ὧ μὲν Ἐπιχαρμὸν τὸν κωμωδιστὴν εἰς δέκα τόμους φέρον συνήσας, ὃ δ' Ἀετοσίλῳ καὶ Θεοφράστῳ βιβλία εἰς πενταστίχους διείλετο, τὰς οἰκίας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταῦτ' συναρτάσας. ἔτω δὲ καὶ ἐξώ (10). *Imitatus Apollodorum Atheniensem & Andronicum Peripateticum, quorum ille Epicharmum Comicum in decem collegit tomos, iste vero Aristotelis & Theophrasti libros in tractatus distribuit, proprias suppositiones in idem conduens; sic & ego.* I confess I do not very well understand the Greek Words, τὰς οἰκίας ὑποθέσεις εἰς ταῦτ' συναρτάσας. Much less do I understand the Translation, proprias suppositiones in idem conduens; but I think either of the two following Senses may be allowed. *Porphyry* means, either that *Andronicus* collected into one Body all the Tracts, which belonged to the same Subject, or that he added a proper Summary to each Tract. The first Sense seems to me the best, and agrees better with *Plutarch*, and the Comparison, which *Porphyry* makes between *Andronicus* and himself; for *Porphyry* only prefixed Titles to the Writings of his Master *Plotinus*, and digested them into several Classes. I have not met with any Author, who says what I have read in *Father Rapin*; and, as he quotes only *Plotinus*, I know not, whether he had it from a Work, which I have not consulted, or whether he paraphrases *Plotinus* and *Plutarch*. However it be, these are his Words, which have been faithfully transcribed by *Moreri*. "After *Tyrannion's* Death, *Andronicus*, the *Rhodian*, came to *Rome*, and, being sensible "of *Aristotle's* Worth, having been bred up in the "Lyceum, he bought those Writings of *Tyrannion's* "Heirs, and examined them so carefully, that he "was, in a manner, the first Restorer of them, as "Porphyry affirms in *Plotinus's* Life. For he not "only restored what had been injured by length of "Time, and the Carelessness of those, who were in "possession of these Works, but took them out of "that strange Confusion they were in, and got them "transcribed (11)." The beginning of this Passage contradicts *Plutarch*, who affirms, that *Andronicus* had *Aristotle's* Works from *Tyrannion* himself. I confess, *Plutarch* is not so exact, but we may give up his Authority in Circumstances; but, since we have no Author, who says, that *Tyrannion's* Heirs, and not *Tyrannion* himself, sold to *Andronicus* the Writings of *Aristotle*; I think we had better adhere to *Plutarch*, since Chronology is not against him. See the Remarks on the Article *TYRANNION*. Some say, that *Andronicus* was the tenth Successor of *Aristotle*, and that he flourished in the CLXXXth Olympiad (12).

[D] Some learned Men do not ascribe to him the Paraphrase upon *Aristotle's Ethics*. Daniel Heinsius, who translated this Paraphrase into Latin, plainly enough intimates, that he takes it to be the Work of this famous Peripatetic. He published it, in Greek and Latin, at Leyden, in the Year 1607, in 4to. It had never been printed before, either in Greek, or Latin. Many Errors crept into this Edition, which were corrected, at least in part, in That of the Year 1617, in 8vo. Heinsius prefixed the Name of *Andronicus Rhodius* to the second Edition. He was contented, in the first, to ascribe this Work to an ancient Philosopher, who was a famous Peripatetic. There is a Parenthesis in a Passage of *Naudé*, which may serve to vindicate him against *Placcius*. "Cui se Danielis Heinſii ----- diligentia socium "non ita pridem adjunxit *Andronicus Rhodius* (aut

"potius *Olympiodorus*); talem enim appellationem in "posteriori editione consulto fortius est, cum in priori "ab eodem Heinſio facta Lugduni Batavorum sub "anonymi nomine latens ----- fuisset ----- avide "à cunctis receptus. ----- To whom *Andronicus* "Rhodius joined himself, by the Care of Daniel "Heinsius; (or rather *Olympiodorus*); for this Appellation was purposely assumed in the latter Edition; since, in the former, publish'd by the same Heinsius at Leyden, though without a Name, He was "eagerly received by the Public." They are *Naudé's* Words, in his *Bibliographia politica*; upon which *Placcius* makes this Remark: "Ubi lapsus memorie "sit oportet, quod de *Olympiodoro* memorat, cum "ejus nullam unquam in alterutra editione mentionem Heinsius fecerit (13). ----- Where his Memory certainly fails him, as to what he says of "Olympiodorus; since Heinsius makes no mention "of him in either Edition." It appears from *Naudé's* Parenthesis, that the Words *Andronicus Rhodius* only, and not *Olympiodorus*, are to be referred to Heinsius. *Meurſius* does not doubt, that *Andronicus* is the Author of this Paraphrase, and of the Treatise περὶ παθῶν, published by *Hoefbelius*, from two Manuscripts; one of which he received from *Margunius*; the other was sent to *Sylburgius*, from Spain, by *Andrew Schottus* (14). *Vossius* ascribes this last Work to one *Andronicus*, not so ancient, as He who makes the Subject of this Article (15). *Reinesius* is of *Meurſius's* Opinion (16); but *Salmassius* asserts, that *Andronicus Rhodius* was not the Author of the Paraphrase, translated by *Daniel Heinsius* (17). They, says he, who first published this Paraphrase, injudiciously ascribed it to *Andronicus*; and he laughs at them for boasting, that they had met with very good Proofs of it, in the ancient Interpreters of *Aristotle* (18). He shews, that the true *Andronicus*, in *Aulus Gellius*, explains *Aristotle's* ἐξωσπικά and ἐκποσπικά differently from the Paraphrast. *Salmassius* enlarges very much upon this; and adds, that This Paraphrast does not agree with *Aristotle* in many things (19). "In tam multis ab "à mente *Aristotelis*, ut *Andronici* esse genuinum "opus soli possint credere, qui nihil in literis his "vident. ----- He departs in so many things from "Aristotle's meaning, that They alone, who are wholly unacquainted with these Studies, can possibly mistake it for the Genuine Work of *Andronicus*. He cannot believe, that so great a Philosopher as *Andronicus* would have mispent his time so far as to paraphrase a Book the most intelligible in the World. Quis credat tanti nominis Peripateticum otium suum occupasse in *Ethicis Aristotelis* paraphrasi elucidandis, quo libro nihil lucidius? This last Proof seems to me to be very weak.

[E] *Andronicus* paraphrased those two Treatises of *Aristotle*. *Simplicius* witnesses this in several Passages of his Commentaries. See *Franciscus Patricius* (20).

[F] I am not of Opinion, that he was *Strabo's* Master. I know not, whether the Printers have omitted some Words, or Lines, in *Reinesius's* Copy, or whether *Reinesius* be the true Author of these Words, pag. 312 (21). *Amasia Magister* (*Andronicus Rhodius*) *Strabonis*: hic lib. XIV. They mean, that *Strabo* says, in his fourteenth Book, that he was *Andronicus Rhodius's* Scholar at *Amasia*. But it appears, that he was the Disciple of the Grammarian *Aristodemus* at *Nysa* (22), and of *Xenarchus*, the Peripatetic Philosopher, in another Place (23). And, if I am not very much mistaken, all that he says of *Andronicus*, in his 14th Book, is, That he was one of the illustrious Men of the Island of *Rhodes* (24); and I dare affirm, that he no where says, in his Writings, either that he was *Andronicus's* Scholar, or that *Andronicus* taught at *Amasia*.

(13) Placcius de Anonymo, pag. 62.

(14) Meurſius de Rhodo, lib. 2. cap. 5. pag. 88.

(15) Vossius de Philoſophia, cap. 5. pag. 36.

(16) Reinesius Epist. ad Rupertum, pag. 312.

(17) Salmassius in Epictet. & Simplicio, pag. 227.

(18) Ibid. pag. 228.

(19) Ibid. pag. 241.

(20) Dikufionum Peripateticorum, Tom. 1. lib. 4. pag. 40, 41.

(21) Of his Letters to Rupert.

(22) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 447.

(23) Ibid. pag. 401.

(24) Pag. 451.

ANDRONICUS (**MARCUS POMPILIUS**) a *Syrian*, taught Grammar at *Rome*. His too great Application to the Study of Philosophy [A] disqualified him for performing the Part of a Grammarian as diligently, as he ought to have done; which occasioned his School to be neglected. When he saw, that *Antonius Gniphon*, and even some Grammarians, inferior to himself, were yet preferred to him, he quitted his School, and retired to *Cumæ*, where he spent his time in writing Books. This Employment was no Relief to him in his wretched Condition. His great Poverty obliged him to sell the Best of his Works at a very low Price [B]. This Work was suppressed; but *Orbilius* repurchased it, and published it under the Author's Name; at least he pretended so to do. *Andronicus* followed the Sect of *Epicurus*, and lived in *Cicero's* time (a). *Moreri* has been guilty of many Errors in relation to this Person [C].

(a) Ex Suetonio de Illustrib. Grammaticis, cap. 8,

[A] *His too great Application to the Study of Philosophy.* Suetonius makes use of very proper Terms. "Studio Epicuræ sectæ desidioſior in profeſſione Grammaticæ habebatur, minufque idoneus ad tuendam ſcholam. - - - His Attachment to the Sect of Epicurus was thought to have rendered him too indolent for the Profeſſion of Grammar, and unfit for the Care of a School." This ought to ſerve as a Leſſon to thoſe, who deſire to have a great many Scholars. They ought to apply themſelves entirely to their Profeſſion, or take care, at leaſt, that no one knows they follow other Studies. A Philologiſt, who ſets up for a Philoſopher, who is curious after Phyſical Experiments, and carefully examines, whether *Dei Caritas* has been more ſucceſſful, than *Gaiſendus*, runs a great hazard of ſeeing his Claſs deſerted. A Phyſician, fond of Medals, Mathematics, and Genealogies, muſt not expect to have a great many Patients. And this was the Reaſon, why Dr *Span* thought fit to acquaint the Public, that they would be very much miſtaken, if they thought, that he made the Study of Antiquity his principal Employ (1). He found, by Experience, that this Opinion was very prejudicial to him, in reſpect to his Practice, as a Phyſician. Beſides, it is certain, that a Profeſſor, who is known to write many Books, is not looked upon as a Man fit to improve his Scholars; and therefore they, who deſire to grow rich by teaching Youth, will not ſucceed in it, if they ſet up for Authors.

[B] Obligated him to sell the best of his Works at a very low Price.) Suetonius calls it a *small Treatise*. Opiſculum, ſays he (2). *Annalium Eleucorum*. The Title, therefore, of this Work muſt have been *Eleucii Annalium*. Some Manuſcripts of Suetonius have the following Reading, *Opiſculum ſuum Annalium Ennii eleucorum* (3). *Acillius Statius* (4), and *Vofſius* (5), declare for this Reading; and I think they are in the right. Whatever Reading we follow, it appears, that *Andronicus* had cenſured an *Annaliſt*.

[C] Moreri has been guilty of many Errors, in

relation to this Person.) I. He calls him *Pompinus*, instead of *Pompinii*. II. He falsely says, that *Andronicus* had been Preceptor to *Julius Cæsar*, and that *Cicero*, though a *Prætor*, was very well pleased to be one of his Hearers. III. He renders *Annalium Elenchi*, *Annals digested into Tables*. IV. He says, that *some have ascribed* these *Tables* to *Ennius*. Thus he misunderstands these Words of *Vossius*, in quibusdam tamen libris est annalium Ennii Elenchorum. V. He weakens *Suetonius's* Argument. This Historian mentions two Circumstances, which plainly discover *Andronicus's* Poverty: One of them is taken from the Importance of what was sold; viz. the best of the Author's Works; the other from the small Price, at which it was sold. *Moreri* thought he expressed the whole Sense of *Suetonius* in these Words: He was so poor, that he was obliged, in order to support himself, to sell a small Treatise, which he had composed. How came he not to perceive, that he enervated, in a great Measure, the Proof of This Historian? The Reader will not be displeased to see what was the Occasion of his second Mistake, which contains two or three notorious Fallhoods. He did not apprehend *Vossius's* Argument. That Author was to prove, that *Andronicus* lived in the time of *Sisenna*, and *Quadrigarius*, and some others. He proves it by this Reason; because *Antonius Gniphon*, and *Andronicus*, lived at the same time; and, because *Gniphon*, as *Suetonius* relates, taught in the House of *Julius Cæsar*, and had *Cicero* among his Hearers. He taught in *Cæsar's* House, when *Cæsar* was but a Child. *Cicero*, who was *Prætor*, went to hear him: Here are two Circumstances of Time, which *Vossius* alleges out of *Suetonius* to fix the Age of *Pompinus Andronicus*; to which he adds another Particular, attested by *Suetonius*, viz. that *Andronicus* and *Gniphon* kept School at the same time. *Moreri* misunderstands *Andronicus's* what *Vossius* says of *Gniphon*. Besides, he thought that the keeping of a School in a Person's House meant only being Tutor to his Son.

ANDRONICUS, of *Theſſalonica*, was one of the Fugitive Greeks, who reſto-
red Learning in the Weſt, in the XVth Century. He paſſed for the beſt Profeſſor,
next to *Theodorus Gaza*; and perhaps he exceeded him in the Knowledge of the *Greek*
Tongue; for he had read all the Authors, who had wrote in that Language, and
was a perfect Maſter of *Ariſtotle's* Philoſophy. He taught at *Rome*; and lodged in
Cardinal *Beſſarion's* Houſe. His Salary was ſo inconſiderable, that Poverty obliged
him to leave *Rome*. He went to *Florence*, where he was Profeſſor a conſiderable time,
and had a great many Hearers; but, hoping to meet with better Fortune in *France*,
he removed into That Country, and died there ſoon after, being very far advanced in
Years. He had a bad Pronunciation; and regarded nothing but his Studies (*a*). *Plati-
na* gives him the Character of being perfectly ſkilled in the *Greek* and *Latin*
Tongues (*b*). I ſhall take notice, in the Remarks, of a Miſtake of *Gabriel Naudé* [*A*].

(a) Taken
from Vola-
tarran. lib.
21. pag.
775.

[A] *A Mistake of Gabriel Naudé.* Having said, that one *Hermomymus* of *Sparta* taught at *Paris*, he adds; *Afterwards there arrived another, called Tranquillus Andronicus Dalmata, who was the last of those, who came thither in the Reign of, Lewis XI.* (1). It is plain, that he confounds *Andronicus of Thessalonica* with him, who is the Subject of the following Article. *Moreri* has committed the same Fault; and, by endeavouring to distinguish, he is become more embroiled. He will have it, that *Tranquillus Andronicus*, Professor of the *Greek Tongue* at *Paris*, was not the same, who had a great Share in *Cardinal Bessarion's Friendship*; and yet 'tis certain, that

the Client of That Cardinal is the same with him, who was Professor at *Paris*. *Moreri* should not have called him *Calixtus Andronicus*, but *Andronicus Calixtus*. Consider these Words; which inform us, that he was related to the famous *Theodorus Gaza*. "Gau- deo deoquidem plurimum, *they* are *Philippus's* Words, "in a Letter, which be wrote, from Milan to Gaza, "the Twenty first of January 1469. *Eruclitissimum* virum mique amissimum Andronicum Kallitum, "necessarium tuum, apud vos agere, id est in Mu- sarum & sapientie domicilio, quem ut verbis meis "salvere jubeas ab te peto, meque tuis opti Dno- "capitula τῆς δ'ισωθῆτος commenda (2) "

(2) Philoph. Epistol. lib. 29. See also a Passage of the sixteenth Book, and another of the seventeenth. These Passages were printed out to me, by Monsr. de la Moignon.

**ADVICE to
those, who
exercise any
particular
Profession.**

(1) See the Letter, which he wrote to the *Auteur* of the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, *fr* January, 1685, Art. 5.

(2) Sueton.
de Illust.
Gramm.
c. 10. §.

(3) See Ca-
laubon, *up-
on this Pas-
sage of Sue-
tonius.*

(4) In Sue-
ton. *ibid.*

(c) De Hi-
stor. Latins.
pag. 42.

(b) Græci
& Latinâ
linguâ ap-
primè erudi-
tus *Plati-
na in Pane-
gyr. Boffa-
riensis.*

(1) Naudé's
Additions to
the History of
Lewis XI,
pag. 187.

There was, at the same time, another **ANDRONICUS**, a Native of *Constantinople*, who taught at *Bologna* [B].

"am overjoyed, that my dear Friend, and your Relation, the learned Andronicus Callistus, is with you, that is in the Residence of Philosophy and the Muses; whom I desire you to commend in my Name; and commend me to Bellarion's Family." This *Andronicus Callistus* was a Peripatetic, and wrote a Book *de Physica scientia et fortuna*, another *de misera Constantinopoli*, and some other Tracts mentioned by *Father Labbé* (3). Once more; *Moreri* should not have distinguished between him and the other, who taught at *Paris*; nor should he have said, that the latter was Professor at *Basil*. The Author of the *Athenae antiquae et novellae* places *Antonius* among the learned Greeks, who came into Italy, about the middle of the fourteenth Century (4). He meant, doubtless, *Andronicus*, and put [B] There was, at the same time, another **ANDRONICUS**, a Native of *Constantinople*, who taught at *Bologna*.] *Philippus* commends him in

several of his Letters. I shall transcribe but one Passage out of the first Letter of the Twenty fourth Book, dated the last of *October*, 1464. "Quare non possum vos omnes, qui Bononiæ agitis, non mirari plurimum, quod cum vobis viri doctissimi eruditii copia data sit ad Græcam disciplinam penitus consequendam, malitis indocti esse quam docti. Nunquam equidem discendi gratia trajecissem in Græciam Constantinopolim, qua in urbe septennium egi, si istiusmodi mihi *Andronicus Byzantius* esset oblatum. ----- Wherefore I cannot sufficiently wonder at all you, who live at *Bologna*, who chuse to continue in Ignorance, when the Presence of one of the most learned Men puts it in your Power to acquire a perfect Knowledge of the Greek Tongue. For my own Part, I should never have passed into Greece, as far as *Constantinople*, where I resided seven Years, for the sake of learning it, if it had been in my Power to have had Recourse, at Home, to such a Byzantine *Andronicus*."

ANDRONICUS (TRANQUILLUS) born in *Dalmatia*, towards the end of the XVth Century, was about a Work, which he promised to publish [A]. He taught in the University of *Leipzig*, at the same time with *Mosellan* [B]. It will appear by my Remarks, that he was an Author (a). *Erasmus* wrote a Letter to him: It is the Tenth of the fourth Book.

[A] Was about a Work, which he promised to publish.] *Paul Jovius* having said, that the sad Condition *Dalmatia* had been reduced to, by the *Turks*, was an Obstacle to the Study of Literature; and that, therefore, he would not mention any learned Men of That Country, adds, *unles* *Tranquillus Andronicus* acquaints us with the Merit of his Countrymen. Let us produce the very Words of *Paul Jovius*. "Sic ut nemo dignus elogio comparatur, nisi in Lucem studiosè producat cives suos." *Tranquillus Andronicus*, præclarus *Ciceronis* æmulator, dum gravissimarum actionum ac *Othomanicæ* legationis obscurorumque nobis itinerum *Commentaria* perscribit (1). — Inasmuch that there seems to be no one worthy of an Elogy, *unles* *Tranquillus Andronicus*, the famous modern *Cicero*, shall display the Merits of his Countrymen, in his Commentaries on the important Transactions of the dark Embassy to Turkey." This Passage intimates, that *Andronicus* took a Journey to *Constantinople*, either as Envoy, or in the Retinue of an Ambassador. *König* is not so reserved; he says positively, that *Andronicus* was deputed to Turkey, and wrote a Book con-

cerning his Negotiation: *Legationem ad Turcam obiit, eamque suis commentariis illustravit*. Authors, who amplify what they quote, cannot be sufficiently censured for it. *Jovius* speaks only of a Work, which *Andronicus* was about; *König* converts it into a Book actually published.

[B] He taught in the University of *Leipzig*, at the same time with *Mosellan*.] This I find in *Simler*: *Hic*, says he (2), *litteras docuit Lipsiæ Pet. Mosellani tempore*. He calls him *Tranquillus Partebinius Andronicus, Dalmata*, and makes him the Author of a Speech, printed at *Ausburg*, in 1518, and at *Vienna*, in 1541. The Subject of this Speech is to exhort all the Princes of Germany to make War against the *Turks*. There is another Speech of his *de Laudibus Eloquentiæ*, and some Latin Verses (3). *Du Verdier's* Supplements mention a Dialogue of the same Author, entitled *Sylla* (4): The Interlocutors are *Cæsar, Sylla, Pompey, and Minos*. It was printed at *Leipzig* in 8vo. The Year of the Impression is not set down in *Du Verdier's* Supplements.

(1) *Jovius* in *Elog.* pag. 299.

(2) *Epitoma Biblioth. Gessneri*, p. 806.

(3) *Id. ibid.*

(4) *Id. ibid.*

(a) See the History of *Mahomet II*, by *Guallet*, Tom. 2. pag. 210, 218, 234.

(b) *König*, *Bibl. vet. & nova*, voce *Angiello*.

(c) See the Catalogue of the Bodleian Library.

(d) In the first Part, pag. 400.

ANGIOLELLO (JOHN MARIA), a Native of *Vicenza*, wrote an History of *Mahomet II*, in the Italian and Turkish Languages; which he dedicated to him. It was very well received by that haughty Sultan, who not only greatly caressed *Angiolello*, but gratified him likewise with a Reward. The Author had been an Eye-witness of what he related; for, being one of the Slaves of the young Sultan *Mustapha*, he followed him in the Expedition to *Persia*, in the Year 1573. I speak of the dreadful War, which *Mahomet* made, in Person, with near Two hundred thousand Men, in the States of *Ussun-Cassan*. We may well wonder, that *Angiolello*, who doubtless knew the Haughtiness of this Turkish Emperor, ventured to insert, in his History, the injurious Words, spoken by *Ussun-Cassan* against *Mahomet*; when, discovering his Army from a rising Ground, near the *Euphrates*, he reproached him with Illegitimacy. Perhaps *Mahomet* never knew, that these Reproaches were perpetuated in this History; for Princes are not acquainted with every thing, which is contained in Books dedicated to them. However it be, *Angiolello's* Work was kindly received, and well rewarded (a). They, who say, that he flourished in 1524 (b), are not exact; but what they add, that he wrote the Life of *Ussun-Cassan*, is more accurate. A Work of *Giov. Mario Angiolello*, *della vita e de' fatti di Re di Persia*, — *J. M. Angiolello, of the Life and Actions of the King of Persia*, was printed at *Venice*, in 1553 (c). And I find in the Catalogue of *Tbuanus's* Library (d), *Relatione della vita e de' fatti del Signor Ufuncassan*, — *A Relation of the Life and Actions of Ufuncassan*, by our *Angiolello*. The Year, and the Place of the Impression, are omitted.

ANGLUS (THOMAS) an English Priest, distinguished himself no less by the Singularity of his Opinions, than by a Multitude of small Books, which he published in the XVIIth Century. He was of a very good Family; which he took Care often

to acquaint the World with, in the Title-Pages of his Books [A]. He went by several Names [B]; and made some stay in most parts of Europe. He was Principal of a College at Lisbon, and Sub-Principal at Douay (a). Rome and Paris afforded him long Stations. He was a considerable time a Domestic of Sir Kenelm Digby's, for whose Opinions he had a very particular Value [C]. He resolv'd to continue a Peripatetic, and to oppose the Lights, which Mr Des Cartes would have afforded him [D]. Nay, he undertook to clear up the most impenetrable Mysteries of Religion by Aristotle's Principles; and, in order to it, he discuss'd the Doctrines of Liberty, and Grace; in which he entangled himself; and, because He gave free Scope to his private Opinions, he pleas'd neither the Molinists, nor the Jansenists. He was a Man of a penetrating and vast Genius; but he had not the Talent of distinguishing those Ideas, which are proper to serve as a Rule and Foundation, or of clearing up Difficulties (b). There was something Irregular in his Philosophy and Theology. Some of his Works were censur'd at Rome by the Congregation of the Index, and by some Universities [E], elsewhere.

(a) See the Book, entitled, *Statera appensæ*, pag. 52.

(b) See the Remark [D] in regard to his *Objec-tions*.

He

[A] Which he often took care to acquaint the World with, in the Title-Pages of his Books.] For Instance, his three Dialogues *De Mundo*, printed at Paris in 1642, have these Words in the Title-Page, *Aubere Thoma Anglo, à generosa Albionum in Oriente Trinobantium præcipua oriundo.*

[B] He went by several Names.] Mr Baillet's Remark (1) on this Subject is This. "Sir Kenelm Digby entertained the famous Thomas Anglus, an English Gentleman, and a Catholic Priest, of one of the most ancient Families in England. He had an Irish Outlook, and lived in great, but voluntary, Poverty. His true Surname was White; which he disguis'd sometimes under That of *Candidus*, sometimes That of *Albius*"; sometimes he called himself *Bianchi*, and sometimes *Rich-worth*; but he is scarce known in France by any other Name, than That of *Thomas Anglus*. . . . "Des Cartes generally called him *Mr Vitus*." Thomas Anglus subscribes himself, at the end of several Epistles Dedicatory, *Thomas ex Albis*.

(1) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, Tom. 2. p. 245. ad ann. 1644.

[C] For whose Opinions he had a very particular Value.] This is the Title of one of his Books, printed at Lyons, in 1646. *Institutionum Peripateticarum ad mentem summi viri clarissimi Philoſophi KENELMI EQUIITIS DIGBYÆ. — Peripatetic Institutiones, according to the Opinions of the Great and Famous Philosopher Sir Kenelm Digby.* The Reason of this Title is to be seen in the Preface; "Quod ad mentem summi viri & clarissimi Philoſophi Kenelmi Equitis Digbyæ scripta pronunciem, inde est quod cum invidendo illo de animæ immortalitate labo totam naturæ compositionem à prima corporis ratione usque ad invisibiles animæ spiritualis articulos deſcenderit, & in omnium oculis intulerit, alia quam ipse præceſſerat incedere neque volui neque potui. Quicquid itaque de illo subjeſto vides, inde translatus est. — The Reason, why I say, they are according to the Opinions of the Great and Famous Philosopher Sir Kenelm Digby, is, because, in that admirable Book, of the Immortality of the Soul, This Great Man having dissected, and explain'd, the whole Human Composition, from the first OEconomy of the Body, to the invisible Construction of the Spiritual Soul, I neither would, nor could, tread in a different Path from him. Whatever, therefore, you meet with, in relation to this Subject, is borrowed from That Work". He acknowledged himself indebted to him, not only for his Philosophical Knowledge, but likewise for his great Skill in Divinity, with respect to the greatest Mysteries; as appears from his Book, intitled, "Quæſtio Theologica, quomodo secundum principia Peripateticæ Digbæanæ, five secundum rationem, & abſtrahendo quantum materia patitur, authoritate, humani arbitrii libertas sit explicanda, & cum gratia efficaci concilianda (2). — A Theological Enquiry; How, according to the Principles of the Digbæan Peripateticism, or according to Reason, and by abſtrahing from the Passiveness of Matter, Free-will is to be explain'd, and reconcil'd with Effectual Grace." He publish'd, in 1652, his *Institutiones Theologicæ, super fundamentis in Peripateticâ Digbæana jactis, extractæ.*

[D] And to oppose the Lights, which Mr Des Cartes would have afforded him.] Thomas Anglus (to have recourſe once more to M. Baillet.) (3) "was a Peripatetic, more extraordinary still, than Sir Kenelm Digby; and certainly he exceeded him in the Ob-

scurity of his Notions, and the Incomprehensibility of his Thoughts. He was, otherwise, one of the most subtle Philosophers of his time, and had shaken off the Yoke of the Schools, which most Peripatetics submit to. Des Cartes — conceiv'd an high Esteem for him, from the advantageous Character given of him by Sir Kenelm Digby. He willingly suffer'd Thomas Anglus to propole his Objections. The Nature of these Objections, and the high Idea Sir Kenelm had given him of his Genius, made Des Cartes hope, that he would soon be one of the Followers of his Philosophy; but it appear'd, by the Event, that he depended too much on the Tractableness of Thomas Anglus. Anglus puzzled his Brains with the knotty Questions concerning Predestination, Liberty, and Grace, which began to make a noise in the Universities of Louvain and Paris. Being perswaded, that Des Cartes was not a Man appointed by God to give him the Solution of these Supernatural Difficulties; he chose rather to have recourſe to the Lights of Aristotle, in order to dispel this mysterious Darkness. What he wrote concerning these Matters, by the help of Aristotle, is not unlike the Obscurity of Oracles; which, perhaps, made him unintelligible to the Roman Congregation of the Index (4), and was the Reason, why the Jesuits consider'd him as a savage Divine (5). It will not be improper to take notice, in this Place, of his Answer to those, who charg'd him with being an obscure Writer: It will farther discover to us the Character of his Genius. "I value, myself, said he, (6), upon a Brevity, which becomes the Masters and Dispenſers of Sciences. If my Writings are obscure, it is the fault of the Divines, who give me no Opportunity of explaining myself. In short, either the Learned understand, or do not understand, me: If they understand me, and find me in an Error, they may easily confute me: If they do not understand me, they have no reason to exclaim against my Doctrine". This favours of one, who is extremely desirous of being talk'd of; and concern'd, that he has not a sufficient number of Adversaries to excite the Attention of the Publick. *Risurunt aliqui bonum quod evidentiam jactet, cum tamen perobscure ipsum scribere, quotquot eum legant, queruntur. Respondet ille, se brevitati scientiarum traditoribus apte studere: Theologos in causa esse quod obscura maneant ipsius scripta, dum sese explicandi anſam præbere recusant. Adit vel doctos cum intelligere posse, unde & si errares scribat, ipsum confutare in proclivi est; vel non intelligere, & sic neque debere ipsi occulmitare; cum pessimus sit animi morbus calumniarii quod nescis. This Dilemma is somewhat sophistical.*

[E] Some of his Works were censur'd at Rome, by the Congregation of the Index, and by some Universities.] This Congregation, by a Decree of the 10th of June 1658, condemn'd these Four Treatises of Thomas Anglus; *Institutiones Peripateticæ; Appendix Theologica de origine mundi; Tabula suffragialis de terminandis fidei libris ab Ecclesia Catholica fixa; Tesseræ Romanæ vulgaris.* The two last Pieces were publish'd against the famous Father Mareda, who, in a Paper War, was a perfect Knight-Errent; always ready to enter the Lists. He attack'd Thomas Anglus (7), but, instead of replying to the *Tabula suffragialis*, and to the *Tesseræ Romanæ vulgaris*, he made use of Intrigues, by which he caus'd these Pieces to be condemn'd by the Congregation of the Index (8).

(4) Decret. sacr. congr. collect.

(5) Iabbæo dicitur Theologaster.

(6) Prefat. Statera appensæ.

(7) He published, in 1654, *Sonus litui adversus sonum tubæ*. Thomas Anglus had publish'd, in 1652, *Sonus buccinæ*, c. m. appendice adversus mentem divinitus inspiratam Innocentio X.

(8) See the Preface to the Book, entitled, *Statera appensæ*, quod sit litus aequandæ facilitatem, printed in London, in 1651, in 12mo.

(2) It is a Book in 12mo, without the Place, or the Year, of the Impression. It appears, from the Preface, that the Author was, at that time, an old Man.

(3) Baillet, ubi supra.

He held a very particular Opinion, in relation to the State of departed Souls, and the Easiness of obtaining Salvation. I know not in what Year he died: He was still living, when Charles the Second was restored to the Throne of England. I have seen some Works of His, written after the Marriage of That Prince with the *Infanta of Portugal*. He was no Friend to the Jesuits; and he would willingly have been thought worthy of their Repentment [F]. I have been told, that, in the beginning of the War between Charles the First, and the Parliament, he wrote an *English Book*, in Defence of *Passive Obedience*, according to the Doctrine of the Church of England.

The Divines of Douay censured Twenty two Propositions, extracted out of *Thomas Anglus's Institutiones Sacre*.

He publish'd a *Supplicatio postulativa Justitie*, in Opposition to their Censure; wherein he complain'd, that they had been contented with an indeterminate Censure, attended with a *respectivè*, without particularizing each Proposition (9). He shews them, that they acted like prevaricating Divines. And, in truth, all simple People are by this means in danger of being mistaken, or of flandering their Neighbours. If you pronounce, in general, on Thirty Propositions, that they are *respectivè* rash, dangerous, and heretical, may not any one take That to be heretical, which is only rash, and That, which is downright Heresy, to be only a rash Assertion? This Reflexion will appear more strong in the Words of an anonymous Writer, who seems to be a Man of Parts and Judgment. He speaks in the following manner concerning the Decree of the Inquisition, of the 7th of December 1690, against Thirty one Propositions. "I know not, Sir," says the Prelate, addressing himself to the Doctor, "whether you have observ'd all the Address and Art of the Censure. You are not ignorant how these Gentlemen usually style Propositions; they do not say, that Each of them, in particular, is scandalous, or erroneous, &c. but they set them all down, one after another, though there were Five hundred, and then qualify these Propositions, thus placed in a heap, as they think fit; adding a *respectivè* at the end. So that private Divines are left to guess which of these Propositions have been condemn'd only as Scandalous, and which as Heretical, or in another Sense (10)". In the next Page a Counsellor of the Parliament is introduc'd expressing himself thus: "We should think it a Contempt of Justice, and a just Cause of being laugh'd at, and expos'd to the Indignation of the Publick, should we, when we give Judgment in a Cause, set down, on one side, all the Heads of it, and all the Claims of the Parties; and, on the other, the different Decisions confus'dly, and in a heap, with a *respectivè*; by which means the Judgment, being unintelligible, would occasion a thousand endless Suits". See the Reflexions, made on the same Decree of Alexander VIII, by the Author of the Difficulties propos'd to M. Steyaert (11). To return to *Thomas Anglus*; he rais'd several Doubts in relation to each Censure of the Divines of Douay; pretending, that, if they were not vindicated, it would rebound to Their shame, and his own Glory (12). When Intrigue has a greater share in the Censure of a Book, than Reason, the censured Person seldom fails to get the better of his Censors. We need only remember the Letter written by M. Arnauld, in 1683, to the University of Douay.

I have something more to add, concerning the Censures pass'd upon *Thomas Anglus's* Books. His *Statera morum* no sooner appear'd, but the Archbishop of Mechlen, and the Bishop of Antwerp, complain'd of it to the Internuncio at Brussels. A pragmatical

Fellow went into England, to extort Subscriptions against the Doctrine of This Author (13), and it appears, that the Bishop of Chalcedon disapproved of the Treatise de *medio animorum statu*; and that a Report was spread, that he had publicly censured it (14). Father Baron observes, that the *Sonitus buccinæ* was censur'd, and that the Author maintains in it, that the Church has not the Power of determining, but only of giving her Testimony, concerning Tradition (15).

[F] He would willingly have been thought worthy of their Repentment.] This appears from the Preface, I have so often quoted (16). The Author of the Preface, and of the Book printed with it, is, perhaps, The same with *Thomas Anglus*. Perhaps he himself wrote against his *Statera morum*, as well to clear up some Difficulties, as to make the Publick take notice of a Book, which was in danger of being confounded with the Multitude of new Books. However it be, the Author of That Preface seems to be well acquainted with *Anglus's* Opinions, and well affected towards him. He expresses himself thus concerning the Jesuits. "Increbuerunt sæpiusculè rumores comminatos esse doctam illam Societatem se contra D. Albi Opera striduram calamum. Hoc idem ab iis maxime expectabant omnes, ut quos præcipue ac pene unice scriptis suis lacefferat. Attamen, si ex motivis prudentialibus suppressi sint libri illi jam scripti, si nulli omnino scripti fuerint, nihil dum editum est. Hic triumphat maxime D. Albius, & causam suam hoc discursu tueri solet; Minas illas, quas intendebant, clamores, quibus ipsi passim obstrepebant, manifesta esse indicia non desuisse voluntatem illum confutandi: Neque eo genio esse PP. Societatis ut quicquam fama sua charius habeant; unde evidenter constare solam eis desuisse potentiam, postquam ad tam insignem ignominiam propellendam adeo tardi extiterint. — It was frequently given out, that This Learned Society had threaten'd to draw their Pens against the Works of D. Albius. This was generally expell'd from them, and for this Reason in particular, because This Author had principally, and almost solely, exerted himself against the Jesuits in his Writings. But, whether the Books, already written, were suppress'd for prudential Reasons, or whether none were ever written, nothing as yet has been publish'd against him. In this Albius chiefly triumphs; to this he appeals in Defence of his Cause; that the Threatnings, which they gave out, and the Clamour, which they every where rais'd against him, were plain Proofs, that they did not want the Will to confute him; that their Reputation was the dearest Thing to the Society; consequently, that they wanted only the Power; since they enter'd the Lists so late in Defence of themselves, against so strong an Attack upon their Reputation." This Man, you see, who could not procure himself the Honour of being attack'd by the Jesuits, takes Advantage of their Silence, by imputing it to their Inability, not to their Infensibility.

(13) In eadem Pref. Statere.

(14) See the Epistle Dedicatorij of Th. Anglus's Book, entitled, Vellicatio-nis sue de medio animorum statu Ratio, printed in the Year 1653.

(15) Baron: lib. 4. Apolog. pag. 144.

(16) Statere apponit. See Cit. low (8).

(9) See the same Preface.

A REFLEXION ON Censures of Propositions, extracted from Books.

(10) Letter of an Abbot, to a Prelate of the Court of Rome, pag. 20. See Title-Page of my Edition has according to the Copy, printed at Toulouse, 1691.

(11) Difficult. à Steyaert Part. 9. pag. 249.

(12) Pref. Statere. See Citation (8).

(a) Plin. lib. 33. cap. 1.

(b) See Sili-gonius de Fastis Roman.

ANICIUS, a Roman Family. It was more Illustrious under the Christian Emperors, than in the time of the Republic, though it produced some Consuls before the Birth of Julius Cæsar. We read, in Pliny, of one Q. ANICIUS Prænestinus, who was made *Curule Edile* in the Vth Century of Rome (a). L. ANICIUS Gallus was Prætor in the following Century; viz. in the Year 585, and was so successful in Illyricum, that, in a Month's Time, he conquer'd it, and took King Gen-tius Prisoner [A]. He obtained the Honour of a Triumph the Year following (b). One

[A] In a Month's time he conquer'd Illyricum, &c.] and yet Anicius was oblig'd, in carrying it on, to take Scodra, a very strong Place. His Victory was so complete, that the King of this Country fell into

One of the Consuls of the Year 593 was called *L. ANICIUS Gallus*. I find, under the first Emperors, but one *ANICIUS Cerealis*, who was nominated to the Consulship in the Year of *Rome* 818 (c). He was engaged in a Plot against *Nero*; and killed himself in the Year of *Rome* 819. His Death was the less lamented, because it was remember'd, that he had discovered to *Caligula* a Conspiracy carried on against his Life (d). Many Persons of this Family were raised to the Consulship, after *Diocletian's* Reign; and it had never been seen, that two Brothers were Consuls at the same time, before the Year of *CHRIST* 395, when *Probinus* and *Olybrius* discharged this Office. They were the Sons of *Probus*, of whom I shall speak in his proper Place, and descended from *ANICIUS*, the first Great Man of *Rome*, who turned Christian [B]. The great Riches of this Family exposed it to many Slanders, as I shall shew, in speaking of *Probus*. The *Benedictine* Monks pretend, that the Founder of their Order was of the Family of the *Anicii*, and have published some Books, wherein they endeavour to prove, that the August House of *Austria* likewise derives it's Pedigree from it. This Fable was confuted by *Streinius*, in a Book intituled *Anti-Anicianus*, which was never printed: the Manuscript Copy is in the Emperor's Library (e). I shall take notice of a curious Particular in relation to the Subject of this Work [C].

(c) Tacit. Ann. lib. 15. cap. 74.
(d) Id. lib. 16. cap. 17.

(e) Lambecius, Commentar. Biblioth. Vindobon. Tom. 1. n. 50.

his hands, together with his Mother, his Wife, his Children, his Brother, and all the chief Persons of his Dominions; and he obtain'd a considerable Booty. This is *Livy's* Account of the matter: *Anicius bello Illyrico intra triginta dies perfecto nuncium victoriæ Perpernam Romam misit, Et post dies paucos Gentium regem ipsum cum parente, conjuge, ac liberis, ac fratre, aliisque principibus Illyricorum. Hoc unum bellum prius perpetratum, quam captum Romæ auditum est* (1). "Hoc Bellum (says *Florus*) (2) ante finitum est, quam geri Romæ nuntiaretur. — This "War was at an end, before it was known at Rome, "that it was begun." These Prisoners of Quality were only part of the Ornaments of the Triumph: The Wealth, and Spoils brought from *Illyricum*, and the Liberalities bestowed upon the Soldiers, made it very considerable. The General was more applauded by his Army, than *Paulus Æmilius*, who had triumphed not long before, was by his. *Lætiior hunc triumphum esse secutus miles, multisque dux ipse carminibus celebratus* (3). *Lloyd* observes, that the Consul of the Year 593 is the Son of Him, who conquered *Gentius*; but he quotes no Authority for it.

[B] *ANICIUS*, The first Great Man of *Rome*, who turned Christian.] These Words of *Prudentius* are the only Proof I can alledge for it:

Fertur enim ante alios generosus Anicius urbis
Inlustre caput (4).

The Noble Anicius is reported to be the First Ornament of the City.

Baronius conjectures, that this Poet meant *Anicius Julianus*, who was Consul in the Year 322. *Lloyd*, being more positive, affirms, without quoting any Authority for it, that *Anicius Julianus* was the first Roman Senator, who embrac'd the Gospel; and that this was the Reason why most of the Emperors, from that time, took the Sirname of *Flavius*, and most of the Senators That of *Anicius*. I should be glad to see some Proofs of this. If *Baronius's* Conjecture be well grounded, *Anicius Julianus* may be compared to That French Lord, who procured himself to be the first baptiz'd in Imitation of *Clovis*, and took this Motto, *God preserve the first Christian*. 'Tis said, that the Lords of *Montmorency* are descended from Him; for which Reason they stiled themselves the first Christian Barons.

[C] I shall take notice of a curious Particular, in relation to the Subject of this Work.] Mr *Baillet* is of Opinion, that *Streinius's* Manuscript will never be printed, for two Reasons: One is That mentioned by *Lambecius*, viz. that it is an imperfect Work; the Second, more important than the First, and of which he took care to say nothing, is, that the "*Anti-Anicianus* does "not favour the Prejudices of the Vulgar, in the "hereditary Countries, nor the Notions of those,

"who, to make their Court to the Emperor, have "derived the Pedigree of the House of *Austria* "from the *Anicii* of ancient *Rome*. — The Author "undertook this Work, in Opposition to the *Benedictine* Monks, who seem to be infatuated with "their being related to the House of *Austria*, and "particularly to confute the Book of a *Flemish Benedictine*, called *Arnold Wion*, who, by a Concatenation of extravagant Conceits, produced the two "Branches of the Roman Family *Anicia*, one, as the "Origin of the Princes of the House of *Austria*, the "other of his Patriarch *St Benedict* (5). Mr *Baillet* adds, that *Streinius* said nothing of the *Anicii*, in his Book concerning the Roman Families, because it was not one of the Families of the old Stock. He informs us, that "*Lambecius* designed to answer "*Streinius's Anti-Anicianus*, in his *Prologomena* to the "Annals of *Austria*, which he promised." — And that it seems, he "had chosen for the Ground and "Model of his Answer (6), the Book, which a *Benedictine* Abbot, but of the Order of the *Cisterciens*, "whose Name was *John Seyfrid*, published twelve "Years after *Streinius's* Death, under the Title of "*Arbor Aniciana*; but that, though *Seyfrid* had intended to write against the *Anti-Anicianus*, it may be said, that *Streinius* would have been sufficiently revenged by *Scioppius*, who published, in the Year 1651, a small Dissertation, to ridicule this *Seyfrid*, and those of the same Stamp; at the very same Time, that another Monk, called *Bucelin*, to increase the Number of the Ridiculous, published his "*Aquila Imperii Benedictæ*. *Scioppius*, (Mr *Baillet* goes on) was not, upon this Occasion, the slanderous and satirical Writer he usually is; he appears "a faithful and zealous Servant of the House of "*Austria*; a Counsellor to the Emperor, and the King of *Spain*; engaged in the Interest of the Princes of their Name, upon several Accounts: infinitely more learned, than these idle Dreamers; and who had made himself formidable, in point of false Genealogy, above forty Years before, by his "*Scaliger Hypobolimeus*. If, therefore, *Scioppius*, though otherwise devoted to the House of *Austria*, thought himself obliged to oppose the Vanity and idle Fancies of these Monks, concerning the *Anician* Genealogy; we may very well infer from hence, that their Inventions are not for the Honour of the Princes of the House of *Austria*, or of *St Benedict's* Disciples; and that *Streinius's Anti-Anicianus*, must needs be a considerable Work. — Though *Seyfrid* gave out, that *St Thomas* was descended from the illustrious Family of the *Anicii*; it is not to be expected, that a French Dominican will ever publish an *Aquila Imperii Thomistica*. This is reserved, perhaps, for some German, or Spanish Dominican, a zealous Friend to the House of *Austria*. I desire the Reader to consider me, in this whole Matter, as a bare Transcriber.

(c) Tom. 2. of the Antia, n. 14. pag. 228, & seq.

(6) Tom. 2. Comment. Biblioth. Vind. pag. 418, & seq.

ANNA, the Name of some Persons, mentioned in the Scripture. The Mother of the Prophet *Samuel* was called ANNA or HANNAH. She was a very pious Woman, and very much beloved by her Husband *Elkanah*. She was barren; and this Misfortune afflicted her the more sensibly, as it exposed her to the Raillery and Insults

(1) Livius, lib. 44. cap. 32.

(2) Florus, lib. 2. cap. 23.

(3) Livius, lib. 45. cap. 43.

(4) Prudent. in Symm. lib. 1. ver. 553.

Insults of the other Wife of *Elkanab*. She so importunately petitioned Heaven for a Son, that her Prayers were at length heard (a); for God gave her *Samuel*, and afterwards three Sons, and two Daughters (b). The Book of *Tobit*, an Apocryphal Book among the Protestants, mentions one ANNA, the Wife of *Tobit*, and Mother of *Tobias*. In St *Luke's* Gospel, we read of ANNA the Prophetess, Daughter of *Pbaniel* (c). She was a very devout Woman, about Eighty four Years of Age, and had lived but Seven Years with her Husband. *Baronius*, who makes her a Cloyster'd Religious, is mistaken [A]. The Gospel mentions, likewise, a Man named ANNAS, who was High-Priest, among the *Jews*, in our Saviour's Time. His Son-in-law, *Caipbas*, had the same Dignity, when CHRIST was put to Death. As for SAINT ANNE, Mother of the Holy Virgin, and the most celebrated Lady of this Name, among the *Roman Catholics*, she is no where spoken of in the Scriptures, nor in the Writings of the Three first Centuries. St *Epiphanius* is the first, who mentions her; and yet the following Ages trumped up a long Legend concerning St *Anne*, as may be seen in the Article of S. JOACHIM, her Husband. I am surprized, that *Erasmus* met with but three Women of the Name of ANNA in ancient Books [B].

(a) 1 Sam.
chap. i.

(b) Ibi d.
chap. ii. ver.
53.

(c) Lu'e
chap. ii. ver.
22.

* Catech.
10.

(1) Baron.
in Annal.
Eccles.
Tome. 1. ad
ann. 1. n.
41.

(2) Οὐκ
ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ
ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ
ἐκείνου
καὶ θεοῦ
λατρεῖν
καὶ
ὑμῶν

She departed
not from the
Temple, but
served God
with Fasting
and Prayers,
Night and
Day.

(3) Cysau-
ben. Exer-
cit. 2. n. 13.

(4) Ruthe-
nensis.

[A] *Baronius*, who makes her a Cloyster'd Religious, is mistaken.] These are his Words: "Quo- modo autem Anna nunquam ē templo discessisse dicatur, ut merito eandem S. Cyrillus * Hierosoly mitanus religiosissimam monilem appellet, consule quæ superius dicta sunt de præsentatione Dei genitricis in templo (1). --- How Anna is said never to have departed from the Temple, upon which account St Cyril of Jerusalem justly calls her a most devout Nun, consult what has been said, above, concerning the Presentation of the Mother of God in the Temple." Here are two things: I. *Baronius* takes in a literal Sense St *Luke's* Phrase, She departed not from the Temple (2). II. He thinks S. Cyril very much in the right in calling Anna a most religious Nun. But it is plain, that St *Luke's* Words ought not to be stretched beyond the Sense, which is commonly put upon such Expressions, when, to signify that a Man goes frequently to any Particular House, we say, That he never stirs from it, that he is there Night and Day. This is particularly said of your devout Ladies, who go to Church several times in a Day; we usually say, that they never stir from Church, that they are continually praying at Church. As to what concerns St Cyril, it is not true, that he calls the Prophetess Anna a Nun. The Latin Translator of That Father should have considered, that the Words ἀσκήτης, ἀσκήτρια, were used, not only to denote Monks and Nuns, but all those, likewise, who exactly practised religious Exercises. This is what the learned *Cajaubon* clearly shewed against *Baronius* (3).

[B] I am surprized, that *Erasmus* met with but three Women of the Name of Anna in ancient Books.] The first is *Dido's* Sister; she was called *Perenna*; and he says, she was placed among the Gods, on account of the extraordinary Affection she shew'd for

her Sister. The Adventures of this Anna are so fully related in other Dictionaries, that I think it unnecessary to mention them. The second is *Elkanab's* Wife: It is sufficient Commendation of her, says he, to say, that, by the particular Favour of God, she brought forth, in her old Age, Samuel, who was a very pious Priest, and a most uncorrupt Judge. "Cujus ad laudem abunde satis est, quod & anus, & auspice Deo, Samuelem pepererit, non utique sibi sed Deo quidem sacerdotem religiosissimum, populo vero iudicem incorruptissimum (4)." The third is the Mother of the Holy Virgin. He says, that this last Anna was greatly celebrated by *Rhodolphus Agricola*, and *Baptista Mantuanus*. Thus *Erasmus* is guilty of Errors both of Omission and Commission. How came he to forget *Pbaniel's* Daughter, and *Tobia's* Mother? Where did he find, that *Samuel's* Mother was an old Woman? The sacred Writer says no such thing; but rather gives us to understand, that she was still young enough. Had she not five Children, after she had weaned Samuel? The same Historian makes her reply to the High Priest *Eli*, who charged her with Drunkenness, that she had drank neither Wine, nor Beer. *Josephus*, not thinking this Answer extraordinary enough, furnishes her with another, to wit, that she never drank any thing but Water. Mr *Moreri* chose to follow the Jewish Historian, rather than the Scripture. By the way, the Lady, to whom *Erasmus* wrote the Letter, which mentions these three Anna's, might very well deserve an Article: He calls her *Anna Bersala Principis Veriana*. If I can discover her Family and Adventures, I here engage myself to take Notice of her.

Since the first Edition of this Work, I have made some Discoveries in relation to this Lady. See the Article BERSALA.

(4) *Erasmi*.
Epist. 38.
lib. 9. p. 88.
500.

ANNAT (FRANCIS), Confessor to *Lewis XIV*, was a Native of *Rovergue* (a). He was born the fifth of February, 1590, admitted Jesuit in February 1607, and professed the fourth Vow, in the Year 1624. He taught Philosophy at *Toulouse*, for the space of six Years, and Divinity for the space of seven; and, having honourably discharged the Duties of those Places, he was invited to *Rome*, to exercise the Function of Censor-General of the Books published by the Society, and That of Theologist to the General of the Order. Being returned into his own Country, he was made Rector of the College of *Montpellier*, and afterwards of That of *Toulouse*. He assisted, as Deputy of his Province, at the eighth General Assembly of the Jesuits, held at *Rome*, in 1645, and gave so many Proofs of his Merit, that Father *Vincent Carafa*, General of the Jesuits, found no one better qualified to fill the Place of Assistant of France, which became vacant sixteen Months after. The ninth General Assembly gave him again the same Employment, under *Francis Piccolomini*, General of the Society; after whose Death he was made Provincial of the Province of France. Whilst he was invested with this Dignity, he was chosen Confessor to *Lewis XIV*; and, after he had been sixteen Years in this Post, he was obliged to demand his Dismission, his great Age having very much impaired his Hearing. As the King was very well pleased with him, it was with Reluctance He granted his Request. Father *Annat* lived but four Months, after his leaving the Court, and died in the *Maison Professe de Paris*, the fourteenth of June, 1670. Father *Sotuel*, who supplies me with these Particulars, represents him as a Man endowed with great Virtues; as perfectly disinterested, modest, and humble; and exact in practising the

Observances

Observances and Discipline of his Order; as never employing his Interest for his own Advantage, or in order to raise his Family; and as expressing a great Zeal for Religion (b). He was the Flail of Heretics, (says Sotuel) (c), and particularly attacked, with incredible Zeal, the new Heresy of the Janfenists; he left nothing unattempted to get their Heresy condemned by the Pope, and restrained by the Authority of the Most Christian King; besides, he wrote with such Force of Reason against it, that his Adversaries have not been able to make any solid Reply. Some will not grant Father Sotuel this last Point; but as to what concerns the Disinterestedness of Father Annat, it will easily meet with Credit; for they, who would be informed, may know, that this Father Confessor never raised his Family. It is reported, that the King had been heard to say, that he did not know, whether Father Annat had any Relations (d). Some he had, who did not forget themselves, and who paid him a Visit at the *Louvre*; but they did not return with any Preferment. There are times, when the Greater and Lesser Nepotism, are both in vogue; sometimes the Lesser Nepotism prevails, whilst the Greater is suppress'd. In Father Annat's Time, the greater Nepotism was at it's Height (e); but the Lesser, with regard to the Father Confessor's, was, in *Paris*, at it's lowest Ebb. I make use of this Restriction, because there are many other dignified Clergymen, who heap upon their Relations all the Preferments they can procure. Many, no doubt, followed the usual Course, whilst Father Annat gave no Encouragement to his greedy Relations of *Roüergue*. We may read, in the *Amours du Palais Royal*, that he desired to lay down his Place [A], when Madam de la Valiere was taken into Favour. Were this true, it would be the finest Circumstance of his Life, and the noblest Subject for Encomium, that the Life of a King's Confessor can afford. The Author of this Satire, who, according to the Nature of this kind of Works, made it his Business to give a malicious Turn to every Thing, was very sensible of this; and, therefore, took care, that the Reader should find nothing commendable in it. A Satire of a much later Date has been handed about, which, besides Father Annat's desiring his Dismission, whether true or not, contains so many notorious Falshoods [B], that it is hard to conceive how any Man can tell publick

Lyes

(1) Intrigues of the Court. This Book made it's first Appearance about the Year 1665.

[A] We may read, in the *Amours du Palais Royal* (1), that he desired to lay down his Place. Here is the Passage. "Poor Father Annat went also to him, by the Suggestion of the Queens, and pretended a Desire of quitting the Court, artfully insinuating, that it was on account of his Amours. The King fell a laughing, and immediately granted him his Dismission. The Father, finding himself taken at his Word, would fain have accommodated the Matter; but the King, laughing on, told him, that, for the future, he would have no other Confessor than the Rector of the Parish. It is difficult to express, how vexed the whole Society was at his Indiscretion." Upon this, I may be asked three Questions. I. Whether it be true, that Father Annat desired to lay down his Place. II. Whether it was a mere Feint, and, out of Complaisance to the Queens. III. Whether he actually left the Court; or whether the Jesuits made up the Matter. All I can say, in Answer to the first Question, is, that I know nothing of the Matter, and that the Authority of a Satirist is of no Weight. I believe him, no further than he proves what he advances. Writers of History are disappointed from taking an Oath, and producing their Witnesses (2); their Word is sufficient to procure Credit to what they say; but as to Writers of Libels, it is a Favour, a piece of Civility, to believe them, even upon their Oath, confirmed by Witnesses. I am still more ignorant, as to the second Question: I do not pretend to dive into the Hearts of Men. And, as to the third, I only know what is publicly known, viz. that Father Annat was the French King's Confessor, without Interruption, till the Spring of the Year 1670.

(2) Entwined, History of Father La Chaise, a Jesuit, and Confessor to Lewis XIV. Cologne, for Peter Marten, 1693, in 12mo. The second Part was printed two Years after.

(4) Pag. 106.

[B] A Satire of a much later Date (3). — contains so many notorious Falshoods, &c. The Author of this Satire supposes, that Father La Chaise was very instrumental in moving the Pope to grant what the King desired of him, and that Cardinal Mazarin, as an Acknowledgment for this Service, was very kind to him, recommended him to the King, and even got him admitted into the Council of Conscience, which was properly to make him the Confessor's Coadjutor (4). The Year 1663 is set down in the Margin, for the Date of the Cardinal's first Marks of Favour, and the Year 1665, for the Admission into the Council of Conscience. What an Ignorance of modern History is here? Who does not know, that Cardinal Mazarin died, in 1661? The Author adds, that Father La Chaise supplanted Father Annat, by excusing the King's Love for Madam de la Valiere, from the In-

firmity of Human Nature, whilst the Confessor trained the King every Day on that Account, and would never suffer him to rest (5). He farther adds, that Madam de la Valiere, being informed of Father La Chaise's Maxims, desired to have him for her Confessor, and proposed it to him, by Mr de Montausier (6); but, having afterwards discoursed with this Jesuit, she chose rather to procure him Father Annat's Place; and, having spoke to the King about it, the Affair was concluded in a few Days; Father Annat, who denounced the dreadful Judgments of God, and desired leave to retire, being taken at his Word (7). The Year 1667, is set down in the Margin. This is an unaccountable piece of Assurance; for it is notorious, that Father Annat did not take leave of the Court, till the Year 1670; and that a Jesuit of *Roüergue*, called Father Ferrier, succeeded him in his place of Confessor to the King; and that Father La Chaise had not this Employ, till after the Death of Father Ferrier, who died the Twenty ninth of October 1674 (8). What do these Writers mean, when they publish such gross Falshoods? Do they not perceive, that they act contrary to their main Design? For do they not prejudice the Reader against their Books, when they appear so ignorant of Things, which are publicly known, or so void of Shame, as boldly to publish evident Untruths? Do they approve the Maxims of those, who preach up pious Frauds to a numerous Congregation, reasoning with themselves in this manner? For one Hearer, who will know that I am mistaken, a thousand will not discover it; a thousand, therefore, will be edified by my Fraud; one only will be offended at it; the mischief, therefore, will be trifling, in comparison of the Advantage, which will accrue from it: It is therefore a Point of Clarity and Prudence, to maintain such a Falshood before this numerous Assembly. I know not whether our Libellers argue in the same manner; but I am sure they would succeed better in their Design, if they took more care to observe Chronology, and the Rules of Fiction. Est ars etiam maledicendi, says Scaliger (9), there is an Art of Slandering; they, who are ignorant of it, do not so much defame their Enemies, as how few desirous they are of defaming them. To conclude, I make this Remark, rather for the Advantage of the Publick, than for the Interest of any private Person. It is fit, that, in our Age, we should be able to judge of the Satires, which have been published within these thousand Years; and that Posterity should know how to judge of those, which appear in

(b) Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 211.

(c) Hereticum malleum, & nominatim Janenitarum hæresis oppugnator acerrimus. Ibid.

(d) Adeo ut dixisse aliquando perhibetur sua Majestas nescire se an P. Annatus haberet aliquos sanguines sibi conjunctos. Id.

(e) Trist. of the Court of Rome.

(1) Pag. 107.

(5) Pag. 108.

(7) Pag. 115.

(8) Ex Nathan. Sotueli Biblioth. Societ. pag. 449.

SOME Thoughts concerning Satire.

(9) Scaligeriana 2. pag. 10.

(f) See the
and the Re-
mark [C].

Lyes with so little Caution. Father *Annat* wrote many Books [C] both in *French* and *Latin*. The *Latin* are much more in Esteem, than the *French*; because he was more capable of handling a Point of Divinity, according to the Dogmatical Method of the Schools, than of turning it according to the Genius of the Age he lived in. Nevertheless his *French* Works are very much commended in an Answer to the *Lettres Provinciales* (f). What I have said in general of the Nephews of this Father Confessor, ought not to prejudice any one against them; for One of them, who is General of the Fathers of the Christian Doctrine, is accounted a very learned Man, and has published a *Latin* Book of Divinity, which is very much esteemed. It is a *Metbodical Apparatus to Positive Divinity* (g). You will meet with an Abstract of it in the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the Thirteenth of September, 1700.

(g) Nouvel-
les de la Re-
pub. des
Lettres, for
April, 1700.
pag. 477.

our Days. In order to judge rightly of them, we must pay no regard to this Principle, *It is not probable, that, if this thing were evidently false, any one would dare to publish it.*

This will, no doubt, be the principal Use of this Remark; for, in short, the best grounded Reflections or Conclusions will never be able to stop the Pens of this Species of Writers. Notwithstanding the Indignation of honest Men against the fabulous and satirical History of Father *la Chaise*, another Piece, much worse than this, appeared five Years after. It is, from beginning to end, an Heap of Falshoods and chimerical Adventures, related with the utmost Impudence, and in a Style stuffed with Obscenities. The Title of this fine Performance is as follows. *Histoire des Intrigues amoureuses du P. Peters, &c.* — The History of the amorous Intrigues of Father Peters, a Jesuit, Confessor to James II, late King of England, containing his most private Adventures, and his true Character, and likewise the Counsels he gave to that Prince, concerning his Government. Cologne, for Peter Marteau, junior, 1698. As long as there are Persons, who take a Pleasure in purchasing this kind of Books, there will be Bookellers, who will be at the Charge of the Composition and Impression of them, and, consequently, base and mercenary Writers will never be wanting for such a Work. It is therefore an incurable Disease.

[C] Father *Annat* wrote many Books. His *Latin* Treatises, published at several Times, were collected into three Volumes, in 4to, and printed at Paris, for Cramoisy, in 1666. The first contains a Work entitled *De Scientia media contra novissimas impugnationes, una cum exercitatione scholastica sub nomine Eugenii Philadelphi, & appendice ad Guilielmum Camerarium.* — *Of the middle Science, against it's new Opposers; together with a Scholastic Discourse, under the Name of Eugenius Philadelphus, and an Appendix to William Camerarius.* The second contains a Piece entitled. *Augustinus à Jesuitis, hoc est Janenensis, vindicatus.* — *St Austin vindicated against the Janenists.* The following Treatises are in the third. *Catholica disputatio de Ecclesia præsentis temporis.* — *De incoacta libertate contra novum Augustinum Iprentis Episcopi, Vincentium Lenem, Apologiam Janenii & Commentatorem quinque propositionum.* — *Informatio de quinque propositionibus ex Theologia Janenii collectis, quas Episcopi Gallicæ Romano Pontifici ad censuram obulerunt.* — *Janenius à Thomistis gratiæ per se ipsam efficaciæ defensoribus condemnatus.* — *Cavilli Janesegianorum contra latam in ipsa sede Apostolica sententiam, seu consultatio libelli trium Columnarum* (to). i. e. *A Catholic Disputation concerning the present Church.* — *Of unrestrained Liberty, against the new Augustin of the Bishop of Ypres, Vincentius Lenes, Apologist for Janenius, and Commentator on the five Propositions.* — *An Information concerning five Propositions collected from the Divinity of Janenius, presented by the French Bishops to the Pope, for his Censure.* — *Janenius, condemned by the Thomists, Defenders of the Notion of Grace efficacious of itself.* — *The Cavils of the Janenists against the*

Sentence pronounced against them by the Apostolical See; or a Confutation of the Book of three Columns. Thus there are five Treatises in the three Volumes; to which are prefixed some Advertisements to the Readers, and some Notes on the *Journal de Santi-amour*. The following are the Titles of some of his *French* Works. *An Answer to a Book entitled, la Théologie morale des Jésuites.* — *An Answer to some Queries about Mr. Arnauld's first Letter.* — *The Fairness of the Janenists, is getting their Authors.* — *A Collection of several Falshoods, and Impostures, contained in the Journal of what passed in France, on Account of the Morality and Apology of the Casuists* (11). *Remedies against the Scruples, which hinder the subscribing the Formula, &c.* — *Remprois on the Conduct of the Janenists, in printing and publishing the New Testament, printed at Nions.* — *Janenius's Doctrine contrary to the Holy Apostolical See, and to St Augustin.* I omit the Titles of some other Books, which, may be seen in Father *Sotuel*. But, let me observe, by the way, that He, and *Alegambus* his Predecessor, have forgot one thing, which should not have been omitted. They should have set down the Titles of Books in the Language the Author made use of, and then have translated them into *Latin*. It is a common thing to be disappointed, when we enquire after a Book, not by it's true Title, but by the Sense of it, when, perhaps, it is really in the Bookeller's Shop or Warehouse. To conclude, though Father *Annat* was a very old Man, at the time of the Dispute with the Janenists about subscribing the Formula, and the Version of *Mons*, he published several small Works, in 4to. He was not contented to use his Interest with the Prince, in order to serve the Cause, but defended it, likewise, with his Pen, to the last Drop, of his Ink.

I must not forget the Praises, bestowed upon him, in an Answer to the *Lettres Provinciales* of Mr. *Pascal*, which was reprinted in Holland, in the Year 1696 (12). "As for the Jesuits, who ventured to write against *Pascal*, what do you think of Father *Annat*, who is the Author of the Book, entitled, *La bonne foy des Janenistes*, and to whom the seventeenth and eighteenth Provincial Letters are inscribed? Father *Annat*, answered *Cleander*, was, in my Opinion, a Man of very good Parts: The Jesuits published nothing better, than what he wrote on the Points controverted at that Time. This good Man (for I knew him to be such; and indeed he was: Modesty itself) would have been qualified for a Writer, even in *French*, if he had but applied himself a little more to the Study of our Language. He has some Strokes as elegant, as lively, and as agreeable, as any I ever met with in other Authors. I am of your Opinion, replied *Eudoxus*; And, not to mention his Virtue, for which I have heard him commended even by some of the contrary Party, I have besides observed in him an accurate Judgment, and sometimes such a Delicacy of Expression and Rallery, as is seldom to be met with in a Scholastic Divine."

(11) The Clergy of Paris made an Apology for this Journal, in their eighth Writings.

(12) Entre-tiens de Cleandre & Eudoxe, pag. 70, So. Dutch Edition.

(to) It is in
Father So-
tuel Calam-
nismum.

ANNIUS of *Viterbo*, a famous Impostor. See NANNIUS.

(a) Cave's
Historia Li-
teraria
Scriptorum
Ecclesiasti-
pag. 627.

ANSELM, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, one of the most illustrious Prelates of his Times, died the Twenty first of April, 1109, in the Seventy sixth Year of his Age (a). He wished to have lived a little longer, to finish a *Treatise on the Origin of*

the

(b) He calls himself Mon. Peter to show his Work was printed in 1668, in 12mo.

the Soul [A]. His Article is very long in *Moreri's Dictionary*; to which I refer the Reader. The Monks of *Lerins*, who placed this great Prelate in the *Chronology* of their Saints and famous Monks, are confuted by the Author (b) of a Book, intitled, *The Monks investigated* (c). We shall see, below, that he made use of an Argument for the Existence of a God, which Mr *Des Cartes* very much improved [B].

(c) *Mémoires* Trévoux, Tom. 1. pag. 49.

[A] He wished ----- to have finished a Treatise on the Origin of the Soul. This Wish of his made a Doctor of *Louvain* say, That the Doctrine of the Propagation of Souls substituted to the end of the eleventh Century. These are his Words. "Imo utique ad tempora S. Anselmi, hoc est Annum Christi M. C. in Occidente durasse videtur hæc de immutabilitate traditione dubitatio. Nam cum paulo post mortuus S. Pater decumberet, dixisse scribit familiaris & confessor ejus *Edimerus*, Si Deus mallet, me adhuc inter vos saltem tam diu manere, donec questionem, quam de anime origine mente revoleo, absolvi possim, gratissus acciperem: eo quod nescio, utrum aliquis eam, sine defectu, sit absoluturus (1). ----- This doubtful Opinion concerning the Propagation of Souls; ex tradidit, seems to have continued to the Time of St Anselm; i. e. to the end of the eleventh Century. For *Edimerus* "his Acquaintance, and Companion, informs us, that the Holy Father, on his Death-bed, said; I should be thankful, if God would grant me a longer Life: at least 'till I have finished the Question, which employs my Thoughts, concerning the Origin of the Soul; since I know not, whether, after my Decease, any one will undertake to finish it." I have elsewhere (2) cited *Thomas Bar-*

tholin, who has made a Reflexion on this Thought of Anselm.

[B] He made use of an Argument for the Existence of a God, which Mr *Des Cartes* very much improved. The Catalogue, which Mr *Baillet* has given of the Authors, whom they say Mr *Des Cartes* pirated, contains these Words. "St Anselm likewise is placed in the Number of the Ancients, to whom Mr *Des Cartes* was obliged for his Argument, in proof of the Existence of a God; drawn from hence, That a most perfect Being, or at least the most perfect that we are able to conceive, implies Existence. The Argument is to be found in a Book, which this Saint wrote against *The Fool*, in Answer to an anonymous Author, who had wrote in Defence of *The Fool*, against an Argument, which St Anselm had advanced in his Book, entitled, *Prologion* (3). Observe, that *Huetius* remarks, that *Thomas Aquinas* refuted this Argument. Celebris illa argumentatio ----- tota est Anselmi, & in Prologio, & in Apologetico contra Gaunilonem, eandemque expoluit *Thomas Aquinas*, & refellit (4). ----- This famous Argument belongs solely to Anselm; but in his *Prologion*, and his *Apologetic* against *Gaunilo*; it has been explained and refuted by *Thomas Aquinas*."

† Tom. 2. of 111 Letters, pag. 276, &c.

|| With Leibnitz. Epist. MS. Tom. 3. Oper. Anselm. Edit. Colonien.

(3) *Baillet's* Life of *Des Cartes*, Tom. 2. pag. 336.

(4) *Huetii* Conf. Philol. Cartes. pag. 204.

(1) *Libertus* Eberhardus Philosoph. Christ. de Anima; lib. 41 cap. 3. pag. 812.

• *Edimer.* in the Life of S. Anselm apud Suriem, April 21.

(2) In the Remark [E] of the Article AVERROES.

ANSELM, a bare-footed *Augustin*, born at *Paris*, will be too often quoted in this Dictionary, and has supplied Mr *Moreri* with too many Materials, not to deserve a Place here. He died at *Paris*, the seventeenth of January, 1694, in his Sixty ninth Year. He passed fifty Years of this Time, free from all Monastical Offices, and applying himself wholly to the Duties of a religious Life, and the Writing of Books. He was preparing a second Edition of his *Genealogical History of the House of France* [A], and the great Officers of the Crown, with Corrections and Additions, which had employed him a long time. He had also undertaken a Work, which treats of the Royal Houses, and other most illustrious Families, of Europe, and had already put the finishing Hand to it (a). I know not what will become of his Manuscripts; but I wish they may be published.

(a) *Moreri's* *Généalogie*, for the Month of January, 1694. See also the *Journal des Savans*, of the eighth of February, 1694, pag. 257.

[A] He was preparing a second Edition of his *Genealogical History of the House of France*, &c. He published it, together with That of the great Officers of the Crown, in the Year 1674, in two Volumes in 4to. A large Work of his had already appeared, entitled, *The Palace of Honour, or the Historical Genealogies of the Illustrious House of France; and of several noble Families of Europe*. This Work was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1668. It contains an Abstract of several Particulars, relating to Hereditary, the Coronation of Kings, solemn Entries, Baptisms of the Children of France, Royal Funerals, Military Orders, &c. This large Volume was not so correct; as the two which followed it, though they all stand in need of a new Edition, Revised, Cor-

rected, and Augmented. They have certainly been of great Use; and it is difficult to conceive the Pains this good Monk must needs have taken, to collect so many Names, so many Marriages, so many Births, and so many Dates. It is in vain to resist; where Nature strongly inclines to any one Thing, the Monk's Habits never cures a Man of it. Father Anselm was born with a Talent for tracing Genealogies. The little Relation such Matters have to That kind of Life, which he had vowed, did not alter the Bent of his Inclination. One of his Brethren, though not of the Barefooted Order, was perpetually running after Geographical Discoveries (1). This was his natural Inclination; the Habit of an *Augustin* did not change it.

(1) *Father Lubin*. He died at *Paris*, the seventh of May, 1695. See his *Elogy* in the *Journal des Savans*, March 23, 1695.

ANTESIGNANUS (PETER), born, if I mistake not, at *Rabastens* [A], a small Town of *Languedoc*, in the Diocese of *Albi*, was one of the best Grammarians of the XVth Century. He had his Employ so much at Heart, that he chose to render himself serviceable to Youth, by applying himself to the Explanation of those Things, which render the first Entry upon Study difficult, rather than aim at Honour, by the Explanation of greater Difficulties [B]. He acquired Reputation enough to provoke

(1) *Catel* affirms this in the 366th Page of his Memoirs of the History of *Languedoc*. Mr. Baurand mentions this Town under *Rapistanum*. (2) At the Four hundred ninetieth Page of the *Decriptio Fluminis Gallie*, Edition of *Paris*, 1685. (3) *Catel*, ubi supra.

[A] Born, if I mistake not, at *Rabastens*. What induces me to believe so, is his writing himself *Rapistanensis* at the beginning of his Works. I know no Town, which can better give this Appellation, than That of *Rabastens*; which is called in *Latine* *Rapistanum*, or *Rapistanum* (1). I take it for granted, that the Printers have committed an Error in the Place, where *Papyrus Masson* speaks of this Town. They have put *Rapistanum incolæ*, instead of *Rapistanensis* (2). The three Radicals, which are the Arms of *Rabastens* (3), persuade me, that *Papyrus*

Masson, or the Printers, have put the Letter *a* for the Letter *e*.

[B] He chose to render himself serviceable to Youth ----- rather than aim at Honour by the Explanation of greater Difficulties. Let him inform us of this Himself; and let us cite his own Words at length: They are Indications of a good Heart, and may perhaps be an useful Lesson to those ambitious Minds, who aim only at gaining the Applause of Those like themselves, but never study the Advantage of those, who stand most in need of Instruction. He had observed just before, that several learned Commentators had written on *Terence*; and

provoke the Lash of Envy [C]. What he published on Terence may convince us, that he was the most indefatigable Man in the World [D]. I believe he taught a considerable time at Lyons. The Epistle Dedicatory of his Terence is dated from thence, in August 1556 (a). He inscribes it to three Brothers, whom he taught. His Greek Grammar has been reprinted several times. He understood Hebrew well enough to deserve a Place in the *Gallia Orientalis* of Colomies (b); and yet he is forgotten in it.

(a) Idibus Augusti.

(b) He wrote a Letter in this Language to Peter Colus, which has been printed. See Gessner's Epitaph.

and then adds, "Verum pueri novitii, ad quos maxime hujus laboris fructus pertinebat, vix ullum ex accuratis & meditatibus istorum commentationibus emolumentum percipere poterunt. Videntur enim viri illi graves incubuisse in eam curam & cogitationem, quæ sibi summam dignitatem & gloriam esset alitura. Itaque ardua tantum & obscuriora interpretando explanasse contenti, minutiora cetera, quorum doctrina & tractatio præcedere, vel certe conjungi deberat, leviter attigerunt: Ut Adolescentuli, qui his studiis initiatur, se ad cognitionem hujus rei, quam ex communi quadam hominum opinione reconditissimam arbitrantur, desperare posse pervenire. Ut igitur eos ab hujusmodi desperatione ad spem revocarem, ad minima ista me demittere non recuavi. Neque hic difficilia tantum enodavimus, sed ne unam quidem totius Terentii syllabam reliquimus intactam, quam ad unguem non excusserimus, idque absque ulla verborum pompa aut magnificentia, sed nudis literarum notis, & methodo quam potuimus brevissima & facillima. Doctrinæ opinionem affectent alii: Ego pro mea virili parte me puerorum & formandis & promovendis studiis omnem meam operam addidisse aperte & ingenue fateor (4). --- But School-Boys, who have the best claim to the Fruit of these Labours; reaped scarce any Advantage from such accurate and laboured Commentaries. For these great Men seemed to have studied only their own Honour and Reputation. Upon which account, they were contented to explain the more difficult and abstruse Points, but passed lightly over those of less Importance: the explaining and bandling of which ought to precede, or, at least, accompany That of the others: inasmuch, that Boys, when they are initiated in these Studies, despair of acquiring the Knowledge of what, from the general Opinion, they are taught to look upon as very difficult and abstruse. In order, therefore, to remove this Despair, I have contented to explain the most trifling Passages: I have, here, not only cleared up what was difficult: but have left not a Syllable of Terence untouched, or not fully examined; and That without a pompous Shew of Words; but by simple literal Marks, and as briefly as possible. Let others affect the Reputation of Learning: I freely own, My whole Care has been to form and promote the Studies of Youth." Compare with this the following excellent Passage of Erasmus. They relate to the Pains he had taken in enlarging a Dictionary: "Scimus hoc laboris genus esse maxime gloriosum, præsertim quum pauci reputant quot auctores sint excutiendi, ut voces aliquot ab aliis præteritis felicias. Verum hoc plus debetur illis gratiæ qui publicæ utilitatis

(4) Petrus Antesignanus, Epist. Dedicat. Terentii init.

"gratia non detrectant ingloriam ac molestiæ plenam industriam (5). --- I know very well that there is little Reputation to be gained by this kind of Labour; especially since so few consider, how many Authors are to be turned over, in order to select certain Words omitted by others. But, for this very Reason, They deserve the greater Thanks, who, for the sake of public Utility, do not decline an inglorious and troublesome Task."

(5) Erasmus præfatione in Lexicon. It is the 218th Letter of the 28th Book, pag. 1722. See, likewise, the end of the first Chapter of the 18th Book of Pliny's Natural History.

[C] He acquired Reputation enough to provoke the Lash of Envy.] This he insinuates by a Common-Place Topic, which is seldom omitted in Epistles Dedicatory. He says, that They, to whom he dedicated his Terence, seemed to him the properest Persons to screen him from the Attacks of his Enemies. "Digni maxime atque idonei videbami, qui nostra à moris malevolorum fortiter & industrie tutari possitis (6)." There are few Compliments saller than this. Critics have no regard to the Dignity or Capacity of the Person, to whom a Book is dedicated. The *Sieur des Accords* ridicules, wittily enough, the Hopes grounded on the supposed Protection of those, to whom Books are dedicated (7). D'Aubigny found the Reflexions of this Author too just, that, after giving them a new Turn, he adopted them for his own (8).

(6) Antesign. Epist. Dedicat. Terentii.

(7) See the Preface to the *Bignarræ de dea Accords*.

(8) See the Epistle Dedicatory to the *Classification of Sanci*.

[D] What he published on Terence may convince us, that he was the most indefatigable Man in the World.] He published the Comedies of this Poet three several Ways: First, he published them with short Notes, and Contents at the Head of each Scene, marking the Accents of all the Words of above two Syllables; and setting down the Measure, and way of scanning each Verse, by it's Side. In the second Place, he published them with the Annotations of almost all the Authors, who have written on Terence. Lastly, he published them with new marginal Notes, and with a French Translation, and Paraphrase, on the three Comedies. He included every thing in the Translation, which was not in express Terms in the Original, between Crotchets; he marked all the References from the Translation to the Paraphrase with Letters. The *varie lectiones* have each their Parentheses, and Notes of Reference. This is sufficient to shew, that our Author was extremely laborious. Note, that, in the two last Impressions of his Terence, he inserted all that was contained in the first. *Matthieu Bomhomme*, a Bookseller of Lyons, was the Person he employed in this tripple Edition. The King's Licence is dated in 1556. The indefatigable Pains of the Author appears no less in his Treatise intitled, *Thematis verborum investigandi ratio*, and in his *Præcis Præceptorum Lingue Græcæ*. They are to be found in divers Greek Grammars.

ANTHERMUS, a Sculptor, and Native of the Isle of *Cbios*, was the Son of *Micciades*, and Grandson of *Mahas*, who had both been Sculptors. He left two Sons, who were of the same Profession; the Name of the one was *Bupalus*, and That of the other *Athenis* [A]. It was against Them that *Hipponax* wrote some very satirical Verses, in revenge for the ridiculous Representation they had made of his Deformity (a). I speak of this, more at large, in the Article of That Poet. See likewise the Article BUPALUS.

(a) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(1) In *Ἰστ. πύνατ*.

[A] The name of the one was Bupalus, and that of the other was Athenis. So *Suidas* calls him (1). In the Editions of Pliny, he was call'd *Anthermus*; But Father *Harduin* has struck out this Word, and

put *Athenis* in the room of it. See the Remarks [C] and [E] of the Article HIPPOXAX. The Dictionaries of *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, *Moreri*, and *Hesman*, call him *Anthermus*, in spite of *Suidas*.

ANTINOË, or ANTINOPOLIS [A], a Town in Egypt, on the Nile

[A] ANTINOPOLIS. Mr *Baudrand* says, twice in the same Page, that *Stephen* of Byzantium calls it so. I have not found it so, either in the Edition of *Pinedo*, or in that of *Berkelius*: I find in both of them, nothing more, than that the City

Ἀντινόεια, *Antinoia*, was likewise call'd *Adrianopolis*. Mr *Moreri* was not aware, that the latter Name, and *Adrianople*, are not different; he gives them as if they were.

Nile [B], and built, or repaired, by the Emperor *Hadrian*, in Honour of *Antinous*. If we may believe an Author of the IVth Century (a), it was once the Metropolis of *Thebais*. The same Author adds, that it was so populous, that, in his Time, it contained twelve Monasteries of Women (b). *Ammianus Marcellinus* mentions it as one of the three most celebrated Towns of all *Thebais* (c). It is not true, that *Leo Africanus* said it was called *Antibios* [C]. See the Remark [D] of the Article ANTINOUS; you will meet with some Particulars there concerning this City.

(a) Palladius, Histor. Lausac. cap. 4^{to}. apud Trifan. Comment. Histor. Tom. 1. pag. 541.

(b) Id. cap. 13^{to}. apud eundem lib.

(c) Amm. Marcell. lib. 22. cap. 16.

[B] *A Town in Egypt, on the Nile.* *Dion Cassius* positively asserts, that *Adrian* caus'd it to be built in the same Place, where *Antinous* died. 'Οὗ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἔταβη, συνοικίσαι καὶ ὀνομασάσθαι αὐτὸν. *Ururbem in eo loca, in quo ille obijt, restitutam ex eo nominari voluerit* (1). He had said, that, according to *Adrian's* Relation, this unhappy Youth fell into the *Nile*. Since *Adrian*, then, would have the World believe, that *Antinous* was drown'd in this River; we must conclude, that the Town, which he dedicated to this Favourite, was built on the Banks of the *Nile*, and near the Place, where he said the young Man was lost. *Pausanias* expressly remarks, that This Town stood on the *Nile*: 'Εν τῷ Νείῳ πάλιν Αἰγυπτίῳ ἐστὶν ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀντίνου (2). *In Egypto apud Nilum urbs de Antinoi nomine est appellata*. From hence we may conclude, that the Ruins, which are seen Ten Leagues from the *Nile*, as *Moreri* says, are not Those of *Antinopolis*. At the same time, likewise, this concludes more strongly against the Ruins of the Town, which *Mr Baudrand* has situated Forty Nine Leagues from the *Nile*.

(1) Xiphil. in Adriano.

(2) Pausan. lib. 8. pag. 244.

[C] *It is not true, that Leo Africanus said, It was call'd Antibios.* This is another of *Mr Baudrand's* Mistakes. I believe I shall not judge amiss, if I ascribe his Mistake to the Liberty some take of paraphrasing Authors, whom they make use of. Consider well these words of *Ortelius*; "Antbios hoc die cix Joannis Leonis Africæ descriptione

"deprehenditur: — It appears from John Leo's Description of Africa, that it is at present call'd "Antbios". Compare them with these of *Mr Baudrand*, "Nunc in ruinis jacet, Antibios dicta teste "Leone Africano; — It now lies in Ruins, "having been call'd Antibios, according to Leo Africanus." You will perceive, that if this latter Writer had scrupulously confin'd himself to the Terms of the former, he had not made such a Slip. *Ortelius* might have disputed the Point, by wresting *Leo Africanus's* Words to his own Purpose; but *Mr Baudrand* cannot have recourse to Applications or Conjectures; it is incumbent upon him to shew, that *Leo* has positively said, that the Ancient City of *Antinoe* is call'd at present *Antbios*. Now this can never be made out; for *Leo Africanus* says only, that *Antbios* was built by the *Romans* on the River *Nile*, on the side of *Affa*; and that several *Latin* Inscriptions in *Marble* are yet to be seen there (3). He speaks of it as a very beautiful City, rendered considerable by the Industry, and good Disposition, of the Inhabitants; so far is he from being able to quote him as a Proof, that it is now quite ruin'd. *Mr Baudrand* adds, that it lies Forty Nine Leagues Eastward from the *Nile*. It is not, then, the *Antbios* of *Leo Africanus*. *Mr Moreri* deducts Thirty Nine of these Leagues; it's Ruins, he says, are to be seen Ten Leagues from the *Nile*. We have prov'd, in the preceding Remark, that *Antinopolis* stood upon This River.

(3) Leo African. Descript. Africæ, lib. 8. fol. 360.

ANTINOUS, Minion of the Emperor *Adrian*, was a Native of *Bytbyne*, in *Bytbinia* (a). We meet with nothing concerning his Family. His Beauty inflamed the Heart of *Adrian* in such a manner, that a more unbridled or extravagant Passion, than That of the Emperor for this young Man, has scarce been known. It never broke out so furiously, as after the Death of *Antinous*; for there were no Divine Honours, which *Adrian* thought too sublime for this Object of his Love [A]. Some say, that *Antinous* had given him the highest Instance of Affection, that is, had died for him [B]. Others affirm, that he drowned himself in the *Nile*, during the Stay which *Adrian* made in *Egypt*, about the CXXIII^d Year of the Christian *Era*. However it be, the Emperor mourned for him with the most effeminate Grief (b), and ordered Temples and Altars to be erected to him; which was performed with all

(a) This City was also called Claudiopolis. Xiphil. in Adriano.

(b) Multibriter flevit, Spartian. pag. 135.

[A] *There were no Divine Honours, which Adrian thought too sublime for this Object of his Love.* I insist not on the great Number of Statues, or Representations, which he caus'd to be made of him, almost in every Part of the World (1). I appeal to the Temples, which he order'd to be built to him; to the Priests, which he appointed him, and to the Sacred Games (2), and Mysteries, consecrated in Honour of him (3). *Pausanias* observes, that, by the particular Care of this Emperor, the Worship of *Antinous* was settled at *Manitinea*, because *Antinous's* Country was a Colony of it (4). Games were celebrated there every five Years, in honour of this Favourite; but the Mysteries consecrated to him were celebrated every Year. They, who build upon this, that there were Priests of *Antinous*, who assum'd the Title of Prophets; they, I say, who build upon this, and thence conclude that he had an Oracle, seek for Mysteries where there are none (5). These Prophets were only the Priests of *Antinous*, in That particular Town, which bore his Name in *Egypt*, and which was the Mother Church, and Center of this New Religion (7). Now, in the Colleges of the *Egyptian* Priests, They were call'd Prophets, who were in the Nature of Deans, or Superiors. See the Proofs of this, which the Learned *Henricus Valefius* furnishes, in his Annotations on *Eusebius* (8). There is an Inscription preserv'd, in which *Antinous* is placed on the same Throne with the *Egyptian* Gods, οὐδέποτε τὸν ἐν Ἀργυρῶν θεῶν (9). The Dignity of an *Assessor* to the Gods was much inferior to This. I shall not dissemble, what the Philosopher *Celsus* in-

sists on, that the *Egyptians* would never suffer *Antinous* to be compar'd with *Jupiter* and *Apollo* (10). *Origen* maintains the contrary; but I confess he advances it without any Proof; or I do not understand his Reasoning.

[B] *Some say — that Antinous — died for him.* *Adrian* did not say so much; But *Dion* has no regard to the History of That Emperor, where he had read, that *Antinous* fell into the River *Nile*, and was drown'd. He delivers it as a constant Truth, that a certain Magic Operation, on which *Adrian* was employ'd, requir'd, that some one should voluntarily lay down his Life, and that *Antinous* accepted the Condition. The Abbreviator *Xiphilinus*, probably, has robb'd us of some Circumstances, which might clear up this Mystery a little; for it is not to be imagin'd, that *Dion Cassius* should report a Circumstance of this Nature in so concise, or rather so maim'd, a Manner. However it be, we cannot infer from the Narration of *Xiphilinus*, that *Antinous* laid down his Life, to save, or prolong, That of *Adrian*. We should rather conclude, that he submitted to Death, that the Augurs, by inspecting his Entrails, might be enabled to discover That Point of Futurity, which the Emperor searched for. Nor let it be alledged, after one of our Antiquaries (11), "That, had the Emperor been only curious to consult the Entrails of some Youth, in a Point of Divination, there had been no Necessity of making the Experiment on Him, whom he loved of all Men living: There were Youths enough, besides him, of exquisite Beauty, in That great Em-

(10) Apud Origen. lib. 3. pag. 133.

(11) Trifan. Comment. Histor. Tom. 1. pag. 541.

(1) Xiphil. in Adriano.

(2) Hegeippus, apud Eusebium Histor. Ecclef. lib. 4. cap. 8.

(3) Pausanias, lib. 8. pag. 244.

(4) Ibid.

(5) See Castaubon, and Salmon, upon Spartian, in the Life of *Adrian*, pag. 137, 143.

(7) See Hegeippus, apud Eusebium, Histor. Ecclef. lib. 4. cap. 8.

(8) See the Remark [D].

(9) See Spanhem. de Numism. pag. 657.

the Diligence, which might be expected from a Nation accustomed of old to the grossest Flatteries [C]. He would fain have persuaded the People, that *Antinous* delivered Oracles; and some were published in his Name; but it was generally believed, that *Adrian* had forged them (c). He caused the Town, in which his Favourite died, to be rebuilt, and called it after his Name [D]. He was overjoy'd, when they told him, that a new Star had appeared in the Heavens, supposed to be the Soul of *Antinous* [E]; and he himself was wont to say, that he had seen the Star of

Antinous

(c) See the Remark [D], towards the end.

(12) He ought not to have expressed himself doubtfully in this Point. See Apuleius, Apolog. pag. 301.

"pire (had Beauty been material (12) who might 'have serv'd for this Infamous Mytery.'" Let not this, I say, be alleged; for this Writer was himself apprized of the Invalidity of this reason, when he added these Words immediately after; But, perhaps, "The Secret of the Necromantic Art required, that He alone, as being his best beloved, should be sacrificed, to make the Ceremony more efficacious." He should have added the Words of *Dion*, that it was necessary the Victim should be a voluntary one. Now, Other Youths, whom the Emperor might have design'd for this Sacrifice, would not voluntarily have submitted to it. Do you not think it was necessary to use extreme Violence towards those beautiful Youths, whom *Heliogabalus* delivered to his Magicians? "Cœdit & humanas hostias, læstis ad hoc pueris nobilibus & decoris per omnem Italian patrimis & matrimis, credo ut major effect utrique parenti doctor. Omne denique magorum genus aderat illi, operabaturque quotidie hortante illo, & gratias diis agente quod amicos eorum invenisset, quum inspicere ret exa puerilia, & excuteret hostias ad ritum gentium talem suum (13). — He sacrificed, likewise, but man Victims, selecting for this purpose noble and beautiful Youths, whose Fathers and Mothers were still living; I suppose, that both Parents might feel the greater Affliction. Lastly, he was attended by all sorts of Magicians, whom he daily employ'd, returning the Gods Thanks, that he had met with their Friends, when he inspected the Entrails of the Children, and examin'd the Victims after his own Pagan Rites". The Magic of those Ages requir'd Victims of this kind; and *St Justin* observes, that it made choice of Youths of unspotted Chastity. Νεκυομαντῆσαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ αἱ ἀδιαφόρων αἰδῶν ἄνθρωποι. Necyomantie ipsæ & incorruptorum puerorum speculari inspectiones (14). *Antinous* would, in this respect, have been very unfit. To return to *Adrian*, I think we must suppose, I. That the Necessity was extremely pressing, which made him consent to the sacrificing of his Favourite. II. That the Desire of avoiding Death was to him a stronger Motive, than the Curiosity of diving into Futurity: I chuse therefore to follow *Aurelius Victor*, rather than *Xiphilin*. *Aurelius Victor* expresses himself thus, "Quæ quidem alii pia volunt religiosaque, quippe Hadriano cupiente fatum producer, cum voluntarium ad vicem magi propolissent, cunctis retractantibus Antinuum obsecravit referunt (15)". — "Others look upon it as a pious and religious Act; for, Hadrian being desirous of seeing into Futurity, and the Magicians requiring a voluntary Sacrifice for this Purpose, when all others declin'd it, Antinous, they say, offer'd himself." Add, if you please, these Words of *Spartian*. "De quo (Antinoo) varia fama est, aliis cum devotum pro Hadriano afferentibus (16). — Concerning whom (Antinous) there are various Reports, some affirming that he devoted himself for Hadrian".

[C] Accusom'd to the grossest Flatteries.] Among the Instances of base Complaisance for the Passions of *Adrian*, *Cassaubon* reckons what the Poet *Panocrates* did (17). He shew'd *Adrian*, as a Miracle, the *Lotos* Flower, which is not unlike a Rose, telling him it ought to be named the *Antinoian*, and that it grew on the very Spot, which had been sprinkled with the Blood of a Lyon, which He, the Emperor, had kill'd in Hunting. The Emperor was so pleas'd with this Discourse, that he order'd *Panocrates* a Pension in the *Museum of Alexandria* (18). *Athenæus* does not explain the Reason, why the Poet would have this Flower called after *Antinous*; but we may easily conjecture, that *Panocrates*'s Design in it was to do honour to the Name of This Favourite. I imagined for some time, that this Passage of *Athenæus* had been the Occasion of a Mistake of Mr *Moreri*'s, which I have mention'd at the End of this Article: But I alter'd my Opinion, upon Reading these Words of a

Modern Author. *Adrian* — gave the Name of this wretch (Antinous) to a City of Egypt — as he had also given it to a Planet, to a Flower, to Temples, to Sacrifices, to Oracles, to Solemn Games; in short, he made a God of him (19). They, who compare this Passage with the *Antinous of Mæris*, will be able to judge whether That Writer knew how to make use of the Books he consulted.

[D] He caus'd the Town, in which his Favourite died, to be rebuilt, &c.] I have followed the Translator of *Xiphilin*, who speaks only of a City repaired; though *Xiphilin* makes use of the Word *ῥοδοποιῖας*. Others, not examining the Text so closely, say, that *Adrian* built a Town, which bore the Name of *Antinous*. Πόλιν ἐκτίσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀντίνοῦ (20). *Urbem condidit Antinous cognominem*. It was situated in *Thebais*, and was anciently called *Beja*, which was also the Name of the particular Deity adored there. *Cassaubon* affirms this (21), and observes, that the Egyptians, leaving the new Name to the Greeks, continued to call it *Beza*; but some, joining together the old and new Name, call'd it *Bezantinum*. *Helladius*, who was born there, did so (22). Let us not forget, that *Antinous*'s Tomb was to be seen there. *St Epiphanius* informs us of it in these Words: "Ὡς ὁ Ἀντίνοῦ ὁ ἐν Ἀντίνοῦ κεκρυμμένῳ ὡς Ἀδριανῷ κατετάφη (23). After this manner Antinous, being buried by Hadrian in the City of his Name, was rank'd among the Gods. We learn from *Origen*, that Miracles were said to be wrought in This Temple of *Antinous* (24). It is there *Salmastus* places the pretended Oracle of This false and ridiculous Divinity. "Licet in multis Græciæ urbibus templâ & sacerdotibus habuerit Antinous, præcipue tamē cum coluelli videntur Ægypti, in ea urbe, quæ ab ipso nomen accepit; nam ibi sepultus est, ibi Oracula per eum reddi credebantur, ibi prophetas habuit (25). — Tho' Antinous had Temples and Priests in many Cities of Greece, yet the Egyptians seem to have been the principal Worshippers of Him, in that City, which had his Name from Him; for There he was buried; There Oracles were thought to be deliver'd by Him; and There he had his Prophets." What relates to the Oracle is attested by *Origen* (26), if the Passage be read as *Salmastus* has quoted it; Πρῶτον θεολογῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀντίνοῦ ἀγῶν (27). See also *Scaliger* on *Eusebius*, n. 2135, where his Quotation differs from That of *Salmastus*; tho' *Spencer* vindicates the latter Reading, in the Forty fourth Page of his Annotations on *Origen* against *Celsus*. What induc'd me to call it a pretended Oracle, was this: I recollected these Words of *Spartian*: "Et Græci quidem, volente Hadriano, eum consecraverunt, oracula per eum dari afferentes, quæ *Adrianus* ipse composuisse iactatur (28). — The Greeks, to please *Adrian*, deified Him, affirming that he gave Oracles, which *Adrian* himself is said to have compos'd.

[E] A New Star, — Supposed to be the Soul of Antinous.] The like Flattery had been practised before, in Favour of *Julius Cæsar*. "Ludis quos primo consecratos ei hæres Augustus edebat, stella cœnita per septem dies continuis fuit, exoriens circa undecimam horam, creditumque est eam esse Cæsar in Cœlum recepti, & hac de causa simulacro ejus in vertice additur Stella (29). — At the first Celebration of the Games, consecrated to him by Augustus, a Comet appeared for seven Days successively, rising about the eleventh Hour; and it was thought to be the Soul of Cæsar receiv'd into the Heavens; for which Reason a Star is plac'd on the Head of his Statue." *Ovid* concludes his *Metamorphoses* by That of Cæsar's Soul into a Star.

Vix ea fatus erat, media cum sede Senatus
Constitit alma Venus nulli cernenda, suique
Cæsar is eripuit membris, nec in æira solvi

(19) Trifflant Comment. Histor. Tom. 1. pag. 541.

(20) Hegeppus apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 8. See also Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. 16.

(21) Casaub. in Spart. Vit. Adriani. lib. 138.

(22) Apud Photium, Biblioth. pag. 1596.

(23) Epiph. in Ancorato, n. 108.

(24) Origen adversus Celsum, lib. 3. pag. 132.

(25) Salmast. in Spart. vit. Adriani, pag. 143.

(26) Origen ubi supra.

(27) Salmast. in Spartian. ubi supra.

(28) Spart. in Adriano. pag. 137.

(29) Sneton. in Cæsar. cap. 88. See the Penfence Diversities fur les Comètes, pag. 219.

(13) Lampridius in vita Heliogab. cap. 8.

(14) Justin. in Apologia, pag. 65. See Salmastus on Spartian, pag. 136, and Apuleius in Apologia, pag. 301.

(15) Aurel. Victor. in Cæsaribus.

(16) Spart. pag. 135.

(17) Casaub. in Spart. Vit. Adriani. pag. 137.

(18) Athen. lib. 15. cap. 6. pag. 677.

(d) Xiphil. in Adriano.

(e) Id. ib.

(f) Trifan. Comment. Historiq. PG. 543.

Antinous (d). What is most surprizing in all this, is, not the prophane Complaisance for this Prince's Weakness, which in private was a Jest (e); but that the Worship of this new Deity should subsist a long time after his Death, and be still in vogue in the Reign of *Valentinian* (f), when there was no longer occasion to flatter this Prince, or to fear the special Edict, ordaining this Worship (g). So that the Adoration of *Antinous* subsisted entirely on a ridiculous Fondness in People for every thing, which they find established. The Fathers of the Church made their Advantage of this foolish Superstition, to expose the Vanity of the Pagan Religion. It was easy to trace this new Divinity to the Source, and thence bring the Original of all the rest into suspicion. People talked very differently of *Antinous*, according to the Differences of the Times; when they addressed themselves to *Antoninus Pius*, the adopted Son and Heir of *Adrian*, or to *Marcus Aurelius*, adopted by *Antoninus Pius*, according to the Intention of *Adrian*, they were not so imprudent, as to hint at the infamous Cause of his Deification. They touched upon that String with the gentlest Hand (h). But *Tertullian*, who lived at a greater Distance from those Times, and under Emperors, who had not the same Interest in the Affair, observed no Measures. *Prudentius* has pleasantly observed, that *Adrian's* Minion was raised to an higher Station than *Jupiter's* [F]; for *Antinous* sat down to Table, while *Ganymede* fill'd the Liquor. The former might have said,

(g) St Athanasius against the Gentiles, and Theodoret in the 7th holy Discourse, apud Trifan ubi supra, say, there was an express Edict of *Adrian*, enjoining the Worship of *Antinous*.

(h) Justin Martyr Apolog. ad Anton. Pium. Athénagoras ad Marcum Imper.

— mediis videor discumbere in astris
Cum Jove, & Iliaæ porrectum sumere dextra
Immortale merum (i).

(i) Statius Silv. 2. lib. 4.

Methinks amidst the Stars reclin'd I lye
With Jove, th' Imperial Master of the Sky;
There from the Hand of the fair Trojan Boy
The Cup receive, and quaff immortal Joy.

The Children of this World have, in all Ages, made their Court more exactly to the Gods of the Earth, than to Those of Heaven. I cannot imagine, why Mr *Moreri* says, that *Adrian believed, that Antinous was changed into a Flower, and into a Temple* (k), and even ordered an Altar to be raised to him. Is not this supposing, that he built no Temples in Honour of him? And is this any truer, than the metamorphosing him into a Flower?

(k) See the Remark [C].

Passa recentem animam, cœlestibus intulit astris.
Dumque tulit, lumen capere atque ignescere sensit,
Emisitque sinu. Luna volat altius illa,
Flammiferumque trahens spatioso limite crinem
Stella micat *.

* Ovid. Metam. lib. 15. ver. 843.

This spoke; the Goddess to the Senate flew;
Where, her fair Form conceal'd from mortal View,
Her Cæsar's Heavenly Part she made her Care,
Nor left the recent Soul to waſte to Air;
But bore it upwards to it's native Skies:
Glowing with new-born Fires she saw it rise;
Forth-springing from her Bosom up it flew,
And, kindling, as it soar'd, a Comet grew:
Above the Lunar Sphere it took it's Flight,
And shot behind it a long Trail of Light.

WELSTED.

The Greek Poets had long before employed the same Thought in Favour of *Berenice's* Hair: The Emperor *Adrian* was too learned to be ignorant of it. Yet he relished the Flattery, though destitute of the Charms of Novelty. What could they be thinking of, who placed this Darling in the lowest Region of the Heavens? Some there were, who raised him no higher than the Orb of the Moon. *Πῶς δ' ὁ θεὸς Ἀντίνοῦ μαρμαίον ἐν τῇ σελήνῃ ὡς οἰὸν καθίδρυται*

(30). — How came the young *Antinous*, when he died, to be placed near the Moon?

[F] *Prudentius* has pleasantly observed, that *Adrian's* Minion was raised to an higher Station, than *Jupiter's*.] His Verses deserve to be more correctly cited, than the *Sieurs Trifan*, in his *Historical Commentaries on the Medals of the Roman Emperors* (31), and *Moreri*, in his *Historical Dictionary*, have given them. I transcribe them from the Edition of *Nicolas Heinſius*.

(30) Tatian. Orat. contra Græcos, pag. 149.

(31) Pag. 542.

Quid loquar Antinœum cœlesti in sede locatum?
Illum delicias nunc Divi Principis; illum
Purpureo in gremio spoliatum forte virili,
Hadrianique Dei *Ganymedem*; non cyathos dis
Porgere, sed medio recubantem cum Jove fulcro
Nectaris ambrosii sacrum potare lyzeum,
Cumque suo in templis vota exaudire marito (32)?

Why shou'd I mention Fair *Antinous*,
The Royal Lover's Minion, and Delight;
Rank'd, with His Master, now, amidst the Gods,
His other *Ganymede*; yet not, like Him,
The Cup to fill; but, near great Jove reclin'd,
To quaff Ambrosial Nectar with the Gods,
And, jointly with his Master, bear the Vows,
Which Mortals at their Altars humbly pay?

(32) Prudent. contra Symmach. lib. 1.

ANTIPATER, an Idumean by Nation [A], illustrious for his Birth

[A] An Idumean by Nation.] *Eusebius* makes him an *Aſcalonite* (1). "A Band of Robbers, says he, who had plundered a Temple near *Aſcalon*, carried *Antipater* with the rest of the Booty into *Idumea*, where he lived a long time; his Father not having wherewithal to redeem him." What I shall observe in the following Remark confutes this Story. *Photius* seems to me to deserve Censure upon this Occasion. In giving the Extract of *Josephus*, he affirms, that *Herod* was the Son of *Antipater*, who had served in

the Temple of *Aſcalon*. *Ὁ τῷ Ἀντίπατρὶ τῷ Ἀσκαλωνίτῃ τῷ ἱεροδύλῳ* (2). He did not find this in *Josephus*; and yet what Reader questions, whether every thing cited by *Photius* be in the Books he refers to? He, elsewhere, says (3), that *Antipater* was an Idumean, of the City of *Aſcalon*, and a great Enemy to *Hircanus*, on account of the Love he bore to *Arifobulus*. This last Fault ought not to be imputed to *Photius*; for all his following Discourse shews, that he makes *Antipater* and *Hircanus* good Friends.

(2) Phot. Bibl. n. 76. pag. 163.

(3) Id. n. 238. pag. 969.

(1) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 6. 7. ex Asfricano.

Birth [B], his Riches, and his good Sense, artfully made his Advantage of the Confusions, into which the Differences betwixt *Hircanus* and *Aristobulus* had thrown *Judea*. These were two Brothers, who disputed the High-Priesthood. *Antipater* warmly espoused *Hircanus's* Interest, and engaged *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, in it, and, afterwards, *Pompey*, the Roman General; in such a manner, that *Hircanus* got the better (a). *Antipater* had the sole Management of Affairs under his Government, and always turned them to the Advantage of the Romans, whenever an Opportunity offered. This made the Roman Generals, *Scaurus*, *Gabinus*, and *Cassius*, honour him with several important Commissions, and pay a great deference to his Councils (b). He did *Julius Cæsar* a singular Piece of Service, in the War of *Alexandria*, by supplying him with Provisions and Troops, and assisting him courageously in Person. Inasmuch, that, besides great Commendations, he obtained from *Julius Cæsar* the Freedom of a Citizen of *Rome*, and the Administration of *Judea* (c). The Complaints of *Antigonus* (d) prevailed nothing against him; his Application to Business, and his great Abilities, gained him such an high Esteem, that he was little less honoured, than if he had been formally invested with the Royal Authority (e). The manner, in which he seemed to guard against any Reverse of Fortune, by giving one of his Sons the Government of *Jerusalem*, and another That of *Galilee*, with the Command of Troops, created a just Suspicion of his designing to have no Superior, either in Name, or Effect. A Jew, named *Makbus*, suspecting this, resolved to prevent the Evil, and, finding no better way, than That of sending *Antipater* out of the World, he poisoned him (f). By this Act he became guilty of the blackest Ingratitude; for the Person, whom he destroyed, had loaded him with Benefits, and had, besides, saved his Life (g). Among other Children, *Antipater* left the famous *Herod*, who was afterwards King of *Judea* (h).

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 14. cap. 2. & seq.

(b) Ibid. cap. 9. & seq.

(c) Ibid. cap. 14, 15.

(d) He was the Son of *Aristobulus*.

(e) Ibid. cap. 17.

(f) Ib. cap. 19.

(g) Ibid. cap. 18.

(h) His Wife, called *Cypria*, was of a great Family in Arabia. Joseph. de Bell. Jud. lib. 1. cap. 6.

Friends. They, who published this Author, must share in the Blame as to this Point; but he alone is answerable for the other Fault. *Afcalon* was not a Town of *Idumea*; and, after all, *Josephus* does not say, that *Antipater* was of *Afcalon*. Now *Pbotius* gives it as an Extract from *Josephus*.

[B] *Illustrious for his Birth*. His Father, whose Name was likewise *Antipater*, was Governor of *Idumea* under *Alexander Jannæus*, King of *Judea*. *Eusebius* calls him *Herod*, and makes him a Servant in a Temple; and so poor, that he was not able to redeem his Son, who was fallen into the Hands of Robbers. Τῶτον δὲ Ἡρόδου τινὲς Ἀσκαλονίτου τὸν περὶ τὸν νεὸν τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἱεροδούλων καλυμμένων γεγονέναι (4). Huic vero Herodem quemdam Afcalonitam unum ex numero servorum templi Apollinis quod Afcalone est patrem fuisse. But the Learned make no doubt, that both *Eusebius* and *Africanus*,

whom he copies, have followed false Memoirs in this Point; and that more Credit ought to be given to *Josephus*, who affirms, that King *Alexander*, and his Queen, gave the Government of *Idumea* to *Antipater*, who, by many Presents, obtained the Friendship of the *Arabs*, and That of the Inhabitants of *Gaza* and *Afcalon* (5). *Josephus*, speaking in another Place of *Antipater*, the Son, observes, that he was the most considerable Person of *Idumea*, as well for the Antiquity of his Family, as for his Riches (6). *Hegeffippus* says of the same *Antipater*, that he was famous in his own Country for his Ancestors (7). It has ever been common to debase the Birth of those, whom Fortune raises to the highest Dignities (8). By the way, the Ambiguity of a Passage in *Josephus* has made some imagine, that *Herod's* Grandfather's Name was not *Antipater*, but *Antipas*.

(5) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. 14. cap. 2.

(6) Id. de bello Judæico, lib. 1. cap. 5.

(7) De Excid. lib. 1. cap. 14.

(8) See the Remark [A] of the Article TOUCHET.

(4) Euseb. 1. 1. cap. 6. Vide ibi Valesium.

ANTONY, a Roman Family, in Latin, *Antonia*, descended, according to an old Tradition, from *Anton*, the Son of *Hercules* (a), produced two Branches: The one a *Patrician*, with the Surname of *Merenda*; the other a *Plebeian*, without almost any kind of Surname. It does not appear, that the *Patrician* Branch lasted long, or produced any other Persons, mentioned in History, except *T. ANTONIUS MERENDA*, and *Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA*. The first was one of the *Decemvirate*, abrogated on account of the tyrannical Cruelty of *Appius Claudius*, in the Year of *Rome* 304; and one of those, who went into a voluntary Exile, and whose Goods were confiscated, after the Trial of *Appius Claudius*, and *Sp. Oppius* (b). The latter was a Military Tribune in the Year of *Rome* 333 (c). But the *Plebeian* Branch continued a long time, and made a great Figure in *Rome* [A]; for, besides that it could boast of having twice enjoyed the Post of Captain-General of the Cavalry, Six times the Consulship, Once the Censorship, and Thrice the Honour of a Triumph (d); It saw itself, in the Person of *Marc Antony*, the *Triumvir*, Mistress of Half the Empire. We shall proceed to particular Articles of the chief Men of this Ancient Family [B].

(a) Plutarch. in Marc. Antonio, pag. 917.

(b) Livius, lib. 3. pag. 88.

(c) Id. lib. 4. pag. 128.

(d) See Glandorp Onomast. pag. 66.

[A] *The Plebeian Branch continued a long Time, and made a considerable Figure in Rome*. We must not forget, that *Marc Antony* the Orator, who died in the Year 667, was the first, who brought the Honours of the Consulship, the Triumph, and Censorship into This Family.

[B] *Of This ancient Family*. They, who have most Reading, most Collections, and most Materials for a Library, fall, sometimes, into strange Oversight. Father *Vassafur* is an Instance of this, in his excellent Treatise of the Burlesque Stile, when he censures *Pbotius*, for having believed, that *Antonius Diogenes*, Author of a Romance, flourished not long after the Death of *Alexander*. Οὐ λίαν πόρρω τῶν χρόνων τῷ βασιλεὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ (1). Non ita diu post Alexandri Magni tempora floruisse. He alleges several Reasons against this; among which he

thinks this the strongest, That the Family *Antonia* was not, then, in being; and that the Name was not so much as known. Neque, quod gravissimum est, tum nata gens Antonia, aut facta vox, aut audita temporibus illis (2). Than which nothing is more false. We have produced, on the Credit of *Livy*, one *Titus Antonius*, a *Decemvir*, in the Year of *Rome* 304; and, about thirty Years after, one *Quintus Antonius*, who was a Military Tribune. We find, in the same *Livy*, one *Marcus Antonius*, appointed Master of the Horse by the Dictator *Cornelius Rufinus*, in the Year 421. Now it is certain, that *Alexander* died in the Year 430. I do not alledge the Tradition, recorded by *Plutarch*; I might justly be answered, that *Anton*, Son of *Hercules*, was no more the Stem of the *Antony's* in Italy, than *Cocceus Nerva* was the Stem of the House of *Coffe* in France.

(2) Vassafur, de ludrica Dictione, 143.

(1) Pbotius, n. 67. pag. 364.

ANTONY (MARCE) the Orator, was the greatest Ornament of his Family. At his Entrance on Public Business, he distinguished himself in a manner, which deserves to be related. He had obtained the Quæstorship of the Province of *Asia*, and was already arrived at *Brundisium*, to take shipping there, in order to go and take Possession of his Office, when his Friends informed him, that he was accused of Incest before the Prætor *Cassius*, the most rigid Judge in the World; whose Tribunal was termed the *Rock of the accused*. *Marc Antony* might have pleaded a Privilege, which forbade the receiving Accusations against those, who were absent in the Service of the Republic; but he chose to justify himself in Form, and returned to *Rome*, stood his Trial, and was acquitted with Honour (a). *Sicily* fell to him during his Prætorship; and he gave chase to the Pirates, who infested those Coasts. He was made Consul, with *A. Posthumius Albinus*, in the Year of *Rome* 653, and courageously and happily suppressed the turbulent Attempts of *Sextus Titus*, Tribune of the People. Some time after, he was made Proconsul of *Cilicia*, and performed so many great Actions in this Post, that he obtained the Honour of a Triumph. We must not forget, that, to improve his wonderful Talent of Eloquence, he would in some manner become the Disciple of the most noted Orators of *Athens* and *Rhodes*, in his Passage to *Cilicia*, and his Return to *Rome*. He afterwards exercised the Office of Censor, with great Glory; having gained his Cause before the People, against *Marcus Duronius*, who had entered an Accusation of Bribery against him, in Revenge for his expelling him out of the Senate; which this wise Censor thought he deserved; because, while Tribune of the People, he repealed a Law, restraining the immoderate Expences of Feasts (b). He was one of the best Orators That ever pleaded in *Rome*; and, as *Cicero*, a proper Judge in these Matters, says, he was an Instance, that *Italy* could boast of equalling *Greece* in the Art of Speaking well. Among other Persons, he defended *Marcus Aquilius*, and so moved the Judges by the Tears he shed (c), and the Scars he shewed on his Client's Breast, that he gained his Cause. The Character of his Eloquence, and his Actions, may be seen at large in the Books I quote (d). He never published any of his Pleadings [A]; least he should be convicted of speaking in one Cause, contrary to what he might have alledged in another. The Morality of the Bar thought it no Scandal, in those Days, for a Pleader to contradict himself in Favour of his Client. The Precaution of this Advocate is necessary to Persons of his Profession [B]; and yet is not always sufficient

(a) Valer. Maxim. lib. 3. cap. 7. n. 6. *quo mentis* (lib. 6. cap. 8.) the Consistency of this *Marc Antony*, is denying that his Master was guilty.

(b) Glandorpius, ubi supra, pag. 68. ex Epit. Liv. Cicero. &c.

(c) Cicero de Orat. lib. 2. cap. 47. & in Verr. 5.

(d) Id. in Bruto, & de Orat. c. 37.

[A] He never published any of his Pleadings.] This Fact, and the Reason of it, deserve to be confirmed by Proofs. *Cicero* and *Valerius Maximus* shall be my Vouchers. Let us hear *Cicero* first: "Hominem ingeniosum M. Antonium aiunt solitum esse dicere, idcirco se nullam unquam orationem scripississe, ut si quid aliquando non opus esset ab se esse dictum, posset se negare dixisse (1). ----- The ingenious Orator, *Marc Antony*, they tell us, was wont to say, that his Reason for never publishing any of his Orations, was, that, whenever it was proper he should not have said a Thing, he might deny that he had said it." *Valerius Maximus's* Words are: "Jam M. Antonio remittendum convitium est, qui idcirco se aiebat nullam orationem scripississe, ut si quid superiore iudicio actum ei, quem postea densurus esset, nociturum foret, non dictum a se affirmare posset: qui facti vix pudens tolerabilem causam habuit, pro periclitantem enim capite non solum eloquentia sua uti, sed etiam verecundia abuti, erat paratus (2). ----- *Marc Antony* is to be excused from Censure: who said, that he, therefore, published no Orations, that, if what he had pleaded in a foregoing Cause should appear to be prejudicial to a subsequent Client, he might deny his own Words. Thus he assigned a tolerable Reason for an Action, otherwise scarce honourable; for he was ready, not only to employ his Eloquence, but even to sacrifice his Modesty, in Defence of the Distress." No Critic, I think, can be so unreasonable, as to maintain, that I translate the Word *scribere* wrong. Every Reader of common Sense will perceive, that *Marc Antony* never meant to say, that he pleaded *Extempore*; that he never drew up his Pleadings in Writing; for, if this had been his Meaning, he would have assigned an impertinent Reason for his Conduct; since his only Intention was to prevent any one's turning his own Weapons against him. Now this he might equally have done, whether he wrote down his Pleadings, or not, provided he did not publish them. A Manuscript, which is locked up, can never convict an Orator, at the Bar, of having formerly maintained an Opinion quite contrary to what he advances at present. He may deny it, with the same Assurance, as if he had pleaded *Extempore*; without any Fear of being condemned to produce the Original of his Pleas: there are many ways of guarding against This.

We may conclude, then, that the present Question is not, whether he wrote, or did not write down, his Pleadings, but whether he published them, or not. Were it necessary to offer Proofs in so clear a Case, I could soon produce two very strong ones. The first should be taken from a Passage in *Cicero*, where *Brutus* complains, that *Marc Antony*, the Orator, had published but one very small Book. "Vellem aliquid Antonio præter illum de ratione dicendi sane exilium libellum ----- libuisset scribere (3). ----- I could wish, that *Antony* had thought fit to publish something more, than That very small Treatise of the Art of Speaking." Here, you see, he makes use of the Word *scribere*. The second might be taken from That Oration of *Cicero*, in which the Fact in Question is mentioned; for *Cicero*, intending to shew, that *Marc Antony's* Precaution was not so effectual as he imagined, represents, not that an Advocate is obliged to produce the Original of his Pleas; but, that there are Auditors, who remember, a long time after, what they have heard a Lawyer advance. "Perinde quasi quid a nobis dictum aut actum sit id nisi literis mandaverimus hominum memoria non comprehendatur (4). ----- As though the not committing to Writing, what we have formerly advanced in our Pleadings, would prevent it's being retained in the Memory of others."

[B] The Precaution of this Advocate is necessary to Persons of his Profession.] I remember, in a Letter, which was published in the Year 1685, an Enquiry into the Causes of the Contradictions of Authors (5). The Lawyers are there brought upon the Stage; and what is said, on their Article, is as follows. "It is sometimes diverting enough to hear the same Lawyer plead, in one and the same Week, for a Husband against his Wife, and for a Wife against her Husband. If he has a fruitful Imagination, he dwells altogether, in his first Plea, upon the Power of Husbands; he grounds his Arguments on Nature, on Reason, on the Word of God, and on Custom. He quotes the Scriptures; he quotes the Fathers; the Civilians, and the Writers of Travels. He declaims against Women, and dwells only on general Propositions. Two Days after, the Scene changes; he entertains other Thoughts, quite contrary to the former. He calls the Husband's Authority, Usurpation; he runs over the Holy Scrip-

(3) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 44.

(4) Cicero, in Orat. pro Cluentio.

(5) The second of the new Letters against Maximbourg's History of Calvinism.

A REFLECTION on the Contradictions to be found in Authors.

(1) Cicero in Oratione pro Cluentio. cap. 50.

(2) Valer. Maxim. lib. 7. cap. 13. n. 5.

sufficient to save their Honour [C]. He ever affected not to pass for a learned Man

"tures, the Code, Physic, History, and the Moral Law, in favour of Women, still haranguing on general Principles; for a vehement Spirit thinks it proves nothing, unless it affirms and denies, without Exception; and consequently, if obliged to maintain opposite Interests, must necessarily contradict itself." It must be owned, that a Lawyer, who has publicly pleaded with all the Fire of Imagination, for the Privileges of Women, may be confuted with all imaginable Ease, the next time he pleads for the Privileges of Men. It is but referring him to his own Minutes. Our Orator, Marc Antony, would fain have avoided this great Inconvenience, and have enjoyed the Privilege of contradicting himself, by maintaining one thing to Day, and another to Morrow, according as the Interest of his Clients required. It would be easy to shew, that Lawyers are not the only Persons, who make use of this Practice; Polemic Divines do the same, according to the different Tenets of those they have to deal with (6).

(6) See Remark [M] of the Article ADAM (JOHN).

(7) See the Efforts, which the Jesuit Multihusius makes in the Auditorium Primum Speculi Miseriarum Pauci, to reconcile this Contradiction. See the Remark [D] of the Article BELLARMIN.

(8) See the Supplement to the Philosophical Commentary, and pag. 207 and 216 of Mr. Saurin's Answer to This Commentary.

(9) It is Mr Menage, who speaks in the Anti-Ballet, Tom. 2. p. 174, 175.

(10) Above Citation (4).

(11) It is not left to be feared by Preachers, who, far from contradicting themselves, repeat from time to time, and almost word for word, the same Sermon.

(12) See Cicero Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 50, &c. and de Oratore, c. 45. how he was revenged on Brutus, by bringing three R. addresses into Court.

(13) Cicero Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 31.

Bellarmin, in disputing against the Enthusiasts, maintains, that the Scripture abounds with Characters of it's being Divine; but insists, against the Protestants, that it is obscure, and stands in need of the Authority of the Church (7). A certain Minister, whom I forbear to name, maintains, against those of the Romish Church, that the Scriptures every where shine with Characters of Divinity; but, writing against Mr Pajon, he speaks another Language (8). This Privilege ought to be left wholly to Poets and Orators. "In different Places, they say very different Things, as it best suits their Purpose. Nos Poetarum more, ut se res dederit, ita vel populi, vel eruditiorum hominum sententiam nostro quodam jure sequimur, atque alias, si fit opus, aliter de eadem dicimus, says the excellent Monsignor della Casa, Archbishop of Benevento, in one of his Letters to Victorius. And Eusebius has observed, on the eighteenth Verse of the second Book of the Odyssey, and on the Two hundred and forty third of the twelfth of the Iliad, that Homer has said things in these Places, concerning Auguries, quite contrary to what he said elsewhere; which he calls ἀντιρρολογισμοί. Thus, in the first Parts of my Poems, which I have just now quoted, I have said, that an old Poet is a wretched thing, because it suited to my purpose; but this does not hinder me from saying the quite contrary elsewhere, if occasion requires (9)." How do I love this Sincerity! and how should I be overjoyed to find it in Bellarmin, or the Minister; but it is not to be expected. We shall hear Cicero presently on the Right of Lawyers, with regard to the Privilege of contradicting themselves: See the Remarks [H] and [J] of the Article BALDUS.

[C] This Precaution — is not always sufficient to save their Honour.] We have seen (10), how Cicero has observed, that the good Memory of their Hearers is to be dreaded by Lawyers, who contradict themselves (11). If he had given Examples of this, he might better have made it appear, that the Precautions of Marc Antony were insignificant. But it must be own'd, that what he adds is sufficient to justify the Conduct of That Orator. It is this: Marcus Brutus, pleading against L. Plancius, who was defended by L. Crassus, got two of his Friends to stand up in Court, and read certain Passages in an audible Voice, which he had selected out of two Speeches of L. Crassus; some raising the Authority of the Senate very high, the others depressing it. This disconcerted the Orator a little, and put him upon excusing himself, from the Difference of Times, and Causes, which had extorted from him these contradictory Maxims (12). "Ego vero, says Cicero (13), in illo genere libentissim cum multorum tum hominis eloquentissimi & sapientissimi L. Crassus si autoritatem sequor, qui quum L. Plancium defenderet accusante M. Bruto, homine in dicendo vehementi & calido, quum Brutus duobus recitatoribus constitutis ex duabus ejus orationibus capita alterna inter se contraria recitanda curasset, quod in diffusionem rogationis ejus, quæ contra Colonium Narbonensem ferebatur, quantum potest de autoritate Senatus detrahit; in suasionem legis Serviliæ Summi ornat Senatui laudibus, & multa in Equites Romanos quum ex ea oratione asperius dicta recitasset, quo animi illorum Judicium in Crassum

incenderentur; aliquantum esse commotus dicitur. Itaque in respondendo primum exposuit utriusque rationem temporis, ut oratio ex re & causa habita videretur. . . . For my own Part, I willingly follow, in This, the Authority of many Others, as also of the most eloquent and wise L. Crassus; who, having undertaken the Defence of L. Plancius, against the Accusation of M. Brutus, a vehement and artful Speaker; and Brutus having procured two Persons to repeat alternately Passages out of two of his Orations, which were contradictory to each other; for, on the one side, in his Oration against the Law, which was proposed against the Colony of Narbo, he detracts as much as possible from the Authority of the Senate; whereas, in That for the Servilian Law, he highly extols the Senate; and Brutus having recited out of That Oration some Reflexions on the Roman Knights, in order to exasperate the Minds of the Judges against L. Crassus; he is said, upon this Occasion, to have been a little at a Loss. In his Reply, however, he sets forth the different junctures of Time; that what he had said might appear to result from the particular Circumstances of each Cause." Cicero disapproved of the Conduct of L. Crassus on this Occasion; Cicero, I say, who was once in the same Circumstances; his Adversaries having repeated a Passage, in one of his Orations, quite contrary to an Argument he was then upon. He answered, That what they had repeated did not contain his true Sentiments; and that what a Man offers, as an Advocate, ought not to be considered, as if spoken by him in quality of a Witness; that it is the Language of the Cause, and not of the Orator. This is plain enough; they must speak according to the Interest of their Cause, and the Conjunction of Time, and not according to their private Opinions. "Ego si quid ejusmodi dixi, neque cognitum commemoravi, neque pro testimonio dixi: & illa oratio potius temporis mei quam judicii & autoritatis fuit. . . . Errat vehementer si quis in orationibus nostris quas in judicio habuimus autoritates nostras consignatas se habere arbitratur. Omnes enim illæ orationes causarum & temporum sunt, non hominum ipsorum aut patronorum. Nam si causæ ipsæ pro se loqui possent, nemo adhiberet oratorem: nunc adhibemus ut ea dicamus, non quæ nostra autoritate constituntur, sed quæ ex re ipsa causæque dicantur (14). (14) Idem, If I, indeed, said any thing of this kind, I neither offered it as of my own Knowledge, nor in quality of an Evidence; it was rather the Language of the Juncture of Time, than of my own Judgment and Authority. It is a great Mistake in any one, to look upon the Orations, which I have spoken in several Causes, as so many written Opinions under my own Hand. They are all the Language of the particular Cause and Time, not of the Orator himself. For could Causes speak for themselves, no one would have recourse to an Orator; and it is our Business to speak, not our own Determination of the matter, but what the particular Cause, we are engaged in, requires." Add to this the Words, which Cicero puts in the Mouth of the Orator Marc Antony. "Oratoris omnis assensus opinionibus non scientia continetur, nam & apud eos dicimus qui nesciunt, & ea dicimus quæ nescimus ipsi: ita & illi alias aliud iisdem de rebus & sentiunt & judicant, & nos contrarias sæpe causas dicimus, non modo ut Crassus contra me dicat aliquando; aut ego contra Crassum, quum alterutri necesse sit falsum dicere, sed etiam ut uterque nostrum eadem de re alias aliud defendat, quum plus uno verum esse non possit. Ut igitur in ejusmodi re quæ mendacio nixa sit, quæ ad scientiam non sæpe perveniat, quæ opinionibus hominum & sæpe errores aucupetur, ita dicam (15). . . . The whole Business of Oratory consists in Opinion, not in Knowledge; for we speak, not only before the Ignorant, but in Cases, where we ourselves are ignorant. Therefore both our Hearers think and judge of the same things differently at different Times; and we ourselves often patronize opposite Causes; insomuch that not only Crassus sometimes speaks against me, and I against Crassus, in Causes, where we are both obliged to speak against our Opinions; but even that we both take different Sides of the Question, in relation

(15) Idem, de Oratore, lib. 2. cap. 7.

Man [D]. His Modesty, and other good Qualities, made him no less beloved by a great Number of Illustrious Persons, than his Eloquence gained him the Admiration of the whole World. He perished unfortunately in the bloody Confusions occasioned by Marius and Cinna. He was discovered in the Place, where he had concealed himself, and Soldiers were immediately sent to kill him. His Address mollified them; nor had any of them Brutality enough to kill him, except their Commander, who had not heard his Discourse, but entered his Chamber in great Anger, that his Men had not executed their Orders (e). His Head was exposed on the Chair of the Orators, *pro rostris* (f); a Place he had formerly adorned with Triumphal Spoils. This happened in the Year of Rome 667. He left two Sons, of whom I am going to speak.

(e) Plotarch. in Marius, pag. 431. Valer. Max. lib. 8. c. 9.

(f) Cicero, de Oratore, lib. 3. c. 3.

"to the same Cause, upon different Occasions; when but one side can possibly be right. In this Matter, therefore, which depends upon Falshood, which seldom comes up to Science, and which catibets at the Opinions, and often the Errors, of Men, &c." I assure myself, that the greatest Part of my Readers will be so pleased to find, that these two great Orators held such Principles, and so well knew the Foible of their Profession, that they will pardon whatever may favour too much of Digression in this Remark. Note, that these Principles subsist still.

Compare the Pleadings of Mr Erard against Madam Mazarin with the Answer to the *Fatum* of This Lady. In particular read these Words of the Answer. Mr Erard represented to Madam Mazarin the Occurrences of the then Times, in such a manner as she herself must have considered them. It is true, Time and different Events make us think and speak differently.

[D] He ever affected not to pass for a learned Man. If I am not mistaken, this was more through Policy than Modesty. He saw himself already established in the Reputation of a great Orator. And might he not imagine, that he should be still more admired, if it was believed, that he owed his Eloquence to his Genius alone, and not to a long Application to the Study of Greek Authors? He had a farther meaning in it; he believed his Rhetoric would have more Influence on the People, if they took it for the mere Production of Nature, than if they looked upon it as the Result of Art. For People are apt to distrust Those, who are practised in all the Tricks of their Profession. As for the Judges, Marc Antony believed, that nothing would influence them more in his favour, than to make them believe, that he spoke unprepared, and carefully to conceal from them those fine Touches of Rhetoric, which are generally employed to set off a Cause. And yet, at the bottom, he was a learned Man, and acquainted with all the best Authors among the Greeks. Let us prove this by some Passages of Cicero. "Magna nobis pueris, Quinte frater, si memoria teneas, opinio fuit, L. Crassum non plus attigisse doctrinæ quam quantum prima illa puerili institutione potuisset, M. autem Antonium omnino omnis eruditionis expertem atque ignarum fuisse. Quam nos ea discere-mus quæ Crasso placerent, & ab his doctoribus quibus ille uteretur erudiremur, etiam illud sæpe intelleximus. illum & Græcè sic loqui, nullam ut nosse aliam linguam videretur, & doctoribus nostris ea ponere in percontando, eaque ipsum omni in sermone tractare, ut nihil effe ei novum nihil inauditum videretur. De Antonio vero quanquam sæpe ex humanissimo viro patruo nostro acceperamus, quemadmodum ille vel Athenis vel Rhodi se doctissimum hominum sermonibus dedidisset, tamen ipse adolescentulus, quantum illius ineuntis ætatis meæ patiebatur pudor, multa ex eo sæpe quaesivi. Non erit profecto tibi quod scribo hoc novum (nam jam tum ex me audiebas) mihi illum ex multis varisque sermonibus nullius rei, quæ quidem esset in his artibus de quibus aliquid exitari-mare possem, rudem aut ignarum esse visum. Sed fuit hoc in utroque eorum, ut Crassus non tam exstimari vellet non didicisse quam illa despicere, & nostrorum hominum in omni genere prudentiam Græcis anteferre. Antonius autem probatior hoc populo orationem fore censebat suam, si omnino didicisse nunquam putaretur. Atque ita uterque se graviorem fore, si alter contemnere, alter ne nosse quidem Græcos, videretur. If you remember, Brother Quintus, it was a prevail-

ing Opinion, when we were Boys, that Lucius Crassus had attained to no greater Degree of Learning, than what he had gained at School; but that Marcus Antony was entirely ignorant, and void of all Erudition. But, when we applied our selves to Crassus's favourite Studies, and were instructed by such Preceptors, as he had made use of, we had frequent Opportunities of being convinced, that he spoke the Greek Language as well, as if he had never known any other; that he had put such Questions to our Preceptors, and handled such Points in every thing he said, that he seemed to be familiarly acquainted with the whole Circle of Science. As for Antony; though I had often learned from That Best-natured of Men, my Uncle, his attachment to the Consequence of the learnedest Men at Athens, or Rhodes, yet, as far as the Modesty of Youth would permit, I often applied myself to him for Instruction. And what I now assure you of, is no new thing to you (for I then declared to you the same), that, in the many and various Conversations I had with him, he appeared to me to be perfectly skilled in every Science, of which I could then form any Judgment. But this was peculiar to them both; that Crassus desired not so much to decline the Reputation of Learning, as to appear to despise it, and to prefer our own native Skill to That of the Greeks; and that Antony thought his Words would have the more Weight with the People, if they believed he had never been instructed; both of them thus aiming at Success, the one by appearing to despise, the other to be quite ignorant of, the Greek Learning." Thus the second Book of *Oratore* begins. Add to this what he there says of himself (16), that he read the Greek Writers only by way of Amusement; and that the Books of the Philosophers were quite unintelligible to him. "Verbum prolixum nullum intelligo, ita sunt angustis & concisis disputationibus illigati;" that, in this Respect he had nothing to say to the Poets, whose Language was not human; and that he confined himself to the Historians, or Orators, who condescended to the Understandings of of the half-learned; *Videantur voluisse esse nobis, qui non sumus eruditissimi, familiares*. In what follows, it is not Cicero, who speaks, but Marc Antony, who, among other things, expresses himself thus: "Ego ista studia non improbo, moderata modo sint: opinionem istorum studiorum & suspicionem artificii apud eos qui res judicant oratori adversariam esse arbitror; imminuit enim & oratoris auctoritatem, & orationis fidem (17). — I do not disapprove of these Studies, provided they are followed with Moderation; but I am of Opinion, that to be famed for them, and to be suspected of Artifice by the Judges, is prejudicial to an Orator, for it lessens his own Authority, and the Weight of what he says." Here he gives the Reason of That Conduct, which Cicero ascribes to him; "Erat memoria summa, nulla meditationis suspicio, imparatus semper aggredi ad dicendum videbatur, sed ita erat paratus, ut judices illo dicente nonnunquam viderentur non satis parati ad cavendum fuisse (18). — He had a happy Memory; was never suspected of Premeditation, and seemed, whenever he began to speak, to be unprepared; yet was he in reality so much so, that the Judges always seemed sufficiently prepared by what he was saying to give their Opinions." I remember, on this Occasion, a Remark of Mr Dailly, on the Difference between acting the Orator, and being one (19). This Remark is very just.

(16) Id. cap. 14. See his *Orator*, lib. 2. cap. 19.

(17) Id. de Oratore, lib. 2. cap. 37.

(18) Id. in Bruto, c. 37.

(19) Dailly, *Reponct* au P. Adam, 3. part. p. 156.

ANTONY (MARC), Eldest Son of the foregoing, had the Sirname of *Cressens* (a). He never rose higher than the Prætorship; but he exercised this Office with a more

(a) Plot. in Antonio, init. p. 915.

(b) Paternus, lib. 2. cap. 31.

(c) I shall examine, under the Article C. E. THEGUS, whether Cotta was Consul when M. Antony received this Commission.

(d) Antonius Paterculus in Orat. Cicero contra Verrem, pag. 113.

(1) Vell. Pat. lib. 2. cap. 31.

(2) See Peter Matthieu at the end of the Preface to the History of the Peace.

a more extensive Power than usual; his Commission to convoy Corn to Rome giving him a Command over the Seas (b). This Prerogative he obtained by the Favour of the Consul Cotta (c), and by the Faction of Cethegus (d); nor did any Party murmur at it, as they certainly would have done, if he had been a Person of more Merit [A]. It is said, that he suffered himself to be instigated by evil Counsels, to commit Ex-tortions in the Provinces; and, indeed, he was guilty of many (e). Those of Sicily have been represented in a few Words by Cicero (f). The War of Crete, the good Success of which he thought so certain, that he had provided fewer Arms on board his Fleet, than Chains to bind the conquered (g), having miscarry'd, he fell sick, and died of Grief. He was unable to support the cutting Reflexions, which arose in his Mind, when he remember'd, that the Enemy, having taken several of his Ships, had hung up the Roman Soldiers at the Yard-Arm, and had sailed up and down with this Spectacle, triumphing insolently over the Republic in a thousand Places. He had three Sons by Julia, his second Wife [B], to wit, Marcus Antonius, Caius Antonius, and Lucius Antonius (h), of whom we shall speak hereafter.

I shall have some Errors to correct [C], and perhaps the Encomium Plutarch bestows on Antony will be one [D].

[A] If he had been a Person of more Merit. Valerius Paternus supplies me with this Thought, in that Part of his History, where he relates, that Pompey, about two Years after, obtained a Commission, which rendered him Master of almost all the World. This Commission was not granted him without Opposition; whereas nothing had been said against the Decrees, which had trusted the like Power in the Hands of Marc Antony. The Reason was, that they did not judge the latter capable of rendering himself formidable; but Pompey's Merit was looked upon as dangerous to the Public Liberty. "Idem hoc ante biennium in M. Antonii prætura decretum erat: sed interdum personi, ut exemplo nocet, ita invidiam auget aut levat. In Antonio homines æquo animo passi erant; raro enim invidetur eorum honoribus, quorum vis non timetur. Contra in iis homines extraordinaria reformidant, qui ea suo arbitrio aut deposituri aut retenturi videntur, & modum in voluntate habent (1). — The same thing was decreed two Years before in the Prætorship of Marc Antony; but there is something in the different Characters of Men, which increases or diminishes the Oidium of a Thing. In the Case of Antony, the People were very well satisfied; for we seldom envy those Men Honours, whose Power we are not afraid of; whereas any extraordinary Degree of Advancement alarms us in Those, who, we think, can resign, or keep, their Authority just as they please, and whose only Restraint is their Will." This is a fair Text for the Compilers of Political Commentaries: I leave it to them almost entire, and content myself with this small Observation. It is thought a just ground of Complaint, that the same Qualities, which should recommend a Man to great Offices, prevent his obtaining them. George de Monte Mayor used to say, *Est-amos à tiempo, que merecer la cosa es principal parte para no alcançarla*. That is, (and they are the very Words of the President du Vair,) Nothing, in these times, binds good Men from rising to Riches and Honours, so much, as their deserving them (2). This Complaint is often too well grounded; but there are certain Cases, in which it is not quite so just; for, in order to deserve an Office, it is not sufficient to have the necessary Qualifications for the honourable discharge of it; but it is farther requisite, that those Qualities be not mixed with certain Vices, which prompt a Man to make an ill Use of the Glory, which redounds from the Discharge of this Office, with Capacity and Success. To speak properly, a Mixture of these Vices may render those unworthy of an Office, who, considered with regard to their great Accomplishments, might be the most deserving of any. It is not, therefore, always an Act of Injustice to refuse an Office to one, who is most capable of discharging it; it may be a reasonable Precaution, a Point of necessary Prudence; especially in Republics. Eminent Qualities inspire Men with Ambition. Give those who possess them Opportunities of doing their Country considerable Service; and you kindle the Fire of this Ambition more and more; the Glory they acquire, by worthily discharging an important Trust, inspires them with Thoughts of making an ill use of their Reputation, and shews them, that it is not impossible to climb a Step higher. They try their

Fortune, aspire sometimes to the Sovereignty, and, whether they succeed or no, occasion a thousand Disorders, which might have been avoided, by bestowing such Offices upon Persons of moderate Merit.

[B] Julia, his second Wife.] She was the Daughter of Julius Cæsar, who was Consul in the Year of Rome 664; and Sister of another Julius Cæsar, who was Consul in the Year 690. Her Virtue and Merit equalled her to the most illustrious Ladies of her Time. Ταῖς ἀγαταῖς τοῖς καὶ ἀσπαστοῦταῖς ἐνθάδε. Cum præstantissimis & pudicissimis illius memorie matronis comparanda (3). She was not the happiest in Husbands; for, after the Death of Marcus Antonius Creticus, the married Publius Cornelius Lentulus, who was an Accomplice in Catiline's Conspiracy, and one of those, who was put to Death for it. What he did to save her Brother Lucius Cæsar, deserves Admiration (4). He was procribed in the Time of the Triumvirat, and hid himself in her House. The Soldiers went thither to search for him, to put him to death; but she placed herself at the Door, and declared they should never pass, 'till they had killed her; she, who had brought that Marc Antony into the World, whose Orders they were now to execute. This made them retire (5). The Name of our Antony's first Wife was Numitoria: She was Daughter of Quintus Numitorius Pullus. She is called the Daughter of a Traytor, in Cicero's Philippics (6).

[C] Some Errors to correct.] Thyfius, Professor of Oratory in the Academy of Leyden, has made a Remark, which might give us an ill Opinion of his Learning. It relates to these Words of Laßantius. "De Neptuni sorte manifestum est, cujus regnum tale fuisse dicimus quale M. Antonii fuit infinitum illud imperium, cui totius orbis maritimus potestatem Senatus decreverat, ut prædones persequeretur ac mare omne pacaret (7). — What Neptune's Share was, is very plain; whose Empire appears to have been like the extensive Authority of Marc Antony, who, by a Decree of the Senate, had the Command of the whole Sea-Coast, in order to extirpate the Pirates, who infested it, and secure the Navigation." Thyfius pretends, that, instead of Antonii, we ought to read Pompeii, which is the reading of the best Manuscripts; and upon this he observes, that Pompey was called Neptune, and that several of his Statues were adorned with the Ensigns of That Deity. He is mistaken: There is no doubt but Laßantius, who was perfectly Master of Cicero, had an Eye to the following Passage of the fourth Oration against Verres: "Postquam Marci Antonii infinitum illud imperium fenserat (8). — After they had felt the long continuance of Marc Antony's Authority; or to these Words of the following Oration: "Ita in isto infinito imperio Marcum Antonium gessisse, ut, &c. (9). — Marc Antony behaved himself so ill in the long Power he enjoyed, that, &c." One of Vossius's Sons might have spared the Professor of Leyden this false Note; for, in a Book, which was printed thirteen Years before the Laßantius of Thyfius, he observes, that Thomassius was very much in the wrong to put Pompeii, instead of Antonii, in his Edition of Laßantius; and proves it by the Authority of Cicero, and Paternulus (10). I add, that he believes Florus meant the same Antony, when he says, "Quum ille (Pompeius)

(e) Acom. Fed. ubi supra.

(f) Cicero, Orat. 2. in Verrem, esp. 01. See likewise Orat. 2. c. 3.

(g) Florus, lib. 3. cap. 7.

(h) Glandorp. Onomast. p. 73.

(3) Plut. in M. Anton. init. p. 916.

(4) Id. ib.

(5) Plut. in M. Anton. pag. 924.

(6) Taken from Glandorp, pag. 74, 75.

(7) Laßan. lib. 1. cap. 11. p. 38-39.

(8) Cicero Orat. 2. in Verrem, cap. 3.

(9) Id. Orat. 3. in Verrem, cap. 91.

(10) Gerardus Voßius Not. in Vell. Paternulus, pag. 55. Edit. 1639. he cites Cicero Verina 1, but he should have cited Verina 2 and 3. da. II.

- (11) *Florus*, lib. 3. cap. 7. and *ut* cap. 8. at Gerard Voff. cites him.
- (12) *Plut.* in Pompeio.
- (13) *Dion.* lib. 36.
- (14) *Plut.* in M. Antonio init. pag. 925. 916.
- (a) *Afconius Pedianus* in *Oratio-nem Cicero-nis in toga candida*, contra *Antonin* & *Catilin* in fin. pag. 158.
- " (*Pompeius*) res in Asia gerens eo quoque præfectum misit Antonium, in aliena Provincia inclitus fuit (11). — *When Pompey, who commanded in Asia, had sent thither his Lieutenant Antony, he was famous in Another's Province.*" He shews, that *Florus* has confounded this *Antony* with *Ottavius*, who, as *Plutarch* (12) and *Dion* (13) say, was sent by *Pompey* to the Island of *Crete*, when *Metellus* commanded there. There is more ground for this, than for his saying, that the Surname of *Criticus*, given in *Plutarch* to *Marc Antony*, must be corrected by That of *Creticus*. I know not what Edition of *Plutarch* he made use of; but I find Κρητικός in the *Frankfort* Edition, 1620, and in That of *Paris*, 1624. I wish he had taken the trouble to examine a Chronological Error, which appears to be in *Paterculus*. This Historian affirms, that there passed but two Years between the Command, which was given to *Marc Antony*, and That, which was given to *Pompey*; and yet *Afconius Pedianus* affirms, that *Marc Antony* obtained it by the Favour of a Consul, called *Cotta*. I enlarge upon this Difficulty in the Article C E T H E G U S.
- [D] *The Encomium, Plutarch gives our Antony, will be one.* " He was a worthy, good, Man, says *Plutarch* (14), and particularly remarkable for his Liberality. He was not very rich, and withal diverted from the Exercise of his good Nature by his Wife. One Day a Friend of his, who stood in need of Money, came to borrow some of him. But *Antony*, having none to lend, ordered his Servant to fill a Silver

" *Balon* with Water, and bring it. The Servant obeying his Commands, he took the Balon, and lathering his Face, as if he was going to shave himself, he sent away the Servant upon another Errand, and gave his Friend the Balon, desiring him to make what use he pleased of it. Next Morning, the whole Family was in an Uproar, and great Enquiry made after the Balon. But *Antony*, seeing his Wife in a great Passion, and resolved to put all her Servants to the Question, acknowledged what he had done, and begged her Pardon." Ομολόησας συγγνωμὴν ἔχειν δ' ἐνείκεν (15). *Petita venia id quod erat confessus est. Plutarch* does not justly represent the Character of this Man; he calls him Liberal; whereas he should have made him Prodigal: *Sallust* was not deceived in him. " *Marcus Antonius* perdundæ pecuniæ genitus, vacuæque curis nisi instantibus (16). — *Marc Antony, born to be a Spendthrift, and careless of every thing but the Present.*" It must not be dissembled, that *Cicero* denies, what was commonly said of this *Marc Antony*; to wit, that he neither kept an Account of what he received, nor of what he expended. " *Audimus aliquem tabulas nunquam confecisse: Quæ est opinio hominum de Antonio falsa, nam fecit diligentissime* (17) — *We hear, that such an one never kept any Accounts. This was generally reported of Antony; but falsely; for he kept them very carefully.*"

(15) *Id. ib.* pag. 916. A.

(16) *Sallust.* in *Fragm.* Histor. lib. 3. pag. 446.

(17) *Cicero*, *Orat.* 1. in *Verrum*. cap. 23.

ANTONY (CAIUS) Brother of the foregoing, was a Person of irregular Conduct; infomuch, that his Elder Brother, and He, were much more the worthy Uncle and Father of the *Triumvir*, than worthy Sons of Him, who gave them Life. This *Caius Antony* bore Arms under *Sylla*, in the War against *Mitridates*, and committed many Extortions in *Achaia*; which, with other matters of Blame alledged against him, was the Cause, that the Censors afterwards expelled him the Senate. Nevertheless he was chosen Consul, in preference to *Catiline*, one of his Competitors; but with much less Honour, than *Cicero*; who, notwithstanding all the Plots, which *Caius Antony* and *Catiline* laid to exclude him, was declared Consul with unanimous Consent; whereas *Caius Antony* carried it, but by a few Voices, against *Catiline* (a). It was in this Consulate, that *Catiline's* Conspiracy was discovered, against which *Cicero* acted with great Zeal. His Colleague had the Command of the Army, which was sent against *Catiline*, and obtained a compleat Victory by his Lieutenant *Petreibus*: For, as for himself, either a feigned, or a real, Sickness hindered him from being personally in the Battel. *Dion* says, that it was pretended; and that *Antony*, fearing *Catiline* would discover some very important Secrets against him, would not command in Person (b). After the Victory, he led his Troops into *Macedonia*, and was beaten by the *Dardanians*. He governed that Province three Years, with so much Violence, and so many Exactions, that the Senate, displeased at his Conduct, sent him a Succesor. Upon his Return to *Rome*, He was accused by *Marcus Cælius*; and, tho' *Cicero* undertook his Defence, yet he was convicted and banished. Some say he passed Fifteen Years in the Island of *Cephalonia*; and that his Nephew, *Marc Antony*, who was very powerful in *Rome*, after the Assassins of *Julius Cæsar* had left it, recalled him from his Exile [A]. He died some Years after, full of Days and Troubles, and left only one Daughter, whom he saw repudiated, a little after her Marriage, by her Husband *Marc Antony*, the *Triumvir*, on Suspicion of an Intrigue with *Dolabella* (c).

[A] His Nephew *Marc Antony*, — recalled him from his Exile. There are some Difficulties, in relation to the Time of his Re-call, which shall be examined in the Remark [H], of the Article of *FULVIA*.

ANTONY (MARC) One of the *Triumvirs*, generally known by the bare Name of *Marc Antony*, was Grandson of *Marc Antony* the Orator, and Son of *Marcus Antonius Creticus*. Mr *Moreri* is very full on this Article, and therefore I shall take no notice of him. The Mistakes I have collected, on this Head, may find a place in the Article *FULVIA*, or elsewhere. All that I shall observe here of this *Triumvir* is, that he published a Treatise concerning his own Drunkenness [A].

[A] He published a Treatise concerning his own Drunkenness. This is a Fact, which modern Writers make no mention of; it is, however, a remarkable one, and to be found in *Pliny*. " *Tergilla Ciceroni M. F. binos congios simul haurire solitum ipsi objicit; Marcoque Agrippæ à temulento scyphum impactum: Etenim hæc sunt Ebrietatis opera.* Sed nimirum hanc gloriam auferre *Cicero* voluit interfectori patris sui *M. Antonio*. Is enim ante eum avidissime apprehenderat hanc palmam, VOL. I. No. XII.

" edito etiam volumine de sua Ebrietate: Quo patrocinari sibi ausus, approbavit planè (ut equidem arbitror) quanta mala per temulentiam orbi terrarum intulisset. Exiguo tempore ante Prælium Actiacum id volumen evomuit, quo facile intelligatur ebrius jam sanguine Civium, & tanto magis eum fitiens (1). — *Tergilla objects to Cicero, the Son of Marcus Cicero, that he was wont to drink off two Gallons at once; and to Marcus Agrippa, that a drunken Fellow threw a Glass at his Head. These*

(1) *Plin.* lib. 14. sub fin. cap. ult.

U u u u " are

(b) *Dion.* lib. 37. ad annum Romæ 692.

(c) See the Remark [G], of the Article *FULVIA*, and *Glandorp*. Onomastic. pag. 75. 76.

"are the Works of Drunkenness. Cicero seems to have disputed the Prize of Intemperance with his Father's Murderer Marc Antony; who, before him, had been very ambitious of it; having even published a Treatise on his own Drunkenness; in which, daring to undertake its Defence, he plainly justifies all the Mischiefs, which the World had

suffered by His Drunkenness. He vomited forth his Treatise, a little before the Battle of Actium; which plainly shows, that he was drunk with the Blood of Citizens, and, for that reason, the more thirsty after it." I wonder Plutarch should take no notice of this Piece of Singularity, and that Suetonius should not mention it.

(a) Glan-
dorp. pag.
80, ex Cæ-
sare, Lucini
Phœb. lib. 4.
Eutropio.

(b) He was
taken by Hor-
tensius, who
delivered him
up to Brutus.

(c) Glan-
dorp. ex
Plutarch. in
M. Anto-
nio, &c.

ANTONY (CAIUS) Brother of the foregoing, served under Julius Cæsar, in the War against Pompey, and was forced to surrender himself, with the Troops he commanded in Illyria, for want of Provisions (a). After the Death of Cæsar, and during his own Prætorship, and the Consulship of his Brother Marc Antony, he was sent into Macedonia with the Decree of the Senate, which gave Marc Antony the Government of That Province. But, whatever Dispatch he could make, he was prevented by Brutus, and even fell into his Hands (b). At first Brutus treated him honourably, and allowed him the Ensigns of his Prætorship; but, when he perceived, that he endeavoured to corrupt the Army, he put him under an Arrest; and afterwards put him to death, when he was informed of the Proscriptions of the Triumvirate, the Murder of D. Brutus, That of Cicero, &c. Marc Antony, having got Hortensius into his Power, after the Battle of Philippi, sacrificed him to the Manes of his Brother. Cicero mentions C. Antony, sometimes, in his Philippics, but always to his Disadvantage (c).

(a) Glan-
dorp. Ono-
mast. pag.
81, ex Dio-
ne, &c.

ANTONY (LUCIUS) Brother of the preceding, had all the Vices of his Brother, the Triumvir, but none of his good Qualities: However he did not want Courage. He was Tribune of the People, in the Year of Cæsar's Death, while his Brother Marc was Consul, and his Brother Caius Prætor. He was Consul, Himself, in the Year of Rome 713, and triumphed the first Day of his Consulship over a People of the Alps, whom he pretended he had conquered; tho' he had really done nothing worthy of a Triumph, nor exercised any Command in their Country. But Fulvia, the Wife of M. Antony, and Mother-in-law of Octavius Cæsar, who then governed all in Rome, procured him, by her sole Credit, this Honour. This imperious Woman, desiring to be revenged on Octavius, for repudiating her Daughter, excited Lucius Antony to take up Arms against him, under pretence of protecting the Inhabitants of Campania, whose Lands were assigned to the Soldiers. The Troops, he had assembled, being introduced into Rome, by Night, He drove out Lepidus one of the Triumvirs; and harangued the People, declaring, That, according to his Brother's Intention, he designed to abolish the Triumvirate. This Promise filled the City with Joy. He was declared Imperator, and marched against Octavius Cæsar; but, not daring to keep the Field, he retreated to Perousa, where he defended himself, 'till the want of Provisions obliged him to surrender. Octavius gave him his Liberty; but what became of him after, is not known (a).

(a) Vell. Pa-
terculus, lib.
2. cap. 100.

(b) Sueton-
de Illustri-
Gramm.
cap. 18.

(c) Festu-
s. de Diome-
dæ. Vetus
interpretes Ho-
rat. in Od.
2. lib. 4.

ANTONY (MARCUS JULIUS) Son of the Triumvir, and Fulvia, found so much Favour with Augustus, after the Conquest of Egypt, that, by degrees, he was advanced to Employments, and at last to the Consulship, in the Year of Rome 744. He married Marcella, the Daughter of Octavia; and, being by this means become Son-in-law of Augustus's Sister, for whom That Prince had a great Esteem, he was the First Favourite after Agrippa, the Son-in-law of Augustus, and the Sons of the Emperors. But he proved ungrateful to his Benefactor, and was one of the first, who debauched his Daughter Julia; which, together with some Suspicions of a Conspiracy, occasioned his being condemned to death. Some Historians say, that he killed himself to prevent the Infamy of his Sentence (a). He had studied under the Grammarian L. Craffitius (b), and composed a Poem of Twelve Books in Heroic Verse (c), and some Treatises in Prose. It is to Him, that Horace addresses the second Ode of his fourth Book. He left one Son very young, whose Name was L. Julius Antony. The Emperor banished this Youth to Marselles, under the specious Pretence of keeping him to his Studies. He ordered him very singular Funeral Honours; for he procured a Decree of the Senate, that his Bones should be repositied in Octavius's Tomb (d). This was the End of That Ancient and Powerful Family Antonia, of which Tacitus says, that it had been always Illustrious, but Unfortunate; *Multa claritudine generis, sed improspere* (e). We shall now sum up all Mr Moreri's Errors concerning this Family [A].

(d) Tacit.
Annal. lib.
4. cap. 44.

(e) Id. ib.
Tacitus says
this on oc-
casion of the
Death of L.
Julius Anto-
nius, which
happened in
the Year of
Rome 778.

[A] We shall now sum up all Mr Moreri's Errors concerning this Family. I. He ought not to have mentioned this Family under the Letter M, on account of Marc Antony: Both He, and his Family, ought to stand under the Letter A. II. He ought not to have said, That the Family of the Antonii was famous among the Nobles of Rome; for it is plain, that, by this way of speaking, he intended to distinguish it from the Plebeian Families: now this distinction is false. The Tribuneship of the People alone, with which Marc An-

tony was invested, at the beginning of the War between Cæsar and Pompey, proves demonstrably, that the Antonian Family was Plebeian; for he was made Tribune of the People, without being adopted by a Plebeian; there was no Necessity for his imitating Clodius, who, to qualify himself for the Office of Tribune, had recourse to such an Adoption (1). I confels the Antonii were at first Patricians. This appears from the Dignities of the Dictatorship, and the Military Tribuneship, conferred upon them, before the Plebeian Families

(1) Cicero,
Orat. pro
Domio sua ad
Pontifices,
cap. 13.

Families were admitted to the first Dignities of the Republic. But, whether it were, that the *Antonii*, who appeared with so much Splendor in the seventh Century of *Rome*, did not descend from the same Branch with those, who bore the Surname of *Merenda*, or whether it were, that they passed, we know not how, from the Rank of *Patricians* to That of *Plebeians*, as has happened to some other Families; it is certain, that their House was *Plebeian* in the Days of *Marc Antony*, the Orator, who first began to raise it. III. It is gross Ignorance to say, that this House was divided into two Branches, the *Merenda's*, and the *Marc's*. The Word *Marc* is the *Prænomen*, which serves only to distinguish Persons: That, which distinguished the several Branches, was called the *Cognomen*, and held the third Place, as *Cæsar*, *Scipio*, &c. (2). IV. It is not certain, that *Q. Antonius Merenda*, Military Tribune about the Three hundred thirty second Year of *Rome*, was the Son of *T. Antonius Merenda*, *Decemvir* in the Year 303. V. It is false, that *Livy* makes mention of *M. Antonius Merenda*, Master of the Horse, under the Dictatorship of *P. Cornelius*. He calls him only *M. Antonius*. VI. *Marcius Antonius Creticus* was not killed in a Duel. *Africanus Pedianus* leaves no room for Doubt in this matter. "Indicilo, *says he*, *Cretensis bello male re gesta ibidem perit* (3). — *He died, after meeting with ill Success in the Cretan War*." VII. Instead of saying, that *Marc Antony*, the Orator, never wrote down any of his Orations; he should have said, that he never published any (4). VIII. His Answer to those, who asked him the reason of it, is misrepresnted; he did not reply, that he would not furnish those with Arms, who might be inclined to convict him

of having expres'd himself amiss; he was in no pain for his Words or Phrases; I mean, of being reproach'd with Barbarisms, or Offences against the Rules of Grammar; yet this is what *Mr Moreri* means; as all mult own, who understand what an Author means. But *Marc Antony's* Fear was, lest his Works should convict him of blowing Hot and Cold with the same Breath, and of having confuted, four Years before, what he was then advancing in his Plea. Consult the Remarks [B] and [C] of the Article ANTONY (MARC) the Orator; where I have fully displayed the Reasons, why Lawyers contradicted themselves, and maintain one thing to day, and the quite contrary to morrow, according to the different Interests of their Clients. IX. Besides, the Answer, which *Mr Moreri* ascribes to him, is absurd; for one may write down a Plea, without furnishing the Critics with Arms, provided it be not made public. *X. M. Aquilius* was not condemned upon *M. Antony's* undertaking his Cause. XI. The Judges did not confess, That He, who had so often expos'd his Life for the Good of the Republic, ought not to lose it so dishonourably. Had *Mr Moreri* known, that *Aquilius* could, at the worst, have been condemned only to Banishment (5), he would not have given his Style the Colours of Oratory. XII. What a confused way of speaking is it, to say, That *Marc Antony* was Consul, Censor in the Year of *Rome* 626, with *A. Posthumius* in 657, with *L. Valerius*, &c. There is something worse in it, than a confused Style: Fall-hoods are not wanting. *Marc Antony* was Consul, with *A. Posthumius Albinus*, in the Year 655, and Censor, with *L. Valerius Flaccus*, in the Year 657 (6).

(2) Caius Julius Cæsar. Publius Cornelius Scipio.

(3) Afr. Pedian. in Cic. de Divinat. pag. 17. Edit. Lugd. in 12mo. He says, in Verum de Prætor. urb. pag. 87. Cretæ mortuus.

(4) See, above, the Remark [A], of the Article ANTONY the Orator.

(5) She was Sister to Augustus.

(1) Germanicus, C. Cæsar's father, Drusus & minoris Antonii filius. — Germanicus, the Father of Caius Cæsar, and Son of the younger Antonia. Suet. in Cæsar. lib. cap. 1. See likewise in Claud. cap. 1.

Ex Antonia majoris patrem Nerois procreavit (Domitius). — Domitius begot the Father of Nero on Antonia the elder. Id. in Nero. cap. 5.

(2) Plutarch. in Marc. Anton. pag. 955.

(3) Lips. in Tacit. Ann. lib. 12.

(4) Gland. Onomast. pag. 87.

ANTONIA, Eldest Daughter of *Marc Antony* [A], and *Octavia* (a), was a Lady, whose Virtue and Beauty made her the Object of Admiration (b). She was married to *Drusus*, the Son of *Livia*, and Brother of *Tiberius*, by whom she had several Children (c), of which but Three survived *Drusus*, to wit, *Germanicus*, *Claudius*, who was Emperor, and *Livilla*, who was *Tiberius's* Son's Wife. *Antonia*, yet young and beautiful in her Widow-hood, was courted by several Persons, but refused them all; an Example of Continency [B], so much the more to be admired, as she lived in a Court exceedingly corrupt. *Tiberius*, whose humour was so stern, had yet a great Regard for this Lady; which shews, that to her Chastity she knew how to join other Virtues, unknown to the chaste *Agrippina*, her Daughter-in-law; I mean Mildness and Prudence. It was *Antonia*, who discovered to *Tiberius Sejanus's*

(5) Quum mihi M. Aquilius in civitate retinendus esset. It is Marc Antony, who speaks, apud Cicero. de Orat. lib. 2. de Orat. cap. 45. (6) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 7. Sigonius & Calvisius place this Consul in the Year 654, and the Censorship two Years after.

(c) Σεβαστήν καὶ κάλλιαν τρεῖς τέκνα. Castitate & forma inclutam. Plutarch. in Anton. pag. 955. E.

(i) Sueton. in Claud. cap. 1.

Conspiracy

[A] Eldest Daughter of *Marc Antony*. *Suetonius* and *Plutarch* are against me; the first expressly, and in downright Terms (1); the second after an implicit manner: For he only speaks of the Marriage of one of the two *Antonia's* with *Domitius*, before he mentions the other's Marriage with *Drusus* (2). Now, since *Suetonius* wrote after *Tacitus*, and sometimes seems to refute him; would it not be better to give Him the preference, and to suppose, that he took the contrary side, only because he was convinced of *Tacitus's* Error? Besides, are the Words of *Plutarch* of no weight? Let every one judge as he pleases; for my own Part, I have followed *Tacitus*, without pretending to contest the matter with those, who choose to follow *Suetonius*. There are two Passages of *Tacitus*, one in the Forty fourth Chapter of the fourth Book of his Annals, the other in the Sixty fourth Chapter of the twelfth Book of the same Annals, where the Wife of *Domitius* is called *Antonia Minor*. — *Antonia the Younger*. I find, that *Lipsius* declares for neither side (3), and that *Glandorpius* prefers That of *Tacitus* to That of *Suetonius* (4). There is a Reason on *Tacitus's* side, though not conclusive. It may be supposed, that *Drusus*, who, in quality of a Powerful Emperors Son, was one of the greatest Matches of *Rome*, married the eldest of the two Sisters; but, in answer to this, it may be said, that His *Antonia* was a perfect Beauty. Now this is a Right of Elderhood more to the Taste of a young Prince, (nor is it necessary to be a young Prince to have this Taste) than That, which is only founded on the greater Number of Years. It is probable, that *Drusus*, as he was the greater Match, had his Choice; and, no doubt, he chose the handsomest of the two, whether the elder, or the younger, Sister.

[B] *Antonia*, yet young and beautiful in her Widowhood, — — — was an Example of Continency.] What

is said of her Husband, in relation to his conjugal Fidelity, is yet more surprising. "Drusum etiam Germanicum, eximiam Claudie familie gloriam, patriæque rarum ornamentum, & quod super omnia est opus suum pro habitu ætatis magnitudine vitrico pariter ac fratri Augustis, duobus reipublicæ divinis oculis, mirifice respondentem, consuevit usum Veneris intra conjugis charitatem clausum tenuisse (5). — It was certain, that *Drusus Germanicus*, the singular Glory of the Claudian Family, and uncommon Ornament of his Country, and, what is beyond all, as famous for Great Actions, in proportion to his Years, as the Augusti, his Father-in-Law, and Brother, the two divine Eyes of the Republic, confined his Desires wholly to conjugal Endearments (6)." It is remarkable enough, that, in *Augustus's* Court, the Emperor's Son-in-law should be contented with one Dish, like a Citizen; and it signifies little to say, that *Antonia* was so young and fair, that *Drusus* knew not where to please himself better. How many Princes, great Lords, and other Persons are there, with whom this Reason is of no force? But to return to *Antonia*, *Valerius Maximus* continues his Discourse in this manner. "Antonia quoque femina, laudibus virilem familie sue claritatem supergressa, amorem mariti egregia fide pensavit; quæ potius ejus excessum forma & ætate florens cubiculum focum pro conjugio habuit, in eodemque toro alterius adolescentiæ vigor extinctus est, alterius viduitatis experientia consenuit. — — — The Lady Antonia, a greater Ornament to her Family than the Males it produced, repaid her Husband's Love with a remarkable Constancy; for, after his Decease, though still in the Flower of her Youth and Beauty, she was wedded only to the Chamber of her Mother-in-law; and, in the same Bed, the one's Vigour of Youth expired, the other's Experience of Widow-hood grew

(c) Valer. Maxim. lib. 4. cap. 3.

(6) See the Verses in Remark [G].

Conspiracy [C]; nor was This Prince ungrateful, after a Service of such Importance (d). *Pliny* mentions a very particular Quality of *Antonia*, which is that she never spit (e). He tells us likewise, that she had a Fish, which she was very fond of, and which she adorned with Ear-rings; a Curiosity, which drew many Visitors to her Country Seat (f). This Lady was unhappy in her Family. *Germanicus*, her Son, had indeed all the good Qualities, which could be desired in the Presumptive Heir of the Empire, and was the Darling and Delight of all the *Roman* People; but this only served to heighten *Antonia's* Affliction, when a sudden Death bereaved her of This Young Prince. This disconsolate Mother was not able to walk as a Mourner, when *Germanicus's* Funeral was solemnized [D]. Her other Son was so disagreeable, and so brutish, in her Eyes, that she was wont to call him Monster, Rough-Draught of a Man, &c. [E] and made him the Standard of Comparison, whenever she would represent an arrant Blockhead. Her Daughter was a Monster of another kind; she made an Attempt on the Honour and Life of her Husband, and executed it; for she was convicted of Adultery, and of poisoning her Husband. Her own Mother was the Secular Arm, to which she was delivered; who shut her up in a Chamber, where she was starved to Death [F]. The Children of *Germanicus*, whom *Antonia* brought up in her House, gave her no small Trouble. She watched their Conduct; but her Vigilance served only to make her an Eye-Witness of their enormous Crimes. One Day, she surprized *Caligula* with his Sister (g). This Wretch had not yet assumed the *Toga Virilis*; and yet was guilty of Capital Incest. Upon his Accession to the Empire, he decreed all the Honours to his Grandmother *Antonia*, which the Senate had decreed *Livia* (h); but this was only a Start; for he shewed her no Respect afterwards, and even refused her a Private Audience. These Affronts threw her into a Melancholy, which occasioned her Death; and it was even said, that he hastened the

(d) *Josephus* Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. pag. 632. C.

(e) *Plin. lib. 7. cap. 19.*

(f) In eadem villa (apud Baianum in parte Baiana) *Antonia Drusi*, murenæ quam diligebat insuæ addidit: cuius propter famam nonnulli Baulos videre concupiverunt. *Plin. lib. 5. cap. 55.*

(g) Ex his (soribus) *Drusillam* vitæ viciis prætextatus adhuc creditur: atque etiam in concubitu ejus quondam deprehensus ab avia *Antonia*, apud quam final educabatur. *Sueton. in Calig. cap. 24.*

(h) Id. ib. cap. 10. See also *Dion. lib. 59.*

"old." *Antonia's* Chastity found Panegyrist in *Judea*. *Josephus* deserves to be heard: he informs us, that *Augustus* solicited this Lady to marry again; but she persisted in the contrary Resolution, and preserved an unsported Reputation in her Widow-hood. The Uncommonness of her Conducts was This. We see great Ladies enough, who live separate from their Husbands, or do not marry a second Time, though courted to it; but do they live without Reproach? Do they give no occasion to censure their Conduct? Here lies the Difficulty, *Hoc opus, hic labor est*. Some scandalous Talkers will say, there are Those, who practise the Maxim, which *Lutber* is said to have taught Husbands. *Si nolit Uxor*, said he, *veniat Ancilla*. - - - If your Wife won't, call your Maid. This is turning the Tables, and understanding *Lutber's* Expression wrong; which was, *si nolit, si desit maritus, veniat famulus*. - - - If you have no Husband, or if he refuses to comply, call your Servant. The Words of *Josephus* are as follows: *Τιμίᾳ δ' ἦν Ἀντωνία Τίβεριος εἰς τὰ πάντα ἀνυψεύνας τὴν ἀξίωσιν αὐτῆς, δρῶν γὰρ ἢ ἀδελφῇ τῇ αὐτῇ γυναι, καὶ ἀρίστῃ τῷ σφροδῶν, νέα γὰρ χηρὴν παρμένον γάμῳ τὴ ἀπέπειν τῷ παρὸς ἑτέρῳ, καὶ περ τὸ Σέβας κλέυσαντο τινὶ γαμίσθαι, καὶ λοιδορεῖν ἀπὸ πολλῶν διανοῶν αὐτῆς τὸν βίον* (7). *Antonia* was greatly respected by *Tiberius*, either because she was related to him, as having been the Wife of his Brother *Drusus*; or on account of her Continency; for, though she was a very young Widow, she refused to marry again, notwithstanding the Importunity of *Augustus*; and in this State of Life she preserved an unblemished Reputation.

[C] It was *Antonia*, who discovered *Sejanus's* Conspiracy. *Tacitus* was probably well informed of this Fact; but, unhappily, That Part of his Annals is lost. If I am not mistaken, *Josephus* is the only Historian, who relates what share *Antonia* had in discovering this Conspiracy. He deserves Credit, because the Intimacy of *Berenice*, and That of her Son *Agrippa*, with This Lady, and the good Offices she did *Agrippa*, made her known in *Judea*, and induced the Jewish Historian to inform himself exactly of what concerned her. Let us believe, then, on his Testimony, that *Antonia* was no sooner informed of *Sejanus's* Plot, than she wrote all the Circumstances of it exactly to *Tiberius*, who was then in the Island of *Caprea*, whither she dispatched one of her most faithful Domestic with her Letter. This Prince's Consideration for her increased greatly after so eminent a Piece of Service. *Ὁ δὲ μαδὼν τόντε Σηιανὸν κλείνει καὶ τὸς συνεπιβόλους, τήντε Ἀντωνίαν καὶ πρὶν ἀξιολόγως ἄγων τιμωστέρην τὴν ὑπὸ λαμβάνει κατὰ τοῖς πάσι πιθανόν* (8). *Tiberius*, being informed of it, put to Death *Sejanus* and his

Abettors, and bad, for the future, a still greater reliance on *Antonia*, whom before he greatly esteemed. I shall shew in another Place (9), that *Xiphilinus* occasionally observes, that *Antonia* informed *Tiberius* of certain Matters concerning *Sejanus*.

[D] This disconsolate Mother was not able to walk as a Mourner, when *Germanicus's* Funeral was solemnized. Let us see how *Tacitus* relates the Matter, and the Picture he gives of her in his Reflexions. "Tiberius atque *Augusta* publico abstinere, inferius Majestate sua rati si palam lamentarentur, an ne omnium oculis vultum eorum scrutantibus falsi inteligerentur. Matrem *Antoniam* non apud auctores rerum, non diurna actorum scriptura, reperio ullo insigni officio functam, cum super *Agrippinam*, & *Drusum* & *Claudium*, cæteri quoque confamæ gainet nominatim percripti sint; seu valetudine præpediebatur, seu victus luctu animus magnitudinem mali perferre viâ non toleravit. Facilius crediderim *Tiberio* & *Augusta*, qui domo non excedebant, cohibitam, ut par moror & matris exemplo avia quoque & patris attingeri viderentur (10). - - - *Tiberius* and *Augusta* would not appear publicly, thinking it beneath their Majesty to mourn openly; or, perhaps, lest the Eyes of the People, examining their Looks, should discover their Disimulation. I do not find, in any Historians, or Journalists, that *Antonia*, the Mother, performed any remarkable Part of the Solemnity, tho', besides *Agrippina*, *Drusus*, and *Claudius*, the rest of his Kindred are mentioned by Name; whether it were, that Sickness prevented her, or that her Mind, overcome with Grief, could not support the Greatness of her Misfortune in public View. I rather believe she was hindered by *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, who went not out of their House, that the Uncle and Grandmother might be thought to be equally afflicted with the Mother."

[E] She was wont to call him Monster, &c. This *Suetonius* informs us of. "Mater *Antonia* portentum eum hominis dictabat, nec absolutum à natura, sed tantum inchoatum! ac si quem scordie argueret, stultiorem aiebat filio suo *Claudio* (11). - - - His Mother *Antonia* used to call him a Monster of a Man, not finished by Nature, but only begun! and, whenever she would reproach any one with Stupidity, she was wont to say, he was a greater Fool, than her Son *Claudius*." By this we may judge she was a Woman of Wit and Sense; for your ordinary Women seldom discover, that their Children are stupid; or, if they do, they are not over-forward, to excuse themselves, and represent them as Changlings, or half-formed Productions.

[F] She shut her up in a Chamber, where she was starved to Death. This is another Proof, that she was a Woman of Spirit, who loved her Children

(9) In the Article *VESPA-SIAN*, Remark [T].

(10) *Tacit. Annal. lib. 3. ad ann. 773. l. 6. A. D. 20.*

(11) *Suet. in Claudio, cap. 3.*

(7) *Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 8. pag. 632. C.*

(8) Id. ibid.

the Effects of her Melancholy by Poison [G]. He paid no Honours to the Deceased, nor assisted at her Funeral (i). Probably the Temple of *Antonia*, which *Pliny* alone mentions, took it's Name from this Princess (H). She did not live to see the Misfortunes of her Grand-Daughter *Antonia*, whom Mr *Moreri* has mentioned, but not without a Mistake [I].

(i) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 23.

no longer, than they were an Honour to her; and preferred the Greatness of a Roman Soul to the tender Sentiments of Nature. There were two Traditions concerning the Death of *Livilla*; One, that *Tiberius* caused her to be put to Death; The other, that he pardoned her for the sake of *Antonia*; but that *Antonia* condemned her to be starved to Death (12).

(12) Dion. lib. 58.

[G] Caligula ----- *heightened the Effects of her Melancholy by Poison.* Suetonius and Dion agree in this Point. "Per illummodi indignitates & tædia causa exiit mortis, dato tamen, ut quidam putant, & veneno (13). --- By these Affronts and Vexations he was the Cause of her Death; not without a Suspicion of having heightened it by Poison." Dion says nothing of Poison; he only tells us, that this inhuman Wretch, not being able to bear the Reproaches of his Grandmother, obliged her to put an end to her Life (14). I cannot find in what Year this illustrious Lady died; but, since it was in the Reign of *Caligula*, I think her Death may be placed in the Year of Rome 792. That of her Husband happened in the Year 744. We may give a near guess at her Age, when she became a Widow, and how long she lived; for she must have been born in the Year of Rome 714; since her Mother *Octavia*, who married *Marc Antony* in 713 (15), was delivered of a Daughter, upon his return from Greece, the Year following (16). The Poem entitled *Consolatio ad Liviam Augustam de morte Drusi Neronis* (17), represents *Antonia* as very disconsolate, and gives her great Encomiums. We are there informed, as also in *Valerius Maximus*, of *Drusus's* Confinity, and that his last Words called upon his dear Wife:

(13) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 23.

(14) Dion. lib. 59. See also Sueton. in Calig. cap. 29.

(15) Caligula ad ann. mundi 3910.

(16) Plot. in Antonio, pag. 930. E. See also pag. 931. D.

(17) It is printed with Ovid's Works, and many take it to be his.

Quid referam de te, dignissima conjuge Druso,
Atque eadem Drusi digna parente nurus?
Par bene compositum, juvenum fortissimus alter,
Altera tam forti mutua cura viro.
Fœmina tu princeps, tu filia Cæsaris: illi
Nec minor es magni conjuge visâ Jovis.
Tu concessus amor, tu solus & ultimus abissi,
Tu requies fessio grata laboris eras.
Te moriens per verba novissima questus abesse,
Et mota in nomen frigida lingua tuum.

How shall the Muse in feeble Numbers raise
Her Voice, illustrious Lady, to Thy Praise?
A Consort, equal to great Drusus's Worth!
A Daughter, worthy Her, who gave thy Drusus Birth!
United Hearts in Love! Consenting Pair!
The bravest Warriour HE, and she the loveliest Fair!
A Princess born, great Cæsar gave Thee Life;
To him not less, than Jove's imperial Wife.
The sacred Tie consign'd you to His Arms;
And His were All *Antonia's* blooming Charms.
From Fair to Fair He never learnt to rove;
Thine was his first, and Thine his latest, Love.
On thy soft Bosom he repos'd from Care,
Forgot each Toil and Labour of the War.
His dearest Wife employ'd his latest Breath;
Thy Absence was his only Pang in Death.
Dying, his salt'ring Tongue's uncertain Aim
Call'd on his Wife, and half pronounced Thy Name.

[H] Probably the Temple of *Antonia*, which *Pliny* alone mentions, took it's Name from this Princess. He speaks of it in the Catalogue of *Apeller's* Paintings: "Ejusdem, says he, arbitrantur manu esse & in *Antoniae* templo *Herculeum* aversum: ut, quod est difficillimum, faciem ejus ostendat verius pictura, quam promittat (18). --- The *Hercules* averted, in the Temple of *Antonia*, is thought to be by the same Hand; that, what was most difficult, the Picture might more truly represent his Face, than promise it." A very learned Commentator (19) says, upon this Passage, That he does not know, whether this Temple belonged to the elder, or the younger *Antonia*, nor in what Part of the City it stood.

(18) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 20. pag. 213.

(19) Father Hardouin.

"Cujus illud *Antoniae* fuerit, majoris, minorisve, quove Urbis situ conditum fuerit, incertum. Utraque *Antonii* *Triumvir* filia, Major *Germanici* & *Claudii* Cæsaris parens: *Neronis* avia. --- To which of the *Antonia's*, the elder, or the younger, it was dedicated, and in what City it was built, is uncertain. Both the *Antonia's* were Daughters of the *Triumvir*; the elder, the Mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* Cæsar: Grandmother of *Nero*." This is to prefer the Opinion of *Tacitus* to That of *Suetonius* (20), and giving the elder to *Drusus*; but, on the other hand, I know not what to make of the Words, *Neronis* avia. I suspect the Printer has, at least, forgot the Epithet *minor*; for, by substituting this Word, we find, that Father *Hardouin* has said something of both the *Antonia's*; of the elder, that she was the Mother of *Germanicus*, and the Emperor *Claudius*; and of the younger, that she was *Nero's* Grandmother. If no such Word be supplied, there is a manifest Error in this Place, since the Mother of *Germanicus* was not *Nero's* Grandmother. To have recourse to the Adoption of *Nero*, by *Claudius*, would be an ill shift. In another place (21), this Commentator has preferred the Opinion of *Suetonius* to That of *Tacitus*.

(20) See, above, the Remark [A].

(21) In Plin. lib. 7. cap. 19. Tom. 2. pag. 38.

[I] *Antonia*, whom Mr *Moreri* has mentioned, but not without a Mistake. She was Daughter of the Emperor *Claudius*, by *Ælia* *Petina*; but born before her Father was Emperor. He married her first to *Cneus Pompeius Magnus* (22), and afterwards to *Faustus Sylla*. She saw both her Husbands die a violent Death. The former was put to Death, by order of the Emperor *Claudius* (23); the latter was massacred, at *Marseilles*, by *Rufians*, whom *Nero* had sent thither for that purpose (24). She refused to marry this Prince, who would have taken her to Wife, after the Death of *Pompey* (25). *Nero* put her to Death, upon pretence, that she was concerned in a Conspiracy; I believe it was That of *Piso*. An Historian pretends, that *Piso* was to have carried *Antonia* into the Camp of the *Prætorian* Guards (26). *Tacitus* mentions it, without thinking it very probable (27). He thinks it unlikely, that *Antonia* should have exposed herself to so great Hazard, without the Hopes of becoming *Piso's* Wife. Now there was no room to expect this; for *Piso* was known to be a most uxorious Husband. But *Tacitus* does not stop here; he subjoins a Restriction, according to his Custom; unless, says he, we suppose, that the Desire of Rule in Women is, of all others, the most violent. By this he restores the Probability to *Pliny's* Account, which he had been labouring to destroy. *Antonia* might have believed, that *Piso* would repudiate his dear Wife, to open a way to the Throne, by marrying the Daughter of the Emperor *Claudius*. "Interim *Piso* apud ædem *Cereris* operiretur, unde eum præfectus *Fenius* & cæteri accitum ferrent in castra, comitante *Antonia* *Claudii* Cæsaris filia, ad eliciendum vulgi favorem, quod C. *Plinius* memorat. Nobis quoquo modo traditum non occultare in animo fuit, quamvis absurdum videretur, aut inani spei *Antoniam* nomen & periculum commodavisse, aut *Pisonem* notum a more uxoris alii matrimonio fe obstrinxisse: nisi si cupido dominandi cunctis affectibus flagrantior est (28). --- In the mean time *Piso* was to wait at the Temple of *Ceres*, from whence the *Præfect* *Fenius*, and the rest, were to conduct him to the Camp, accompanied by *Antonia*, the Daughter of *Claudius* & Cæsar, in order to gain the Vulgar to their Party, as C. *Plinius* informs us. I resolved not to stifle this Tradition, true or false; though I cannot but think it absurd, either that *Antonia* should run the hazard of lending her Name to so vain an Enterprize, or that *Piso*, who was remarkable for conjugal Fidelity, should engage himself to marry another; unless the Desire of Rule be the strongest Affection of the Mind." *Moreri's* Faults are, I. That *Tacitus* calls *Antonia's* second Husband *Cornelius* *Salenus*, whereas he calls him *Cornelius* *Sulla* (29). II. That *Antonia* lived a long time a Widow. Her Husband *Sylla* was killed in the Year 815. *Piso's* Conspiracy broke out in 818. *Peppæus* died the same Year: It

(22) He referred to him this Surname, which *Caligula* had taken from him. Dion. lib. 60.

(23) Sueton. in Claud. cap. 27.

(24) Tacit. Ann. lib. 14. cap. 57.

(25) Sueton. in Ner. cap. 35.

(26) *Plinius*, apud *Tacitum* in Ann. lib. 15. cap. 53.

(27) *Tacitus* Annal. lib. 20. cap. 53.

(28) *Tacitus* Annal. lib. 15. cap. 53.

(29) *Annal.* lib. 13. cap. 23. (and not cap. 5, as in *Moreri*) and 47. *Moreri* is mistaken in citing lib. 14. cap. 16. He should have cited lib. 14. cap. 57. Mr has cited all the Places, which he says to have cited.

is very probable, that *Antonia* was courted soon after; and that her Refusal caused *Nero* to revive the Proceedings against her in particular. Be it as it will, her Widowhood could not be very long, since *Nero*, who

caused her to be put to Death, died in the Year 821. In the third Place, the Authors, quoted by Mr *Moreri*, do not say, that *Nero* obliged *Antonia* to kill herself.

ANTONIA, Younger Sister of the preceeding, as well by the Father, as the Mother's Side, will furnish but a small Article. I meet with nothing farther concerning her, than that she was the Wife of *Lucius Domitius Aenobarbus*, and that this Marriage produced one Son and two Daughters; the Son, whose Name was *Cneus Domitius*, was Father to the Emperor *Nero*. We shall speak of the Daughters under the Word *DOMITIA*; and shew, that Mr *Moreri* is mistaken, in saying, that One of them married *Galba*.

ANTONIANO (*SILVIO*) a Cardinal, and a learned Man, raised himself by his Merit from a very low Condition; He was of mean Birth, and his Parents so far from being able to breed him a Scholar, that they themselves stood in need of the Charity of others. Some say he was illegitimate; but *Joseph Castalion*, who wrote his Life, has proved the contrary (a). Be That as it will, he was born at *Rome*, in the Year 1540 [A]. He made so quick and surprizing a Progress in his Studies, that one can scarce credit the Accounts of it. At Ten Years of Age, he made Verses [B] on any Subject, which was proposed to him; which were so good, and so finely turn'd, tho' made *extempore*, that other Wits could not have composed the like without much Time and Pains. The Trial was one day made at the Cardinal of *Pisa's* Table, at an Entertainment, which he gave to several other Cardinals. *Alexander Farneze*, taking a Nodsgay, gave it to the young Scholar, bidding him present it to That Person of the Company, who should be the next Pope. The Youth presented it to the Cardinal *de Medicis*, and spoke his Elogy in Verse. This Cardinal, who was afterwards Pope *Pius IV*, fancied the Company play'd upon him, and that the Poetry had been prepared before-hand, with much Art, with a Design of making a Jest of him; upon which he seemed to take it amiss; but they solemnly protested to him, that it was made *extempore*, and desired he would try the Boy himself on any other Subject: He did so, and was convinced of the extraordinary Abilities of the Youth; who enlarged, off-hand, on a Subject, which was proposed to him, in very elegant Verse [C]. The Duke of *Ferrara*, coming to *Rome*, to congratulate *Marcellus II*, on his Elevation to the Pontificat, was so charmed with *Antoniano's* Wit, that he carried him with him to *Ferrara* [D], where he appointed him excellent Masters to instruct him in all the Sciences. He was taken from thence by Pope *Pius IV*; who, remembering the Adventure of the Nose-gay, and being now in *St Peter's* Chair, enquired what was become of the young Poet. Finding where he

was,

(a) Scripti
Sylvii Card.
Antoniani
vitam, quem
tan rationi-
bus tum pu-
blicarum te-
stimonis ab
eorum ca-
lumnias vin-
dicare cona-
tus est, qui
illum a pa-
rente minus
justa uxore
genitum as-
serabant.
*Niclus Ery-
thraus*, *Pi-
naceo* l. I.
pag. 167.

(1) N. E-
rythra. Pinac.
l.

(2) Toppi,
Biblioth.
Napolit. pag.
233.

(3) Oldoini
Athen. Ro-
man. pag.
623.

(4) Fam.
Strada, Pro-
f. Acad. 3.
lib. 2.

(5) *By the
Gift of Jo-
seph Casta-
lion*, in 1610.

[A] He was born at *Rome*, in the Year 1540. *Niclus Erythraus* makes him to be born at *Rome*: *Rome, humili loco — ortus* (1); but *Toppi* makes him a Native of *Castelli*, in the *Abruzzo*, and gives us an Inscription, made by *Mutius Panza*, in which he is said to be *Castellorum oppido oriundus* (2). This may only signify, that his Father was of this Place. However it be, I collect from *Father Oldoini* (3), that he was born in the Year 1540, because he tells us, that he died, *August 16, 1603*. *Niclus Erythraus* does not set down the Year of the Century, in which he died, but only, that he died in his grand Climacteric. *Monf. de la Rochezouai*, in his *Nomenclator Cardinalium*, places his Death on the sixteenth of *August, 1604*. I have chosen to follow *Father Oldoini*.

[B] At ten Years of age he made Verses. *Father Strada*, who, with much Politeness, has inserted the Relation of this Adventure in one of his Orations, says, that *Antoniano* was not quite twelve Years of Age (4).

[C] Who enlarged, off-hand, on a Subject, which was proposed to him, in very elegant Verse. *Father Strada* informs us, that, while the Cardinal *de Medicis* was confidering what Subject he should propose, the Clock struck; upon which he desired him to make Verses on a Clock. The Author has preserved those, which he supposes *Antoniano* made on the Spot; and adds, that the Cardinal of *Trent* presented him with a Chain.

[D] The Duke — carried him with him to *Ferrara*. *Antoniano* spoke some Orations there, which have been printed (5), with those, which he pronounced at *Rome*; this inclines me to believe, that he was Professor at *Ferrara*. *Niclus Erythraus* says only, that *Antoniano* taught the Sciences there; Why does he not tell us which they were? The fear of being too tedious is no just Reason for suppressing such

Particulars. I have not yet had an Opportunity of consulting the Life of this Cardinal, composed by *Joseph Castalion*; which, no doubt, informs us upon what account he was at *Ferrara*, and in what Year he died, with many other Particulars. Much less can I procure a Book, which Mr *Conrart* sent to Mr *de Balzac*. The Subject was *Italian Discourses of the Philosophical Orator* (6). Mr *de Balzac* despised them: "I allow, says he (7), that the Elogium of Cardinal *Dossat*, and Cardinal *Silvio Antoniano* are not amiss, and that the Author has happily enough imitated the Parallels of *Plutarch's* Lives. His long Inve-
"tive against Nobility is the highest strain of his
"Wit: I have observed several fine Strokes in it,
"and something of his own Invention, besides what
"he has borrowed from others, and particularly from
"*Caius Marius's* Speech in the *Jugurthine War*.
"However, I am of Opinion, that, without injuring
"his Subject, he might have shortened his Digres-
"sion. This Common-place Topic, which he has
"spun out to such a length, and which he has so
"artfully, and so pompously displayed, ought only
"to have been touched upon by the By. Besides,
"that he made himself powerful and dangerous En-
"emies by it. For it must needs be a great Offence
"to the polite World, to prove, that it is no Crime
"to be the Son of an Artist, or Rustic."

"*Jerom Ruscelli*, in the seventh Chapter of his
"*Rimario*, speaks Wonders of the Talent of our *Sil-
"vio Antoniano*, whom, by mistake, he calls *Antonio*,
"for *extempore* Poetry. He mentions a Trial, which
"was made of it at *Venice*, in the Presence of the
"Queen of Poland, Cardinal *Trivulzio*, and the
"Cardinal of *Ausburg*. *Antoniano* was not then
"above Sixteen. The Princes of *Este* detained him
"at *Ferrara*, where he read public Lectures, as the
"same *Ruscelli* informs us, in the place quoted." I
"have this from Mr *de la Monnaie*."

(6) See the
Dissertations
at the end of
the Christian
Socrates,
pag. 10.

(7) Ibid.
47.

* *Bonna
Sforza*, who
in 1555,
quitted Po-
land to retire
to Bari in Ita-
ly.

[E] What

was, he sent for him to *Rome*, and gave him an honourable Post in his Palace. He afterwards made him Professor of Humanity in the *Roman College*. *Antoniano* exercised This Office with so much Reputation, that, on the Day, when he began to explain the Oration *pro Marco Marcello*, he had not only a great Croud of People for his Auditors, but likewise Twenty five Cardinals. He afterwards became Rector of the same College; and, upon the Death of *Pius IV*, the Spirit of Devotion seizing him, he followed *Philip de Neri*, and accepted of the Office of Secretary to the Sacred College, offered him by *Pius V*. He exercised this Employ Twenty five Years, and obtained by it the Reputation of an honest and able Officer. He refused the Bishopric, which *Gregory XIV* would have given him, but not the Post of Secretary to the Briefs, which was offered him by *Clement VIII*, who made him also his Chamberlain, and afterward Cardinal. It is reported, that Cardinal *Alexander de Montalto*, who had behaved a little haughtily towards *Antoniano*, seeing him promoted to the Purple, said, that, for the future, he would never despise a Man in a Cassock and little Band, how low an Object soever he might seem, since, possibly, the Person, whom he had despised, might become not only his Equal, but even his Master. *Antoniano* killed himself by dint of Study; he spent whole Nights in it; which brought a Distemper upon him, of which he died, in the Sixty third Year of his Age. He wrote with so much Ease, that he had never occasion to make any Rasure; and it is said, that he preserved his Virginity all his Life (b). See, in one of the Remarks, what relates to his Works [E].

Cardinal *Bentivoglio* will furnish me with a large Supplement to this Article [F]. I find, that *Antoniano* was one of the Disputants on the Question concerning the Precedency of Patriarchs [G].

[E] *What relates to his Works.* We have of his, *De Christiana puerorum educatione* — *Dissertatio de obsecratione Solis in morte Christi* — *De Successione Apostolica* — *De Stylo Ecclesiastico, seu de conscribenda Ecclesiastica historia* — *De Primatu S. Petri* — *Lucubrations in Rhetoricam Aristotelis & in Orationes Ciceronis*. — i. e. Of the Christian Education of Youth — *A Dissertation on the Darkness of the Sun at the Crucifixion* — *Of Apostolical Succession* — *Of the Ecclesiastical Style, or of writing Ecclesiastical History* — *Of the Primacy of St Peter* — *Lucubrations on Aristotle's Rhetoric, and Cicero's Orations*. — Several pieces of Verses, some Sermons, Notes and Prefaces on the Romance of *Achilles Statius*, and on the *Tenence of Gabriel Faernus* (8), several Letters, &c. He is said to have had a hand in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (9). As for his Letters, they are Apostolical Briefs, which he composed while he was Secretary; I shall take notice of them in the following Remark. They are reckoned among the Letters, which the Writers of Anecdotes should make their Extracts from (10). The other Sources are the Letters of the Cardinals *Bembo* and *Sadolet*, Those of *Peter Martyr*, &c. Note, that his Book *De Christiana puerorum educatione*, composed in Italian, at the Request of Cardinal *Charles Borromeo*, was printed at *Verona*, by the Care of *Augustin Valerio*, Bishop of the Place, and Cardinal (11).

[F] *Cardinal Bentivoglio will furnish me with a large Supplement to this Article.* He says, it was still uncertain, whether *Antoniano* was born at *Rome*; but that there was no doubt of his having been educated there from his Infancy (12). He was placed, by Pope *Pius IV*, in the Service of Cardinal *Borromeo*, That Pope's Nephew; he was This Cardinal's Secretary for Latin Dispatches; He attended him to *Milan*, and returned with him to *Rome*. He was made Secretary of the Sacred College; and discharged the Duties of That Post to Admiration. He was admitted to the strictest Intimacy with *Clement VIII*; whose Briefs he composed with so much Eloquence, that That Pope had no reason to envy *Leo X*. the *Sadolet's* and the *Bembo's*. He inserted Passages of Scripture in them with great Judgment; for which he was blamed by too rigid a Censor; who said, that it made several of the Pope's Letters favour more of a Monastery, than of the Court of *Rome*, and represented rather the Person of a Preacher, than that of a Sovereign Pontiff. *Che perciò alcuni di loro, sapessero più di Claustro regolare, che di corte Ecclesiastica, e rappresentassero quasi la persona d'un predicatore, che un Pontifice* (13). He laughed at this Criticism, and answered, That, if he took the Matter right, there were not too many Scripture-Phrases in the Letters, which he composed; that, on the contrary, he thought they were not sufficiently filled

with them, considering the Quality of the Person, who spoke in them, which was That of a Sovereign Pastor of the Church; considering further, likewise, that they were not prophane Letters, in which a Luxuriancy of Thought and Expression, after the Style of temporal Sovereigns, ought to reign. *Anzi che a lui pareva, che più tosto mancassero in questa parte, havuto riguardo all' essere i Brevi Apostolici scritti dal supremo Pastor della Chiesa, e non lettere profane, che havessero a lussu reggiare con sensi, & parole tratte dalle Secretarie de Principi temporali* (14). He adds, that the Briefs of *Sadolet*, and Those of *Bembo*, did not keep up the decorum, which the Pontifical Dignity required; and that, in some of his Briefs, *Bembo*, by an Affectation of Latinity, favours, not only of Prophaneness, and a worldly Spirit, but even of Paganism. *Antoniano* was, in his last Sickness, visited by *Clement VIII*, and received from him the Apostolical Benediction. He was naturally modest, of a pleasant Conversation, and a Prudence, which the Court-Spirit had not vitiated (15). He assisted in several Conclaves, and discoursed concerning them with singular Satisfaction; not without making solid Reflexions on the Vanity of human Things. *Men, said he, perplex themselves with a thousand Cares, to compass their Ends, but the Providence of God almost always discovers it's Ascendant. Per occasione d'essere stato Secretario del Sacro Collegio tanti anni, s'era trovato egli in molti conclavi, e di quei successi discorreva con gusto particolare, e mostrava specialmente in quanti modi vi si affaticasse l'industria humana, ed in quanti vi apparisse, e vi prevallesse ordinariamente la provvidenza Divina* (16). Without doubt he meant to say, that the best concerted Intrigues, and those, which have exercised the Thoughts most, are frustrated, in Conclaves, by unforeseen Accidents. If by this he would insinuate, that the secret Springs of Providence are more particularly discoverable in Those Assemblies, where Popes are elected, he was mistaken; for we see, that, in all the Courts of the World, the Success of the most prudent Politics depends upon I know not what fortuitous Incidents; which may convince us of the Truth of the Proverb, *Man proposes, but God disposes*.

[G] *Was one of the Disputants in the Question concerning the Precedency of Patriarchs.* Read this Passage, taken from a Letter, which the *Paranda* wrote to *Rome*, the eleventh of *December*, 1589. "La causa della precedenza Patriarcale non è ancor venuta à fine, & si tratta tuttavia nella Congregazione delle Ceremonie. Si scrive, & le scritture vanno per manus, & si come diff già il parer della Congregazione è contra la pretenza de gli Arcivescovi, & de Patriarchi. Solamente l'Antoniano sostiene questa parte, & scrive, & dà fido. Sarà un brau' huomo, se farà tanto che basti, havendo da contrastar con Monsignor Illustrissimo Gual-

(b) *Ex* *land* *Nich* *Ery-* *tho*, *Pima-* *ph*. *l.* *pag* *36*.

(14) *Id.* *ib.* *pag* *122*.

(15) *Id.* *ib.* *pag* *113*.

(16) *Id.* *ib.* *pag* *152*.

(8) *Nomen-* *clat.* *Cardi-* *nal* *pag* *178*.

(9) *See* *Co-* *lonius* *Bibl.* *chois.* *pag* *36*.

(10) *Varil-* *las's* *Prefice* *to* *the* *Anec-* *dots* *of* *Flo-* *rence*.

(11) *Poffe-* *win.* *Apparat.* *Sacr.* *Tom.* *2.* *pag* *405* *443*.

(12) *Bentivoglio's* *Me-* *moirs* *ovvero* *di-* *stio*, *capitolo* *7.* *pag* *107*. *Edit.* *Amstel.* *1648*.

(13) *Id.* *ib.* *pag* *111*.

(17) Lettere "do (17). ---- The Question concerning the Pre-
de Gio. "cedency of Patriarchs is not yet determined, and con-
Francisco "tinues to be discussed in the Congregation of Cere-
Peranda, "mony. They write, and their Works are in every
pag. 224. "one's Hand. And they say the Opinion of the Con-
Edit. Venet. "gregation is against the Pretensions of the Arch-
1604.

"bishops and Patriarchs. Antoniano alone under-
"takes their Defence, and writes, and makes a Stand.
"He will be a brave Man, if he can support his
"Cause against the most illustrious Lord Gual-
"do."

ANTONIO (NICOLAS) Knight of the Order of St James, and Canon of Seville, has done great Honour to the Spanish Nation by the *Bibliothèque de Spanish Writers*, which he published at Rome, in two Volumes, in Folio, in the Year 1672. It is a very good Work in it's kind [A]. And, perhaps, no One has succeeded better in Collections of this kind, than Don Nicolas Antonio. He was born at Seville, in the Year 1617, of a Father, whom King Philip IV made President of the Admiralty, established in That City in the Year 1626. Having studied School-Learning, Philosophy, and Theology, in his own Country, he went to study the Law at Salamanca, and applied himself chiefly to the Lectures of Francisco Ramos del Manzano, who was afterwards One of the King's Counsellors, and Preceptor to Charles II. We cannot form a better Judgment of the Progress he made, than from the many Projects he had conceived for the Advancement of Literature, and the manner, in which he executed part of them, notwithstanding the unavoidable interruption of Affairs, in an Employment, which he had at Rome; being Agent-General for the King, his Master, and, besides, concerned in Special Commissions, from the Inquisition of Spain, the Vice-Roys of Naples and Sicily, and the Governour of Milan, to negotiate their Affairs at the Court of Rome. The Plan of the *Bibliothèque de Spanish Writers* consists of two Parts. The first comprehends all the Authors of That Nation, who lived before the End of the XVth Century; the other Those, who lived after the End of That Century. This latter Part, being ready sooner than the first, was published before it. It appeared at Rome, as I have already said, in two Volumes in Folio, in the Year 1672. I cannot tell whether the Author had leisure enough to put the last Hand to the other Part, and to a second Design, no less laborious. He was employ'd upon a Work under the following Title; *Trophæum Historico-Ecclesiasticum Deo veritati erectum, ex manubus Pseudo-Historicorum, qui Flavii Lucii Dextri, M. Maximi, Helece, Braulioni, Luitprandi, & Juliani nomine circumferuntur; hoc est, vindiciæ veræ atque dudum nota Hispanarum rerum Historiæ, Germanarum nostræ gentis laudum, non ex Germano-Fuldensibus Chronicis, emendatarum in libertatem & paritatem plena Assertio.*—An *Historico-Ecclesiastical Trophy erected to the God of Truth from the Spoils of the Pseudo-Historians, banded about under the Names of Flavius Lucius Dexter, M. Maximus, Helece, Braulion, Luitprand, and Julian; that is, The True and Well-known History of the Spanish Affairs vindicated, and the Genuine Virtues of our People, not meanly borrowed from the German Chronicles of Fuld, but restored to their Liberty and Parity.* He had reason to say, that it was not only a Work of vast Extent, but attended likewise with dangerous Consequences (a). For where are Those, who are willing to be undeceived as to Fables, which for a long time have flattered the Vanity of their Nation? To what do not they expose themselves, who venture to stem the Torrent of a Tradition equally fabulous and glorious (b)? Every one knows the Clamour of the Provençals upon Mr de Lawnois's attempting to cure them of their Errors in relation to Mary Magdalen and Lazarus. Perhaps Don Nicolas Antonio did not presume to meddle with certain pious Fables [B], as being very sensible of the Obstinacy of his Countrymen on this Head, and the untractable Temper of the Inquisition. He insinuates,

(a) Immen-
se molis,
ac forsan in-
vidiæ, opus.

(b) See the
Remark [D],
at the end.

A
Thought
on the In-
dexes of
Books.

(1) See the
advantage, as
Character
given of it by
Mr Baillet,
Tom. 2. of
his Jugem-
ents des
Sçavans, n.
128. The
Journal des
Sçavans, of
July 6,
1706, gives
us a very in-
teresting
Article on
this excellent
Work.

[A] The *Bibliothèque de Spanish Writers* ---- is a very good Book in it's kind (1). I have quoted Mr Baillet, who has given a Detail of his Excellencies. He has, not without Reason, praised the very Tables of the Book; for they are in a very good Method, and very useful. The Author has wrote a short Preface to it, which shews his good Taste and Judgment. He there introduces the Saying of a Spanish Writer, "Indicem libri ab Autore, librum ipsum a quovis alio conscribendum esse. ---- The Index of a Book should be the Author's own; the Book itself may be wrote by any one else." The contrary is practised at present; Authors leave the trouble of composing Alphabetical Tables to others; and it must be owned, that they, who are not laborious, and whose Talent lies in a great Warmth of Imagination, are in the right to let others compose the Indexes of their Works; but a Man of Judgment, and Labour, will succeed, in making Tables to his own Writings, much better than a Stranger. There are many Pieces of good Advice to be given in regard to the Composition of these Tables; nor are they mistaken, who look upon them as the Soul of Books.

[B] He did not presume to meddle with certain pious Fables. Perhaps I am mistaken; for Mr Baillet speaks thus of them; "His Criticism is very

"just and solid in several Places; particularly in what
"relates to the fabulous Traditions of the first Ca-
"techists, who planted the Faith in Spain, and of
"those false Historians, whom Imposture brought
"forth, for the Delusion of the Spaniards, and on
"whom our Author has promised a particular Cri-
"ticism (2)." This would have made me more pre-
"emptory, had I not found another Remark sub-
"joined to these Words of Mr Baillet; "However,
"there is room to suspect him of too much Indulgence
"for certain vulgar Opinions, which are exploded
"by Critics of the best Taste." Be this as it will,
"there is no doubt but he would have destroyed the
"Authority of all the supposed Authors men-
"tioned in his Title (3); nor would he have been the
"first, who had employed his Pen to this Purpose;
"for read the following Extract from some Sheets of
"the Abbot de la Roque; "For an Age past, they
"have had the boldness to write (*speaking of Spain*)
"and publish false Chronicles, to impose upon the
"Credulity of the Learned, or the Simple; which,
"far from diminishing, increases the Glory of the
"Marquis d'Argensol, who has so justly ridiculed
"and exploded Dexter, the oldest of these false
"Chronicles, in his *Dissertationes Ecclesiasticæ: por
"el honor de los antiguos tutelares contra las ficcio-
"nes modernas*, printed at Saragossa in 1671 (4).
[C] The

(2) Baillet,
Jugem. des
Sçavans,
Tom. 2. pag.
134.

(3) See the
Remark [D],
at the end.

(4) Journ.
des Sçavans,
of the week
of January,
1687, pag.
11. See the
end of the
Remark [D].

insinuates, that he had formed the Design of several other Works. But let us not omit That, which he published at Antwerp, in the Year 1659, *De Exilio, five de Pena Exilii Exulatumque Conditione & Juribus*, in folio (c).—Of Banishment, or of the Punishment of Exile, and the Condition and Rights of the Exiled, in Folio.

(c) Taken from his Bibliotheca Hispanica, Tom. 2. pag. 118, 119.

Thus much I had said of Don Nicolas Antonio, in the first Edition. Since That Time, I have been informed, that, being returned to Seville, after having studied the Law at Salamanca, he shut himself up in the Royal Monastery of Benedictines, where he laboured several Years on the Spanish Bibliotheque, and, for that purpose, made use of the Books of Benedictus de la Serna, who was, at that time, Abbot of It, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology of Salamanca; That, in the Year 1659, he was sent to Rome by King Philip IV, to take care of the Affairs of the Kingdom, as Agent-General (d): That the Cardinal of Arragon, Ambassador at Rome, obtained for him, of Pope Alexander VII, a Canonship in the Church of Seville, the Revenue whereof he employed in Alms and Books; That he collected above Thirty thousand Volumes with it; inasmuch that his Library fell short of none, but the Vatican; That, by this Assistance, together with continual Labour, and indefatigable Application, he finished his Bibliotheque of Spain in four Volumes in Folio (e).—That, after he had caused the two first Volumes to be printed, he was recalled to Madrid by King Charles II, to take on him the Office of Counsellor of the Crusado, which he discharged with great Integrity till his Death, which happened in 1684.—That he left no other Estate, besides the vast Library, which he had transported from Rome to Madrid; on the contrary, that his Executorship was clogged with Debts; that his two Brothers, who are Canons of Salamanca, and his two Nephews, were not able to get his Bibliotheque of Spain printed, but sent it to Monsieur the Cardinal d'Aguirre, who was so generous as to be at the Expence of the Impression himself (C), and committed the Care of it to Monsieur Marti, his Library-Keeper, who added some Notes in his Eminency's Name. I have just seen a little Book, in which I find, that the Jesuits have complained of this Work of Don Nicolas Antonio [D].

(d) Journ. des Savans, of the tenth of June, 1697, pag. 420. Edit. Holl.

(e) Ib. pag. 421, 422.

[C] The Cardinal d'Aguirre, ----- was so generous, as to be at the Expence of the Impression himself. He was the Author's old Friend, and had studied with him in the University of Salamanca. The Republic of Letters is extremely obliged to him for the Expence he was at in printing such a Book, which contains two Volumes in Folio. They were printed at Rome, and appeared in 1696. You will find good Extracts from them in the *Journal de Savans* (5), and in That of *Leipfic* (6). The Title of the Work is This: "Bibliotheca Hispana vetus, five Hispanorum qui usquam unquamve scripto aliquid confignaverunt, Notitia, complectens scriptores omnes qui ab Octaviani Augusti Imperio usque ad annum M D floruerunt. Auctore Nicolao Antonio, Hispanensi Juriconsulto, Ordinis S. Jacobi Equite, Patriz Ecclesie Canonico, regiorum negotiorum in Urbe & Romanæ curiæ Procuratore generali, demum Matriæ consiliario Regio. Opus Posthumum. Nunc primum prodit jussu & expensis Eminentiissimi & Reverendissimi Domini D. Josephi Saez Cardinalis de Aguirre. --- A Dictionary of ancient Spanish Authors, or Memoirs of all those in Spain, who have ever, or any where, committed any Thing to writing; comprehending all the Writers, who have flourished from the Reign of Octavian Augustus down to the Year M D. By Nicolas Antonio, Civilian of Salamanca, and Knight of the Order of St James; Canon of Seville, Agent-General for the King and the Inquisition, and lastly by the King's Counsellor at Madrid. A Posthumous Work; now first published by Order, and at the Expence, of the most Eminent and Reverend Lord, D. Joseph Saez, Cardinal of Aguirre."

[D] The Jesuits have complained of this Work of Don Nicolas Antonio [A] Pamphlet (7) entitled *Calumnia convicta*, seu *Epistola familiaris Cleandri ad clarissimum & eruditissimum virum Evaristum, super Memoriali nuper porrecto, Hispano idiomate, ad Regem Catholicum à Patre Joanne de Palazol Soc. Jesu, nomine & jussu Thyræ Gonzales ejusdem Soc. Generalis Præpositi. --- Calumny convicted; or a familiar Epistle from Cleander to the most famous and learned Evaristus, concerning a Memorial, in Spanish, lately presented to the Catholic King, by Father John de Palazol, a Jesuit, by Order of Thyrus Gonzales, General of the Order; dated from Dillingen, the Twen-*

ty fifth of June 1698, informs me, that the Jesuits have represented to the King of Spain, that one of the five Propositions of *Janfenius* has been recommended as Catholic in the Work of Don Nicolas Antonio. They pretend to be unwilling to attack the Cardinal d'Aguirre, who was at the Expence of printing this Work; but it is easy to see that they attack him indirectly. They suppose, that some *Janfenist* has, in this Place, corrupted the Text of Antonio. The whole Affair is This: Our Author acknowledges this Proposition of *Prudentius*, Bishop of Troyes, for Catholic; "That the Blood of Jesus Christ was shed for all Believers; but not for those, who never have believed; who do not now believe; and who never will believe." *Quod sanguis Christi effusus sit pro omnibus credentibus, sed non pro iis qui nunquam crediderunt, nec credunt, nec credituri sunt.* The Author of the Pamphlet shews, that this Proposition might have been considered as Catholic; and that therefore there was no manner of Reason to suspect the Faith of Don Nicolas Antonio, or That of the Cardinal d'Aguirre. Note, that his Eminence has declared boldly against the looser Casuists (8); and that this is supposed to be the Reason of the ill Offices the Jesuits endeavour to do him.

It is probable, this will not be the only Complaint brought to the Tribunals against these two Volumes of the *Bibliothèque de Spain*. I have not yet seen them, and I question whether there be a Copy of them in the United Provinces (9); but I am assured, that the Author has declared loudly against the pretended *Luitprand*, and against *Higuera*, who brought him to light; and has fallen foul on *Aubert de Seville*, on the *Chronicles of Dexter*, on *Maximus*, on *Julian*, &c. A Spanish Jesuit (10) remarks this, in a Work he has published, in favour of his Brethren, at Antwerp, Compilers of the *Acta Sanctorum*. It is there I have met with some Passages of Don Nicolas Antonio on this Subject. But, since the Marquis d'Agropoli, Grandee of Spain by a double Title, could not combat these fabulous Historians, without exposing himself to a vexatious Information before the Inquisition (11), as a Writer, who betrayed the Honour of his Country; I cannot suppose the Monks of That Country will ever suffer the Memory of our Nicolas Antonio to rest.

(8) See the several Extracts from his Books, in the Memorial of a Janfenist, which I shall cite in the Article BELLARMIN, Remark [H].

(9) I write this the 28th of February, 1699.

(10) Anton. Xaramilios, in Apologia pro Veritate. This Work, translated out of Spanish into Latin, by the Jesuit Pet. Cant, was printed at Antwerp, 1698.

(11) See the Article VESPASIAN, Remark [D].

(5) Of the Month of June and July, 1697.

(6) Acta Eruclit. Lips. Mens. Jun. & Jul. 1697.

(7) Of seven by seven Pages in 12mo.

APAFI (MICHAEL) Prince of Transylvania, was promoted to this Principality in the Year 1661, without his thinking of it. Ali Bassa, having forced Kimin Janos to quit Transylvania, was apprehensive he should not be able to hinder him from returning, and making his Party superior by the help of the Imperial Troops. He resolved, therefore, to set up a Prince in opposition to him, who should be elected

(a) Joannes
Betlenius,
Rerum
Transylvani-
e, lib. 3.
pag. 247.

by the States of the Country, under the Protection of the *Porte*. To this end, he demanded of the Deputies of the Towns of *Transylvania*, whether there were not some great *Transylvanian* Lord, in the Towns, which had submitted to his Arms, worthy of the Principality (a)? They named to him *Michael Apafi*, who kept himself at that time in his Castle of *Ebeßfalve*, and had not yet forgot the long Troubles he had suffered among the *Tartars*, from whence he was but lately released, by paying a great Ransom. *Ali* sent for him, without discovering his Design. *Apafi* believed it was to put him to Death [A], but durst not refuse to go with the Guard, which was sent for him. His Wife, who was near the time of her Lying-in, was in a mortal Frigate, and gave him over for lost. Before he had passed his own Estate, News was brought him, that his Wife was happily delivered of a Son; he knew not whether he ought to rejoice or grieve, at the News: but the *Turks*, who guarded him, and no doubt knew *Ali Bassa's* Intentions better than he, told him, it presaged a happy Principality to him. *Ali* received him very honourably, and a few Days after procured him to be elected Prince of *Transylvania*. He managed it so, that the Election appeared to be legal; for he caused as many of the Nobility of *Transylvania* to come into his Army, as he could; and told them he wished that They, together with the Deputies of the Cities, would elect a Prince; and promised, in the *Sultan's* Name, to confer the Ensigns of the Principality upon whomsoever they should elect (b). Thus *Michael Apafi* became Prince of *Transylvania*, without any Intrigues, on his part, or Expectation of it [B]. He was of Noble Birth [C] indeed, but of a quiet Disposition; besides that, his long Imprisonment in *Crim-Tartary* had inspired him with great Humility. *Kimin Janos*, who expected Wonders from his Conjunction with the Imperialists, commanded by the Count *Montecuculi*, found himself disappointed; for, as soon as *Montecuculi* was informed of the Condition of the *Ottoman* Forces, he thought it more convenient to return to *Hungary*, than hazard a Battle. This Retreat gave the *Turks* an opportunity of making great Ravages, and obtaining a Victory in *Transylvania*, which cost *Kimin Janos* his Life, in January 1662 [D].

His

(b) Ex eo-
dem Betle-
nio, pag.
248, 249.

[A] *Apafi* believ'd it was to put him to Death.] I give more Credit to this, than to Those, who say he was an ambitious Man. I quote an Author, who was well informed; for he lived at that Time, and had Employments in *Transylvania*, which gave him Opportunities of knowing the bottom of all Transactions (1). Now he relates very ingenuously, that *Apafi* was made Prince of *Transylvania*, without contributing any thing to it himself; and affirms, that he was not an ambitious Man. However, it is a very pardonable Mistake to say, that *Apafi* had certain Qualities, which rendered him worthy of a Principality, and an Ambition without proportionable to the Greatness of his Soul (2): For, generally, those who are raised to Elective Principalities, in the midst of Troubles, stirred up by their Competitors, are Men of very aspiring Minds. A French Author, who has published an History of the Troubles in *Hungary*, is far from representing *Michael Apafi* as a Prince, who endeavoured to aggrandize himself; for, when he speaks of the Resolution taken by the Hungarian Protestants, to confederate themselves with those of *Transylvania*, to maintain their Liberty of Conscience by the Sword; he adds these Words, "The Prince, who was a Woman of a turbulent Spirit, and extremely attached to the Errors of *Calvin*, solicited this Confederacy very powerfully; whilst her more peaceable Husband employed himself only in Hunting, and in the Conversation of the Learned (3)".

[B] Thus *Michael Apafi* became Prince of *Transylvania*, without any Intrigues, on his Part, or Expectation of it.] Of this I have already spoken in the foregoing Remark. It remains only, that I point out certain Authors, who seem not to have been well informed of the manner of his Election. One of them speaks thus; "In the beginning of the Year 1663, *Kimin Janos* was defeated, and lost his Life. . . . The *Turks*, finding no more Resistance, made themselves Masters of all *Transylvania*, except the Places possessed by the Imperialists. *Michael Apafi*, who had been elected in the Room of *Kimin Janos*, desired a Peace with the *Turks*; and, accordingly, *Hali Bassa* entered into a Treaty with the Baron de *Greze* (4)." This Discourse plainly imports, I. That *Apafi* was at War with the *Turks*, as soon as he was placed on the Throne of *Transylvania*. II. That he was not elected before the Death of *Kimin Janos*, and consequently not 'till the Year 1663. All This is false. He was elected in the Year 1661, during the Life of *Kimin Janos*,

and at the Recommendation of *Ali Bassa*; and *Kimin Janos* was killed in the Month of January 1662. The Author of the Life of Count *Tekeli* relates (5), by Hear-say only, that *Michael Apafi* was raised, by the *Turks*, to the Principality of *Transylvania*, on his promising a larger Tribute. Away with this Promise to the same Place with His other Competitors, who addressed themselves to the Grand Signior, as the misinformed Mr *Moreri* tells us.

[C] He was of noble Birth.] Let us hear the Author, whom I have already cited more than once. "Hic (*Michael Apafi*) erat ex antiquissima magnatum Familia ortus, pius, sed tam natura, quam propter diuturnas Carceris Crimenis molestias, plus justo demissus ac levis, ut adepto etiam Principatu nimis a peritque lenitatis infimularetur (6). . . . This Prince (*Michael Apafi*) was of a noble and ancient Family; a pious Man, but, both by Nature, and from the long Troubles of his Imprisonment in *Crim-Tartary*, of too humble and mild a Disposition; inasmuch, that, even after he was raised to the Principality, he was reproached by some with too much Lenity." These Words, ex antiquissima magnatum Familia, sufficiently confute Mr *Moreri*, who says, that *Michael Apafi* was a Magistrate's Son of *Hermanstadt*, the chief City of *Transylvania*. It was certainly on the Credit of His Dictionary, that the Author of the Historical *Mercury* affirmed the same thing (7).

[D] Which cost *Kimin Janos* his Life, in January 1662.] I have already confuted Him, who said it was in the beginning of the Year 1663. There is another still to be confuted. Sir P. Ricaut pretends, that *Kimin Janos*, having been defeated near *Clausenburgh*, resolved, some time after, to try his Fortune a second time: That he gave the *Turks* Battle, at some Distance from *Presburg*; that the Success was a long time doubtful; but that, at last, he was forced to yield to Numbers, and, in the Flight, was thrown off his Horse by his own Men, and trod to Death. This Historian remarks, that the *Turks* killed, and took Prisoners, Fifty thousand Christians, in the Battle of *Clausenburgh*; and that, a little before, they declined fighting, because the Emperor's Troops, and those of *Kimin Janos*, were superior to theirs in Number (8). I find nothing of this in my *Transylvanian* Author. He informs me, on the contrary, that *Montecuculi*, and *Kimin Janos*, being advanced beyond *Clausenburgh*, were informed, that *Ali Bassa's* Army was four times stronger than theirs, inasmuch that *Montecuculi* declared to *Kimin Janos*, that, considering the ill Condition their Infantry was in, by reason

(5) Pag. 12.
of the Edition
of 1694.

(6) Betlenius,
pag. 247.

(7) Mém. of
March,
1690, pag.
490.

(8) Ricaut's
History of
Mahomet
IV. pag.
292, 293,
Ann. 1661.

(1) The Titles, which he gives himself, at the beginning of his History of *Transylvania*, printed at Amsterdam, 1664, in 12mo, are these. Joannes Betlenius, Comes Comitatus Albenis, regni *Transylvanie* Consiliarius, Cancellarius, ac sedis Siccualis Udvaryhely Capitaneus supremus, &c.

(2) Ricaut's
History of
Mahomet
IV. pag.
292.

(3) History
of the Trou-
bles of *Hun-
gary*, Book 2.
An. 1668,
pag. 71, of
the Edition
of Amsterdam,
1686.

(4) Ib. lib.
1. pag. 41.

His Son endeavoured to support his Pretensions; but his Efforts were unsuccessful. *Apafi* was obliged to join his Forces with those of the *Turks*, to recover the Places, which the Emperor had possessed himself of in *Transylvania*. The Imperial Garrison of *Clausenburgh* defended itself so long, that the *Turks* and *Michael Apafi* were obliged to raise the Siege with Disgrace (c). Treaties were set on foot for the Evacuation of these Places, but without any Effect; they were forced to come to open War at last (d). The *Turks* were successful in 1663; but, the Year following, they lost the famous Battle of *St Godard*; after which the *Grand Vizier* consented to a Truce of Twenty Years. In the Year 1664, *Apafi* treated with the Imperial Garrisons of *Clausenburgh* and *Zatmar*, who delivered up those two Towns to him (e). He lived under the Protection of the *Porte*, and wholly independant on the Court of *Vienna*, during the Truce between the two Empires. At first he favoured the Malecontents of *Hungary*, without breaking with the Emperor; but at last engaged in an open War for them, and published his Reasons, in a *Latin Manifesto*, addressed to all the Christian Powers [E]. The *Turks* broke with the Emperor, in the Year 1683, and entered *Hungary* with a formidable Army, which penetrated as far as *Vienna*, with all imaginable Ease. But these happy Beginnings were followed by a dreadful Reverse. The *Grand Vizier* raised the Siege of *Vienna*; and from that time there followed nothing but Loss upon Loss, and Misfortune upon Misfortune, on the *Ottoman* side. *Transylvania* fell a Prey to the Imperial Troops; and *Apafi*, instead of asserting the Liberties of *Hungary*, was the Cause of This Kingdom's losing That Shadow of Liberty, which remained to it [F]; for it is now no longer elective, but looked upon as a conquered Country, and, accordingly, is erected into an Hereditary Kingdom. *Apafi* died at *Weissenburgh* towards the end of

(c) The Governor was called David Rettani. He was a Venetian, and a good Engineer. Vianoli Hist. Veneta, Tom. 2. pag. 66g.

(d) Ex Betlenio, Hist. Rer. Transylvan.

(e) Buno, Not. in Phil. Cluverii introduct. Geograph. pag. 281.

of the scarcity of Provisions, which they had suffered, he could not hazard his Imperial Majesty's Troops (9). *Kimin Janos*, being driven to despair, could hardly refrain from Tears at this Declaration (10); and was forced to return with *Monteculi* into *Hungary*. He fought no other Battle, but That, in which he was killed; nor did he fight it near *Presburg*, in *Hungary*, but in the Plains of *Transylvania*, on the Twenty third of *January*, 1662, near a Village called *Hetur* (11). The Historian observes, that about Five thousand Men of *Monteculi's* Army perished by Famine and Sickness (12). This Circumstance, joined to that which is observed above, weakens the Credit of what *Sir P. Ricaut* says, viz. that the Emperor's Forces, and those of *Kimin Janos*, united, formed so fair and numerous an Army, that one would have thought, they were designed not only to defend the Frontiers of Christendom, but even to dispute the Empire of the World with the *Ottomans* (13). How can this be, if the *Ottoman* Army was four times stronger? But how can this Victory of the *Turks*, near *Clausenburgh*, which cost the Christians Fifty thousand Men, be credited; how, I say, when there is not a Syllable of it to be found in the History of *Transylvania*? Have the *Turks* their Gazetteers at *Constantinople*, who vie with the Christians in framing imaginary Victories?

[E] And published his Reasons, in a *Latin Manifesto*, addressed to all the Christian Powers.] I have a Copy of it by me, printed in the Year 1682, after the Copy of *Transylvania*. But, as there is no date to the *Manifesto* of *Michael Apafi*, and as my Edition does not remark the Time of the Publication of That of *Transylvania*, I dare not affirm, that this Prince declared War in 1682; for I find, in the Life of Count *Tekeli* (14), that, in 1681, *Apafi* joined him with an Army of *Transylvanians*, and that they both undertook the Siege of *Zatmar*. The Author of the History of the Troubles of *Hungary* speaks of That Siege under the same Year (15), and informs us, that *Michael Apafi* made himself Master of the Town (16); but that, not being able to reduce the Citadel, he retreated, and lost his Baggage in the Retreat (17); that it was difficult to penetrate into the Cause of this Disgrace (18); that some attributed it to a misunderstanding between Count *Tekeli*, and *Tekeli*, who commanded the *Transylvanian* Troops at That Siege; that the latter was accused of making use of bad Powder, which took no effect; and that, according to others, Prince *Apafi* would not take the Town himself, on some Advice he had received, that the *Grand Signior* expected he should put the Place into his Hands; that it is certain, however, that the *Bassa*, who commanded the *Turks* at That Siege, sent long Memorials to *Constantinople* against this Prince, which obliged

him to return into his own Country, for fear some change of Affairs should happen there in his Absence. Thus this Historian reports the Title-tattle of Coffee-house Politicians. The *Historical and Political Mercury* has faithfully copied him (19).

[F] Was the Cause of this Kingdom's losing That Shadow of Liberty, which remained to it.] It would be unjust to accuse *Apafi* of Imprudence on this account; for never had any one a better prospect of good Success. The Forces of the Malecontents, alone, had kept the Imperial Troops in play, 'till that time. What might not reasonably be expected, then, from the extraordinary Preparations of the *Grand Signior*, who had promised Wonders and Mountains to *Tekeli*? But, by one of those fatal Conjectures, by which the Providence of God interposes, from time to time, to confound the best grounded human Hopes, it happened, that *Apafi* not only performed nothing in favour of the Liberty of *Hungary*, but enslaved likewise his own Country. *Sic erat in fati*. It so happened, that, instead of weakening the House of *Austria*, he raised it from it's drooping Condition; he put it in a capacity of resuming it's Superiority; he ratified it's Claim to the Crown of *Hungary*; and made the *Turkish* Dominions an inexhaustible Fund of good News, for the Confederacy, formed against *France*, during the course of the War. Must it, therefore, be said, that *Apafi* was a hot-headed, rash, Man (20)? By no means, unless all be filed so, who cannot foresee Events the most contrary to Appearances. Would not the best Politicians have warranted, that *France* would have pushed the Affair on the one side, whilst the *Turks* acted on the other? Who could ever have persuaded himself, that she would continue in Inaction for six successive Years, in the midst of the most favourable Opportunities of aggrandizing herself, than ever Nation had? *Apafi*, *Tekeli*, and their Adherents, are very excusable, in not being able to conjecture, that the *French* would chuse to wage War with the Edict of *Nantz*, rather than with the House of *Austria*.

What I have said, in relation to the good News, which comes daily to us from *Turky* (21), is no Secret. Our Gazetteers, and other News-writers, give us scarce any Accounts from that Country, but such as are proper to inspire us with Joy. The Murmurs of the People, their Misery, their Vows for Peace; Dissensions in the *Divan*; a *Grand Vizier* strangled; formidable Factions; Plagues; Fires at *Constantinople*; Rebels in *Aegypt*, *Arabia*, and *Syria*; and an hundred things of this Nature, which come by the Couriers from *Germany*, sometimes of one kind, sometimes of another; are not these fine Tidings? How many complete Victories, how many Towns taken, how many Parties defeated, and how

(19) Month of May, 1690. pag. 492; but he places the Siege of *Zatmar* in 1680.

WHETHER the ill Success of *Apafi's* Attempt ought to be looked upon as the Effect of Imprudence.

(20) See the Remark [C], of the Article KOTTGE RUS.

(21) I wrote this in 1694.

(14) Pag. 304.

(15) In the Edition of Amsterdam, in 1686, the Year 1680 is marked on the Top of the Page. This Error may deceive those who do not examine it nearly.

(16) Book 2. pag. 30.

(17) Pag. 39.

(18) Pag. 32.

(f) During
the Campaign
of 1690.

of April 1690 [G]. The Turks endeavoured to set up Tekeli in his room; but he had not the good Luck to improve to the best Advantage an Incurfion he had made into That Country (f). The Prefence of Prince Lewis of Baden melted him like Snow before the Sun, if I may use the Expression; nor has he, from That time to the time of my writing this (g), given any disturbance to the new Titular Prince of Transylvania, the Son of Michael Apafi.

(g) In the
Month of Fe-
bruary,
1699.

many successful Incurfions into the Enemy's Country, have we not had reason to publish in Summer; and what hopes of Peace have not been given in Winter? Even the raising the Siege of Belgrade, in 1693, is represented as an happy Event; since the Imperial Troops had executed their chief Design, which was to hinder the Ottomans from making an Inroad into Transylvania. I heard a Person say, soon after the Reduction of Ireland, that it would have been well to have prolonged the War there, that there

might be a sure Fund of new Advantages, both in the East and in the West.

[G] Apafi died at Weiffemburgh, towards the end of April, 1690. [The News-writers differed in the Circumstances of his Death. Some said he died suddenly, in the Assembly of the States of Transylvania (22); others, that he died after a long Sicknels (23); but all agree, that he died at Weiffemburgh (24).]

(22) Paris
Gazette, of
the 20th of
May, 1690.

(23) Mer-
curie Histori-
que, for the
Month of May, 1690.

Month of May, 1690. pag. 490. Life of Count Tekeli, pag. 253. Life of Count Tekeli says, at Alba Julia, the same as Weiffembourg.

A P E L L E S, one of the most famous Painters of Antiquity, was a Native of the Isle of Coos [A], and flourished in the Days of Alexander [B]. He was highly esteemed by This Prince, and the only Person, who was permitted to draw his Picture. He obtained, likewise, another singular Mark of his Favour; for Alexander, having sent one of his Mistresses to sit to him for her Picture, and being informed, that Apelles was fallen in Love with her, bestowed Her upon him [C]. There is room to question, whether Apelles abused the Good-Nature of this Great Monarch, as is pretended [D]. He was, probably, too good a Courtier, not to know, that a

Speech,

(1) Plin.
lib. 35. cap.
100.

(2) See Car-
lo Dati, in
his Apollil-
les on the
Life of Apel-
les, pag.
104.

(3) See P.
Hardouin on
Pliny, Tom.
5. pag. 264.

(4) Ovid.
de Ponto,
lib. 4. Eleg.
1. ver. 29.

(5) Dica-
di Dante,
lib. 3. cap.
16. apud Car-
rol Dati, ubi
supra, pag.
103.

(6) Strabo,
lib. 14. Lu-
cianus, de
Callumna.
Æli. Hist.
Anim. lib.
4. cap. 50.
See also
Tactica
Chil. S. hist.
197. rer.
193.

(7) See the
Remark [A]
of the Article
Z E U X E S.

(8) Carlo
Dati, Postil-
le sopra vita
d'Apelle,
pag. 105.

[A] Was an Native of the Isle of Coos. I find but two Authors, who say so; and one of them must be supposed not to have written what most Editions make him say; but that, instead of these Words, "Apelles eo usque Olympiade CXII provectus ut plura solus prope quam ceteri omnes contulerit, he made use of these, "Apelles Couis Olympiade CXII picturæ plura prope quam ceteri omnes contulit (1). — Apelles of Coos, in the CXIth Olympiad, contributed, alone, more than all the rest, to the Improvement of Painting." Turnebus was of Opinion, that it ought to be read Apelles Couis, and not Apelles eo usque. His Supposition has been confirmed by the Manuscript of the Vatican (a), by Those of the King's Library, and by That of Mr Colbert (3). The other Evidence is Ovid, who says,

Ut Venus Artificis labor est & gloria Coi,
Æquoreo madidas quæ premit imbre comas (4).

Thus Venus, rising from her watry Bed,
Immortaliz'd the Coan Artist's Hand.

We shall produce in the Remark [I], another Passage of this Poet, where some read Cois, and others Couis. The great number of Authors, who give Apelles another Country, induced le Mazzoni to defend Ovid's Cause; but, instead of Coi, he pretends that the Poet wrote it Cbui (5). Three Authors of good Credit make Apelles a Native of Ephesus (6). Suidas makes him a Native of Colophon, and adds, that the City of Ephesus adopted him.

[B] Flourished in the Days of Alexander. It cannot be denied, that he was at the height of his Reputation, when That Prince began the Conquest of Asia, that is, in the CII Olympiad. His Adventures at the Court of Egypt makes it appear, that he survived Alexander. It is a Mistake, then, to say, with Majoragius, that he was a Pupil of Zeuxes; the Distance of above One hundred and twenty Years between the LXXXIVth Olympiad, in which Zeuxes flourished (7), and the Reign of the first Ptolemy, will not allow it. Carlo Dati is the Person, who has taken notice of Majoragius's Mistake. He says, "Non so con qual fondamento Marcantonio Majoraggio nel Comento sopra l'Orat di Cicerone a 11. dice che Apelle fosse scolare di Zeusi, quando tra l'uno e l'altro corse l'età d'un uomo (8). — I know not upon what Foundation Marcantonius Majoragius, in his Commentary on an Oration of Cicero, makes Apelles the Scholar of Zeuxes, since there passed a Century between them." His Adventure in the Court of Egypt was this: Apelles had not the good Fortune to be beloved by Ptolemy in the Court of Alexandria. A Storm happened to force him into That Port, in the Reign of this King.

A Roguish Fellow, who had a Mind to play him a scurvy Trick, came, and told him, the King invited him to Dinner. Apelles waited on him, and, observing the King to be very angry, excused himself, by letting him know, that he came by his Order. The King desired he would tell him, who it was that invited him; but That was impossible; for the Person, who had imposed upon him, was not then in the Room. Apelles, upon this, began to draw his Face upon the Wall with a bit of Charcoal, and Ptolemy knew him by the very first Lines. "Non fuerat ei gratia in comitatu Alexandri cum Ptolemæo, quo regnante Alexandriam vi tempestatis expulsum, subornato fraude æmulorum plano regio invitatus, ad Regis comam venit, indignante Ptolemæo & vocatores suos ostendenti ut diceret à quo eorum invitatus esset, arrepto carbone extincto e foculo imaginem in pariete delineavit, agnoscente vultum planti rege ex inchoato protinus (9)."

[C] Being informed, that Apelles was fallen in Love with her, bestowed her upon him. Pliny relates the Story after this manner: "Alexander ei honorem clarissimo præbuit exemplo, namque cum dilectam sibi ei pallacis suis præcipue, nomine Cam-paspen, nudam pingi ob admirationem formæ ab Apelle justisset, eumque tum pari captum amore sensisset, dono eam dedit. Magnus animo, major imperio sui: nec minor hoc factio, quam victoria aliqua; quippe se vicit, nec torum tantum suum, sed etiam affectum donavit Artifici; ne dilectæ quidem respectu motus, ut, quæ modo regis fuisset, nunc pictoris esset. Sicut qui Venerem Anadyomenen illo pictam exemplari putant (10). — Alexander honoured him after a very remarkable Manner; for, perceiving that he had fallen in love with his favourite Concubine, Campaspe, whom, through Admiration of her Beauty, he had commanded him to draw naked, he gave her to him. Great as he was in Mind, he was still greater by this Command over himself; an Action This, as much to his Honour as the greatest Victory; for he conquered himself; nor did he resign his Bed alone, but even his Love, to the Artist; regardless of his Favourite's Lot, who, from being the Mistress of a King, was now to become a Painter's. Some think the Venus Anadyomenes was drawn from this Origin." Ælian relates the same Story; but gives this Mistress of Alexander the Name of Paucaſte (11). The Article of This Prince shall contain a Remark on this Subject (12); we shall shew, that a Man, who could give the fairest of his Concubines to be drawn stark naked, does not deserve the Encomiums of Continent and Chaste, which have been lavished on him.

[D] There is room to question, whether Apelles abused the Good-Nature of this great Monarch, as is pretended. Pliny may tell us if he pleases, that Apelles rendered himself agreeable to this Prince by his Politic

(9) Plin.
lib. 35. cap.
100.

(10) Id. lib.

(11) Ælian.
Var. Hist.
lib. 12. cap.
34.

(12) See the
Remarks
[H] and [I]
of the Article
MACEDO-
NIA.

Speech, so little respectful, as That, which is attributed to him, must displease. The Answer he gave, in relation to *Lais*, is no Recommendation of his Manners [E]. There has been much Talk of his *Picture of Calumny*; but scarce any one has observed the Blunders, which have been committed in relating the Fact, which was the occasion of this *Picture* [F]. The Treatise, in which *Lucian* mentions this, is an excellent

ness and Complaisance; but he will scarce persuade those, who know *Alexander*, that a Painter could say to him with Impunity, *Say no more; the very Boys, who grind my Colours, laugh at you.* "Fuit & comitas illi, propter quam gratior *Alexandro* Magno erat frequenter in Officinam ventitanti. . . . Sed in Officina imperitè multa differenti silentium comiter suadebat, rideri eum dicens a pueris qui colores terebant. Tantum erat auctoritati juris in Regem aliquo iracundum (13). . . . He had a Politeness of Behaviour, which ingratiated him the more with *Alexander the Great*, who frequently visited him in his Painting Room. . . . Where *Alexander* happening one Day to betray his Ignorance, Apelles, in an obliging way, desired him to say no more, telling him the very Boys, who ground his Colours, made a jest of him: so much Liberty did he take with a King, otherwise of a passionate Disposition." It is not to be supposed, that *Apelles* could think so harsh an Expression, after what manner forever spoken, would be well taken. Nor is it to be imagined, that *Alexander*, who had been so well educated, and had so good a Genius, could talk so impertinently of Painting, as to deserve to be laughed at by the meanest Apprentice. This is the Opinion of the Learned *Freinshemius*: "Non crediderim in officina imperitè multa differentem ab Apelle mordaci dictorio repressum fuisse. Nam id neque majestati tanti regis, neque modestiæ pictoris, hominis non stupidi nec indocti, convenisset; & *Alexander*, liberibus studiis ab extrema ætate imbutus, etiam de artibus quas non calleret haud inepte judicare dicere (14)." As for *Megabyzes*, Priest of *Diana* (15), it would be no such wonder, if *Apelles* had given Him this Advice. And, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it was He, who was censured in this manner by *Apelles*: *Can't you see*, said he to him, *that, while you was silent, those Boys, who mix the Oker, looked upon you with Respect, on account of the Gold and Purple of your Garments, but that they laughed, when they heard you speak of an Art you did not understand* (16). Another Author says, that it was *Zeuxis*, who spoke thus to *Megabyzes* (17). I could more easily believe the Liberty, which it is said *Apelles* took with *Alexander*, on another Occasion. *Alexander*, viewing his own Picture, which *Apelles* had just finished, seemed not to admire it as it deserved. A little while after, a Horse was led by, who neighed at the sight of the Horse in the same Piece. *Sir*, said *Apelles* to *Alexander*, *one would think this Horse was a better Judge of Pain ing, than your Majesty* (18). But, to give my Thoughts freely, it is all too harsh, too gross, and too brutish, to be ascribed to a Painter, represented, in all other Instances, as a modest, complaisant, and polite Person. A Man must either be on the foot of a jester at Court, or be such a whimsical, untoward, Humourist, as your great Artists sometimes are: I say, we must have recourse to one of these two Suppositions, to believe, what is said of *Apelles*, not only with regard to *Alexander*, but even with regard to *Megabyzes*, respected on account of his Gold and Purple. *Apelles's* Discourse to *Alexander*, on Occasion of the Horse's neighing, is not so harsh in the Translations of some learned Men, as in the Original; but this Softening does them but little Honour: It is a Blunder; it is gross Ignorance. Let us produce the Greek: *Ἀλλ' ἔλεγε δὲ τοῦ θαλάσμιον τὴν ἐξ ἑσῶ εἰκόνα ἐαυτοῦ τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀπελλῆ γραφεῖσαν ἐκ ἐπὶ τῶν καλῶν τῶν ἀξίων τῷ γράμματι. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἵππον καὶ χρυσάσιναν. ὁ δὲ τὸν ἵππον τὸν ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι ἐς πρὸς ἀλλήθινον καὶ ἐκείνον, ὃ βασιλεὺς (ἵππον δ' Ἀπελλῆ) ἀλλ' ὅς τις ἵππον τοῖς οὐ γράφοντες εἶναι καλῶς πολὺ (19).* *Alexander, seeing his own Picture at Ephesus, drawn by Apelles, did not commend the Painting as it deserved; but as a Horse being brought, and neighing to the Horse in the Picture, as to a real one; O King. (said Apelles) This Horse seems to be a much better Judge of Painting, than you.* *Erasmus* represents the Fact thus: "Apud *Ephesum* quum *Alexander* conspectam effigiem sui

corporis ad vivum magna arte expressam admiratur, atque interim fortè equus deductus picto in eadem tabula equo adhinniret, deceptus imitatione, Apelles, equus, inquit, O Rex, multo melius expressus est quam tu (20). . . . As *Alexander* was admiring his own Picture, at Ephesus, drawn to the Life with great Art, an Horse, happening to be brought out, neighed to the Horse in the Picture, being deceived by the Resemblance; upon which Apelles said, your Horse, O King, is better drawn than you." I omit some Circumstances, which *Erasmus* adds, without having found them in *Ælian*. I only observe the Reflexion he puts in the Mouth of the Painter; *Sir, I have succeeded better in painting your Horse, than your Majesty*. This is not the Sense of the Greek; a learned Critic has shewed, that the Word *γράφικος* signifies one, who understands Painting; and has by This convicted *Cælius Rhodiginus*, and *Erasmus*, of misrepresenting the Story (21). I wonder *Pliny* was ignorant of This; He, who takes some Notice of the neighing of the Horse. See, below, the Remark [K]. [E] The Answer he gave, in relation to *Lais*, is no Recommendation of his Manners.] She was yet a tender Maid, when *Apelles*, seeing her returning Home from the Fountain, and admiring her Beauty, prevailed upon her to go with him where he pleased. He brought her to an Entertainment, where he was to meet some of his Friends; they laughed at him for bringing with him, instead of a Courtesan, a meer Girl: *Don't trouble your Heads about that*, replied he; *I will manage her so, that, before three Years are at an end, she shall have all her Paces to perfection.* *Χλωσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἑταίρων ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑταίρας παρέβηεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἀγάγει, μὴ θαυμάσει; εἶπεν, ἵνα γὰρ αὐτὴν εἰς μέλλουσαν ἀπολαύσιν. μετ' ἑὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δέξω (22).* *Ætius* autem a familiaribus, quod meretricis loco virginem adduxisset, nolite mirari, inquit, mihi etenim non toto opus erit triennio ut eam ad futuræ voluptatis usum pulchrè doctam institutamque reddere valeam. Would not one think the Conversation was concerning an unmanaged Colt, which, in the Hands of an excellent Horseman, would quickly learn all his Aims and Paces? The Reflexion on the Corruption of Those Ages inspires Horror. The Friends of *Apelles* seem even to have surpassed him in Debauchery (23). *Lais* became one of the most famous Courtezans of the Age she lived in. The Painters visited her to take the Model of a fine Neck (24). *Apelles* no doubt copied from the same Original. "Nemini dubium esse potest quin hanc ipsam quoque *Laidem* sibi veluti in contubernium addidisset *Apelles*, quo vivam emendatissimæ formæ imaginem ab animali exemplo in tabulas suas transfunderet (25). . . . Apelles, no doubt, kept this very *Lais* with him in his House, that he might copy the Resemblance of a most perfect Beauty from a living Original." [F] Scarce any one has observed the Blunders, which have been committed in relating the matter of Fact, which was the Occasion of This Picture.] See how *Lucian* relates it. The Painter *Antipholus*, not being able to bear the Favour, which *Apelles* enjoyed with King *Ptolemy*, accused him of being an Accomplice in the Conspiracy of *Theodotus*, Governor of *Phœnicia*. He asserted, that *Apelles* had been seen at Dinner with *Theodotus*, and whispered him in the Ear all the while. He afterwards told the King, that the City of *Tyre* had revolted, and that *Pelagium* was taken, through *Apelles's* means. Yet it was plain, that the Accused had never been at *Tyre*, nor had ever known *Theodotus*, but under the general Quality of Governor of *Phœnicia*. *Ptolemy* was in such a Rage, that, without examining the matter, he was very near putting *Apelles* to death. He considered neither the Accuser, nor the Accused. The former, through Spight and Emulation, might well be suspected of plotting the Ruin of an innocent Person; the latter was too inconsiderable a Person, to be capable of such Attempts; though a Sense of the Obligations he was under to *Ptolemy* had not been sufficient

(13) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 30.

(14) Freinshem. Supplem. in Curtium, lib. 2. cap. 6.

(15) Several of the learned think, that *Megabyzes* was a Name appropriated to the Priest of *Diana*. Others understood by *Megabyzes*, in this Place, a great Lord of Persia.

(16) De diff. crim. Adu. lit. & Amici, pag. 58. & de Tranquill. Anim. p. 477, 478.

(17) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 2. Freinshem. ubi supra, cites him as having attributed this to *Apelles*.

(18) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(19) Id. ib.

(20) In Apophthegm.

(21) Paulus Leopardus Emendationum, lib. 12. cap. 4.

(22) Athen. lib. 13. pag. 588.

(23) Richel. in his Dictionary, under the Word Ponce, observes, that a Maiden-head is called the Rogot of Swi.

(24) Athen. ubi supra.

(25) Junius in Catalogo Artificum, in Apelle, pag. 19.

(a) It's Till-
is, Πηλ το
μή παλιν
πικρὸν
διαβῶν.
Or not light-
ly believing
Calumny.

excellent Piece (a). *Apelles's* Master-piece was the Picture of *Venus*, rising out of the Sea [G]. Some Authors tell us, that the Mistress, whom *Alexander* gave him, far to him, when he drew this Piece; others, that the Courtezan *Phryne* was the Original. They tell us of another Picture of *Venus*, which he had begun, and which would have surpassed the first, if Death had not prevented him from finishing it [H]. Mr *Moreri* has mistaken one of these Pictures for the other [I], and has misrep-
resented

(26) See Po-
lybius in his
fourth and
fifth Books.
He speaks of
it at large.

(27) Jaco-
bus Tollius,
notis in Lu-
cian. de Ca-
lumniis.

(28) Strabo,
Ælian.
Tactica.

(30) Plin-
lib. 35. cap.
10. de init.
cap. 11.
Carlo Dati,
pag. 105. &
P. Mardouin
in Plin.
Tom. 5. pag.
205. & 206.
tact Plu-
tarch, in the
Life of Ara-
tus, makes
Apelles the
Disciple of
Pamphilus;
but this is
an ambiguous
Testimony.
Plutarch, in
another place,
makes him
rather the
Disciple of
Melanthus.

(30) In a
Letter at the
beginning of
the third Vo-
lume of Val-
ri.

(31) Possibile
on the Life
of Apelles.

(32) In Ce-
talogo Arti-
ficum, in
Apelle.

sufficient to suffice in him all ill Designs. The Prince did not consider this. He never enquired, whether *Apelles* had ever been at *Tyre*; he only stormed and swore; and, if one of the Conspirators had not discovered the Wickedness of *Antipbilus*, the Accused had infallibly been put to death. But, when *Ptolemy* was satisfied of the Accuser's Crime, he condemned him to be *Apelles's* Slave, and gave the latter an hundred Talents. It was upon this Occasion, that *Apelles* drew the fine Picture of Calumny, which *Lucian* has described. It is Pity he did not perceive the monstrous Anachronism he is guilty of in this Relation; for *Theodotus's* Conspiracy fell out in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopater*; which did not commence 'till an hundred Years after the Death of *Alexander* (26). Judge then, whether *Apelles* could be alive at that time. One of these two Positions must be laid down; either that *Lucian* speaks of a different *Apelles* from him, who was so much esteemed by *Alexander*; or he confounds some Plot, hatched in the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, with the Conspiracy of *Theodotus*. There being no Author, who can give us any Light concerning a Conspiracy, in which Calumny had involved our Painter; it will be Labour in vain to trace *Lucian's* Error to its Source. Let us consider only, whether he had any other *Apelles* in view besides Him, who is the Subject of this Article. Now This I cannot conceive; for any one, who knew how to write, would have taken care, in mentioning a Painter, who had nothing in common, besides his Name, with the great and incomparable *Apelles*, not to call him simply *Apelles*. He would have apprized the Reader, that he did not mean the great *Apelles*. Now *Lucian* gives no hint of this; on the contrary, all he says leads us in a direct Line to the great *Apelles*; this, then, is the Person, whom he means. I know, that a learned Man lays a Stress upon the Epithet *Ephesian*, ΑΡΑΛΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ. "Ad distinctionem illius Apellis, qui sub Alexandro & Ptolemæo Lagi vixit maximi nominis & artis, Cui Patriâ. Hic autem Patria Colophonius; verum & ἑσεία, id est adoptione, telle Suida, Pamphili Amphipolizæ discipulus (27). ----- To distinguish him from That Apelles, of great Fame and Art, a Coan by Birth, who lived in the Time of Alexander, and Ptolemy the Son of Lagus. Whereas This was a Colophonian; but, by Adoption, according to Suidas, a Disciple of Pamphilus of Amphipolis." But I find, that others likewise have given this Epithet to the great *Apelles* (28). Besides which, I can appeal to the Reason contained in the Passage I have cited; for if *Lucian* could give this Epithet to His *Apelles*, because adopted by the Inhabitants of *Ephesus*, tho' born at *Colophon*; I can allege, that he gave it to the great *Apelles*, born in the Island of *Coos*, but undoubtedly a Citizen of *Ephesus*. Is it probable, a Man of his Fame should settle in That City (where *Alexander* saw, and became intimate with, him) without obtaining all the Privileges of a Citizen? But I have another Proof: *Tollius* allows, that *Lucian* means the same *Apelles* with *Suidas*; now *Suidas* speaks only of the great *Apelles*. This I prove, I. Because he mentions but one *Apelles*. Would he have omitted the Great and Illustrious, to mention only the Obscure and Unknown? II. Because he gives his *Apelles* the Quality of a Disciple of *Pamphilus* of *Amphipolis*, a Quality, which *Pliny* likewise ascribes to the great *Apelles* (29). So that *Lucian's* Error is evident; and I am surprised, that neither *John Baptist Adriani* (30), nor *Carlo Dati* (31), nor *Francis Junius* (32), nor so many other celebrated Authors, who have spoken of this Treatise of *Lucian*, should perceive it, but should take this Relation to be a real Adventure of the great *Apelles*. *Tollius* very well knew, that the Crime, of which *Apelles* was accused, had relation to the Reign of *Ptolemy Philopater*; but he was not aware, that *Lucian* was deceived; he rather supposed, that *Lucian* had another *Apelles* in view, who was Cotemporary with *Antipbilus*, and Disciple of *Pamphilus*. I cannot

say, in what time *Antipbilus* lived, nor *Ctesidemus*, whose Disciple he was (33); but it is plain, according to *Pliny*, that *Pamphilus* flourished in the Time of *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander* the Great (34).

[G] *Apelles's* Master-Piece was the Picture of *Venus*, rising out of the Sea. *Augustus* dedicated it to the Temple of *Julius Cæsar*. The lower Parts of it had been spoiled; and no Hand was able to mend it; Time destroyed the rest; and then *Nero* caused another *Venus* to be drawn by *Dorotheus*, which he substituted in the room of That of *Apelles*. "Venerem exequente e mari Divus Augustus dicavit in delu- bro patris Cæsaris, quæ Anadyomene vocatur, ver- sibus Græcis tali opere dum laudatur victo, fed- illustrato: hujus inferiorem partem corruptam qui resceret non potuit reperiri. Verum ipsa injuria cessit in gloriam artificis. Consenuit hæc tabula carie, aliamque pro eâ Nero principatu substituit suo." These are *Pliny's* own Words, in the tenth Chapter of his Thirty fifth Book. I have recited the Passage, in the Remark [C], where he says that *Alexander's* Mistress was the Original, from which this *Venus* was drawn. The Article *PHRYNE* will in- form us of a Tradition different from this.

[H] Death --- prevented him from finishing it. If *Calconini* could have been prevailed with to give the Testimony of ancient Authors, rather than advance things of his own Head, he would not have affirmed, that *Apelles* voluntarily left his *Venus Anadyomene* imperfect; the Reason, says he, of this Con- duct was, that *Apelles* despaired of finishing it with the same Perfection he had begun it. "Sed O me multo Apelle incautiores! ille enim tanta felici- tate Veneris emergentis partes superiores expressit, ut diffusis penicillo reliquis posse abolere despe- raverit, atque ita in admirationem posteritatis tabu- lam inchoatam reliquerit (35). ----- But much more incautious I, than *Apelles*! for He had so happily expressed the upper Parts of *Venus* rising from the Sea, that, distrustful his Pencil, he de- spaired of finishing the rest; and thus left an un- finished Piece for Posterity to wonder at." *Carlo Dati*, who accuses this Author of advancing several things, without acknowledging from whence he bor- rows them, produces two other Examples of it. It is certain, that the Words of *Pliny* convict *Calconini* of Falshood, as I am going to shew. "Apelles inchoave- rat aliam Venerem Cois superaturus etiam suam illam priorem. Invidit mors peracta parte, nec qui succo- deret operi ad præscripta lineamenta inventus est (36). --- Apelles had begun another *Venus* at *Coos*, intending it should excel the former. But Death obliged him to leave it imperfect; nor was any one capable of filling up the Outlines of the Work." *Cicero* says plainly, in two Places of his Works, that *Apelles* left That *Venus* imperfect (37).

[I] Mr *Moreri* has mistaken one of these Pictures for the other. [J] Thus he expresses himself: "The finest of all *Apelles's* Pieces were two Pictures of *Venus*, one of which, where she was drawn rising out of the Sea, was called *Anadyomene*; the other was That, which he drew for Those of the Island of *Coos*, mentioned by *Ovid* in these Words.

Si nunquam Venerem Cois pinxisset Apelles,
Merla sub æquoreis illa lateret aquis.

He quotes *Ovid* in Sent. He should have cited the third Book de arte Amandi. You are to know, that *Apelles* did not finish the second of these Pictures; *Pliny* affirms this expressly (38). What Probability is there, that *Ovid*, having two Pictures of *Venus* to shew, the one finished, the other not, should omit That, and speak only of This? To act thus is to be ignorant of the common Laws of Reasoning. Besides the second Verse is a plain Allusion to the *Venus Anadyomene*, that is, Rising out of the Sea. He speaks, therefore, of the first Picture. We know, that the first *Venus* was drawn in this Posture; but we

(33) Plin-
lib. 35. cap.
10. pag. 222.

(34) Ibid.
pag. 206.

(35) Calcon-
ini, lib. 13.
pag. 15.
apud Cam-
erium Dati,
pag. 145.

(36) Plin.
lib. 36. cap.
10. pag. 222.

(37) Epist.
p. ad Famil.
lib. 1. & de
Offic. lib. 3.
cap. 2.

(38) See the
preceding
Remark.

sented what relates to his Picture of a Horse [K]. No Business was of such Importance, as to oblige *Apelles* to pass a single Day without handling his Pencil; which gave rise to a famous Proverb [L]. The Books, which this great Painter composed on the Art of Painting, are lost (b). It is not known where, or when, he died. One of his chief Excellencies was That of hitting a Likeness to a wonder; inasmuch that Physiognomists could form a Judgment, from his Portraits, with as much Certainty,

(b) Volumi-
nibus etiam
editis quæ
doctrinam
eam contin-
ent. . . .
Having like-
wise publish-
ed Books con-
taining the
Principles of
this Art.
Plin. lib. 35.
cap. 10.

we know nothing of the Posture of the second. I add, that, if these two Verses of *Ovid* fell from his Pen, as they here represented, he was a bad Reasoner. They must be corrected thus, to become a reasonable Proof of what goes before.

Si Venerem Cois nusquam posuisset Apelles,
Merita sub æquoreis illa jaceret aquis.

Had not the Coan Artist -----

*Drawn Venus, rising, beautiful, from the Main,
Beneath the Waves the Goddess still had lain.*

The nicest Critics choose to read *Cois* instead of *Cois*. I believe they are in the right; though it is plain, that *Apelles* drew his *Venus Anadyomene* for the Inhabitants of the Island of *Cois*; for *Augustus* had it from them, and remitted them in consideration of it the Sum of an hundred Talents of the Tribute, which they were indebted to his Exchequer. They kept this *Venus*, and the *Antigonus* by the same Hand, in the Temple of *Æsculapius*. "Laeter promontorium est Cois insule, in cuius suburbio est ædes *Æsculapii* nobilitata *Antigono* Apellis ---- conspiciebatur ibidem quoque ejusdem artificis *Venus Anadiomene* (39). 'H νῦν ἀναδείκται τῷ θεῷ Καίσαρι ἐν Πάμῳ, τῷ Σεβαστῷ ἀναδύντος τῷ δὲ τοῖς κοῖσι ἀπὸ τῆς γράφης ἑκατὸν ταλάντων ἀποδοῖν γὰρ ἰσθαι τὴν ποταχθῆναι τὸν πόρον' (40). Quæ nunc dedicata est divo Cæsari, Augusto consecrante patri generis sui potentiam. Aiuunt Cois pro pictura fuisse remissa centum talenta de imperati tributum summa. ---- Laeter is a Promontory of the Island Cois, in the Suburb of which is a Temple of *Æsculapius*, famous for the *Antigonus* of Apelles ---- the *Venus Anadyomene* likewise of the same Artist was to be seen there. It is now dedicated to Julius Cæsar, Augustus consecrating the Patroness of his Family to his Father. The Coans, they say, were remitted the Sum of an hundred Talents of the demanded Tribute, in consideration of this Picture." *Pliny* might easily be ignorant, that the *Venus Anadyomene* was drawn for the Isle of *Cois*; no wonder then he should say, that *Apelles*' second *Venus* was designed for Them.

I shall here propose a Doubt, which occurs to my Thoughts on this Occasion: I cannot but think *Pliny* multiplies Beings without Necessity, when he tells us of a *Venus Anadyomene*, and of another *Venus*, which was begun for the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Cois*. The Reason of my Scruple is, that the first *Venus* was perfect only in the upper Parts of the Picture; *Pliny* himself informs us of this, and adds, that no Painter durst attempt to repair the Injury it had suffered (41). Now he never finished the other *Venus*; and no Painter had the Courage to supply what was wanting. This the same *Pliny* informs us of (42). I believe he is the only Author, who makes this Remark concerning two *Venus*'s of *Apelles*, defective in the same Parts. Others say this only of the *Venus* of *Apelles* in general; and, whenever they mention this *Venus*, they place her in the Isle of *Cois* (43); now we have seen, that *Augustus* fetched the *Venus Anadyomene* from thence (44). *Pliny*, then, it is probable, has not been over-exact in this matter. I appeal to those, who will take the Pains to examine this small Doubt of mine.

[K] *Moreri* ---- has misrepresented what relates to his Picture of an Horse.] Ancient Authors, says *Mr Moreri*, have spoken with great Esteem of an Horse, drawn so to the Life by *Apelles*, that the Mares neighed at the sight of it. I believe no Writer has said this. What *Pliny* informs us of, as to this Matter, is as follows. "Er & equus ejus, five fuit, pictus in certamine: quod iudicium ad mutas quas drupedes provocavit ab hominibus. Namque ambis sensuolus prevalere sentiens singulorum pictu-

ras inductis equis offendit: Apellis tantum equo adhinivere, idque & postea semper illius experimentum artis ostentatur (45)." The meaning of which is, That *Apelles*, vying with some others, who should paint a Horse most to the Life, and disfrustring the Integrity of the Judges, chose to commit his Cause to the Decision of brute Beasts. Horses, accordingly, were led by, who neighed only at *Apelles*'s Piece. Some think (46), that the Story in *Ællan* (47), is only a Corruption of this; and that what pass between *Apelles*, and the Judges of the Prize, when This Painter preferred the Judgment of a Horse to theirs, was what gave occasion to the Report of his saying to *Alexander*; Your Horse understands Painting, better than you. Others think they are two different Adventures (48). For my part, I have already given my own little Opinion; which is, that the Story, vouched by *Ællan*, ought to be looked upon as a meer Fable. *Pliny*'s Silence, where so fair an Opportunity presented of speaking his Thoughts, confirms me in this Opinion. Would *Pliny* have been silent concerning the Horse, which neighed at *Apelles*'s Door, in the Presence of *Alexander*, and concerning the Inference, which *Apelles* drew from it; Would *Pliny*, I say, have been silent on such a Fact, when he relates the other Adventure, in which *Apelles* appealed, from the Judgment of the Arbitrators, to That of Horses? *Carlo Dati* has observed, that, in neither of these Cases, *Apelles* spoke like an able Painter, since he supposed, that the more Knowledge a Person had, the more he would mistake the Representation for the Object itself. But we must have a care how we apply this Censure to the Adventure, which *Pliny* relates; for *Apelles* did not prefer the Judgment of Horses to That of Men, otherwise than as he perceived that the Intigues of his Rivals had corrupted the Judges (49). The Remark of *Carlo Dati* is very just at the bottom. It is easier to deceive Those, who do not understand Painting, than Those, who do. He quotes *John Paul Lomazzo* (50): And, after him, we might quote *Mr Perrault*, who has well refuted the Consequences, drawn, in favour of the ancient Painters, from their having deceived both Men and Beasts (51).

[L] Which gave rise to a famous Proverb.] *Pliny* informs us of it; "Apelli fuit aliqui perpetua consuetudo nunquam tam occupatam diem agendi, ut non lineam ducendo exerceret artem, quod ab eo in proverbium venit (52). ---- It was an inviolable Rule with *Apelles* never to pass a Day without exercising his Art, at least by one Stroke of his Pencil; which passed from him into a Proverb." *Carlo Dati* (53) observes upon this, that *Salmastus*, in support of this Proverb, quotes the following Line, as a Verse of *Horace*,

Nulla dies absque, quin linea ducta superfit.

Let no Day pass, without drawing at least one Line.

Which is neither *Horace*'s, nor any other ancient Poet's. He adds, that it has been often the Fate of this Author to trust too much to his Memory. "Non lascerò d'auvertire in questo luogo che Claudio Salmastio grandissimo Critico dell' eta nostra, nelle Differtaz. Pliniane sopra Solino p. 5. in conferma- zione di questo proverbio, fidandosi troppo della memoria, come bene spesso egli fece, cita un verso d'Orazio ---- il quale non è (ch' io sappia) né d'Orazio né d'altro poeta latino antico, ma forse uno di quei versi proverbiali che vanno per le bocche de gli uomini senza saperne l'autore. ---- I shall not omit to apprise the Reader, in this Place, that Claudius Salmastius, a very great Critic of our Age, in his Exercitationes Pliniane on Solinus, pag. 5, cites, in Confirmation of this Proverb, and depending too much, as he very often does, on his Memory, a Verse of *Horace* ---- which (to the best of my Knowledge) is neither *Horace*'s, nor any other ancient

(39) Junius in Catalogo Artificum, in Apelle, pag. 22.

(40) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 452.

WHETHER there were two *Venus*'s of *Apelles*.

(41) Plin. lib. 35. pag. 212.

(42) Ibid.

(43) See Cicero de Off. lib. 3. cap. 2. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. in Venerem Oment. 9.

(44) Ex Strab. lib. 14. pag. 452.

(45) Lib. 35. pag. 213.

(46) Schef-ferus in *Ællan*. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(47) See the Remark [D].

(48) *Carlo Dati*, pag. 128.

(49) Ibid. pag. 129.

(50) Lib. 3. cap. 1. della Pictura.

(51) Parallel of the Ancients and Moderns. Dialog. 2. pag. 136.

(52) Lib. 35. cap. 10. pag. 208.

(53) *Carlo Dati*, Postille sopra la vita d'Apelle. P. Har- douin makes the same Remark. See his *Pliny*, Tom. 5. pag. 208.

370 APELLES. APELLICON. APICIUS.

as if they had been Originals [M]. Witness what he did at the Court of Egypt (c).

(c) See the Remark [B].

"cient Latin Poet's; but, perhaps, one of those proverbial Verses, which are in every one's Mouth, without the Author's being known."

[M] Inasmuch that Physiognomists could form a Judgment, from his Portraits, with as much Certainty, as if they had been Originals. The Grammarian Apion tells a Story, to this purpose, so highly improbable, that one could scarce look upon it otherwise than as a Fable, though a more credible Author, than this grand Romancer, had affirmed it. Let us be content with Pliny's historical Account of the Matter. "Imaginem adeo similitudinis indiscrète pinxit, ut (incredibile dictu) Apion Grammaticus scriptum reli-

"querit, quemdam ex facie hominum addivinantem (quos metoposcopos vocant) ex eis dixisse aut futuræ mortis annos aut præteritæ (54). . . . He painted so to the Life, that a certain Physiognomist, according to the incredible Relation of Apion the Grammarian, was wont to pronounce, from his Portraits, the Year of the Person's Death, either passed or to come." Pliny himself cannot conceive, how any Person should tell, at the sight of a Picture, though ever so like the Original, at what Age the Person so painted died, or was to die. The Diviner, no doubt, enquired, whether the Person was dead or alive.

(c4) Plin. ubi supra, pag. 210.

APELLES, an excellent Tragedian, under Caligula, gained the Emperor's Favour by the most infamous Means; but, when the Flower of his Youth was past, he turned Player (a); and still supported himself so well in this Emperor's good Graces, who would never be without him, not even in Public (b), that he was at last admitted into the Number of his Counsellors (c). As they were one day standing near the Statue of Jupiter, Caligula asked him, Which of the Two do you think the greatest, Jupiter, or I? And, because Apelles did not answer him so readily, as he expected, he fell into a violent Passion, and ordered him to be whipt unmercifully; saying, in a jesting way, that Apelles had an agreeable Voice, even in a plaintive Tone [A]. Some affirm, that he ordered him to be laid in Irons, and turned from time to time on a Wheel.

(a) Philo. Legat. ad Caium. pag. 1021.

(b) Dion. l. b. 69. pag. 643.

(c) Philo. ibid.

[A] Caligula . . . said . . . that he had an agreeable Voice, even in a plaintive Tone] Suetonius is my Author. Inter varios jocos, cum assidens simulacro Jovis Apellem Tragicum conspiciisset, uter illi major

videretur, cunctansem flagellis discidit, collaudens subinde vocem deprecantis, quasi etiam in gemitu prædulcem (1).

(1) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 33.

APELLICON, who bought Aristotle's Library. See the Remarks on the Article TYRANNION.

APICIUS. There were three Apicii, at Rome, famous for their Gluttony. The first lived before the Change of the Republic; the second under Augustus, and Tiberius; and the last under Trajan. Athenæus means the first Apicius, when, having said, on the Testimony of Posidonius, that, at Rome, they preserved the Memory of one Apicius, who had surpassed all Men in Gluttony, he adds, that it was the same Apicius, who had been the Cause of Rutilius's Exile (a). We know, that Posidonius flourished in the Time of Pompey, and that Rutilius was banished about the Year of Rome 660. The second Apicius was the most famous of the three. Athenæus places him under Tiberius, and says, that he laid out prodigious Sums on his Belly; and that there were several sorts of Cakes, which bore his Name (b). It is He, whom Seneca speaks of, in his Ninety fifth Letter, and in the Eleventh Chapter of his Book de Vita Beata, and in the Treatise de Consolatione, which he wrote to his Mother Helvia, under the Emperor Claudius. We find, in the last of these Works, that This Apicius lived in Seneca's time, and kept, as it were, a School of Gluttony, in Rome; that he had consumed two Millions and a half in good Cheer; and that, finding himself much in Debt, he at last bethought himself of examining into the Condition of his Estate; and, finding that he had but 250000 Livres left, he poisoned himself, as fearing he should starve with such a Sum. Dion, who calls him M. Gabius Apicius, relates the same thing (c), and adds a Particular, which is to be found likewise in the first Chapter of the fourth Book of Tacitus's Annals; viz. That Sejanus, in his Youth, had prostituted himself to him. Pliny calls him M. Apicius, and often mentions the Ragoûts, which he invented (d); Nepotum omnium altissimus gurgis. A Book was written on the Subject of his Gluttony, which is cited by Athenæus (e). It is not to be doubted, but that This is the Apicius of Juvenal, Martial, and Lampridius, &c. [A]. The third Apicius lived in Trajan's Time. He had an admirable

(a) Athen. lib. 4. pag. 168.

(b) Id. lib. 1. pag. 7.

(c) Lib. 57.

(d) Lib. 8. cap. 51. lib. 9. cap. 18. lib. 10. cap. 48. lib. 15. cap. 8.

(e) Apion was the Author of it. Athen. lib. 7.

[A] This is the Apicius of Juvenal, Martial, and Lampridius, &c.] I have these Words of Juvenal in view.

Ipse quoque ad cœnam gaudebat Apicius ire; Cum cœnaret, erat tristior ille, domi (2).

Apicius, when invited to a Feast, Was gay, and cheerful, as the merriest Guest; But, uninvited, when at home he dined, The gloomiest Mortal, surly, and unkind.

(2) Mart. Epigr. 29. lib. 2. See likewise Epigr. 73. lib. 10.

(1) Juven. Sat. 4. ver. 23.

multa videmus, Quæ miser, & frugi non fecit Apicius . . . (1). Now even Apicius frugal seems and poor, Outdone by Luxury, unknown before.

Rev^d. Mr R. DUKER.

And These two Verses of Martial;

And That Passage of Lampridius, where we read, that the Emperor Heliogabalus often eat Peacocks and Nightingales Tongues, in imitation of Apicius. Comedit sæpius ad imitationem Apicii calceas camelorum, & cristas

nable Receipt for preserving of Oysters; this appeared, when he sent some to *Trajan* into *Partbia*; They were still fresh, when *Trajan* received them (f). The Name of *Apicius* was for a long time given to several Dishes, and made a kind of Sect among the Cooks. We have a Treatise de *Re Culinaris*, under the Name of *Caelius Apicius*, which some Critics judge to be very ancient, though they do not take it to be composed by either of these three *Apicii* (g). Some chuse to call the Author of this Book *Apicius Caelius*. A learned *Dane* is of this Number, who ascribes this Work to Him, who sent the Oysters to the Emperor *Trajan*. This Book was found, by *Albanus Torinus*, in the Island of *Maguelone*, near *Montpellier*, who published it, Twelve Years after, at *Basil* [B]. It had been found elsewhere, near an hundred Years before, by *Enoch d'Ascoli*, in the time of Pope *Nicolas V* (h). There was in the Title-Page *M. Cæcilius Apicius*. *Vossius* (i) is of Opinion, that the Author's Name was *M. Caelius*, or *M. Cæcilius*; and that he intituled his Work, *Apicius*, because it treated of Cookery. In the Remarks of *Casaubon* on *Athenæus*, there are some Particulars relating to our

(f) Athen. lib. 1. p. 7.

(g) Borrichius, Cogit. Lingue Lat. & Græcibus, pag. 18.

(h) Platina in Vita Nicolai V.

(i) Voss. de Analogia, lib. 1. c. 14. pag. 55.

Apicius

Et crispas vivis gallinaceis demptas, linguas pavonum, & lucinarum (3). There is another Passage in *Juvenal*, in which *Apicius* signifies, in general, one who it very expensive in eating.

(3) Lamprid. in Heliogabalus, c. 19. pag. 835. See likewise cap. 18. pag. 827. & cap. 24. p. 857.

- - - quid enim majore cacinno
Excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius (4) ?

(4) Juven. Sat. 11. ver. 2.

- - - what greater Feasts,
Than begging Gluttons, or than Beggar's Feasts ?
CONGREG.

It is childish, then, in some Commentators, to understand, here, either the *Apicius* of the first Book of *Athenæus* (5), or Him of the fourth Satire of *Juvenal* (6).

(5) Bernardus Autumnus upon this Passage of Juvenal.

(6) Farinæ upon the same.

[B] This Book was found, by *Albanus Torinus*, in the Island of *Maguelone*, near *Montpellier*, who published it twelve Years after, at *Basil*. He procured it to be printed in 4to, in the Year 1541, and added to it the Treatise of *Paul Egineta*, de facultatibus alimentorum, which he had translated, and the ten Books of *Platina*, de tuenda valetudine, de natura rerum, & popinæ scientia. He tells us, in his Preface, that, having made a Journey to the Island of *Maguelone*, twelve Years before, with *Will. Peltissier* (7), he had there seen a Manuscript, in which he found, by tracing the Characters, the Title of *CAELII APICII DE RE CULINARIA LIBRI X*. He was very well pleased with this Discovery, and procured an exact Copy to be taken of the Work: He immediately found, that it was the Production of an ancient Author. But, the Manuscript being in great Disorder, he thought it necessary, before he sent it to the Press, to collate it with the Copy of *Venice*; for which he waited a long time. At length it was sent him; but he found it more imperfect, than That of *Maguelone*. He would have given up all Thoughts of printing this Work, if some Men of Learning had not obliged him, by their Complaints, and Importunity, to publish it. The same Year there was a second Edition of it, in 8vo, published at *Lyons*, by *Sebastian Gryppius*. It was published at *Zurich*, in the Year 1542, in 4to, with the Notes and Corrections of *Gabriel Hamelbergius*. I do not think *Gesner* or *Simler* deserve Censure, for saying, that the same Work was printed at *Venice*, before *Albanus Torinus* brought it to light. It is pretended, they did not rightly understand the Expressions of this *Torinus*. In *Bibl. Simlero-Gesneriana* dicuntur *Apicii libri primum excusum Venetiis, quod acceptum est ex male intellectis Torini verbis in dedicatione*. His Expressions are these: "Premendum plane censebam, donec melioris alicuius exemplar fieret copia, quod acceptum esse "annis ab hinc plus minus quinquaginta Venetiis expressum (9). - - - I thought it ought to be suppressed, till I could procure a more correct Copy, such an one as I am informed was printed at *Venice*, about fifty Years ago." Though it does not appear, with the utmost clearness, from these Words, that they relate to an Impression of the Work, yet it is excusable to understand them so. And, in Fact, a certain Bibliographer affirms, that *Apicius* was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1503, in 4to. apud *Johann. de Cereto de Tridino* (10). The Heirs of *Andrew Wechel* had some Thoughts of reprinting this Work: *Pignorus* offered them a fair Manuscript of it by *Velliferus* (11). But it did not go forward. There was an *Apicius*, in the Library of the Dukes of *Urbino*, the

(7) He was Bishop of Maguelone, i. e. Montpellier.

(8) Joh. Albertus Fabricius in Bibliotheca Latina, pag. 130. Edit. Hamburg. 1697.

(9) Albanus Torinus in Epist. Dedicat.

(10) Mercklinus in Lindemio renovato, p. 85.

(11) See the Letters of Reinecius to Dammier, pag. 109.

Characters whereof are like those of the *Florentine* Pandects. It is, at present, in the *Vatican*. *Cudius* compared it with the Edition of *Lyons* (12). By the way, *Albanus Torinus* has been severely censured for pretending to discover the true Air and Taste of Antiquity in this Author. "Olfaciebam statim autorem esse vetustissimum, & obopoeum, qui de re popinæ, lingua coquinaria, egregie præter cæteros scripsisset, & qui obsonia delicatius, quam pro ea ætate qua glandibus vescerentur homines, confecisset (13). - - - I immediately discovered, that he was a very ancient Author, and Master of the Art of Cookery, who had excelled all others in writing concerning Eatables, in the Style of the Kitchen; and one who had a nicer Hand at dressing a Dinner, than could be expected in that Age, when Men lived upon Acorns." *Latinus* affirms, that a Man must be very stupid to pass such a Judgment, and that this pretended *Apicius* is a meer Fool, and a Barbarian; some of whose Dishes, and Sauces are only fit to fetch the Skin off one's Mouth, and offend the Stomach. "In *Latini* *Latinii* *Bibl. Profana*, ubi quædam illius viri docti in *Apicius* observationes leguntur, ad verba Editoris, ubi in præfat. ait se statim olfecisse autorem esse vetustissimum, hæc nota occurrit: Quam veror ne tuæ nares obfores fuerint; Quid enim vetustatis redolere possint verba semibarbara & ab eo florenti seculo profusa aliena? Ego vero, ut quod sentio paucis expediâ, commentum puto esse hominis otiosissimi, qui cum illudere posteris ejusdem naris facile sibi esse persuasisset, mentito nomine *Apicius* credidit venditare posse. Sed passim occurrunt, quibus pæne manifesto prodit seipsum aut inceptus, barbarus, & nullius in eâ arte ingenii, aut gustus, qui ea interdum conjungat ad saporis gratiam, quæ usu docente omnes scimus summam palato molestiam, naufragique stomacho, creare solere (14). — In *Latinus* *Latinii* *Bibliotheca Profana*, where are some of this learned Man's Observations; on *Apicius*, we meet with the following Remark on the Editor's Words, in his Preface, where he says, that he immediately smelt him out to be a very ancient Author. How afraid am I, that your smelling is not very good? For what favour of Antiquity is there in Words so barbarous, and quite foreign to the Style of that flourishing Age. To give my own Opinion briefly, I look upon it to be the Invention of some one, who had nothing else to do; who, believing he might easily impose upon Persons of the same Taste in future Times, thought it would go off under the borrowed Name of *Apicius*. But there are numberless Passages, which discover the Author's Ignorance, Barbarism, and want of Genius and Taste, in often joining those things together, by way of Relish, which we all know, by Experience, are troublesome to the Palate, and nauseous to the Stomach. This Judgment of *Latinus* is not amiss. *Isaac Grangæus* had better have conformed to it, than pretended, that the ten Books de *Re Coquinaria*, which go under the Name of *Apicius*, were written by our second *Apicius* (15). I confess, the Scholiast of *Juvenal* observes, that this *Apicius* wrote a Treatise of Cookery (16). I own, likewise, that *Isidorus de Seville* attributes a like Work to the same *Apicius*. "Coquinæ apparatus *Apicius* quidam primus composuit, qui in eo absumptis bonis morte voluntaria perivit (17). — One *Apicius* was the first, who wrote a Treatise of Cookery, and who, having spent his Fortune in eating, killed himself." But the Testimony

(12) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, in Biblioth. Lat. Append.

(13) Alban. Torinus, in Epist. Dedic.

(14) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, ubi supra, in Append. p. 179.

(15) Isaac Grangæus in Juvenal. Sat. 4. ver. 23.

(16) Audior præcipiendarum cænarum, qui scripsit de iusticiis: fuit enim exemplum gulæ. Vetus Scholiast. in Juven. Sat. 4. ver. 23.

(17) Isidor. Hispalens. Orig. l. 20. cap. 4. apud Joh. Alb. Fabric. Bibl. Lat. pag. 132.

(1) Cafaub.
in Athen.
lib. 1 c. 6.
& lib. 4.
cap. 19.

Apicius (k). I have discovered some Mistakes, on this head, in different Authors (C), which I shall throw together in one single Remark.

Timony of these two Writers is not sufficient to counterpoise the Silence of so many Authors, more worthy of Credit, and who have had unavoidable Opportunities of quoting this Book of *Apicius*. Be it as it will, we are obliged, by all the Laws of just Criticism, to conclude, that, if ever any such Work had been extant, That, which *Albanus Torinus* published, was not It.

[C] I have discovered some Mistakes, on this Head, in different Authors. I begin with Mr *Moreri*; he should not have said, either that the *Apicius*, mentioned by *Seneca*, wrote a Book concerning the Delicacy of Eating, or that he hanged himself in Despair, when he found he had spent his whole Estate. Mr *Moreri* quotes *Seneca*, lib. de *Confol.* This is too indeterminate, since we have three Treatises of this Philosopher, entitled, *De Confolatione*. He should have cited That, which he addressed to his Mother. It appears from thence, that *Apicius* poisoned himself, upon looking over his Accounts, and finding, that he had but the Sum of Two hundred fifty thousand *Livres* left, all his Debts paid (18). "Ære alieno oppressus rationes suas tunc primum coactus inspexit. Superfuturum sibi sequesternum centies computavit, & velut in ultima fame victurus, si sequesternum centies vixisset, veneno vitam finivit. Quanta luxuria erat, cui sequesternum centies egellas fuit" (19)! — Oppressed with Debts, he was drove to the Necessity of looking into his Accounts. Upon a Computation, he found he should have but One hundred thousand *Sestertii* left; and, as if he would have been driven to the last Extremity of Want, if obliged to live upon only this Sum, he ended his Days by Poison. What Luxury was That, which accounted an Hundred thousand *Sestertii* meer Poverty! *Martial* wrote the following Epigram upon this Subject.

Dederas, Apici, bis tricenties ventri,
Sed adhuc supererat centies tibi luxum.
Hoc tu gravatus, ne famem & sitim ferres,
Summa venenum potione duxisti.
Nil est, Apici, tibi gulosus factum (20).

You expended, O *Apicius*, in eating and drinking, Six hundred thousand *Sesterties*; yet an Hundred thousand still remained. Unwary at this, and to avoid Hunger and Thirst, you took Poison. This last Draught, O *Apicius*, was the most extravagant you ever took.

Not to follow the Author one quotes, as to the particular kind of Death, is a slight Fault; but it is leaving out all the Marvellous of this History, to suppress the Sums this Prodigal had remaining. The Quotation from *Athenæus*, lib. 11, is entirely wrong. Lastly, Mr *Moreri* ought to have known, that there were three *Apicii*, and not have confined himself to one. *Charles Stephens* pretends, that the *Apicius*, mentioned by *Seneca* (21), hanged himself; and that he had published a Book of *Culæ Irritamentis*, which is to this Day in every one's Hand. No good Critic believes, that the Work, which we have de *re Culinaris*, belongs to this *Apicius*, whom *Seneca* mentions (22). Be that as it will, this was the Foundation of Mr *Moreri*'s Mistake. He found there, that *Apicius* hanged himself; and that he wrote a Book of the Delicacy of Eating. He ought to have learned from the same place, that *Apicius* had Two hundred and fifty thousand *Francs* left; for it is a Fact, which *Charles Stephens* has not omitted. *Lloyd* has followed *Charles Stephens* in every thing, except saying, that the Work, de *Culæ Irritamentis*, is, to this Day in every one's Hands. He has enlarged this Article considerably, by copying what *Lipfius* has observed concerning the three *Apicii*. But he did not know, that the Passage of *Suidas*, concerning the Oysters sent to *Trajan* into *Partbia*, is to be found in *Athenæus*. The Memories of the greatest Men often fail them. *Lipfius* quotes *Athenæus* twice in relation to the *Apicii*, but forgets a third Passage of the same Author, as remarkable, at least, as either of the other two (23). If he had consulted it, he would not have suspected, that the Word *Trajan* was corrupted in *Suidas*. *Hefman* has done little more than copy *Lloyd*; only he has cited more Passages. His Quotations are not al-

ways the truest; for Example, he quotes *Seneca de Confolatione ad Albin.* & de *Confol. ad Elbium*, as if they were two different Pieces. *Cafaubon* (24), makes *Athenæus* say, that several kind of Cakes bore the Name of the first *Apicius*; but it is certain, that *Athenæus* says this of the second *Apicius*; of Him, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius* (25); "Ἐγένετο καὶ τὰς Τιβέριον χρόνος ἀπὸρ τις Ἀπικίου, πλεονεκτήσας, τρυφήν, ἀπ' ἧς πλεονέκων γένη πολλά Ἀπικία ὀνομαζέσθαι. Τιβέριϊ σέculo vixit Apicius, vir diffusus, luxu solutus, à quo complura placentiarum genera Apicia nominant. DALECHAMP has left an Error in the Translation of *Athenæus*, which might easily have been perceived. It is in the fourth Book, page 168. *Athenæus*, having repeated what *Polidonius* had said concerning the first *Apicius*, a Man infamous for his Gluttony, adds, Περὶ δὲ Ἀπικίου τὸ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ ἀσυστία διαβούτι ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοις εἰρήκαμεν; which signifies, that, from the beginning, he meant the *Apicius*, who was also famous for his Gluttony. The *Latin* Translation, therefore, is false. *Antea non quoque istius Apicii ob immodicum luxum famosi meminimus*. I say this is doubly false; for it does not come up to the Force of the *Greek* Words, and imputes a Lye to *Athenæus*. It is not true, that *Athenæus* had before spoken of the *Apicius*, whom *Polidonius* had mentioned. *Dalechamp* observes, that *Athenæus* spoke, in his third Book, of the *Apicius* now in question, at the beginning of the seventh Page (26). I believe this is false. I say nothing of his citing *Cælius*, lib. 5. cap. 30 (27). He means *Coelius Rhodiginus*, whose fifth Book has but fourteen Chapters: He should have cited the eleventh Chapter of the ninth Book (28). This Author says several things, there, of *Apicius*; but if he falsifies, every where else, what he quotes, as he does here a Passage of *Athenæus*, unhappy for Those, who take things upon trust from him. *Athenæus*, according to Him, relates, that *Apicius*, enquiring diligently after a particular kind of Lobsters in *Alexandria*, was informed, that very large ones were taken on the Coast of *Libya*: He immediately set sail thither; and, finding he was sent on a Fool's Errand, he cursed the Country, and resolved never to return thither. *Athenæus* relates no such thing; he only says, that *Apicius* eat a kind of Water-Locusts at *Minturnæ* in *Campania*, which were larger than the Lobsters of *Alexandria*; and, being informed, that there were some in *Africa* of an exceeding Largeness, he failed thither without Delay, and under great Inconveniences. The Fishermen, being informed of his Arrival, came and brought him the largest they had taken; and, being assured from them, that there were no larger, he returned to *Minturnæ*, without ever setting Foot on Shore in *Africa* (29).

The modern Author, whom I have cited, was mistaken in saying, that the Manuscript of *Apicius* was found in the Island of *Moguelone*, by *Enoch d'Ascoli*, in the Pontificate of *Nicolas V.* He relies on the Authority of *Leander Albertus*, and on That of *Philip of Bergamo*. "Ut tradit, says he (30), *Leander Albertus* Bononiensis in Descriptione Italiae, pag. 267, & *Philippus Bergomas* in Chronici continuatione, qui M. Cæcilium appellat. — As we read in *Leander Albertus*'s Description of *Italy*, pag. 267; and *Philip of Bergamo*'s Chronicle continued, who calls him M. Cæcilium." But neither of these Authors mention the Island of *Moguelone*; and it is certain, that the Manuscript was found, in That Place, only by *Albanus Torinus*, in the Year 1529. *Philip of Bergamo*, without any mention of the Place, says only, that, in the time of *Nicolas V.*, *Enoch d'Ascoli* found these two Books, *Porphyry* on *Horace*, and *M. Cæcilium Apicius*. This he says, under the Year 1454. *Herman Buschius* agrees with him, as to the time. These are the Words of *Leander Albertus*: "Cujus (Enochi Asculani) industria M. Cælius Apicius, & Pomponius Porphyrio in Horatium, circa Nicolaum V. Pontif. inventi ac è tenebris in lucem vindicati sunt (31). — By whose (Enoch d'Ascoli) Care M. Cælius Apicius, and Pomponius Porphyry upon *Horace*, were found, and brought to light, about the time of Pope *Nicolas V.*" *Volaterran* affirms, that *Suidas* says, *Marcus Apicius* composed a Book *De Gula*. *Robert Stephens*, a great Copier of *Volaterran*, affirms the same in his *Elucidarium*.

(24) In A-then. p. 23.

(25) Athen. p. 7.

(18) I make use of the Computation of *Lipfius* on Tacit. Ann. lib. 4. c. 1.

(19) *Seneca de Confolat. ad Helviam*, cap. 10.

(20) About 50,000 *l.* *Stirling*.

(21) *Martial. Epigr.* 22. lib. 3.

(22) *Charles Stephens* cites, in lib. de *Confolatione ad Allianam*. *Cafaubon* in Athen. pag. 23. cites the same.

(23) See Remark (H) towards the End.

(31) It is That of the first Book, p. 7.

(26) *Dalechamp. Not.* in Athen. pag. 706.

(27) Id. ib.

(28) I do not deny, that the first Edition of *Rhodiginus* was divided into Books and Chapters, after a different manner from that generally made use of at present.

(29) Athen. lib. 1. p. 7.

(30) *Joh. Albert. Fabricius, Biblioth. Lat.* pag. 129.

(31) *Leand. Albert. in Descript. Ital.* p. 444.

(32) Joh.
Albert. Fa
bricius, ub
supra, pag.
132.

darium Poëticum. They have been both censured: "Vellem locum indicasset, says our *Modern* (32), hoc enim apud Suidam non reperio. — *I wish they*

*"bad pointed out the Place; for I find no such thing
"in Suidas."*

APIANUS (PETRUS), a *German Mathematician*, in the *XVIth Century*. I shall add but one Thing to what Mr *Moreri* has said of him; which is, that he is accused of having been a Plagiary from *Roiaumont* [*A*].

[A] *Of having been a Plagiary from Roiaumont.* They, who would swell the Liits of Plagiaries, already published, may, if they please, make use of this Passage of G. B. Benedetti. "Hæc omnia tradita fuerunt & scriptis mandata ab antiquis, & à recentioribus usurpata, ut facile deprehendi potest in Erasmo Oualdo, qui omnem fere sui primi mobilis rationem à Petro Apiano desumpfit; Petrus verò Apianus hæc eadem cum multis aliis Pro-

“ positionibus à Monte Regio accipiens sibi ipsi ascrip-
 “ sit (1). — *All these things were delivered, and*
 “ *committed to Writing, by the Ancients; and have*
 “ *been usurped by the Moderns; as may easily be seen*
 “ *in Erasmus Ossualdus, who borrowed the whole*
 “ *Scheme of his Primum Mobile from Petrus Api-*
 “ *anus; who borrowed it, with many other Propo-*
 “ *sitions, from Roiradmont.*”

(1) Joh.
Baptista Be-
nedictus, de
Gnomonum
umbrarum-
que solarium
usu, cap. 2.
fol. 2.

APION, a famous *Grammarian*, and Native of *Oasis*, in *Egypt* [*A*], exercised his Profession at *Rome*, in the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius* [*a*]. No one can deny, that he was a Learned Man [*B*]; and that he had, with great Diligence, traced those Paths of Antiquity, which are the least known, and distinguished himself for the Exactness, and Variety of his Knowledge: But he had all the Pride of a thorough-paced Pedant [*C*]; and spent his Time in Questions of great Difficulty, and little Importance [*D*]. The Emperor *Tiberius* was no Stranger to the Failings of This

(a) Suidas in
'Απρίον.

[A] APION, a famous Grammarian, and Native of Ophis, in Egypt. I cannot conceive why, in *Moreri's* Dictionary, they give us this Grammarian under two Articles, first under the Name of *Apian*, and afterwards under That of *Apion*, without appraising us, that they are but one Person. I believe no Men of Learning ever called him *Apian*; and I am certain, that they, who pretend to Exactness, never call him *Apion*. Their Reason is, because his Name was borrowed from *Apis*, an Egyptian Divinity; and not from *Apia*, a Roman Family (1). His Country is strangely mis-spelled by *Moreri*; who has changed it into *Ofias*. The Supplement has rectified it. *Suidas* observes, that *Heliconius* had said, that *Apion* was of the Isle of *Crete*; but doubtless he was of *Ophis*, since *Josephus* affirms it; and accuses him of abjuring his Country, in order to pass for an *Alexandrian* (2). This Accusation of *Josephus* would have been of no weight, though he had not exaggerated, and dressed it up in such a multitude of Words. For *Apion*, in calling himself an *Alexandrian*, after he had been made free of the City of *Alexandria*, did no more, than what several other renowned Professors had practised before. The Surname of *Plistonices*, which was appropriated to him (3), had an Import very much to his Advantage (4); but it is not known, for what Reason they gave him this Appellation. *Suidas* will have him the Son of a Person, whose Name was *Plistonices*. Ἀπίων ὁ Πλιστωνίτης. But, in this Case, the Surname imports nothing in his Praise. Others say, that his Father's Name was *Pesidonius*, Ἀπίων ὁ Πισιδωνίτης (5). It is not impossible, that the Transcribers might have changed Πλιστωνίτης into Πισιδωνίτης.

[B] *No one can deny, that he was a learned Man.* Tatian tiles him a Man of great Renown, ἀνὴρ δοκίμως (6). *Aulus Gellius* speaks of him after the same manner. “ Literis homo multis praeclitus, “ rerumque Graecarum plurima atque varia scientia “ fuit : ejus libri non incelebres feruntur, quibus audi- “ nam ferme quae mirifica in Aegypto videntur audi- “ turque historia comprehendit (7). — He “ was a Man of great Learning ; and had an exten- “ sive Knowledge in Greek Affairs. His Books are “ well esteemed, in which is contained an Account of “ almost every thing wonderful and curious in Egypt.” So much for his Learning ; what follows, discovers his talkative and confident Behaviour ; “ facile atque ala- “ cri facundia fuit (8). — He was of a ready and “ forward Elocution.” But let us not inroach on the following Remark.

[C] *He had all the Pride of a thorough-paced Pedant.*—*Aulus Gellius* represents him as an errant Braggadocio. "In his quæ audivisse vel legisse sese dicit, "fortasse à vitio studioque ostentationis fit loquacior. "Est enim sane in prædicandis doctrinis suis venditor (9). — *Concerning those Things, which he pretends to have heard or read, he is more than*

commonly talkative; perhaps through the Vice and "Desire of Ostentation. For, in recommending his "own Opinions, he is a perfect Tradesman." Apion boasted, with the utmost Assurance, that he bestowed Immortality on those, to whom he dedicated his Works. Never was a Prediction or Promise, more false. Not one of his Books has withstood the Injuries of Time; and, if other Authors had not informed us who he was, his Name and Person had been unknown at this Day: He did nothing, then, in favour of those, whose Names he placed in the Front of his Works. Let us cite the entire Passage from *Pliny*. "Apion quidam Grammaticus, hic quem Tiberius Cæsar cymbalum mundi vocabat, quum publicæ famæ tympanum potius videri posset, immortalitate donari à se scripti, ad quos alia componebat (10). — One Apion, a Grammarian, he whom Tiberius Cæsar was wont to call the Cymbal of the World, though he rather seems to have been the Drum of public Fame, pretended, that he conferred Immortality on those, to whom he dedicated any Composition." Mr de Tillemont owns, that he does not undertake what *Pliny* means to say of our *Apion* in this Passage (11): And I would make the same Confession, rather than take up with the Explication given by the Supplement to *Moreri*. He boasts, they are the Words of the Supplement, that he immortalized those, to whom he dedicated any of his Works. Which made the Emperor Tiberius call him the Cymbal of the World: Whereupon *Pliny* says, that he ought rather to be called the Drum of the World, because the always gave a disagreeable Sound. But first, It is not true, that *Pliny* any where says, that the Emperor called him Cymbalum Mundi, because he set such a Value on his Dedications. In the second Place, *Pliny* does not say, that he rather deserved to be called the Drum of the World; he makes use of the Phrase Publicæ Famæ Tympanum, which has a particular Force, to represent this Person as a kind of Public Crier, who, by beat of Drum, or sound of Trumpet, publishes to all the Inhabitants of a City, what every one is to be informed of. In the third Place, *Pliny* does not say, that, because *Apion* gave but an unpleasant Sound, he deserved the Appellation of Tympanum, rather than Cymbalum. Who told the Continuator of *Moreri*, that the Cymbal is more pleasing than the Drum?

[D] *And spent his Time in Questions of great Difficulty, and little Importance.*] *Jal.* Africanus calls him the Buffet of all Grammarians; or one, who carried his Enquiries to the utmost Scrupulousness and Nicety; ἀνεξεργασίας, ὑπερμακρῶν (12). According to *Suidas*, he obtained the Surname of Μόχθος. The Word signifies *Toil*, and has more Force, in this Place, than Μόχνηςος, *Laborious*, or *Impertunate*; which, according to the Conjecture of a learned Man (13), might have crept into *Suidas*, instead of Μόχθος. *Didymus*, who is named Καλλέως (14), that

(10) Plin.
in Præfati-
one Natur.
Historiæ.

(11) Tille-
mont's *Histo-
ry of the Em-
perors*, Tom.
I. pag. 776.

ERRORS of the Supplement to *Moreri*. See also Remark [E].

(12) Jul.
African. 2-
pod. Eusebi-
um, Præp.
Evang. lib.
10. cap. 10.

(13) Tille-
mont, ubi
fuerit

(b) See Remark [C].

(c) According to Josephus, Antiq. l. 18, cap. 10, for Philo, p. 1043, says that the Jews' Deputies were five in Number.

(d) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 18. cap. 10.

(14) Amm. Marcellin. lib. 22. cap. ult. pag. 241.

(15) Seneca, Epist. 88, pag. 361.

(16) Plini, lib. 30. c. p. 2. sub fin.

(17) Seneca, Epist. 88.

(18) The Manuscript of Lipsius, on this Words of Seneca, expresses this reading, and pretends that Apion was a Mountebank and a Jack-pudding. Agryta fide & calculat.

(19) The first Word of the Lib. is Maviv. The latter is. pag. 40, the Letter for B.

(20) C. n. pare vob lib. 1. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. 9. cap. 3. pag. 739.

This Wit: For, though perhaps we do not understand all that *this* Prince meant (b), yet we may easily perceive, that he took *Apion* for a Romancer, who stunned the World with too loud an Ostentation of his Learning. This Person was Chief of the Embassy, which the People of *Alexandria* sent to *Caligula*, to complain against the *Jews*, who were settled in their City, and with whom they were at great variance. He set out for *Rome*, together with two other Deputies. The *Jews*, on their part, deputed Three (c) of their Body to *Caligula* to justify their Conduct. *Philo* was Chief of the Embassy. *Apion*, animated by That Hatred, which the *Egyptians* had born, time out of mind, to the *Jewish* Nation, accused them of various Crimes; and insisted chiefly on those, which he knew would most exasperate *Caligula* against them; namely, That the *Jews* refused to consecrate Images to him [E], and to swear by his Name; while all the other Subjects of the Empire dedicated Temples and Altars to him (d). One of *Apion's* Principal Pieces was That *Of the Antiquities of Egypt*. It was doubtless in this Book, that he gave so ample an Account of the Pyramids, that *Pliny* thought him worthy to be ranked among the Twelve Authors, who have treated on this Subject (e). He spoke very disobligingly of the *Jews* in the same Book; nor was he satisfied with treating them ill on every Occasion, which offered in his *Antiquities of Egypt*; he wrote a Book expressly against them (f). *Josephus* thought himself obliged to confute the malicious *Calumnies*, with which this Author had loaded them [F]. *Apion* was not alive, when this An-

(e) Plin. lib. 35. cap. 12. See also lib. 37. cap. 5.

(f) Justin. Paren. ad Græcos, p. 9. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. pag. 320.

ther *Homer*, pretended, that *Homer*, after having finished both his Poems, the *Iliad*, and the *Odyssey*, added the first Line to That Work, which comprehended the *Trojan War*. The Reason he gave for this was, because there are two Letters designedly placed in the first Verse, which denote the Number of the Books. We learn from these Words, that this Grammarian won the Hearts of all *Greeks*; since they received him in all their Cities as a second *Homer*, or as *Homer* himself risen from the Dead. A Man of Learning, and at the same time of Impudence and Pride, imposes upon great Numbers of People by his ostentatious Talk.

[E] The *Jews* refused to consecrate Images to him.] This was the chief Accusation, as *Josephus* particularly relates, in the Place cited by the Continuator of *Moreri*: And, as They were the *Jews* of *Alexandria*, whom *Apion* had Orders to accuse, it is plain the Question was not what the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* did, or did not do. And yet, if we may believe our Continuator, this was in reality the Case; nor was it the City of *Alexandria*, which remonstrated against the *Jews*, but *Caligula* himself, who complained, that they would not admit his Statue into the Temple of *God*. It is true, this Emperor used his utmost Endeavours to have his Statue placed in the Temple of *Jerusalem* (21); but it is equally true, that neither *Philo's* Embassy, nor This of *Apion*, relates to this Fact. *Philo*, when he so particularly relates the Complaints, and the Questions of *Caligula*, makes no mention of this Statue in the Temple (22). *Caligula* complains, in general, that the *Jews* were the only People, who refused to honour him as a *God*. *Apion* had already put him out of Temper on this Subject, that he might prevent his doing them Justice in the main Dispute. The Matter in hand related properly to the Privileges, which the *Jews* ought to have enjoyed in *Alexandria*: Their Cause was good, and they would have gained it before unprejudiced Judges. But what does *Apion* do? He gives the Cause a different Turn; he renders the *Jews* odious to *Caligula*; he has recourse to Accusations of Impiety, and amuses the Court with captious Points. Thus false Zealots act, at this very Day, to support themselves in a most unjust Authority over Conscience, as well as all other Concerns. This can never be too often repeated.

[F] *Josephus* thought himself obliged to confute the malicious *Calumnies*, with which this Author had loaded them.] Mr *Moreri's* Continuator commits another Blunder in this Place. This, says he, induced *Josephus*, afterwards, to write the *Life and Errors* of *Apion*. It is not true, that *Josephus* wrote the *Life* of this Grammarian; and it is speaking very inaccurately to say, that he wrote his *Errors*. These Words naturally suggest this Thought; that *Josephus* wrote a Book of Controversy against *Apion's* Heresies. The Truth is; Being informed, that several Critics had risen up against his *Jewish* Antiquities, not to condemn the Form, or Style, of it, but to accuse him of a thousand Fables devised for the Advantage of his Nation; He wrote an Apology; in which

(21) Philo de legat.

(22) Ib. pag. 1041, & seq.

swer was written; for the Author makes a Reflexion in it on the Manner of his Death. He affirms, that, after this Man had scoffed so much at the Jewish Ceremonies, not considering, that his injurious Treatment of the Jews in some Manner reflected on the Ancient Laws of the Egyptians (g), he found himself seized with a Distemper, which required Incisions in his Natural Parts, and that, notwithstanding this Remedy, he died in extreme Torture (h). He boasted, that he had called up the Soul of Homer, to enquire the Place of That Poet's Birth, and his Family (i). The Titles of Four or Five of his Books are preserved [G].

It is not true, that Apion relates, that Euphranor, intending to paint Jupiter, went to Athens to consult a Professor, who read Homer to his Scholars; and that This Painter drew an admirable Portrait of That God from the Description, which this Poet gives of Jupiter, in the first Book of the Iliad (k). This Error, which fell from Father Rapin, in the First Edition of his Reflexions on Poetry, was unmercifully censured by Vavassor the Jesuit [H].

which he replied to these Censures, and the Calumnies, which were published against the Jews. Half the Apology does not relate to Apion, though it is generally quoted, as if it were all against him. It is cited by Origen, under the Title, *De Antiquitate gentis Judaicae* (23). ---- Of the Antiquity of the Jewish Nation.

[G] The Titles of four or five of his Books are preserved. I have mentioned his Antiquities of Egypt, divided into five Books (24), as also his Treatise against the Jews. I add, that he composed a Treatise *De Luxu Apicii* (25), ---- Of the Luxury of Apicius; another *De Lingua Romana* (26), ---- Of the Latin Tongue; and another *De Disciplina Metallifica* (27), ---- Of the Knowledge of Metals. Suidas ascribes an History to him; wherein he treated of all Nations, *ἑρρα-λεν ιστοριαν κατ' ἔθνη, scriptis historiæ de singulis gentibus*. The famous History of the Lyon of Androcles is known only from the Relation of Apion, who speaks of it as an Eye-Witness. Aulus Gellius relates it after him (28). He is indebted to him for another Observation, to wit, the Reason why the Ancients wore a Ring on the Finger next to the little Finger of the left Hand. Apion gave a Reason for it, taken from some Anatomical Discoveries made in Egypt (29).

APOLLINARIS (CAIUS SULPITIUS), a very learned Grammarian, and a Native of Carthage [A], lived in the 11d Century under the Antonines. He had for his Successor, in the Professorship of Grammar, *Helvius Pertinax*, who had been his Disciple, and was afterwards Emperor (a). He is supposed to be the Author of the Verses, which are prefixed to Terence's Comedies [B], and contain the Summary of them. There is extant an Epigram, which he composed on the Order Virgil gave to burn his *Æneid* [C]. Aulus Gellius, who had studied under him, mentions him often with Commendation [D]. I advise the Reader particularly to consult what he has said

[A] A Native of Carthage. I have not met with any ancient Author, who informs me of this; I say it merely on the Authority of some modern Authors, who have published Collections of Epigrams, or Catalogues of the ancient Poets.

[B] He is supposed to be the Author of the Verses, which are prefixed to Terence's Comedies. I have read, in a Letter of Petrus Crinitus (1), that Politian had observed, that these Verses ought not to be ascribed to Terence, as is generally believed, but to Sulpitius Apollinaris. He adds, that, in a very ancient Manuscript of Terence, was to be read this Inscription in Capital Letters over the Summaries, G. S. ULPICI APOLLINARIS PERIOCHA. This Inscription has been of great Weight with the several Editors of Terence. Mr de Tillemont refers us to *Sethus Calvisius* concerning these Summaries (2). It is true, Calvisius mentions them under the Year 163. But he cites Suidas; and I much question, whether he ought to have done so. Mr de Tillemont is not in Fault, if we do not believe there are extant two Pieces more of Apollinaris. He * left some Letters, says he, and a Writing *τ*, in which he reprimands another Grammarian, whose Name was Cællius Vindex.

[C] There is extant an Epigram, which he composed on the Order Virgil gave to burn his *Æneid*. It is but a single Distich; and is This:

Infelix alio cecidit prope Pergamon igne,
Et pœne est alio Troja cremata rogo.

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[H] This Error, which fell from Father Rapin ---- was unmercifully censured by Vavassor the Jesuit. He first relates the Fact, and then adds: "Guel, Reader, at the pleasant Blunder of the Reflector, through a Mistake of two Words of this Commentator (30). Whereas I had said, as soon as he came out of the Professor's School, he drew the Picture of Jupiter; our Reflector, to express these Words of Euphranor, καὶ ἀπὼν ἑρρα-λεν, & egressus pinxit, translated them, as Apion, the Grammarian, wrote. Where the good Man was much overseen; and was not aware, either that the Participle ἀπὼν is not Ἀπῖων, as That Grammarian calls himself; or that the Verb ἑρρα-λεν signifies in this Place, he painted, as γράφω & γράφει are taken in the very same Sense before, or, lastly, that ἀπὼν, cum discessisset, answers to the preceding Verb παρήν, aditit. After all; if the Reflector had himself seen this Passage of Euphranor, I wonder he should thus misunderstand it, and if he took this Interpretation from some other, I am yet more astonished, that he should pretend to have read Euphranor, & carefully noting a Passage, which he had never seen (31).

Troy almost peris'd in a second Flame.

These Verses make us regret the Loss of others. *Versus habemus ejus aliquos de Æneide Maronis, qui deperditorum acendunt sitim* (3). These are the Jesuit Brietius's Words. I wonder he does not mention the Summaries of Terence; and more, that Vossius says nothing of our Poet. I confess, he speaks of an Apollinaris, whom Gyraldus has reckoned among the Latin Poets. But, since This Apollinaris lived in Martial's Time (4), it is plain he is different from our Grammarian. Besides, all who are Lovers of Poetry are not Poets: So that we have Reason to oppose Gyraldus, in giving the Title of Poet to the Apollinaris of Martial, on account of the Pleasure this Apollinaris took in Martial's Poetry. "Eum in poësis memorat Lilius, sed non fat firmo argumento; nec enim, si delectaretur epigrammaticis, co & ipse fuerit Poëta (5). ---- Lilius Gyraldus ranks him among the Poets; but his Reason is not a sufficient one: for it does not follow, that, because he was fond of Epigrams, he was therefore a Poet."

[D] Aulus Gellius ---- mentions him often with Commendation (6). He calls him virum præstanti literarum scientia (7), ---- A Man of remarkable Learning; Hominem memoriæ nostræ doctissimum (8), ---- The most learned Man of our Times; Virum elegantia scientia ornatum (9), ---- A Man of polite Learning; Virum in memoria nostra præter alios doctum (10), ---- A Man superior in Learning to all whom we remember. See the thirteenth Chapter of his twelfth Book.

5 B

(i) See Remark [D].

(k) Rapin. Reflex. sur la Poétique n. 28. pag. 77. Edit. 1674.

(30) That is Eudathius.

(31) Remarques sur les nouvelles reflexions touchant la Poétique, pag. 56, 57.

(2) Jul. Capitolinus in Pertinace, cap. 1.

(3) Brietius de Poët. Lat. pag. 42.

(4) He addresses to him the 256 Epigram of the 7th Book.

(5) Vossius de Poët. Lat. pag. 50.

(6) Aul. Gell. Noctes Atticæ. lib. 6. cap. 6, & lib. 13. cap. 16, & lib. 20, cap. 6.

(7) Lib. 6, cap. 17.

(8) Lib. 13, cap. 16.

(9) Lib. 16, cap. 5.

(10) Lib. 13, cap. 4.

(g) Amongst others That of Circumcision.

(h) Joseph. lib. 2. contra Apion sub fin.

(23) Origen. contra Celsum.

(24) Tatianus apud Euseb. Præp. pag. 493.

(25) Athen. lib. 7. pag. 294.

(26) Id. lib. 15. pag. 680.

(27) Plinius in Indice, lib. 35.

(28) Aul. Cell. lib. 5. cap. 14.

(29) Id. lib. 10. cap. 10.

(2) It is among those of Politian, the 22d of the 72th Book. Edition of Paris, 1526, in 4to.

(2) Hist. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 589.

* Gellius, lib. 15. cap. 5.

† Id. lib. 2. cap. 16.

faid of him in the fourth Chapter of the eighteenth Book : He will there see the true Picture of a Pretender to Learning; and the genteel manner, in which *Apollinaris* ridiculed one of this Character [E].

He ascribes to him another good Quality, no less valuable than Learning : Namely, that *Apollinaris* had not That pedantic Stiffness, which makes some censure those magisterially, who take the Liberty of giving their Opinion in Matters, which, perhaps, they do not thoroughly understand. For his Part, He gently admonished People of their Errors. *Aulus Gellius* gives a remarkable Instance of it. For *Apollinaris*, though he had had ever so little of the Pedant, yet might have used the sharpest Censure on an Occasion, wherein *Aulus Gellius* represents him as behaving with his usual Moderation. It was demanded, in his Presence, who a certain *Cato Nepos* was, whose Name appeared in the Title Page of a Book. A young Scholar took up the Question, and undertook to answer it, but was quite mistaken. It was an Affront to the Professorial Majesty, for a young Man to pretend to answer a Question in the Presence of a Professor of Grammar, without first allowing the Grammarian to give his Opinion; this Pertness was unpardonable; however *Apollinaris* would not set the young Man right, 'till he had first commended him in the civillest Manner. "Tum *Apollinaris*, ut mos ejus in "reprehendendo fuit, placide admodum leniterque, "laudo, inquit, te, mi fili, quod in tantula ætate "etiam hunc M. Catonem, de quo nunc quæritur, "quis fuerit ignores, auditiuncula tamen quadam de "Catonis familia asperlus es (11). - - - Then *Apollinaris*, after his usual manner of Reproof, with great "Mildness and Candor, replied, I commend you, my "Son, that, at these tender Years, though you are ignorant what *This M. Cato* is, whom we are now enquiring after, you yet seem to have some little "Knowledge of the Family of *Cato*."

(11) *Aul. Gell. lib. 13, cap. 18.*

[E] The true Picture of a Pretender to Learning, and the genteel Manner, in which *Apollinaris* ridiculed one of this Character.] This Pretender boasted in a Bookeller's Shop, that he was the only Man alive, who understood *Sallust*; "For, says he, I do "not stop at the Bark, or Surface of his Thoughts, "but descend to the very Pith and Quintessence

"of them" *Neque primam tantum cutem ac speciem sententiarum, sed sanguinem quoque ipsum ac medullam verborum ejus eruere atque intraspicere penitus prædicaret. Apollinaris*, assuming the Ironical Manner of *Socrates* (12), address himself to my Gentleman with an Air of Respect, and lest himself, that he had so opportunely met with an Oracle, to consult, on a Passage of *Sallust*, the Sense of which he had been asked the Day before, but was not able to give it. He desired to know, what Difference *Sallust* made between *Stolidior* and *Vanior*, when he said, *Cn. Lentulus* - - - *perincertum stolidior an vanior* (13). Our Pretender answered, with a scornful Air, that he might propole these Trifles to others; and that he did not give himself the Trouble to examine things which were universally known. By this he plainly discovered his Ignorance with regard to the Question proposed; but, finding himself close pressed, and that the Company began to sneer at him, he took his Leave, pretending he had Business elsewhere. Afterwards *Apollinaris* explained this Passage of *Sallust*; and shewed, that *vanus* signified a *Knave*, and *stolidus* a *Clown*. *Aulus Gellius's* Words deserve to be repeated; they paint this Scene very justly. "Tum ille rictu oris labiarumque ductu contemni "à se offendens & rem de qua quæreretur, & hominem ipsum qui quæreret; Priscorum, inquit, & remotorum ego verborum medullas & sanguinem, sicuti dixi, perspicere & elicere soleo, non illorum quæ proculatula vulgo & protrita sunt. Ipso illo quippe *Cn. Lentulo* stolidior est & vanior, qui ignorat ejusdem esse vanitatem & stoliditatem. - - - "Then He, drawing his Mouth into a contemptuous "Smile, and pretending to despise both the Questions "and the Person, who asked it, replied; I make it my Business, as I have already told you, to enquire into the inmost meaning of obsolete and remote Expressions, not of Those, which are in every one's Mouth. He must be more foolish and empty than *This Cneius Lentulus* himself, who knows not, that the same Person was both foolish and empty."

(12) *Jactantem quæpiam & vendicantem sallustianæ lectionis irritum illudque genere illo facetissimæ dissimulationis, qua Socrates ad Sophistas utebatur. Gell. lib. 13, cap. 4.*

(13) *Sallustius, Histor. lib. 12.*

A POLLODORUS. A great Number of Persons, of different Professions, and great Merit, have been called by this Name. *Scipio Tetti* (a), a Neapolitan, composed a Treatise of the *Apollodorus's*, which was printed at Rome, in the Year 1555, with the *Bibliotheca* of *Apollodorus* translated into Latin by *Benedictus Ægius* (b). Dr *Thomas Gale* re-touched this Subject above an Hundred Years after (c). Mr *Moreri* has given us many Articles under this Name, which stand in need of being revised. He forgot one Illustrious *Apollodorus*, the only Person of the Name, whom I propose to speak of.

(a) *Moreri celsi hinc Tattius, inventus of Tettius.*

(b) *See Niccoloni's Additions to the Bibliotheca of Naples.*

(c) *See his Apollodorus, printed at Paris, with other Treatises, in 1675.*

A POLLODORUS, a famous Architect, in the Days of *Trajan*, and *Adrian*, was of *Damascus*. He had the Direction of the Stone Bridge, which *Trajan* caused to be built over the *Danube*, in the Year 104; and which passed for the most magnificent of all the sumptuous Buildings of That Emperor. *Procopius* mentions it (a); and it is probable, *Apollodorus* left a Description of it in Writing. *Adrian*, who piqued himself on understanding all Arts and Sciences to Perfection, so far as to entertain a Jealousy, and Ill-Will, towards those, who acquired an eminent Reputation in their Professions, had particular Reasons to hate *Apollodorus*; for, as *Trajan* discoursed, one Day, with this great Architect, about some Buildings, which he designed to erect in Rome, *Adrian* would needs give his Opinion, and did it, like one, who understood nothing of the Matter (b). *Apollodorus* said roughly to him, Go, and paint Citrus*, As for these Matters, we are now discoursing of, you are intirely ignorant of them. *Adrian*, in those Days, spent his Time in painting Citrus, or Gourds, and even boasted of it. This Insult of *Apollodorus* cost him dear; *Adrian* never forgot it; and, when he came to be Emperor, took care to be revenged. He would not employ *Apollodorus*; He banished him; and, at last, caused him to be accused of several Crimes, and, upon this Pretence, put him to Death. He was ashamed to acknowledge the true Cause of this Severity. *Apollodorus* had, to his old Offence, added a new Provocation, which touched the Emperor to the quick; he had criticised, and, which is worse, very justly, on a sumptuous Structure, which *Adrian* had caused to be built. This Prince, to shew *Apollodorus* that he did not want his Assistance, sent him a Plan of the Temple of *Venus*, and asked his Opinion of it; but not before the Building was finished. *Apollodorus* wrote to him very frankly, what he thought of the Structure; and found

(1) *De ædific. lib. 4, cap. 6, pag. 81, apud Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 2, pag. 302.*

(b) *Xiphilin. in Hadriano.*

* *Great Gourds, or Lemps of Flax.*

very

very essential Faults in it [A]; which the Emperor could neither deny, nor repair. This raised the Emperor's Indignation to the utmost, and pushed him upon getting rid of Apollodorus (c). This last Piece of Ingenuity was much more excusable than the first. Men know not whom they shock, when they reprehend the Ignorance of Those, who would pass for Artists in the Presence of greater Masters. They may chance to affront a Person, whose Subjects they will one Day be [B], or whose Favour they may stand in need of. This confirms my Conjecture in relation to the Conversations between Apelles and Alexander [C].

(c) Ex Xiphilino in Hadr.

[A] Apollodorus - - - found very essential Faults in the Plan of the Temple of Venus. He made it appear, by good Reasons, that it was neither large, nor lofty, enough; and that the Statues placed in it were not justly proportioned to the Size of the Temple; for the Goddesses, said he, if they have a mind to rise, and go out of it, cannot accomplish this Desire (1). An Author of our own has paraphrased this Thought thus. "The Architect Apollodorus, seeing some Statues of the Gods in the Temple of Venus, said; These Gods will do well to continue sitting as they are; For, should they stand up, they would push off the Roof of the Temple, unless they stoop very low; and it will be still worse, if they have a mind to go out of it; for, the Doors being too low for them, they must be obliged to stoop in an inconvenient and indecent Manner (2)." I have somewhere read, that the Critics found the same Fault with the Olympian Jupiter of Phidias. But others have built a pious Reflexion on it. Let us hear *Bardin*. "They say, that *Phidias*, being to make a Statue of Jupiter Olympius, chose to carve him in a sitting Posture, and so disproportionate to the Size of the Temple, that, if he were to stand up, the Roof would be too low for him. Thus we may say, that God enters our Souls, which are his Temples; but that he cannot be contained in them at his full extent (3)."

(1) Ex Xiphilino, in Hadrano.

(2) Costar. Apolog. pag. 90.

(3) Bardin's Lycæum, cap. 2.

(4) See the Text of the Article ANTONIA. NO, towards the end.

[B] May chance to affront a Person, whose Subjects they will one Day be (4). The Relation between

Trajan and Adrian might have warned Apollodorus of this: But here lies the Failing of those, who think themselves necessary, and whom an uncommon Capacity introduces into Favour; they imagine it is not necessary to pay their Court to young Princes; and that the great Patron is sufficient. Times change; and they find, that their magisterial Behaviour to all, who speak impertinently before them, in their own Profession, is great Folly.

[C] This confirms my Conjecture in relation to the Conversations between Apelles and Alexander. I have declared above (5), that I could not persuade myself, that this great Painter would dare to take so gross a Liberty of censuring the young Conqueror, as some Authors pretend. I am very sensible, that They, who excel in certain Arts, are sometimes of such a capricious Humour, that they are not able to contain themselves within the Bounds of Respect, when the Fit is upon them; but I know too, that Apelles is said to have been very modest and polite. But the strongest Reason I have for it is this. Alexander, the most impatient Man that ever lived, would not have let so scornful a Censure pass unpunished: Now, we do not read, that Apelles ever lost the Favour of This Prince. The Argument *a fortiori*, from the greater to the less takes place here. Adrian was not so haughty, as Alexander, nor was he a King, when he was affronted; yet the Censure of the Architect was a mortal Offence.

(5) In Remark [D], of the Article APOLLEUS.

APOLLO, a Pagan Deity. Look for PHŒBUS.

APOLLONIUS, of Perga, a City in Pamphylia, was a famous Geometrician (a), in the Reign of Ptolemy Evergetes, which reaches from the second Year of the CXXXIIIrd Olympiad, to the third Year of the CXXXIXth. He studied, a long time, in Alexandria, under the Disciples of Euclid (b), and composed several Books; none of which are come down to us, but his *Conic Sections* [A]. It is much esteemed, and several ancient and modern Authors have taken the pains to comment upon, or translate, it [B]. Mr Des Cartes had no favourable Opinion of it [C].

(b) Pappus in Proëmio ad lib. 7, Mathem. Collect.

[A] Composed several Books, none of which are come down to us, but his *Conic Sections*. Two Books περί λόγων ἀποτομῶν, de proportionis sectione. Two περί χωρίων ἀποτομῶν, de spatii sectione. Two διατομῶν τῶν τετραγώνων, determinatæ sectionum. Two ἐκαστῶν, actionum. Two νύσεων, inclinationum. Two τῶν ἐν κέντρῳ, planorum locorum (1). And eight of *Conic Sections*. There can be no doubt, that this last Work contained eight Books; the Author's Epistle Dedicatory to a Geometrician of Pergamus, whose Name was Eudemus, makes it plainly appear. The Public has not yet seen the last of these eight Books: Only the four first are in Greek; the three following have been translated into Latin, from an Arabic Version. See the following Remark. We find cited the Books of Apollonius, de cochlea, & de perturbatis rationibus (2). I cannot tell, whether we ought not to ascribe to the same Author the Commentary on the *Phænomena* of Aratus, which is attributed by the Ancients to Apollonius the Geometrician (3).

(a) Eutocius Afcalonita Initiō Commentar. in Conica Apollonii, ex Hieracio in vita Archimedis.

(1) Vossius de Scient. Mathem. cap. 16, pag. 55, ex Pappo, lib. 7. Mathematicæ collectionis.

(2) Apud Proclum in Euclidem. See the Epitome of Geſner's Bibliothecæ, pag. 71.

(3) See Vossius lib. cap. 32, pag. 106. and de Hist. Græcis, pag. 505.

(4) Claudius Richardus Pref. ad Apollon. Pergæum sect. 10.

(5) In lib. 7. Mathematicæ. Collect. Pappi.

[B] Several ancient and modern Authors have taken the Pains to comment upon, or translate, it. It is said, that Hyppatia, the Daughter of Theon, wrote a Commentary on the *Conics* of Apollonius. We have still That, which Eutocius of Ascalon composed on the first four Books of This Work, with *Lemma's* and *Corollaries*. He promised to comment on the other four also: See his Epistle Dedicatory to Anthemus.

We have also (5), to the Number of Sixty five, the *Lemma's*, which Pappus drew up on the *Conics* of Apollonius. The Catalogue of the Works of Francis

Maurolycus, printed at Venice, informs us, that this ingenious Mathematician wrote a Book entitled, *Apollonii conica elementa libri quatuor & demonstrationibus & lineamentis opportunis insaurata* (6). - - - Apollonius's Principles of Conic Sections, in four Books, and illustrated with Demonstrations and suitable Schemes. John Baptista Memus (7), a noble Venetian, and Mathematical Professor at Venice, translated into Latin the four first Books of Apollonius; which were printed in the Year 1537 (8). This Translation is of no Value; he did not understand the Subject; and this was the Reason, why he passed over the most visible Faults of the Greek Manuscript. "Eos primus transulit, say Vossius (9), Joan. Baptista Memmius; sed infeliciter, eo quod argumentum operis non intelligeret: unde non vidit fat manifestas Græci codicis mendas, ac sæpe pueriliter alucinatur: sicut monitum Francico Maurolyco Præfatione in Cosmographiam suam. — John Baptista Memmius was the first, who translated them; but without Success; since he understood not the Design of the Work; whence it was, that he overlooked the plainest Errors of the Greek Copy, and is often guilty of childish Mistakes: as is observed by Francis Maurolycus, in the Preface to his *Cosmography*." Frederic Commandin (10) made a new Translation of it, much better than the former, which he published at Bologna, in the Year 1566. He added to it a Translation of Eutocius's Commentary, and several Notes. But, having made use of a very faulty Greek Manuscript, his Version was not so good as could be wished; for which Reason Martin Ghetaldus (11) resolved to trace the Evil to its Source. He endeavoured

(6) Claud. Richardus. Pref. ad Apollon. Pergæum. sect. 4.

(7) Moreri calls him de Meſmes; he undoubtedly believed that he was a Frenchman of the Family, which bears this Name.

(8) Claud. Richardus, ubi supra, sect. 15.

(9) Vossius de Scient. Math. pag. 55.

(10) And not Commandon, as Moreri calls him.

(11) He was a Patrician of Ragusa.

it [C]. Some have thought, that *Apollonius* appropriated the Writings and Discoveries of *Archimedes* to himself [D]. He had a Son, whose Name was *Apollonius*, and who

- ed to correct the Manuscript according to the Sense of the Author, and to resolve the Problems; and by this means believed he had restored Life to this ancient Geometrician (12). See the Book, which he entitled *Apollonius redivivus, seu restituta Apollonii Pergæi inclinationum geometria*, and his *Supplementum Apollonii Galli, seu exfusciata Apollonii Pergæi inclinationum geometriæ Pars reliqua*, printed at Venice, in the Year 1607, in 4to. *Claude Richard*, a Jesuit of the *Franciscan* Comte, and Royal Professor of Mathematics in the Imperial College of his Order at Madrid, in the Year 1642, explained, in his public Lectures, the first four Books of *Apollonius*, and, in the Year 1643, four other Books, of which himself was the Author, and in which he had supplied the other Part of this ancient Geometrician's Work (13). His Explications of the four first were printed at Antwerp, in 1655, in Folio. He declares that, after having finished these two Pieces, he read the *Conics* of *Claude Mordorge* (14) with Pleasure and Admiration, as also the Quadrature of the Circle of *Gregory* of St Vincent; in which are many things relating to those Books of *Apollonius*, which are wanting. In quibus (de quadratura circuli duobus tomis) præter elementa conica peculiari ordine disposita, innumera prodit, sicuti Mordorgius, quæ spectant ad postremo quatuor Apollonii libros injuriâ temporum suppressos, in lucem revocandos (15). *Ferdinand I.* Great Duke of Florence, proposed to get several Arabian Manuscripts, which were in his Library, translated. *John Baptista Raimondo*, who was the Principal among those, to whom this Prince gave Pensions for this Undertaking, had promised to translate *Apollonius*, which was in Arabic, in that Library; and some Authors have said, that this Translation was finished (16); but nothing of it has been found among his Papers (17). At last the Great Duke, *Ferdinand II.*, and his Brother Prince *Leopold de Medicis*, cast their Eyes on *Abraham Ecchellenfis*, Professor of the Oriental Languages at Rome, and employed him in this Work. By the Assistance of *Alfonso Borelli*, Mathematical Professor at Pisa, he translated the fifth, sixth, and seventh Books of *Apollonius* into Latin. This Translation was printed at Florence, in the Year 1661, in Folio, with the Commentary of the same *Borelli*; who maintains, in his Preface, that these Books are not spurious, but the genuine Works of our *Apollonius*. He answers the Difficulties of *Claude Mordorge*, who imagined, that the three Books, which *Goliath* brought from the Levant (18), were the Work of an Arabian, who conceal'd himself under the celebrated Name of *Apollonius*. Father *Merjennus* mentions this Opinion of *Claude Mordorge*, but does not approve of it; he believes that the eighth Book of the *Conics* of *Apollonius*, and all the other Works of the same Author, as also those which *Pappus* has not quoted, are still extant, and actually translated into Arabic (19). He produces *Aben Nedin* as his Voucher, who wrote a Book *De Philosophiæ Arabibus* (20). i. e. Of the Arabic Philosophers. Observe, I. That it was remarked, at the bottom of the Manuscript of *Goliath*, that the eighth Book of *Apollonius* had not been translated into Arabic, because it was wanting in the Greek Copies, from which the Translation of the others had been made (21). II. That the Manuscript, from which the Translation of *Ecchellenfis* was made, came from the Oriental Library, which *Ignatius Neama*, Patriarch of Antioch, had left by Will to the Great Duke *Ferdinand I.* (22). III. That *Abalpat Abaphanensis* is the Author of the Arabic Translation, which served *Ecchellenfis* for an Original, and which he made for King *Aiscacigiar*, who ascended the Throne in the Three hundred seventy second Year of the *Hegira*. From whence it follows, that this was not the first Translation in that Language; for *Gregory Barhebraeus* notes, that seven Books of the *Conics* of *Apollonius* were translated into Arabic in the time of *Almanun*. Now *Almanun* was inaugurated in the Two hundred and third Year of the *Hegira* (23). IV. That *Abalpat* still pretended, that his Translation was the first, and that only some Fragments of *Apollonius* had been rendered before, from the eastest Places. This would induce one to think, that either he had not seen the Translation, which was made in the time of *Almanun*, or that That Translation contained only some Fragments of the *Conics* of *Apollonius* (24).
- This is what I had to say, by way of Comment on the Text of this Remark. I say nothing of the *Apollonius Batavus* of *Willbrod Snellius*, seu exfusciata geometria *Apollonii Pergæi ægæi Diweximus* *toijns*, a Book printed at Leyden, 1608, in 4to. I omit, likewise, *Vincenzo Viviani*, Author of the Treatise *De maximis & minimis, geometrica divination in quintum librum Conicorum Apollonii Pergæi*, at Florence, 1659, in Folio.
- [C] Mr Des Cartes had no favourable Opinion of it. "He was not surprized, that others should demonstrate the *Conic Sections* with more ease than *Apollonius*; because That ancient Author is very tedious and intricate; and yet all, that he has demonstrated, is, of itself, very plain (25)." He compared what he had done in *Metaphysics* "to the Demonstrations of *Apollonius*, in which there is nothing, but what is very clear, and certain, when each Point is separately considered. But, as they are somewhat long, and since one cannot readily perceive the Necessity of the Conclusion, without exactly remembering all that went before, scarce one Man in a City, or a Province, can be found, who is able to comprehend them: However, on the Testimony of those few, who understand them, and vouch for their Truth, every one gives Credit to them (26)."
- [D] Some have thought, that *Apollonius* appropriated the Writings and Discoveries of *Archimedes* to himself. *Heraclius* affirms, that *Archimedes* was the first, who applied himself to the Doctrine of *Conic Sections*; and that his Compositions on that Subject fell into the Hands of *Apollonius*, who published them as his own (27). *Eutocius* confutes this by two Reasons; one is, that *Archimedes*, in several Parts of his Works, speaks of *Conics* as a Science not new; the other is, that *Apollonius* does not pretend, that he is the Inventor of what he writes; he only says, that he has treated the Subject more amply, than had been done by any Author before him (28). This seems to me but an indifferent Justification of him, as to the Crime of Plagiarism; for a Man may appropriate the Writings of another to himself, though they are not Works, on which the Author pretends to say nothing, but what is new. The Honour of explaining a difficult Subject better, than had been done before, is sufficient to tempt a Man to get into his Possession A Work, which may procure him this Honour. This might be the Case of *Apollonius*, for any thing that appears in his Apology. There is something farther still; he boasts sometimes in the general Summaries of his eight Books, that what he advances is new (29). Judge, then, whether this might not be a powerful Motive to induce him to arrogate such a Work to himself. Upon the whole, *Eutocius* defends him but ill; and his best Justification is the Silence of *Pappus*, his Censor, and a Censor not a little prejudiced against him. Observe too, that *Pappus* not only does not accuse him of Plagiarism, but expressly allows him to be the true Author of the eight Books of *Conic Sections*, though he pretends, that *Euclid* had wrote four Books on the same Subject before (30). He defends *Euclid*, against *Apollonius*, who had remarked, that this famous Geometrician had succeeded very indifferently in a certain Point. He excuses *Euclid*, by what *Apollonius* himself had acknowledged; to wit, that, before the Discoveries of *Apollonius*, it was impossible to treat clearly on this Subject; the Principles made use of before not being sufficient. He pretends, that *Euclid*, being very good-natured, and modest, had confined himself to the Discoveries of *Aristeus*, in relation to *Conics*, without either overthrowing, or improving, what the other had begun; and that he had stop'd, where he found them incapable of carrying him farther; but that he was cautious of saying, that this was the Point of Perfection; for he had been to blame in that (31). Note, by the way, that this demonstrates the Fallacious of *Heraclius*'s Pretension, that *Archimedes* was the first, who wrote concerning *Conics*. *Vossius* has taken no notice of the

(12) Ex Vossio de Scient. Mathem. pag. 434.

(13) Cl. Rich. Pref. in Apollon. sect. 11.

(14) Tres Conicorum libros Claudii Mordorgii - - nova methodo ex Apollonianis fontibus & proprio ingenio apposite digestos. Claud. Rich. ubi supra.

(15) Id. ib.

(16) Ab Jeronimo Lunsdorff, in libro de Romana curia. See Borelli, in his Preface.

(17) Abraham Ecchellenfis, in Prefat. versionis Apollon.

(18) The 5th, 6th, and 7th of Apollonius' Conic Sections.

(19) Merjennus Prefat. in Apollonii Conicis, quæ sunt in ejus cunctis Mathemat.

(20) See Vossius de Scient. Mathem. pag. 55.

(21) Id. ib.

(22) Borellus, in Prefat.

(23) Abraham Ecchellenfis, in Prefat.

(24) Id. ib.

(25) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, Tom. 2. pag. 39.

(26) Id. ib. pag. 101.

(27) Heraclius, in vita Archimedis apud Eutocium, iustit. Comment. in Apollonii Conica.

(28) Eutocius, ibid. See Claud. Richardus, Prefat. ad Apollon. sect. 7.

(29) See the Letter of Apollonius to Eutocius, in the beginning of his 8th Book. See likewise his Letter to Archimedes, at the beginning of the 4th Book.

(30) Pappus in Prolegomenis, lib. 7. Mathematic. Collect.

(31) You will find the Words of Pappus, in the Remark of the Article of ARI-STEUS, the Geometrician.

who was the Messenger, who presented the second Book of the *Conic Sections* to the Person, to whom the Author had dedicated it (c). The *Arabians* have discovered great Ignorance in Chronology, with regard to *Apollonius* [E]. Mr *Moreri* has been guilty of many Blunders on this Head [F].

(c) Apollon. Epist. Deu-
cat. lib. 2.
apud Euto-
cium.

the Proofs, which overthrow this Pretension. He observes, as something in justification of *Heraclius*, that *Archimedes* sometimes refers to a Treatise of *Comes*; and That in a Style, which he generally makes use of, in referring to his own Writings (32). He adds, that *Guido Ubaldis* has proved, against *Euto-
cius*, that *Archimedes* was not ignorant, that *Cones* may be cut by Planes differently inclined to the Side of the *Cone* (33). But how does this prove the Point in Question? We may allow, that *Archimedes* had wrote an excellent Treatise of *Conic Sections*; but does this imply, that no one before him had treated of this Matter, or that this Work was stolen by the Plagiarist *Apollonius*?

(32) Vossius,
de Scient.
Mathem. in
Addendis,
pag. 434.

(33) Initio
Commenta-
rii in Secun-
dum *Isophras-
tum* *Ar-
chimedis*.

[E] The *Arabians* have discovered great Ignorance in Chronology, with regard to *Apollonius*. They have said, that he lived in the time of *Abaz*, King of *Ju-
deab*, and that his Writings on *Conic Sections* induced *Euclid* to write on that Subject a long time after (34). This is so strange a Mistake, that it is surprizing *Ec-
chellenfis* treats it with so much Lenity. He seems unwilling to say, that the *Arabian* Author was mis-
taken; he only says, that this Chronology is very wide of the common Account. "In his long vide-
tur discrepare Gregorius à communi Chronologo-
rum sententia & opinione, qui Apollonium flori-
scisse scribunt anno periodi Julianæ 4474 — dis-
crepat præterea ab istidem Chronologis in ætate Eu-
clidis, quem Apollonio juniorem agnoscit, ubi illi
eum collocant in anno periodi Julianæ 4430 (35).
— In this Gregory seems to differ widely from
the common Sentiment and Opinion of Chronologers,
who write, that Apollonius flourished in the Year
4474, of the Julian Period. — He differs like-
wise from the same Chronologers, in relation to
the Age of *Euclid*, whom he supposes to be later
than Apollonius; whereas they place him in the
4430th Year of the Julian Period." *Ecchellenfis*
leaves us, as it were, at Liberty, to chuse between
these two Opinions: He would have done better,
to have determined, that the *Arabian* Author was mis-
taken; for this is most certain. And observe, that
his Error is not a Difference of some few Years;
Abaz began to reign in the Year 3970 of the Ju-
lian Period. *Ptolemy Evergetes*, in whose time *Apol-
lonius* flourished, succeeded the King, his Father, in
the Year 4468, of the same Period. The mistake,

(34) Grego-
rius Barhe-
braeus, lib. 3.
Chronico-
rum in Achaz,
apud Abrah.
Ecchellen-
sem Præsit.
in Apollon.

(35) Ecche-
lenf. ibid.

then, is very great, since it includes a Difference of about five Centuries.

[F] Mr *Moreri* has been guilty of many Blunders on this Head. I. He has, simply and absolutely, given our *Apollonius* the Surname of the Great Geometrician; whereas he should have used a Restriction, and con-
tented himself with saying, that his Cotemporaries called him so, on account of his Skill in *Conics*. This is precisely what *Eutocius* of *Asiatic* says of him (36). II. *Moreri* pretends, that this Surname is the same with that of *Κεῖνός*; which is a great Mistake, treat it as favourable as you please; for, in short, the *Apollonius*, who had the Surname of *Κεῖνός*, was not the Geometrician; he was born at *Cyrene* (37), and never had any Reputation (38). III. *Euto-
cius* does not treat of *Heraclius's* Book of the Life of *Archimedes*; he cites it only. IV. To say, That we have the Treatise of *Cones*, Conicorum, translated by John Baptista de Mesmes, is to be guilty of a Bar-
barism, and tends to persuade the Reader, that this *John Baptista* translated the whole Work; whereas he translated only the four first Books. V. It is not true, that *Men of Learning* know, that these (39) four first Books of *Apollonius* belong to *Euclid* of *Megara* (40). VI. No one has said, that *Apollonius* was the Dis-
ciple of *Eubulides*, a Scholar of *Euclid*; and it is not probable, that he ever was; since *Eubulides* applied himself almost wholly to the Sophistry of Logic, and never taught in *Alexandria*, where our *Apollonius* studied under the Disciples of *Euclid*. VII. After having said, that *Euclid* is the true Author of the four first Books of *Apollonius*, ought he to add, that this Author wrote Commentaries on the four first Books of *That Philosopher's* *Comics*? What Confu-
sion, or rather what Contradictions are here! VIII. It is not true, that *Goliut* translated the fifth, sixth, and seventh Books of *Apollonius*: out of *Arabic* into Latin. Mr *Moreri*, who affirms it, is without Ex-
cuse, since he had read in *Plinius* no more than this; viz. that *Goliut* had brought these three *Arabic* Books from the *Levant*, and that the Mathematics would soon be much indebted to him, especially when these three Books should be printed (41). IX. The *Apollonius*, who was the Master of *Diodorus*, is not the same with him, who is the Subject of this Ar-
ticle. Two more of Mr *Moreri's* Errors may be seen above (42).

(36) Euto-
cium, in-
troduc-
tio Comen-
tarij in *Conica*
Apollonii.
Hæc. lib. 1. ubi
est Testi-
mony of *Eu-
clidi*, lib. 6.
Mathemati-
carum Præ-
conium.

(37) Strabo,
lib. 17. pag.
576.

(38) Id. lib.
14. p. 453.

(39) Note,
that *Moreri*
has said no-
thing, to
which these
can relate.

(40) See *Dio-
genes Laër-
ti*, 2. n. 1114.

(41) Vossius,
de Scient.
Mathemat.
c. 16. p. 55.

(42) In *Re-
mark* [B],
Citation (9)
and (10).

APOLLONIUS Tyanaus, was One of the most Extraordinary Persons, that ever appeared in the World. I had resolved to make a very long Article of him; but, having seen That, which Mr *de Tillemont* has already given us, I thought it better to employ my time in other Enquiries, than to take a great deal of Pains to say nothing, but what he has said before me, or only to copy him. His Book will pass through more Hands, than this, and every one will more readily consult Him, than My Dictionary. It will be sufficient therefore to advertise my Reader, That, in the second Volume of his Works (a), he will find a full and exact Collection of what most remarkably concerns *Apollonius Tyanaus*. However, if but for Form's sake, let me observe, That he was born at *Tyana*, in *Cappadocia*, towards the beginning of the First Century; That, at Sixteen Years of Age, he set up for a rigid Observer of the Rules of *Pythagoras*, renouncing Wine, Women, and all manner of Flesh, wearing no Shoes, letting his Hair grow at full length, and clothing himself only in Lin-
nen (b); that, a little while after, he set up for a Reformer; that he fixed his Re-
sidence in a Temple of *Esculapius*, whither many sick Persons resorted to be cured by Him; that, being come to Age, he gave part of his Estate to his elder Brother; that he distributed another part to his poor Relations, and kept but a very small Share to himself; That he lived six Years without speaking a Word; that, not-
withstanding, during this Silence, he quelled several Seditions [A], in *Cilicia*, and *Pam-
philia* (c):

(a) It was
the third City
of Pamphy-
lia.

(b) Quintil.
Declamat.
12. The
French have
a Proverb,
that a hun-
gry Belly has
no Ear. The
Ancients had
said another.
See *Enf-
mus's* *Chi-
ridi*. Venter
non habet
aures. Cato
began an O-
ration with
these Words,
Ardum est
ad ventrem
verba facere,
qui careat
auribus. —
It is difficult to
persuade the
Belly, which
has no Ear.
The *Basilisks*
was to ap-
pease the
People, who
demanded
Corn.

(c) Pag. 200.
Edit. of
Brussels.

(b) Philostr.
in Vita A-
pollon. l. 1.

[A] That, notwithstanding, during this Silence, he quelled several Seditions. That, which he put a stop to at *Aspenda* (1), was the most difficult to appease, be-
cause the Business was to make those hearken to Reason, whom Famine had driven to Revolt, *sames me-
gisra peccandi, durissima necessitatem* (2). The Cause of this Commotion was, some rich Mens having en-
grossed the Corn, which occasioned an extraordinary

Scarcity in the City. *Apollonius* stopped this popular Commotion, without speaking one Word. Was there ever a more eloquent, active, and persuasive Silence known! His Talent was very different from That of the Person, whom *Virgil* describes.

Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Confexere, silent, arreclisque auribus assant :
Ille

- (c) *Ibid.* *Phibia* (c) : That he travelled, and turned Legislator; that he pretended to understand all Languages, without ever having learned them; to know the Thoughts of Men (d), and to explain the Oracles, which Birds delivered by chirping (e); that he condemned Dancing, and other Diversions of that kind; that he recommended Works of Charity (f); that he travelled over almost all the Countries of the World (g); that, at Cadix, he prevailed with the Intendant of the Country to revolt against Nero (h) [B], and that he died at a very great Age, without it's being certainly known where, or in what manner (i). His Life has been fully related by *Philoftratus* [C]. It contains no doubt a Thousand fabulous Relations; but, if the Facts were true, we must not impute them to the Power of Magic. The Pagans very readily opposed the pretended Miracles of this Man to Those of our Saviour [D], and drew a Parallel between them. It is observable, that *St Austin* confessed, that *Apollonius*, at the worst, was greatly superior to the *Jupiter* of the *Gentiles* (k). It cannot be denied, that this Philosopher received very great Honours, both during his Life, and after his Death [E]; and that his Reputation

(i) *In the Reign of Nero, in the Year of our Lord 96, or 97.*

(k) *See Remark [F]. Citat. 28.*

continued

(j) *Aeneid. lib. 1. ver. 143.*

Ille regit dictis animos ac pectora mulcet (3).

*If then some grave and pious Man appear,
They hush their Noise, and lend a listening Ear.
He soothes with softer Words their angry Mood,
And quenches their innate Desire of Blood.*

DRYDEN.

Such an one must *speake*, if he hopes to stop the Fury of a mutinous People. *Apollonius* had no need of Words; his *Pythagoric* Silence did all that the finest Figures of Oratory could effect.

[B] *That, at Cadiz, he prevailed with the Intendant of the Country to revolt against Nero.* " *Philoftratus*, thinks it for his Honour, that he induced the Governor of Cadiz, and the Country about it, to rebel against Nero; nor did the other Philosopher make any more scruple of this than He. [There being no Institution but the Christian Religion, which teaches us to consider Men, not as they are in themselves, but in the Order, wherein God has placed them, nor ever to violate the Fidelity, which has once been sworn to them (4).]" Mr de *Tillemont* might very well have omitted this moral Reflexion, and indeed the whole Parenthesis. Christianity has certainly the most real and sublime Advantages above all Philosophy; but, as to the Point here in question, I cannot see that it has had any Right, for these thousand Years past, to insult the Philosopher. The Christians, and They, have been pretty even, on this score, for a long time. We may say of this Engagement, *Never to violate the Faith, which has once been pledged*, what the Poet said of Chastity;

(4) *Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs. Tom. 2. pag. 208.*

Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam

In terris, vixerunt diu

Quippe aliam tunc orbe novo colloque recenti

Vivebant homines (5).

(5) *Juvenal. Sat. 6. init.*

*In Saturn's Reign, at Nature's early Birth,
There was That Thing, call'd Chastity, on Earth.*

*For when the World was bucksome, fresh, and young,
Her Sons were undebauch'd.*

DRYDEN.

It continued no longer than the three first Centuries. Mr de *Tillemont* observes, that *Apollonius* used his utmost Endeavours to raise the whole World against the Emperor Domitian (6). He, who wrote this Philosopher's Life, esteems it as an Heroic Exploit in him (7). This Impostor had mimicked the Son of God in several Instances; but, on the Article of Submission and Patience, he pulled off the Mask; and, indeed, there was no room for a Parallel on this Head.

[C] *His Life has been fully related by Philoftratus.* That which *Damis*, originally of Nineveh, the most devoted to him of all his Disciples, had composed, was properly no more than Memoirs, and ill enough written (8). They fell into the Hands of the Empress *Julia*, the Wife of *Severus*. "She gave them to *Philoftratus*, who, from them, and by the help of what he could gather from *Apollonius* himself, and from other Memoirs, composed the History we at present have of Him. He men-

(8) *Tillemont, pag. 201. ex Philoftr. lib. 1. cap. 3.*

tions one *Maximus* of *Eges*, who had written a Book on *Apollonius*, and one *Marragenes*, who had written four Books concerning him; but would have no Credit to be given to the latter (9)." See, in the Remark [I], some other Authors of the Life of *Apollonius*. As for the Life, which *Philoftratus* himself composed, it was first printed, in *Greek*, at Venice, by *Aldus Manutius*, with the Treatise of *Eusebius* against *Hierocles*. This Treatise was rendered into Latin by *Zenobius Accianoli*. The Life of *Apollonius* was translated into the same Language by *Allemannus Rhinuccius*, a Florentine. The Latin Version of these two Pieces, with several Corrections, and small marginal Notes of *Gibbert Longolius*, was printed at Cologne, in the Year 1532, in 8vo. The Paris Edition of all the Works of *Philoftratus*, published by *Frederick Morel*, is better than any of the preceding Editions; but it were to be wished, that some Person well skilled in *Greek* would correct the Latin Translation; he would find many things in it, which require the Hand of a skilful Operator. See the Remark [J].

[D] *The Pagans very readily opposed the pretended Miracles of this Man to Those of our Saviour.* We need only read a Work of *Eusebius* (10) against one *Hierocles*, a great Enemy of the Gospel, in the Reign of the Emperor *Dioclesian*. It appears, that *Hierocles*'s Design, in the Treatise, which *Eusebius* confutes, was to draw a Parallel between *JESUS CHRIST* and *Apollonius Tyannus*, and that he gives the Preference to the latter. These Words of *Lactantius* confirm what I have said. "Item cum fides *Jesu Christi* mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit offendere Apollonium vel paria vel etiam majora fecisse (11): — *Likewise when he would have overthrown the Miracles of Jesus Christ, he could not deny them, he pretended to show, that Apollonius had wrought the like, or even greater.*" What Mr de *Tillemont* has observed is remarkable; " *Apollonius*, says he (12), by the seeming Innocency of his Life, and his pretended Miracles, was one of the most dangerous Enemies the Church had in it's Infancy. It seemed, according to his own Panegyrics, as if the Devil had sent him into the World, about the same time that *Jesus Christ* was to appear, either to counter-balance his Authority in the Minds of those, who should take the Illusions of this Magician for real Miracles, or that They, who should discover him to be an arrant Impostor and Magician, might thereby be brought to doubt of the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* and his Disciples."

[E] *Very great Honours, both during his Life, and after his Death.* Mr de *Tillemont* justly reproaches him with not having disclaimed the Style and Title of God, whilst his Followers ascribed to him; and with suffering himself to be adored as a Deity. And if, on certain occasions, he refused to receive Divine Honours in public; it was, says his Historian, for fear of Envy (13). The Inhabitants of Tyana built a Temple to their *Apollonius* after his Death (14). His Statue was erected in several other Temples (15). The Emperor *Adrian* collected as many of his Letters as he could, and kept them in his fine Palace of *Antium*, with a little Book of This Philosopher concerning the Answers he had received from the Oracle of *Trophenus*. This little Book was to be seen at *Antium*, during *Philoftratus*'s Life; nor did

(9) *Philoftr. lib. 1. cap. 2. & 3. apud Tillemont, ibid.*

(10) *In the Volume de Demonstration. Evangel. pag. 511.*

(11) *Lactant. Divinar. Institution. lib. 5. cap. 3.*

(12) *Tillemont, pag. 200.*

(13) *Godem's Hist. of the Church, p. 245.*

(14) *Philoftr. in Apollon. Vita. lib. 2. cap. 2.*

(15) *Godem's Hist. des Empereurs. pag. 246.*

(16) *Philoftr. in Apollon. Vita. lib. 2. cap. 2. pag. 376.*

(17) *Philoftr. in Apollon. Vita. lib. 2. cap. 10. pag. 340. See also lib. 1. c. 15. pag. 25.*

(18) *Tillemont. Hist. des Empereurs. Tom. 2. p. 216.*

(19) *Philoftr. lib. 1. cap. 4. p. 6. See also lib. 2. cap. 15.*

(20) *Vopiscus, in Aurelianus, cap. any 24.*

continued as long as Paganism [F]. He left some Works, which have been long since

any Curiosity render this small Town so famous as *Apollonius's* Book (16). *Antonius Caracalla* had an extraordinary Veneration for *Apollonius*, and built a Temple to him as to an Hero (17). The Emperor *Severus* kept the Image of this Philosopher, in a particular Place, in his Palace, among Those of *Jesus Christ*, *Abraham*, and the best Princes (18). *Aurelian*, having resolved to sack *Tyana*, was prevented by *Apollonius's* appearing to him in a Vision, and forbidding it; and he not only obeyed this Order of *Apollonius*, but vowed an Image, a Temple, and a Statue to him. *Vopiscus*, in relating this, declares himself his Admirer and Votary, with a Promise to write his Life. The Passage, though somewhat long, deserves a Place here; it being almost all of it a Proof of the Text of this Remark. "Taceri non debet res, quæ ad famam venerabilis viri pertinet. Fertur enim Aurelianus de Thyana civitatis eversione vera dixisse, vera cogitasse: verum Apollonium Thyaneum celebrissime fame autoritatisque sapientem, veterem philosophum, amicis cum verum deorum, ipsum etiam pro numine frequentandum, recipienti se in tentorium ea forma, qua videtur, subito altissime, atque hæc Latine, ut homo Pannonius intelligeret, verba dixisse. Aureliane, si vis vincere, nihil est quod de civium meorum nec cogites. Aureliane, si vis imperare, ac crueris innocentium abstinere. Aureliane, clementer te age, si vis vincere. Norat vultum philosophi venerabilis Aurelianus, atque in multis ejus imaginem viderat templis. Denique statim attonitus imaginem et statuas et templum eidem promissit, atque in meliorem rediit mentem. Hæc ego à gravibus viris comperi, et in Ulpia bibliothecæ libris relegi, et pro majestate Apollonii magis credidi. Quid enim illo viro sanctius, venerabilis, antiquius, diviniusque inter homines fuit? Ille mortuus reddidit vitam. Ille multa ultra homines et fecit et dixit, quæ qui vellet nosse, Græcos legat libros, qui de ejus vita conscripti sunt. Ipse autem, si vita suppetat, atque ipse viri favori usquequaque placuit, breviter saltem tanti viri facta in literas mitam: non quo illius viri gesta munere mei sermonis indigeant, sed ut ea, quæ miranda sunt, omnium voce prædicentur (19). ----- We must not omit a Circumstance, which tends to the Honour of this venerable Man. It is related, that Aurelian had come to a Resolution, and had declared his Intention, of demolishing the City of Tyana; but that Apollonius of Tyana, an ancient Philosopher of great Renown and Authority, a true Friend of the Gods, and himself honoured as a Deity, appeared to him in his usual Form, as he retired into his Tent, addressed him thus in Latin, so as to be understood by a Native of Pannonia. Aurelian, if you desire to be victorious, think no more of the Destruction of my Fellow-Citizens. Aurelian, if you desire to rule, abstain from the Blood of the Innocent. Aurelian, if you would conquer, be merciful. Aurelian was acquainted with the Looks of this venerable Philosopher, and had seen his Image in several Temples. In the Suddenness of his Surprise, he vowed to erect a Temple and Statues to him, and altered his Resolution. This Account I have from Men of Credit; and have met with it in Books in the Ulpian Library, and am the more inclined to believe it on account of the Dignity of Apollonius. For was there ever anything among Men more Holy, Venerable, Noble, and Divine, than this Person? He restored Life to the Dead; He did and spoke many Things beyond human Reach; which whoever would be informed of, may meet with Accounts of them in the Greek Histories of his Life. I myself propose to write a short Account of this great Man's Actions, if I live long enough, and this Philosopher himself shall permit me; not that his Actions want the Ornaments of my Words; but that such Wonders, as he performed, may be more generally known." The Words of *Lampridius*, concerning the manner of the Emperor *Severus's* Worship, are no less worthy of a place here. He informs us, that, when this Emperor was lately disposed, that is, when he had not lain with his Wife the Night before, he began the Day with Acts of Devotion. He went, early in the

Morning, into his Oratory, to practise religious Ceremonies in Honour of the Patrons he had made choice of; of which *Apollonius* was one. "Ufus vivendi eidem hic fuit: Primum ut, si facultas esset, id est si non cum uxore cubuisset, matutinis horis in larario suo (in quo & divos principes, sed optimos electos & animas sanctiores, in quibus & Apollonium, & quantum scriptor suorum temporum dicit, Christum, Abraham, & Orpheum, & hujusmodi deos habebat, ac majorum effigies) rem divinam faciebat (20) -- The same Emperor's manner of Life was this. First, if he was duly prepared, that is, if he had not lain with his Wife, he performed, early in the Morning, religious Ceremonies, in his Chapel, in which he kept the Effigies of the best Emperors, and of Those, who had been the most remarkable for Sanctity; among which was Apollonius, and, if we may believe the Historian of his own Times, Christ, Abraham, and Orpheus, and the like kind of Gods, together with the Effigies of his Ancestors." *Eusebius* tells us, that, in his Time, there were Persons, who pretended to Incantments, by invoking the Name of *Apollonius* (21).

[F] His Reputation continued as long as Paganism. Mr de Tillemont, who denies this, alleges the Testimonies of *Lactantius*, and *Eusebius*. "From the beginning of the fourth Century, says he (22), no Person whatever worshipped Apollonius, as a God; though it is pretended, that the *Ephesians* still continued to reverence his Statue, under the Name of *Hercules*, but not under his own; because it is certain, that he was no more than a mere Man, and an Impostor." *Eusebius* affirms, likewise, that, at That Time, scarce any one acknowledged Apollonius as a God, or even as an extraordinary and wonderful Man, but only as a mere Philosopher." Mr de Tillemont cites the third Chapter of the fifth Book of *Lactantius*, and the Four hundred sixty eighth Page of *Eusebius's* Treatise against *Hierocles*. I confess, *Lactantius* supposes, that no one honoured Apollonius as a God; For he asks, "Cur igitur, o delirum caput, nemo Apollonium pro Deo colit? nisi forte tu solus, illo scilicet Deo dignus, cum quo te in sempiternum verus Deus puniet. ----- Why therefore, O Madman, dost thou not honour Apollonius as a God? Unless, perhaps, Thou alone; a worthy Potary of such a Deity, together with whom The True God will punish you for ever." But he does not deny, what the Author, whom he confutes, had advanced, that a consecrated Statue of Apollonius was still honoured at *Ephesus*, under the Name of *Hercules*: "Simulacrum ejus sub Herculeis cultus Alexicaci nomine constitutum ab Ephesiis etiam nunc honorari (23)." He thinks it sufficient, that Apollonius was not honoured under his own, but a borrowed Name; "Ideo alieni nominis titulo affectavit divinitatem, quia suo nec poterat, nec audebat. ----- He, therefore, affected Divinity under a borrowed Name, because he neither could, nor dared, do it under his own." This is more subtle, than solid; for, when the *Ephesians* consecrated the Statue, they had no other Intention, than to honour Apollonius, and only made use of the Title of *Hercules* ἀπολλωνιάδου, or *Alexicacus*, to denote, that Apollonius had delivered them from a Plague. It is probable there was no Artifice in this: Apollonius did not endeavour to conceal himself under a borrowed Name, for fear his own should raise Scruples in the Minds of the People. Here, then, is a fair Testimony produced by *Lactantius*, in proof of the Worship, which was still paid to our Apollonius, in the beginning of the fourth Century. But, with all the Respect due to this Father of the Church, I cannot persuade myself, that the Inhabitants of Tyana had discontinued their Veneration, or that the Images of Apollonius were removed out of all the Temples (24). I find, in *Eusebius*, that, in his Time, a Report was spread, that many things were performed, by invoking the Name of Apollonius. Ἀντίχα τὸν οὖν εἰσὶν οἱ ἀπειρηγμένοι μνηστῆρες τῆ τοῦ ἀπολλωνίου ἀνακλιμένης ἀποστολῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας λέγουσιν (25). Neque vero hodie quæque desunt, qui expertos se dicant ejus nomini invocato magicas inesse virtutes, ad superstitionis quædam peragenda. He calls them

(20) Lampridius in Alexandro Severo, c. 29.

(21) In Hierocli. p. 476, 477. apud Tillemont, pag. 220.

(22) Tillemont. ibid.

(23) Lactantius. Divin. Institut. l. 5. c. 3.

(24) See the Preface of Vopiscus, in the foregoing Remark.

(25) Eusebius. In Hierocli. p. 547.

(16) Philostratus ubi supra, lib. 8. cap. 8.

(17) Hierocli. Dio. lib. 77. pag. 878. C. apud Tillemont, pag. 219.

(18) Lampridius. p. 123. apud eundem.

(19) Vopiscus in Aureliano, cap. 24.

since lost [G]. Mention is made of another Philosopher, called likewise *Apollonius* of *Tyana* [H], who lived in the Reign of the Emperor *Adrian*. I know not of what Sect he was; but every one knows, that our *Apollonius* was a rigid *Pythagorean*. He made such an open Profession of his Belief of a *Metempsychosis*, that he caused a Lion to be adored, under pretence, that the Soul of *Amasis* (l) was united to the Body of That Beast (m). His Life is translated from the Greek of *Philostratus* (n) into French by *Blaise de Vigenere*, with a very ample Commentary by *Arius Thomas*, Lord of *Embry*, a *Parisian*. It is not long, since an *English* Translation of This Life, with

Notes,

(n) The Trans-
lation is,
that Fed.
Morel, Re-
der, and In-
terpreter to
the King, re-
vised, & d-
corrected this
Version, ex-
actly, by the
Greek Original.
It was
printed at
Paris, 1611,
in two Vols
in 4to.

(l) A King
of Egypt.

(m) Philostr.
lib. 5. c. 15.

(26) Marcell.
lin. ad Au-
gustin. Epist.
III. inter
Augustini
Epistolae.

(27) Citation
(2).

(28) August.
Epist. 4. pag.
23.

(29) Id. E-
pist. 49. p.
208.

(30) Eunap.
de Vit. Phi-
lostrati. Pref.
pag. 11. I
make use of
Tillemont's
Words, Hist.
des Emper.
Tom. 2. p.
22.

them magical or superstitious; but there can be no doubt, that many Pagans took them for real Miracles. I find, in *St. Austin*, that, in his Time, the Christians were so pressed with the chimerical Parallel between the Miracles of *Apollonius*, and Those of *JESUS CHRIST*, and by the ridiculous Pretence, that the first equalled, or even surpassed, the latter, that they had recourse to this great Light of the Church for a Solution of this Difficulty. "Sed tamen etiam ego in hac parte qui PLURIMIS, quicquid rescripseris, PROFUTURUM esse confido, precator accesserim, ut ad ea VIOLANTUS respondere digneris, in quibus nihil amplius Dominum, quam alii homines facere potuerunt, fecisse vel gessisse mentiantur. APOLLONIUM liquidum suum nobis & Apuleium alioquin magice artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendent extitisse miracula (26)."

----- On this Occasion, I add my Request, that you, whose Reply, whatever it be, will be of use to many, would condescend to exert your utmost Efforts in refuting the false Pretences of these Objectors, who would place the Works of Our Lord on a Level with the Actions of meer Men. For they produce against Him Their APOLLONIUS, and Apuleius, and other Dealers in Magic, whose Miracles they assert to have been greater than His." Then it was, that *St. Austin* declared, what you have read in the Body of the Article (27), that *Apollonius Tyaneus* was superior to *Jupiter*; which, by the way, ought to put some modern Divines to the Blush, who will not allow, that the want of the Knowledge of God was a less Evil, than the Worship of the abominable Pagan Deities, who, in *St. Austin's* Opinion, were even worse than Magicians. "Quis autem vel risu dignum non putet, quod APOLLONIUM & Apuleium caterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre CHRISTO vel etiam præferre conantur, quamquam TOLERABILIUS ferendum sit quando illos ei potius comparent quam Deos suos: multo enim melior, quod fatendum est, Apollonius fuit, quam tot stuprorum actor & perpetrator, quem Jovem nominant (28).----- But who does not think it even Matter of Laughter, that they should pretend to compare APOLLONIUS and Apuleius, and others, skilful in Art Magic, to CHRIST, and even to give them the Preference; though the Comparison of such Persons with CHRIST is more tolerable, than That of their Gods: for we must confess, that Apollonius was much better, than Their Jupiter, as they call him, the Author and Perpetrator of so many Acts of Lewdness." The same Father observes, that "the Pagans, who laughed at the History of *Jonas*, would have believed a like Adventure to be true, if reported of Apuleius, or Apollonius Tyaneus, or any of Those, to whom they gave the Name of Magicians, or Philosophers." "Si hoc quod de *Jona scriptum est, Apuleius Madurensis, vel Apollonius Tyaneus, fecisse diceretur, quorum multa mira, nullo fidei auctore, jactitant.----- si de istis ut dixi, quos Magos vel Philosophos laudabiter nominant, tale aliquid narraretur, non jam in buccis creparet risus, sed typhus (29). Upon the whole, I find, that, in the beginning of the fifth Century, "Eunapius wrote, that Apollonius was not so much a Philosopher, as something between a God and a Man; and that *Philostratus* ought to have entitled the History, which he wrote of him, *The Descent of a God upon Earth* (30). Am I to blame then, in affirming, that Apollonius's Honour continued as long as Paganism?"*

It remains only, that I answer *Eusebius's* Authority, by which Mr de Tillemont endeavours to support himself. And this is easily done; since it is plain, from the Facts now alleged, that *Eusebius*

gives into an *Hyperbole*, which has not the least shadow of Truth. How can it be true, that, in *Eusebius's* Time, no one did Apollonius the Honour to call him a Philosopher, when *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in the same Century, occasionally speaking of a Fountain, which was near *Tyana*, failed not to remember Apollonius with this Elogy, "Ubi amplius simus ille Philosophus Apollonius traditur natus (31). "----- Where the most celebrated Philosopher Apollonius is reported have been born." I should chuse, for the Honour of *Eusebius*, to say, that he was speaking of *Philostratus*; so that his meaning will be, that it is not necessary to refuse at large the Dreams of *Philostratus*, since he is an Author of no Repute, and not so much as ranked in the Number of Philosophers. I confess there is some Difficulty in this Explication; but it is plain, that *Eusebius's* Design was to attack the Phantom of *Philostratus*, and not the true Apollonius. Does he not declare, that he had always esteemed Apollonius as a learned Man, and allow, that he deserves to be ranked, with all imaginable Honour, among the Philosophers? That he only rejects the fabulous and supernatural Virtues, which *Philostratus*, and some other Panegyrist, ascribed to him, and that, in direct Opposition to *Philostratus*, he will shew, that Apollonius, as described by Him, is unworthy to be ranked, not only among the Philosophers, but even among Men of moderate Virtue; So far is he from coming into any Competition with *JESUS CHRIST*. Μόνον επισημασάμεθα τὴν τῷ φιλοσόφῳ γράφην δι' ἧς εὐ-δυνάμην ὡς ἐχ' ὅτι γε ἐν φιλοσόφοις ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπικείροις καὶ μετριοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἔχκεται, ἐχ' ὅπως τὸ σῶντ' ἡμῶν Χριστὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀπολλωνίον (32). Unum modo penitus *Philostrati* historiam, ex hac enim certis rationibus convincemus Apollonium non inter Philosophos locum, ac ne inter medicos quidem ac usitate prohibitis viros dignum sortiri, nedum sit ille Salvatori nostro ratione aliqua conferendus.

[G] He left some Works, which have been long since lost. He wrote four Books of *Judicial Astrology* (33), and a Treatise On *Sacrifices*, shewing what was to be offered to each Deity (34). This last Piece became very famous: *Eusebius* cites it (35): *Suidas* also mentions it, and adds to it a Testament, a Collection of Oracles and Letters, and The Life of *Pythagoras* (36). The Theology, of which *Eusebius* cites a Passage (37), is perhaps the same Piece, with the Treatise On *Sacrifices*. Apollonius wrote a great Number of Letters, some of which *Philostratus* has inserted in his History; all of them very short. The Hymn on Memory was not composed by Apollonius, as Mr de Tillemont pretends. He cites the eleventh Chapter of the first Book of *Philostratus*, pag. 18. I have not met with any such thing, there; but only, that Apollonius, at the Age of an hundred Years, had a better Memory, than *Simonides*; and that he often sung the Hymn, which *Simonides* had composed in the praise of Memory. *Suidas* reports this so confusedly, that he seems to say, that Apollonius composed This Piece. *König* was deceived by it. See the Forty ninth Page of his *Bibliotheca*. The Testament, mentioned by *Suidas* Διαθήκη, is, without doubt, the same Book, which *Philostratus* cites in these Words: Καὶ Διαθήκαι δὲ τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γεγραμμαι παρ' ἑν ὑπάρχον μαθεῖν ὡς ὑποθεσάων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐγένετο (38). Apollonius wrote likewise some Memoirs, from whence we may learn how rapturously fond he was of Philosophy.

[H] Mention is made of another Philosopher, called likewise Apollonius of Tyana. Suidas is the Author, who mentions him, on the Credit of *Agripphon*, who wrote a Book concerning Persons of the same Name, περὶ ὁμωνύμων, de homonymis. This brings to my Mind, that a learned Man, whom I have already cited (39),

(31) Amm.
Marcell. lib.
23. cap. 6.
pag. 370.

(32) Euseb.
in Hierocl.
pag. 514.

(33) Plag.
ἀστρολογίας
ἀστρολογίας.
De
Dictione
Astrorum.
Philstr. in
Vita Apoll.
lib. 3. c. 13.

(34) Id. ib.
See likewise
lib. 4. cap. 6.

(35) Euseb.
Prepar. E-
vang. lib. 4.
cap. 13. pag.
150.

(36) Suid. in
Ἀπολλωνίῳ
66. p. 376.

(37) Euseb.
Demonstr.
Evang. lib.
3. cap. 3.
pag. 105.

(38) Philo-
strat. in Vit.
Apollon. lib.
1. cap. 3.

Notes, gave great Offence to pious Minds [I]. It has been condemned, prohibited, and anathematized, and not without Reason. I take notice of it in my Remarks. Had we what a cotemporary Philosopher, named *Euphrates*, satirically wrote against *Apollonius*, we should be furnished with an ample Detail of Scandal; for, when such Rivals once declare War against each other, they bring many Secrets to Light. *Philostatus* has reason to alledge This *Euphrates*'s Silence, as an Argument to convince those of Calumny, who reproached *Apollonius* with Unchastity, and boldly to maintain, that *Apollonius*, even in the Vigour of his Youth, triumphed over Nature, and always lived in a state of strict Continency (o). *Sidonius Apollinaris* has given us a Description of *Apollonius*, which represents him as the greatest of Heroes in Philosophy [K]. The Author of this Description does not forget to make his Excuses to the Catholic Church.

(o) Philostr.
lib. in cap. 8.

(37) Mr de Sallio. See Remark [F], of the Article ALLATI-
US.

cited (39), questions, whether the Ancients wrote any Books, like those of *Leo Allatius*, de *Simeonibus*, de *Pjellis*, &c. He ought not to have questioned it; for, besides *Agrestion*, we can appeal to *Demetrius Magnes*. Some learned Men would add *Dionysius of Sinope*, and *Simarilus*; but they are mistaken. See the Remark [B], of the Article DEMETRIUS (MAGNES).

[I] An English Translation of this Life, — gave great Offence to pious Minds.] The Author of this Translation proceeded no farther, than the third Book exclusively. If he had done nothing more than translate, there would have been no just Cause of Complaint; but to this Translation he has subjoined a great Number of Annotations, which he borrowed, for the most part, from a Manuscript of the famous *Baron Herbert*, a great Deist, if we may believe many Persons. They, who have read these Annotations, have assured me, that they are full of Poison; that they tend to destroy Revealed Religion, and to bring the Holy Scriptures into Contempt. The Author does not carry on this Design by Arguments, gravely and seriously proposed, but almost continually by prophane Jest, and little Subtilties; so that it was not without Reason, and Justice, that this Book, which was printed in London, in the Year 1680 (40), was prohibited under severe Penalties. This new Translator of *Philostatus* was an English Gentleman, whose Name was *Charles Blount*. In the Year 1693, he published a Treatise, the Title of which was, *The Oracles of Reason*, and accompanied it with some other small Pieces of the same Stamp. The same Year he died a tragical Death. He was greatly in Love with his Brother's Widow; and pretended, he might marry her without committing Incest; and even wrote a Treatise to prove it; but, seeing no likelihood of obtaining the Church's Consent, he fell into Despair, and killed himself. See the History of the Works of the Learned (41). To return; Mr de Tillemont, speaking of those, who had wrote the Life of *Apollonius*, stops at *Philostatus*. Let us advance farther. *Nicomachus*, who lived in the Reign of *Aurelian*, wrote the Life of *Apollonius*, on That, which *Philostatus* had composed; *Tasius Victorianus* wrote another upon That of *Nicomachus*. *Sidonius Apollina-*

(40) The Title specifies the Year 1680. It must have been concealed for several Years; for it was not condemned 'till 1693.

(41) Memoirs of November, 1693, pag. 135, 136.

(a) Some call him Peter d'Avana.

APONA (a) (PETER of) in Latin PETRUS APONENSIS, or APONUS, one of the most famous Philosophers, and Physicians, of his Times, was born in the Year 1250 (b), in a Village situated four Miles from *Padua*. He studied a long time at *Paris*, where he was promoted to the Degrees of Doctor in Philosophy and Physic [A]. I cannot tell whether he died very rich; but I have read

[A] He studied a long time at Paris, where he was promoted to the Degrees of Doctor in Philosophy and Physic.] *Naudé* takes notice of this, in a Speech, in which he extols the ancient Glory of the University of *Paris*, as much as possible. Let us produce his Words at length, because they incidently inform us, that *Peter of Apona* composed That great Work at *Paris*, which procured him the Appellation of *The Reconciler*. "Prodeat tandem *Petrus Aponensis* ab "ignifi libro, quem, dum vestras scholas frequenta- "ret, edidit, Conciliatoris nomen adeptus: Certe "latabat in Italia, nulli propè cognita, nullis aliis "disciplinis, nullis artibus, nedum propriis, exulta, "nulla denique, vel linguarum cognitione, vel Phi- "losophiæ nitore, decorata Medicina; cum ecce tu- "telaris illius genius, ex Aponensis balnei pago, I-

ris wrote a third, and followed the Plan of *Victorianus*, rather than That of *Nicomachus* (42). We read, in *Suidas*, That *Soterichus*, a Native of *Oxyris* in *Egypt*, had composed the Life of *Apollonius*. This Author lived in the Reign of *Aurelian*. I cannot imagine on what Ground *Savaron* builds, when he reckons *Plutarch* among those, who had written the Life of our *Apollonius* (43).

[K] *Sidonius Apollinaris* has given us a Description of *Apollonius*, which represents him as the greatest of Heroes in Philosophy.] That every one may judge of this, let us here produce the Words of *Sidonius Apollinaris*. He had written the Life of *Apollonius*; and, sending it to a Counsellor of *Evarigis*, King of the *Goths*, he addresses him after this manner. "Le- "ge virum (fidei Catholicæ pace præfata) in pluri- "mis similem tui, id est, à divitiis ambitum, nec "divitiis ambientem; cupidum scientiæ, continen- "tem pecuniæ; inter epulas abstinentem, inter pur- "puratos linteatum, inter slabastros censorium: Con- "cretum, hispidum, hirsutum, in medio nationum "delibutarum; atque inter satrapas regum tiarato- "rum myrrhatos, pumicatos, malobatratos, venera- "bili squalore pretiosum. Cumque proprio nihil "esui aut induitui de pecude conferret, regibus ob "hoc, quæ pererravit, non tam suspitioni, quam "fuisse suspectui: & fortuna regum sibi in omnibus "obsecundante, illa tantum beneficia poscentem, "quæ mage sit suctus, oblata præstare, quam sume- "re (44). — Read (by the Catholic Church's Per- "mission) this Life of a Person, in many things not "unlike yourself; that is, one courted by the Rich, "but not courting Riches; covetous of Science, but "moderate in his Desire of Wealth; at Ban- "quets, abstemious; amidst those in Purple, habited "himself in Linnen; amidst sweet Ointments and "Perfumes, a rigid Censor of Manners; amidst a "Race of Pops, rough and unpolished; and amidst "perfumed and smooth Courtiers, valuable for his "venerable Unattire. And, as he was not indebted "to his own Flock either for Food or Raiment, he "was the Admiration, rather than Jealousy, of the "Countries he travelled over; and, having the For- "tunes of Kings ever at his Command, he asked no "other Favours, than such as he was wont rather "to bestow, when offered, than receive."

(42) Ex *Sido-*
doni Apol-
linaris Epist.
3, lib. 8.

(43) *Savaron*,
in *Sidon. A-*
pollin. pag.
498.

(44) *Sidon.*
Apollin. E-
pist. 3, lib.
8. pag. 486.

(b) *Jacobus*
Philippus
Tomasinus,
Elog. illustr.
Vir. p. 22.

"taliam ab ignorantie barbarie, velut alter Camil-
lus Romam à Gallorum obsequio, liberaturus, di-
ligenter inquit, ubinam gentium humaniores li-
teræ felicius excolebantur, Philosophia subtilius
traderetur, Medicina purius & solidius edocere-
tur: cumque recessisset uni Luteriæ hanc laudem
deberi, in eam statim involat, illius gremio totum
se tradit, Philosophiæ, Medicinæque mysteriis fe-
dulo incumbit, gradum & lauream in utraque con-
sequitur, utramque postea celebrissime docet, &
post diuturnam annorum moram divitiis vestris
onustus, imo Philosophus, Medicus, Astrologus,
Mathematicus suæ tempestatis præstantissimus, in
patriam suam revertitur, & primus omnium Scar-
dæoni viri gravissimi judicio, synceram Philoso-
phiam, & Medicinam illi restituit. Unde gratitu-
5 D "dinis

(c) In Re-
mark [C].

(d) Toma-
sin. Elog.
Vir. Illustr.
P. 24.

that, if he had lived to the End of his Trial, he would have suffered, in Person, what he was sentenced to suffer in Effigie after his Death. We shall relate (c), what his Apologists observe, that His Body, being privately taken out of it's Grave, by his Friends, escaped the Vigilance of the Inquisitors, who would have condemned it to be burnt [D]. He was removed from Place to Place, and at last deposited in St *Augustin's* Church, without Epitaph, or any other Mark of Honour (d). His Accusers ascribed inconsistent Opinions to him; they charge him with being a Magician, and yet with denying the Existence of Devils [E]. He had such an Antipathy to Milk, that the very seeing any one drink it turned his Stomach (e). He

(e) Merckli-
us, in *Li-
berio reno-
vato*, pag.
879. Erc-
herus, in
Theatro,
pag. 1203.
He cites
Marcellus
Donatus, and
Math. de
Gradibus.

|| Lib. 1. de
Patientia.
cap. 3.

† Anglerg.
Part II. cap.
21. Quest.
2.

•• Book 4.
chap. 3.

"*Heresy by the Inquisition, as one, who opposed the Doctrine of Spiritual Beings. To which may be added, that, upon this account, Baptista Mantuanus* || calls him, Virum magnæ, sed nimium audacis temerariæque doctrinæ. — *One, whose Doctrine was great, but too bold and rash; That Cosmannus* † reckons him in the Number of those, who ascribed all Miracles to Nature, and that *le Loyer* affirms, in his Apparitions **, that he laughed at Sorcerers, and their Nocturnal Meetings: Whence one would wonder, why the same Authors reckon him frequently among the Enchanters and Magicians; if it were not the Prædile of those, who write on such Subjects, so to swell their Books, by copying all they find in Authors, that it is with Difficulty they observe the Precept of the Poet;

(15) Horat.
Ars Poet.

Primo ne medium, medio ne discrepet inum (15).

All should be uniform and of a Piece.

After this, his Apologist declares, That " he can justify him both from the Crimes of Magic and Atheism, " as well by the Testimony, which the illustrious and religious *Frederick, Duke of Urbino*, " has been pleased to give to his Merit, by placing " his Statue among those of the famous Men, which " are to be seen in his Citadel; as also by the public Attestation of the City of *Padua*, which has " set up his Effigies over the Gate of it's Town- " house, with those of *Livy, Albertus, and Julius Paulus*, and with this Inscription on the Base. " *Petrus Aponus Patavinus Philosophiæ Medicinæ- " que scientissimus, ob idque Conciliatoris nomen " adeptus; Astrologiæ vero adeo peritus, ut in Ma- " gicæ suspicionem incidere, falsoque de hæresi po- " tuitatus, absolutus fuerit* (16). — *Petrus Aponus* of *Padua*, very learned in Philosophy and Physics; whence he had the Name of The Reconciler; " and so expert in Astrology, that he was suspected " of Magic, and being accused of Heresy, was acquit- " ted. — But, adds be (17), fully to expose the " Fallhood of these Objections, we may reply to " what *Ludwigus* †† has said of the seven Spirits, " which taught him the seven Liberal Arts, that this " fabulous Report took it's Rise from what the " same *Peter of Apona* ||| affirms, after *Albumazar*, " that the Prayers, which are made to God, when " the Moon is in Conjunction with *Jupiter*, in " the Head of the *Dragon*, are readily heard; " and that, having requested for himself, (to use his " own Terms) *sapientiam à primo, visus est sibi in illa amplius proficere*. Upon which account, many " Authors justly deride him for so indifferently dis- " owning all his Watchings and Labours, and for " ascribing his Knowledge wholly to the Superstition of this Prayer; which cannot but be vain, and fruitless, in whatever Sense it be taken. For " if you say, it is addressed to the Planets, it is gross " Stupidity to believe, that they can hear it; if to " God, I would willingly know, whether he was " deaf before this Conjunction, or whether he " will not hear our Prayers without it, or whether " it can force and necessitate him to condescend " to the Petitions, which are then made to him. And " hence it is, that *John Picus* ††, speaking of this " new *Solomon*, had reason to say, Consulere Petro isti ut totum quod profecit suæ potius industria ingenioque acceptum referret, quam Jovis illi suæ supplicationi. — I would advise this " *Peter to confess himself indebted, for all his Know- " ledge, to his own Industry and Genius, rather than " to this Planetary Prayer*. It may be said, likewise, " in answer to the Proofs, which are brought for the

(16) This In-
scription is
in *Tomasin*,
in *Elog. II*.
Illustr. viror.
pag. 23.

(17) Naudé
ubi supra,
pag. 388.

†† Dæmo-
nomagie,
Quest. 16.

||| Differen-
tia CLVI.

II Lib. 4.
advers. A-
strolog. cap.
8.

" three Books, published under his Name, that " they are no less falsely ascribed to him, than many " others are to almost all other great Wits; witness " *Tribemius's* * not allowing them to be genuine, " on account of the many Fables, which have been " forged, in relation to this Author; and his having " said before, in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Wri- " ters, that he did not believe what was said of " the Magic Art of *Petrus Aponensis*, because he " had never seen any Book of his on this Subject. " If to this you will farther add the Silence of " all the Librarians, and the Confirmation, which " *Symphorian Champier* † gives to this Autho- " rity of *Tribemius*, when he affirms, that he had " never seen any of his magical Books, excepting " only some Disputations, in which he treats of it " incidentally; I believe nothing can prevent our ac- " knowledging his Innocence, and supposing, with " the better Sort, that all the Suspicions of Magic Art, " which have been thrown upon him, proceed, as " from their true Spring and Origin, from the Power, " which he attributes to it, in the CLVI Disputa- " tion of his *Conciliator*, and from the Predictions, " which he might make by Virtue of Astrology; " on which, by Length of Time, All These Fables " and Chimeras have been grafted; according to " the true Observation of *Propertius*.

Omnia post obitum pingit majora vetustas *.

Time magnifies each Object, after Death.

Remark the following Errors of Mr de *Clavigni de Sainte Honorine*. He pretends, that the Effigies of *Peter of Apona*, made by Order of the Duke of *Urbino*, stands in the Market-Place of *Padua*, with Those of *Livy, Albertus, and Julius Paulus*, and that the Inscription contains *Astrologiæ adeo peritus, ut in magicæ suspicionem venerit* (18). I. The Statue, under which these Words are inscribed, is not in the Market-Place of *Padua*, but over one of the Gates of the Town-house. In *Una Portarum Prætorii Patavini* (19). II. The Statue, which the Duke of *Urbino* caused to be erected, was not set up in *Padua*, but in the Castle of This Duke. III. The Words, which Mr de *Clavigni* mentions, are not on it's Pedestal. See *TOMASINI* (20).

[D] The Inquisitors, who would have condemned his Body to be burnt. *Peter of Apona*, being accused of Magic and Heresy, died during his Trial, and was buried in the Church of St *Anthony*. All the Zealots were scandalized at it: The Inquisitors continued the Process, and, having convicted him, by his Writings, of Impiety, they condemned his Body to the Flames; but, when they could not find it, they ordered his Effigies to be publicly burnt. This is what we read in *Spondanus* (21). But how can we reconcile this with the Inscription, which the Magistrates of *Padua* caused to be put under the Statue of This Physician, and in which they declare, that he was acquitted. *Petrus Romanus* reports, that the Inquisitors, having publicly read the Sentence of Condemnation against *Peter of Apona*, caused his Effigies to be burnt. He observes likewise, that they could not find his Body; his Concubine *Mariette* having privately taken him out of his Grave by Night, and hid him a ruinous Sepulchre (23).

[E] They charged him with being a Magician, and yet with denying the Existence of Devils. We have seen (24) what Advantage his Apologist makes of this Contradiction; but he ought to have taken notice, that *Bodin* ranks *Peter of Apona* among those Sorcerers, who, to elude judicial Proceedings, maintain, that all that is said of Devils, and Magic, is a Chimera. *Bodin* declares, that he wrote his Book

* Anti-
pali, lib. 1.
cap. 3.

† Tractat.
4. lib. de
claris Medi-
cinæ Scrip-
toribus.

* Eleg. 2.
lib. 3.

(18) Clavi-
gni de St.
Honorine,
Lecturæ des
livres sus-
pects, pag.
101, 102.

(19) Tomas.
Elog. Viror.
Illustr. pag.
23.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Spon-
danus An-
nal. Ecclesi.
ad ann.
1516, n. 8.
Hæres Scar-
deon. Hist.
Patavinæ,
lib. 2, class.
9.

(23) St Ro-
manni, Jour-
nal Chronol.
& Histori-
que. Decem-
b. 31.
He cites Ber-
nard Scarde-
on.

(24) In Re-
mark [C].

died in the Year 1316, in the Sixty sixth Year of his Age [F]. One of his principal Books was That, to which he gave the Title of *Conciliator*. They tell a very ridiculous Story of him; namely, that, having no Well in his own House, and a Neighbour forbidding his Servant Maid to fetch any more Water at His Well; he caused the Devils to remove his Neighbour's Well into the Street (f). He had much better have employed his Devils in making a Well to his own House, and stopping up his Neighbour's, or at least in removing his Neighbour's Well into his own Yard, rather than into the Street.

(f) Tomaso Garfani, Piazza universale di tutte le Professioni, discorso 135 fol. 365. verio.

(2) Bodin's Preface to his *Demonomanie des Sorciers*, pag. 5. See also chap. 5. pag. 71.

(16) Tomadini, in *E-log. Viror.* pag. 22.

(27) Paulus Frcher. in *Theatro*, pag. 209.

of the *Demonomania* of Sorcerers, among other Reasons, "to serve as an Answer to those, who endeavour, by printed Books, as far as possible, to excuse Sorcerers; inasmuch that it seems as if they were influenced by the Devil himself, to publish these fine Books; such was *Peter of Apona*, a Physician, who endeavoured to demonstrate, that there were no Spirits; and yet it was afterwards affirmed, that he was one of the greatest Sorcerers of *Italy* (25)."

[F] He died in the Year 1316, in the Sixty sixth Year of his Age.] So we read, in an Inscription mentioned by *Tomadini* (26). If this be true, it must be confessed, that *Naudé* is mistaken, when he says, that *Peter of Apona*, being accused at the Age of eighty Years, died in the Year 1305. *Frederus* says the same thing, upon the Authority of *Bernardin Sardon* (27). Let us observe, likewise, that *Gesner* is mistaken in

making *Peter of Apona* flourish in the Year 1320 (28). *König* has copied This Error (29). But *Father Rapin* is much more grossly mistaken than any of them, when he places him in the sixteenth Century. "*Peter of Apona*, says he (30), a Physician of *Padua*, who flourished under *Clement VII*, debauched his Imagination so far by reading the *Arabian Philosophers*, and by too frequent poring on the *Astrology of Alfraganus*, that he was put into the Inquiry on Suspicion of Magic." *Vossius* has followed *Gesner*, and makes an Observation, which deserves to be considered. He says, that *Peter of Apona* lent his Book *de Medicina omnimoda* to *Pope John XXII*, who was elected in the Year 1316, and held the Chair seventeen Years (31). By this we know the Age of This Physician. But, if the Year 1316 was That of his Death, the Conclusion is not just, nor does it acquit *Vossius* of an Error.

(28) *Gesner*, in *Biblioth.* fol. 544.

(29) *König*, *Bibl. vet. & nova*, pag. 49.

(30) *Rapin*, *Reflex. sur la Philosophie*, n. 28. pag. 360.

(31) *Vossius*, *de Scient. Mathem.* pag. 181.

APROSIO (ANGELICO) born at *Vintimiglia*, on the River of *Genoa*, the Twenty ninth of *October* 1607, was well esteemed among the Learned, and wrote a great Number of Books. His Family produced several learned Men (a). He was but Fifteen Years of Age, when he entered himself in the Order of the *Augustins*; where his Abilities procured him the Office of Vicar-General of the Congregation of our Lady of Consolation at *Genoa* (b). When he had finished his Studies, he was thought sufficiently qualified to teach others; accordingly he taught Philosophy for Five Years, and afterwards travelled into several Parts of *Italy*; and, in the Year 1639, fixed his Residence at *Venice*, in *St Stephen's* Convent, where he taught polite Literature (c). One thing, which contributed very much to his Renown, was the *Bibliothèque* of the *Augustins* of *Vintimiglia*, which was intirely his own Work, and a singular Proof of his Love of Books, and the Care he took to understand them thoroughly (d). He published a Book concerning this *Bibliothèque*, which is much esteemed by the Curious (A). Besides he took great Pleasure in disguising himself under fictitious Names in the Front of his Works. Perhaps he durst not write, in his own Name, on Matters so little conformable to a Religious Life, as the Con-

(a) See the following Article.

(b) Michel Iustiniani, *Scrittori Liguri*, pag. 63.

(c) *Philippus Elsius*, in *Encomiasticis Augustinianis*, apud *Iustinianum*, pag. 67.

(d) *Raffaell*, *opere*, li. critici della Liguria, pag. 21.

[A] He published a Book concerning this *Bibliothèque*, which is much esteemed by the Curious.] Mr *Morhof* had heard much talk of this Book, but did not know, that it was printed. He mentions it in several Parts of his *Polybistor* (1), published in the Year 1688; but always as one, who believed, that this Piece had not yet appeared from the Press. It is, nevertheless, certain, that the *Bibliotheca Aprosiana* was printed at *Bologna*, in the Year 1673; and that *Martin Fogelius* (2), Professor at *Hamburg*, had a Copy of it, as Mr *Morhof* might have seen in the Catalogue of That Professor's Books; for he cites this Catalogue (3), which was printed in the Year 1678. This is what *Placcius* observes in his *Invitatio Amica*, published at *Hamburg*, in the Year 1689. He adds, that he has mentioned this Work of *Aprosio* among his Pseudonymous Pieces (4), and refers us to the Annotations on the Catalogue of *Rhodi* (5). In Effect, he informs us, in the One hundred and fiftieth Page of his Pseudonymous Pieces, that he was informed, by a Letter from Mr *Magliabecchi* to *Martin Fogelius*, that *Aprosio*, disguised under the Name of *Cornelio Aprosio Antivigilini traxi i Vagabondi di Tabbia detto L'Aggirato*, had published a Book in 12mo, in the Year 1673, intitled *Bibliotheca Aprosiana, passa tempo Autennale*. In the Annotations on the Catalogue of *Rhodi*, there is a Doubt raised on what *Scavenius* had said, that *Aprosio* had composed a Book entituled, *Bibliotheca Apocryphorum*, in which he re-ferred many Pieces to their true Authors (6). The Reason of this Doubt is, that the Book, intitled *Bibliotheca Apocryphorum*, is not to be found in the Catalogues of the Works of *Aprosio*, but only the *Bibliotheca Aprosiana*. Now it is supposed, that *Scavenius* might, by a natural Mistake, metamorphose *Aprosio* into *Apocrypha*. It is something strange, that *Father*

Oldoini has not mentioned the *Bibliotheca Aprosiana, passa tempo Autennale*, since he did not publish his *Athenaeum Ligusticum* till the Year 1680. It is true, he places the *Bibliotheca Aprosiana* & *Antiquitates Abintimillenses* among the Works of *Aprosio*; but in such a manner, as to persuade us, that this Work had never been printed. Mr *Teiffier*, in the Year 1686, leaves more room for doubt, than for deciding any thing in this Matter (7). Mr *Morhof* observes, that Mr *Leti* quotes an Author, who has cited the second Volume of the *Bibliotheca Aprosiana*. "Pro-ducit Idem Leti, ex Abbate Libanoro, pag. 379, locum quo tomus secundus Bibliothecae Aprosianae citatur, quo multi continentur ab Hieron. Savanorola manuscripti libri (8).—The same Leti produces a Passage, from the Abbot Libanorus, p. 379, where the second Volume of the Bibliotheca Aprosiana is cited, in which are contained many manuscript Works of Jerome Savanorola."

This Citation of *Leti* is very just; and for this, and other Reasons, I am strongly persuaded, that *Morhof* does not alledge the *Italia regnante* on the Credit of others, but that he had read it himself. How comes it, then, that he does not know, that the *Bibliotheca Aprosiana* was printed at *Bologna*, by the *Manoleffi*, in the Year 1673, in 12mo? Does not Mr *Leti* positively affirm it, in the Three hundred seventy seventh Page of the fourth Part of his *Italia regnante*, and does he not cite sufficiently long Passages out of This Work of *Aprosio*? He adds, that the Author, having carried on the Relation of his own Life as far as the Two hundred sixty second Page, mentions afterwards, to Page 666, several Authors, who had given in their Works to him (9); and that this first Volume contains only the Writers, whose Names begin either with the Letters A, B, or C.

(7) *Catalog. Auct. Bibliothecae*, pag. 18.

(8) *Morhof*, *Polybist.* pag. 38.

(9) *Narrando la sua vita con l'inserto varie curiosità intorno ad A. m. i. suoi. Leti, Ital. Reg. Parte 1v. pag. 38.*

tests between the Wits about the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini* [B], or such like Matters [C]. Or, perhaps, he was naturally fond of inventing different Allusions, and in puzzling those, who are eager to unmask a disguised Author. He loved this Employ well enough himself [D]. Be that as it will, if you consult the Authors, who have given us a Catalogue of the *Ligurian Writers* (e), you will find, by the Titles of his Works, that he gives himself an hundred fictitious Names, sometimes That of *Mafoto Galifioni*, sometimes That of *Carlo Galifioni*, sometimes That of *Scipio Glareano*, sometimes That of *Sapricio Saprici*, and at other times That of *Oldauro Scioppio*, &c. His Life is to be met with in the Work intituled *Biblioteca Aprosiana*. Several Authors have given him great Commendations; and some perhaps have exceeded the Bounds of Reason (f). He was admitted, among other Academies, into That of the Incogniti of Venice; as appears by the Book [E] intituled, *Le Glorie de gli Incogniti, ovvero gli Huomini illustri dell' Accademia de' i Signori Incogniti di Venetia*; — *The Glory of The Incogniti, or the Illustrious Men of the Academy of the Incogniti at Venice*; where his Elogy appears at large. He was living in the Year 1680, when *Oldaini* published his *Albenaum Lygisticum*.

He believes, that the following Volumes will speedily be printed; but he had been assured, that the second was not; from whence he concludes, that Father *Libanori*, who quotes it, had only seen it in Manuscript (10). This Work of Mr *Leti* was printed in the Year 1676.

[B] He durst not write in his own Name — concerning the Contests between the Wits about the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*.] The Cavalier *Stigliani*, having published the Book of the *Obiale*, or *The Spectacle*, which is a severe Censure of the *Adonis*, found himself attacked on all sides (11). It appeared plainly, upon this Occasion, how much Italy was infatuated with the *Adonis*: They run to this Controversy as it were to put out a Fire: But, among the many Persons, who took Pen in Hand in Defence of the Cavalier *Marini*, none showed more Zeal for the *Adonis*, nor more Heat against the Enemies of That Poem, than Father *Aprolo* de *Vinimiglia*, Hermit of St *Augustin* (12). He published the *Ochiale* Stritolato di *Scipio Glareano* per risposta al Signor Cavalier Frà *Tomafo Stigliani* (13). — — — La Sferza poetica di *Sapricio Saprici*, lo *Scantonato* Accademico *Heteroclitico*, per risposta alla prima censura dell' *Adone* del Cavalier *Marino*, fatta dal Cavalier *Tomafo Stigliani* (14). — Del *Veratro*, Apologia di *Sapricio Saprici*, per risposta alla seconda censura dell' *Adone* del Cavalier *Marino*, fatta dal Cavalier Frà *Tomafo Stigliani*. — The Spectacles broke to pieces of *Scipio Glareano*, in Answer to Father *Thomafo Stigliani*. — The Poetical Whip of *Sapricio Saprici*, in Answer to the Censure of the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*, made by the Cavalier *Tomafo Stigliani*. — Helibore &c. An Apology of *Sapricio Saprici*, in Answer to a second Censure of the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*, made by the Cavalier *Tomafo Stigliani*. This Work is divided into two Treatises (15); it was Helibore given in two Doses. He had wrote against the same *Stigliani*, Il *Vaglio Critico* di *Maloto Galifioni* da *Terama* sopra il mondo nuovo del Cavalier Frà *Tomafo Stigliani* da *Matera* (16). — Il *Burato*, Replica di *Carlo Galifioni* al *Molino* del Sig. *Carlo Stigliani* (17). — The Poetical Sieve &c. and The Bolting-Cloth &c.

Observe, that *Mafoto Galifioni* da *Terama* is the Anagram of *Tomafo Stigliani* da *Matera*, and that, instead of putting in the Title in *Trivigi* per *Girolamo Rigbetti*, it is put in *Rosbach* per *Willerno Wallop*, because this *Rigbetti* was a Bookseller of small Repute. *Aprolo* mentions this in the Hundred and twelfth and Hundred and thirteenth Pages of the *Biblioteca Aprosiana* (18).

[C] Or such like Matters.] I do not think, that the Disputes, concerning the *Adonis* of the Cavalier *Marini*, were more foreign to a Monastic Profession, than the following Works. Annotationi di *Oldauro Scioppio* all' *Arte degli Amanti* dell' *Illustissimo* Signor *Pietro Michele Nobile Veneto* (19). — Lo *Scudo* di *Rinaldo*, ovvero lo specchio del disinganno, Opera di *Scipio Glareano* (20). — Le *Bellezze* della *Belia* Tragedia dell' *Illustissimo* Signor *D. Antonio Mucettola*, abbozzate da *Oldauro Scioppio* Ac-

cademico Incognito, Geniale, &c. (21). — Annotations of *Oldauro Scioppio* on *The Art of Love of the most Illustrious* Signor *Peter Michael*, a Noble Venetian — *The Shield* of *Rinaldo*, or *the Undeceiving Mirror*, by *Scipio Glareano*. — *A Sketch of the Beauties* of *Belia*, a Tragedy composed by the most Illustrious Signor *D. Antonio Mucettola*, by *Oldauro Scioppio*, of the Academy of the Incogniti, Geniales &c. There are several such like Compositions among the Manuscript Writings of *Angelico Aprolo*. But it must not be dissembled, first, That there are also among them the Lectures, which he read on the Prophet *Jonas*, in the Church of our Lady of *Consolation* at *Genoa*, in the Year 1649, and 1650 (22). Secondly, That, in the Year 1643, he published the *Italian* Translation, which he had made, of the *Spanish* Sermons of *Augustin Oforius*, under the Name of *Oldauro Scioppio*.

[D] He loved this Employ well enough himself.] It is not altogether without Reason, that *Stavenius* relates, that *Aprolo* had wrote a Work, intituled, *Biblioteca Apocryphorum*, in which he restored several Works to their true Authors; for two Pieces are attributed to him; one under the Title of *La visiera alzata Necatasse di alcuni Scrittori che andarono in Maschera fuori del tempo di Carnevale*, — *The Visor pulled off from certain Authors, who appeared in Masquerade out of the Time of the Carnival*; the other, which is only a Sequel of the foregoing, is called *Pentecoste di alcuni Autori anonimi di pseudonimi, scoperiti per Mantiffa della Necatasse della visiera alzata*, — *The Pentecost of certain Anonymous or Pseudonymous Authors, discovered by Mantiffa della Necatasse in The Visor pulled off*. Father *Oldaini* does not inform us, whether these two Pieces were printed, or no; he only says, that *Aprolo* wrote them under a borrowed Name; and by what he quotes in the following Page, *La visiera alzata, evulgata sub nomine Friani Forbotta*, — *The Visor pulled off, published under the Name of Friani Forbotta*; we cannot conclude, that they were printed; for he plainly shews, that this *Forbotta* is a different Person from *Angelico Aprolo* (23). It cannot reasonably be doubted, that the two Pieces, which he attributes to our *Aprolo*, are the same with those mentioned in the Journal of *Leipsic* (24). They were printed at *Parma* in 1689. The Name, which appears in the Front, is *John Peter Villani, de Sienne, Academicien Humorisfe, Infecund, & Genialis*. It appears, that they were dedicated, in the Year 1678, to *Messieurs Magliabecchi*.

[E] As appears by the Book.] It was printed at Venice in the Year 1647, in 4to. Father *Labbe* believed, that *John Francis Loredano* was the Author of it (25); but others are of a contrary Opinion, for this among other Reasons, that the Elogy of *Loredano* in this Book is too pompous to be attributed to *Loredano* himself (26). It is thought, that the Veries at the beginning of this Work, and which do not congratulate *Loredano*, as the Author of it, but as the Founder of the Academy of *The Incogniti*, were the Cause of Father *Labbe's* Error.

(c) Raffael Sopran, & Michel Justiniani in 1660. Augustin Oldaini in 1650.

(f) Magnifica ejus & plene invigilanda Eligia adferuntur à Gregorio Leti, Italia agnate, part. 4. l. b. 3. pag. 377. Morhof Polyhist. p. 38. See also pag. 144.

(21) Printed at Lovano or Loano, in 1664.

(22) Sopran, Scrittori della Liguria, pag. 23.

(23) Ololonus, in Appen. Athen. Liguist.

(24) July, 1689, pag. 353.

(25) Labbe's Biblioth. Bibliothecar. pag. 118. Edit. 1678.

(26) Placcius de Anonym. pag. 115. See in the same Volume the Catal. gus of Rhodius, pag. 23, 26.

APROSIO (PAULO AUGUSTINO) a Lawyer, and Member of the Academy of the *Apatisti* at *Florence*, was born, at *Vinimiglia*, of one of the chief Families of the Town, and which can boast of having produced Nine Doctors of Law, and One of Physic, from the beginning of the XVIIth Century to the Year 1667. He, whom I here mention, having studied under the Jesuits, at *Genoa*, went to *Rome*, to study the

Law. He was admitted Doctor there, in the Year 1449, and afterwards returned home, bought a Collection of curious Books, and retired to a Country House, that he might the more quietly enjoy the Pleasure of reading and composing. He wrote Annotations on the *Belfa* of D. Antonio Muscetola, which were printed with the *Bellezze delle medezima abbozzate da Oldauro Scoppio*, in the Year 1664. When *Soprani*, from whom I borrow this Article, published his Catalogue of the *Ligurian Writers*, in 1667, our *Aprosio* was preparing a large Moral Treatise, concerning the Overthrow of Capital Vices by their opposite Virtues (a). *Oldoini* informs me, that this Work was printed at *Genoa*, in the Year 1674, and dedicated to the Prince of *Monaco*.

(2) Strage de
Vitti capitali
trionfati dal-
le Virtù op-
poite.

APULEIUS (LUCIUS) a Platonic Philosopher, publicly known by the famous Work of the *Golden Ass*, lived in the II^d Century under the *Antonines* [A]. He was a Native of *Madaura*, a Roman Colony in *Africa* [B]. His Family was considerable [C]. He had been well educated, and had a graceful Person; he had Wit, and Learning; but was suspected of Magic; an Infamy, which to this day does great Injury to his Memory. He studied, first at *Carthage*, then at *Athens*; and afterwards

[A] Lived in the second Century under the *Antonines* (1). *Peter Pithæus* rejecting all Those, who say, that *Apuleius* lived after *Theodosius*, proves, that he lived about the time of *Antoninus Pius*, and some time after (2). This Opinion is supported by such good Reasons, that it is generally embraced. It is plain, that *Scipio Orphitius*, *Lollianus Avitus*, *Claudius Maximus*, and *Lollius Urbicius*, of whom *Apuleius* speaks, as Persons then alive, lived under the *Antonines*. Father *Norris* is mistaken in his Criticism on *Elmenhorst*; he charges him with having acknowledged his Ignorance as to the Time when *Apuleius* lived (3), and refers him to two Passages of *Apuleius's* Apology; in one of which *Antoninus* is not filed *Divus*, and in the other mention is made of the Proconsul *Lollianus Avitus*, who was Consul in the Year 144. The Omission of *Divus* is a sufficient Proof, that *Antoninus* was yet living. Father *Norris* would not have been so much mistaken, if the Author, whom he criticises, had not expressed himself as follows: "Quo anno natus (*Apuleius*) non liquido liquet. Verisimiliter tamen postsumus adferere eum temporibus Antonini Pii Divorumque fratrum vixisse. Meminit enim Lolliani Aviti, Lollii Urbicii Pudentis, & Scipionis Orphiti, Coss. qui sub Antonino præcipue flourerunt, summis macti honoribus, ut constat ex L. 3. ff. de his qui testamentis, &c. L. 3. ff. de Decurion (4). --- WHEN *Apuleius* lived, is not certainly known; yet it is probable, it was in the times of *Antonius Pius*, and his Brothers, who preceded him. For he mentions the Consuls, *Lollianus Avitus* *, *Lollius Urbicius Pudentis* †, and *Scipio Orphitius* ‡, who flourished chiefly under *Antoninus*, having been advanced to the greatest Honours, as appears from L. 3. de his qui testamentis, &c." The Passage, in which *Antoninus* is not filed *Divus*, contains the Reproaches, which *Apuleius* made to his Wife's Son, on his exposing his Mother's Love-Letters. "Hucusque à vobis miserum istum puerum depravatam, ut matris suæ epistolâs, quas putat amatorias, pro tribunali Proconsulis recitet apud virum sanctissimum *Claudium Maximum*, ante has Imperatoris Pii statuas filius matris suæ pudenda exprobrat flupara, & amores obijcet (5). --- So far has this wretched Youth been spoiled by you, that he has not been ashamed to recite his Mother's Love-Letters before the Proconsul's Tribunal, in the hearing of the venerable *Claudius Maximus*, and even to reproach her with her Amours before these Statues of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius*." *Jonsius* is doubly mistaken, when, in order to prove, that *Apuleius* lived in the time, which I assign him, he says, that our Philosopher gives the Elogy of *Divus Antoninus Pius* (6). The Fact is false; and the Consequence drawn from it inconclusive.

(1) *Pithæus*,
Advers. lib.
2. cap. 10.

(2) *Norris*,
Cenotaph.
Pisan. p. 33.

(4) *Elmenh.*
in Vita A-
pul. ii.

* Apolog.
pag. 23.
Capitolin.
Antonino
27.

† Apolog.
pag. 274.
Capitolin.
Pertinace
74.

‡ *Floridor.*
Apuleii, p.
357. 358.

(5) *Apul.*
Apolog. pag.
267.

(6) *Jons. de*
Script. Hist.
Phil. p. 267.

(7) *Apul. A-*
pul. pag. 289.

[B] He was a Native of *Madaura*, a Roman Colony in *Africa*. This Town, which had belonged to *Syphax*, was given by the Romans to *Massinissa*. "Neque hoc eo dixi, quo me patriæ meæ penitente, et adhuc *Syphacis* oppidum effemus: quo tamen victo, ad *Massinissam* regem concessimus, munere populi Romani, ac deinceps veteranorum militum novo conditu splendidissima colonia sumus (7). --- My Meaning is not, that I should have been ashamed of my Country, though

"we had still continued a Town belonging to *Syphax*; after whose Defeat, however, we fell under the Power of King *Massinissa*, by Gift of the Roman People, and at last became a most flourishing Colony." A little before, he had said, that he was not ashamed, like *Cyrus*, to partake of two different Nations. "De patria mea vero, quod eam sitam Numidiæ & *Gætulæ* in ipso consilio meis scriptis ostendisti, quibus memet professus sum --- Seminudiâ, & *Semigætulâ*, non video quid mihi sit in ea re pudendum, laud minus quam *Cyro* majori, quod genere mixto fuit, *Semimedus* ac *Semipersa*. --- As for the Place of my Birth, which you have shewn to have been situated on the very confines of *Numidia* and *Gætulia*, from my own Writings, in which I profess myself a *Semi-Numidian* and a *Semi-Gætulian*; I cannot see, why I have any more reason to be ashamed of it, than *Cyrus* the Elder had of being of a mixed Race, half a *Mede*, and half a *Persian*." A certain Author, who pretended to let up for a general Censor, towards the end of the sixteenth Century, falls here into our Hands. After having said, that *Lucian*, under the pretended Form of an *Ass*, teaches a thousand Impurities he adds, "Apuleius hunc imitatus, ut vir Græcusc se Latine necivisse ingenue confessus, in *Asino aureo* plane rudis (8). --- *Apuleius*, imitating this Writer, and ingeniously confessing, that, being a Greek, he was ignorant of the Latin Tongue, downright brays in his *Golden Ass*." First of all, it is not true, that *Apuleius* confesses he does not understand Latin: He only says, I. That he did not understand it upon his first Arrival at *Rome*. II. That he learnt it without a Master. In the second Place, it is not true, that he was a Greek. *Madaura* was a Roman Colony; and, when he would justify himself by the Example of other Poets, he cites the Greeks as Strangers, and the Latins as his Countrymen. "Fecere tamen et alii talia, & --- apud Græcos Tejus quidam --- A P U D N O s vero, *Æditi*, & *Portius*, & *Catulus* (9). --- Others have done the like, and --- A Teian Poet among the Greeks --- but among our own Writers, *Æditi*, & *Portius*, and *Catulus*, &c." The Truth is, the Latin Tongue was not common at *Madaura*. *Apuleius*, the Son of one of the chief Magistrates, understood nothing of it, when he came to *Rome*. The Son of his Wife *Pudentilla* understood only the *Carthaginian*, and a little Greek, which his Mother, who was originally of *Thebais*, had taught him. *Loquitur nunquam nisi Pantic, & si quid adduc à matre græciffat: Latine enim quæ vult neque potest* (10).

[C] His Family was considerable. His Father's Name was *Thefeus*. These Words are our only Authority. "Si, contentus laræ parvulo, *Thefei* illius cognominis Patris tui virtutes æmulaveris (11). --- If, satisfied with a moderate support, you shall emulate the Virtues of your Father *Thefeus*." He had exercised the Office of Duumvir at *Madaura*. It was the first Dignity of a Colony. "In qua colonia patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem cunctis honoribus perfectum (12). --- In which Colony, I had a Father, who, having gone through all inferior Offices, arrived to the Dignity of Duumvir, the principal Post of Honour." His Mother, who

(3) *Claudius*
Verderius,
in *Audorea*
pene omnes
Censura,
pag. 73.
This Book
was printed
at Lyons in
1586.

(7) Apolog.
pag. 278.

(10) Ibid.
pag. 336.

(11) *Apul.*
Metamorph.
lib. 1. pag.
112.

(12) Id. A-
pul. pag. 289.

wards at Rome [D]; where he acquired the *Latin* Tongue without any Assistance: An insatiable Curiosity to know every thing induced him to make several Voyages, and enter himself in several Religious Fraternities [E]. He would see the bottom of their

(13) *Id. Metam. lib. 2. p. 815.* whose Name was *Salvia* (13), was originally of *Thebes*, and descended from the Family of *Plutarch*. He says this himself, at the beginning of his Romance. *St. Austin* had heard, that *Apuleius* was of a good Family, as appears from his fifth Letter. See, below, the Remark [E]. Citation (18).

[D] *He studied, first at Carthage, then at Athens; and afterwards at Rome.* This Gradation is a secret to those, who stop at the Prologue of his Romance; since he makes no mention there of *Carthage*. He is satisfied with saying, that his first Studies were Those of the *Greek* Tongue in *Greece*, and that afterwards he came to *Rome*, where he studied *Latin*, without the Assistance of a Master. "Ibi linguam Attidem primis pueritiæ stipendiis merui, mox in urbe Latia advena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem ærumnabili labore, nullo magistro præunte, agressus excolui." This Narration is deceitful, and imperfect, and must be rectified by other Passages of *Apuleius*. Is it at all surprizing, that Authors should relate the Actions of others imperfectly? Do they not sometimes report their own very confusedly? Let us produce other Passages of our Author. He tells the *Carthaginians*, that, in his Infancy, he studied with them, and that he had begun, likewise, to embrace the Platonic Sect among Them. "Sum vobis nec lare alienus, nec pueritia inuistatus, nec magistris peregrinus, nec secta incognitus. . . . E-nimvero & pueritia apud vos, & magistri vos, & secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic inchoata est (14). . . . I am no Stranger to you, either as to my Family, my Education, or my Opinions. . . . For my Childhood was spent among you; you were my Instructors; and the Sect, of which I am a follower, though confirmed in it at Athens, was first embraced by me here." To which he adds; "Hanc ego vobis mercedem, Carthaginenses, ubique gentium dependo, pro disciplinis quas in pueritiâ sum apud vos adeptus. Ubique enim me vestra civitas alumnus fero (15). . . . This Acknowledgment, O Carthaginians, wherever I am, I pay you, in return for that Instruction I acquired among you: I every where acknowledge myself the Pupil of your State." Some Pages after, he reckons up the Sciences he had studied at Athens. "Prima cratera Litteratoris rudimentum eximit: Secunda Grammatici doctrinâ instruit: Tertia Rhetoris eloquentiâ armat. Hactenus à plerisque que potatur. Ego & alias crateras Athenis bibi; Poeticæ commentum, Geometricæ limpidam, Musicæ dulcem, Dialecticæ austerulam, enimvero universæ philosophiæ inexplibilem, scilicet nectaream (16). . . . The first Cup of Knowledge, which we drink at the Hands of our Preceptors, removes entire Ignorance; the second infuses Grammatical Learning; the third arms us with the Eloquence of the Rhetorician. Thus far many drink. But I drank of still more Cups at Athens, the fabulous of Poetry, the limpid of Geometry, the sweet of Music, the unpleasant of Logic; indeed the never satiating, and truly nectarous, Cup of universal Philosophy." Some will have it, that he studied, at two several times, in *Greece*; the first time, before he studied at *Carthage*, and the second after his Studies in That City. They take no notice of *Rome*; they pretend, that he acquired the *Latin* Tongue at *Carthage* (17): This latter Fact is expressly contradicted in the Prologue to the *Golden Ass*.

[E] *And enter himself in several Religious Fraternities.* He introduces himself speaking the following Words, in the third Book of the *Golden Ass*. "Paveo & formido solide domus hujus opera detegere, & arcana dominæ meæ revelare secreta. Sed melius de te doctrinæque tua præsumo, qui præter generosam natalium dignitatem, præter sublimis ingenium, sacris pluribus initiatus, profecto non sanctam silentii fidem (18). . . . I dread to make a full Discovery of the Practices of this Fraternity, and to reveal the Secrets of my Mistress. But I have a better Opinion of you, and your Learning, who, besides an high Birth, and elevated Genius, know how to guard a Secret inviolably, having

"been yourself initiated in many Mysteries." He concludes his Romance with an account of his Admission into the Religion of *Osiris*. This Honour was conferred on him at *Rome*. He did not continue long among the Herd of the Initiated, he soon raised himself to the highest Degrees. "Denique per dies admodum paucos, Deus Deum magnorum potior, & majorum summus, & summorum maximus, & maximorum regnator, *Osiris*, non in alienam quampiam personam reformatus, sed coram suo illo venerando me dignatus affamine, per quietem præcipere visus est. . . . Ac, ne lacris suis gregi cætero permixtus deservirem, in collegium me Pato-phorum suorum, imo inter ipsos Decurionum quinquennales, elegit. . . . Lastly, in a very few Days after, *Osiris*, the greatest of the Gods, appeared to me in a Dream, not in a borrowed Shape, but in his own venerable Person. . . . And, that I might not administer his Sacred Rites, amidst the Herd of his *Volaries*, he chose me into the College of his *Pato-phori*, and even appointed me one of his *Decuriones*" Before his Arrival at *Rome*, he had been initiated into the Mysteries of *Isis*; these were the first Fruits of his recovered Humanity. In the Descriptions of these Ceremonies he intermixes several sublime Sentiments, which are only worthy of the true Religion. As for Example: "Te jam nunc obsequio religionis nostræ dedica, & ministerii jugum subi voluntarium, nam, cum cæperis Deæ servire, tunc magis senties fructum tuæ libertatis (19). . . . Dedicate yourself immediately to the Obedience of our Religion, and take upon you the voluntary Yoke of Ministering in it; for, when you shall begin to serve our Goddess, you will be the more sensible of the Fruit of your own Liberty." They, who accused him of Magic, objected, among other things, that he kept something, I know not what, in a Handkerchief, with a singular Superstition. His Answer was: "Vin dicam cujusmodi illas res in sudario obvolutas laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi geretur. Sacrorum pleraque initia in Græcia participavi. Eorum quædam signa & monumenta tradita mihi à sacerdotibus sedulo conservo. Nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico. Vel unius Liberi patris symmisæ, qui adestis, scitis quid domi conditum celetis, & absque omnibus profanis tacite venerimini. At ego, ut dixi, multijuga sacra, & plurimos ritus, varias ceremonias, studio veri, & officio erga Deos, didici. Nec hoc ad tempus compono, sed abhinc ferme triennium est, cum primis diebus, quibus Oçam veneram, publice differens de Æsculapii majestate, eadem ista præ me tuli, & quot sacra nossem percenſui. Ea disputatio celebratissima est, vulgo legitur, in omnium manibus versatur. . . . Etiamne cuiquam mirum videri potest, cui sit ulla memoria religionis, hominem tot mysteriis Deum concium, quædam sacrorum crepundia domi adservare, atque ea lineo vela involvere, quod purissimum est rebus divinis velamentum (20). . . . Shall I tell you what kind of Things, wrapt up in an Handkerchief, I have entrusted with the House of Pontianus? you shall be satisfied. I was initiated into several sacred Rites in *Greece*. Some Tokens and Remembrances of them, delivered me by the Priests, I carefully preserve. What I say, is no uncommon, or unknown, Practice. I need go no farther, than you, ye *Volaries* of *Bacchus*, who are here present; who are conscious of what you keep concealed at Home, and adore in private, without any Proprobation. But I, as I have already said, prompted by a Love of Truth, and out of Duty to the Gods, have learned the Mysteries of different Religions, and been initiated in various Rites and Ceremonies. Nor is this a new-invented Apology; for it is now almost three Years, since, in a public Oration on the Majesty of Æsculapius, on the first Day of my Arrive at Oça, I made the same Declaration, and reckoned up how many Religions I had been initiated in. This Disputation is very famous, is commonly read, and is in every one's Hands. . . . And can any

(14) *Apul. Floridior. pag. 359.*

(15) *Id. ib. pag. 351.*

(16) *Id. ib. pag. 363.*

(17) *He passed the first Years of his Childhood in Greece, and the following at Carthage, where he learnt Latin without a Master. He likewise began to learn Philosophy there. Afterwards he went to Athens, where he studied Poetry, &c. Tillmont, Hist. des Empereurs. Tom. 2. pag. 722.*

(18) *Apuleii Metam. lib. 11. p. 264.*

(19) *Apol. p. 309. 310.*

(20) *Id. ib. pag. 312.*

their pretended Mysteries. He spent almost all his Estate in travelling [F], in-
much, that, being returned to Rome, and having a Desire to dedicate himself to the
Service of *Osiris*, he wanted Money to defray the Expence of the Ceremonies of
his Reception. He pawned even his Cloaths to make up the necessary Sum (a).
After this he gained his Livelihood by Pleading: And, as he was eloquent, and
subtle enough, he did not want Causes; some of which were very considerable (b).
But he improved his Fortunes much more by a lucky Marriage, than by Pleading.
A Widow, whose Name was *Pudentilla*, neither young nor fair, but who stood in
need of a Husband, and had a good Estate, thought him for her Purpose [G]. He

(b) *Quæ res
summum
peregrinatio-
ni meæ tri-
buebat solati-
um, nec
minus etiam
viduum uberi-
oribus sub-
ministrabat.
Quidni?
Spiritus fa-
ventis even-
tus quæsticu-
lo forensi
nutrito, per
patrocinia
sermonis
Romani...*
quam nunc
incontanter
gloriosa in
foro redde-
rem patroci-
nia. *Apul.
Metam. lib.
11. par. 272.
Edit. Elmen-
horstii 1621.
in 8vo.*

was

"one be surprized, who has any Remembrance of
"Religion, that a Man, acquainted with so many
"Mysteries of the Gods, should lay up at Home some
"few sacred Trinkets, and conceal them in a Piece of
"Linnen, which is the purest covering for Divine
"Things." It is probable, that, if *Apuleius* was a
Magician, his Crime was incomparably less, than
That of the Magicians of these Times; because he was
ignorant, that only bad *Genii* apply themselves to cer-
tain Operations, in consequence of the Performance
of certain Ceremonies. He believed, with the

(21) See *St
Austin's
Disputation
against the
Opinion of
Apuleius, in
the 8th Book
de Civitate
Dei, cap. 19.
and the fol-
lowing.*

(22) *August.
Epist. 5.*

(23) *Apuleii
Floridor.
pag. 361.*

(24) *Apule-
ius, Metam.
lib. 11. pag.
271.*

(25) *Ibid.*

Platonists, that good *Genii* might do the same (21).
I have quoted *St Austin*, in the Text of this Ar-
ticle, who testifies, that *Apuleius* had a religious
Dignity, which gave him the Superintendence of
the Gladiatorial Shews. *Sacerdos Provinciæ pro
magno fuit, ut munera ederet, venatoresque vestiret*
(22). Lastly, I find, that our Author had dedi-
cated himself to the Worship of *Æsculapius*, one
of the chief Divinities of the *Carthaginians*, and
that he had also an eminent Station in His Col-
lege. "Principium mihi apud vestras aureis au-
"spiciatissimum ab *Æsculapio* Deo capiam, qui
"arceam vestræ *Carthaginis* indubitabili numine pro-
"pitius respicit. *Ejus* Dei hymnum Græco & La-
"tino carmine vobis sic canam, jam illi à me de-
"dicatum. Sum enim mihi ignotus illius SACRI-
"COLA, nec recens cultor, nec ingratus ANTI-
"STES (23). ----- I shall bespeak your favour-
"able Attention, by reciting an Hymn in Greek and
"Latin Verse, which I have just dedicated to the
"God *Æsculapius*, the tutelar Divinity of the Citadel
"of your Carthage. For I am no unknown SACRI-
"FICER of This God, no recent Worshipper, nor
"ungrateful MASTER of his CEREMONIES."

[F] He spent almost all his Estate in travelling.]
This was not the only Cause of the Poverty, into
which he fell; he was expensive upon more commen-
dable Occasions; at least he pretended to have been
so, when he replied to those, who reproached him with
his Poverty. "Ad istum modum desponsus sacris,
"sumptuum tenuitate contra votum meum retardabar:
"nam & viculæ patronii peregrinationis attri-
"vant impensæ (24). ----- Thus betrothed to Religi-
"on, I was unwillingly retarded by the Narrowness of
"my Circumstances; for the Expences of travelling had
"weakened the little Strength of my Patrimony."
Thus he speaks, when he represents the Difficulties he
laboured under at Rome, in relation to his Admission
into the Fraternity of *Osiris*. He had mortgaged
himself, as it were, to this mysterious Congregation;
he had given his Note of hand; but, as nothing is ever
done for nothing, something was to be paid for the
Inaugural Ceremonies; and he had not wherewithal
to supply the Expence. He was forced, as one may
say, to sell his very Shirt; the Divinity, which in-
spired him, pointed out no other Resource. "Jam-
"que sepulcre non fine magna turbatione stimulus,
"postremo jussus, veste ipsa mea quamvis parvula
"distracta, sufficientem coram summulam, & idipsum
"præceptum fuerat specialiter. An tu, inquit, si
"quam rem voluptati fruendæ molieris, lacinia
"tuis nequaquam parceres, nunc tantas ceremonias
"adituras impendendæ te pauperiei contaris com-
"mittere (25). ----- Being often prompted, not with-
out great Emotion of Mind, and at last commanded,
"I scraped together, by making Money of my very
"Cloaths, mean as they were, a sufficient Sum; for
"this was particularly required of me. What! says
"he, would you not spare your Fringes, if you were
"in pursuit of your Pleasures, and are you unwilling,
"when you are to be initiated into such Ceremonies,
"to encounter a Poverty not to be repented of?" At
that time he ascribed his Indigence only to the Ex-
pences of his Travels; but, on another occasion,

which I have mentioned, he says he was at great Ex-
pences in good Works, such as assisting his Friends,
rewarding the Care of those, who had instructed him,
and portioning some of their Daughters. He adds,
that he should have made no Difficulty to purchase,
at the Price of his Patrimony, a thorough Contempt
of it; a Contempt, which is a much more valuable
Treasure, than a Patrimony itself. This is speaking
like a Philosopher indeed. "Si tamen nefcis, be ad-
"dresses himself to his Accuser (26), profiteor mihi ac
"fratri meo relictum à patre H. S. vices, paulo se-
"cus; idque à me longa peregrinatione, & diutinis
"studiis, & crebris liberalitibus modice imminu-
"tum. Nam & amicorum plerique opem tuli, &
"magistris plurimis gratiam reuli, quorundam etiam
"filias dote auxi. Neque enim dubitassim equidem
"vel universum patrimonium impendere, ut adquire-
"rem mihi, quod majus est, contemptum patrimonii.
"If you know it not, I assure you, that my Father
"left my Brother and myself an Hundred thousand
"Sesterces, or little less; which I have something
"diminished by my long Travels, continued Studies,
"and frequent Bounties. For I have assisted several
"of my Friends, and gratified many of my Pre-
"ceptors; some of whose Daughters I have even
"portioned. Nor should I make the least Scruple
"of expending my whole Fortune in acquiring, what
"is much more valuable, a Contempt of it." He
had made very solid, and very moral, Reflexions on
Poverty (27).

[G] A Widow, — neither young, nor fair, but who
stood in need of a Husband, and had a good Estate,
thought him fit for her Purpose.] *Apuleius's* Accuser
affirmed, she was sixty Years of Age (28): He had
his Design in it; for his Aim was to prove, that the
Passion, she had conceived for the Accused, was not
Natural, but the Effect of Magic. *Apuleius* made it
appear (29), that she was not much above forty Years
of Age; and that, if she had past fourteen of them in
a State of Widowhood, it was not out of any Averse-
tion to Matrimony, but from her Father-in-law's opposing
it: that, at length, a State of Continency had so far
impaired her Health, that the Physicians and Mid-
wives agreed, that the best Remedy for the Diseases,
which were the Consequence of it, was Matrimony.
A Lady, to whom such Advice was given, and who
had no time to lose, if she desired to make the best
use of her teeming Years, wanted not to be con-
strained by Magic Art to make choice of a Spouse.
This was *Apuleius's* Argument, and it is of great Force.
"Eo scrupulo liberata, cum à principibus viris in
"matrimonium peteretur: decrevit sibi diutius in vi-
"duitate non permanendum. Quippe ut solitudinis
"tædium perpeti posset, tamen ægritudinem cor-
"poris ferre non poterat. Mulier sancte pudica, tot
"annis viduitatis sine culpa, sine fabula, absetudine
"conjugis torpens, & diutino situ vicerum faucia,
"vitiatâ intus uteri, sæpe ad extremum vite dif-
"crimen doloribus obortis exanimabatur. Medici
"cum obstetricibus consentiebant, penuria matrimo-
"nii morbum quæsitum. Malum indies augeri, æ-
"gritudinem ingravescere: dum ætatis aliquid super-
"fuit, nuptiis valetudinem medicandam (30). -----
"This Scruple being removed, and, being courted by
"Persons of the biggest Rank, she determined to con-
"tinue no longer a Widow. For, though she might
"have supported the Solitude of a single Life,
"yet the ill State of her Health she could not.
"This Lady, religiously Modest, and pining, during
"so many Years of Widowhood, for want of an Hu-
"band, was brought almost to Death's Door, through
"Pains arising from a stoppage of the Matrix. The
"Physicians and Midwives agreed, that the Distemper
"was owing to the Want of an Husband; that it in-
"creased daily, and gained ground; and that, if she

(26) *Apolog.
pag. 288.*

(27) *Ibid.
pag. 284,
286, 287.*

(28) *Apolog.
p. 317, 330.*

(29) *Ibid.
pag. 330.*

(30) *Ibid.
pag. 318.*

was not coy; nor was he follicitous to keep his fine Person, his Neatnefs [H], his Wit,

W H Y some "made haste, Matrimony might cure her." Some kind of Proceedings are very unfortunate for the Ladies; where several things must necessarily be revealed to a full Audience, which one would wish to conceal, whether owing to natural or moral Infirmary (31). Had it not been for this Trial, *Apuleius* would never have revealed the Distemper, with which *Pudentilla* was afflicted, during her Widowhood. However, she had this Satisfaction, that, though she had suffered so much, it was a Proof, that she had not had recourse to the true Remedy. This Consequence was not urged to the Judges; but it was alleged, that she had always lived chastly, and that her Conduct had never been called in question. To return to her Age; there is no doubt, that *Apuleius* was younger than She; for she had a Son, who had been *Apuleius*'s Companion at *Athens* (32); but I add, that he did not marry without Hopes of having Issue by her. This he declares, in answer to the Reproach thrown on him, of going into the Country to be married. After having replied, that the Reason of this was to avoid the Expence, which a Wedding in the City would have put them to; he adds, that "the Country is naturally more favourable to Procreation, than the City; and that, to lie down upon the Grass, and under the Shade of Elms, amidst numberless Productions, which spring out of the fruitful Bosom of the Earth, cannot but be lucky to a new married Couple, who desire to have Children." He should have kept this Thought for his *Florida*, I mean for his rhetorical Declamations, in which he gives a Loofe to the false Flights of his Imagination. This Passage spoils his Apology. It is unworthy of the Judges, before whom he spoke, and of the Cause, which he was pleading. "Immo, si verum velis, uxor ad prolem multo auspiciatus in villa quam in oppido ducitur; in solo uberi, quam in loco sterili; in agri cespite, quam in soli fœce: mater futura in ipso materno si nubat sinu, in fœgete adulta super fecundam glebam. Ver enim sub ulmo marita cubet in ipso gremio tære matris inter soboles herbarum, & propagines vitium, & arborum germina (33)." We shall see hereafter (34), that it was declared in open Court, that *Pudentilla* was not defamed; and that her Contract of Marriage contained Clauses, which supposed her to be still of teeming Years.

(31) See, below, Remark [I].

(32) *Apuleius*, Apolog. pag. 320.

(33) *Ibid.* pag. 329.

(34) In the Remark [I].

(35) *Metamorph.* lib. 2. pag. 115. See also lib. 1. pag. 112.

(36) Accusamus apud Philosophum Formosum, & tam Græcè quam Latine, pro nefas! differimus. *Apolog.* p. 275.

[H] His fine Person, his Neatnefs. I shall here give some touches of his Picture. "At illa obtutum in me conversa, En, inquit, sanctissimæ Salviæ matris generosa proles. Sed & cætera corporis in explicabiliter ad regulam congruentia; inenormis proceritas, succulenta gracilitas, rubor temperatus; flavum & inaffectatum capillitium; oculi cæsi quidem, sed vigilantes, & in aspectu micantes prorsus aquilino, quoquo versum floridi; speciosus, & immeditatus incessus (35). — But She, turning her Eyes upon me, said, behold the worthy Son of the most virtuous Salvia; contemplate the just Proportions of his bodily Parts; his proper Stature, his moderate Size, and his healthful Aspect; his yellow, careless, Locks; his Eyes, blue indeed, but lively, and sparkling, like those of an Eagle; lastly, his beautiful and unaffected Gait." His Accusers reproached him with his Beauty (36); his fine Hair; his fine Teeth; and his Looking-glass. He answered to the two first Particulars, that he was sorry the Accusation was false. "Quod utinam tam gravia formæ & facundie crimina vere mihi expromeret! non difficile ei respondissem, quod Homericus Alexander Hectori:

"Οὐτι πρόκληντ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἑκκυδία δῶξα,
"Ὅσσα κιν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν, ἑκάη δ' ἐκ ἄν τις ἔλασθω.

Munera deum gloriosissima nequaquam aspernanda: Quæ tamen ab ipsis tribui fuenta, multis volentibus non obtinunt.

"Hæc ego de forma respondissem. Præterea, licere etiam Philosophos esse vultu liberali. Pythagoram, qui primum sese Philosophum nuncupavit, eum sui sæculi excellentissima forma fuisse: item Zeno-

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nem. — Sed hæc defensio, ut dixi, aliquamultum à me remota est: cui, præter formæ medicritatem, continuatio etiam literati laboris omnem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenuat, succum exorbet, colorem obliterat, vigorem debilitat. Capillus ipse, quem isti aperto mendacio ad lenocinium decoris promissum dixere, vides quam non sit amœnus ac delicatus, horrore implexus atque impeditus, stupeo tomento affamilis, & inæqualiter hirtus, & globosus, & congestus: prorsus inenodabilis diutina incuria, non modo comendi, sed saltem expediendi & discriminandi (37). — (37) *Ibid.* & pag. 276.
"How do I wish, that these heavy Accusations of Beauty and Eloquence were just! I should, without Difficulty, reply, as Paris, in Homer, does to Hector.

— nor thou despise the Charms,
With which a Lover golden Venus arms.
Soft moving Speech, and pleasing outward show,
No Wish can gain them, but the Gods bestow.

P O E T.

"Thus would I reply to the Charge of Beauty. Besides, that even Philosophers are allowed to be of a liberal Aspect; that Pythagoras, who styled himself the first of Philosophers, was the handsomest Man of his Time; and Zeno. — But, as I observed, I am far from pretending to this Apology; since, besides that Nature has bestowed but a moderate Degree of Beauty on me, my continual Application to Study wears off every bodily Grace, and impairs my Constitution. My very Hair, which I am falsely accused of curling, and dressing by way of Ornament, is, as you see, far from being beautiful and delicate; on the contrary, it is perplexed and entangled, like a bundle of Flocks or Tow; and so knotty, thro' long neglect of combing, and even of disentangling, as never to be reduced to Order." As to the third Particular, he did not deny his having sent a Powder for the Teeth to a Friend, together with some Verses, containing an exact Description of the Effects of the Powder. He alleged, that All, especially they, who spoke in public, ought to be particularly careful to keep their Mouths clean. This was a fine Field for Defence, and for turning his Adversary into ridicule; though, in all Probability, he had given occasion enough for Censure, by too great an Affectation of distinguishing himself from other learned Men. Observe with how much Ease some Causes are defended, though the Defendant be a little in the wrong. "Vidi ego dudum vix risum quoddam tenenteis, cum mundiciis oris videlicet orator ille aspere accusaret, & dentificium tanta indignatione pronuntiaret, quanta nemo quisquam venenum. Quidni? crimen haud contemnendum Philosopho, nihil in se sordidum finire, nihil uspiam corporis apertum immundum pati ac fœtulentum; præsertim os, cuius in propulso & conspicuo usus homini creberrimus: five ille cuiuspiam osculum ferat, seu cum cuiquam fermocinetur, five in auditorio differet, five in templo preces alleget. Omnem quippe hominis actum fermo prærit: qui, ut ait Poeta præcipuus, è dentium morbo proficitur (38). (38) *Ibid.* pag. 277.
"I observed, that some could scarce forbear laughing, when our Orator angrily accused me of keeping my Mouth clean, and pronounced the Word Tooth-Powder with as much Indignation, as any one ever pronounced the Word Poison. But, surely, it is not beneath a Philosopher to study Cleanliness, and to let no part of the Body, which is seen, be nasty, or of an ill savour; especially the Mouth, the use of which is the most frequent and conspicuous; whether a Man kisses another, or converses, or speaks in public, or says his Prayers in a Temple. For Speech is previous to every Action of a Man, and, as an excellent Poet says, proceeds from the Wall of the Teeth." We may make the same Observation upon the last Head of his Accusation. It is no Crime in a Doctor, of what Faculty soever, to have a Looking-glass; but, if he consults it too often in dressing himself, he is justly liable to Censure. Morality, in *Apuleius*'s Time, was much stricter, than at present, as to external Behaviour; for he durst not avow his making use of his Looking-glass. He maintains, that

Wit, and his Eloquence for some young Girl; he married the rich Widow, cheerfully, at a Country-house near Oëa, a Maritime Town of Africa. This Marriage drew upon him a troublesome Law-Suit: The Relations of this Lady's two Sons pretended he had made use of Magic, to possess himself of her Heart and Money [I]: They

that he might do it, and proves it by several Philosophical Reasons; which, to say the truth, are much more ingenious, than judiciously applied; but he denies, that he really consulted his Looking-glass. "Sequitur de speculo longa illa & censoria oratio, de quo pro rei atrocitate pene disruptus est Pudens, clamitans, Habet speculum philosophus, possidet speculum philosophus. Ut igitur habere concedam, ne aliquid objecisse te credas, si negaro, non tamen ex eo me accipi necesse est, exornari quoque ad speculum solere. — Plurimis rebus possessu careo, usu fruor: quod si neque habere utendi argumentum est, neque non utendi non habere, & speculi non tam possessio culpatur quam inspectio, illud etiam doceat necesse est quando & quibus præsentibus in speculum inspexerim, quoniam, ut res est, majus piaculum decernis speculum philosopho, quam Cereris mundum profano videre (39). — Next follows the long and bitter Harangue about the Looking-glass; in which, so venomous is the Crime, Pudens almost burst himself with bawling out, A Philosopher has a Looking-glass, A Philosopher is in possession of a Looking-glass. Suppose I should confess that I have, that you may not believe there is really something in your Objection, if I should deny it; it does not follow from hence, that I must necessarily make a Practice of dressing myself at it. — In many things, I want the Possession, but enjoy the Use of them. Now, if neither to have a thing be a Proof, that it is made use of, nor the want of it of the contrary; and, as I am not blamed for possessing, but for making use of, a Looking-glass; it is incumbent upon him to prove farther, at what Time, and in the Presence of whom, I made use of it; since you determine it to be a greater Crime in a Philosopher to see a Looking-glass, than for the Prophanes to behold the Attire of Ceres."

Read Juvenal's Invektive against the Emperor Otto, who reckoned his Looking-glass as one of the principal Parts of his Equipage of War.

Ille tenet speculum pathici gestamen Othonis,
Astoris Aurunci spoliis: quo se ille videbat
Armatus, cum jam tolli vexilla juberet.
Res memoranda novis annalibus, atque recenti
Historia, Speculum civilis Sarcina Belli (40).

One holds a Mirror, pathic Otho's Sbeild,
In which he view'd, before he march'd to Field;
Nor Ajax with more Pride his seven-fold Targe
did wield.

O noble Subject, for new Annals fit,
In musty Fame's Records unmention'd yet!
A Looking-glass must load th' Imperial Car,
The most important Carriage of the War.

T A T E.

By the way, I cannot but think (though I dare not affirm it) that Apuleius had his Law-suit in view, when, in one of his Speeches, he described the Contest between Apollo and Marfyas. He supposes, that Marfyas begins with praising his own bushy Hair, his squalid Beard, and hairy Breast; and then reproaches Apollo with extream Neatness: "Marfias, quod stultitiae maximum specimen est, non intelligens se deridiculo haberi, priusquam tibi acciperet inflare, prius de se & Apolline quædam deliramenta barbare effutivit; laudens sese quod erat & coma relicinus, & barba squalidus, & pectore hirsutus, & arte tibiens, & fortuna egenus; contra Apollinem, ridiculum dictu, adversis virtutibus culpabat. Quod Apollo efficit & coma intonsus, & genis gratus, & corpore glabellus, & arte multificus, & fortuna opulentus. — Riserit Mufæ, cum audirent hoc genus crimina, sapienti exoptanda, Apollini objectata (41), & tibiensum illum certamine superatum, velut ursum bipedem, corio execto nudis & laceris visciferibus relinquerunt (42). — Marfyas, which was the

"the greatest Instance of Folly, not perceiving, that he exposed himself to ridicule, before he began to play upon his Pipe, made an absurd Comparison between Apollo and Himself; praising himself for his bushy Hair, his squalid Beard, his hairy Breast, his Skill in playing on the Pipe, and his Poverty; and absurdly reproaching Apollo with the contrary Virtues. Apollo, he said, had long Hair, a beautiful Face, and a smooth Body; that he was a great Scholar, and very rich. — The Muses laughed, when they heard such Crimes, as a wise Man would wish to be guilty of, objected to Apollo, and left the poor Piper, overcome in the Contest, like some two-footed Bear, mangled and torn, with his Skin stript over his Ears." Observe, that Apuleius affirms, his Accuser was a huge ill favoured Peasant: "Mihi istud crede, quamquam terrerim os tuum minimum à Thyestâ tragico demutet, tamen profecto discendi cupidine speculum inviseris, & aliquid quando relicto aratro mirare tot in facie tui fulcos rugarum. At ego non mirer, si boni confusis me de isto distortissimo vultu tuo dicere, de moribus tuis multo truculentioribus reticere (43). — Take this from me; though That rueful Countenance differs but little from That of Thyestes in the Tragedy; yet would you sometimes, for the sake of Information, visit the Looking-glass; and, leaving the Plow, stand amazed at the many Furrows in your own Face. You will take it in good part, I doubt not, that I mention the Deformities of your Face, but am silent on your more hideous Morals."

[I] Made use of Magic to possess himself of her Heart and Money.] Apuleius had no need of any great Justification, on the first Article; for since Pudentilla, for Reasons of Health, was resolved on a second Marriage, before she had seen this pretended Wizard, Apuleius's Youth, good Mien, fair Speech, Wit, and other Accomplishments, were more than a sufficient Charm to engage this Lady's Affections. He had the most favourable Opportunities of gaining her Esteem; he lodged for some time at her House: Pudentilla's eldest Son would absolutely have it so; and it was He who solicited Apuleius to marry her (44). Apuleius managed his Advantages artfully; and turned his Accusers into ridicule by Smart and surprizing Turns of Wit. "You wonder, said he, that a Woman should marry again, after having been thirteen Years a Widow; it is more surprizing, that she did not marry much sooner. You believe there was need of Witchcraft, to induce a Widow of her Age to marry a young Fellow; whereas, on the contrary, this is a Proof, that Witchcraft was unnecessary." "Cur mulier libera tibi nuptis post annos tredecim viduitatis? quasi non magis mirandum sit quod tot annis non nupserit. — At enim major natu non est juvenem alpernata. Igitur hoc ipsum argumentum est nihil opus magia fuisse, ut nubere vellet mulier viro, vidua cælibi, major juniori (45)." If the Decree of the Judges had been founded on a Sentence pronounced, in nearly a like Case, by the Mother of Alexander the Great, it would have been admirable. "Ο βασιλεὺς φιλιππῶν ἡγε. Θεσσαλίας γυναῖκας ἀρτίαν ἔχουσας κατὰ φαρμακείαν αὐτῶν ἐσπένδατο ἐν ἡ Οὐλυμπιάδι λαβεῖν τὴν ἀνδραπὼν ὑποχείριον. ὡς δὲ εἰς οὐρανὸν ἔλθοσα, τό, τε εἶδ' ὡς ἐντοπὴς ἔειπεν, καὶ δὲ λέχθη πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐκ δένων ὡς ἐδὲ δούνητος, Χαρίτωσαν (εἶπεν ἡ Οὐλυμπιάς) αἱ διαδοχαὶ σὺ γὰρ ἐν σκαυτῇ τὰ φάρμακα ἔχεις (46). — King Philip fell in Love with a Thessalian Lady, who was said to have influenced him by Magic Charms. Olympias contrived to get her into her Power. As soon as she was brought into the Presence of the Queen, and not only appeared very beautiful, but spoke with Modesty and good Sense; away with such Calumnies, cried Olympias; the Magic Charms you employed are all in your own Person. Thus much for the Conquest of the Heart. The other Article, which relates to the Money, begets some Suspicion, not of Witchcraft, but of Avarice. It is hard to believe, that this Marriage was not a Sacrifice to Reasons of Interest. But let us not condemn Apuleius, with-

(39) Ibid. pag. 281, 282.

(40) Juvenal Sat. 2. vcr. 99.

(41) See the Application of this Passage in the Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres, Septemb. 1685, Article 7.

(42) Apul. Florida. pag. 341.

(43) Apul. Apol. pag. 284.

(44) Apul. p. 320.

(45) Ibid. pag. 291.

(46) Pharaoh. in Præcept. Conjug. pag. 141. B. See the Remark [L.] of the Article GRANDIER.

(c) His Accuser was called Sici-nianus. He was Brother to Pudentilla's first Husband. Apul. Apolog. init.

They accused him of being a Wizard (c), not before Christian Judges, as a Commentator pretends that St. Austin affirms (d), but before Claudius Maximus, Proconsul of Africa, and by Religion a Pagan. He defended himself with great Vigour: We have his Apology, which he spake before the Judges. It is a very fine Piece (e); and furnishes us with Examples of the most shameful Artifices, that the Villainy of an impudent Calumniator is capable of putting in Practice [K]. It has been ob-

(d) Leon. Coqueus, in August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, c. 19, p. 740. Edit. Franc. 1661, in 4to. *But he is mistaken. St. Austin says quite the contrary.*

(e) Augustin. ubi supra, lib. 18, cap. 18.

(47) Apul. Apolog. pag. 321.

out hearing him. He offers to prove, by his Marriage-Contract, that he had desired nothing of Pudentilla, for the present, but only the promise of a moderate Sum, in case he survived her, or had Children by her. He makes it appear, by several of his Actions, how disinterested his Conduct was, and how reasonable it was to demand That Sum from his Wife, which he had promised him. Here he was obliged to make such Confessions in open Court, as Pudentilla could very well have dispensed with. He says (47), that he was neither fair, nor young, nor in any respect so tempting, as to induce a Man to have recourse to Witchcraft; and that it ought not to be wondered at, that he had given great Encouragement to such a Person as himself was. "Quod institui pergam di-

(48) Apul. pag. 332.

putare, nullam mihi causam fuisse Pudentillam veneficis ad nuptias prolestanti. Formam mulieris et ætatem ipsi ultro exprobraverunt, idque mihi vitio dederunt talem uxorem causa avaritiæ concupisse, atque adeo primo dotem in congressu grandem & uberem rapuisse — Quamquam quis omnium vel exigue rerum peritus culpæ audeat, si mulier vidua & mediocri forma, at non ætate mediocri, nubere volens, longa dote & molli conditione invitasset juvenem neque corpore, neque animo, neque fortuna penitendum. (48). — To go on with my intended Defence; There was no Necessity, that I should have recourse to Magic, to induce Pudentilla to marry me. My Accusers have voluntarily reproached her with Age, and want of Beauty; and have taxed me with Avarice, in desiring such a Woman, and with having obtained from her, upon our first coming together, a large and plentiful Settlement. — Though what Man, of the least Experience, would find fault, that a Widow Lady, of little Beauty, and advanced in Years, who has a mind to marry, should tempt a young Fellow, not contemptible either in Person, Mind, or Fortune, by a large Settlement, and an easy Condition of Life." Pontianus, the Son of Pudentilla, (he tells his Judges) proposed the Marriage of his Mother to him, no otherwise than as an Incumbrance, and as the Act of a Friend and a Philosopher; that is, an Act more becoming a good Friend to Pontianus, and a Philosopher, than the staying for a Match, where he might find both Riches and Beauty. Considerate esse, fore ut id onus recipiam, quoniam non formosa pupilla, sed mediocri facie mater liberorum mihi offeratur. Sin hæc reputans formæ et divitiarum gratia me ad aliam conditionem refererem, neque pro amico neque pro philosopho facturum (49). He magnifies greatly the Advantages of a Maid, above a Widow. "How poor soever a fair Maid is, said he, she brings you a great Dowry, the Flower and first Fruits of her Beauty, an Heart intirely new. It is with great Reason, that all Husbands set so great a value on a Maidenhead; all other Treasures, which a Woman brings, are of such a Nature, that an Husband may restore them back, if he is unwilling to be obliged to his Wife for them; the may withdraw them; she may recover them at Law; Virginity alone cannot be restored, but remains always in Possession of the first Husband. If you marry a Widow, and she leaves you, she carries away all the brought with her; you cannot boast of retaining any thing, which belongs to her." He observes several other Inconveniences in marrying Widows; and concludes, that "Pudentilla would not easily have been married a second time, if she had not met with, in him, the Temper of a Philosopher." Virgo formosa, etsi sit opido pauper, tamen abunde dotata est. Affert quippe ad maritum novam animi indolem, pulchritudinis gratiam, floris rudimentum, Ipsa virginitalis commendatio jure meritoque omnibus maritis acceptissima est. Nam quodcumque aliud in dotem acceperis, potes cum libuit ne si beneficio obstrictus omne ut acceperas retribuere, pecuniam renumerare, mancipia restituere, domo demigrare, prædiis cedere. Sola virginitas cum semel accep-

(49) Ibid. 320.

ta est reddi nequitur: sola apud maritum ex rebus dotalibus remanet. Vidua autem qualis nuptiis venit, talis divortio digreditur. Nihil affert irreversibile, sed venit jam ab alio præforata; certe tibi, ad quæ velis, minime docilis; non minus suspectans novam domam, quam ipsa jam ob unum divortium suspectanda; seu illa morte amisit maritum, ut scavi omnis mulier, et infandi conjugii, minime appetenda; seu repudio digressa est, utramvis habebat culpam mulier: quæ aut tam intolerabilis fuit ut repudiaretur, aut tam insolens, ut repudiaret. Ob hæc et alia viduæ dote audæ procos sollicitant. Quod Pudentilla quoque in alio marito fecisset, si Philosphum pernentem dotis non reperisset (50).

This Discourse of Apuleius is a noble Field for Reflexions, were there leisure to pursue them; however, in haste as I am to pass on to other Articles, I shall stay to make two Observations; one is, that this Estate, of which the Husband can never be diseized, is a meer Chimera; no Baker, or Butcher, would trust you for Six-pence upon this imperishable Possession. The other is, that Apuleius had not considered every Disadvantage of Widowhood. He has said nothing of Widows, who have never had any Children; nor, indeed, was That his Case. A Prebend of Paris, who made a trip to Geneva, in 1672, with a Design of embracing the Protestant Religion, happened, soon after his Arrival, to single out a young, rich, and handsome, Widow, among other Women in the same Church. He soon found an Opportunity of speaking to her; and, the more he saw her, the more he fancied she would suit his purpose. But, having brought with him from France, nothing but the good Plight of Persons of his Profession, and some Insight into the Abuses of Popery, he was repulsed with Scorn. He communicated to me the Secret of his Repulse, and complained less of the Disappointment, than of the manner, in which he was treated (51). I represented ingenuously to him, that he was in the wrong to propose any such thing, considering the present Condition of his own Fortune, and the Circumstances of the Lady. He confessed she was too rich for such a Person as he; But, continued he, much of her Riches must be abated, on the score of her never having had a Child; this alone is a Drawback upon it of Thirty or Forty thousand Livres; at least I should have esteemed her by so much a better Fortune, than I do now, since there is a Presumption of her being barren; especially, when I consider, that my only Brother has no Heirs, and that our Family is in danger of being extinct, if I leave no Posterity. I would not enter into a farther Dispute with a Man, who had calculated the Matter so nicely. I left him to estimate the Business by himself; and was satisfied with believing, that the Care he had at Heart of preserving his Family had contributed greatly to the opening his Eyes.

REFLEXION of a Convert Priest on a Widow, who had had no Children.

(51) He never talked of the Affairs, without repeating, Est modus in rebus.

[K] Furnishes us with Examples of the most shameful Artifices, that the Villany of an impudent Calumniator is capable of putting in Practice.] I shall instance but in one; to shew, that, in all Ages, the Spirit of Calumny has put Men upon forging Proofs by false Extracts from what a Person has said, or written. To convict Apuleius of practising Magic, his Accusers alledged a Letter, which his Wife had wrote during the Time of his Courtship, and affirmed that she had confessed, in this Letter, that Apuleius was a Wizard, and had bewitched her. It was no hard matter to make the Court believe, that she had written so; for they only read a few Words of her Letter, detached from what preceeded, or followed; and no one pressed them to read the whole. At last Apuleius covered them with Confusion, by reciting the whole Passage of Pudentilla's Letter. It appeared, that, far from complaining of Apuleius, she justified him, and artfully ridiculed his Accusers. There are his Words: You will find, that precisely the same Terms may either condemn, or justify, Apuleius, according as they are taken wish, or without, what preceeds them. Βελομένην γὰρ με δι' αἰετῶν αἰτίας γαμνήσιναι,

(g) Pro statua sibi apud Ocenfes locanda, ex qua civitate habebat uxorem, adversus contradictionem quorundam civium litigaret, quod poteros ne lateret ejusdem litis orationem scriptam memorie commendavit. *Augustin. Epist. 5.*

served, that *Apuleius*, with all his Magic Art, could never raise himself to any Post of Authority, though he was of a good Family, had been very well educated, and was much esteemed for his Eloquence (f). It was not, pursues my Author, out of a Philosophical Contempt, that he was never in Public Employ; for he thought it an Honour to be invested with the Priestly Office, which gave him the Superintendence of the Public Games; and contended strongly against Those, who opposed the erecting of a Statue, with which the Inhabitants of *Oëa* would have honoured him (g). Nothing is a more sensible Proof of the impertinent Credulity of the Pagans, than their saying, that *Apuleius* had wrought many Miracles [L], that they equalled, or even surpassed, Those of *JESUS CHRIST*. No doubt many Persons took all he had said in his *Golden Ass* for true History. I wonder *St Austin* could be in any Uncertainty about it (h), or that he was not convinced, that *Apuleius* intended this Book only as a Romance (i). He was not the Inventor of it; the Story is of ancient Date, as Mr *Moreri* discovered in the Words of *Vossius* [M]; which yet he did not thoroughly understand. Some Pagans have mentioned this Romance with

(f) *St Austin* makes this Remark, in his 5th Epistle. See Remark [L.] at the end.

(h) Id. de Civit. Dei, lib. 18. cap. 18.

(i) Sermone isto Miletio varias Fabulas conseram. *Apul. in Prolog.*

(52) *Apul. Apol. pag. 326.*

γαμνηθῆναι, αὐτὸς τὸν ἑταῖρον ἀντὶ πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι, θαυμάζων τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ σποδάζων αὐτὸν οἰκτιρὼν ἥμιν δι' ἐμὰ ποιήσαι. νῦν δὲ ὡς μοχθῶρος ὑμᾶς κακονδεῖς τε ἀναπέδουσιν, αἰετῖδον ἐγείρετο Ἀτταλίου μάγῃ, καὶ ἐγὼ μαμάτευμαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡρᾶ. καὶ ἡλθέ τις νῦν πρὸς ἐμὲ, ὥς ἐτι σωφρονῶ (52). Being inclined to marry for the Reasons, which I have mentioned, you yourself persuaded me to make choice of this Man, being fond of him, and desirous, by my means, to make him one of our Family. But now, at the Investigation of wicked Men, *Apuleius* must be informed against as a Magician, and I forsooth am enchanted by him. I certainly love him. Come to me, before my Reason fails me. He aggravates this kind of Fraud as it deserves. His Words deserve to be engraved in Letters of Gold in a thousand Places, to deter, if possible, all Calumniators in all Countries, and in all Ages, who practise the like Cheats. "Multa sunt quæ sola prolata calumniæ possunt videri obnoxia. Cujusvis oratio infamulari potest, si ea quæ ex prioribus nexa sunt principio sui defraudentur, si quædam ex ordine scriptorum ad libidinem supprimantur, si quæ simulationis causa dicta sunt, adaverantis pronuntiatione quam exprobrantis legantur (53). -- There are many things, which, produced alone, may seem liable to Calumny. Any Discourse may furnish matter of Accusation, if what is connected with foregoing Words be robbed of its Introduction, if some Things be suppressed at Pleasure, and if what is spoken by way of Reproach to others, for inventing a Calumny, be pronounced by the Reader as an Assertion of the Truth of it."

(53) *Ibid.*

[L] The Pagans pretended, that *Apuleius* wrought many Miracles [L] We should scarce believe, that this had ever been said, if credible Persons did not attest it; But we find, that this Impertinence of the Pagans was such a Cant in *St Austin's* Time, that this great Prelate was requested to refute it. "Precator accesserim ut ad ea vigilantius responderem digneris, in quibus nihil ex prioribus Dominum quam alii homines facere potuerunt fecisse vel gessisse mentiuntur. Apollonium siquidem suum nobis & Apuleium alioque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum majora contendunt extitisse miracula (54). -- On this Occasion I request of you, that you will exert your utmost Efforts in refuting the false Pretences of these Objectors, who would place the Works of OUR LORD on a Level with the Actions of meer Men. For they produce against him their APOLLONIUM and APULEIUS, and other Dealers in Magic, whose Miracles they assert to have been greater than His." *St Austin* contented himself with answering, that, if *Apuleius* had been so great a Magician, he would not have lived in so mean a Condition, as he did, considering his Ambition; That, besides, he had denied the Charge of Magic, which he allowed to be a great Crime (55). His pretended Miracles were spoken of long before *St Austin*; for *Lactantius* expresses his Surprise, that the Author, whom he consulted, had not joined *Apuleius* with *Apollonius Tyanaus*. "Vultu offendere Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum quod Apuleium prætermittit, cujus solent & multa mira memorari (56). -- He pretended to shew, that Apollonius had wrought as great, or even greater. It is surprising he should forget *Apuleius*, who is reported to have wrought many Miracles." *Apuleius*

(54) *Marcellinus ad Aug. Epist. 4. inter Epist. Augustini. See also the 4th Letter of St. Augustin, pag. 208.*

(55) *August. Epist. 5.*

(56) *Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. 5. cap. 3. See also St. Jerome in Pal. lxxxii.*

leius has had the Fate of many other Persons; His Miracles were not spoken of 'till after his Death; his Accusers objected nothing but Trifles against him; or brought the worst Proof in the World of what might have the Appearance of Magic. But I know not how to reconcile *St Austin* with *Apuleius*. The one says, that *Apuleius* could never arrive at any Post of Judicature, ad aliquam judicariam Reipublicæ potestatem (57). The other boasts, that he had enjoyed the same Post, which his Father had held; who had been Duumvir, and had passed through every honourable Employment in the City, where he lived. "In qua colonia patrem habui loco principe Duumviralem cunctis honoribus perfunctum. Cujus ego locum in ea repub. exinde ut participare curiam cepti nequaquam degener pari spero honore & exultatione tueor (58)."

(57) *August. Epist. 5.*

(58) *Apul. Apolog. pag. 289.*

[M] The Story is of ancient Date, as Mr *Moreri* discovered in the Words of *Vossius*. Let us first set down his own Words. "The *Metamorphosis*, of the *Golden Ass* is a Paraphrase of what he had taken from *Lucian*, as *Lucian* had done before from *Lucius* of *Patras*, mentioned by *Photius* ----- It is even probable, that *Apuleius* borrowed, from the same Source, the very Subject of the Fable, which he has given his own turn to. For he understood the Greek and Latin Tongues very well." To judge whether Mr *Moreri* deserves Criticism, we must compare what he has said with the Passage of *Vossius*, which was his Original. "De ætate *Lucii Patrensis* non liquet, nisi quod antiquior credatur *Luciano*, quippe qui inde composuisse videatur *Asinum suum*, uti ex *Luciano* posset *asinum suum aureum* exscriptis *Appuleius*. Nisi is potius ex eodem *Lucii* fonte sua hausit, & hoc sanè verisimilius esset. Nempè ut *Lucium* in epitomen redegit *Lucianus*, ita paraphrasin *Lucii* scripsit *Appuleius*, sed ille Græcè, hic Latine (59). ----- It is uncertain, when *Lucius Patrensis* lived; only he is thought to have been older than *Lucian*, who seems to have borrowed from him his *Ass*, in like manner as *Apuleius* afterwards copied his *Golden Ass* from *Lucian*; unless perhaps he copied it from *Lucius* himself; which is most probable. So that, as *Lucian* epitomized *Lucius*, *Apuleius* paraphrased him; but the one in Greek, the other in Latin." It is plain Mr *Moreri* mistook *Vossius's* Thoughts, and that he ought not to have said, that *Apuleius's* Work is a Paraphrase on That of *Lucian*. He should have said, that *Lucius Patrensis* had been abridged by *Lucian*, and paraphrased by *Apuleius*. The Argument, which Mr *Moreri* includes in these Words, for he understood the Greek and Latin Tongues very well, is good for nothing. Put this Reasoning into Form, and you will raise this *Entymema* from it: He understood the Greek and Latin Tongues very well; therefore he took the Subject of this Fable, which he dressed up after his own way, from the Fountain-head; that is to say, therefore he has not paraphrased *Lucian*, but *Lucius Patrensis*. This *Entymema* is ridiculous. A Knowledge of the Greek Tongue is as necessary in making use of *Lucian*, as of *Lucius*; and the Latin Tongue is of no help towards dressing up in one's own way a Subject borrowed from *Lucius*. Cannot Mr de la Fontaine dress up a Tale of *Ouville* after his own way? It would be of greater Use, than we are aware of, to criticise on the false Logic of Authors. Young Persons,

with Contempt [N]. *Apuleius* was extremely laborious [O], and composed several Books [P], some in Verse, and others in Prose; of which but a small Part has resisted the Injuries of Time. He delighted in making publick Speeches, in which he gained the Applause of all his Hearers. When they heard him at Oëa, the Audience cried out with one Voice, That he ought to be honoured with the Freedom of the City (k). Those of *Carthage* heard him favourably, and erected a Statue in Honour of him (l): Several other Cities did him the same Honour (m). It is said, that his Wife held the Candle to him, whilst he studied; but This, I think, must not be taken literally; it is rather a Figure of *Gallie Eloquence* in *Sidonius Apollinaris*; *Legentibus meditantibusque candelas & candelabra tenuerunt* (n). Several Critics have published Notes on *Apuleius* [Q]. I have never met with any modern French Translation of the *Golden Ass* [R]. This Work ought to be considered as a continued Satire on the

(H) Id. Apol. pag. 320.

(I) Id. Floridor. pag. 355, & seq.

(m) Ibid. pag. 356.

(n) Sidon. Apollin. Epist. to. 1. 2.

Persons, who are born to be Authors, would profit much, and sometimes, by such Criticisms.

[N] Some Pagans have mentioned this Romance with Contempt. I desire no other Proof of this, than the Letter, in which the Emperor Severus complains to the Senate of the Honours paid to *Clodius Albinus*. Among other Elogiums, they had given him That of Learning. The Emperor could not bear, that they should give such a Character to a Man, who had filled his Mind with nothing but the Tales and Rhapsodies of Apuleius. "Major fuit dolor quod illum pro literato laudandum perire duxisset, quum ille naeniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias punicas Apuleii sui, & ludicra literaria senesceret (60)." *Macrobius* has assigned over all such Romances, as *Apuleius's Golden Ass*, to *Nurses*. "Vel argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta, quibus vel multum se Arbitr exerceat, vel Apuleium nonnunquam lusisse miramur. Hoc totum fabularum genus, quod solas aurium delicias proficetur, de sacro suo in nutritum cunas sapientia eliminat (61)." We are surprized to find, that even Apuleius sometimes diverted himself with Love-Tales, in which Arbitr chiefly exercised himself. This kind of Fable, which professes only to please the Ear, Learning banishes from her Temple to the Cradles of *Nurses*.

(60) Capitolin. in Clodio Albin. cap. 12.

(61) Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. cap. 2.

[O] *Apuleius* was extremely laborious. Hear what he says himself, in his Answer to his Adversary, on the Subject of Eloquence. "De eloquentia vero, si qua mihi fuisset, neque mirum neque invidiosum deberet videri, si ab ineunte ævo unis studiis literarum ex summis viribus dedidisset, omnibus aliis spretis voluptatibus, ad hoc ævi, haud sciam an ne super omnes homines impenso labore, dique noctuque, cum defectu & dispendio bonæ valetudinis, eam quaesivissem (62)." As to Eloquence, if I ever had any, it ought not to be thought strange or odious, that, from my Youth to this Time, I have endeavoured after it, applying myself solely to the Study of Letters, and contemning all other Pleasures, with greater Application of Mind, than perhaps any Man ever did, and even to the Ruin of my Health."

(62) Apul. Apolog. pag. 276.

[P] And composed several Books. See the Dissertation de Vita & Scriptis Apuleii, which Wower has printed at the beginning of his Edition, and Mr *Fleuri*, the Dauphin Scholiast, has prefixed to His. It may be said, that *Apuleius* was an Universal Genius: There are but few Subjects, which he has not handled. He translated the *Phædo* of *Plato*, and the *Arithmetic* of *Nicomachus*: He wrote a Treatise de Republica; another de Numeris; and one de Musica: They quote his *Tablæ Quæstiones*; his Letters to *Cerellia*, which are a little too free; his *Proverbs*; his *Hermagoras*; and his *Ludicra*. He mentions the latter himself: *Legimus*, says he (63), & *Ludicris meis Epistolium de dentificio, versibus scriptum*. They read, out of my *Ludicra*, a short Epistle in Verse, concerning a Powder for the Teeth. We have still his *Golden Ass* in eleven Books; his *Moral Philosophy*; his Treatises of *Natural Philosophy*; of *Moral Philosophy*; de Syllogismo categorico; de Deo Socratis; de Mundo; and his *Florida*. As to his Letters to *Cerellia*, I must not omit the Judgment of a learned Critic (64) on them. He believes, that the Name of *Cicero* ought to be inserted in That Passage of *Anfonius*, where these Letters are mentioned; for *Cicero* was the Person, who was reproached with having been too familiar with *Cerellia*, and writing to her too freely. On this Supposition, we must read the Passage in *Anfonius* thus: "Esse Apuleium

(63) Id. ib.

(64) Fredericus Gronovius in Aufon. Cent. Nuptial. in Editione Aufonit. Amstel. 1671. pag. 516.

"in vita Philosophum, in Epigrammatis amatorem; Ciceronis in præceptis omnibus exstare severitatem, in Epistolis ad Cerelliam fuisse perulantiam. . . . Apuleius was, in his Life, a Philosopher; in his Epigrams, a Lover; Cicero's Precepts are all rigidly moral; his Epistles to Cerellia, loose and wanton."

[Q] Several Critics have published Notes on Apuleius. *Philippus Beraldu* published very large Notes on the *Golden Ass*, at Venice, in Folio, Ann. 1504, which were reprinted, in 8vo, at Paris, and at several other Places. *Godefrick Stewechius*, *Peter Colvius*, *John Wower*, &c. have written on all the Works of Apuleius. *Priceus* has published the *Golden Ass*, and the *Apology*, separately, with a great many Observations (65). The Annotations of *Casaubon*, and Those of *Scipio Gentilis*, on the *Apology*, are much valued. The first appeared in the Year 1594, and the latter in the Year 1607. The best Edition of the Book de Mundo, is That of *Leyden*, 1591, in 8vo. We are indebted for it to *Bonaventure Vulcanius*. Let me observe, by the way, that This Treatise is almost the same with the Translation of a like Work, attributed to *Aristotle*. The Book de Deo Socratis has appeared with the Annotations of *Jofias Mercerus* (66). The Author, whom I quote, will give you a more ample Account of the Editions of Apuleius (67). He has made no particular mention of That of *Basil*, apud *Henricum Petri*, 1560, in three Volumes, in 8vo; nor of That of the same Town, apud *Sebastianum Henrici Petri*, 1620; nor of That of *Lyons*, 1614, in two Volumes in 8vo; which perfectly resembles That of *Leyden*, the Pieces of which he particularly specifies, placing it in the Year 1614. Perhaps he mistook the *Lugdunum* of France (*Lyons*), for the *Lugdunum Batavorum* (*Leyden*).

(65) The Apology; Paris, 1635, in 4to. The Golden Ass; Gouda, 1650, in 8vo.

(66) At Paris, 1624, in 12mo.

(67) Joh. Albertus Fabricius in Bibliotheca Latina, pag. 135, & seq.

[R] I have never met with any modern French Translation of the *Golden Ass*. If I am not mistaken, *John Louveau* is the Author of the first old Translation: *La Croix du Maine* mentions it, without setting down the Year, in which it appeared (68). He only says, that it was printed at *Lyons*. It was reprinted, at Paris, by *Claudius Micard*, in 1584. One *J. de Montigny* published a Translation of the same Book, with a Commentary. One of the two Editions, which I have seen, was according to the Copy, printed at Paris by *Abel l'Angelier*, 1612; the other, at Paris, by *Samuel Thiboust*, 1623. The Preface is long; and contains a Criticism on several Errors of *John Louveau*.

(68) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Francoise, pag. 238.

I find, that *La Croix du Maine*, and *du Verdier Vau-Privas*, have mentioned a Translation, which may very well be older, than That of *John Louveau*. They say, that *George de la Boutiere*, or *de la Boutier*, a Native of *Autun*, rendered the *Metamorphosis*, or *Golden Ass* of Apuleius into French (69). The one says, that this Version was printed at *Lyons*, by *John de Tournes* and *William Gazeau*, in the Year 1553. The other, that it was printed by *John de Tournes*, in 1516 (70). There is an Error of the Press in the last Date; and it is evident, that, to put the Figures in their right Places, it ought to be 1556: Now, as the same Author has said, that the Translation by *John Louveau* was printed in the Year 1558 (71), there is Reason to suppose, that it was later than That of *George de la Boutiere*.

(69) Ibid. p. 118. Du Verdier, pag. 446.

(70) Du Verdier, Bibl. Francoise, p. 440.

(71) Id. pag. 716.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, Part of a Translation of the *Golden Ass* has appeared at Paris. The *Journal des Sçavans* of the ninth of January, 1696, mentions it. *Monf. le Baron des Coutures* published, with Notes, in 1698, his French Version of the Treatise de Deo Socratis.

[S] This

the Disorders, which the Magicians, Priests, Pandars, Thieves, &c. filled the World with at That time [S].

[S] *This Work ought to be considered as a continued Satire on the Disorders, which Magicians, Priests, &c. filled the World with at That Time.* This Observation occurs in Mr Fleuri's Annotations. "Tota porro hæc metamorphosis Apuleiana & filo & sententia Satyricon est perpetuum (ut recte observavit Barthius Advers. lib. 51. cap. 11.) in quo magica deliria, sacrificulorum scelera, adulterorum crimina, furum & latronum impunitæ factiones, palam differuntur (72)." He adds, that Those, who are in search of the Philosopher's Stone, pretend to find it in the Mysteries of the Grand Operation. A Person, who would take the Pains, and had the requisite Qualifications (and he must, indeed, have a great

many) might draw up a very curious and instructive Commentary on This Romance, and might inform us of several Things, which the preceding Commentaries, how good soever, have never touched upon. There are some very obscene Passages in this Book of *Apuleius*. It is believed, that the Author has inserted some Episodes in it of his own Invention; and, amongst others, That of *Psyche*. *Horum certe noster ita imitator fuit, ut à suo penu innumera-bilia protulerit, atque inter cætera venustissimum il-lud Psyche* Ψυχὸς Ἔρως (73). This Episode furnished *Moliere* with Matter for an excellent Dramatic Piece, and Mr de la Fontaine for a fine Romance.

(72) Julius Floridus, Comment. ad Ufam Delph. in Apuleium.

(73) Julius ubi supra, pag. 2.

(a) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 278.

AQUÆUS (STEPHEN), in *French de l'Aigue**, Lord of *Beauvais* (a), in *Berry*, his Native Country, made himself famous by his Military Actions [A]; and his Writings, in the Reign of *Francis I.* Not that his Commentary on *Pliny*, which is the best of his Works, is good in the Main [B]; but it was extraordinary, in those Times, for a Gentleman to perform so much. This Commentary was printed in 1530. Father *Hardouin* was not well acquainted with it's Date [C].

*So the Gallons call Water. This Author writes himself Stephen de l'Aigue dict Berulnois, at the beginning of a Translation of Cæsar, Edit. of Paris, 1546, in 12mo.

(1) Hardouin, Præfat. in Plinium.

(2) Du Verdier, Bibli. François, pag. 278. Le Croix du Maine points out the Edition of Paris, in 1530.

(3) Du Verdier, ubi supra.

(4) La Croix du Maine, Bibli. Fr. pag. 76.

(5) Hardouin, Præfat. in Plinium.

(6) See the 50th Letter of the Centuria Epistoliarum Philologicarum, published by Goldast, p. 106. Edit. 1674.

[A] *Famous for his Military Actions, and his Writings.* Father *Hardouin* gives him this Elogium. *Vir nobilis in primis, ac militia quoque exacta egregie ferdus* (1). --- *A Person very famous, and, after War, remarkably ferdid.* The Works, he published, are *A singular Treatise concerning the Properties of Tortoises, Snails, Frogs, and Artibokes*, at Lyons, in 8vo (2). *Julius Cæsar's Commentaries on the Roman Wars, and other Military Exploits, performed by him in Gaul, and Africa, at Paris 1531, in Folio.* Du Verdier cites this Edition (3). *La Croix du Maine* takes notice of the Edition at Paris, in 1539 (4), but not of That in 1546. We are going to take notice of his Commentary on *Pliny*.

[B] *His Commentary on Pliny* ---- is not good in the main. It is more considerable, for it's Size, than it's Learning. The Author corrects only as a Plagiary, and passes over almost all the difficult Places. This is Father *Hardouin's* Judgment of it. "Commentarios scripsit in omnes Plinii libros: Sed mole magis quam eruditione insignes. Nec vero emendationes ullas habet, quam quas à Rhenano mutuatus est: Et ea fere in quibus faleberrum est aliquid aut ambagis, solet is, ceu foveam, securus prætergredi (5)." He is guilty of the same Fault with several other Writers; he makes use of the Property of other Men, without mentioning his Benefactor; and names him only when he intends to censure him. *Rhenanus* made this Complaint, in a Letter to a Physician of the Cardinal of *Westphalia*: "Hoc mirum, quod quum ex meis castigationibus non nihil fit adjutus, nunquam tamen mei mentionem facit, nisi quoties vult reprehendere (6)." The general Judgment, which he passes on this Work, deserves to be reported. "In primis ipsum volumen non est exiguum, ex variis congestum autoribus, quod uui pauperculus esse possit, qui non habent bibliothecam instructam, puta Aristotelem, & Albertum de Animalibus, Raphaelem Volaterranum, ex quo integra ferme capita autor transcripsit bona

side, hoc est, upa cum ipsis mendis, ne syllaba quidem mutata, Cœlius Rhodiginus, Columella, Palladiusque, & similes scriptores. Nam hoc præcipue habet studio, citare testimonia autorum, qui cum Plinio faciunt, de verbis ipsis minimum sollicitus, quod illi penitus puerile videtur. In summa liber talis est, qui si non magnopere juvet, excitet tamen literas, & Plinium ipsum vulgo fortassis commendet, quæ mihi res in primis grata est (7). --- In the first Place, it is a bulky Volume, compiled from various Authors (upon which account it may be useful to poorer Students, who have not a well furnished Library) from Aristotle, and Albertus de Animalibus; Raphael Volaterran, from whom the Author has fairly transcribed whole Chapters, not omitting the very Faults, nor altering a Syllable; from Cœlius Rhodiginus, Columella, Palladius, and the like Writers. For his chief Aim is, to cite the Testimonies of Authors, who favour Pliny, unconcerned as to the Words themselves, which he thinks deserve the Regard of Boys alone. In short, the Work is such, that, if it be not very entertaining, it may yet promote Learning, and perhaps recommend Pliny to a more general Reading which I am particularly pleased with."

[C] Father *Hardouin* was not well acquainted with the Date of the Edition of *Aquæus's* Commentary on *Pliny*. He observes, that *Sigismond Gelenius* published a Volume of Corrections on *Pliny*, in the Year 1535; and that, the Year following, *Beatus Rhenanus* published his Work on the same Author; and that, at the end of four Years, our *Aquæus* published his Commentary (8). He must therefore have published it in 1540. Now it is certain, that he published it in the Year 1530. I suppose Father *Hardouin's* Mistake proceeded from his not knowing, that *Gelenius* had twice employed his Pen on *Pliny*, before the Edition of 1635 (9). Perhaps the Book of *Aquæus* was later, by five Years, than the first Corrections of *Gelenius*.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Hardouin, Præfat. in Plin.

(9) See the 50th Letter of the 3rd Book of Erasmus's, pag. 1957.

AQUAVIVA (ANDREW MATTHEW) Duke of *Atri*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, and Son of *Julius Aquaviva*, Count of *Conversano* [A], added, to the Splendor of his Birth, an Erudition, which rendered him highly illustrious, towards the End of the XVth, and Beginning of the XVIth Centuries. He was not satisfied barely with studying, and conversing with the Learned; he employed himself in writing Books, and acquitted himself with Reputation; as appears by his Work intitled, *Encyclopædia*; and another, in which he treats of *Moral Virtue* [B]. He wrote a

Book

(1) See the History of Mahom. 11. by Guillet, Tom. 2. pag. 373.

(2) See the Verses, which Marullus addresses to him, Epigram. lib. 1. pag. 16.

[A] *The Son of Julius Aquaviva, Count of Conversano.* This Count signalized himself by his Valour, on several Occasions, and commanded the Army of *Naples*, when he was killed in a Skirmish, during the Siege of *Otranto* by the Turks, in 1480 (1). His Son, of whom we speak in this Article, was a long time inconfolable for this Loss (2).

[B] *A Work, in which he treats of Moral Virtue.* One would think, that *P. Jovius* looked upon it to be a Commentary on *Plutarch's Treatise of*

Moral Virtue; and the modern Author of the Annotations on the Latin Poems of *Sannazarius* had the same Thought. "Librum nempe nobilem, cui *Encyclopædia* nomen, itemque Commentarium in *Plutarchum* de Virtute morali (3). --- To wit, an excellent Work, entituled *Encyclopædia*, and a Commentary on *Plutarch, Of Moral Virtue*." But the Words of *Paul Jovius* are not clear enough to determine me to this Sense; I should rather keep to a more indefinite Idea. He expresses himself thus:

"Nemo

(3) Note ad Sann. Eleg. pag. 188. Edit. Amstel. 1689.

likewise *de Re Equeſtri*. Before he applied himſelf with ſo much Ardour to Arms, he had paid That Debt to Arms, which his high Birth claimed, and had ſerviced himſelf that way; tho' Fortune had been ever averſe. He had been engaged in two unſucceſſful Battles, and was wounded, and taken Priſoner, in both. Study ſupported him in his Confinement; and he was ſo happy, as to obtain his Liberty from *Ferdinand*, King of *Aragon*, when *Gonſalvo*, ſurnamed the *Great Captain*, would have ſent him, with other Priſoners, into *Spain*. From that Time, He betook himſelf to the Pleaſures of a private Life, amidſt his Books, and in the Company of learned Men, by whom he was highly praized, and honoured [C]. He inſpired his Brother *Belſarius* with the ſame Love of Learning, who became likewiſe an Author [D]. Our *Aquaviva* would have been more happy, if he had managed his Eſtate a little better; but his too great Expences for ſeveral Years at laſt exhausted his Fortunes. He died at *Converſano*, at Seventy two Years of Age; when the *French* Troops, under the Conduct of *Lautrec*, ravaged *Apulia* (a) in 1582.

(a) Ex Jo-
vio, Elog.
Doct. Vir.
cap. 73.

"Nemo ex his, qui illuſtris orti familiis ætate
noſtra clareunt ----- Andrea Matthæo Aqua-
vivio ----- ſe læculentius optimis diſciplinis ex-
ornavit; uti præclare conſtat eo libro nobili pa-
riter ac erudito quæ Encyclopædia inferibitur, &
de morali virtute Plutarchi plenior liber ſubtili &
copioſo commentario perſimilis offendit (4). -----
"No one, among thoſe of great Birth, who have ſlow-
ly riſen in our Times, ----- made a greater Figure
in the learned World, than Andrew Matthew Aqua-
viva; as is evident from his excellent and learned
Book, entitled Cyclopædia, and his larger Work,
not unlike a ſubtile and copious Commentary, con-
cerning Plutarch's Treatiſe of Moral Virtue." This
ſeems to intimate a laborious Paraphraſe on this Work
of Plutarch.

(4) P. Jovi-
us, Elog.
cap. 63. pag.
158.

"ſtimably explained. Neither Toppi, from whom I
have borrowed this (5), nor Leonard Nicodemus make
any mention of the Book, entitled *Encyclopædia*.
[C] He was highly praized and honoured by learned
Men.] Alexander ab Alexandro dedicated his *Dies
Geniales* to him. Pontanus dedicated to him his
firſt Book *de Rebus Cæleſtibus*, and his Treatiſe of
Magnanimity. Sannazarus ingeniouſly celebrates
him for having been (as was ſince ſaid of Mr de
Montauzier) a Favourite of Pallas, whether under
the Name of Minerva, or That of Bellona.

(c) Toppi
Biblioth.
Napolet.
P. 141

*Favori de Pallas quelque nom qu'on lui donne,
Ou celui de Merve, ou celui de Bellone.*

See the laſt Elogy of the ſecond Book, towards the
end, and the ſecond Epigram of the ſecond Book. As
to the Forty fourth Epigram of the ſame Book, I queſ-
tion, whether it be in praife of our *Aquaviva*, as
the Author of the Annotations on Sannazarus (6)
fancied; it is addreſſed ad *Neritimum Ducem*, who,
according to Paul Jovius, was *Belſarius Aquaviva*,
the Brother of Andrew Matthew. It ſeems to me
likewiſe, that the firſt Elogy of the third Book has
no relation to this latter, but to his Father *Julius
Aquaviva*. See, in the Author, whom I quote,
the Names of ſeveral Writers, who have celebrated
our Andrew Matthew.

(6) Notæ in
Sannaz.
pag. 188.

(7) Nicodemus,
Addiz.
alla Bibl.
Napolet. p.
11, 126

[D] His Brother *Belſarius* ----- became like-
wiſe an Author.] He compoſed a Treatiſe of *Vena-
tione*, which he dedicated to his Brother *John Mat-
thew*; another *de Aucupio*; another *de Principum li-
beris educandis*; another *de Re Militari*; and another
de Singulari Certamine. Theſe Works, firſt printed at
Naples, in Folio, in the Year 1519, were reprinted at
Baſil, in 8vo, in the Year 1578, by the Care of *Leon-
clavius*, with the *Manuel Palæologus* of Royal Education.

AQUINAS, or AQUINIUS, (PHILIP), acquired a great Reputation by
his Skill in the Hebrew Tongue, which he taught, at *Paris*, in the Reign of
Lewis XIII; and by his Works, which he publiſhed [A]. He was originally of *A-
quino*, in the Kingdom of *Naples* (a), and from thence derived his Name; but he
was born in the County of *Avignon*. He was a Convert from the *Jewiſh* Religion,
and had a Penſion (b) allowed him from the Clergy of *France*. He is mentioned in
the Trial of the Marſhal d'Ancre [B]. *Simeon de Muis* has greatly commended
him [C];

(a) I have
only this from
Hearſay.

(b) See the
Epiſtle Dedi-
catory of his
Interpretation
of the
Tree of the
Cabala.

[A] He acquired a great Reputation ----- by
the Works, which he publiſhed.] The Catalogue of
them is as follows: *Dictionarium Hebræo-Chalæo-
Thalmudico-Rabbinicum*, fol. printed at *Paris* in
the Year 1629; *The Roots of the Sacred Language*,
ad formam Cabi Hutteriani, at *Paris*, 1620, 16mo;
A Translation, in Italian, of *The Apophthegms of
the ancient Doctõrs of the Jewiſh Church*, collected
by Rabbi *Simeon*, Son of *Gamaliel*; *The Expoſition
Of the thirteen Ways, which the ancient Rabbies
made uſe of to explain the Pentateuch*, (1). An In-
terpretation of the *Tree of the Cabala*, enriched with
it's Figure, taken from the ancient Hebrew Authors,
at *Paris*, at the Expence of the Author, 1620, in
8vo; A Diſcourſe of the *Camp, and Tabernacle
of the Iſraelites*, at *Paris*, by *Tb. Blaſe*, 1625, in
4to; *Literal, Allegorical, and Moral Explications
of the Tabernacle, which God commanded Moſes
to build; of the Prieſts Veſtments, and the manner how
they conſulted the Rationale of the ancient Law, to-
gether with the Form of the Jewiſh Sacrifices; all*

(1) Printed
at Paris in
1620. in 4to.

curiouſly collected, and faithfully translated from the
moſt learned and ancient Hebrew Authors, with a
Diſcourſe concerning the *Camp of the Iſraelites*; and
a Deſcription of the *Jewels of the High Prieſts'
Breſt-Plate*, added at the end of the ſecond Edition,
reviſed by the Author; at *Paris*, at the Author's Ex-
pence, 1624, in 4to; *Beccinas Olam, or An Examination
of Rabbi Jacob's World's Moral Sentences of the an-
cient Hebrews, and the thirteen Ways, which they made
uſe of to interpret the Bible*, in 8vo, at *Paris*, by
John Lacquebay, 1629. *Phil. Aquinatis Hebræicæ
Lingue Profeſſ. Lactyma in obitum Illuſtriſſ. Cardi-
nalis de Berulle, Pariſiis, apud Joannem Beſſin*,
1629, in 8vo.

[B] He is mentioned in the Trial of the Marſhal
d'Ancre.] This Fact is too ſingular to be omitted.
Item, It is proved, by Informations, as alſo by the
Depoſition of *Philip Aquinas*, formerly a Jew, but
now a Chriſtian, whom *Conchini* and his Wife had
ſent for to *Moulins*, where the ſaid *Aquinas* was at
the Lieutenant Criminal's Houſe (2), that *Conchini*
and

(2) Perhaps
he was Tu-
tor, to
Gilbert
Gaulmin,
who confeſſes
that he had
been a Diſ-
ciple of *Philip
Aquinas*; inter-
num
MS. librum,
ſays he, ad
libros de Vi-
ta & Mor-
tis, pag.
305. ex *Philip-
pi Aquin
Preceptis olim mei
magiſtri
necreſcipi-
mus.*

(c) Mr Colom-
mits believes
he was his
Son.

him [C]; on the other hand, *Valerian de Flavigni* has spoken ill of him [D]. There was one LEWIS-HENRY AQUINAS, his Cotemporary, who was also well skilled in the Oriental Languages. I cannot tell, whether he was his Son, or his Brother (c). He translated something out of the *Hebrew* into the *Latin* (d) [E]. He had likewise been a *Jew*, and was afterwards a Pensioner of the Clergy. AN-
TONY AQUINAS, who had been First Physician to *Lewis XIVth*, was Grandson of *Philip*.

(d) See Co-
lonmits Gal-
lie Orient.
pag. 254.
256.

"his Wife had made use of the Cabala, and the
"Jewish Books. It being to be observed, what this
"Aquinas had farther depofed, viz. that *Conchini*,
"in the Prefence of his Wife, had taken away a
"Chamber-pot on account of it's Impurity, and
"removed a Crucifix out of the Room, for fear it
"should hinder an Effect, which They, *Conchini* and
"his Wife, expected from reading some Verses
"of the Fifty first Psalm, *Misereri mei*, in *He-
"brew*: which Reading they caused to be per-
"formed by *Aquinas*, in the same Manner as it
"had been some times performed before them by
"Montalto."

[C] Simeon de Muis has greatly commended him.]
He expresses himself thus concerning a Verse of
the Thirty fifth Psalm: "Cum hic hærerem dubius,
"Philippus Aquinas à Judæo Christianus, vir rarè
"& exquisitissimæ in Hebraicis literis doctrinæ, &
"quem nunquam frustra consulas, forte venit ad me
"visendi gratia, & venit quidem optatus. Ille statim
"atque de re communicavi, ut singulas Bibliorum
"versus imò & voces singulos in numerato habet,
"ac tanquam digitos tenet, indicavit locum ex
"Esaie 66. ver. 13. - - - Being at a loss for the
"Sense of this Passage, Philip Aquinas, a converted
"Jew, a Man of uncommon and exquisite Skill in
"the Hebrew Tongue, and whom you can never con-
"sult in vain, came accidentally to pay me a Visit,
"and came opportunely to my wife. For no sooner
"had I communicated the Matter to him, but He,
"who has every Verse, and even every Word, of Scrip-

"ture at his Fingers ends, referred me to Esaiah
"66. ver. 13.

[D] Valerian de Flavigni - - - has spoken ill
of him.] He was Professor of Hebrew in the Royal
College, at Paris. He ridiculed the Bible of Mr le
Jai unmercifully, and maintained, that the Hebrew
Text had been miserably corrupted by Philip Aquinas
"Tot ac tantis conspurcaturum maculis atque
"sordibus, obftricticantibus impurissimis manibus Phi-
"lippi Aquinatis Avenionensis ex Judæo Christiani,
"ut à planta pedis usque ad verticem non fit in
"eo sanitas (3). - - - Defiled with so many and
"great Blots and Filth by the impure Hands of
"Philip Aquinas, of Avignon, a converted Jew,
"that, from the Sole of the Foot to the Crown of
"the Head, there is no whole Part in it."

[E] He translated something out of Hebrew into
Latin.] Read what follows: Commentarius Rabbi Le-
vi filii Gerfonis in librum Jobi, seu in V. prima
capita, interprete Ludovico Henrico Aquino Lute-
tiæ. — A Commentary of Rabbi Levi, the Son
of Gerfon, on the Book of Job, or on the five first
Chapters, translated by Lewis Henry Aquinas, of Pa-
ris. Paris, by Thomas Blaise, 1620, in 4to. Scholia
Rabbi Salomonis Jarchi in librum Elther: item ex-
cerpta quædam ex Talmudo & Jalcut in eundem
librum, interprete Lud. Henr. Aquino. — The
Scholia of Rabbi Solomon Jarchi on the Book of
Elther; likewise Extracts from the Talmud and Jal-
cut on the same Book, translated by Lewis Henry
Aquinas. Paris, 1622, in 4to.

(3) In Epist.
de Heptaplia
Parisiensi-
bus, apud
Colomesium
Gall. Orient.
pag. 256.

ARAGON (ALPHONSO, fifth of the Name, King of). See, under the Word
NAPLES, *Alphonso*, first of the Name, King of Naples.

ARAGON (JOAN of) the Wife of *Ascanio Colonna*, Prince of *Tagliacozzi*,
was the most Illustrious Lady of the XVth Century. She was born at *Naples*, and
descended from the Kings of *Aragon*. The Wits of those Times celebrated her
Praises after an extraordinary manner [A]. The Philosopher *Augustin Niphus* was
one

THE Poeti-
cal Defica-
tion of this
Lady.

[A] The Wits of those Times celebrated her Praises
in an extraordinary manner.] I have not seen any
Dictionary, in which the Article of this Lady is to
be met with: It is a Sin of Omission most worthy
of Censure; for, perhaps, there never was a Man
or Woman in the World, whose Merit has been ce-
lebrated by more fine Wits, or in more Languages,
than That of *Joan of Aragon*, in the XVth Cen-
tury. The Poems, wrote in her Praise, were col-
lected by *Jerom Ruscelli*, and published at *Venice*,
in 1555, under the Title of TEMPIO ALLA DIVINA
SIGNORA DONNA GIOVANNI D'ARAGONA, fabri-
cato da tutti i piu gentili Spiriti, & in tutte le lin-
gue principali del mondo. — A Temple to the
Divine Lady *Donna Joanna of Aragon*, erected by
the greatest Wits, and in all the principal Languages
of the World. The Poetical Defication of this La-
dy was performed with Ceremonies, not unlike Those
made use of in the Canonization of Saints. In the
first Place, several great Wits, of their own meer
Motion, determined to testify their Devotions to this
Divinity, and to prepare her a Temple; afterwards,
in the Year 1551, the Matter passed into a Decree
in the Academy of the *Dubbiosi*, at *Venice*. After
several Deliberations and Consultations, on a Ques-
tion, which was started, to wit, whether this Temple should
be jointly dedicated to *Donna Joanna of Aragon*,
and her Sister, the Marchioness du *Guaft*; the De-
cree imports, That, considering the Opposition an-
ciently made by the Pontiffs to *Marcellus's* Design
of building a Temple jointly to Honour and Virtue,
the Marchioness du *Guaft* could have no Part, nor
Interest, in her Sister's Temple; except by Means
of some particular Interpretations. Not only the
Poets, whose Verses *Ruscelli* has collected, but
Himself likewise, in the Prose of his Epistle Dedic-

tory to the Cardinal of Trent, and in his Preface, em-
ploys the Terms of Adoration and Divinity; it is true,
he adds this Corrective, that the Adoration, paid to
this Lady, was only relative, and terminated in the Su-
pream Being, who had conferred so many Perfections
upon her. These are his Words. "Quæta conof-
"cenza — ha fatto questi anni à dietro che conof-
"cendofi in universale & in particolare da ogni piu
"raro giudicio i gran meriti, & il sommo valore,
"& la bellezza infinita di corpo & d'animo della Il-
"lustrissima & Excellentissima Signora DONNA
"GIOVANNA D'ARAGONA, si fieno tutti
"i piu begli spiriti di commune consentimento po-
"sti à sacrarle un Tempio, come à Donna intera-
"mente divina, & la quale, come nobilissima fatu-
"ra & sembianza del sommo Iddio, meriti ve-
"ramente d'esser con la lingua & col cuore adorata
"per immenso honore del factor suo; potandofi degna-
"mente da ciascuno far giudicio, quanta sia infinito
"il sapere, il potere, & l'amor verso di noi di chi
"cosi (alla capacita della mente nostra) infinitamente
"bella & perfetta & degna d'esser adorata creatura
"habbia potuto, saputo, & degnatosi di voler fare in
"questa eta nostra. — This Knowledge — has
"been the Cause, of late Years, that, the great Me-
"rit, Worth, and infinite Beauty, both of Body and
"Mind, of the most Illustrious and most Excellent
"DONNA JOANNA OF ARAGON, being
"universally and particularly known to every one of
"the least Judgment, all the Men of Wit unani-
"mously agreed to dedicate a Temple to her, as to a
"Lady entirely Divine; and who, as being the most
"noble Production and Resemblance of the Supream
"Being, deserves to be adored with Tongue and Heart,
"in honour of her great Creator; every one being ca-
"pable of judging of the infinite Wisdom, Power, and
"Love

one of the forwardest in paying his Homage to her. He represented her as so wonderfully beautiful, and particularized the Perfections of her Body [B], in such a manner, that some Authors have said he flattered her [C], and that Love inspired him with those high Strains. It has been said likewise, that his Quality of Physician gave him Privileges, which fired him with Love [D]. To me these Conjectures appear trifling

"Love of God towards us, in condescending to form
"out of our own Species (within the Sphere of human
"Capacity) so beautiful, perfect, and adorable a Crea-
"ture, in this our Age." He tells us, in the Preface,
that the Substance of his whole Collection imports,
"Che questa gran Donna, come perfettissima di corpo
"& d'animo, & come particolarissima fattura del
"sommo Iddio, meriti d'essere adorata ad honore
"del factor suo. Overo che chiaciuno partitamente
"l'offerisce il suo voto, o la pura del affecto suo.
"—— That this great Lady, as being most per-
"fect, both in Body and Mind, and the most singular
"Production of the Supreme Being, deserves to be a-
"dored in honour of her Creator; or, that every one
"ought, in particular, to offer up his Vows to her,
"according to the Purity of his Affection towards
"her." The least poetical, and the most un-
known, Languages, were employed in erecting this
Temple; as the Slavonian, the Polish, the Hunga-
rian, the Hebrew, and the Chaldaic; and, per-
haps, Mr de Peirej (1) was the only Person, in whole
Favour a like, or a greater, Concourse of Languages,
had ever been employed.

[B] And particularized the Perfections of her
Body.] Niphus dedicated his Treatise of Beauty to
this Lady; and, to confute the ancient Philosophers,
who maintained, that there is no perfect Beauty in the
Universe, he alleges, in his fifth Chapter, the In-
stance of *Joan of Aragon*. He enters into so mi-
nute a Detail, in drawing the Picture of this fair
one, that, among the great Numbers of Descriptions,
which the Romances of *Mademoiselle de Scudery*
brought in fashion, thirty or forty Years ago (2),
there is not one, we may venture to say, but falls
short of his. He is not satisfied with describing the
Beauties, which are visible to every Eye, but passes
to those, *quas sinus abscondit*, and to the Proportions
between the Thigh and Leg, and between the Leg
and Arm. *Ventre sub pectore decenti, & latere cui
secretiora correspondent. Amplius atque perotundis
coxendicibus, coxa ad tibiae & tibia ad brachium
sequalitera proportionem habente* (3). In the beginning
of this Treatise, there is a Letter of Cardinal *Pompeius
Colonna* to *Augustin Niphus*, vouching for the incom-
parable Beauty, and other great Qualifications, of *Joan
of Aragon*. Now, no one is ignorant, how far a Cardinal
of Quality is a competent Judge, and even a Critic,
in these Matters, *quam elegans formam spectator fiet*.
These are the Words of his Letter. "Non Vulgo spe-
"ciosissima quæque exponit natura: nostro tamen ævo
"parens officiosa ac liberalis, veluti divinitatis æmu-
"la, ut perfectum admirandumque aliquid, Dissique
"immortalibus quam simillimum, gentibus proferret,
"Joannam Aragoniam Columnam procreavit, atque
"ab incunabulis ad hanc usque ætatem, in qua est
"florentissima per omnes pulchritudinis & venustatis
"numeros, provexit, ut facile principem locum in-
"ter formosissimas vindicaret. Animum præterea fin-
"gularibus & dotibus & virtutibus insignivit, &c.
"—— The finer Productions of Nature are rare, and
"uncommon; yet this diligent and bountiful Mother
"of all things, in Emulation, as it were, of Divi-
"nity, and desirous of producing a perfect and ad-
"mirable Creature, and nearly resembling the immor-
"tal Gods, gave the World *Joan of Aragon*, of the
"Family of *Colonna*, and added daily new Charms
"to her, from Infancy to her present Years, in which
"she is a consummate Beauty, and may justly claim
"the Preference to all other the most beautiful Wo-
"men. Nature, likewise, adorned her Mind with
"singular Gifts and Virtues, &c."

[C] Some Authors have said, he flattered her.] *Lewis
Guyon* cannot be persuaded, that all the Beauties,
which *Augustin Niphus* ascribes to the Princess *Joan
of Aragon*, of the illustrious Family of the *Columnas*,
were real: "But, says he (4), I fancy he was in
"Love with her, and was drawn into it by having
"seen, touched, and handled her, in several parts of her
"sick Body, as Physicians have a Privilege to do;
"and that, ambitious of obtaining her good Graces,

"he published the Book, which he dedicated to her;
"nothing being more likely to gain, either on Wo-
"man or Maid, than a Persuasion that their Beauty
"has inspired us with Love." After which he re-
marks, "that, if so, the Physician had forgotten
"the Oath he had taken, upon receiving his De-
"gree, which, among other things, enjoined him,
"not to lust after the Maids, or Women, he shall
"have under Cure." In the *Table of Matters*, he
says positively, *that Niphus fell in Love with the
Princess Joan of Aragon, when she was his Patient*.
This is going a little too far; he ought, at most,
to have stoppt at a Conjecture. I confess, *Niphus*, who
was one of the best Philosophers of the last Age,
was of a very amorous Complexion; so far, that
neither Age, nor the Gout, could break his Chains,
which sometimes made him act a very shameful
Part, and even dance to the Sound of a Flute. *Suf-
ceptis liberis, & senescente uxore, septuagenarius; Senex
puellæ citra libidinem impotenti amore correptus est us-
que ad infanciam, ita ut plerique Philosophum Senem &
podagricum ad tibiæ modos saltantem miserabili cum
pudore conspexerint* (5). I confess likewise, that, be-
ing in Love with a Lady of Honour, belonging to
Joan of Aragon (6), he might have a near View of
this fair Lady, and warm himself, at a small Dis-
tance, by this great Fire; but it is not certain, that he
forgot himself so far, as to raise his Thoughts so high.
Besides, as he did not practise Physic (7), tho' he had
taken the Degree of Doctor, it is not probable, that
he was Physician to this Princess; for Persons of her
Quality make use, in their Sicknes, of an experienced,
rather than a speculative, Physician, who, like *Ni-
phus*, applies himself chiefly to the Philosophical Part;
so that, upon the whole, I should chuse to say, that,
Judgment not being his Talent, he took the Liberty
to speak of things he had never seen, and to repre-
sent them according to his own Ideas. What *Lewis
Guyon* remarks, that this Princess was of the Family
of the *Columnas*, might be true on the Mother's Side;
however, he has not expressed himself as he ought to
have done. We have seen, that Cardinal *Pompeius
Colonna* calls her *Joannam Aragoniam Columnam*; proba-
bly because she was married to *Astacio Colonna*.
Perhaps *Augustin Niphus* might have been censured
upon better Grounds, in relation to the Sixty eighth
Chapter of his Treatise of *Pulchro*; where, having
said, that there was none, in those Times, who de-
served the Name of Happy, but *Joan of Ara-
gon*, since she was possess'd of Both the Ingredients of
Woman's Felicity, viz. Beauty and Chastity; he
speaks, immediately after, of *Victoria Colonna*, Marchi-
oness of *Pescara*, as a shining Example of the Union
of Beauty and Chastity.

[D] It has been said, likewise, that his Quality of
Physician gave him Privileges, which fired him with
Love.] The Poets, and others, have long since made
Reflections on this Privilege of Physicians. Thus
Ovid makes the Amorous *Acantius* speak.

Me miserum! quod non Medicorum iussa ministro,
Astringoque manus, insideoque thoro.
Et rursus miserum! quod me procul inde remoto,
Quem minime vellem, forsitan alter adest.
Ille manus istas astringit, & assidet ægræ,
Invisus superis, cum superisque mihi.
Dumque suo tentat salientem pollice venam,
Candida per causam brachia sæpe tenet,
Contrectatque sinus, & forsitan oculus jungit,
Officio merces plenior ista suo est *.

Why sit I not by your Bed-side All Day,
My mournful Head in your warm Bosom lay,
'Till with my Tears the inward Fires decay?
Why press I not your melting Hand in mine,
And from your Pulse of my own Health divine?

(5) Jovius
Elog. c. 92.

(6) Naudæ-
us, in Judi-
cio de Aug.
Nipho.

(7) Medici-
nam licet
circitoria in-
star aut peri-
odiote
nangum
exercuerit,
optimè ta-
men calle-
bat. Id. ib.

NIPHUS
censured.

A REMARK
on the Pri-
vileges of a
Physician.

* Ovid. He-
roid. Epist.
20. ver. 133.

(1) See Re-
mark [C] of
his Article.

(2) This is
written in
1692.

(3) Niphus
pag. 213.
Opuscul. E-
dit. Paris.
1645.

(4) Guyon,
Divers. Le-
çons, Vol. 3.
lib. 3. c. 12.

(a) See Remark [C].

(b) See Remark [E].

(c) In 1556. See the Life of the Duke of Alba, and the Remark [I].

trifling (a). It was not for her Beauty alone, that this Lady was so much admired; her Courage, her Prudence, and Capacity for great Affairs, distinguished her extremely from other Womankind of Quality (b). In the Pontificate of Paul the IVth, she had a share in the Resolutions, taken by the Colonna's, against the Interests of That Pope. She would have been imprisoned, had it not been in regard to her Sex; but she was only commanded not to stir out of Rome. However she dextrously contrived to make her Escape (c) [E], that she might be the better able to second the Enterprizes of her Son, the Famous Marc Antony Colonna, who afterwards acquired so much Honour in the Battle of Lepanto. It does not appear, that she was upon good Terms with her Husband at that time; for she was entirely in her Son's Interest: Now there was so great a Misunderstanding between the Father and Son [F], that the latter contributed to the Imprisonment of the former for Crimes of State. Unhappy, that a Lady, of so much Merit, should be at variance with her Husband. This is not so uncommon a Case, as it ought to be, among Persons of her Sex, who are possessed of the greatest Qualities. She shewed a great deal of Constancy, when she lost her Eldest Son, in 1551. What Aretin wrote to her, on that Occasion, is mixed with the highest Commendations. See the Sixth Book of his Letters, Page fifth

But Oh! these Wishes are all vain, and He,
Whom most I fear, may now sit close by Thee,
Forgetful, as thou art, of Heaven and Me.
He That lov'd Hand does press, and oft does feign
Some new Excuse to feel thy beating Vein.
Then his bold Hand up to your Arm does slide,
And in your panting Breast itself does hide;
Kisses sometimes he snatches too from Thee,
For his officious Care too great a Fee.

Mr DuKE.

Remi Belleau, in his Commentary on the second Book of the Amours of Ronfard, says, that the Forty sixth Sonnet was taken from this Epistle of Ovid. These are the Words of Ronfard.

Ha! que je porte & de haine & d'envie
Au Medicin qui vient soir & matin
Sans nul propos tatonner le tetin,
Le sein, le ventre, & les flancs de m'amie.
Las! il n'est pas si soigneux de ma vie
Comme elle pense, il est mechant & fin:
Cent fois le jour il la visite, afin
De voir son sein, qui d'aimer le convie.

Ah! bow my jealous Heart, by turns,
With raging Hate, and Envy, burns,
'Gainst Him, who pleads a Doctor's Right
To see my Mistress, Morn and Night;
Who feels her snowy Breast, her Arm,
And handles every secret Charm.
Know you what makes the Doctor pay
An hundred Visits in a Day;
'Tis not as you believe, my Fair,
To guard That precious Life with Care;
But, with a Lover's eager Eyes,
To see your Bosom fall and rise.

But this Difference ought to be observed, that He, whom Acontius complains of, was contracted to the sick Person. Without this, she durst not have consented, in her Answer to Acontius, that his Rival killed her but seldom;

Ocula rara

Accipit.

Brantome quotes this Sonnet of Ronfard, somewhere in his Memoirs, and says some good Things on the Occasion.

[E] She was only commanded not to stir out of Rome. However, she dextrously contrived to make her escape.] The Passage of Antony Maria Gratiani, which I am going to produce, contains, in express Terms, the Proof which I want. "Joanna Arragonia, Marci Antonii mater, virilis audaciz femina, quæ virorum quoque consiliis apud filium habitis interfuerat, continere se domi, neque pedem inde efferre fuerat iussa; id enim sic indulsit dignitati ejus pontifex, ne in carcerem duceretur. Ea cum rem spe-

ctare ad arma bellumque, & primum Pontificiorum impetum in oppida filii fore intellexeret, vestibus mane summo commutatis, cum filia & nuru, corruptis aut deceptis portæ custodibus, egressa Urbe, consensu quos ad id præparaverat equis, protinus Neapolim aufugit. Pontifex, quamquam deceptum se delusumque à femina graviter ferebat, acerbius tamen Hispanis, quorum ea consiliis administrarentur, irascebatur (8). — Joan of Arragon, Mother of Marc Antony, a Lady of manly Resolution, and who was present at the Consultations held at her Son's House, was commanded to confine herself to her own House; for the Pope, in regard to her Dignity, had remitted the Sentence of Imprisonment. This Lady, perceiving that all things tended to War, and being sensible that the first Attack of the Pontifical Forces would be upon the Towns in possession of her Son, disguised herself early one Morning, together with her Daughter, and Daughter-in-law; and, bribing, or deceiving the Keepers of the Gates, escaped out of the City; and, mounting Horses, which she had prepared for their Flight, escaped to Naples. The Pope, though vexed to be out-witted by a Woman, yet was more angry with the Spaniards, by whose Councils these Affairs were directed." It was on occasion of this Escape, and some other Provocations, that the Pope was so much exasperated against the Colonna's, that "he sent a Monitory (9), to Joan of Arragon, by which he forbade her to marry any of her Daughters without his Consent; in default whereof, the Marriage, though after Consummation, should be void (10)."

[F] There was so great a Misunderstanding between the Father and Son. Cardinal Palavicini remarks, that Ascanio Colonna had offered such Violence to his Creditors, that the Procurator Fiscal cited him, to give an Account of his Conduct. Ascanio, not appearing, was condemned for Contumacy, and his Lands confiscated. His Son Marc Antony, having been a long time at Variance with his Father, took this Opportunity to stir him, by seizing on the confiscated Estates, and driving off the Ministers of Justice, a little before the Death of Pope Julius III. In ipsa rei confusione Marcus Antonius ejus filius, cui cum parente veteres & nunquam satis composita controversiæ intercedebant, vim interposuit, eodemque tempore patrem oppidis spoliavit, ab ipsius fisci ministerio prout habuit (11). He quitted Rome contrary to the Prohibition of Paul IV. This Disobedience, together with some former Disturbances, obliged this Pope to publish Letters Monitory against the Father and Son. The Father excused himself, on his being detained a Prisoner at Naples, from having endeavoured to excite a Revolt there; the Son alledged, that he had sequestered the Lands into the Hands of Mendoza, who could not be dispossessed of them, without the Emperor's Order. I am surprized, that Palavicini says nothing of Ascanio Colonna's Wife: But since we know, from another Hand, that she was engaged in her Son's Intrigues at Rome, and that the Son was at variance with his Father, we may safely suppose, that she was not upon very good Terms with her Husband. Gratiani speaks more positively of Marc Antony's scandalous Conduct towards his Father. Ante omnes, says he (12), Colonniorum familia,

(8) Gratian. de Censuris Virorum Illustrium, pag. 132.

(9) On the second of January 1556.

(10) F. Pauli's History of the Council of Trent.

(11) Pallavic. Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 13. cap. 14. n. 9.

(12) Gratian. ubi supra, magna pag. 120.

(d) Of the
Edition of
Paris 1609.

fifth (d). She had a Sister, who was very handsome even in her old Age, and who had a famous Daughter-in-Law [G].

Every Remark on this Lady's Article might be spun out to a greater Length. For which reason, I shall add, in this Edition, by way of Supplement to what I have already said of her Deification (c), that, soon after the erecting of her Temple by the Care of *Jerom Ruscelli*, a certain Gallant Author dedicated many Statues to it

(c) In the Re-
mark [A].

"magna in civitate pollensque pro illo (*Cæfare*) stabat, cujus princeps Marcus Antonius cum paulo ante Alcanium patrem, a quo hostili odio dissidebat, infimulatum majestatis in custodiam tradendum Neapoli curasset, aliquot oppidis intra fines Romanæ Ecclesiæ haud longe ab Urbe imperitabat. — The great and powerful Family of the Colonna's declared for Him, whose Head *Mark Antony*, having, not long before, procured his Father, with whom he was at irreconcilable Variance, to be imprisoned at Naples for Treason, was in possession of some Towns within the Territories of the Roman Church, not far from the City."

[G] She had a Sister, who was very handsome, even in her old Age, and who had a famous Daughter-in-law.] A Spanish Author speaks of these three Ladies thus: "Que cosas no podrian desirle en laude y exaltation de la hermosissima Duquesa de Tallacoza, Donna Joana de Aragon, muger de Sangre Real, y en summo grado casta, y buena? Y ainsí de Donna Maria su Hermana Marquesa del Vasto? Y de Donna Isabel de Gonzaga, su nuera (13). —

(13) Joan. de
Spinosa, Di-
alog. in lau-
des de las
Mugeres.
fol. 98. verso.

"What Praise may not be bestowed on the most beautiful Duchess of Tallacoza, Donna Joanna of Aragon, a Lady of the Blood Royal, and chaste and good to the highest Degree; likewise of Donna Maria, Marchioness of Vasto; and of Donna Isabella de Gonzaga, her Daughter-in-law? Donna Maria of Aragon, Sister of Joanna, was Wife of Alphonso d'Avalos, Marquis del Vasto, one of Charles the Fifth's best Generals. Sorbiere calls her Marchioness of Vasto, and ranks her among the learned Women (14). Brantome, who praised her highly, has placed her among the lasting Beauties; for, after having repeated the fine things, with which the Grand Prior of France entertained her in a numerous Assembly; That her Autumn surpassed all the Springs and Summers then in the Room, he adds, and indeed she was still fairer, and more desirable, than either of her two Daughters, though both fair and young; and tho' she was, then, near sixty Years of Age (15). The Grand Prior (16), was immediately smitten with her; but, though he loved the Mother, yet he took her eldest Daughter for his Mistress, por adombrar la cosa. — By way of a Blind. After six Years, or more, Brantome, returning to Naples, found her but very little altered, and still so fair, that he said she could hardly fail of occasioning a mortal Sin to be committed, either in Thought, or Deed. She died at Chiaia, in the House of Don Garcias de Toledo, the ninth of November, 1658 (17). I do not remember to have observed, that he ever mentions her Sister. It is true, he speaks somewhere of the Wife of one Alcanio Colonna, who passed for one of the greatest Beauties of Italy, and whom Barbarossa endeavoured to carry off, in order to make a present of her to the Grand Signior; but he calls her the Signora Livia (18) Gonzaga (19). It is not the same, then, who is concerned in this Article; though the manner, in which Augustin Niphus has spoken of her Beauty, may create a Belief, that she was not less likely, than the other, to prompt Barbarossa to such an Attempt. Thuanus has mentioned this Mary of Aragon; he says, that the Island of Ischia was chiefly remarkable for having been the place of this Lady's Retreat. "Dragutes

(14) Sorbiere
Lettre xv.
pag. 73.

(15) Brantome, Dames
Galantes,
Tom. 2. pag.
243, 245.

(16) Francis
of Lorraine,
General of
the Gallies,
Son to Claude,
first Duke
of Guise.
This Journey
to Naples
was taken in
1559.

(17) Tomaso
Costo,
Compendio
dell' Istoria
del Regno
di Napoli.
Part. 3. fol.
59.

(18) He
should have
said Julia;
we shall
speak of her
under the Ar-
ticle GON-
ZAGA.

(19) Brantome, Dames
Illustres, pag.
283.

(20) Thuan.
Hist. ad
Ann. 1552.
pag. 222.

"Enariam Insulam Arce munissima, quæ inter duas terras saxo imposita est, sed maxime Mariæ Arragoniæ Alfonso Avali Vastii viduæ secessu nobilem, petit (20). — Dragutes seek the Island of Ichia, famous for it's strong Citadel, built, between two Necks of Land, on a Rock, but chiefly for the Retreat of Mary of Aragon, Widow of Alphonso d'Avalos, Marquis of Vasto." The same *Jerom Ruscelli*, of whom I have spoken above, and who took so much pains to immortalize Joan of Aragon, was at a great Expence likewise in spreading the Praises of Mary. He was not satisfied with using the liveliest Expressions, his Imagination could suggest,

to set off the Perfections of this Lady, but collected all the Pieces of Poetry, in which she had been celebrated by the finest Wits of the Times, and printed them at the end of his Commentary, on a Song of *John Baptista d'Azia*, Marquis della Terza. This Song was written in praise of " (Illustissima & Excellentissima Signora, la Signora Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto). — The most illustrious and most Excellent Lady, the Lady Donna Maria of Aragon, Marchioness of Vasto." This Commentary of *Ruscelli* was printed at Venice, in 1552, in 4to, by *John Griffius*, and contains Seventy three Leaves. The Marchioness is represented in it as the Archetype of Beauty, the Criterium Formæ; inasmuch that, (according to the Commentator) the true way of knowing, whether other Women are more beautiful, one than another, is to examine, whether they resemble her more or less. "Secondo che in altre vedrà le fattezze del volto & di tutto il corpo che habbian somiglianza, ò s'avvicino poco ò molto à quelle di lei, così giudicare, che le Bellezze di quelle tali, sieno più ò meno perfette, come del Paragon dell' oro habbiam detto. Et da tale esempio, ò idea, ò più tosto vero Archetipo qui in terra della vera Bellezza corporale, formar poi le regole, le ragioni, le misure, i gradi, & le proporzioni della Bellezza intera & perfetta (21). — According as, in other Women, you see the correspondent Lineaments of the Face and Body resemble more or less the Beauties of this Lady, to judge from thence, that such Women are more or less fair; as I have observed of this Paragon of Beauty. And from this Copy, or Idea, or rather true Archetype on Earth of corporeal Beauty, to form the Rules, Reasons, Measures, Degrees, and Proportions, of entire and perfect Beauty." He makes her no less beautiful in Soul, than Body; and says, that *Giraldi* having had the Honour to see her, and hear her speak, was struck dumb for some time, not knowing whether she was more desirable for her Beauty, or adorable for her Wit. "Al cospetto di questa divinissima signora condottosi già il Signor Giovan Battista Giraldi Cinthio, & contemplando attentissimamente l'una & l'altra Bellezza che à gli occhi del corpo, & à qui della mente gli si rappresentavano dalla vera Bellezza del volto, dalla splendor de gli occhi, dalla soavità della favella, dalla leggiadria & macia del sembiante, & dalla maraviglia de' modi & delle maniere veramente angeliche, stette lunga pezza tra se stessi attonito, & stupefatto, & dalla somma Bellezza del Corpo, che primieramente s' offeriva à gli occhi suoi, dovea tosto risolverli, che questa fosse da lui da amarsi sopra ogn' altra cosa mortale. Poi passando subito col pensiero à quella dell' animo, che gli si rappresentava per quei modi & per quelle maniere già dette, si mutava di opinione, & risolveasi, che quella sola Bellezza dell' animo, dovesse come cosa divina & celeste, con intera humiltà & divotione adorarsi (22). — This Signior John Baptista Giraldi Cinthio, being conducted to the sight of this divine Lady, and attentively considering the Charms both of her Mind and Body, stood long astonished at the true Beauty of her Countenance, the Lustre of her Eyes, the Sweetness of her Voice, the Comeliness and Majesty of her Appearance, the Wonderfulness of her Manners, which were truly Angelical; and, from the great Beauty of her Body, which first struck his Sight, immediately thought her worthy of his Love, beyond all other Women. Afterwards, passing in thought to the Beauties of her Mind, which appeared to him in the manner we have already described, he changed his Opinion, and determined, that this Beauty of the Mind alone deserved to be worshipped with perfect Humility and Devotion, as divine and celestial." — Then follows the Madrigal, which he composed on this Problem.

(21) Ruscelli, Lettura sopra un Sonetto, &c.
fol. 57.

(22) Ruscelli, ibid.

it [H]. The Life of the Duke of *Alba* will furnish me with some new Particulars relating to the Disturbances, which obliged this Lady to fly from *Rome*, in the Year 1556 (f) [I]. She was then very old, according to the Duke of *Alba's* Historian. She must therefore have enjoyed a long Life; for She died in the Month of *October*, 1577 (g). In the Year 1575, She made a Present to the Capuchins of the Holy Sacrament of the Place, where the Monastery, which they had at *Rome*, was built (h). She was a Benefactress to the Jesuits; for the rebuilt the Church of *St Andrew*, which the Bishop of *Tivoli* made them a present of in the Year 1566 (i). Hitherto I have said nothing of her Genealogy; it is Time I should observe, that she was Daughter of Ferdinand of *Aragon*, Duke of *Montalto* [K], third Natural Son of *Ferdinand I*, King of *Naples*.

(f) See the Remarks [E] and [F].

(g) Tomaso Costo, Compendio dell' Istoria di Napoli, part 3. fol. 168.

(h) See la Ritratto di Roma Moderna, 541, Edit. of Rome 1653.

(i) Ibid. pag. 340.

[H] *A gallant Author dedicated many Statues to it* He was *Joseph Betussi*. He published, at *Florence*, in 1566, a Dialogue, entituled, *Le Imagini del Tempio della Signora Donna Giovanna Aragona*. — *Statues of the Temple of the Lady Donna Joanna of Aragon*. The Book consists of an Hundred and twenty one Pages; in which the Praises of several of the fair Sex are artfully intermixed with those of the Goddess of the Temple.

[I] *New Particulars relating to the Disturbances, which obliged this Lady to fly from Rome, in the Year 1556.* The following is an Abstract from the History of the Duke of *Alba*, printed in *Latin*, at *Salamanca*, in 1669, and in *French*, at *Paris*, in 1699. "*Joanna of Aragon*, Mother of *Marc Antony* " *Colonna*, laid behind at *Rome*; and the *Caraffa's*, " who kept her always in Sight, detained her, if I " may so say, as an Hostage. As the Truce, in " some measure, removed their Suspensions, and " Roads were open, the *Duchess* went out of *Rome*, " with her two Daughters, on Foot, pretending the " was going to divert herself in a Vineyard, at some " Distance from the Ramparts. Though she was now " very aged, she continued walking, till she was out " of sight of the Centinels, who kept the Gates; " after which she got on Horse-back, and mounted " her two Daughters behind two Cavaliers. With " this Equipage, unworthy of her, but very agree- " able to her present Fortune, she fled away to the " Camp. The Duke of *Alba* received her with in- " expressible Joy. As the great Age of this Lady " could give no room for Suspicion, he embraced " her; but contented himself with saluting her two " Daughters, who uncovered themselves out of Re- " spect. *I fancy*, says he, addressing himself instant- " ly to her, *that I see the famous Clelia, who fled*, " *not from the Enemies Camp in her own City, in-* " *fluenced by the sole Love, of her Country, but from* " *the City in the Camp, induced to this Flight by the* " *force of maternal Affection*. The *Duchess* was " charmed with the Generosity of the *Spanish* *Gener-* " *al*, and express'd her Sense of it by a thousand " thanks; however, she could not resolve to continue " in the Camp; the Age of her Daughters not per-

mitting her. The Duke consented to it; and " she retired into *Campania*, accompanied by her " Son, and escorted by a Party of Horse, which " the Vice-Roy assigned her, out of Respect, not ne- " cessity (23).

We must lay a Word or two of the Misfortunes of her Husband. " He was a Prisoner in the Castle of " *Naples*, accused by his own Son of Heresy, and a " Conspiracy against his Catholic Majesty (24); and " when the Duke of *Alba* arrived at *Naples*, in the " Year 1556, he visited him in Prison (25), and heard " all he had to say. — He comforted the good " old Man as much as possible, and assigned him the " Castle for his Prison; whereas before he had been " confined to a very strait Tower. He relieved the " Distress, to which he was reduced, not only by " giving him Money, but by appointing him an " handsome Pension out of his Son's Estate. — " However he did not give him his Liberty; the " Accusations against him were supported by too " many Probabilities; and many People thought them " too well grounded. Besides he would have diso- " bliged *Philip*, who kept *Afcancio* in Prison the " remainder of his Days, without, however, de- " priving him of those Advantages, which the Duke " had had the Goodness to grant him."

The Historian remarks, that *this Affair* (26) was " never thoroughly examined into; and he blames *Noel* " *le Compte*, who accuses the Duke of *Alba* of having " rigorously treated the Father of *Marc Antony* *Col-* " *onna*.

[K] She was Daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of *Montalto*.] *Antony*, his Son, succeeded him in the Duchy of *Montalto*, and espoused *Hippolita* of *Roceira*, and afterwards *Antoinette* of *Cardena*, and was the Father of another *Antony*. This latter, fourth Duke of *Montalto*, was married to *Maria de la Cerda*, Daughter to the Duke of *Medina Celi*, and afterwards to *M. Louisa de Luna*. He had several Children, who all died young, except one Daughter, named *Maria*, who was Heiress of the Duchy of *Montalto*, and married, in *Sicily*, to Don *Francis de Moncada*, Prince of *Paterno* (27).

(24) Life of the Duke of *Alba*, Book 4. chap. 19. pag. 381.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Ibid.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Ibid.

(33) Ibid.

(34) Ibid.

(35) Ibid.

(36) Ibid.

(37) Ibid.

(38) Ibid.

(39) Ibid.

(40) Ibid.

(41) Ibid.

(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Ibid.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Ibid.

(48) Ibid.

(49) Ibid.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ibid.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Ibid.

(60) Ibid.

(61) Ibid.

(62) Ibid.

(63) Ibid.

(64) Ibid.

(65) Ibid.

(66) Ibid.

(67) Ibid.

(68) Ibid.

(69) Ibid.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Ibid.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid.

(79) Ibid.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Ibid.

(82) Ibid.

(83) Ibid.

(84) Ibid.

(85) Ibid.

(86) Ibid.

(87) Ibid.

(88) Ibid.

(89) Ibid.

(90) Ibid.

(91) Ibid.

(92) Ibid.

(93) Ibid.

(94) Ibid.

(95) Ibid.

(96) Ibid.

(97) Ibid.

(98) Ibid.

(99) Ibid.

(100) Ibid.

(a) Corio, Histor. di Milano, parte 6. pag. 879. Edit. 1646. in 4to.

(b) Varillas, Hist. of Char. VIII. lib. 2. pag. 157.

(c) Konig is expressly milita- ken, in mak- ing him live in 1672.

ARAGON (ISABELLA of) Daughter of *Alphonso*, Duke of *Calabria*, Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, was the Wife of *John Galeazzo Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*. This Duke, before his Marriage, was under the Tuition of his Uncle *Lewis Sforza*; nor was he less so, after he had been married, with great Magnificence [A], to *Isabella* of *Aragon*, in 1489 (a). The Counsels of this Princess, who was as Ambitious as Fair, encouraged him to let the World see he was resolved fully to enjoy all his Rights (b); but he had a strong Party to deal with. The Protector was the most intriguing Man in the World, and the best able to support himself against the just Pretensions of his Nephew. He had fallen in Love with the Princess *Isabella* at first sight; and, as she had been married to *John Galeazzo* only by Proxy, he did not despair of marrying her himself, in exclusion of his Nephew. He discovered his Design to the Princess; assuring her, that she might more certainly depend upon Commanding, if she married him, than if she was the Wife of *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew. This Proposal was rejected with scorn. The Protector was not discourag- ed; but ordered Matters so, that his Nephew could not consummate his Marriage; and

[A] After he had been married ----- with great Magnificence.] Read *Trifan Chalcibus*, an Author of those Times (1), in *Nepitium Mediolanen- sum descriptione*. Father *Menetrier* quotes a very long Passage from him, which contains a Description of the magnificent Supper, which *Bergonza Bot- ta*, a Gentleman of *Lombardy*, gave to Duke *Gale-*

azzo and his new married Duchess, when he en- tertained them at his House at *Tortona*. " Each Ser- " vice was ushered in with a kind of an Opera, " which Novelty at that Time rendered agreeable, " rather than the Graces, which have been since " added to these Musical Entertainments (2)."

(2) Mene- trier, Re- presentat. en Musique, pag. 160. & seq.

[B] His

and to effect this, as was commonly said, had recourse to some Magic Ligature [B]. In the mean time, he caused his own Marriage with *Isabella* to be negotiated at the Court of Naples. *Ferdinand* seemed inclined to grant his Request; but the Duke of Calabria would never consent to it (c). So that *Lewis Sforza* was obliged to deliver up the Prey to *John Galeazzo*; but he was resolved to be revenged, and destined *Isabella* of Aragon to be his Principal Victim. He denied her several things, which flattered either her Taste, or her Diversion (d), and married a Princess, who thwarted her in every thing. The Young *Isabella* underwent so many Vexations in this Conflict, and kind of Civil War, which is well worth the pains of describing [C], that she sent her Father and Grandfather Word, that, if they did not release her out of this miserable Condition, she should attempt her own Life (e). These Princes were not in a Condition to bring *Lewis Sforza* to Reason, who was instrumental in drawing the French into Italy; which overwhelmed the whole House of Aragon, which then reigned in Naples. He carried his Villiany so far, as to murder his Nephew (f) [D]. It is in vain

(f) Conjuge Joanne Galeacio orbatam, eo quidem luctuosius ac miserius, quod in veneficio sublatum crederetur. --- She was deprived of her Husband John Galeazzo, in a manner so much the more afflicting and unhappy, as he was thought to have been taken off by Poison. Jo. vus Elogior. lib. 5. pag. 422.

[B] His Nephew could not consummate his Marriage ----- to effect which he is said to have had recourse to some Magic Ligature. Guicciardin affirms, that there was such a Report, and that all Italy was persuaded of it: "E manifestello che quando *Isabella* figliuola d' Alfonso ando a congiugnerli col marito, Lodovico come la vidde, innamorato di lei, desidero ottenerla per moglie dal padre: e a questo effetto opero (cosi fu allora creduto per tutta Italia) con incantamenti, e con malie, che Giovan Galeazzo fu per molta mesi impotente alla consummatione del matrimonio: alla qual cosa Ferdinando harebbe acconsentito, ma Alfonso repugno, onde Lodovico escluso di questa speranza, preta altra moglie & havutone figliuoli, volto tutti i pensieri a trasferire in quegli il Ducato di Milan (3). ----- It is certain, that, when *Isabella*, the Daughter of Alfonso, went to meet her Husband, Lewis, seeing her, fell in love with her, and desired her of her Father for himself; to which end, as it was then generally believed all over Italy, he so contrived it, by Enchantments and Witchcraft, that John Galeazzo was for many Months incapable of consummating his Marriage; upon which account Ferdinand would have consented, but Alfonso refused; whence it was, that Lewis, being disappointed, and having married another Lady, and bad Children by her, employed all his Thoughts to transfer the Duchy of Milan to Them." Mr Varillas, as far as I can perceive, does not touch upon this Particular; he only says, that *Lewis Sforza* hindered the Consummation of this Marriage for three Months (4). He proves clearly enough, that the Reason was, because the Parties were kept from each other; for he says (5), that the Father of the Bride thought himself obliged in Honour ----- to suffer *Lewis Sforza* to keep the new married Couple any longer asunder. That he threatened to complain of it to all Europe, and to arm in revenge of his Quarrel. This was a strange Piece of Malice, and an insufferable Act of Violence in the Protector.

[C] A kind of Civil War, which is well worth the Pains of describing. As Varillas seems to have succeeded very well in his Description of this Matter, I believe I shall oblige the Reader with a curious Fragment, by inserting his very Words in this Place. It is a Piece so much the more necessary to this Article, as it serves to discover the Humour, Spirit, and internal Qualities of *Isabella* of Aragon. "*Lewis Sforza* gave up *Isabella* to his Nephew ----- and, to give her a Rival, who should controul her on every Occasion, he addressed himself to the Princess *Alphonfina*, Daughter of *Hercules d' Este*, Duke of Ferrara. *Alphonfina* resembled *Isabella* in all things, except in Beauty. Both were conceited of their Births, and both without Reason; since they had nothing to reproach each other with on that Score, and since there was Bastardy in the Genealogies of both. They were both haughty to excess; and their Pride was owing to a most refined Ambition. They were both Chaste, more from a Principle of Pride, than Constitution. *Isabella* resolved to marry, and *Alphonfina* aspired to it, rather to partake of their Husband's Power, than their Beds. Both were Luxurious; and, though both had been educated in Families, in which nothing recommended itself so much as Pashimony, yet they were naturally Prodigal, and their Inclinations led them to all possible

Expendes. The Duke of Ferrara did not deliberate a Moment, whether he should give *Alphonfina* to *Lewis Sforza*. He had no Dower to give her; and there was Reason to hope she might one Day be Duchess of Milan. She was therefore sent away immediately to *Lewis Sforza*, who had two Sons successively by her. This Fruitfulness made her insult *Isabella*, who had been delivered a second time only of a Daughter; But Jealousy had before sowed Discord between them. *Alphonfina* could not bear the Praises bestowed on *Isabella's* Beauty; she looked upon them as a Reproach to her own Homeliness; nor could *Isabella* see with Patience the extraordinary Honours paid *Alphonfina*, as believing they were due only to herself. They both lived in the same Palace, and eat constantly together. They had new Opportunities every Day of increasing their Aversion; and the Courtiers furnished the greatest Part of them. They paid diligent Court to *Alphonfina*; because her Husband distributed all the Favours; and attended in *Isabella's* Apartment for mere Form's Sake. She was perfectly distracted at it, and it was this Solitude, no less than the short Allowance for her Court, which made her write to her Father, and Grandfather, that she would make an Attempt upon her own Life, if they did not deliver her from this Captivity. On the other hand, *Alphonfina* was so tired of *Isabella*, that, to get rid of her, she solicited her Husband to make her a Duchess, as he had promised, and add the Quality of Duke of Milan to That of Administrator of the Duchy (6). Varillas had said, in this very History (7), that *Isabella* had written to the Duke of Calabria her Father, and to the King of Naples, her Grandfather, certain Letters, the greater Part of which are still extant (8); in which she complained of her Unhappines, in the most pathetic Terms then in use; she described it in such lively Colours, as would have made the hardest Heart relent; she told them she had made herself a Slave, purely in Obedience to their Commands; and she threatened to destroy herself with her own Hands, if she was not immediately set at Liberty.

[D] He carried his Villany so far, as to murder his Nephew. I shall again make use of the very Words of Varillas. Thus he speaks, under the One thousand Four hundred and Ninety fourth Year, after having conducted his King as far Pavia. "*Lewis Sforza*, being persuaded, that it was time to make away with Duke *John Galeazzo*, his Nephew, caused, they say, one of those lingering Doses of Poison to be given him, which produce Symptoms of a Consumption and wasting in the Body; in order to confirm a Report, which was spread about at that time, that this Prince's Illness proceeded from the too strong Incitements of his Wife's Beauty. The Physicians had given him over, when the King, passing by Pavia, where he lay sick, could not dispense with paying him a Visit. His Majesty did not speak to him concerning any Business; because *Lewis Sforza* had earnestly desired to be present at the Interview, which they durst not refuse him: He only expressed his Sorrow to see his Cousin German ----- in to weak a Condition, and endeavoured to flatter him with some Hopes of Recovery; but *John Galeazzo*, who found himself a dying,

(6) Varillas, History of Char. VIII. book 3. pag. 211.

(7) Pag. 158.

(8) He cites in the Margin, L'Histoire de Bernardin Corio.

* They were two Sons of two Sisters, Princesses of Savoy.

(c) Varillas, History of Char. VIII. lib. 3. pag. 210, 211.

(d) Ibid. lib. 2. pag. 157.

(e) See Remark [C].

(3) Guicciardin. lib. 1. pag. 15.

(4) Varillas, History of Lewis XIII. book 1. p. 47.

(5) Ibid. lib. 3. pag. 211.

* Borso d' Este, Great Grandfather by the Father's side, to *Alphonfina*; and Ferdinand Grandfather by the Father's side to *Isabella*; were both Legitimates.

vain to pretend, that *John Galeazzo* died of over-caressing his Wife [E]; the Tradition, which imputes his Death to his Uncle's Ambition, has prevailed. After the French had taken *Milan*, the Princess *Isabella* retired to *Naples*, and appeared the most afflicted of all the Princesses her Relations, who were in great Numbers in the Island of *Ischia*, when King *Frederic* was obliged to surrender at Discretion to *Lewis* the XIIth, in the Year 1501 (g). She spent a long time in exchanging one Mourning for another; for, in the space of a few Years, she lost her Grandfather, Husband, Father, Brother, Uncle, and Son [F]. The only Consolation left her was to see her Persecutor *Lewis Sforza* expiate his Crimes, in *France*, by an hard Captivity, which ended but with his Life. She had yet another Consolation, which affected her perhaps more than the former; which was to see her only Daughter, *Bonna Sforza*, married to *Sigismund*, King of *Poland*; She retired to a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which had been assigned her for her Dower (h), where she lived in such a manner, as shewed, that Adverse Fortune had not sunk That Air of Royal Grandeur, in which she had been Educated. She died of a Dropsy; but had time enough to take a Journey of Devotion to *Rome*, in the Pontificat of *Leo* the Xth. She walked on foot to the *Vatican*, followed by a great Number of Ladies, dressed like Brides. The whole Town ran to see this Sight (i). It were to be wished, for her Memory's sake, that we could finish her Article here, without an Appendix much to her disadvantage; but we are not Masters of these Things. Her very Panegyrist has made use of the Conclusion we are about to make. This Lady, who, in the Bloom of her Youth, had been so famed for Virtue, gave an handle to Slander in the Decline of her Age, and admitted the Gallantries of *Prosper Colonna*, with

(g) Gratian. de Causis Viror. Illustrium, pag. 41.

(h) Bori. See the last Remark.

(i) Jovius, Elog. p. 422.

"and did not doubt but it was owing to the Wickedness of his Uncle, laid hold of this Conjecture. He considered not himself; but, calling to mind his Son and Daughter, he recommended them to the King with a flood of Tears; plainly importing, that, if his Majesty did not take particular care of them, he foresaw they would be poisoned as well as himself. To conclude the Tragedy, the Duchess, his Wife, cast herself at the King's Feet, as the Italian Authors say, who are more to be credited in this, than *Philip de Commines*, who will have it to be at the Feet of *Lewis Sforza*. She was too high spirited to act such a Part; and, could she have conquered her Pride, she was but too well convinced, that her Submission would be all in vain. She did not mention her Children, because she supposed her Husband's Tears would be effectual in that Point: She reserved her's for her Father; and the King made her no other Answer, than that the Expedition of *Naples* was too far advanced, to be left unfinished (g)."

(n) Varillas, ubi supra, pag. 253.

[E] It is in vain to pretend, that *John Galeazzo* died of over-caressing his Wife. *Guicciardin* affirms, that this was reported; but gives it as the general Opinion of Italy, that this Prince died of Poison, which *Lewis Sforza* had given him. "Fu pubblicato da molti la morte di *Giovann Galeazzo* essere proceduta da coito immoderato, non dimeno si credeva universalmente per tutta Italia, che e' fusse morto non per infermita naturale ne per incontinencia, ma di veleno: e Teodoro da Pavia uno de' Medici Regii, il quale era presente quando Carlo lo visitò, affermo haverne veduto segni manifestissimi. Ne fu alcuno, che dubitasse che se era stato veleno, non gli fusse stato dato per opera del zio (10). ----- It was reported by many, that the Death of *John Galeazzo* proceeded from immoderate Coition; nevertheless it was universally believed by all Italy, that he died, not of any natural Infirmiti, or of Incontinency, but of Poison; and Theodore of Pavia, one of the King's Physicians, who was present, when Charles visited him, affirmed, that he had discovered manifest Symptoms of it. Nor did any one doubt, that, if there was Poison in the Case, it was given him by the Contrivance of his Uncle." *Jovian Pontanus* affirms, that People talked publicly of this abominable Crime of *Lewis Sforza*. "Ludovicum Sforciam, qui pubescentem primo, dein adolescentem jam ætatem Joannis Galeatii fratris filii Mediolanensis Ducis procuracione hæctenus ac patrocinio tutatus est suo, veneno illum et medio sustulisse cives, advenæ, peregrini passim atque impune omnes predicant ----- Fora, porticus, plateæ, circuleque infimorum cujusque generis hominum nefandis criminis accusationibus ----- im-

(10) Guicciardin. lib. 1. pag. 27. ad Ann. 1494.

"precationibus etiam maxime diris plena undique circumsonant (11). ----- Citizens, Foreigners, and Travellers, cry out every, and with Impunity, that *Lewis Sforza* had poisoned his Nephew *John Galeazzo*, Duke of *Milan*, who had been educated from his Youth under his Care and Protection. ----- The Market-places, Portico's, Streets, and Assemblies of People of the lowest Rank, resound with Accusations of this wicked Action, and the most dreadful Imprecations on it's Author." A Crowd of Historians concur in this, as *Bernardin Corio* (12), *Peter Bembo* (13), *Vianoli* (14), &c.

(11) Jovian. Pontan. de Præsentia, lib. 4. init.

[F] In the Space of a few Years, she lost her Grandfather, Husband, Father, Brother, Uncle, and Son. *Paulus Jovius* (15) describes this Series of Misfortunes with great Eloquence, but does not always observe Order; for he has placed the Death of the Husband, before That of the Grandfather. As to the Son of our Princess, he says, that the French took him away from his Mother, and carried him into France, to make a Monk of him, and that he died of a fall from an Horse. "In venatione currentis equi lapsus in Hædus exanimatus esse nunciaretur. Hunc enim vel invita depocentibus Gallis tradiderat, à quibus cucullati sacerdotis habitum in opulenti sacerdotii cœnobium idcirco con-

(12) Corio, Histor. Mediolan. Part. 8. 7.

(13) Petr. Bembo, Hist. Venet. lib. 2. fol. 30.

(14) Vianoli Histor. Venet. Part. 2. pag. 20.

(15) Jovius, Elog. lib. 5. pag. 422.

jectus fuerat, ne Sforziani Regni legitimæ proles hæres superseslet." *Bernardin Corio* gives us a very moving Description of the Sorrow of this Princess, when, all at once, she saw her Husband carried to his Grave, her Son excluded from the Duchy of *Milan*, and the Wife of *Lewis Sforza* on the Throne. "Li suoi fautori gridando duca, visitò (*Ludovico*) il tempio di Divo Ambrosio, e le campane in segno de letitia fecero sonare, il morto corpo di *Giovanne Galeazzo* anchora essendo nel Domino scoperto, e quasi universalmente da tutti pianto e condoluto il miserando e pietoso caso. *Isabella* sua moglie a Pavia con li poveri figliuoli vestiti di lugubre vestimenti, come prigione si recluso entro una camera, e gran tempo stette giacendo sopra la dura terra, che non vide aère. Dovrebbe pensare ogni lettore l'acerbo caso de la sconsolata Ducissa, e le più duro il cuore haveffe che diamante, piangerebbe a considerare qual doglia dovea essere quella de la sciagurata infelice moglie, in uno punto vedere la morte del giovenetto e bellissimo consorte, la perdita de tutto lo imperio suo, e li figliuoli a canto orbi de ogni bene, il padre e fratello con la casa sua espulsi dal Neapolitano Reame, e Ludovico Sforza con Beatrice sua moglie nel modo dimostrato haverli occupata la signoria. ----- Those of his Party saluting him Duke, he visited the Temple of St Ambrose, and set the Bells a ringing for Joy; the dead Body of *John Galeazzo* being yet in the House uncovered, and his unfortunate End universally

with very little regard to her Reputation [G]. Her Daughter, the Queen Dowager of Poland, having retired to the same place, in the Kingdom of Naples, followed there the Example of her Mother [H]. So true it is, that Love is the ordinary and almost unavoidable Rock of the Honour and Merit of Women, who have conversed much in the *grand monde*. Sooner or later they split upon it. *Serius ocius fors exitura*. Our *Isabella* died the eleventh of February, 1524, as is remarked in her Epitaph, reported by Mr *Misson*, in the second Volume (k) of his *Travels into Italy*.

(h) Pag. 41.
3d Edition.

" universally lamented. *Isabella*, his Wife, with her
" poor Children, dressed in Mourning, *shut herself up*
" at Pavia, in a dark Chamber, and lay a long Time
" prostrate on the hard Ground. Every Reader will
" imagine the melancholy Condition of the disconsolate
" Dukes; and, though his Heart be harder than
" Adamant, must relent, when he considers what
" must have been the Grief of this unhappy Lady;
" to behold, at one Instant, the Death of her young
" and beautiful Consort; the Loss of all her Power,
" and her little Sons, at her Side, deprived of all
" their Estate; her Father and Brother, with all
" her Family, expelled the Kingdom of Naples; and
" Lewis Sforza, with Beatrice, his Wife, possessed,
" in the above-mentioned Manner, of the Dukedom."

[G] She gave a handle to Slander in the decline
of her Age, and admitted the Gallantries of Prosper
Colonna, with very little regard to her Reputation.]
Paul Jovius informs us of this, in the Elogy he
made on this Princess: " Ceterum in hac eximie
" virtutis femina improbe plebis rumor non medio-
" criter pudoris decus pertrinxit, ob id gravior,
" quod cum florebat ætate impenetrabilem pudici-
" tiam prætulisset, in ipso demum ætatis flexu Pro-
" sperum Columnam sibi cultum, & officium assidue
" tribuentem, sæpeque procacem ad urbaniores jocos
" admitteret (16). — Yet even this Lady of exem-
" plary Virtue suffered her Reputation to be not a little
" jultied by common Fame; and the more so, as she,
" who in her Youth had preserved an inviolable Cha-
" stity, in the decline of her Age, admitted the Ad-
" dresses of Prosper Colonna, and often admitted him
" to jest and toy with her."

(16) Jovius,
Elog. p. 424.

[H] The Queen Dowager of Poland ----- fol-
lowed the Example of her Mother.] *Thuanus* reflects
more upon the Daughter; than Paul Jovius does
upon the Mother; every one may judge of this by
comparing the Passages. " Eodem tempore Bona
" Sforcia Sigismundi Augusti Poloniæ regis parens
" - - - filii pertulit, Sarmatia relicta, in Italiam
" venit, & honorifice Venetiis excepta est -----
" unde paratam triremem confectam in Apuliam
" ad Barium navigavit, cujus urbis possessio gentili-
" tione Arragoniæ gentis jure dotale & hæreditarium
" illi erat. Ibi solute & diffidentie a priore vita
" ratione postea vixit, consuetudine cujusdam Papa-
" caudæ non satis honeste usæ, cui & omnia bona
" testamento præteritis liberis reliquit, & fama ac
" bonis decoctis haud multo post in summa egestate
" & infamia decessit (17). ----- At the same time
" Bona Sforza, Mother of Sigismund Augustus, King
" of Poland, being tired of her Son, left Sarmatia,
" and came into Italy, where she was honourably re-
" ceived at Venice ----- whence, going on board
" a three-oared Vessel, prepared for her, she sailed
" to Bari, of which Town she was in Possession, as
" being her Dowry, in right of the House of Ara-
" gon (18). There she lead a dissolute Life, con-
" trary to what she had 'till then done, carrying
" on a criminal Correspondence with a young Gallant,
" to whom, in exclusion of her Children, she left all
" her Effects by Will; and, having ruined her Re-
" putation and Estate, died in extremest Poverty and
" Infamy." This is what *Thuanus* says of the Queen
Dowager of Poland. Can any thing be added to
this Elogy?

(17) Thuan.
Hist. lib. 16.
ad Annum
1555. p. 326.

(18) Mr. Va-
rillas, in the
Life of Lew-
is XIII. l. 1.
p. 47. says,
that Lewis
Sforza, find-
ing himself
contrasted to
quit the Du-
chy of Mil-
lan, made
over to the
Duchess Is-
abella the
Duchy of
Bari, and the
Principality
of Rossano,
which had
been given
him in Re-
compence for
having re-
established
the House of
Aragon on
the Throne of
Naples.

ARAGON (MARY of) Wife of the Emperor *Otho* the Third, and Daughter
of a King of *Aragon*, became infamous for her Lewdness; which at last brought her
to the Punishment of the Fire. She artfully disguised a young Fellow, whom she
was in love with, in Woman's Apparel, and made him pass for her Chamber-
maid (a). We need not ask, whether she used any Moderation; her Temper, and
perpetual Opportunities, give us sufficiently to understand, that her pretended
Chamber-Maid wanted no Employ, and that she made one in all the Progresses,
which the Court took. The Emperor, having discovered this abominable Cheat, was
resolved the Empress should have her full share of the Shame; and, for that Pur-
pose, caused the Young Man to be stripped in the Presence of a great many Witnes-
ses, and, upon the flagrant Discovery of his Sex, condemned him to be burnt.
He was gracious enough not to punish his Wife, and hoped she would behave her-
self better for the future; but he was mistaken. She fell desperately in Love with a
young Count near *Modena*, and soon declared her Passion to him; for she was in a
much properer Station no solicit, than be solicited, in Affairs of this kind. The
Count, as Chaste, as he was Beautiful, resisted all the Advances, or, to say better,
all the violent Attacks made upon him; but, if, in this, he imitated *Joseph*, he had
not his good Luck, to come off only with Imprisonment. The Empress complained
to her Husband, that the Count had made Love to her, and hoped such Insolence
would not go unpunished. The credulous *Otho* ordered the Accused to be Behead-
ed. But mark, how the Accuser was caught in her turn. The Count, seeing him-
self condemned, and expecting no Favour, and yet unwilling to reveal the whole
Mystery, made his Wife promise she would justify him, in the best manner she
could, to the Emperor. She kept her Word, preserved her Husband's Head, and
took her Opportunity, when the Emperor admitted Justice in a General Assem-
bly, held in the middle of a great Plain, near *Placentia*. She took, I say, this
Opportunity of demanding Justice against the Murderer of her Husband. The
Emperor, not knowing who she was, promised to do her Justice to the utmost Rig-
or of the Law. Upon which the Countess produced her Husband's Head, and of-
fered to prove his Innocency by the Fiery Tryal. Her offer was accepted; a red
hot Iron was ordered; she took, and held it in her Hand, as long as they pleased,
without being burnt; then boldly demanded the Emperor's Head, as being con-
victed of the Murder of her Husband: At last she was satisfied with the Punishment
of the Empress, whom *Otho* condemned to be burnt (b). This happened towards
the end of the Xth Century.

(a) Secum
muliebri ha-
bitu circum-
duxit juve-
nem, quo
cum congre-
diebatur
quotidie,
quandoqui-
dem eo
pro cubi-
cularia ute-
batur. ---
She carried
about with
her, a young
Fellow in
Woman's
Cloaths,
with whom
she had daily
Opportunities
of being fa-
miliar; since
she made him
pass for her
Chamber-
maid. Man-
steri Cosmo-
graphia, l. 3.

(b) Gottfr.
Viterb.
Chron. Par-
te 2.
lib. Krantz
Cuspinian-
in Othone
III.
Sigon. apud
Maimb. De-
cedence
de l'Emp're
p. 188.

ARAMONT (GABRIEL) Ambassador of France to Constantinople, in the Reign of Henry II, was a Gentleman of Gascony, who acquitted himself worthily of his Employ. The Constable de Montmorency, examining the Overture, which Pope Paul III had made, that the only means to recover Placentia out of the Emperor's hands was to cause the Turkish Fleet to appear upon the Coasts of Naples and Sicily, advised the King his Master to negotiate with Soliman about it. Aramont was chosen to transact this Affair. He was neither less Artful, nor less experienced, than la Foret, Rincon, and Paulin, who had preceded him in This Embassy. He made Friends at the Porte, who procured him free access, and private Audiences; and he knew so well how to turn and wind Matters, that he reconciled Soliman to the French, who had been greatly prejudiced against them. The only question now was, how his Highness's Fleet should act: Whereupon Aramont returned speedily to France, to consult with his Master in what manner the Grand Signior's Assistance might be most usefully applied. The King and the Constable informed him, that they had Intelligence in the Island of Corsica, and that it might easily be taken, if the Turkish Fleet, and That of France, should at once attack it. He set out again for Constantinople, to communicate this Project to the Grand Signior; But, landing at Malta, was instantly requested by the Grand Master (a) to repair to the Turkish Generals, who had besieged Tripoli in Barbary, and employ his Credit, and the Authority of Henry the Second, to oblige them to raise the Siege. He yielded to their Intreaties, and reached the Turkish Camp by the time their Batteries were in readiness to play (b). He had several Conferences with Sinan Bassa, and Dragut, in which he remonstrated to them, that they engaged in an Undertaking altogether opposite to the Treaty, which Soliman was going to conclude with France, since his Highness had agreed to attack the Emperor only, and that Tripoli belonged to the Order of Malta. They replied, That the Knights of Malta were perjured Persons; who, notwithstanding the Oath they had taken to Soliman, when they were treated with so much Civility at their Departure out of Rhodes, committed continual Hostilities against the Turks; adding withal, that they had Orders to drive them out of Africa; and that they could not suspend the Execution of this Order. Aramont wanted neither Excuses nor Replies; and, finding he could not prevail with Sinan Bassa, he resolv'd to depart with all speed for Constantinople, if possible to obtain from Soliman, that Tripoli might not be taken. But, as his Credit and Intrigues were not unknown to the Bassa, he could not obtain Leave to continue his Journey, till after the Taking of Tripoli. He saved the Lives and Liberties of the French, who were in the Place; nor did he decline coming to a Feast, to which Sinan and Dragut invited him after their Conquest. Charles the Fifth was too politic to overlook this Event; he took occasion from it to give out, that France had contributed to the taking of Tripoli. Henry the Second did what he could to answer this Complaint [A]. I have not had time to trace the Negotiations and Adventures of Aramont farther. I know, that his Dispatches were sometimes intercepted, and that the Emperor made use of them

to

(a) He was a Spaniard, called Ome-
da.

(b) See the Judgment Mr. Wicquefort passes upon this Conduct, in his Treatise of the Ambassador, lib. 2. §. 5. pag. 110.

[A] Henry II. did what he could to answer this Complaint (1). The Grand Master of Malta accused our Aramont of having induced the Governor of Tripoli to capitulate. Thuanus, refusing this Accusation, tells us, that the Constable de Montmorency, who had all the Power at that time, had charged this Ambassador to testify to the Grand Master the particular Affection, which He, the Constable, had for the Interests and Prosperity of the Order. This Historian adds, that he had seen Letters, in which the Constable expresses great Concern at the taking of Tripoli; and that his Letters ought not to be suspected of any Diffimulation, since they were written to a Person, to whom the Constable spoke his Thoughts very freely (2). But when Henry II. found, that the Emperor's Partizans accused the Ambassador of France of having contributed to this Conquest of the Ottomans, he dispatched a Gentleman to the Grand Master to complain of the Reports, which were spread abroad, and to enquire of him, how Aramont had behaved himself in That Affair. He declared, that, if he found him guilty of any Misconduct, he would cause him to be punished according to the Exigence of the Case; but he desired, that, if his Ambassador was Innocent, the Grand Master would give a public Testimony of it. The Grand Master's Answer fully justified Gabriel Aramont. "Quo in negotio nullum officium prætermisisset ut Ordini ea in re nostro gratificaretur, hoc enim a V. M. enixe ac religiose sibi injunctum. Præterea, ut quorum culpa ea clades accepta esset certo cunctis constaret, undique probationes collegimus, & inquisitione diligenti super ea re habita nihil commimus quo Aramontium cladi causam dedissemus, aut deditiois auctorem fuisse credi debeat. Quin

(1) Varillas, Hist. de Henri II. liv. 2. p. 198, &c. ad Ann. 1551. See likewise Thuanus, l. 7. p. 155.

(2) Mr. Briffac, who commanded in Piedmont.

"imo ex equitibus captivis — didicimus eum non solum omni culpa vacare, sed multis beneficiis totum ordinem sibi devinxisse, ac proinde non recte nec secundum rationem factum existimamus ut is rumor sparsus sit (3). — In which Affair he used his utmost Endeavours to oblige our Order, as your Majesty had earnestly and solemnly commanded him. Besides, we have collected Proofs from all States, to make it appear to the World, to whom This Loss is to be imputed; and, upon diligent Enquiry into this Matter, we find no reason to suspect Aramont of occasioning this Loss, or of advising the Surrender. We have likewise been informed by some Captive Knights, that he is not only free from all Blame, but that he has obliged the Order by repeated good Offices. For which reason we think this Rumor to be unjustly spread." The King of France did not fail to publish this Answer in all the Courts of Europe, to shew that his Enemies spread Reports right or wrong, without any Foundation, on purpose to make him odious. "Eas litteras — postea Rex per oratores suos passim publicari jussit, qua publicatione compressis Cæfarianorum querelis ac rumoribus, evulgata in Gallici nominis invidiam fama pariter conquevit (4). — These Letters the King afterwards ordered to be published by his Ambassadors; by the Publication of which, the Complaints of the Imperialists being put a stop to, the Report, which was spread to the Dishonour of the French Name, ceased." This might indeed persuade some, that the Partizans of Charles V. were deceived in this Matter; but the Enemies of France easily excused them. When it suits our Inclinations, we imagine it allowable to interpret every thing in a certain Sense, agreeable to a System, which was once built on very probable Reasons.

(3) Thuan. lib. 7. fab. fin.

(4) Id. ibid.

to reproach the *French* with their strict Correspondence with the *Porte* [B]. The Relation of his Embassy is in Manuscript in the Library of Mr de Lamoignon (c).

I have just read a Particular, which may serve by way of Supplement to this Article. The Golden Isles in *Provence* were erected into a Marquitate by Letters of *Henry II*, confirmed by the Parliament of *Aix*; and this Marquitate *Aramont*, Ambassador of *France* to *Constantinople*, was invested with, and seized of, to hold in Fief of the King, with expresse Orders to build, in these Isles, Castles, Towers, and Fortresses, to the Expence of Fifty Thousand Crowns (d).

Reasons. This is without doubt an inexhaustible Spring of erroneous Judgments; but, provided they are useful to us, we are not much in pain about them.

[B] His Dispatches were sometimes intercepted; and the Emperor made use of them to reproach the French with their strict Correspondence with the *Porte*.] In a Letter, which *Charles V.* wrote, in the Year 1552, to the Princes and States of the Empire, he expresses his wonder, that the Ambassador of *France* should pretend to justify his Master as to the Engagements with *Soliman*: "Have not I, says he, the Memorials of *Aramont* drawn up at *Constantinople*, which prove the reality of an Alliance negotiated between the *Porte* and *France* against a Christian Prince?" Jam quod de communicatis cum Turco consiliis obiter perstringis, quasi abunde purgatum existimet, qua fronte excusare potest? atque penes me habeo *Aramontii* Gallici legati commentarios Byzantii scriptos, et ad regem per *Cosmam* centurionem quendam missos, qui societatis cum Turcis in Christiani nominis Principem inita plenam fidem faciunt (5). Mr *Varillas* observes (6), "That the Pope, and the Emperor, had agreed to accuse the King of *France*, in full Council, of an Intelligence with the Infidels, and to produce thereupon Mr *Aramont's* intercepted Letters, to which a wrong Turn might easily be given, because the Truth was but half explained." But what occasion was there for giving a wrong Sense, since *Aramont* undoubtedly negotiated a Treaty between *France*, and the *Porte*, against the House of *Austria*? Was not that alone sufficient to prove the Intelligence, with

which they would accuse *Henry II*? The best Way, *France* could take, was, not to contest the Fact, but to justify the Reasonableness of it, by shewing, that, where Religion is not concerned, we may make what Alliances we please. If *Charles V.* had not been always supported by good Allies among the Christian Princes, Papiſts, or not Papiſts, he would not have stuck at forming Alliances with Infidels; and he would have improved them much better, than *France* did. He was much more cunning, and had greater Abilities than *Francis I.* The *Turkish* Fleet, in concert with him, would not have been useless, as it was with the *French*, who concerted Matters so ill, that one is moved to Shame, or Pity, or Laughter, who reads the History of those Times. Sincerity had nothing to do in this Case. That would have prevented the Emperor from reproaching his Enemy with entering into Alliance with Heretics and Infidels, when He himself was ready to do the same, had Maxims of State required it. What would have become then of Those, who could make pathetic Harangues, present plausible Memorials, discuss an hundred fine Common Places? All this must have been laid aside; now this would have been very prejudicial; there would have been no blinding the People, no animating them to any Purpose; a thousand exquisite Praises, and pompous Titles, must have been given up.

----- accusat Manilia, si rea non est (7).

People seldom fail to make Reproaches on these Occasions, but when they are guilty themselves.

ARBRISSEL (ROBERT D.) Founder of the Order of *Fontevraud*. Look for FONTEVRAUD.

ARCESILAS, or ARCESILAUUS, one of the most renowned Philosophers of Antiquity, was born at *Pitane* in *Æolia* [A]. He was a Disciple of the Mathematician *Autolycus*, his Country-man, and followed him to *Sardes*. Afterwards he came to *Athens*; where he was a Disciple of *Xanthus*, then of *Theophrastus*, and lastly of *Crantor* [B]. He learned Geometry under *Hipponicus* (a). He had some Inclination

[A] Was born at *Pitane* in *Æolia*.] *Diogenes Laërtius* is not the only one, who affirms this (1). Read these Words of *Pomponius Mela*, in the Chapter, where he describes the Country of the *Æolians*. "Caicus inter Eleam decurrit, & Pitane illam quæ Arcesilam tulit, nihil affirmantis Academice clarissimum Antistitem (2). ----- The River Caycus runs between Elea and That Pitane, where Arcesilas was born, the celebrated Founder of the Academy, which affirmed nothing." See also *Strabo*; Πίλιον πόλις Ἀιολικὴ ----- ἐν δὲ τῇ Πίλιον ἐστὶν Ἀρκεσίλαος (3). Pitane, a City of *Æolia* ----- and Arcesilas was of Pitane; but give no Credit to *Solinus*, who makes Pitane, a Town in *Laconia*, the Birth-place of this Philosopher (4). *Salmafius* (5), and Mr *Ménage* (6), refute him. I cannot tell, whether it is through Inadvertency of the Author, or the Correctors, that *Arcesilus Pitaneus* occurs in Mr *Gassendi* (7); it should have been *Pitaneus*.

[B] A Disciple of *Xanthus*, then of *Theophrastus*, and lastly of *Crantor* (8).] I am surprized, that *Diogenes Laërtius*, after having clearly insinuated, in several Places, that *Arcesilas* was a Disciple of *Polemon*, does not expressly say so in the Life of *Arcesilas*. The following are the Passages, where he affirms it. *Arcesilas*, says he, having left *Theophrastus's* School to follow *Polemon* and *Crates*, declared, that they were Gods, or the Remains of the Golden Age. Ἐρθεὶν καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον μετ' ἐλθόντα

παρὰ Θεοφράστου πρὸς αὐτὸς λέγειν, ὡς εἴη θεοὶ τινες ἢ λείψανα τῶ χροσφ γένους (9). Hinc & Arcesilaum, cum ad eos à Theophrasto diverteret, dixisse ferunt, illos Deos esse quosdam, aut auri seculi reliquias. He observes, a little lower, that *Polemon* and *Arcesilas* lodged together, and that *Polemon* and *Crates*, who lodged together with a Citizen, whose Name was *Lyſicles*, went and supped very often with *Crantor*, and that *Crates* was the Minion of *Polemon*, as *Arcesilas* was the Favourite of *Crantor*. The Translator of *Diogenes Laërtius* has confounded all this; for he supposes, that *Polemon* was the Minion of *Crates*, and *Crantor* of *Arcesilas*. Let us produce the Greek: Ἦν δὲ ἐρώμενος, Κράτης μὲν, ὡς προείρηται, Πολέμωνος, Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ Κραντορος (10). That is: *Erat autem amicus, ut quidem prædictum est, Polemonis quidem Crates, Crantoris autem Arcesilas*. The Latin Translation, which no Commentator has censured, puts *amator*, where it should have been *amicus*: There has been no notice taken of the passive Signification of ἐρώμενος. Neither has any one observed the Contradiction, which follows a little after; for, as the Greek orders the Matter, *Arcesilas* is represented under the Character of the Patriarch. Ἀρκεσίλαος δὲ λὼν ὅτι αὐτῷ (Κραντορος) συσάδηναι Πολέμωνι, καὶ πρὸς ἐρώμενος (11). *Arcesilas volens ab illo (Crantore) se Polemoni commendari, quoniam amatore suo*. Let us here reject all the impure and abominable Ideas, which This Author, and many others, seem willing

(d) St Lazar. Histoire de Dignit. Honorar. de France, pag. 400. Edit. of Paris, 1635, in 8vo.

A REFLECTION on Alliances with Heretics or Infidels.

(7) Juven. Sat. 6. ver. 243.

(a) Taken from Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 32.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib. n. 22.

(c) Varillas, Histoire de Henri II. pag. 200.

(5) Idem lib. 10. pag. 213.

(6) Varill. Hist. de Henri II. liv. 2. pag. 202.

(1) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 20.

(5) Pompon. Mela, lib. 1. cap. 18. pag. 20.

(3) Strabo lib. 13. pag. 422. in fin.

(4) Solin. cap. 7. pag. 22.

(c) Salmaf. Exercit. Phil. pag. 138.

(6) Ménage, in Diog. Laërt. pag. 176.

(7) Gassend. Oper. Tom. 1. pag. 18.

(8) Diog. Laërt. n. 28, 29.

(1) Id. in Cratete, lib. 4. pag. 240. n. 22.

tion to Poetry; and took great delight in reading *Homer* [C]; but his Passion for Philosophy was superior to all others. He succeeded *Crates* in the Regency of the Platonic School [D], and introduced new Opinions into it; for he founded a Sect, which was called the *Second Academy*, to distinguish it from That of *Plato*. He strongly opposed the Dogmatists; he affirmed nothing; he doubted of every thing; he disapproved *pro* and *con*; and suspended his Judgment: *This I do*, said he, *because nothing*

- (12) Id. lib. n. 25. to suggest in the like Case. When they speak of a Philosopher, and his Disciples, they almost always observe, that he was *fond* (or a *Lover*) of such or such an one. This, I confess, may, on some Occasions, be understood in a wicked Sense, but on an hundred others, ought, I think, to be understood only of a virtuous and honourable Affection. Among several Disciples, One was his Master's Favourite. It was He, who was designed for his Successor; he, who had most Docility, Respect, or Genius, &c. Ought this to be expressed by the Term *ἐραστής*? But to return to the Fact; The last Passage, which I cited from *Diogenes Laërtius*, informs us, that *Arcefilas* desired *Crantor* to recommend him to *Polemon*. The Historian adds, that *Crantor*, who was sick, did not take it ill; but, on the contrary, as soon as he was recovered, went likewise himself to *Polemon's* Lectures. Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁρῶντα δεικνύν Πολέμωνος (12). *Ipsē quoque, cum sanus factus esset, se ad audiendum Polemonem contulit.* This is a Proof, that *Arcefilas* was one of That Philosopher's Auditors, or Disciples. He was so far, that *Cicero* gives him no other Master. "Arcefilas tuus, etsi fuit in differendo pertinacior, tamen nollet fuit, erat enim Polemonis (13). --- "Your *Arcefilas*, though stiff in his Opinions, was yet one of us, having been a Disciple of Polemon." *Namque* assigns him several other Masters. He makes him successively the Disciple of *Polemon*, *Theophrastus*, *Diodorus*, and *Pyrrho* (14). He adds, that he learnt of *Crantor* Persuasion, of *Diodorus* Sophistry, and of *Pyrrho* to turn about like a Weather-Cock, and be nothing at all. ὅτι οὐδὲ μὲν Κράντορος περὶ διανοίας, οὐδὲ Διοδώρου δὲ σοφιστικῆς, οὐδὲ Πύρρονος ὁρῶντα παντοδαπῶς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν αὐτὸν (15). Et a *Crantore* quidem ad persuadendum callidus, a *Diodoro* autem sopsistis, denique a *Pyrrhone* cum omnem in parte versatilis ac temerarius, tum etiam nullus esse didicit. He fixed himself in the *Pyrrhonian* Inconstancy, and wanted only the Name of a *Pyrrhonian*; he was called an *Academic*; a Name which he kept only in respect to the Philosopher *Crantor*, his Master, and Lover. Πλὴν τῆς προσηγορίας ἐθέμενος Πύρρωνος ὡς τῶ πάντων ἀναίσιμος ---- αἰδοῖ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὑπομένειν λέγουσάαι Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς ἔστι. ἢ μὲν τοίνυν. Πύρρωνος πάλιν τὸ ὀνόμαζον. Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς δ' ἐκ ἧρ, πλὴν τὸ λέγουσάαι (16). In *Pyrrhone*, si appellationem excipias, tanquam in omnium eversione acquiescit ---- is pro sua in amatore observantia Academicum se vocari adbus passus est. Ita qui *Pyrrhonicus*, excepto nomine, totus erat, idem Academicus prater nomen dabatur nihil. *Numerius* had but just before said, that *Arcefilas*, a beautiful Youth, being beloved by *Crantor*, constantly adhered to him. Δὲ τὸ καλὸς εἶναι ἐτι ὡν ὁραῖος τυκὼν ἐρασῶ Κράντορος τὴν Ἀκαδημαϊκὴν προσηγορίαν μὲν τῷ τῷ. (17). --- *Eligantia forma et commoda adbus etate cum esset, Crantorem Academicum amatorem natum, ejus consuetudine usus est ille quidem.* He adds, that *Menedemus's* Lectures made him a more warm Disputant; for which he quotes *Timon* (18). Thus we see several Omissions in the List, which *Diogenes Laërtius* has left us, of *Arcefilas's* Masters. I have supplied this Defect.
- (18) Id. lib. n. 25. [C] He took great Delight in reading *Homer*.] He preferred him to all other Authors: Every Evening, he read some part of him, before he went to Sleep, and, when he rose in the Morning, he used to say, I am going to pay a Visit to my Mistress (19), meaning, that he was going to read this Poet. Ἀπεδ' ἐχέλο δὲ πάντως μάλλον Ὀμήρου ἢ καὶ εἰς ἑπὶ τῶν ἰων περὶ τῶν ἀνεργήσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁρῶντα λέγων ἐπὶ τῶν ἑωρῶν ἀπείναι, ὅτι δὲ ἀν βουλοῖτο ἀπείναι (20). Amplectebatur *Homerum* maxime ex omnibus, cuius adeo studiū erat, ut semper ante somnum ejus aliquid legeret. Mane quoque cum surgeret, dicebat, se ad amicum ire, cum se velle legere *Homerum*.
- (19) Id. lib. n. 25. (20) Id. lib. n. 25.

- [D] He succeeded *Crates* in the Regency of the Platonic School (21). Several Authors place our *Arcefilas* immediately after *Polemon*, without mentioning *Crates*. See a Note of *Aldrobandinus* on a Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius* (22), where you will find, that this learned Commentator had no where discovered, that *Crates* succeeded *Polemon*. You will likewise meet with these Words of *St Austin*; "Moritur Polemon, succedit ei *Arcefilas*, Zenonis quidem condiscipulus, sed sub Polemonis magisterio (23). --- Polemon dies; to him succeeds *Arcefilas*, a Fellow-Disciple indeed of *Zeno*, but under the Tuition of Polemon." To this Passage may be added That of the Fifty sixth Letter. "Iidem quippe Academicus, qui Platonicus, quod docet Auditorum ipsa successio; *Arcefilas* enim, qui primus occultata sententia sua nihil aliud istos quam refellere statuit, quare cui successerit; Polemonem invenies; quare cui Polemon; Zenocratem; Zenocrati autem discipulo Academicam Scholam suam reliquit Plato (24). --- The Academics are the same with the Platonists; as appears from the very Succession of their Disciples. For *Arcefilas*, who first taught them to have no Opinions of their own, but to refuse every other, you will find to have been the Successor of Polemon; Polemon of Zenocrates; and Zenocrates, Successor, in the School of the Academy, to his Master Plato." We must not here depend upon *St Austin's* Authority; for he has not strictly observed Exactness; and, as he skips over one Step between *Plato* and *Zenocrates* (25), he may have done the like between *Polemon* and *Arcefilas*. I do not insist on his Silence as to *Crantor*, the famous Academic (26), who seems to have been the immediate Successor of *Polemon*, and who died before him, and before *Crates* (27). If the Word Successor displeases you, say, that *Crantor* taught in *Polemon's* Life-time. The same thing is affirmed of *Crates*; and from hence it comes to pass, that sometimes it is said, that *Crantor* succeeded *Polemon*; sometimes, that *Crates* succeeded him; sometimes, that both of them were his Successors; but generally *Crates* is placed after *Crantor* (28). Again; I do not object the Omission of *Crantor* to *St Austin*: I imagine it is wrong to reckon this Philosopher as *Polemon's* Successor: He died before his Master; and I find, that *Lacydes*, the Successor of *Arcefilas*, was the first, who resigned the Succession of his Chair in his Life-time (29). Let us say then, that *Crates* alone succeeded *Polemon*, and reject this Period of *Father Rapi*; *Crates* and *Crantor*, who were successively Heads of *Plato's* School, altered nothing in his Doctrine (30). He would not have been so much mistaken, if he had named *Crantor* first; *Crantor*, I say, who died before *Crates*. A celebrated Critic (31), in correcting a Passage of *Nonius Marcellus* (32), has supplied us with an Authority, which wonderfully favours the Text of this Remark. According to his Correction, we are to believe, that *Luilius* had said, "Polemon & amavit Cratem, & huic transmissit suam scholam, quam dicunt. --- Polemon loved *Crates*, and transmitted to him his School, as they call it." The Greek of *Diogenes Laërtius* carries the same Sense. Κράτης --- καὶ ἀπεχάσθη τὴν σχολὴν αὐτοῦ (33). *Crates auditor simul amavitque* (34) *Polemonis, illiusque scholae successor*. I do not depend on these Words of *Cicero*; "Speusippus autem, & Xenocrates, qui primi Platonis rationem autoritatemque susceperant, & post eos Polemon & Crates unaque Crantor, in Academia congregati, diligenter eis quæ a superioribus acceptant, utebantur (35). --- Speusippus and Xenocrates, the immediate Successors of *Plato*, and after them *Polemon* and *Crates*, together with Crantor, taught the same Doctrines in the Academy,
- (21) Id. lib. n. 34. (22) In the beginning of the Life of Crates, l. 4. n. 21. (23) St Austin, contra Academicos, lib. 3. (24) August. Epist. 56. pag. 267. Euseb. in Prep. Evan. lib. 14. c. 4. pag. 726. f. 16. Arcefilas succeeded Polemon. (25) Speusippus, Son of a Sister of Plato, governed the School before Xenocrates. (26) Crantor ille in nostra Academia vel in primis fuit nobilis. Cicero. Tulle. Quasi lib. 3. cap. 6. (27) Diogenes Laërt. lib. 4. n. 27. (28) See Gassendi, Op. tom. 1. pag. 18. & Jonesius de Script. Histor. Philosph. pag. 62. or see Diogen. Laërt. cited before. (29) Diogen. Laërt. in 1. cycle, lib. 4. n. 60. (30) Rapius. Compar. de Platon & Aristote. Part 4. cap. 1. p. 355. (31) Petrus Victorius. See the Notes of Jofias Mercerus on Nonius Marcellus, pag. 193. (32) Nonius Marcellus, eos Transmittere. p. 414. cites the 28th Book of Luilius. (33) Diogenes Translat. (34) Cicero, which

main. He attacked with great force whatever the other Sects affirmed [E]; for which

"which they had received from their Predecessors." They are not positive enough, nor so express, as this Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius*. Πλάτων δὲ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἀκαδημίαν οὐκ ἐπέστησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Σπύρῳ καὶ Ἐποικύτῳ, καὶ Πολύμῳ, καὶ Κράτῳ, καὶ Κρίτωνι, καὶ Ἀρκασίλῳ, δὲ τὴν μέσσην Ἀκαδημίαν ἐπέστησεν (36). — Plato, who founded the old Academy; after Plato, Speusippus and Xenocrates; then Polemon; after Polemon, Crantor, and Crates; to whom succeeded Arcefilas, who instituted the middle Academy. *Cassaubon*, in his Note on this Passage, quotes *Galen*, who says, that the Old Academy ended in *Crantes*; and that *Arcefilas*, the Disciple of *Crantes*, founded the lesser Academy (37). This Commentator is ignorant, who the *Crantes* of *Galen* is (38); but it is easily to be seen, either that the Transcribers have put *Crantes* instead of *Crates*, or that *Galen* himself does not spell the Name of *Arcefilas* Predecessor right. It happens daily, that the most learned Persons either add, or retrench, some Letter of the Author's Name, whom they quote; they intend to name the same Person, whom others sledge, according to the true Orthography. I could give an hundred Instances of it, and am surprized, that *Cassaubon* makes any Difficulty here. We must not forget, that he wonders *Galen* has made no mention of *Crantor*. *Quis vero non miretur omissem à Galeno Crantorem* (39)?

[E] He attacked with great force whatever the other Sects affirmed. It would be wrong to pretend, that he did not justly deserve the Name of an Innovator; but *Diogenes Laërtius* is mistaken, when he takes him for the first, who introduced the Custom of Disputing pro and con. Πρώτος δὲ καὶ ἐκείνος ἐπεχρίσθη (40). *Primusque in utramque differere partem aggressus est*. It was the Taste of *Socrates*; and *Plato* continued it. We shall quote *Cicero*, who informs us, that *Arcefilas*'s Method of controverting every thing, which was proposed to him, was the same with that of *Socrates*; and that *Arcefilas* was instructed in *Pyrrhonism* (41) by *Plato*'s Books, and by the Discourses, which *Socrates* was supposed to have held. "Arcefilas primum, qui Polemonem audierat, ex variis Platonis libris, sermonibusque Socraticis, hoc maxime arripuit, nihil esse certum, quod aut sensibus, aut animo percipi possit: quem ferunt eximio quodam usum lepore dicendi, aspernatum esse omne animi sensusque judicium, primumque instituisse (quamquam id fuit Socraticum maxime) non quod ipse sentiret offendere, sed contra id quod quisque se sentire dixisset disputare (42). — Arcefilas, the Disciple of Polemon; the first, who gathered this Doctrine, chiefly from the Writings of *Plato*, and the Discourses of *Socrates*, that there is no Certainty in Objects, either of the Sense, or the Mind. This Philosopher is said to have had a most graceful manner of speaking; to have rejected all Judgment of the Mind and Sense; and to have been the first, who taught his Followers (tho' it had been the constant Practice of *Socrates* before him) not to declare their own Opinions, but to controvert those of all others." He says, in another Book, that *Socrates*'s Method, which had been in a manner disused, was revived by *Arcefilas*. It is in this, that the Innovation of the latter consists; and therefore the Expressions of *Diogenes Laërtius* are not exact; for it is plain, that a Philosopher, who professes to dispute every thing, which is advanced in answer to his Questions, puts in practice the Method of maintaining both sides of the Question. Observe these Words: "Is (*Socrates*) percontando atque interrogando elicere solebat eorum opiniones, quibuscumque differere, ut ad ea quæ hi responderent, si quid videretur, diceret. Qui mos, quum à posterioribus non esset retentus, Arcefilas cum revocavit, instituitque, ut hi, qui se audire vellent, non de se quærerent, sed ipsi dicerent, quid sentirent. Quod quam discessit, ille contra; sed, qui audiebant, quod poterant, defendebant sententiam suam: apud ceteros autem philosophos, qui quæsiuit aliquid, tacet, quod quidem jam fit etiam in Academia (43). — He (*Socrates*) was wont, by asking Questions, to make those, with whom he discoursed, discover their own Opinions; that, if he thought proper, he might reply to their Answers. Which Practice, having been discontinued

afterwards, was revived by *Arcefilas*, who instructed, that there, who would be his Hearers, should not ask his Opinion, but declare their own; which when they had done, he applied them; yet his Hearers were allowed to defend their own Sentiments. With other Philosophers it was otherwise; the Enquirer was silent himself, which is not practised even in the Academy." If this Testimony be not express enough, what think you of this, in which it is affirmed, that the Academy of *Arcefilas* was no other, than That of *Plato*? "Hinc Academicum novam appellant, quæ mihi vetus videtur. Siquidem Platonem ex illa vetere numeramus, eum in libris nihil affirmatur, & in utramque partem multa differuntur, de omnibus quærentur, nihil certi dicitur (44). — They call this the New Academy, which to me seems to be the Old. For we reckon *Plato* to have been of the Old, in whose Books nothing is affirmed, and many things are disputed on both sides of the Question; every thing is matter of Enquiry, and nothing certainly pronounced." I cite, elsewhere (45), another Passage of no less Force than this. If any one requires a Scrap of *Greek*, for variety's sake, I can fit him. I have read, somewhere, that *Epicurus* could not see, without Chagrin, the great Reputation of *Arcefilas*, the most renowned Philosopher of those Times; and that he upbraided him with having acquired a Reputation among the Ignorant, without drawing any thing from his own Stock. Τὸ δὲ Ἀρκασίαν τὸν Ἐπίκουρον ἐμύριον ἔσκεν ὅτι οὐδὲ παρὰ τὸν ἄλλοις φιλοσοφῶν ἀπακρίβηται (46). *Arcefilas autem Gloria videretur Epicuro baud modicam attulisse ægritudinem, qui inter ejus temporis Philosophos maximi sebat*. It is true, *Arcefilas* did not set up for Invention. He ascribed to *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Parmenides*, and *Heraclitus*, the Honour of inventing the Epochæ, and the *Acatelephia*. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκασίαν τοσούτον ἀπέδει τῇ καλοποιίᾳ τὴν δόξαν ὅσα πᾶν καὶ ὑπονομιεῖσθαι τὸν παλαιόν, ὥς ἐκκαμῖν τὸς τότε σοφιστὰς ὅτι ἀπεχρίσθαι Σωκράτη καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Περμενίδα καὶ Ἡρακλείτη τὰ περὶ τὸς ἐποχὰς δόμαζα καὶ τὸς ἀκαταληψίας, ὅθεν δέονται, ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἀναρῶν καὶ βεβαιῶν αὐτὰν εἰς ἀδύνατον δόξας ποιεῖν (47). *Arcefilas was so far from any Desire of innovating, or arrogating old Opinions to himself, that the Sophists of his Times even reproached him with ascribing to Socrates, Plato, and Parmenides, the Doctrine of withholding the Assent, and Incomprehensibility; not out of Necessity, but to strengthen, as it were, and confirm them, by insinuating them to those great Men*. Pray observe, that, by the Confession of *Diogenes Laërtius* himself, our *Arcefilas* only rendered the Platonic Method more Contentious; this was all the Change he made in it. Πρώτος τὸν λόγον ἐκίνησε τὸν ὑπο Πλάτωνα παραδεδομένον, καὶ ἐποίησε δι' ἐρωτήσεων καὶ ἀπακρίσεως ἐκτετικώτερον (48). *Primus orationis genus quod Plato tradiderat movit effectique per interrogationem & responsonem contentiosius*. It may, nevertheless, be said, that he was the first Disturber of the public Peace among the Philosophers; for, besides his reviving a Practice, which had been almost forgotten, he pursued the Method of *Socrates* with more Ardor, than had ever been done before; and shewed himself more eager, more obdurate, and more impatient, than the first Inventors. And, for this Reason, what I am going to produce, was said of him. "Nonne jam, quum philosophorum disciplinæ gravissimæ constitissent, tum, ut exortus est in optima Republica Tiberius Gracchus, qui oculum perturbaret, sic Arcefilas, qui constitutum philosophum everteret, & in eorum autoritate delitesceret, qui negavissent quicquam sciri, aut percipi posse (49). — Did not *Arcefilas*, like another *Gracchus*, who disturbed the Repose of the best of Commonwealths, arise to overthrow the established Philosophy, and sheltered himself under Their Authority, who denied all Knowledge and Perception of Things?"

Some have enquired into the Reason of *Arcefilas*'s Conduct; and it was generally ascribed to That warm Emulation, which grew up between Him and his Fellow Disciple *Zeno*. Both had been *Polemon*'s Scholars (50); and they strove to surpass each other (51). Now *Zeno* took part with the Dogmatists;

(36) Diogen. Laërt. in Præf. c. 10. p. 10.

(37) Galen. in Hist. Phil. c. 10. p. 10.

(38) Ego quidem sic Crantes Galeni plane ignovo. Cassaubon in Diogen. Laërt. Præf. c. 10. p. 10.

(39) Id. lib.

(40) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. c. 28.

(41) I make use of this Pyrrhonism, out of any Regard to the Person of Pyrrho.

(42) Cicero de Oratore. lib. 3. c. 18.

(43) Id. de 1. tribus. l. 2. cap. 1.

(44) Id. A. c. 10. p. 10. c. 10. p. 10.

(45) Id. R. c. 10. p. 10. c. 10. p. 10. c. 10. p. 10.

(46) Philarch. adv. Colotem. p. 1121. E.

(47) Id. lib. 4. c. 28.

(48) Id. lib.

(49) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. c. 28.

(50) Cicero Academ. Quest. 1. 4. cap. 5.

(51) Id. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 10. c. 10. p. 10. c. 10. p. 10.

(52) Numerianus, ubi supra.

(b) See Remark [E] Citation [49].

(c) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 34.

which reason, he was looked upon, in Matters of Philosophy, as a Disturber of the Public Peace (b). Some pretend, that, finding no Evidence, which might prevent his floating equally between the Affirmative and Negative, he would write no Books (c); but others affirm, that he did write some; and then differ about the Question, whether he published any. Some affirm it, and others say, that he condemned all he had composed to the Flames (d). It is observable, however, that he dedicated some Books to *Eumenes*, Prince of *Pergamus*, and to no one else (e). We shall see

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Id. n. 38.

(ca) This does not agree with what we'll be reported in Remark [G].

(51) Cicero, Academ. Quæst. 1. 4. cap. 6.

be laid down Definitions, and Axioms, which *Arcefilas* vigorously opposed; and, to gain his Point, did not stick at overthrowing the very Foundation of all Science, and reducing every thing to Uncertainty. The Passage I am going to cite, gives us this Account, as also of the little Success of his Undertaking (52), tho' supported by the most pleasing Eloquence. "Fuerint illa vetera si vultis incognita: nihil ne est er-
"go actum quod investigatum est postquam *Arcefilas*, *Zenoni*, ut putant, obstrictans, nihil novi
"reperienti, sed emendanti superiores immutationes
"verborum, dum hujus definitiones labefactare vult,
"conatus est clarissimis rebus tenebras obducere;
"cujus primo non admodum probata ratio quan-
"quam floruit, tum acumine ingenii, tum admira-
"bili quodam lepore dicendi, proxime à *Lacyde* solo
"retenta est (53)." Others say, that the fear of be-
ing nonplussed, by the Objections of certain Persons, who took a pleasure in puzzling the Philosophers, obliged *Arcefilas* to affirm nothing. He placed the *Epoché* before him as a Rampart; this was a Darknel, under favour of which he hoped to escape the Pursuits of the Sophist *Bion*, and the Followers of *Theodoret*, perpetual Sticklers against the Philosophers. *Numenius*, who observes, that *Diocles*, the *Cnidian*, had adopted this Conjecture, rejects it; and, in my Opinion, not without Reason; for though, by not deciding *pro* or *con*, we may secure ourselves from a thousand perplexing Difficulties, yet we are greatly exposed by so doing; and if, on the one hand, grave and serious Objections, Retortions, and Arguments *ad hominem*, the ordinary and inevitable Rock of the Dogmatists, are the less to be feared; on the other, we are much more exposed to the Raillery and Insults of Banterers. Now it is certain, that *Bion*, the greatest Sneerer of his Time, was less formidable, when he reasoned, than when he turned things into ridicule. Generally speaking, That is a very inconvenient Situation, which exposes a Man to Ridicule. *Arcefilas* himself was wont to rally those, who rejected the Testimony of Sense (54). However, let us see the Words of *Numenius*. "Οὐ γὰρ πείθομαι, τὸ

(54) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 34.

(55) *Numenius*, apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. 1. 14. cap. 6. pag. 731. C.

Κνιδίῳ Διοκλίῳ φάσκοντι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστροφαιαῖς διαλέξεσιν, Ἀρχεσίλαον φέβω τὸν Θεοδωρεῖον τε καὶ Βίωνα τὸ Σοφιστὴν, ἐπεισόντων τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὀκνύνῳ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐλπίσκειν, αὐτὸν ἐξουλασθῆναι, ἵνα μὴ πεισμάτα ἔχη, μηδὲν γὰρ δόγμα ὑπεκτείνε φαινόμενον, ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μέλαν τὰς σκίας περιελάσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἵπταχιν. Τὸ δ' ἐν τῷ πείθομαι (55). Neque enim *Cnidium* illum *Dioclem* audio, qui in suis, ut eas inscriptis, Diatribis, *Arcefilam* docet, *Theodoreorum* ac *Bionis* Sophistæ metu, qui, Philosophis infestis, nullam non eas coarguendi occasionem arripere, ita sibi, ne quid ab iis molestiæ pateretur, cavisse, ut nec certi quicquam statueret; nam ut sepius effuso atramento, sic illum sese objecta hac assensionis retentione tegere ac tueri. Verum hoc, dixi, ut minus credo. Note, that one of *Cicero's* Interlocutors affirms, that *Arcefilas* did not make use of the *Epoché*, in contradiction to *Zeno*, but through a Desire of finding out Truth. *Arcefilas* vero non obstrictandi causa cum *Zenone* pugnavisse, sed verum invenire voluisse sic intelligitur (56). He says (57) that *Arcefilas* was the first, who discovered, and approved this Proposition; It is possible, that a Man may neither affirm, nor deny, any thing, in uncertain Matters; and it is the Part of a wise Man so to do. Nemo superiorum non modo expresserat, sed ne dixerat quidem, posse hominem nihil opinari, nec solum posse, sed ita necesse esse sapienti, visa est *Arcefilæ* cum vera sententia, tum honesta & digna sapiente. He says likewise, that this Philosopher asked *Zeno*, What will be the Consequence, if a wise Man can discern nothing clearly, and if he ought not to admit of any thing, which is not clearly true? And that *Zeno* answered, The Consequence will be, that he will clearly

comprehend some things; and thus will admit of nothing obscure. He was obliged afterwards to give the Marks of those Things, which might be clearly comprehended; but those, which he gave, were contested by *Arcefilas*, who maintained, against him, that Falshood may appear in the same Guise as Truth; and that, consequently, Truth could not be discerned from Falshood. *Zeno* granted, that there was no comprehending any thing, if That, which Is not, can appear to us under the same Form with That, which Is; but he denied the Conformity of Ideas, in regard to that which Is, and that which Is not. *Arcefilas* insisted upon this Conformity. Incumbit in eas disputationes: ut doceret nullum tale esse visum à vero, ut non ejusmodi etiam à falso possit (58). The Dispute between them turned upon this Point. It had been said before, in this Work of *Cicero*, that the Obscurity of Things, and not Obstinacy, or a Desire of Victory, engaged *Arcefilas* to dispute with *Zeno* (59).

(58) Id. ib.

(59) See, below, Citation (62).

I have said, that he carried the Hypothesis of Uncertainty farther than *Socrates*, and I had reason to say so; for he would not so much as confess, with *Socrates*, that he knew his own Ignorance (*I know, that I know nothing*). He suspended his Judgment in every thing, and disputed only to convince himself, that the Affirmative Reasons were no better than the Negative. "Arcefilas negabat esse quicquam quod sciri posset, ne illud quidem ipsum, quod *Socrates* sibi reliquisset. Sic omnia latere censebant in occulto, neque esse quicquam quod cerni, aut intelligi posset. Quibus de causis nihil oportere neque affirmare quenequam, neque assertione approbare, cohibereque semper, & ab omni lapsu continere temeritatem; quæ tum esset insignis, quum aut falsa, aut incognita res approbaretur, neque hoc quicquam esse turpius, quam cognitioni & perceptioni assertionem approbationemque præcurrere. Huc (rationis quod erat contentum) faciebat, ut contra omnium sententias dies jam plerisque deduceret, ut quum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta rationum invenirentur, facilius ab utraque parte assertio sustineretur (60). — *Arcefilas* denied, that there was any thing which could be known, not even That Point of Knowledge, which *Socrates* left himself: Thus those Philosophers thought every thing lay concealed, and that nothing could be either perceived, or understood. Upon which account, they believed, that no one ought to affirm or approve any thing by an Assertion, but restrain himself from giving a rash Judgment, which would then be notorious, when either a false or unknown thing should be asserted to; and that nothing was more scandalous, than to suffer the Affirmation, and Approbation, to out-run the Knowledge, and Perception, of a thing. This general Opposition to every Opinion was with this View, that, if the Arguments on both sides of the same Question should be found to be equally strong, the Assertion on both Sides might be the more easily supported." It was He, who taught the *Acatelephia*, or Incomprehensibility of things, more expressly than was ever done before; and carried it to such an Extremity, that *Carneades*, who was able to support it better than He, was obliged to have recourse to some Limitation (61); but it is certain, that *Arcefilas* only enlarged upon, and unfolded, what the greatest Masters had said before him. "Cum *Zenod* ne — *Arcefilas* sibi omne certamen instituit — earum rerum obscuritate, quæ ad confessionem ignorationis adduxerant *Socratem*, & veluti amantes *Socratem*, *Democritum*, *Anaxagoram*, *Empedoclem*, omnes penè veteres, qui nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posset dixerunt, angustos sensus, imbecillos animos, brevia curricula vitæ, & (ut *Democritus*) in profundo veritatem esse demersam, opinionibus & institutis omnia teneri, nihil teneri, nil veritati relinqui, deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt (62). — *Arcefilas* opposed

(60) *Cicero*, Academ. Quæst. 1. 1. cap. 12.

(61) See the Article *CARNEADES*.

(62) *Cicero*, ubi supra.

see how he has been attacked by a Father of the Church [F]. As he was Master of

"Zeno, induced to it by the Obscurity of those things, which brought Socrates to confess his Ignorance, as also Democritus, Anaxagoras, and Empedocles, Lovers, as it were, of Socrates, and all the ancient Philosophers; who taught, that nothing could be known, perceived, or understood; that our Senses were narrow; our Minds weak; the Course of our Lives short; that Truth (as Democritus said) lay deep; that all things depended on Opinion, and positive Appointment; that nothing was left to Truth; and that all things were surrounded with Darkness." It was under the Authority of these great Names, that he attacked the Dogmatists (63). He might have alleged several others, as you may see in the second Book of the *Academical Questions* (64). Nevertheless, Numenius, who is passionately transported against him, grounds his Quarrel on the Revolt, which he imputes to him (65). You will find some Strokes of his Indignation in the Description he gives of this Philosopher's Inconstancy. He tells us, "he was a Man, who denied and affirmed the same things; he ran blindfold to the right and left; he gloried in being ignorant of the Difference between Good and Evil; he uttered the first Notion which came into his Head, and immediately overthrew it by a greater Number of Arguments, than he had brought to establish it. He was an *Hydra*, which devoured itself." The Original is more expressive and full. "Εἰσε, καὶ ἀνίστασε, καὶ μετέκρινεν αὐτὸ καὶ εἶπεν, καὶ ἔπειθεν, ἐκάλεισθαι, σπῆναι τὸν οὐρανόν, παλινάγειν, καὶ δύναιτο, καὶ παλινεστὶς τε εἶναι, καὶ παρῆκναι δυνεύειν. ἰδὲν τε εἶδεν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔσθ, γενναῖον δὲ (66). ---- Καὶ ἔπειθε τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ ἡμετέροισι θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι μὴ τὸ ἀσχεδὸν ἢ κωλόν, μὴτε εἰσάδον, μὴτε αὐ καλὸν εἶσι τῷ, ἡδὲν ἀλλ' ὁπότερον εἰς τὰς ψυχὰς ποιοῖ, τὸ τοῦτον, αὐθὺς μετὰ καλόν, ἀντεταγμένον ἐν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἢ δὲ ὅσον καλὸν σκευάσκει. Ἦν ἐν ὕδρῳ τὴν ὡν εἰσάδον, καὶ τὴν ὡν εἰσάδον, ἀμφοτέρω ἀλλήλων δυνεύειν, καὶ τὸ δὲ ὅσον ἀσχεδόν (67). Affirms simul idem, idemque negans, bine, illinc, utrinque, vel undique potius subito se temereque versans ac revocans, incerti ambiguique sensus, veterator, praeceptor, atque ut ipsemet, adeo ingenuus est, confitetur, nihil omnino sciens ---- hoc ut probro jucundissime frueretur, eoque se nomine mirum in modum circumspiceret, quod quid turpe quidve bonum, quid bonum quidve malum esset, ignoraret: sed potius, ubi quod primum in mentem venerat effutisset, tum repente mutatus, id ipsum pluribus quam antea stabilerat, evertit. Se ipsum igitur ille quasi Hydram fecabat & secabatur à se ipso, dum sit in utramque partem loqueretur, ut nec quid sibi vellet intelligeret, nec ullam ipse decori rationem haberet. On the whole, he acknowledged the Finger of God, in the Ignorance of Man; for he was much pleased with a Verse of Hesiod, where it is said, That the Gods keep human Understanding behind the Veil (68).

(63) Id. ib. lib. 2. cap. 5. See, above, Citat. (49).

(64) Cap. 24.

(65) Numenius, apud Euseb. Praep. Evang. l. 1. c. 5. p. 731.

(66) Id. ib. lib. 2. cap. 5. p. 730. A.

(67) Id. ib. lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 730. C.

(68) Euseb. ib. cap. 4. pag. 726. D.

(69) Laetant. Divin. Inst. lib. 3. c. 4. pag. 153.

Κεῖν δὲ τὸν γὰρ ἔχουσιν θεοὶ νόον ἀνθρώποις. Ignaras hominum suspendunt numina mentes.

[F] How he has been attacked by a Father of the Church. I mean Laetantius: He pretends to destroy all Philosophy, by maintaining, with Socrates, that we can know nothing, and, with Zeno, that nothing is to be believed, but what we know. Si neque sciri, says he, (69) quicquam potest, ut Socrates docuit, nec opinari oportet, ut Zeno, tota Philosophia sublata est. He confirms his Pretence by the great Number of Sects, into which Philosophy was divided. Each engrossed Truth and Wisdom to it self, and made Error and Folly the Portion of all the rest. So that whatsoever particular Sect we would condemn, we have the Suffrages of all the other Philosophers, who are not of That Sect. You are sure, then, of a Majority, in condemning them all; for each in particular approves your Judgment as to all the rest; and has nothing to oppose, in bar against a general Sentence, but the Testimony it gives it self; in which case it is a Judge in it's own Cause, and consequently unworthy of Credit. See how Laetantius destroys all the Sects of the Ancient Philosophy by each other: "They destroy each other, like Cadmus's Brood; not one of them is left alive; and the Reason is,

"because they have, indeed, each a Sword, but no Buckler: They have Arms for an Offensive, but not for a Defensive War. Pereunt igitur universi hoc modo, &c, tanquam Spartiatae illi (70) poetarum, sic se invicem jugulant, ut nemo ex omnibus restet. Quod eo fit, quia gladium habent, scutum non habent. Si ergo singulae sectae multarum sectarum judicio stultitiae convincuntur, omnes igitur vanae, atque inanes reperiuntur. Ita se ipsam philosophia consumit, & conficit (71). He goes on; "Arcefilas observing this, took up Arms against them all, and founded a new Sect of Philosophy, which consisted in not philosophizing at all." Quod cum intelligeret Arcefilas, Academicam Conditore, reprehensiones omnium inter se collegit, confessionemque ignorantiae clarorum Philosophorum, armavitque se adversus omnes. Ita consumit novam non philosophandi philosophiam (72). From That Time there arose two Parties; one aspiring to perfect Science, the other destroying all Certainty. The first falls to the Ground, if the Nature of Things cannot be known; the Latter is lost, if it can: Supposing their Pretensions equal, still Philosophy must fall, because divided. "If, as I have taught, our miserable State does not admit of any Science, properly speaking, in Man, then Arcefilas gains the Victory; but he cannot maintain it; because it is impossible we should not know some things; we should of Necessity perish, if we did not know what is useful or pernicious to Life. Si autem (ut docuit) nulla potest esse in homine interna & propria scientia ob fragilitatem conditionis humanae, Arcefilas manus obicit. Sed ne ipsa quidem stabit, quia non potest omnino nihil sciri. Sunt enim multa, quae natura ipsa nos scire, & usus frequens, & vitae necessitas cogit. Itaque pereundum est nisi scias quae ad vitam sunt utilia, ut appetas, quae periculosa, ut fugias, & vitas (73). After this, Laetantius gives us a detail of several Things, which Men know, and insults Arcefilas, who could not degrade the rest of the World, without degrading himself; since they might have reply'd to him, If you prove, that we have no Knowledge, and that consequently we are no Philosophers, neither are you one, for you confess that you know nothing. So that he cuts his own Throat with the same Dagger, which he employs to kill others. Quid ergo promovit Arcefilas, nisi quod confectis omnibus philosophis se ipsum macroche transfixit (74). Laetantius does not blame him in every Thing; he praises him for having discern'd the Folly of those, who believe, that Conjectures about Truth are Science. Recte vidit Arcefilas arrogantem vel potius stultum esse, qui putant scientiam veritatis conjectura posse comprehendere (75): But he does not dwell long on his Praise; he proceeds immediately to the Contradiction, so often objected to the Pyrrhonians; for this very Reason, that you know nothing, you know one thing. "Arcefilas ——— introduxit genus Philosophiae ἀγνώστων, quod latine instabile, five incognitans possumus dicere. Ut enim nihil sciri posset sciendum sit, aliquid scire necesse est, nam si omnino nihil scias, id ipsum nihil sciri posse tolletur. Itaque qui velut sententiae loco pronuntiavit nihil sciri, tanquam praeceptum proficitur, & cognitum, ergo aliquid sciri potest. Huic simile est illud, quod in scholis proponi solet in assidat generis exemplum, somniasse quandam, ne somniis crederet. Si enim crederet, tum sequitur, ut credendum non sit; si autem non crederet, tum sequitur, ut credendum sit. Ita si nihil sciri potest, necesse est id ipsum sciri, quod nihil sciat. Si autem scitur, posse nihil sciri, falsum est ergo quod dicitur nihil sciri posse. Sic inducitur dogma sibi ipsi repugnans, seque dissolvens (76). Arcefilas introduced a kind of wavering, uncertain, Philosophy. For, in order to know, That nothing can be known, we must necessarily know something; for if you know nothing at all, this very knowledge, that nothing can be known, will be destroyed. He, therefore, who gives it as his Opinion, that Nothing is known, professes to know something; a something therefore may be known. Akin to this is That Example of this kind of Philosophy usually propos'd in the Schools; that a certain Person dreams, that he ought not to believe in Dreams. For if he did believe in them, it follows, that he ought not to believe in them; but if he did not believe in them, it follows, that he ought to believe in them. Thus,

(70) Thyffius's Note on this Expresssion is ridiculous. Qui se invicem conficiunt, (71) 1793 he, fictus Cleomedes de sociis, apud Spartano, teste Plutarcho. Could be not see, that Laetantius speaks not of the Historical, but the Fabulous Time, and of that Men, who sprung from the Teeth of a Dragon, sown by Cadmus.

(72) Laetant. lib. 3. c. 4. pag. 154.

(73) Id. ib.

(74) Id. ib. pag. 155.

(75) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(76) Id. ib. cap. 5. pag. 156.

(77) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(78) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(79) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(80) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(81) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(82) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(83) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(84) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(85) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(86) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(87) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(88) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(89) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(90) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(91) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(92) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(93) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(94) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(95) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

(96) Id. ib. c. 6. p. 157.

of a very persuasive Eloquence, which never wandered too far from the main Subject, and had moreover an happy Talent at answering Objections, he drew a great Number of Disciples to his Auditory [G], though he was severe in his Censures. In general, the World was persuaded of his Integrity; and he filled his Scholars with great Expectations; which made them submit the more readily to his Rebukes, though a little too severe (*f*). Some affirm, that he play'd the Sceptic, only to try his Scholars [*H*]; and that, after this Probation, he taught them in another manner. He distributed his Money as freely as any Man in the World; and very great things are said of his Liberality [*I*]. He is accused of Vanity, and of affecting Popularity.

100

(f) Diogen.
Laërt. lib. 4.
p. 17.

(77) *Id. ib.*
pag. 158.

“ if nothing can be known, we must necessarily know
 “ this very thing, that nothing is known. But, if it
 “ be known, that nothing can be known, it is false,
 “ which is pretended, that nothing can be known.
 “ Thus an Opinion is advanced, which is repugnant
 “ to, and destructive of, itself”. Lastly, Lactantius
 “ confesses, that, with relation to Physics, there is no
 “ such thing as Science, and that it ought not to be so
 “ much as sought after. — “ Quanto sacrer sapientius ac
 “ verius, si exceptione facta dicretur causas rationes-
 “ que duntaxat rerum coelestium seu naturalium,
 “ quia sunt abditæ, nesciri posse, quia nullus do-
 “ ceat, nec quæri oportere, quia inveniri querendo
 “ non possunt (77). — How much more wisely and
 “ truly would it be have reason’d, if he had said only,
 “ that the Causes and Reasons of Heavenly or Natu-
 “ ral Things, as being hid, could not be known; since
 “ there is no Teacher to instruct us in them; and that
 “ we ought not to enquire after them, since no Enquiry
 “ will discover them ?

Let us now make some short Remarks of this Dispute. I. The Argument, he makes use of, to overthrow all the Sects of Philosophy, by each other, proves too much. An Atheist, who should make use of it, at present, to overthrow the Christian Religion, would reason ill; the Christian Sects mutually condemn each other; I grant it; but if you should condemn any one of them in all it's Doctrinal Points, you would not have the Suffrages of all the rest. II. *La-tantius* contradicts himself wretchedly. He confesses, that, if there be no Science among Men, *Arceslaus* gains the Victory; and he pretends to have demonstrated, that we are too frail to attain to Science. Why then does he presently add, that *Arceslaus* loses the Victory, because there are actually several Sciences among Men? III. The Examples he alleges are nothing to the purpose: For, in the Sense, in which the Word is taken in this Dispute, it is not Science, to discern Good from Bad; nor has this kind of Knowledge been call'd in question by the *Acateleptics*. IV. The Charge of Contradiction has less of Solidity in it than of false Lultré; it is rather a Subtily, than a convincing Reason; good Sense soon unravel the Difficulty. If I dream, that I ought not to believe in Dreams, I am caught in a Trap; for, if I do not believe in them, I do believe in them; and, if I do believe in them, I do not believe in them. Who sees not, that, in this case, the particular Dream, which advises me not to believe in Dreams, must be excepted from all other Dreams? See, in *Seneca* *Empiricus*, what the Sceptics reply'd to this Objection. V. *La-tantius*'s Confession, as to Physics, was not at all proper to his Design: An Advantage might be drawn from it against his own Cause.

(78) Cicero,
de Natura
Deorum,
lib. 1. cap. 5.

(70) Τὸν
Θεόφραστον
κνικέμενον
Φαεῖν εἰ-
πεῖν ὡς ἐν-
φωτὴς καὶ
εὐσταχέρι-
τος ἄνε-
υλαβοῦς
τῆς διατρι-
βῆς αἰν ὑ-
πανόχοις. --
Theophras-
tus, *they*
say, *was*
grieved at
his Depart-
ure, and
said, How
ingenious
and ready a
Youth has
left the
School. Diog.
Laërt. ubi
supra. n. 30.
See also n.
17.

[G] He drew a great Number of Disciples to his Auditory.] An Attempt to run down all Science, and to reject not only the Testimony of Sense, but That of Reason too; the boldest, that ever was form'd in the Republick of Letters. It is like That of the *Alexanders*, and other Conquerors, who would subdue all Nations; It requires much Wit, much Eloquence, much Reading, and deep Meditation. "Si fingulas disciplinas percipere magnum est, quanto majus omnes? quod facere is necesse est, quibus propositum est veri rependi causa, & contra omnes Philosophos pro omnibus dicere (78). — If it is a great attainment to be Master of a single Science, how much a greater is it to understand All? which they must necessarily do, who propose to investigate Truth, and to defend All the Philosophers against All the Philosophers". Arctifas was as fit for such an Undertaking, as a Man could be. Nature and Art had concurr'd to qualify him completely. He was naturally of a happy Genius, and of a ready and lively Wit (79); his Person and Presence were engaging; he spoke with a good Grace; the Charms of his Countenance might be drawn forth, & regulated, & down cast.

nance admirably seconded those of his Voice; and he had learnt, under good Masters, all that was most proper to perfect his Natural Abilities; I mean to extend their Force by the Combination of several different Powers. You will find This Detail in *Numenius*; but deliver'd with an odious Turn. *Numenius* did not love *Arcefilas*; yet could not forbear expressing himself thus; Πλήν τοῖς ἀκκοῖσι πρῆσαν, ὅμα τῇ ἀκροῖσι εὐπρόσφορον ὄληε Σωμῶνι· ἢ νῦν ἀκούμενοι· καὶ βαλόμενοι· ἡΐς· ἔπει τοῖς περσέσι δ' ἔθνας ἀποδύχοντα αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον ἰοῦλας ἀπὸ καλῶς προσωπι τε καὶ σώματος, ἐκ αὐτοῦ τῆς ἢ τοῖς ὀμμασι εἰκοθεροῦσιν (80). Yet be engaged the Attention of his Hearers; whilst, as be spoke, they beheld the greatest Dignity of *Apele*. For be clamor'd both the Eyes and Ears; for which Reason what be said was favourably heard, as it flowed from pleasing Lips, attended with a certain Native Sweetness in his Looks. He says likewise, that *Arcefilas* thunderstruck the Stoics by his various ways of confuting his Antagonists. Let us repeat the whole Passage; it will then the great Dexterity of our Philosopher, and the great Esteem he had acquired. 'Οἱ Σταῖοι δὲ ὑπὸ πῶν ἐκπεπληγμένοι. ἡ μῦσα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐδὲ τότε ἦν φιλολόγῳ, ἐδ' ἐργάσι χαρίτων, ὅρ ἂν Ἀρεσίλλῳ, τὰ μὲν περικραῖον, τὰ δὲ ὑπομέμον, ἀλλὰ δ' ὑποσκελίζον, καλεῖσθαι ἤξεστο αὐτῆς, καὶ πιδανῶν ἦν. Τοιγαρὶν σπῆς ἔς μὲν ἀνέκλυτον, ἡτάρ κενῶν, ἐν οἷς δὲ λέγων ἦν, καταπεπληγμένον, δεδωκένον πως τοῖς τότε ἀνδρωτοῖσι ὑπέρχον, μὴδὲν εἶναι μὴτ' ἢ πῶς, μὴτε πάδος, μὴτε ἔργον ἐν ὅσῳ, μὴδὲ ἀρχῶν ποταμῶν ὁδῶν ὅσον ποτ' αἰ τι μὲν Ἀρεσίλλῳ δοκεῖ τὸ Πιτάνῳ (81). The Stoic beard the things with *Alimentment*. For their *Maje* was as yet unskilled, nor *Arcefilas* of that Address, by which *Arcefilas*, variously confuting and baffling *Zeno's* Arguments, o'rewhelm'd them with a torrent of Words, and established his *Credits*. Thus when *They*, with whom be disputed, were overcome, and *They*, before whom be spoke, remain'd astonished and confounded, it was evident to the World at that time, that no Opinions were right or wrong, but such as were approved, or condemned, by *Arcefilas* of *Pitane*. The preceding Remarks might have been sufficient to establish the Merit of *Arcefilas*. But here is a new one. Some one, in *Cicero*, says, that no one would ever have followed This Philosopher's Opinion, if the manifest Absurdity of it had not disappeared under the Eloquence and Dexterity of the Teacher. *Qui ista tam aperte perspicueque & perscruta & falsa sequutus esset, nisi tantum in Arcefilas ---* ἐξ copia rerum, & dicendi vii fuisset (82).

[H] Some affirm, that he play'd the Sceptic, only to try his Scholars. Sextus Empiricus, having said, that Arcesilas did not seem to differ from the Pyrrhonians; adds, that, if certain Reports were to be credited, he was a Pyrrhonian only in Appearance: who, in the main, followed the method of the Dogmatists. The Question he proposed to his Auditors, to discover whether they had Genius enough to comprehend the Doctrine of Plato, made him looked upon as a Philosopher, who affirmed nothing; but he deliver'd Plato's Doctrine, in a Dogmatical way, to Those, in whom he had discover'd a sound Understanding (83). It is difficult to know whether this Relation be true. See the Dissertations of Mr Foucher on the Philosophy of the Academics (84), and the Annotations of Thomas Aldobrandinus, to which I refer you (85).

[1] *Very great things are said of his Liberality.* He did good, and endeavoured to conceal it. Ἐνεστέησαι πρόχρηστος ἦν, καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν χάριν αὐτοφύστα. (86). Erat ad ferenda beneficia promptus; latere quoque gratiam omni studio quærebat, fastum ejusmodi maxime exhorrens. This was practising the

(80) Name.
nius, apud
Euseb. Præp.
Evang. l. 14.
cap. 6. pag.
730, D.

(81) *Id.* **Re**
p. 733. **C.**

(82) Cicero,
Academ.
Quæst. 1. 4.
cap. 18. fin.

(83) Sextus
Empiricus,
Pyrrhon.
Hypotypof.
lib. i. c. 33.

(84) Fou-
cher. lib. 1.
pag. 32. &
lib. 3. pag.
154. &c.

(8:) Th. Aldrobrand. in
Diog. Laert.
lib. 4. p. 28.

(86) Diogen.
Laërt. lib. 4.
n. 37.

(g) Id. ib. n. 41. too much (g). The other Philosophers took a Pleasure in censuring him (b); but did they equal him in Modesty, and a Freedom from Jealousy? Did they exhort their Disciples to hear other Professors? This He did (i). One of his Pupils having signified, that he should chuse to be the Disciple of a certain Peripatetic, he carried him to the Professor, and recommended him to his Care (k). Another time, he expelled a Disciple his School for having affronted *Cleanthes*, in a Verse of a Comedy; and would not restore him to Favour, 'till the Person offended had received Satisfaction (l). The Merit of this Action will appear the greater, when it is known, that *Cleanthes* was the Successor of *Zeno*, who had been *Arcefilas's* Adversary. This Person was very free from the failing of most Plagiaries; for he declared openly, that he taught nothing but what he had found in Books (m). It is probable he acted thus to give the greater Authority to his Opinions, and to take off the Odium, which the Name of Innovator drew upon him. He had no Inclination to meddle with Politics (n): Nevertheless, when he was appointed to go to *Demetrius* to negotiate some Affairs with King *Antigonus*, in Favour of his Country, he accepted the Deputation. He returned without Success; probably because he never would compliment that Prince, or go to Court, or write Consolatory Letters to him after the Loss of a Sea-Fight (o), as several others had done (p). He had a great share in the Friendship of the Governor of the *Pireum* (q), and received several fine Presents from *Eumenes*, Prince of *Pergamus* (r). He had a very fine Thought concerning Death; for he said, that, of all human Evils, this was the only one, whose Presence is never troublesome to any one, and which makes us uneasy only by it's Absence (s). His Doctrines tended to overthrow all Precepts of Morality; and yet it is observable, that he practised them. The Testimony given him, on this occasion, by the Stoic *Cleanthes*, his Answer, and the other's Reply, are very curious [K]. He was never married (t); though he was of an amorous Constitution; and followed the bent of his Inclinations but too freely, and even to shameful Excesses [L]. He flourished about the CXXth Olympiad (u), and died of a *Delirium*, occasioned by excessive Drinking, at Seventy five Years of Age (x), in the fourth Year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad (y). He boasted of his great Patience during a Fit of the Gout [M]. *Diogenes Laërtius* has not given him *Bion* for his Successor: Father *Rapin* imagined this without the least ground [N]. I have but one Fault to charge Mr *Motieri*

(p) Id. ib.

(q) Id. ib.

(r) Id. ib.

(s) Id. ib.

(t) Id. ib.

(u) Id. ib.

(v) Id. ib.

(w) Id. ib.

(x) Id. ib.

(y) Id. ib.

(z) Id. ib.

(aa) Id. ib.

(ab) Id. ib.

(ac) Id. ib.

(ad) Id. ib.

(ae) Id. ib.

(af) Id. ib.

(ag) Id. ib.

(ah) Id. ib.

(ai) Id. ib.

(aj) Id. ib.

(ak) Id. ib.

(al) Id. ib.

(am) Id. ib.

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(ao) Id. ib.

(ap) Id. ib.

(aq) Id. ib.

(ar) Id. ib.

(as) Id. ib.

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(au) Id. ib.

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(bb) Id. ib.

(bc) Id. ib.

(bd) Id. ib.

(be) Id. ib.

(bf) Id. ib.

(bg) Id. ib.

(bh) Id. ib.

(bi) Id. ib.

Gospel Precept, before it was declared. "Having made a Visit to *Ctesibius*, who was Sick, and wanted Necessaries, he dexterously convey'd a Purse of Money under his Pillow (87)." *Seneca* tells us this. *Arcefilas*, ut aiunt, amico pauperi, & paupertatem suam dissimulanti, egro autem, & ne hoc quidem consentienti deesse sibi in iumentum ad necessarios usus, cum clam succurrendum iudicasset, pulvino ejus ignorantis sacculum subiecit, ut homo inutiliter verecundus, quod desiderabat, inveniret potius quam acciperet (88). *Plutarch* relates the same Fact more at large, but supposes, that the sick Person was not *Ctesibius*; he calls him *Apelles* of *Chio* (89). Let us add, that *Arcefilas*, having lent some Silver Plate to a Friend, who was to make a Feast, would never demand it afterwards, supposing that it was given, not lent. Some say, that, considering the Necessity of his Friend, he refused to receive it again, when it was returned to him (90).

[K] The Testimony given him, on this Occasion, by *Cleanthes*, His Answer, and the other's Reply, are very curious. When once a Man affirms, that there is nothing certain, and that all is incomprehensible, he in effect declares, that it is uncertain whether there be any such thing as Virtue or Vice. Now such a Tenet seems calculated to inspire an Indifference for Probity and for all the Duties of Civil Life. For which Reason *Arcefilas's* Adversaries tax'd him with having neglected all those Duties. They pretended, that he lived according to his Principles. But *Cleanthes*, though of a Sect very opposite to This Philosopher, took his part. Hold your Tongue, said he to one of these Censurers, condemn not *Arcefilas*; he overthrows the Duties by his Words, but establishes them by his Actions. Παύσαι, ἔφη, καὶ μὴ λέγε, εἰ γὰρ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ καθήκον ἀναίρει, τοῖς γούν ἐργοῖς αὐτὸ τιθεῖ (91). *Quiesce*, inquit, neque vituperes; ille enim est verbis officium tollit, operibus tamen id ponit. *Arcefilas* answer'd, That he did not love to be flatter'd; Is it Flattery, replied *Cleanthes*, to maintain, that you say one thing, and do another (92)? This Repartee is smart enough. Probably he alluded to a Verse of *Homer*, which imports, that Hypocrites and Dissemblers, whose Thoughts are contrary to their Words, ought to be detested as Hell (93). However, at the bottom, This was a

great Commendation of the good Life of *Arcefilas*. By the way, there was a Theory in the Doctrine of the rigidest *Pyrrhonian*s favourable to Virtue; for, whatever the real Nature of things might be, they taught, that, as to Practice, Men ought to behave according to Appearances. Be that as it will, the true Principle of our Morals depends so little upon the speculative Judgment, which we form of the Nature of things, that nothing is more common, than Orthodox Christians, who live ill, and Free-Thinkers, who live well.

[L] He followed the Bent of his Inclinations - - - even to shameful Excesses. The good Qualities, mentioned in the Body of this Article, and in the preceding Remark, were joined, in his Person, with the most criminal Lewdness. So true it is, that Vice and Virtue are sometimes in Alliance. He publicly visited *Theodota* and *Phileta*, two common Women. Καὶ Θεοδότην τε καὶ Φιλετάν, ἡλίσαιαι ἑταίραις, συνέκειν πανεύχως (94). *Theodota* item at *Phileta*, *Elisibus* scortis, palam congredebatur. The worst is, He was addicted to the Sin against Nature. Φιλομεράχιός τε ἦν καταφάρως. ἔθεν οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσωνα τὸν Χίον Σταῖκοι ἐπακαλὺν αὐτὸν ᾠδοῦσα τῶν νέων, καὶ κιναιδολόγον καὶ δεσπὸν ἀποκαλῶντες (95). He was fond of Boys, and of an amorous Complexion; insomuch, that the Stoic *Arillo* of *Chios* was wont to call him *A* Corrupter of Youth, and an impudent Boaster of his unnatural Amours.

[M] He boasted of his great Patience during a Fit of the Gout. Nothing ascends from those Parts hither, said he to *Carnades* the Epicurean, afflicted to see him in so much Torment, Nothing, said he, pointing at the same time to his Feet, and Breast. Is quum arderet podagra doloribus, vixissetque hominem *Carnades* Epicuri per familiaris, & tristis exiret, mane quæso, inquit, *Carnades* noster, nihil illinc hic pervenit, ostendens pedes & pectus (96). This was talking like a Stoic, tho' *Arcefilas* was The Antagonist of The Founder of That Sect.

[N] *Diogenes Laërtius* has not given him *Bion* for Successor. Father *Rapin* imagined this, without the least Ground. These are his Words: "Cicero, who knew *Plato's* Successors very well, says no- thing of This *Bion*, whom *Diogenes* gives *Arce-*

(p) Id. ib.

(q) Id. ib.

(r) Id. ib.

(s) Id. ib.

(t) Id. ib.

(u) Id. ib.

(v) Id. ib.

(w) Id. ib.

(x) Id. ib.

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(bh) Id. ib.

(bi) Id. ib.

(p) Id. ib.

(q) Id. ib.

(r) Id.

reri with ; to wit, his saying, that *Arcefilas* studied under *Xantibus*, and under *Theophrastus*, before he came to *Athens*. I have observed a very gross Error in *Sidonius Apollinaris* [O].

(97) *Rapin*. Compar. de Platon & d' Aristote, part 4. c. 1. pag. 369.
(98) *Diog. Lært.* lib. 4. n. 59. in *Laërtis*, init.
(99) *Id. ib.* n. 51. 52. in *Bione*.

"*filas* for his Successor, and who made himself famous by the Vehemency of his Satires, according to *Horace* (97)." The only ground *Father Rapin* can have for what he says, is, that The Life of *Bion* immediately follows That of *Arcefilas*, in the Works of *Diogenes Laërtius*. This Reason is void ; since the Author expressly says, That *Lacydes* was the Successor of *Arcefilas* (98), and that *Bion*, being also a Hearer of *Crates*, despised the Opinions of the Academy, and afterwards embraced another Sect (99).

[O] I have observed a very gross Error in *Sidonius Apollinaris*. He pretends, that, according to *Arcefilas*, who preceded *Socrates*, God is the Efficient Cause of the Universe, and Atoms the Material Cause of it.

Post hos *Arcefilas* divina mente patratam
Conjicit hanc molem, confectam partibus illis

Quas atomos vocat ipse leves. Socratica post hunc
Secta micat, quæ de naturæ pondere migrans
Ad mores hominum limandos transtulit usum (100).

Next these, *Arcefilas* supposed the World
Form'd, by a Mind divine, of lightest Atoms.
The Sect of *Socrates* succeeded next,
Which, quitting nat'ral Things, applied Philosophy
To polish and inform the Human Mind.

Savaro, without taking notice of this Mistake in Chronology, is contented with observing, that every one ascribes to *Epicurus*, and *Democritus*, the Doctrine, which *Sidonius Apollinaris* attributes to *Arcefilas* (101). This Observation is wrong ; for no one ever pretended, that *Democritus* and *Epicurus* taught, that the Universe was the Work of God.

(100) *Sidon.* Apollin. Carm. 15. ver. 94. pag. 152.

(101) *Savaro* in hunc locum *Sidonii Apollinaris*.

ARCHELAUS. *Diogenes Laërtius* mentions Four Persons, who bore this Name (a) ; to wit, ARCHELAUS, the Philosopher (b) ; ARCHELAUS, the Author of a Description of all the Countries, through which *Alexander* carried his Arms ; ARCHELAUS, who described the marvellous Properties of certain things in Verse (c) ; and ARCHELAUS, the Orator, who wrote a Treatise of Rhetoric. Mr *Menage* adds, to these Four, ARCHELAUS, King of *Cappadocia* ; ARCHELAUS, King of *Sparta* ; ARCHELAUS, General of *Mithridates* ; ARCHELAUS, the Dancer ; ARCHELAUS, the Musician ; and ARCHELAUS, the Comedian (d). He observes, that *Lucian* mentions the latter in his Treatise, *de conscribenda Historia* ; That *Athenæus*, in his first Book, speaks of him, who played upon Instruments of Music (e) ; and that *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions the Dancer [A], in the seventh Book of the *Stromata*. He forgot ARCHELAUS the Astrologer (f), and several other *Archebaus's*, of some of whom I shall speak in the following Articles.

(a) *Diogen. Lært.* lib. 2. in *Archebau*.

(b) *He, who is the Subject of the following Article.*

(c) See Remark [H] of the following Article.

(d) *Menage*. in *Diogen. Lært.* lib. 2. n. 17.

(e) See Remark [H] of the Article *ABDERA*.

(f) *Cicero* de *Divinat.* lib. 2. c. 42. some Manuscripts have it *ARCHEBAU*.

[A] He observes — that *Athenæus*, in his first Book, speaks of him, who played upon Instruments of Music, and that *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions the Dancer. Mr *Menage* understood the Rules of a just and learned Method of Citation, but he does not observe them upon this Occasion. He should have quoted the first Book of *Athenæus*, in relation *Archebau* the Dancer ; not the seventh of the *Stromata* of *Clemens Alexandrinus* : For, besides that the Right of Seniority

does not belong to the latter, we find some Particulars in *Athenæus*, but none in the *Stromata*. *Athenæus* relates, that King *Aniobius* had no Favourite, whom he esteemed more, than *Archebau* the Dancer (1). This Author had observed, in the same Page, that the Inhabitants of *Miletum* dedicated a brazen Statue to *Archebau* the Fiddler ; if I may be permitted thus to translate *Ἀρχιβαύς τῷ κιθάραῖς*, *Archebau* the Citharist.

(1) *Athen.* lib. 1. c. 16. pag. 19.

ARCHELAUS, a Greek Philosopher, and Disciple of *Anaxagoras*, was, as some say, of *Athens*, or, as others will have it (a), of *Miletum*. What is very certain, is, that he taught at *Athens*. It is said too, that he was the first, who brought over Philosophy thither [A]. He made but little Alteration in the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*

(a) *Diogen. Lært.* lib. 2. n. 16.

[A] He was the first who brought over Philosophy to Athens. Several Critics have observed, on this Head, the Opposition, which is found between *Diogenes Laërtius*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*. The one attributes this Translation to *Archebau*, the other to *Anaxagoras*. Οὗτος (Ἀρχιβαύς) πρῶτος ἐκ τῆς Ἰωνίας τὴν φυσικὴν φιλοσοφίαν μέλιν' ἄγειν Ἀθήνας (1). *Archebau* was the first, who brought Natural Philosophy from *Ionis* to Athens. These are the Words of *Diogenes Laërtius* ; the following belong to *Clemens Alexandrinus* : Οὗτος (Ἀναξαγόρας) μέλιν' ἄγειν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰωνίας Ἀθήνας τὴν διαλεκτικὴν (2). *Anaxagoras* translated the School from *Ionis* to Athens. No Person, that I know of, has endeavoured to reconcile these two Opinions, or discover the Origin of this Diversity. To me it seems obvious enough, from what I am going to observe. *Anaxagoras* came a very young Philosopher to Athens, and lived there thirty Years (3). It is not impossible, but that his Master *Anaximenes* continued to philosophize in *Ionis* during part of This Interval (4). We may likewise suppose, that *Diogenes*, his other Disciple, succeeded him. Now if *Thales's* Chair in *Ionis* was not vacant, whilst *Anaxagoras* philosophiz'd at Athens, it is false, that he transported *Thales's* School to That City. Such a Translation supposes, that the Succession failed,

(1) *Diogen. Lært.* lib. 2. n. 16.

(2) *Clem. Alexandr.* *Stromat.* lib. 2. pag. 301.

(3) *Diogen. Lært.* lib. 2. n. 7.

(4) *What* *Diog. Lært.* lib. 2. n. 3. says concerning the time of the Death of *Anaximenes* is ridiculous.

upon *Anaxagoras's* Removal. All that can be said, with Truth, is, that, before This Philosopher read Lectures at Athens, no Disciple of the Sect of *Ionis* had taught among the *Athenians*. Perhaps *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and the Authors he followed, meant no more ; but did not take the trouble of expressing themselves more exactly. Be That as it will, I think, by *Casaubon's* good leave (5), that *Diogenes Laërtius* has expressed himself with more Exactness. For you must know, that *Anaxagoras*, leaving Athens, retired to *Lampascus*, where he taught till his Death. His Chair in *Lampascus* was filled by his Disciple *Archebau* (6), who went afterwards to philosophize at Athens (7). *Archebau*, then, was properly the Person, who transported the School of *Thales* from *Ionis* to Athens : This was a true Translation : But it could not be deemed so before ; since, perhaps, this School had never been vacant during the time, which past between *Anaxagoras's* Journey to Athens, and his Retirement to *Lampascus* ; or, if it suffered any Interruption, it was speedily repaired by That Philosopher's Return into *Ionis*. It will be in vain to object, that no Writer remains, who has affirmed, that *Diogenes* was the Successor of *Anaximenes* : For I may reply, I. That we have nothing exact in the History of the ancient Philosophers ; and consequently, This Silence does not take away the Right of supposing what I do.

(5) *Casubon*, on this Passage of *Laërtius*, censures him, and declares for *Clem. Alexandr.* Mr *Menage* desires the same.

(6) *Euseb.* *Præpar. Evang.* l. 10. cap. ult. pag. 504.

(7) *Id. ib.*

Anaxagoras (b); he held, with him, that the *Similar Parts* were the Material Principle of all Things, and the Divine Wisdom the Cause of the Formation of Bodies. He also taught, like him, that all Animals, not excepting Men, were produced out of

do. II. That, *Anaxagoras* having been more famous than *Diogenes*, and having had a Disciple, who continued the Succession; having also, as is probable enough, survived *Diogenes*; the Succession of the *Ionian Sect* is with more reason continued in him, than in the other. It is very probable, that *Sidenius Apollinaris* associates these Disciples of *Anaximenes*, as two Colleagues, who were the Support of That School.

Quartus Anaxagoras Thaletica dogmata servat:
Sed divinum animum sentit, qui fecerit orbem.
Junior huic junctus refidet collega, sed idem
Materiam cunctis creaturis ætra credens
Judicat inde Deum, faceret quo cuncta (8), tu-
lisse (9).

The Fourth in order, *Anaxagoras*
Subscribed to *Thales's Doctrine*; yet acknowledg'd
A Mind Divine, Creator of the World.
His younger Colleague taught, that Air contained
The sole Materials of creating Art.

I proceed to other Conjectures. Our learnedest Critics (10) take for the surest Foundation of *Anaxagoras's* Age, what *Diogenes Laërtius* says; that, at the Time of the Expedition of *Xerxes*, That Philosopher was twenty Years old. From whence they take the Liberty to infer, that, since he lived Seventy two Years, he died in the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad. I shall not dispute this Point. But I have Difficulties to raise against what *Laërtius* says, that *Anaxagoras* began his Journey to *Athens* at twenty Years of Age, and lived in That City thirty Years. It seems very unlikely to me, that he should make choice of the time of *Xerxes's* Expedition for This Journey, when the *Asiatics* in general did not doubt, but the Republic of *Athens* would be destroyed. However, not to insist on this, let us pass on to stronger Instances. If *Diogenes Laërtius* be right, it must follow, that *Anaxagoras* lived at *Athens* only 'till the second Year of the LXXXIIId Olympiad; for *Xerxes's* Expedition fell out in the last Months of the LXXIVth Olympiad, and the beginning of the LXXVth. But does not *Diodorus Siculus* affirm, that This Philosopher was accused of Impiety, at *Athens*, in the second Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad (11)? He destroys, then, the Account of *Diogenes Laërtius*; Yet not without being himself embarrassed in another Point; for what will become of the Story, that *Socrates*, after the Condemnation of *Anaxagoras*, became the Disciple of *Archelaus* (12)? What will become of a Fact, which others have vouched, viz. that *Euripides* forsook the Study of Natural Philosophy, and applied himself to the Theatre, on account of the Process against *Anaxagoras* (13)? Could *Socrates*, who was near forty Years of Age, according to the Chronology of *Diodorus Siculus*, at the time of That Trial, stand in need of another Master? Observe likewise, that, according to *Porphyry*, he began to follow the Philosopher *Archelaus*, at about seventeen Years of Age (14). Had not *Euripides*, who was above fifty Years of Age, at the time of the same Trial, began to write Tragedies 'till That Time? So far was He from delaying it so long, that he wrote one at eighteen (15). To clear up this Matter a little, and find some Method to reconcile these Accounts, we must return to *Diogenes Laërtius*, and quit *Diodorus Siculus*; for, supposing that *Anaxagoras* was accused in the LXXXIIId Olympiad, we shall find the pretended Consequences of this Trial, with regard to *Euripides* and *Socrates*, very possible. We may presuppose, that This Poet, having jointly studied Natural Philosophy, and wrote Tragedies, 'till he saw the Danger of *Anaxagoras*, confined his Studies afterwards to the Theatre alone. But what shall we do with *Eusebius*, who tells us, that *Archelaus* succeeded *Anaxagoras*, at *Lampascus*, before he became a Philosopher in *Athens*? This cannot be true, if *Anaxagoras* lived to the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad; a time, when *Socrates*, a

greater Master than *Archelaus*, had no occasion to submit to his Discipline. Perhaps we ought to suppose, I. That *Archelaus*, having studied some Years at *Athens*, under *Anaxagoras*, assumed the Professor's Chair, upon his Master's retiring from thence. II. That, some time after, he rejoined him at *Lampascus*, and was his Successor there; and that, afterwards, returning from thence to *Athens*, he entirely transplanted *Thales's* School thither. It may be proper likewise to suppose, that *Anaxagoras* was accused more than once at *Athens*; and that, having withdrawn into *Ionis* about the Time of the first Trial, he was some time after recalled by *Pericles*, and accused a new after some Years Abode there. We have seen (16), that certain Authors relate, that he was accused by *Thucydides*, the Adversary of *Pericles*, and condemned to Death for Contumacy. Now, after the Banishment of this *Thucydides*, the Authority was in *Pericles's* Hands for fifteen Years (17); which shews, that *Thucydides* was banished fifteen Years before the Death of *Pericles*. From whence it should follow, that *Anaxagoras* had been condemned for Contumacy, at least fifteen or sixteen Years before the Death of *Pericles*: But, according to *Diodorus Siculus* (18), and *Plutarch* (19), he was accused a little before the beginning of the *Peloponnesian War*; that is, two or three Years before the Death of *Pericles*. We may therefore suppose, that he was twice accused; and, if we place his Return into *Ionis*, and his second Return to *Athens*, in the Interval between these two Accusations; a very considerable Difficulty will be removed by this means. *Socrates* was not a Disciple of *Anaxagoras*, though *Diogenes Laërtius* affirms it (20). I have proved this (21) by a very strong Reason; and can confirm it not only by the Silence of *Plato* and *Xenophon*, when the Circumstances of the Subject obliged them to mention it, but also by the Silence of the Accusers of *Socrates*, and by the Answers, which *Socrates* made to them. Would they have failed to reproach him with being instructed by a Philosopher, who had been condemned for Impiety? Would not this have rendered him more suspected? Would they have forgot this Circumstance? Would they have been satisfied with reproaching him, in general, that he philosophized like That impious Man? And, if he had actually been his Scholar, would he have replied as he did (22)? Let us conclude, then, that he was no Disciple of *Anaxagoras*. But how can we imagine, that he was not, if we suppose, that *Anaxagoras* did not leave *Athens*, 'till the Time, which *Diodorus Siculus* and *Plutarch* mention. In this case, would not *Anaxagoras* have flourished at *Athens*, when *Socrates* was at the prospect Age to chafe him for his Professor; and, if so, can any one conceive, that *Socrates* would attend the Lectures of *Archelaus*, and not Those of This Philosopher? Is it probable, that the former should set up a School at *Athens*, whilst *Anaxagoras* flourished in the same City? Or, if he did, that *Socrates* would prefer his Lectures before Those of *Anaxagoras*? These Difficulties may all be solved, if it be supposed, that this latter was twice banished; and that, in the Time, which passed between the two Condemnations, *Archelaus* philosophized at *Athens*.

There remains one Observation to be made against *Plutarch*. It must not be imagined, that he believed *Anaxagoras* died in the LXXXVIIIth Olympiad; For, when he relates the Prodigies, which preceded the Defeat of the *Athenians* at the River *Egos* (23); he says, that, according to the Predictions of this Philosopher, a great Stone fell from Heaven. This Misfortune of the *Athenians* happened in the fourth Year of the XCIIId Olympiad. It would be absurd, to suppose, that *Plutarch* meant, that *Anaxagoras* had predicted the Fall of such a Stone twenty Years before: He believed, then, that This Philosopher lived 'till the XCIIId Olympiad. Now this is a great Error. I suspect him much of an Anachronism, in placing the Fall of the Stone in the XCIIId Olympiad. *Pliny*, *Eusebius*, and the *Arundelian Marbles*, confute this. They place This Event in the LXXVIIIth Olympiad (24).

(b) See Re-
mark [C].

(8) This, compared with what Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. 1. pag. 46, and St August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2, say of *Diogenes* of *Apollonia*, shews that this *Diogenes* is the *Pericles* meant here.

(9) *Apollinarius Carm.* 15, vers. 89.

(10) See Scalig. in Euseb. lib. 1. cap. 103. Petavii Ration. Temporis, Pars I. lib. 3, cap. 8, pag. 140. Vollius de Scient. Mathem. cap. 33, n. 4. p. 148.

(11) *Diod. Sicul. lib. 12, cap. 59.* p. 433.

(12) *Diogenes Laërt. lib. 2, n. 19.*

(13) See the Article EURIPIDES, in the Text.

(14) See the Life of *Socrates*, by Mr. Charpentier, pag. 5.

(15) *Aulus Gellius, lib. 15, cap. 20.*

(16) See the Article ANAXAGORAS.

(17) See the Article PERICLES, pag. 161, E.

(18) *Lib. 12, cap. 39.* p. 433.

(19) *Plutarch in Pericles, pag. 169.*

(20) *Diogenes Laërt. in Doctr. lib. 2, n. 19, 45.*

(21) At the end of the Remark [R], of the Article ANAXAGORAS.

(22) See Citation (20), of the Article ANAXAGORAS.

(23) *Ibid. Citation (13).*

(24) *Pliny, in the second Year. See Citation (13) of the Article ANAXAGORAS. Eusebius, in the fourth, and the Arundelian Marbles, in the fourth Year. See Harpocration, in Plin. Tom. 1, pag. 27.*

of a Terrestrial Matter, Hot and Moist [B]. He applied himself principally to Natural Philosophy, as his Predecessors had done; but intermixed Morality with it a little more than they had done. He was not very Orthodox in this Point; since he maintained, that Human Laws were the Spring and Origin of Moral Good and Evil; that is, He did not admit a *Natural*, but only a *Positive* Right, and consequently believed, that all Actions were indifferent in their own Nature, and became Good or Evil, according as Mankind is pleased to declare them such by certain Laws (c). He wrote a Treatise of Natural Philosophy, according to *Suidas*; and He passed for the Author of some *Elegies*, designed to comfort *Cimon*, who was very much afflicted for the Death of his Wife (d). *Socrates*, the most famous of his Disciples, was his Successor (e). It will be proper to take some Notice of a Poet, whose Name was *ARCHELAUS* [C]. *Diogenes Laërtius* mentions him; but he is contented with preserving to us the Title of one of his Compositions.

(d) Plot. in Cimon. pag. 481.

(e) Cicero, Tuscul. lib. 5. Diog. Laërt. ubi supra. Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. 1. pag. 301. August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 8. cap. 2.

Such is the wretched State, in which the so much boasted Ancients have left the History of the Philosophers. A thousand Contradictions throughout, a thousand inconsistent Facts, and a thousand false Dates. Note, that I have not met with any Modern, who confutes those, who place the Death of *Anaxagoras* in the LXXVIIIth Olympiad (25); I say, who confutes them by *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch*, who both affirm, that this Philosopher was accused a little before the first Year of the Peloponnesian War (26).

[B] He also taught, like him, that all Animals, not excepting Men, were produced out of a Terrestrial Matter, hot and moist. The Accounts, preserved to us, of these Opinions, in the Authors, who report them, are so concise, that it is difficult to form any distinct Idea of them. *Γεννάσθαι δὲ φησι τὰ ζῷα ἐκ θερμῆς τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἰσὺν παρὰ πλῆθος γάλακτι, οἷον τετρὴν, ἀνίσχουσιν. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ποιεῖται* (27). He taught, that Animals

sprang from a warm Earth, which sent forth a kind of milky Substance, by way of Nourishment; and that Men had the same Original. Thus *Diogenes Laërtius* expresses himself. He had said, that, according to this Philosopher's Opinion, the two Causes of Generation were Heat and Moisture

(28). He had also explained, how Water, Air, Earth, and Fire, proceeded from these two Principles; but I own, I cannot comprehend the meaning of his Words, and therefore will not be at the Pains of transcribing them. Mr *Ménage*, who inserted them in his Commentary, without any Note upon them, seems to have been ignorant of their Meaning. Other Commentators have not been more successful. They leave them to their Native Obscurity. Let us do the same, and have recourse to *Plutarch*, who has said, that, according to *Archelaus*, the infinite Air, the Condensation and Rarefaction of the Air, the one Fire, the other Water, were the Principles of all Things (29). *Justin Martyr* attributes very near the same Opinion to him (30). This seems to me to imply, that he held the Air to be the first Matter, and Fire and Water to be the Elements; but this was not his Opinion, if we may believe *St Austin*; for That Father attributes to him the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, concerning the *Homœomeria*, and the Intelligence, which combined them. "Anaxagoræ successit auditor ejus Archelaus: etiam ipse de particulis inter se dissimilibus, quibus singula quæque fierent, ita omnia constare putavit, ut incelle etiam mentem diceret, quæ cor-pora dissimilia, id est illas particulas, conjungendo & dissipando, ageret omnia (31). — To *Anaxagoras* succeeded his Scholar *Archelaus*; who held, likewise, such an Opinion concerning the dissimilar Particles, out of which all things were made, as to allow the Superintendency of a Mind, which, by uniting and dispersing the dissimilar Corpuscles, formed every thing." I believe *St Austin* is in the right; for *Simplicius* observes, that *Archelaus*, endeavouring to give an Explication distinct from all others, did nevertheless run into the same Principles with *Anaxagoras*, to wit, an Infinity of similar Particles (32). It is probable, that, as to the first Formation of Animals, they held the same Doctrines. We have seen what *Archelaus*'s Opinion was; This was the Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*: *Ζῷα γενέσθαι ἐξ ὕψου καὶ θερμῆς καὶ γάλακτος. ὅτερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων* (33). Animals sprung originally from Moisture, Heat, and Earth; afterwards from one another. Since they admitted an Intelligence, which drew the Homœo-

meria out of the Confusion, in which they originally were, we must believe, that they supposed, it to preside over the Production of Animals; for, if there be any Creature, the Formation of which stands in need of being directed by a Spirit, it is certainly the Machine of Animals. If what I suppose be true, They have said nothing on this Head, but what may be reconciled with the Holy Scripture; But if they believed, as many others have done, that, in the beginning, Men sprung out of the Earth by the mere Power of Moisture and Heat, &c. they believed the most ridiculous Thing in the World; nor could they know how to answer the Question, why, in succeeding Ages, Men were never seen to be produced the same way. The Question would not have puzzled them in the other Case, since they might have answered, as a Christian would do, that the Intelligence, having once formed Animals, endowed with necessary Parts of Generation, had no need to create any more; the Conservation of the Species being secured by the Instinct of Copulation in Male and Female.

[C] It will be proper to take some notice of a Poet, whose name was *ARCHELAUS*. He composed a Work on the particular Nature of Things, that is, on the Singularities and Properties, which distinguish them. What has been cited from it, will not suffer us to doubt, that this was the true Character of the Work. *Diogenes Laërtius* describes it by these Words: "Ὁ τὰ ἰδιόμοια ποιεῖται (34). Qui quæ cujus rei natura sunt propria, versu prodidit. *Cassaubon* should not have censured this Latin Translation, under pretence, that, according to the Testimony of *Antigenus* in *Cassius*, this Book of *Archelaus* was a Collection of Epigrams, in which the extraordinary and wonderful Properties of things, τὰ παρὰ φύσιν, τὰ θαυμάσια (35), are recorded; for this may very well agree with the Title given it by *Diogenes Laërtius*; and, in any Case, the Translator ought not to have given the Title a less general import, than that of the Greek Phrase. *Vossius* was not of *Cassaubon*'s Opinion; since he has translated the Words of *Diogenes Laërtius* by, qui carmen fecit de propria cujusque rei natura (36). The Sense he gives these Words does not seem very just; he understands by them, that *Archelaus* had searched after things, the Nature of which was singular; quæ propriæ ac singulæ naturæ sunt; as that Goats are never without a Fever, and not that they breathe through the Ears, and not the Nostrils. *Auribus capras spirare, non naribus, neququam febri carere, Archelaus auctor est* (37). *Athenæus* has cited one *Archelaus*, ἐν τοῖς ἰδιόμοιοις, and given him the Surname of *Chersonesius* (38). *Daléchamp* has rendered this Greek by, sua propriaque stirpe genitis (39); and I wonder *Vossius* has not made use of the same Words in translating this Passage, as in That of *Diogenes Laërtius* (40): He has rendered it de proprietate naturæ, and yet believes, that *Athenæus*, and *Diogenes Laërtius*, mean the same Author. This is very probable; though *Antigenus Carysius* tells us, that *Egypt* was the Birth-place of *Archelaus*, who composed Epigrams on the wonderful Singularities of certain Things, and dedicated them to *Ptolemy*. It is possible, that One *Archelaus*, a Native of *Chersonesus*, might pass for an Egyptian; it is enough that he dwelt a long time in *Egypt* (41). Mr *Ménage*, who pretends, that, instead of ἰδιόμοιος, it ought to be read ἰσχυρῶς, in *Diogenes Laërtius* (42), seems 451.

(34) Ibid. lib. 2. n. 17.

(35) Cassaub. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 17.

(36) Vossius de Hist. Græcia, lib. 3. pag. 329.

(37) Plin. lib. 8. cap. 50.

(38) Athen. lib. 9. cap. ult. p. 409.

(39) Daléch. Annot. in Athen. pag. 766.

(40) Father Hardouin, in indice Auto-nomi Plinii, pag. 97, translates the ἰδιόμοιος by de rebus quæ singulis in locis propria signantur.

(41) Vossius, ubi supra.

(42) There are Examples of this kind. See Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 451.

(43) Ménage, in Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 17.

(c) Τὰ ζῷα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπων ἵσχυρῶς ἢ φύσει, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ. Justum & turpe non natura constare sed lege. Diog. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 16.

(25) *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. 2. n. 7, does place it in the fourth Year of the 79th Olympiad.

(26) That is, in the second Year of the 87th Olympiad.

(27) *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. 2. n. 17.

(28) Instead of *ὑγρὸν* frigidum, it ought to be read *ὕψον*, humidum. See Mr *Ménage* in this Passage. But, note, that *Hermias*, in *Philosophorum descriptio*, pag. 177, affirms, that *Archelaus* gave, as Principles of all Things, *θερμὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν*, Hot and Cold.

(29) *Plutarch*, de placit. Phil. lib. 1, cap. 3. pag. 876.

(30) *Justin Martyr*, Admonit. ad Græcos, p. 4.

(31) *Augustine*, de Civit. Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2. See also *Clem. Alex.* in *Protr.* pag. 43.

(32) *Simplicius*, in 1. Lib. *Physic.* Arist.

(33) *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. 2. n. 9.

nature. This Foundation is not solid; for, as the Book of *Archelaus* was not confined to that kind of Singularity, which distinguishes amphibious Animals, produced by the Copulation of Males and Females, of different Species, it is unreasonable to suppose, that the Author made use of a Title confined to this Sense. We should either correct the Scholiast by *Diogenes Laërtius*, or say, that *Archelaus*, having divided his Work into several Treatises, gave a particular Title to each Treatise; for Example, That of *Δισοῦν* to the Epigrams, in which he treats of amphibious Animals. On this Supposition, we may believe, that They, who cite *Archelaus*, *Lib. I. ἀρετῆς ἀποβλεπῶν, de fluviis* (43), *Lib. I. ἀρετῆς λίθων, de lapidibus* (44), cite part of a Work, the general Title of which was *Ἰδισοῦν*. But I should chuse to say, that another *Archelaus* is meant in these Places. I do not pass the same Judgment on the Citations of *Artemidorus* (45); I believe they relate to the Author of the *Ἰδισοῦν*.

Let us, here, wonder at the Frailty of human Memory. *Vossius*, in his Treatise of the Greek Historians, speaks learnedly of this Author; he sets down what he finds of him in *Varro*, *Pliny*, *Antipater*, *Antigenes Carystius*, &c. but remembers nothing of the Matter, when he afterwards comes to treat of the Greek Poets; where we read what follows: "Idem (*Archelaus Phycus*) ut ait Suidas, συνέταξε φιλοσοφίαν *." Id sic Lilius Gyraldus verit in 111. "Dialogo de Poëtis†: quæ naturæ propria sunt, multis versibus collegit. Itaque & Archelaum inter Poëtâs recenset. Sed addit, Poëtâm phycum esse alium ab Socratis magistro. At unde id astruit, non video. Nam Suidas clare ait φιλοσοφίαν conscriptam ab Archelao Phycico, Socratis magistro. Imò nec video, unde colligat, quempiam Archelaum carmine scripsisse de rerum natura. Saltem ex verbo συνέταξε, quo Suidas utitur, id colligi nequit. Et Lærtius, cùm dicat tres præterea Archelaos fuisse, non tamen Poëtâm in iis memorat (46). — The same (*Archelaus the Naturalist*) list, according to Suidas, composed a Treatise of Natural Philosophy; or, as Lilius Gyraldus understands

"the Greek of Suidas, collected in many Verses the Properties of Nature. Therefore he reckons Archelaus among the Poets. But he adds, that the Philosophical Poet is not the same with the Preceptor of Socrates. But how he can prove this, I am at a Loss to know. For Suidas expressly says, that the Treatise of Natural Philosophy was composed by Archelaus the Naturalist, the Master of Socrates. Nay, I cannot conceive, whence he gathers, that any Archelaus wrote of the Nature of Things in Verse. At least it does not follow from the Word συνέταξε, made use of by Suidas. And Diogenes Laërtius, where he says there were three Archelaus's besides, yet mentions no Poet among them." Behold a very learned Man, who imagines, I. That *Gyraldus* had in view the Greek Words of Suidas, and not those of *Diogenes Laërtius*, ὁ τὰ Ἰδισοῦν ποιήσας (47): II. That there was no Room to acknowledge a Poet *Archelaus*, different from the Naturalist: III. Nor to suppose, that an *Archelaus* wrote Verses on the Nature of Things: IV. That *Diogenes Laërtius* does not mention any *Archelaus*, who composed Verses. This must surprize us, if we consider it by itself; but it is much worse, when compared with the Three hundred and twenty ninth Page of the Book *De Historicis Græcis*. Mr *Colomies* has corrected the first of these four Faults of *Vossius*, and advanced some good things besides (48); but he is mistaken in supposing, that *Plutarch's* Words, in the Life of *Cimon*, concern *Archelaus* the Poet, for they relate to the Naturalist, to whom *Socrates* was a Disciple. He might have censured *Gyraldus*, who believed, that *Archelaus*, Author of the *Ἰδισοῦν*, was a Philosopher. Mr *Moreri* says the same without the least Ground; for a Person, who collects the singular and wonderful Properties of Animals, or Metals, &c. may well be called a Naturalist, or a Natural Historian, but not a Natural Philosopher; unless to the Facts he subjoins the Reasons of them, and a Discussion of their Causes. We do not find, that the Poet *Archelaus* did this. Mr *Moreri* affirms, that *Diogenes Laërtius* often cites him. Say rather, that he never cites him.

(47) Gyraldus has translated them Quæ naturæ propria sunt, multis versibus collegit. This Version is not better, than the's below, Citat. (39).

(48) Colomies, Notum in Gyrald. de Poëtis, pag. 147. Edit. Operum Gyraldi, 1696.

(43) Stobæus, Serm. I. de morbis & molestiis in eis solutione. Plutarch. de fluminib. pag. 1148, cites the 13th Book of Archelaus, πῦρ ποταμῶν.

(44) Plutarch, ibid. pag. 1153.

(45) Artemidor. de Somn. lib. 4. cap. 24.

* Composit Philoſophiam.

† Pag. 108.

(46) Vossius de Poët. Græcis, pag. 34.

(a) Note, there are, who allow of but one Archelaus among the Kings of Macedonia.

(b) See Remark [A].

(1) Plato, in Gorgia, pag. 321.

(2) Ælian. Var. Histor. lib. 12. cap. 43.

(3) Dio Chrysost. Orat. 4. de Regno.

(4) Plato, in Gorgia, pag. 321.

A R C H E L A U S, First of the Name (a), King of *Macedon*, and a Natural Son of King *Perdiccas*, having ascended the Throne, supported himself in it by the most enormous Crimes. His Mother was a Servant of *Alcetas*, the Brother of *Perdiccas* [A]; so that, according to the Laws (b), he ought to have been himself no more than the Servant of *Alcetas*; but, instead of paying him the Submission he owed him, he caused him to be treacherously murdered. He invited him to his House, promising to restore to him the Crown, which *Perdiccas* had taken from him; he entertained him sumptuously, and, having made him drunk, caused him to be carried out of Town by Night in a close Chariot, with Orders to put him to Death. *Alexander*, the son of *Alcetas*, was treated in the same manner; He was conveyed drunk in the same Chariot, and murdered, with his Father. *Archelaus* soon after caused his own Brother, the Legitimate Son of *Perdiccas* and *Cleopatra*, and but seven Years of Age, to be put to Death, and thrown into a Well; making his Mother *Cleopatra* believe, that the Child fell in, as he was running after a Goose (c). He applied himself diligently to whatever might render *Macedon* formidable; he fortified several Places, caused high Roads to be made; providing himself also with great Quantities of Arms, Horses, and all warlike Stores; exceeding the Kings his Predecessors in these Preparations (d). One Thing he put in practice, which They never did; to wit, the sitting out of Fleets, and engaging in Sea-Fights (e). He loved Learning and polite Arts [B], and had always the greatest Poets, the most famous Painters, and the best Musicians, about him (f). He was at a great Expence in having his House painted by *Zeuxes* [C], and doubtless was very angry,

(c) Taken from the Gargias of Plato, pag. 321.

(d) Thucyd. lib. 2. pag. 142.

(e) Solinus, cap. 9.

(f) See Remark [C].

[A] His Mother was Servant of Alcetas, Brother of Perdiccas (1). Ælian calls her Simicba (2): But, after all, since Archelaus was the Son of the King of Macedon, it ought not to have been said, that, from the Condition of a Goat-herd, he raised himself to the Throne. Yet this is what Diogenes the Cynic affirms, in a Speech of Dion Chrysostom. Ἀποτολὸν ἢ Ἀρχέλαον (3). Caprarius erat Archelaus. Observe these Words of Plato, which inform us, what Archelaus ought to have been according to the Laws. Κατὰ μὲν τὸ δίκαιον δδλῶν ἢ Ἀλκίτην, καὶ εἰ ἐξέλετο τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐδίδουσαν ἂν Ἀλκίτην (4). He was by right the Servant of Alcetas; if therefore he would have acted justly, he should have served Alcetas.

[B] He loved Learning, and polite Arts. Solinus tells us this (5). I have cited his Words, in the Remark [N] of the Article EURIPIDES, at the Beginning. Add to them this Passage of Ælian. Ἦν δὲ ἀγαθὸς Ἀρχέλαος ἐρωτικὸς καὶ ἡτλὸν ἢ καὶ φιλόμορος (6). Archelaus was no less amorous, than fond of Learning.

[C] He was at a great Expence in having his House painted by Zeuxes. Socrates plays the Censor upon this Occasion; he says, that this Prince, who had been at such a vast Expence in beautifying his Palace, had been at none at all in adorning his Mind. We know likewise, adds he, that many Strangers make it their Business to go to Macedon, to see the Prince's House, but none to see the Prince himself, except

(5) Solia. cap. 9.

(6) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 21.

angry, that *Socrates*, whom he endeavoured to draw to his Court, would never come near him [D]. He might have learnt from him not to be frightened at Eclipses; and he wanted greatly to be set right in That Matter (g). The Esteem he had for *Euripides* is shewn in another Place (b). By the way, his Liberality to ingenious Men was not extraordinary; but this might proceed from his finding them too free in asking [E]. He instituted Sacrifices, and Stage-Plays, in Honour of *Jupiter*, and the Muses; which were celebrated for nine Days together; each Muse had it's Day (i). He sent Chariots with four Horses, which carried the Prizes at the *Olympic* and *Pysbian* Games (k). Authors agree as to his being killed, but not as to the Circumstances of his Death, or the Length of his Reign [F]. *Scaliger* himself

(7) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 17, cap. 16.

(8) Solinus, met cap. 9.

(g) See Remark [D].

(b) In the Article EURIPIDES, Remarks [N], [O], [P], &c.

(7) Taken from *Ælian*, lib. 14. Var. Hist. cap. 17.

(8) Plut. in Appophthegmat. pag. 177.

(9) See, in the New Letters against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, those which treat of an erroneous Conscience.

(10) *Ælian*. Var. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 21.

(11) *Schol. Aristoph. in Rana.*

(12) *Diogenes Laërtius*, lib. 2. n. 25.

(13) *Seneca de Benef.* lib. 5, cap. 6, pag. 96.

(14) *Marcius Antoninus*, *τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν*, lib. 12. §. 25. Note, that he supposes this Answer was made to *Pedricas*.

(15) *Aristot. Rhetor.* lib. 2. cap. 23.

except those he draws thither by his Presents. Now these are Things, which never influence an honest Man (7). I believe he had taken no Pains to conquer his lewd Inclinations, by cultivating the Muses; but I am certain, that he made no mean Progress in adorning his Mind. And, by one of his Sayings, he seems to have made some Progress in Practical Virtue. One of his Courtiers animating him one Day against a Person, who had thrown some Water upon him; he answered, he has not suited me, but the Person for whom he took me (8). Never Philosopher, disconcerting on the Privileges of an erroneous Conscience, said a more sensible Thing. All Princes would treat involuntary Faults in this manner, were they but equitable, or if the Interest of the Public would permit the regulating their Practice according to the Ideas of Reason (9). Let us leave this, and return to *Socrates*. In the foregoing Words, he declared several Men of Wit, who went to Macedonia, only for *Archelaus*'s Sake (10) errant Rascals. Did *Euripides* go thither upon any other Account? Did not the fair *Agathon*, That illustrious Poet, and his *Inamorate Pausanias*, and so many others, go thither purely upon this Account? Οὐτὸς δ' Ἀγάθων Ἀρχέλαον τῷ βασιλεῖ μῆχες τελευτῆς μέτα ἄλλων πολλῶν συνὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ (11). This *Agathon*, with many others, resided at the Court of *Archelaus*, till his Death.

[D] *Socrates*, whom he endeavoured to draw to his Court, would never come near him.] There were two other Persons, whom this Philosopher treated after the same manner; he would neither visit them, nor accept of Presents from them. Τρεῖς ὁμοῖον δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος τῷ Μακεδόνῳ, καὶ Σκῶπα τῷ Κερναίνῳ, καὶ Εὐρυλόχῳ τῷ Λακισσαίνῳ, μήτε χρηματὰ προσέμενον αὐτῶν, μήτε παρ' αὐτῶν ἀπελάθων (12). In the greatness of his Soul, he despised *Archelaus* the Macedonian, *Scopa* the Crannonian, and *Eurylochus* the Larysæan; nor would ever accept of the Presents, which they sent him, or the Invitation they gave him. *Seneca* has preferred us to the Excuse, which *Socrates* made to our *Archelaus*; he said, "I will not visit a Man, from whom I may receive Benefits, without being able to return them." *Archelaus rex Socratem rogavit, ut ad se veniret: dixisse Socratem traditur, nolle se ad eum venire, id quo acciperet beneficia, cum reddere illi paria non posset* (13). This Answer of *Socrates* has been related by *Marcus Aurelius*, agreeably to the same Sense (14); but *Aristotle* relates it in terms, which are not Philosophical. He supposes *Socrates* to have replied, that it is as great an Affront to confer a Benefit on a Person, who cannot return it, as to injure a Person, who cannot revenge himself. Τρεῖς εἶναι τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ἀμείψασθαι ὁμοίως ἢ παθόντι ὥστε καὶ κακῶς (15). *Contumeliam esse dixit, non posse referre eum qui accipit beneficium, perinde ac eum qui injuriatur*. This *Maxim* supposes, that we ought to revenge ourselves on those, who injure us. It is not, therefore, becoming the Morality of a Philosopher, especially such a Philosopher as *Socrates*. *Seneca* has taken pains to shew, that it was easy for this Philosopher to requite *Archelaus*. Among other things, he says, that the Favours of That Monarch could not have been of equal Value with the Instruction he might have received concerning Eclipses alone, and which would have prevented his falling a second time into such a Confection, as he was one day in, when the Sun was eclipsed. He shut up his Palace Gates; he caused his Son's Hair to be cut off. "Quid tantum erit accepturus (*Socrates*) quantum dabat, si regem in luce media errantem ad rerum naturam admisset, usque eo ejus ignarum, ut, quo die solis defectio fuit, regiam clauderet, & filium

(quod in lætu ac rebus adversis moris est) tonderet? Quantum fuisset beneficium, si timentem è latebris suis extraxisset, & bonum animum habere jussisset, dicens: Non est ista solis defectio, sed duorum siderum coitus, cum luna humilioris currens via infra ipsum solem orbem suum posuit, & illum obiectu sui abscondit (16). — What Benefit cou'd *Socrates* have receiv'd so valuable as what he wou'd have conferr'd; if he had explain'd the Nature of Things to the mistaken King; who was so ignorant of them, that, upon the day of an Eclipse of the Sun, he shut up his Palace, and (as is practis'd in Affliction and Adversity) shaved his Son? What an Advantage wou'd it have been to him, had the Philosopher dragg'd him trembling from his Concealment, and had him be of good Courage; telling him, This is no Failure of the Sun, but the effect of the Moon's interposing between the Sun and Us, and by that means intercepting it's Light? *Seneca* says, that *Socrates* made this Excuse by way of Irony only (17), and that, in reality, he refused to go to the Court of Macedonia, because he would not be abridged of his Liberty. "Vis scire quid verè noluerit? Nolit ire ad voluntariam servitutem, is, ejus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit (18). — Wou'd you know what in reality he refus'd? He refus'd to go to voluntary Servitude; He, whose Liberty a Free State could not bear". Some say, that *Aristophanes* (19) compos'd the Comedy of the Clouds out of spite to *Socrates*, because *Archelaus*, King of Macedonia, had a better Opinion of This Philosopher than of himself. Observe, that another turn has been given to *Socrates*'s Answer. It has been said, that he excus'd himself from going to *Archelaus*'s Court, because Bread was at a low Price, and great Plenty of Water at Athens (20).

[E] His Liberality to ingenious Men, was not extraordinary, but this might proceed from his finding them too free in asking.] *Plutarch* tells us, that *Archelaus*, King of Macedonia, was a little too backward in giving, or making of Presents; which the Musician *Timotheus* gave him an Hint, by often repeating, as he sung to his Lute, this satirical Sentence. You are too fond of This Son of the Earib, Silver. But *Archelaus* immediately replied, genteely and with a good grace; And "You demand it of me too fast (21)". In another Book he relates what I am going to transcribe. A certain Person once, who thought, that nothing was more genteel, than to ask and receive, being at Supper with *Archelaus*, King of Macedonia, asked of the King a Golden Cup, out of which He drank. The King commanded his Page to present it to *Euripides*, who by accident was then at Table; and, turning to the Person, who had ask'd it, said, "As for you, you deserve to ask, and be refus'd, because you ask; but *Euripides* deserves to receive, even though he does not ask (22)". Perhaps he set bounds to his Liberality upon a Principle like That of *Charles* the 11th (23); But it is more probable he was of the Taste of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who never gave any thing to the Poet *Mainard*, partly — because he did not love to be ask'd, but the last Reason have the Honour of giving of his own meer Motion (24).

[F] Authors are not agreed — As to the Circumstances of his Death, or the Length of his Reign.] Some say, That, being a Hunting, he was accidentally wounded by his Favourite Craterus; and that he died of his Wound (25). Others say, that he was killed by Conspirators, urged on by *Decamichus* to commit This Parricide (26). *Quintus Curtius* favours this Opinion. He says, "Quis proavum hujus Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccam occisus ultus est? (27) — Who ever revenged the murder of This Person's Great-Grand Father, Alexander,

(16) *Seneca de Benef.* lib. 5.

(17) *Ibid.*

(18) *Ibid.* pag. 95.

(19) *Charpentier's Life of Socrates*, pag. 57. He cites the Commen-tators on *Aristophanes*, in argumento illius Comœdii.

(20) See *Strabo*, lib. 17, cap. 237.

(21) *Plutarch*, de Fortuna Alexandri. lib. 2.

(22) *Id. de vitiois pudore*.

(23) See the Article DAURAT, Remark [F].

(24) *Pellissier*, Hist. de l'Acad. Française, pag. 278.

(25) *Diodor. Siculus*, lib. 14, cap. 38. I shall cite his Words in the last Remark.

(26) *Aristot. lib. 5. de Repub.* cap. 10. I have cited his Words in the Remark [N], of the Article EURIPIDES.

(27) *Quintus Curtius*, lib. 6. cap. 11.

met with so much Obscurity in these Points, as led him into gross Mistakes (i). Probably *Archelaus* led an impure Life, which occasion'd his Downfal [G]. I have a few Observations to make against *Moreri* [H].

(1) See Remarks [F].

"Alexander, of Archelaus, or Perdiccas?" — I shall speak farther of This in the following Remark. As for the Length of his Reign, some make it Twenty Four Years (28); others Sixteen (29); others Fourteen (30); and others but Seven (31). This latter Opinion seems to me the most probable: It is That of *Diodorus Siculus*; and I am surpriz'd at *Calvisius's* citing this Historian, after having said, that *Archelaus* reign'd Sixteen Years (32). A misinterpreted Passage in *Athenæus* has occasion'd a great deal of Confusion. We read, in the Editions of That Author, that *Pericles* and *Perdiccas* died in the third Year of the Peloponnesian War, and that *Archelaus* ascended the Throne immediately after (33). It is impossible *Athenæus* should say this; for his Design is to convict *Plato* of a Mistake; *Plato*, I say, who, in the same Dialogue, where he supposes, that *Archelaus* was then on the Throne, affirms, that *Pericles* died but a little before. It is plain, that his Censor renders himself ridiculous; and does not know what he says, if he really advances what we read in his printed Works. *Casaubon* justly thinks it strange, that The Translators of *Athenæus* took no notice of so manifest an Absurdity, or could digest so hard a Moriel. *Cum hæc clarissime disputetur ab Athenæo, quis interpretum somacho non invideat, qui vulgata loci hujus scripturam adeo evēpaxos tulerint* (34)? For his own part, he confesses himself incapable of it, and, in spite of all the Manuscripts, maintains, that the Copyists of *Athenæus* have omitted a Period in That Place. He seems to me to have guessed very happily at what the Author really said; Namely, that *Alexander*, King of Macedonia, who died at the same Time with *Pericles*, was succeeded by *Perdiccas*, who reign'd till the Archonship of *Callias*; and that *Perdiccas*, dying in That Archonship, *Archelaus* took possession of his Throne. In this Case, *Athenæus* criticises on *Plato's* Discourse not without some Foundation; for there is a considerable Interval between the Death of *Pericles*, and the Reign of *Archelaus*. Observe, by the way, that *Casaubon* has answered This Censure (35); but take particular notice, that *Diodorus Siculus*, in assigning to *Archelaus* Seven Years Reign, places his Death in the Second Year of the XCVth Olympiad, under the Archonship of *Aristocrates*. His Reign, then began, the third Year of the XCIIId Olympiad, under the Archonship of *Callias*. It must be said then, that *Perdiccas* died under the same Archonship. Now, among the Diversity of Opinions concerning the Time of the Reign of This *Perdiccas*, That of *Marjyas* and *Philcorus*, who determined it to Twenty three Years, was made choice of by *Athenæus*, in reasoning against *Plato*: He must, then, have supposed, that *Perdiccas* came to the Crown the same Year that *Pericles* died, that is, in the fourth Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad. All this is so strong a Confirmation of *Casaubon's* Opinion, that, instead of saying his Conjecture is very probable, we may affirm, without Hesitation, that the Period he restores did actually proceed from the Pen of *Athenæus*: And, as it contains the same Words twice or thrice at the end of a Sentence, we may easily apprehend, how the Transcribers might pass it over, and the Reader not perceive the Omission. Most People read to be intrusted without Fatigue; so that they seldom are sensible of an Error in reasoning, which requires some Attention, or Reflexion on what went before; contenting themselves with saying, *This is obscure, This is beyond my Comprehension*. But this brings no Remedy; The Fault remains still where it was. Critics, and especially Critical Translators, act otherwise. They perceive Mistakes in the Sense; they endeavour to correct them; they collate Manuscripts; and exert their Talent for Conjecture. But in this Passage of *Athenæus*, as *Casaubon* reproaches them, the Edge of their Genius was greatly blunted.

The great *Scaliger* shall be my Proof, that the Genius of the most learned Persons may sometimes be very much confined. He did not perceive the manifest Error of the Author, on whom he commented and criticized; and has made This Error the

Foundation of a Criticism on *Diodorus Siculus*, to whom he has imputed what is only to be met with in *Athenæus*. To explain This; *Eusebius* has ranged three Things under the first Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad; The Death of *Perdiccas*, The beginning of the Reign of *Archelaus*, and The beginning of the Peloponnesian War. *Scaliger* passes over this, and contents himself with observing, that the first Year of This War is generally placed under the second Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, because, the Rupture falling out towards the end of the Archonship of *Pythodorus*, it was thought it ought to be dated from the Archonship of *Euthydemus* (36), the Successor of *Pythodorus* (37). According to this Usage, he confesses, that the Year of the Death of *Pericles* is the fourth of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad, and the third of the Peloponnesian War; and he cites a Greek Passage, which imports, that, in the Year of *Pericles's* Death, *Perdiccas* King of Macedonia died also, and *Archelaus* ascended the Throne. He attributes this Passage to *Diodorus Siculus*; and, accordingly, censures him for an Anachronism of three Years. This proceeds from his supposing, that *Eusebius* is neither mistaken as to the Death of *Perdiccas*, nor the Accession of *Archelaus*. He was ignorant, then, that *Thucydides* had expressly said, that King *Perseus* was living in the sixteenth Year of the Peloponnesian War (38). Besides, he was ignorant, that the Words, which he ascribes to *Diodorus Siculus*, belong to *Athenæus*: He knew not, that these Words of *Athenæus* were corrupted; he did not perceive, that they are maimed, and that they ought to be read as *Casaubon* has restored them. Note, that *Salmasius* acknowledges for good Chronology the placing the Death of *Perdiccas*, and the beginning of *Archelaus's* Reign, in the fourth Year of the LXXXVIIth Olympiad (39). He was ignorant, then, of some things, which he might have learned from *Casaubon*; but note still more carefully, that, by a favourable Interpretation, one of the Points of my Criticism on *Scaliger* may be eluded, if not confuted. I have observed, that he has censured *Diodorus Siculus*; which I gathered from these Words: *Diodoro ergo prochronismus fuerit triennii* (40). — *Diodorus therefore has anticipated three Years*. They follow the Greek Passage, falsely ascribed by *Scaliger* to That Author; where we also find, that *Perdiccas*, dying in the third Year of the Peloponnesian War, was succeeded by *Archelaus*. Now, whereas *Eusebius* affirms, that *Archelaus* ascended the Throne in the first Year of the Peloponnesian War, it may be pretended, that *Scaliger* meant no more, than that the Doctrine of *Eusebius* contains an Anachronism or Anticipation of three Years, according to *Diodorus Siculus*. If this be his true meaning, he has not censured this latter Historian; he was satisfied with suspending Judgment, deciding neither in favour of him, nor of *Eusebius*: It will be a great Pleasure to me, if This Recantation be allowed to pass. A Critic, who takes Advantage of an equivocal Expression, ought not to omit the favourable Sense: He shews, by this means, what may be said for, or against, Authors: He sustains alternately the Character of Council for the Plaintiff and Defendant.

[G] Probably *Archelaus* led an impure Life, which occasioned his Downfal. *Aristotle*, having said, that several Conspiracies have been formed against Monarchs, on Account of their Impurities, immediately alleges the Attempt of *Crates* (41). This Man never could brook the Dishonour *Archelaus* had done him, in satisfying his Brutal Lust upon him. Accordingly a New Affront, which would not of itself have been a just Pretence for Conspiracy, being added to the former, he resolved to get rid of his Master. The Affront was this; the King had promised him one of his Daughters, and yet married the eldest to the King of *Elymæa*, and the youngest to the Son of *Amyntas*. Reasons of State occasioned this Breach of Promise. Finding himself embroiled in a War with *Sirras*, and *Arrabæus*, he had a Mind to gain over the King of *Elymæa* to his Party. Fearing, on the other hand, that the Son of *Amyntas* would raise Disturbances, he made him his Son-in-law too; hoping

(36) It belongs to the second Year of the 87th Olympiad.

(37) *Scaliger*, *Ani-madv.* in *Euseb.* n. 1585, pag. 106.

(38) *Thucydides*, lib. 6, pag. 341.

(39) *Salmasius*, *Exercit.* *Plin.* pag. 156, 157.

(40) *Scaliger*, ubi fusa pæ.

(41) *Aristot.* lib. 5. de Republica, cap. 10. pag. 305.

which he acquired by This Marriage; for, about six Months after, he lost his Life (e), in a Battel against the Troops of *Gabinus*, in the Year of *Rome* 698 [B]. He had obtained from *Pompey* a very honourable Dignity [C]; namely the Pontificat of *Comana*, in *Cappadocia* (f). His Son *Archelaus* enjoyed it after him (g), until *Cæsar* turned him out in the Year of *Rome* 707, in order to give it to another [D]. The rest of his Adventures are unknown; except that he was married to a very beautiful Woman, whose Name was *Glaphyra*; and had two Sons by her, one called *Sisinna*, and the other *Archelaus*. The first disputed the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* with *Ariarathes*, who was in Possession of it. *Marc Antony* was made Judge of this Dispute, in the Year of *Rome* 713; and gave it in favour of *Sisinna* (h). The Fair Sex had too great an Influence over him, and *Glaphyra* was too beautiful for This Trial to have any other Issue. Some Historians treat her as a Courtesan (i); which makes it the easier to apprehend, why *Marc Antony* gave Judgment in favour of *Sisinna*. But, how probable soever This Calumny may seem, it is not impossible, that the Friendship *Marc Antony* had for That *Archelaus*, who married *Berenice* (k), might induce him act as he did. It is not known what became of *Sisinna*; but it is certain, that *Ariarathes* re-ascended the Throne of *Cappadocia*; for *Marc Antony* was obliged to dispossess him a second Time, in the Year of *Rome* 718; and, then, conferred the Kingdom on *ARCHELAUS*, the Son of *Glaphyra* (l). This is He, who appears at the Head of this Article. He became very powerful (m), and expressed his Acknowledgments to his Benefactor *Marc Antony*, by supplying him with fine Troops during the *Atic War* (n). He was so happy, as not to disoblige *Augustus* by it; so that he remained in Possession of *Cappadocia*, and was almost the only Person, to whom so much Favour was shewn (o). He assisted *Tiberius*, in the Year 734, to re-establish *Tigranes* in *Armenia* (p), and obtained the lesser *Armenia*, and a good Part of *Cilicia*, from *Augustus* (q). He fixed his Residence in the Island of *Eleusa* [E], near the Coast of *Cilicia*; and, having married *Pythodoris*, the Widow of *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*, he increased his Power considerably; for, as the Sons of *Polemon* were yet but Infants, he had, without Doubt, the Administration of the Kingdom, jointly with the Queen, their Mother [F]. He signalized himself, after an extraordinary manner, in making his Court to *Caius Cæsar*, when sent into the East by his Grandfather *Augustus* (r). This proved very fatal to him in the end [G];

(k) Plutarch. in Anton. p. 6. 917.

(l) Dio, lib. 49. p. 48. 499.

(m) See Remark [I], towards the end.

(n) Plutarch. in Anton. p. 6. 544.

(o) Dio, lib. 51. init.

(p) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 13. cap. 5.

(q) Dio, lib. 51. ad Ann. 734. See also Strab. lib. 12. pag. 388, 382, and lib. 14. pag. 491.

(r) In the Year of Rome, 755.

[B] He lost his Life, in a Battle against the Troops of *Gabinus*. This does not agree with the Seventeenth Book of *Strabo*, where we read, that *Ptolemy*, being restored to his Kingdom, put his Daughter, and Son-in-law *Archelaus*, to Death. I shall make it appear, in the Article *Berenice*, that *Strabo* is mistaken in this, and that he has contradicted himself. You may boldly pronounce these Words of *Moreri* to be false; *Ptolemy*, being restored in 699, put *Archelaus* and *Berenice* to Death.

[C] He obtained from *Pompey* a very honourable Dignity. Father *Norris* says, that the Pontiff of *Comana* was Sovereign of the Place. "Hunc Archelaum Pompeius Sacerdotem Bellonæ, ac Comæ norum principem (utraque enim dignitas uni eademque conferebatur) constituerat, cuius Dynastæ parem opibus, ex Appiano in *Mithridat*, p. 252. (1)." — *Pompey appointed This Archelaus Priest of Bellona, and Prince of Comana (for both Dignities were conferred upon one and the same Person)* A Post, equal in Revenue to That of a Dynast, according to Appian, in *Mithridat*, p. 252. We shall examine in another Place, whether this be Right (2).

[D] Cæsar turned him out — to give his Post to another. *Hirtius* relates, that *Cæsar* disposed of this Benefice in favour of *Nicomedes*, who made it appear, that he had very just Pretensions to it. "Id homini nobilissimo Nicomedi Bythinio adjudicavit, qui regio Cappadocum genere ortus, propter adversam fortunam majorum suorum jure minime dubio, vestustate tamen intermisso, sacerdotium id repetebat (3)." — He adjudged it to an illustrious Person, *Nicomedes* of *Bythnia*, who, being descended from the Kings of *Cappadocia*, justly laid claim to "This Priest-hood, which thro' the misfortunes of his Ancestors, had been for a long time lost to his Family". Father *Norris* affirms, that *Cæsar* conferred this Dignity on *Nicomedes*, after his Victory over *Pharnaces*; but They, who think fit to consult *Hirtius*, will easily find, that it was disposed of before the Battle. As for the Name of *Nicomedes*, it is to be found in the Editions of *Strabo* (4). It is also certain, that, in *Dion*, we meet with a *Nicomedes*, divested of his Estate by *Augustus*, after the Flight of *Marc Antony* (5), and, perhaps, the Same, whom *Cæsar* raised to the Pontificate of *Comana*; for he reigned

in a Part of *Cappadocia*. The Epithet *Bythinus*, which *Hirtius* makes use of, favours more the Reading *Nicomedes* (6), than *Nicomedes*.

[E] He fixed his Residence in the Island of *Eleusa*. This we learn from *Strabo*, and *Josephus*. "Post Corycum Eleusa insula est continens propinqua. Eam Archelaus condidit, ac regiam sibi fecit, cum totam Ciliciam excepta Seleucia esset nactus (7)." — Next to *Corycum* is the Island of *Eleusa*, close by the Continent. *Archelaus* fixed his Residence there, after having made himself Master of All *Cilicia*, except *Seleucia*. *Josephus* observes, that *Herod*, having landed at *Eleusa* in *Cilicia*, found *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia* there (8). It was there that the Envoys of *Herod* received Orders to carry the Letter, which he wrote to *Archelaus* (9). The same Historian observes, that *Eleusa* was called *Sebasta* (10). Might not *Archelaus*, in compliment to *Augustus*, make this Alteration in the Name?

[F] He had, without doubt, the Administration of the Kingdom jointly with the Queen their Mother. Father *Norris* positively affirms this (11); I have chosen to make use of an Expression, which imports, not that this Fact is to be found in the Ancient Writers, but that it appears to be very agreeable to Reason. What makes me express my self with some Caution, is, that *Strabo* says nothing more, than that *Pythodoris* lived with her Husband *Archelaus*, during his Life. "Αὐτὴ δὲ συνῆκεν Ἀρχελαῷ καὶ συνέμεινεν ἐκείνῳ μέχρι τέλους (12)." If *Archelaus* nupt, &c. cum eo dum is in vivis permanisset vitam exegit. She knew how to command; it is not impossible, then, that she might have governed the Estates of her Children Alone. "Τὴν ὡς ἑσὶν καὶ θυράδην ἀπεκρίσας δαὶ ἀγαγόντων (13)." Prudens mulier & præesse rebus gnara.

[G] This proved very fatal to him in the End. I have observed more than once, that Persons, whom we slight, are often destined by Providence to the highest Stations (14). Unhappy for Those, who have treated them with Contempt. Few are so reasonable, as *Lewis* the XII, who said, that a King of France ought not to revenge the Injuries done to a Duke of Orleans. Our *Archelaus* acted like a Politician: He knew, that *Augustus* loved his Grandson tenderly; And, in all probability, That young Prince was to succeed

(6) It is that of the Edition of Appian, in *Mithridat*. sub. fin.

(7) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 461.

(8) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 8.

(9) Ibid. cap. 16.

(10) Ibid. cap. 8.

(11) Norris, Cenotaph. Pagan. pag. 227. He quotes no Authority.

(12) Strabo, lib. 12. pag. 383.

(13) Idem. pag. 382.

(14) See the end of the Text, and Remark [B] of the Article de APOLODORUS the A. d. c. 118.

(e) Strabo, lib. 17. pag. 54.

(f) Id. lib. 17. pag. 384.

(g) Id. ib.

(h) Appian. lib. 4. Belli Civilis, pag. 675.

(i) See the Article GLAPHYRA.

(1) Norris, Cenotaph. Pagan. pag. 255.

(2) In the Article COMANA.

(3) Hirtius de bello Alexandrino, pag. 416.

(4) Lib. 12. pag. 384.

(5) Lib. 52. init.

for *Tiberius*, recollecting, that he had paid him no Civilities during his Stay at *Rhodes*; and that, on the other side, *Caius Cæsar* had received a thousand Marks of Respect from him, resolved to be revenged, as soon as he found himself Master of the Empire; accordingly he summoned him to appear at *Rome*, and appointed the Senate as Judge [H] of the Accusations, which should be brought against him. But Age, the Gout, and, above all, the Indignity of the Treatment he met with, soon broke his Heart, before the Senate had pronounced any Sentence against him. Some believe, that he escaped the Sentence of the Senate, by feigning himself mad [K]. He died in the Year of *Rome* 770, and the Fifty second of his Reign; after which *Cappadocia* became

ceed his Grand-father. *Tiberius* was in some kind of Disgrace, in the Island of *Rhodes*, which did not seem to preface him the Empire. *Archelaus* believed he hazarded nothing in neglecting Him, and, besides, had intimations, that it might be dangerous to cultivate his Friendship. He look'd upon all the Honours he paid to *Caius Cæsar* as a sure Fund of Advantages, and Rewards for Life. But he was mistaken; and little considered the Artfulness of *Livia*, in paving her Son's way to Empire. *Caius*, and his Brother, did not live long; and probably she knew the Reason of it. After all, it is often the truest Policy to pay One's court, even when They are in Disgrace, to Those, whom we see in the Road to High Preferment (15). Let us produce Authorities, which inform us of *Tiberius*'s Relentment. "Rex *Archelaus*,

(15) *This was Pompeius Atticus' Rule. See the Remark [A] of his Article.*

(16) *Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 24.*

"says *Tacitus* (16), quinquagessimum annum *Cappadocia* potiebatur, inquit *Tiberio*, quod eum *Rhodi* agentem nullo officio coluisset: Nec id *Archelaus* per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis *Augusti* monitus, quia florebat *Caio Cæsare*, misloque ad res Orientis, intuta *Tiberii* amicitia credebatur. — "King *Archelaus* had reigned fifty Years in *Cappadocia*, being odious to the Emperor *Tiberius*, to whom he had neglected to pay his Court, when in the Island of *Rhodes*. Not that *Archelaus*'s omission was the Effect of Pride, but owing to the Advice of Those about *Augustus*; who thought it not safe for him to cultivate the Friendship of *Tiberius*, who still *Caius Cæsar* was in such high Favour, and had the Command of Affairs in the East." *Dion Cassius* says almost the same thing. "*Tiberius* *Cappadociæ* regem *Archelaum*, insensu ei, quia, cum olim sibi supplicasset, suoque patrocinio usus, cum ab incolis apud *Augustum* accusaretur, fuisset, *Rhodi* se neglectisset, ac *Caium* in *Asia* venientem officio coluisset, infamulatum, quasi novis rebus studeat, evocavit *Romam* (17). — *Tiberius*, being incensed against *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, who, notwithstanding the Protection he had afforded him, when his Subjects accused him to *Augustus*, had yet neglected him at *Rhodes*, and officiously paid his Court to *Caius Cæsar*, upon his arrival in *Asia*, cited him to appear at *Rome*, where he was accused of plotting against the State." We learn from this Passage, that *Tiberius* complained, not only of *Archelaus*'s want of Respect, but also of his Ingratitude. The Circumstance of the Place might contribute to exasperate the Emperor; for the Island of *Eleusa*, where *Archelaus* resided, was but Fifteen thousand Paces distant from *Rhodes* (18).

(17) *Dion. lib. 57.*

* Fifteen Miles.

(18) *Strab. lib. 14, pag. 448.*

(19) *Dion, ubi supra.*

(20) *Tacit. Annal. lib. 2. cap. 42.*

(21) *Id. ib.*

(22) *Suet. in Tiber. cap. 37. See also Eutropius, l. 7.*

[H] He summoned him to appear at *Rome*, and appointed the Senate as Judge. *Dion* relates this; *Infamulatum, quasi novis rebus studeat, evocavit Romam, ac Senatus judicio tradidit* (19). He was accused of a Crime against the State. *Tacitus* does not seem to be of this Opinion; he intimates very plainly, that *Tiberius* complained only of *Archelaus*'s Incivility, and encouraged him, by Letters from his Mother, to hope, that by his Presence and Intreaties, he might obtain Pardon. *Ut versa Cæsarem spole imperium adeptus est, elicit Archelaum matris literis, quæ non dissimulatis offensionibus clementiam offerebat, si ad precandam veniret* (20). This Frankness, with regard to Personal Offences, covered a most dangerous Snare. Either the King of *Cappadocia* did not perceive it, or durst not act, as if he did. He repaired immediately to *Rome*; and was very coldly received by *Tiberius*; and found himself soon after in the hands of Justice. *Ille ignarus doli, vel si intelligere crederetur vim metueni, in urbem properat, exceptusque immitti à principe, & mox accusatus in Senatu* (21). *Suetonius* (22) has spoken of this Action of *Tiberius* only in general Terms. "Reges infestos suspectosque conminationibus magis & querelis

"quam vi repressit: quosdam per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit, ut . . . *Archelaum Cappadocem*. — *Those Kings, whom he hated and suspected, he repressed by Threatening and Complaints, rather than by Force. Some, whom he got into his Power by Sootbing and Promises, he never sent back* — as *Archelaus the Cappadocian*." I Question whether *Archelaus*, notwithstanding his Age, was not tempted to raise some Commotions after the Death of *Augustus*; for mention is made of One of his Plots (23), which could only relate to That time.

(23) *Philost. in Vit. Apoll. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

[I] His Age, the Gout, but, above all, the Indignity of the Treatment he met with, broke his Heart. Let us hear *Tacitus*. "Mox accusatus in Senatu, non ob crimina quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul scelus senio, & quia regibus æqua nedum infima insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit. — Being afterwards accused in the Senate, tho' he was not condemned for the Crimes alleged against him, which indeed were fictitious; yet Affliction of Mind, together with Old Age, and a Fate uncommon to Kings, put an end to his Days: whether by a voluntary or natural Death, is uncertain." This Historian does not know, whether *Archelaus* killed himself, or only sunk under the Weight of his Misfortunes; but from his Relation it appears, that This Prince was not condemned, and consequently not put to Death. *Dion* will inform us of more Circumstances.

[K] Some believe, that he escaped the Sentence of the Senate, by feigning himself mad. *Dion* affirms, that *Archelaus*, bending under the Weight of Years, passed for a Dotard; that, nevertheless, he had all his Senses perfect; but counterfeited the Madman, because he saw no other means of saving his Life (24); that he would yet have suffered Death, had not a false Witness accused him of Threatening Words, and of saying, that, when he should return to his Kingdom, he would shew *Tiberius*, that he did not want Courage. This occasioned Laughter, and diverted *Tiberius* from his Design of putting him to Death. He was so weak, and worn out, that they were obliged to carry him in a Litter to the Senate-House. *Dion* adds, that, for this Time, *Archelaus* escaped Death; but that he died soon after. *Dion* does not contradict the Text of this Remark; for, if the false Witness saved *Archelaus*'s Life, it was only because it was judged, that the Threats of a superannuated, decay'd, old Man, were certain Proofs of a Delirium, of Dotage, and a second State of Childhood, &c. By this it appears, that *Xiphilin* had not the best Judgment, when he suppressed the feigned Madness of *Archelaus*. This is a Fact which ought not to be omitted by the most concise Writers. *David*, *Brutus*, and others, have successfully put in practice this kind of Dissimulation; They are, therefore, remarkable Adventures, and such as an Abbreviator ought to retain. Let us not omit what *Dion* observes, that *Archelaus* had really been next to an Idiot, some time before; witness *Augustus*'s appointing him a Governor, who was Regent of his Kingdom. I cannot say, whether it was on This Occasion, that he had recourse to the Protection of *Tiberius*. He fled for it, when he was accused by his Subjects: But might they not have represented him as a Fool, at a Time, when he had Reason enough left to desire not to be put under Tuition; and to maintain, that it was out of Malice alone, that his Subjects endeavoured to represent him as unfit to govern? It is difficult to clear up this Matter. The Ancient Historians so accustomed themselves to relate Things only in the Grofs, that they afford but little Light into some of the more minute Particulars. Their Method is very good; however, there is an

(24) *Mr de Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tom. 1. pag. 107, falsely charges Dion, with saying, that Archelaus was acquitted by the Senate, upon his counterfeiting Madness.*

came a Province [L]. His Family boasted of a most Ancient and Noble Ex-
traction [M]. We shall take some notice of his Posterity in the Article of *Glaphyra*.
There is reason to think, that he was Author of some books [N]. His Address, in
appealing Herod's fierce Anger against his Son *Alexander*, is a proof of his Abilities
on some Occasions (s). Some have confounded him with *ARCHELAUS*, the
Son of *Herod* [O]. I cannot find, that *Eutropius* says, what a modern Author im-
putes to him, that *ARCHELAUS*, at his Death, bequeath'd his Kingdom to
the people of *Rome*; and that *Cappadocia* was reduc'd into a Province by this Title
(t). Mr de *Tillemont* might have been very certain of a thing, which he seems to
doubt of; to wit, that the same *ARCHELAUS*, who was King of *Cappadocia*,
obtain'd, by the Favour of *Augustus*, Part of *Cilicia*, and the lesser *Armenia*. Mr
Moreri has been guilty of several Faults of Omision in this Article. His Continuator
has been guilty of but One of Commission; but such an one, as will match with any

Four

(r) Noldius,
de vita & ge-
stis Hero-
dum, pag.
194.

(u) Hist. des
Emper.
Tom. 1, pag.
33.

(35) Id. ib.
cap. 56.

(36) Joseph.
de bello Jud.
lib. 1. c. 17.

(37) Plin.
lib. 37, cap.
3. pag. 371.

(38) Har-
doun, in In-
dice Autor.
Plin. See
also Mallin-
crot. Paralip.
pag. 60.

(39) Plut.
de Fluvio,
pag. 1153.

(40) Plin.
lib. 18, cap.
3. pag. 440.

(41) In Re-
mark [C].
of the Article
ARCHE-
LAUS; the
Philophr.

(42) Cenot.
Plin. pag.
143.

(43) Suet.
in Tiber.
cap. 8.

(44) Cita-
tion (17).

(45) Tor-
rent in Suet.
Tiber. cap.
8. He refers
us to Euseb.
in Chron. &
Ecclef. Hist.
lib. 1, and
to Joseph.
Antiq. lib.
17, cap. 11.

(46) Com-
ment. in
Sueton.

(s) Joseph.
Antiq. lib.
16, cap. 12,
& de bello
Jud. lib. 1,
cap. 17.

(25) Strabo,
lib. 12, pag.
368. Sueton
in Tib. cap.
37. Eutrop.
lib. 7, cap. 6.

(26) Patern.
lib. 2, cap.
39.

(27) Tacit.
Ann. lib. 2,
cap. 42.

(28) Dion,
lib. 57, pag.
614.

(29) Suet.
in Calig.
cap. 1. Ta-
cit. Ann.
lib. 2, cap.
56.

(30) Appia-
nus, in Mi-
thridaticis,
pag. 244.
apud Norris,
Cenot. Pi-
lin. p. 241.

(31) Norris,
ibid. p. 226.

• Riccioli
Chron Re-
format.
Tom. 1, lib.
5, cap. 9,
p. 5.

(32) Strabo,
lib. 12, pag.
273.

(33) Jor-
nand. de
Regnor. &
Temp. Suc-
cess. pag.
64 c. apud
Noldium, de
Vit. Herod.
pag. 194.

(34) Tacit.
Annal. lib.
2, cap. 42.

Art of specifying Facts in few Words, and by the
by; which would be of great Use, if Writers had
the Will, or the Skill, to practise it. One History
in *Folia*, might, by the Help of this Art, pre-
vent numberless Disputes, and clear up a great Va-
riety of Particulars, without consisting of above fifty
Pages.

[L] After which *Cappadocia* became a Province].

Velleius Paterculus, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, and several others,
expressly assert this (25). The proper Terms of the
three first are these. "Tib. Cæsar — ut ar-
"mis, ita auctoritate *Cappadociam* populo Romano
"Stipendiariam fecit (26). — *Tiberius Cæsar* —
"as he reduced these by Force, so by his Authority he
"made *Cappadocia* tributary to the Romans. — Reg-
"num in Provinciam redactum est (27). — *The*
"Kingdom was reduced into a Province. — *Paulo* post
"obit (Archelaus), ac inde *Cappadocia* quoque Ro-
"manorum juris effecta est, Equitique regenda data
"est (28). — Soon after, Archelaus died; from which
"time *Cappadocia* likewise became a Roman Province,
"and was under the Government of a Knight." It
was *Germanicus*, who executed this Order (29). *Ap-
pian* was very much mistaken, in saying, that the King-
dom of *Cappadocia*, was reduced into a Province under
Augustus (30). *Father Norris*, who corrected this
Mistake of *Appian*, has discovered two very consid-
erable Faults in *Riccioli*, one in point of Genealogy,
the other in point of Chronology (31). The Words,
which he produces from That Author, are these:
"Summo *Mithridate*, creatus est *Cappadocum* con-
"sensu à Romanis *Ariobarzanes*; tandem Archelao
"pronepote mortuo Romæ, Consulibus C. Cælio Ru-
"fo & L. Pomponio, ut ait *Tacitus*, id est anno 84
"ante Christum, defuit regnare in *Cappadocia* ". —
"Mithridates being set aside, *Ariobarzanes* was crea-
"ted by the Romans, with the Consent of the Cap-
"pocians; at length, Archelaus, his Nephew's Son,
"dying at Rome, in the Consulship of C. Cælius
"Rufus, and L. Pomponius, according to *Tacitus*,
"that is, Eighty four Years before CHRIST, Cap-
"pocia ceased to be a Kingdom." These Words
carry the Air of a mutilated Passage: It is no uncom-
mon thing for Printers to omit whole Lines. Be that
as it will, Archelaus did not descend from *Ariobar-
zanes*; this is the Genealogical Error of *Riccioli*;
and the Consulate of C. Cælius Rufus, and L. Pom-
ponius, in which he died at Rome, fell out in the se-
venteenth Year of JESUS CHRIST; this is his
Chronological Error. *Strabo* witnesses in express Terms,
that Archelaus was not related to *Ariobarzanes*. "Ita
"rex ab his factus est *Ariobarzanes*, cujus in tertia
"sæpe gens defecit. Exinde Archelaus ab Antonio
"rex est constitutus, NULLA AFFINITATE ipsis con-
"junctus (32). — Thus *Ariobarzanes* was made
"King by them; whose Race was extinct in the third
"Generation. Upon which, Archelaus, who was of a
"quite different FAMILY, was appointed King by
"Anthony." The Error, which *Noldius* imputes to
Jornandæ, is very different from this of *Appian*. He
will have it, that *Cappadocia* became a Province in the
time of the Emperor *Claudius*, by virtue of the last
Will and Testament of Archelaus (33). By the way,
the Revenues of *Cappadocia* were so considerable, when
Archelaus died, that *Tiberius* thought himself, by this
new acquisition, in a condition to remit one moiety of
a Tax, which he had order'd to be levy'd. *Regnum*
(Archelai) in provinciam redactum est, fructibusque
ejus levati posse centesimæ veltigii profectus Cæsar, du-
centesimam in posterum statuit (34). He said This

Province likewise; and would not exact from it as
much as it had paid to the last King (35).

[M] His Family boasted of a most ancient and noble
Extraction] *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of the last *Ar-
chelaus*, and Wife of *Alexander*, the Son of *Herod*,
spoke often of her Family, and boasted, that she was
descended from *Temenus*, by the Father's Side, and
from *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, by the mother's
(36).

[N] There is reason to think, that he was Author of
some Books.] *Pliny* seems to intimate this. He quotes
Archelaus several Times; and it is thought, that, in
two Places, he means our Archelaus, king of *Cappa-
docia*. He gives him This very Title in one of these
two Quotations; *Archelaus*, says he, qui regnavit in
Cappadocia (37); and, as the Discourse there turns
upon some Particulars relating to *Amber*, *Father*
Hardoun makes no question, but that the same *Ar-
chelaus* is meant in the seventh Chapter of the Thirty
seventh Book of *Pliny*; where one Archelaus is
quoted concerning the Properties of a kind of Precious
Stone (38). Neither does he doubt, that this is taken
from the Book de lapidibus, cited by *Plutarch* (39).
To relate something more certain, I shall point out a
Passage of *Pliny*, where Archelaus is reckon'd among
the Kings, who had written concerning Agriculture
(40). I have already mention'd (41) another *Arche-
laus*, often quoted by *Pliny*.

[O] Some have confounded him with Archelaus, the
Son of Herod.] *Father Norris* has convicted *Riccioli*
of this Error (42). *Riccioli* had said, that, in the
Trial between Archelaus, and his brother, concerning
Herod's Succession, *Tiberius* pleaded his Cause before
Augustus, and pretends to prove it from this Passage
of *Suetonius*; "Civilium officiorum rudimenta Ar-
"chelaum, Trallianos, & Thessalos varia quoque de
"causa, Augusto cognoscente, defendit (43). —
"He was yet a young Pleader, when he undertook the
"different Causes of Archelaus, the Trallians, and Thes-
"saliens, before the Tribunal of Augustus." And, as
Velleius Paterculus informs him, that *Tiberius* left
Rhodes, to return to Rome, in the year 755; he con-
cludes, that Archelaus was made Ethnarch in That
Year, and not in 751, or before. *Father Norris*
shews him, from the Passage of *Dion* quoted above
(44), that the Words of *Suetonius* must be understood
of Archelaus, King of *Cappadocia*. He might have
added an Instance, which destroys the Hypothesis
of *Riccioli*; to wit, that *Tiberius* defended Archelaus's
Cause, before he went to *Rhodes*. This is plain
from *Dion's* Words; and may clearly be inferr'd from
Those of *Suetonius*; who makes *Tiberius's* Defence
of Archelaus the First in the List of Causes under-
taken by Him, when (if I may so speak) he made his
first Campaign at the Bar, civilium officiorum rudi-
menta. *Torrentius* is of the same Opinion with *Ri-
cioli*; to wit, that *Suetonius* meant the great Cause of
Archelaus, the Son of Herod; and refers us to *Josephus*
(45). But how came they not to perceive, that, in
this Case, *Josephus* could not possibly be ignorant of
that he could not well have omitted it? I am surpriz'd
that *Father Norris*, who makes such frequent and vi-
gorous Attacks upon the Jesuit *Salian*, has spar'd him
on this Occasion. This Jesuit fell into the same mis-
take with *Riccioli*; he has censur'd *Cajaubon* for
applying (46) the Passage of *Suetonius* to Archelaus,
King of *Cappadocia*; he represents to him, that the
Cause of this Prince was debated in the Reign of
Tiberius; and maintains, that Archelaus, the Son of

Four; it is so very gross [P]. We shall see what it is, in the last Remark of this Article.

Herod, must consequently be understood in this Place; to prove which, he supposes, that JESUS CHRIST staid Two Years in Egypt: For, says he, *Tiberius did not return to Rome in the Second Year of JESUS CHRIST; but he was at Rome, when Archelaus disputed Herod's Succession with his Brothers; since he honour'd him with his Protection* (47). Behold how Faults are heap'd upon Faults, when the foundation is ill laid. It is as clear as the Day, that the King of Cappadocia's Cause was adjudged by *Augustus*, before *Tiberius* retir'd to the Island of Rhodes (48).

[P] His Continuator has been guilty of but One of Commission; but such an One, as will match with any Four; it is so gross.] He says, that *Sylla* (it is his own Orthography) after having taken the City of Athens, kill'd Archelaus, General of *Mitridates's* Army, with his own Hand, at the Foot of the Altar, to which he had fled for Refuge. He quotes *Aulus Gellius*, lib. 14. It is certain, that *Aulus Gellius* speaks, in the First Chapter of his Fifteenth Book, of a Particular, which the Continuator has mention'd; I mean of an expedient, which *Archelaus* made use of, to hinder the Romans from firing a Tower of Wood, which defended the *Pyreum*: We shall see below what it was; but that he has said, that *Archelaus* took Refuge in a Temple, and that *Sylla* kill'd him with his own hand at the Foot of an Altar, is most false. I believe no Author, worthy of Credit, has said this; for it is notorious, that *Archelaus*, having constrain'd *Sylla* to give over attacking the *Pyreum*, and to bend all his Force against the City, had time to retire, when it was taken by assault (49). *Sylla* pursued him, gain'd great Victories over him, and oblig'd him to make a Disadvantageous Peace. *Archelaus*, finding himself suspected of some Misdemeanors (50), durst not trust *Mitridates*, but went over to *Murena*, who commanded the Romans. He was receiv'd with Honour, as *Strabo* has observ'd in more Places than one. *Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἀρχέλαος οὗτος μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ Σύλλα καὶ πῶς συγκατατίμηται* (51). This *Archelaus* was the Son of *His*, who receiv'd Honours from *Sylla* and the Senate.

The Secret of preserving his Tower of Wood consisted in causing it to be well rubb'd with Allum. *Quadrigrarius*, I think, is the only Historian, who has mention'd this. Others say, that His Tower, and

Machines were ruin'd by the Besiegers. It is certain, that Allum has not the virtue *Quadrigrarius* speaks of. These are his words: "Tum Sulla conatus est, & tempore magno eduxit copias, ut Archelai turrim unam, quam ille interposuit, ligneam incenderet. Venit, accessit, ligna subdidit, submovit Græcos, ignem admovit, satis fuit diu conati, nunquam quiverunt incendere: ita Archelaus omnem materiam obleverat alumine, quod Sulla atque milites mirabantur; & postquam non succendū, reduxit copias (52). — Sylla, upon this, made an Attempt, and hastily drew out his Forces, in order to set Fire to a Tower, which Archelaus had built to oppose him. He came, He approached it, He made the Greeks retreat; His Men attempted a long Time to set it on Fire; but Archelaus had so dawb'd it with Allum, that Sylla and his Soldiers were surpriz'd; and, not being able to set it on Fire, he drew off his Forces." If the Abbot de la Roque had been appriz'd of this Passage of *Aulus Gellius*, he would not have said, "That History mentions, that *Sylla* formerly undertook to burn a Tower of Wood, which was defended by one of *Mitridates's* Lieutenants, but could not execute his Design, because it was dawb'd over with a certain Drug, the Name of which is not come to our Knowledge, and which had the Virtue to repel the Activity of Fire (53)." Two Things surprize me; The One is, that, since *Quadrigrarius* has mention'd so extraordinary an Event, all other Historians should be silent concerning it; The other is, that, since so many Historians have not said a Word of it, *Quadrigrarius* shou'd mention it in so express a manner. Facts of this kind strike the mind so forcibly, that an incombustible Wooden Tower would have been the last Thing omitted by an Historian. *Sylla* would infallibly have insert'd it in his Memoirs; *Plutarch*, who cites them so often (54), would have met with it in them, and would not have forgotten to mention it. Let us conclude from his Silence, and That of so many other Historians, that the Fact is false. But from whence had *Quadrigrarius* this Account? I believe it is impossible to trace the Original of his Error. It is true indeed, that *Plum-Allum* will resist Fire, and will not be consumed by it; but to rub a Tower of Wood with it, and thence to render it incombustible, is a Thing which, I conceive, is impracticable.

ARCHILOCHUS, a Greek Poet, Native of the Island of Pharos (a), and the Son of Teleficles [A], flourish'd in the XXIXth Olympiad [B]. An uncommon Torrent

[A] The Son of Teleficles] This we find, not only in *Suidas*, but in *Oenomaus* likewise, quoted by *Eusebius* (1).

[B] He flourish'd in the XXIXth Olympiad.] Authors differ a little in this. *Tatian*, and *St Cyril*, place *Archilochus* in the XXIIIrd Olympiad (2). *Clement Alexandrinus* places him the XXth; Others in the XVth, XVIIIth, and XIXth (3). *Cicero* supposes him to have lived in the Reign of *Romulus* (4). *Cornelius Nepos* places him in the time of *Tullus Hostilius* (5). *Herodotus* not only affirms, that he wrote Verses on the Adventures of *Gyges*, and *Candaules*; but that he liv'd likewise at the same time (6). *Eusebius* makes him flourish in the LXXIXth Olympiad. It is easy to reconcile some of these Authors, but not all; for the Revolution, which happened in Lydia by the Death of *Candaules*, and the Inauguration of *Gyges*, fell out in the XXVIIth Olympiad (7). The Death of *Romulus* happened in the preceding Olympiad. The Reign of *Tullus Hostilius* takes in the space of time between the first Year of the XXVIIth Olympiad, and the first Year of the XXXVth. *Salmastius*, who was very happy in correcting a Mistake in *Solinus*, did not perceive one of his own. *Solinus* has been rash enough to place the Three Orators of the Family of the *Curio's*, *Archilochus*, and *Sophocles*, in the same Age. "Plurimi sibi be (8), inter Romanos eloquentia florerunt, sed hoc bonum hereditarium nunquam fuit nisi in familia Curionum, in qua tres iterum continua oratores fuerunt: magnum hoc habitum est sane eo seculo, quo facundiam præcipue & humana & divina mirata sunt: quippe tunc

"percuressores Archilochi poetæ Apollo prodidit, & latronum facinus Deo coarguente detectum; cumque Lyfander Lacedæmonius Athenas obideret, ubi Sophoclis tragici inhumatum corpus jacebat; identidem Liber Pater duce[m] monuit per quietem, sepeliri delicias suas sineret, nec prius destitit, &c. — Many among the Romans were famous for Eloquence; but This Talent was never Hereditary, except in the Family of the Curio's, in which were Three successive Orators. This was look'd upon as very Extraordinary even in That Age, in which Eloquence was held in great Admiration both by Gods and Men; for, at that time, Apollo discover'd the Murderers of Archilochus the Poet, and the Robbers were convicted of their Guilt by the Evidence of a God; and, when Lyfander the Lacedæmonian besieg'd Athens, where the Body of Sophocles the Tragedian lay unburied, Bacchus admonish'd the Chief in a Dream, to suffer his Favourite to be buried; nor did he desist till, &c." *Salmastius* observes (9), that One of these *Curio's* liv'd in the time of *Tullius Cæsar*; that *Archilochus* liv'd in the time of *Tarquinius Superbus*; and that *Sophocles* did not flourish till above two Centuries after *Archilochus*. He has reason, then, to laugh at *Solinus*, but is in the wrong to place *Archilochus* in the time of *Tarquinius Superbus*, who reign'd from the third Year of the LXIth Olympiad to the last Year of the LXVIIth: I say, he is in the wrong to place him in this Time, since he, elsewhere, fixes him under the XXXIXth Olympiad. Circiter vigesimam nonam Olympiadem inclaruit *Archilochus* (10). Having been guilty of This Error, (10) Id. ib.

(47) Sallian. Annal. in Schol. ad Ann. Christi 3, n. 7.

(48) See Noldius, de vita & gestis Herodum, pag. 194, & seq.

(49) See Apian. in Mithridaticis.

(50) The Epitome of Livy says, that Archelaus delivered up the Fleet of Mithridates to the Romans. Aulus Victorius says, that Sylla classed Mithridatis provisiones in Archelaus interceptis. — intercepted the Fleet of Mithridates, by the Treachery of Archelaus.

(51) Strab. lib. 12, pag. 314. — See also lib. 17, pag. 547.

WHETHER ARCHELAUS could make Wood proof against Fire.

(a) Herodot. lib. 1, cap. 12, Lucianus, in Pseu-dol.

(1) Euseb. lib. 6, cap. 7. Præp. Evang. pag. 256. item lib. c. cap. 33, pag. 227.

(2) See Vossius, de Poët. Gr. pag. 14.

(3) Anonymus, in Descrip. Olymp. apud Vossium, ubi supra.

(4) Tufculan I. cap. 1.

(5) Corn. Nep. apud Gellium, lib. 17, cap. 21.

(6) Herod. lib. 1, c. 13.

(7) See Suetonius Calpurnius ad Ann. Mundi 3239, p. 65.

(8) Solin. cap. 2, sub fin.

(52) Apud Aul. Gell. lib. 15, c. 1.

(53) Journal des Sav. de l'156 of Feb. 1677, pag. 54.

(54) Plut. in Vita Syllæ.

(9) Salmast. Plin. Exercit. pag. 52.

(10) Id. ib. pag. 854.

(b) Plutarch.
Instit. La-
con. p. 239.

(c) See Re-
mark [C].

chus [E]. Some have said, that he himself was banished from *Lacedemon* (b); but the Reason they give for it is taken from a Maxim, which he inserted in one of his Poems, *That it is better to throw down one's Arms, than to lose one's Life*. He wrote This in his own Justification (c). His Calumny, which was sometimes an Inconvenience to him in his Affairs [F], and which extended even to his own Person [G], did not deprive him of the Favour of *Apollo*; for, upon his being killed in Battel, the Oracle of *Delpi* drove his Murthrerer out of the Temple [H]; nor could it be appeased but by dint of Excuse and Prayer; and even, after this, ordered him to repair to a certain House, and there appease the Ghost of *Archilochus*.

(23) Anthol.
lib. 3, c. 25.

(24) Remark
[F].

(25) Schol.
in Horat.
Epod. 6.

But, in the *Antologia*, we read, that two, or even three, Daughters of *Lycamber* hanged themselves (23). See, in the Article *HIPONAX* (24), some Instances of the tragical and mortal Effects of Satire. Let us not omit what a Scholiast on *Horace* observes; to wit, that *Neobula* (so he calls the Daughter, who was contracted to *Archilochus*) did not hang herself on account of her Gallant's Satire, but out of Grief for the miserable Catastrophe of her Father's Life (25). Most Readers will take part with the *Antologia*; in which *Archilochus* is represented as the immediate Cause.

[E] It was on occasion of This Satire, that the Lacedemonians ----- prohibited the Verses of *Archilochus*. *Valerius Maximus* affirms this in express Terms. "Lacedemonii libros *Archilochi* & civitate sua exportari jusserunt, quod eorum parum verendum ac pudicam lectionem arbitrabantur. Non luerunt enim ea liberorum suorum animos imbui, ne plus moribus noceret, quam ingenii prodesset. Itaque maximum poetam, aut certe summo proximum, quia domum sibi invisam obcenis maledictis laceraverat, carminum exilio multarunt (26). ----- The Lacedemonians ordered the Books of *Archilochus* to be banished from their State, esteeming the reading of them to be vicious and immodest. They were unwilling the Minds of their Youth should be tainted with them, lest their Morals should be more injured, than their Genius improved, thereby. They therefore punished the greatest of Poets, or next to the greatest, for an offence of Satire on a Family, whom he hated, by banishing his Verses."

[F] His Calumny ----- was often an Inconvenience to him in his Affairs. *Pindar* informs me of this particular; for he affirms, that, though *Archilochus* fattened upon Slander, yet was he often put to his Shifts.

Εἶδον γὰρ ἐκὰς ἑὸν τὰ πολ-
λ' ἐν ἀμαχανίᾳ
Ψογερὸν Ἀρχιλόχου, βαρυλό-
γους ἔχθρουν παλαιόνερον (27).

(27) Pind.
Pythior. Od.
2.

Vidi enim procul existens sæpe in angustiis conviciatorem Archilochum, dum maledictis odiis pinguefere.

Arctius did not understand this Passage; since he took it to mean, that *Archilochus* was a Gainer by his Calumny, and raised himself by it from a low Estate to Honour and Riches (28). The Word *παλιόνερος*, which signifies to *fatten*, deceived him; he should have remembered, that, to this day, to *feed*, or *grow fat*, upon any thing signifies, figuratively, to take an extraordinary Pleasure in it. No doubt *Ovid* had an Eye to this Passage of *Pindar*, when, in his Poem in *Ibin*, he says,

Utque repertori nocuit pugnacis Iambi,
Sic sit in exitium lingua proterva tuum.

*Like His, who first the keen Iambic gave,
May thy abusive Tongue thy Ruin prove.*

(28) Leica-
ropier, in
Ciceron. lib.
3, de Nat.
Deor. pag.
703. Ro-
issine in
Instit. Com-
ment.
in Ibin.

We shall see in the Remark [H], that they, who pretend, that Calumny cost *Archilochus* his Life (29), are mistaken.

[G] His Calumny ----- extended even to his own Person. This Poet took such strange Delight in Slander, that not content to pull his Neighbour to pieces, he could not forbear defaming himself (30). For which *Critias* blames him (31); saying, that, *had it not been for his own account, we should not have known, that his Mother Enipone was a Slave; that meer Poverty forced him to quit the Isle of*

(30) See the
Passage of
Plutarch,
which shall
be cited in the
Remark
[M], Cita-
tion (55).

(31) Apud
Ælian. Var.
Hist. lib. 10,
cap. 13.

Paros, and remove to *That of Thasus; that he rendered himself odious there by slandering both Friends, and Foes; that he was extremely addicted to Women, and very insolent; and, what is worst of all* (32), *that he had thrown away his Buckler in Fight*. The Scholiast on *Arifophanes* informs us, that it was in the War against the *Saians*, a People of *Tbrace*, that *Archilochus* threw down his Arms, and fled (33). *Arifophanes* has borrowed a Distich of This Poet's concerning this Adventure (34); upon which his Scholiast gives us this Gloss. *Plutarch* repeats the same Verses, and something more.

Ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαίων τις ἀγάλλεται ἦν περὶ
Σάνωρ
Ἐνδὸς ἀμύμητον κάλλιπον ἐκ ἐθέλων.
----- Ἀσπίς ἐκείνη
Ἐρρέτω. ἐξῆυδ' ἰς κτήσσομαι ἢ κακίῳ (35).

One of the Saians, perhaps, now prides himself in wearing my Shield; which I unwillingly left behind me, unburt, amidst the Briers. No matter for the Loss of This Shield; I shall soon purchase as good an one.

Yet our Run-away valued himself more upon being a Soldier, than a Poet.

Ἐμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θεράπων μὲν Ἐνναλίῳ ἀνακτοῖς,
Καὶ μυστῶν ἐράβην δῶρον ἐπιτάμνονος (36).

I am a Follower of the God of War, and skilled in the amiable Gift of the Muses.

Alceus ranged the Posts of Honour after the same manner; he gave the first Place to Arms; and, in describing his House (37), he makes no mention of Books, but of Helmets and Bucklers; all favours of the Arsenal, and not of the Library. Yet it is well known, that he saved himself in Battel by the help of his Heels, and not his Arms. See the Remark [B] of his Article.

[H] *Apollo* ----- drove his Murthrerer out of the Temple (38). The Name of Him, who slew *Archilochus*, was *Callondas Corax* (39), a Native of the Isle of *Naxos*. The Priests of *Delpi* drove him out of the Temple, because he had killed a Man consecrated to the Muses. *Ἐκκληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας, ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν μυστῶν ἀνθρωπῶς* (40). And yet he had killed him in War, and in fair Combat; as appears more plainly from *Suidas*, than *Plutarch*. For this Reason we cannot suppose, that *Pliny*, upon this Occasion, is sufficiently exact, when he said, in the plural Number, *Archilochi poetæ interfeciores Apollo arguit Delpis* (41). ----- *Apollo* at *Delphi* accused *Those*, who had slain *Archilochus* the Poet.

His Copyer *Solinus*, affecting the Paraphrast, has left himself without excuse; since he has the boldness to say, that this Poet was killed by Robbers; "Percussiores *Archilochi* poetæ *Apollo* prodidit, & latronum facinus Deo coarguente detectum (42). ----- *Apollo* discovered the Murthrerers of *Archilochus* the Poet; thus the Villany of certain Robbers was detected by the Evidence of a God."

Eusebius cites a Greek Author, called *Oenomaus*, who gives the Name of *Archias* to the Murthrerer of *Archilochus*; "Quare qui *Archilochum* occidit *Archias* à templo quasi sceleratus exire ab *Apolline* justus est: mularum enim amicum occiderat (43). ----- Wherefore *Archias*, who slew *Archilochus*, was commanded by *Apollo* to depart from the Temple, as one guilty of Impiety; for he had slain a Friend of the Muses." *Galen* has reported the Words of the Oracle.

(32) It is
Critias, who
speaks.

(33) Schol.
Arifoph. in
Comed. de
Pace. See
alio Strabo,
lib. 12. pag.
378.

(34) In Co-
med. de Pa-
ce, circa fi-
nem.

(35) Plut.
in Instit. La-
con. p. 239.

(36) Athen.
lib. 14, cap.
6, p. 627, C.

(37) Apud.
Athen. lib.
14, cap. 5.

(38) Plut.
de his qui se-
ro à numine
puniantur,
pag. 560.
And *Suidas*
sunt in *Ap-
pulo*.

(39) Id. ib.
See also *Plut.*
in *Numa*.
pag. 62.

(40) Plut.
ubi supra.

(41) Plin.
lib. 7, c. 29.

(42) Solin.
cap. 1, p. 11.

(43) Euseb.
Præp. Evang.
lib. 5, cap.
33, cited by
Father Har-
douin, in
Plin. Tom.
2, pag. 124.
These are not
the very
Words of *Oe-
nomaus*, but
only his
Thoughts.

(d) See the
Art de
TETRIX.

Archilochus (d). And yet this Person had killed him in a fair Combat [I]. Iambic Verse was what this Poet excelled in; he was the Inventor of it [K], and one of the three Poets, whom *Aristarchus* approved of in this kind of Poetry (e). *Quintilian* places him, in some Respects, above the other two. *Aristophanes*, the Grammarian, was of Opinion, that *Archilochus's* Iambic Poems, the longer they were, were the finer [L]. The Hymn, he composed on *Hercules* and *Iolus*, was so distinguished, as to be constantly sung three times, in honour of those, who gained the Victory in the Olympic Games (f). Scarce any thing remains of his Works; which, for the sake of Morals, is rather a Gain, than a Loss, [M]. They, who speak of several

(e) See Re-
mark [K].

(f) Pindar.
Olymp. Ode
n, & ibi Jo.
Benedictus.
See also, in
the Ch. heads
of Erasmus,
Archilo. hi
melos.

(34) Galen,
in Sutoria,
Tom. 2, cap.
6, pag. 10,
apud Hor-
omian, ubi
supra.

Μυζῶν θεράποντα κατέκτανες, ἐξιδί νηῶ (44).

You have slain a Servant of the Muses; depart from the Temple.

Apollon has been much blamed for acknowledging as a Son of the Muses, and extremely commending, a Poet, who had written so obscenely. *Oenomaus* reproached This God with This (45): *Origen* and *Eusebius* make use of it to shame the Pagans. Τύτοις περσάμεν, says *Eusebius* (46), καὶ δι' ὃν αὐδῆς ὁ Ἀπόλλων θανάτω τὸν Ἀρχιλόχον, ἀνδρα παρ' ἰσότητος κατὰ γυναικῶν ἀσχερῆρ' ἠμύναται καὶ ἀρρητολογίαις αἷς ἰδ' αὐτοῖς τῶν σφῶρον ἀνὴρ ὑπομνήσκειν, ἐν τοῖς δίκαιοις ποίημασι κε-
χρημένον. Let me add what greatly recommended *Archilochus* to the Favour of *Apollo*: a Poet so infamous and obscene, that no good Man can bear to bear him. I omit the Passage of *Origen*; it may be found in his third Book against *Celsus*, in the hundred and twenty fifth Page of the Cambridge Edition, 1677.

[K] This Person had killed him in a fair Combat.] I have already observed, that *Suidas* informs us more clearly of this Matter, than *Plutarch*; but I have something to add, which is worth our notice. There is a small Treatise Of *Republics*, attributed to *Heracleides*; in which the Order of the Priestests is to be found, commanding the Murderer of *Archilochus* to depart the Temple, together with the Murderer's Answer. This Answer is an inexplicable Riddle in the Latin Translation. The Translator supposes, that the Murderer answered, I am innocent, for I killed him at a Distance, as the Law commands. Read the Greek, and the Translation of it (47). Ἀρχιλόχον τὸν ποιήτην Κόραξ ὄνομα ἐκίλεν, πρὸς ὃν φασιν εἶπεν τὴν Πυθίαν, ἐξιδί νηῶ. Τύτον δ' εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ καθάρως εἰμι ἀναξ, ἐκ χειρῶν γὰρ νόμῳ ἐκίλενα. Quidam *Corax* dixit *Archilochum* poetam interfecit. Itaque *Pythia* ad eum ait, exi templo. Cui is respondit, ad purus sum *Rex*, eminus enim, ut lex jubet, interfeci (*Archilochum*). A Friend of mine, who is well versed in Philological Learning (48), has confessed to me, that he never heard of an Edict, acquitting Murderers, who killed at a Distance; and that he did not believe ἐκ χειρῶν signified *eminus*. As he was an intimate Friend of Mr *Gronovius's*, he consulted him on this Difficulty; and This was the learned Answer of That learned Professor. "Ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ, locutio est propria in praeliis occidendi forum & occidentium. Quem in illo furore vel gladius, vel alia machina deprehendens ad Orcum mittit, is trucidatur ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. Ita omnes Græci, & præsertim *Polybius*, ut libro 1. cap. 34. Καταπαύμενοι σωρὸν δὲ ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διεσφάτεοντο. Ο παῖς (49) illic pugnant: quod quidem non sufficit, nam & in prælio multi possunt non pugnant occidi, & tamen ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. Rursus eodem libro cap. 57. τῆς γὰρ αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ συνέβαινε διαρπείσθαι κατὰ τὰς ἀνέπλοκάς τὰς ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ περιεσφάσας. "Ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ is a Phrase belonging to Those who kill, or are killed, in Battel. Whoever, in the Heat of Battel, is killed by a Sword, or any other Engine, is said to be killed ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. So all the Greek Authors; particularly *Polybius*, lib. 1. cap. 34. καταπαύμενοι, &c. Ca-
saubon renders it pugnantes; which is insufficient; for many may die in Battel, not fighting, and yet ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ. Again, in the same Book, cap. 57. τῆς γὰρ αὐτοῖς, &c." There remains no further Difficulty, after this learned Answer; whereby it appears, that *Corax* meant no more, than that he had killed *Archilochus* in Battel, according to the Laws of War.

[K] He was the Inventor of Iambic Verse.] This appears from these Lines of *Horace*, in the nineteenth Epistle of the first Book, ver. 23.

----- parios ego primus Iambos
Offendi Latio, numeros animosque secutus
Archilochi; -----

I first the Romans keen Iambics taught.
In numerous Smoothness, and in height of Thought
I match'd Archilochus; CREECH.

But yet more clearly from this Passage of *Paterculus*. "Neque quemquam alium cuius operis primus auctor fuerit in eo perfectissimum præter Homerum & Archilochum reperiemus (50). ----- Homer and Archilochus alone arrived at Perfection in those Species of Poetry, of which they were the respective Inventors." It is certain, that Iambics were This Poet's Master-piece. "Ex tribus receptis Aristarchi judicio scriptoribus Iamborum ad ἐξιν maxime pertinebit unus Archilochus. Summa in hoc vis elocutionis; cum validæ ium breves vibrantque sententiæ; plurimum sanguinis atque nervorum; adeo ut videatur quibusdam, quod quocumque minor est, materiæ esse non ingenii vitium (51). ----- Of the three received Writers of Iambics, (in the Opinion of Aristarchus) Archilochus alone arrived at Perfection. This Poet was Master of the greatest Force of Expression; his Sentences were short and sprightly; inasmuch, that many think, if he fell short of any Poet, it was owing to the Defect of his Subject, not of his Genius." *Paterculus*, then, made him the Inventor of Iambics. But he must also have been the Inventor of Epic Poetry, if what is imputed to *Terentianus* be true; "Doctrinæ laudem ei *Terentianus* tribuit, ut & Epicorum versuum inventionem, libr. de metris, pag. 86. — *Terentianus*, in his Book Of Metres, ascribes to him the Praise of Learning, as also the Invention of Epic Poetry." Thus they speak in the *Theophrastus Fabri*, in the Article of *Terentianus Maurus*; but, when we consult the Passage of *Terentianus Maurus*, it is easy to perceive, that the Matter in hand there is the Epode, not the Epic Poem; nor yet would it be certain, that the Passage, which relates to *Archilochus*, declares him the Inventor of the Epode, if this Truth were not learnt elsewhere (52). This Passage might pass for a Citation alleged as an Example of the Epode, spoken of in this Place, which is an Hexameter Verse followed by one half of a Pentameter.

Hoc doctum Archilochum tradunt genuisse Magistri,
Tu mihi Flaccus fat es.

Lorenzo Fabri observes, that "the Greeks for fix hundred Years knew no other than Hexameter Verse; till Archilochus taught other kinds with so much Success, that all began to try their Skill in Verses of different Measures; which made the Greek Poetry so fine by this Variety of Versification (53).

[L] Archilochus's Iambics ----- the longer they were, were the finer.] *Cicero* informs us of this Particular, where he applies it to his Friend *Atticus's* Letters; "Ut Aristophani Archilochi Iambus, sic Epitola longissima quæque optima videtur (54). ----- As the Iambics of Archilochus appeared to Aristophanes, so the longest of your Epistles seem to me the best." The same Judgment has been passed upon *Demosthenes's* Orations.

[M] Scarce any thing remains of his Works; which, for the sake of Morals, is rather a Gain, than a Loss.] The Verses of *Archilochus* afforded no Ex-
amples,

(35) Arud
Eusebium,
ibid.

(46) Ibid.
cap. 32, pag.
22.

(47) Juxta
Editionem
Nicolai Cra-
gii, ad cul-
tem Tracta-
tus de Re-
publica La-
cedæmono-
rum, pag. 19.

(48) M. F.
HENRI-
CIUS, whose
Elgy may be
seen in the
Epistle Dedi-
cated to the
Treatise,
which *Gronovius*
published at Ley-
den, in
1653, etc.
subd. Dis-
quisitione de I-
cuncula
Smetiana,
&c.
I. 1. c. 11.
Of postumy
of pullus
showing Mr
Henricus
for the life
of a excellent
Library.

(49) Plutarch,
C. Iambus.

(50) Pater.
lib. 1. cap. 5.

(51) Quin-
til. lib. 10,
cap. 1.

(52) In Ma-
rius Victori-
nus, l. 3, de
Arie Gram-
mat.

(53) Mene-
trius, Repræ-
sentat. en
Musique,
pag. 245.

(54) Cicero
Epist. 11,
lib. 16, ad
Atticum.

(7) Diog. Laert. in Hieracle.

several *Archilobus's*, multiply Beings without Necessity [N]. If we had the Dialogue composed by *Heracides* (g) on the Life of our Poet, we might, in all Probability, find several Particulars in it concerning him; and doubtless we might there find, how he conducted a Colony of *Parians* into the Island of *Thajus* (b). It was some Honour to be chosen for such a Trust.

(b) Oenomaus apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 6, cap. 7.

amples, but what were vicious. He had expressed a deep Sorrow at the loss of his Sister's Husband, who died at Sea. This Tenderness might have been improved to an excellent Lesson; but in him it degenerated into a most pernicious Maxim, viz. that he would fly for Consolation to Wine, and other sensual Pleasures, since his Tears could do his Brother-in-law no good, nor his Pleasures harm.

Οὐτά τι γὰρ κλαίον ἴσσομαι, ὅτε κακίον
Θῆσω, τριπλάσι καὶ θαλίαις ἰσῆκων (55).

(55) Plut. de ausend. Poet. pag. 33.

The work is, that he never scrupled to defame himself, and fill his Poems with a thousand scandalous Reflexions on the Sex. Τῶν ὅτι Ἀρχιλόχῳ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπρεπὺς καὶ ἀκολάτους ἐνθιμίων, ἰανθὸν παραδειγματίζοντες (56). See the use, which *Theodore Beza* makes of this last Sentence in his Notes on the first Chapter of *St Matthew*.

(56) Plut. de Curiosit. pag. 520.

[N] They, who speak of several *Archilobus's*, multiply Beings without Necessity.] A Passage of *Eusebius*, misunderstood, occasion'd the mention of an *Archilobus*, an Historian and Chronologer, on whom the Impostor of *Viterbo* had the boldness to sather a small Book. Thus *Eusebius* speaks, according to the Latin Translation, *Licet Archilobus vicissimam tertiam Olympiadem* — supputet (57). It is pretended, that the meaning of this is, that, according to *Archilobus's* Computation, *Homer* lived in the XXIII^d

Olympiad. But *Scaliger* has shewed, that the Greek of *Eusebius* signifies no more, than that some Authors made *Homer* and *Archilobus* flourish at the same time. *Goropius Becanus* had cleared up this Matter before, in the great and curious Collection relating to *Archilobus*, which he made on purpose to confute the Impostures of *Annus of Viterbo* (58). Thus the pretended Chronologer *Archilobus* comes to nothing. *Vossius* would have done better to have followed this Correction, than to place *Archilobus* among the Greek Historians (59). He adds, that *Scaliger* places him in the Reign of *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes* (60), without producing any Proof for it. I cannot find in *Scaliger's* Notes, what *Vossius* imputes to him; neither do I believe he has said any such thing. *Vossius*, having made mention of our Poet *Archilobus*, in another Book (61), under the XXIXth Olympiad, promises another under the XCIVth. But, when we look for him there, we meet with only An *Antilobus*. *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, have given us a Lacedemonian Poet *Archilobus*, who flourished at *Rome*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, and another *Archilobus*, the Son of *Nestor*, who was kill'd by *Memnon* at the Siege of *Troy*. These are all Chimæras; This last was call'd *Antilobus*; and there needed but little Attention, to discover, that the Court of the little Kings of *Rome* was no fit Theatre for Greek Poets. Most of these last Faults are to be found in *Caletin*.

(58) Gorop. Becanus Origin. Ant. verp. lib. 4, What he says thereupon is to be found in the Bibl. Hispanica, of Schotus, pag. 375, &c.

(59) Vossius de Histor. Græcia, p. 5.

(60) He came to the Throne in the third Year of the LXVth Olympiad. Vossius, ib. pag. 6.

(61) Voss. de Poet. Græc. p. 14.

(57) In Chron. ad Ann. 908.

(a) See a Description of it in Athenæus, lib. 5. pag. 206.

(b) Athen. pag. 209.

ARCHIMELUS, a Greek Poet, flourished in the Reign of *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse* [A]. This appears by the Present, which he received from That Monarch. He had made an Epigram in praise of a prodigious large Ship, which *Hiero* had ordered to be built (a). This Epigram was worth to him above Five thousand Quarters of Corn, which this Prince sent him to the *Pyreum* (b). Behold, then, a Poet, who may be ranked among the Few, who have met with Admirals de *Joyeuse* (c).

(c) The Admiral of this Name, gave an Abbey for a N. g. Balzac. Entrec. VII.

[A] He flourish'd in the Time of *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. That is about the Year of *Rome* 520, and the CXXXVth Olympiad. It is probable, that he lived at *Athens*; since this Present of Corn was carried to the *Pyreum*. I wonder *Vossius* could forget this Poet: The Reward of his Epigram makes him remarkable. *Athenæus* has preserved the Eighteen

Verses, which were so amply paid for (1). Mr *Catherinet* has not faithfully reported the Circumstances of This Recompence; he says, that (2), *Archimelus* was rewarded by King *Hiero* with Thirty thousand Quarters of Corn, for an Epigram of Twenty Verses, written on his Ship.

(1) Athen. lib. 5, pag. 203.

(2) Catherinet, Traité de la Marine, pag. 6.

(a) A kind of Mints in Italy.

(b) Lancel. de Perousa, at Page 987 of a Book entitled, Chi l'indovina è Savio.

ARCHIROTA (ALEXANDER) [A] Abbot of the *Olivetans* (a), was of Naples. He composed, among other Books, *A Collection of the Actions of the Kings, mentioned in the Scripture* [B], and dedicated it to the Queen of *Poland*, *Bonna Sforza*, who resided, then, at *Bari*. In return, she gave him a Pension for Life of Three hundred Crowns per Annum. He lived an Hundred and twenty Years (b). *Konig* makes him flourish in 1636, and ascribes to him *A Commentary on the Books of Samuel and Kings*, and *A Treatise on the Vow of Poverty*.

[A] ALEXANDER. Lancelot of Perousa, in the Body of his Work, entitled, *Chi l'indovina, e Savio* — The Soothsayer or Philosopher — tells us, that This Person's Name was *Alexander*; but in the Margin, and Table of Matters, he calls him *Agostino*, *Augustin*.

[B] *A Collection of the Actions of the Kings, mentioned in the Scripture* This Work was composed in Italian. I know not whether it be the same with That entitled, *Discorsi sopra diversi Luoghi*

della sacra Scrittura — Discourses on different Passages of Holy Writ. The Catalogue of *Oxford* remarks, that it is divided into two Parts; the first of which was printed at *Florence*, in 1581, in 8vo; and the second, in the same City, in 1583, in 8vo. We find, in the same Catalogue, that the *Treatise De Voto Paupertatis, Of the Vow of Poverty*, appeared at *Florence*, in 1580, in 8vo; and that the Author of these three Works was called *Alexander Archirota*. I believe it should be *Archirota*.

(a) Poggius init. Histor. Discept. & II. Invecl. in Philoph.

ARETIN (CHARLES) was of *Arezzo* in *Tuscany*, as his Sirname testifies (which apply to the other *Aretin's*). He held a considerable Rank among the Learned of the XVth Century. *Poggius* gives him great Encomiums (a); but they ought to be suspected, because *Charles Aretin* was a great Enemy of *Philippus*, whom *Poggius* mortally hated. *Philippus* complains bitterly of our *Aretin*, and represents him as a wicked Man, full of Frauds and malicious Arts (b). This likewise ought to be suspected, as coming from such an Enemy as *Philippus*; who, being naturally given to slander, became much more so, on account of the Contests he had with some other learned Men. Be that as it will, there are disinterested Persons,

(b) Phil. phi. Epist. ad Carol. Aretin. Ann. 1433, & Epist. seq.

sons, who say, that *Charles Arelin* understood the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues perfectly well, and that he shewed it by some Translations from the *Greek* (c). He was, besides, a tolerable good Poet [A], and wrote *Comedies* in Prose; some Parts of which are inserted by *Albert Eyb*, in his *Marguerite Poétique* (d). But, what discovers his Abilities most, is, his having been chosen to succeed in the Post of Secretary to the Republic of *Florence*, after the Death of *Leonard Arelin*, in 1443 [B]. We do not know the Year of his Death; but Mr *Moreri* is certainly mistaken, when he places it in the Year 1443 [C]. The Authors, he quotes, do not say, that our *Arelin* left a Volume of Letters. Some have thought he was the Brother of *John Arelin* (e), of whom we shall speak in his Place. But they are mistaken: He was very ambitious of equalling the Reputation of *Leonard Arelin*, his Predecessor (f).

(c) Leand. Albert. Descript. Ital. pag. 96.

(d) Gouneri Biblioth.

(g) Vossius d. Hist. Lat. pag. 579.

(f) See Remark (H), of the Article ARELIN (LEONARD).

[A] He was a tolerable Poet. This must be understood in regard to those Times; and I question not, with this Restriction, to establish my Text: for thus Mr de la Monnoie writes to me: Lilius Gyraldus, who had seen Charles Arelin's Poems, did not find them good; and in Truth, from the Quotations to be seen of them in the Dictionary of Torcellius, there is Reason to judge, that they are little worth. Note, that Torcellius quotes nothing of Him but Elegiac Verses; but Father Labbe, in two or three Places, cites a Translation of the Batrachomyomachia, in Hexameter Verse, by Charles Arelin.

• Labbé, Nouvelle Biblioth. de MSS.

[B] He was chosen to succeed Leonard Arelin. This we have from Leander Albertus. "Diem functus est (Leonardus Arelinus) anno post C. N. MCCCXXL, ætatis suæ LXXIV, Florentiæ, cum illi Reipub. diu à secretis fuisset, & successorem in eo munere habuit Carolum item Arelinum, & Græcis Latinique literis eruditissimum, qui etiam ipse quædam de Græcis Latina fecit (1.) — Leonard Arelin died in the Year of Christ 1440, aged Seventy four Years, at Florence; having been a long time Secretary to That Republic; and was succeeded in That Employ by Charles Arelin, a Person well skilled in Greek and Latin, and who had translated some Pieces out of Greek into Latin". To this Testimony let us add That of *Æneas Silvius*, tho' somewhat long; because it will serve as a Proof of more than one Thing; "Commendanda est, says he (2), multis in rebus Florentinorum prudentia, tum maxime quod in legendis Cancellariis non juris scientiam, ut pleræque civitates, sed oratoriam spectant, & quæ vocant humanitatis studia. Norunt enim recte scribendi dicendique artem non Bartolomæum aut Innocentium, sed Tullium Quintilianumque tradere. Nos tres ex ea urbe cognovimus, Græcis & Latinis & conditorum operum fama illustres, qui Cancellariam alius post alium tenuere, Leonardum & Carolum Arelinos, & Poggium ejusdem reipublicæ civem, qui Secretarius Apostolicus tribus quondam Pontificibus dictat Epistolas. — The Prudence of the Florentines is to be commended in many things; particularly in the Choice of their Secretaries; in whom they do not require, as many States do, a knowledge of Law, but Oratory and Polite Learning. For they are sensible, that the Art of Writing and Speaking well is not to be learned from Bartolus, or Innocentius, but from Cicero. I have been acquainted with Three successive Secretaries of That City, all famous for their knowledge in Greek and Latin, and the

(1) Leand. Albert. Descript. Ital. pag. 96.

(2) Æn. Silvius Histor. de Europa. cap. 54.

"Works they have composed; to wit, Leonard and Charles Arelin, and Poggius, a Citizen of the same Republic, who had formerly, in quality of Apostolical Secretary, dispatched the Briefs of three successive Popes." By this Passage the Obscurity, or Error, of another Passage of *Æneas Silvius*, which gave Vossius a great deal of trouble, may be corrected. It is this: "Leonardum Arelinum ex te primum sensi obisse, qui Latium ornavit literis, quæ nemo post Lactantium Ciceroni proximior fuit. Gaudeo Poggium ejus locum apud Florentinos tenere. Sed maluisse potius locum non vacante, ne tanto splendore caruisset Hetruria (3). — You first in form me of the Death of Leonard Arelin, who, by his Learning, was an Ornament to Italy; and who, after Lactantius, came the nearest to Cicero. I rejoice, that Poggius succeeds him at Florence; but should have been better pleased, that the Post had not been vacant, that Hetruria might not have lost so great an Ornament." See the Remark [A] of the Article ARELIN (LEONARD).

[C] Moreri is mistaken, when he places it in the Year 1443. It is certain, that Poggius succeeded our Arelin in the Employ of Secretary at Florence. Now it appears by the Speech, in which he congratulates Nicholas the Fifth on his Promotion to the Papacy, that he had no Employ at Florence in 1447 (4). It must be supposed, then, that Charles Arelin was Secretary of Florence in 1447; for his Predecessor Leonard Arelin died in 1443. But there is a more demonstrative Proof of Mr Moreri's Error. Poggius, in a Letter written in the Pontificate of Nicholas V, says, that Charles Arelin had paid him a Visit; at the same time, when Nicholas V. had retired for fear of the Plague, and himself and Family had left Rome. Quo primum anno, says he (5), Nicolaus Pontifex quintus, pestis causa, Fabrianum, Piceni oppidum, fecisset, cum me ad Terram novam natalem patriam cum familia contulisset, venit eo postmodum regatus à me, qui Florentiam ob negotia publica adibat, Carolus Arelinus. What lead Mr Moreri into a Mistake, was his finding, that (6) Vossius does not refute the German Author, whom he quotes, and who had said, in his Collections of the Days of Death, and of Nativity, that Charles Arelin, the Orator and Historian, died in 1443, at Seventy Four Years of Age. All this agrees so well with Leonard Arelin, that, in all Probability, the German Author has confounded Charles with Leonard: However Vossius ought to have shewn him his Mistake in relation to the Year of our Arelin's Death.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) The Year of the Election of Nicholas V.

(5) Poggius init. Disceptat. l.

(6) Voss. de Hist. Lat. pag. 578.

ARELIN (FRANCIS) lived in the XVth Century. He was a Man of great Reading, and understood the *Greek* Tongue. He translated the Commentaries of St *Cbrysofom* on St *John*, and twenty of the same Father's Homilies, into *Latin*. He translated also the Epistles of *Phalaris* into *Latin* [A]. There is still extant a Treatise of his, de Balneis Puteolanis; — of the Baths of Puteoli. John Antony Campanus, who was a Favourite of Pius II, and Sixtus IV, was one of his intimate Friends (a). Erasmus did not esteem our Arelin's Translations of St *Cbrysofom* [B].

Some

[A] He translated also the Epistles of Phalaris into Latin. I have met with several curious Reflexions on these Letters in a Book printed in Germany, in 1689 (1); but I must not suppress, that what is only due to Francis, is attributed to Leonard Arelin. "Latine emisit Leonhardus Arelinus Florentiæ MCCCCLXXX. — Published by Leonard Arelin, at Florence, 1480". We shall see, in its Place (2) that Leonard was not living at the Time of That Edition.

(1) Decas Decadum J. Alberti Fabricii. n. 8.

(2) In Remark [C], of the Article ARELIN (LEONARD).

[B] Erasmus did not esteem our Arelin's Translations. He observes, in two Places, the Error, which This Translator is guilty of, in relation to the Word *οἰσῆς*, in translating the Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. "Quod attinet ad fidem bene reddendi Græcæ, magis peccatum est ab Aniano, Aretino, & cæteris, quam ab Oecolampadio, qui magis peccat festinatione quam imperitia. Versumem Francisci Arelini in priorem ad Corinth. habemus usque ad cap. 30. Cepi gu-

(a) Taken from Aubertus Miræus, Au'tor de Script. Ecclesiast. pag. 268.

Some believe, that our *Francis Arctin* is the same with the famous Lawyer *Franciscus Arctinus*, of the Family of the *Accolli*. But others can scarce believe, that the Translator of some of *St Chrysostom's* Works, &c. is the same *Francis Arctin*, whose Works of Law favour of the grossest Barbarity, without the least Shadow of Knowledge in the Greek Tongue. I have some Observations to offer on this Head, which may serve to convince many People, that there is but one *Francis Arctin* in the Case [C]. Be that as it will, let us here speak of *Arctin* the Lawyer. He studied

(1) *Franciscus Arctinus*, Epist. 50, lib. 26, pag. 1478. See also Epist. 2, lib. 28, pag. 1591.

(4) *Page*, 1591.

(5) *Panzirus de Claris legum Interpret.* lib. 2, cap. 103, pag. 249.

(6) *Mr de la Monnoie, Remarque* MSS.

" Num quam scilicet transisset rem, & ecce in ipso
" statim limine, quod est τὸν τῶν κατὰ καὶ
" κατὰ ἑστῆς παρὰ αὐτὸν οἰοῦν, εἰσὶν ἐπιτί-
" nem vertit pro arrogantia (3). — As to tran-
" scribing Greek faithfully, Anianus, Arctin, and
" others, are more guilty in this respect, than Occo-
" lampadius, who offends more thro' Hastie, than Un-
" skillfulness. We have the translation of Arctin on
" the first to the Corinthians, as far as the 30th
" Chapter. I immediately perceived how hastily he
" performed this Work; for, in the very beginning of it,
" he renders οἰοῦν by Opinio (Opinion) instead of Ax-
" rognatia (Arrogance)." He observes, in another
" Place (4), that Arctin had translated the Commentaries
" on the First Epistle to the Corinthians to the Twen-
" tieth Homily.

[C] I have some Observations to offer on this head,
" which may serve to convince many People, that there
" is but one Francis Arctin in the case. Let us first
" propose Panzirolus's Doubt. " Liberalibus artibus
" imbutus, non solum Latinis, sed etiam Græcis li-
" teris operam dedisse creditur, & Joannis Chrysostom-
" i in D. Joannem & epistolam primam Pauli ad
" Corinthios commentaria Latina fecisse; vereor ta-
" men ne is sit Accolus, cum quæ in jure scripsit,
" illum stylium non oleant, neque ullum fervent lin-
" guæ Græcæ vestigium (5). — Being a polite
" Scholar, he is said not only to have studied the Latin,
" but the Greek Tongue likewise, and to have transla-
" ted into Latin St Chrysostom on St John, and St
" Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians; tho' I much
" question whether he be the Accolus Arctinus, since
" what That Author has wrote in the Law does not
" favour of this Style, nor preserves the least Traces of
" the Greek Tongue." Next let us see what Mr de
" la Monnoie writes to me on occasion of this Doubt

(6). " Francis Accolli d' Arezzo, having written his
" Concilia, and other Works of the Law, in a Style,
" which discovers not only an entire Ignorance of
" the Greek, but of the Latin likewise; I have
" been in doubt, as well as Panzirolus, whether
" This was the same Francis d' Arezzo, who has
" given us Greek Translations, and whose Style is
" not inferior to That of most of the Humanists of
" his time. I knew, that the Lawyer took the
" Name of Accolli, and the Titles of Doctor and
" Knight, whereas the Humanist was simply called
" Francis Arctinus. In the mean time, having
" lately had the Sight of a Copy of Francis Phil-
" lephus's Epistles, printed at Venice, in Folio, in the
" Year 1502; a very scarce, and much ampler Edition,
" than the Others, by Twenty one Books; I found
" a way of resolving my Doubt, upon Reading fe-
" veral of Those Epistles, in which the Author
" speaks of one Francis d' Arezzo, his Disciple,
" equally learned in the Law, and in polite Litera-
" ture. The Time and Circumstances make it evi-
" dently appear, that he is the same, whom Volater-
" ran, an almost Cotemporary Writer, mentions,
" at the End of his 21st Book. Besides his Law Com-
" positions, his Translations of St Chrysostom, of the
" Epistles of Phalaris, and of Those of Diogenes the
" Cynic, they attribute to him a Treatise of the
" Baths of Puteoli; tho' he is not the Author of it,
" nor was any farther concern'd, than in dedicating
" it to Pope Pius the Second, by a Letter con-
" ceived in mean Expressions enough. He had also
" composed a Book of the Life and Manners of
" St Antonin, Archbishop of Florence. Phil-lephus
" speaks with praise of this Work, in the Twelfth
" Letter of his Seventeenth Book. In the Twenty
" Eighth Book of Letters of the same Phil-lephus,
" there are Six addressed Francisco Arctino Equiti
" aurato ac Juriconsulto, then Professor of Law
" in the University of Sienna. In most of these
" Letters, he gives him high Commendations, a
" great part of which might have been spared.
" Quasi dubitandum sit, sibi se to him in the First

" Letter, minus tibi esse apud florentissimam istam
" Rempublic. secunda omnia, qui vir in omni eruditio-
" nis ac sapientie genere præstantissimus sis, atque ea
" virtute præditus, qua non modo cedis, sed potes jure cum
" universa antiquitate de laude contendere. — As
" if there were any room to doubt of your Success in
" That most flourishing Republick; you, who excel
" in every branch of Learning and Knowledge, and
" whose extraordinary Virtues not only raise you above
" the Moderns, but equal you to the most shining
" Characters of Antiquity." " It appears by the
" Third, dated the 8th of March 1468, that Francis
" of Arezzo was then somewhat above Fifty Years
" of Age; a Reason he made use of to excuse him-
" self from marrying; Whereupon Phil-lephus tells
" him merrily: " Nam quod ais sentire te debilita-
" tas tibi esse corporis vires, cum sis quinquagenari-
" us, aut paulo amplius, id nulla tui causa acci-
" dit alia, quam quod ætatis robur remiseris, ut
" quo tempore tendendus erat arcus, tum cum tu
" maxime relaxaveris. Quod si eam servasses medio-
" critatem, quem & Philolophi probant, & ego se-
" cutus sum, consuliisses tu sane & posteritati &
" tibi. — As to what you plead, that you find your
" Strength decay'd, being now fifty Years of Age, or
" upwards, this proceeds from your not having ex-
" erted the Strength of your Youth; inasmuch, that,
" when the Bow ought most to have been bent, you gave
" it the greatest Relaxation. Had you observed That
" Modericity, which the Philosophers approve of,
" and I have follow'd, it would have been for the
" Advantage both of your Self and Posterity." In
" the Fourth of the 28th, he enquires after his Stu-
" dies: Ceterum cupio ex te nosse quid rerum agas?
" Non enim satis tuo præstanti ingenio, singularique
" doctrinæ esse duco, quod doceas leges, & jus civile,
" nam hæc jam tibi nullius sunt industriae, cujus
" memoria divina est potius quam humana. Majora
" quædam te arbitror meditari, nec enim in eodem
" semper verfaris ludo, itaque fieri non potest, quin
" aliquid novi semper cudas excudique. — I
" desire you would inform me how you are employ'd?
" for your great Abilities and uncommon Learning
" cannot, I think, be satisfied with Teaching the
" Laws; a Study, which now requires no Indus-
" try in you, the memory of which is rather di-
" vine, than human: I cannot help believing, that
" your Thoughts are employ'd on something greater;
" for, as you do not confine your Self to One Branch of
" Science, you must necessarily strike out something
" New." " In the Fifth he desires him to get the
" the History of Ammianus Marcellinus copied for
" him in Parchment. In a Letter of the 29th Book,
" he proposes the getting Demetrius Castrensis, of
" Constantinople, entertain'd at Sienna, at the Charge
" of the Republick, to instruct the Youth in the
" Greek Tongue. In another Letter of the 31st
" Book, he informs him of a Design the Se-
" nate of Venice had to get him from Sienna, and
" give him a Chair at Padua; and adds, " Ad hæc
" ego contra locutus sum, & quæ vera esse novi, &
" quibus te delectari exillimavi, quippe qui non
" essem oblitus quæ mecum nuper, cum ad Octobrem
" Senæ fuisset, & de temperamento corporis tui, &
" de istius cæli, quantum ad te attinet, intemperie
" locutus fuera. — This Design I oppos'd, and de-
" clared what I knew, and what I thought was
" agreeable to your Inclinations; for I had not for-
" got the Conversation, which paid between us at
" Sienna, in the Month of October, in which you
" mentioned the State of your own Constitution, and the
" inconsistency of That Air with your Health." " What
" is surprising in this, is, his saying in the
" same Letter, that Francis of Arezzo was an Enemy
" to a barbarous Style: " Nec illud sane prætere-
" undum censui, Appianum Alexandrinum esse jam
" a me magna ex parte Latinum & Quam, quoniam
" tu

studied at Sienna, about the Year 1443 (b), and afterwards taught the Civil Law there, with such a Vivacity of Genius, that he was nick-named the *Prince of Subtilties*; and that the Subtilty of *Aretin* passed into a Proverb. He signalized this fine Talent chiefly in Disputation; for no one could resist him. He gave his Advice with such Confidence, that he made his Clients sure of their Cause: His Experience did not deceive him; for it was commonly said in Court, Such a Cause is condemned by *Aretin*, therefore it will be lost. He taught also in the Academy of *Pisa*, and in That of *Ferrara*. He went to *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Sixtus IV*, but continued not long there; for he quickly perceived, that the great Hopes he had built on his Reputation would be greatly disappointed. That Pope declared he would willingly give him the Dignity of a Cardinal, were he not loth to injure the Public, by taking so excellent a Professor from his School. When Age would not permit him to exercise all the Functions of his Employ, he was dispensed with from reading of Lectures; but his Salary was continued. Nevertheless he sometimes mounted the Chair; and, though his Lectures had lost their wonted Spirit, yet he had a great many Hearers; which was attributed to his Reputation. One Day, his Scholars being run to a public Shew, he perceived, that there were but forty Persons in his Auditory; and was in such a Passion, that he threw away his Book, and cried out aloud, *Aretin will never explain the Mystery of the Law to so few*. He went away abruptly, and would teach no more. He was naturally severe, and never kept a Servant above a Month or two; for he said, that *those, who were newly hired, served with most Diligence*. He was honoured with the Quality of a Knight; lived always a single Life, and very frugally; which gave him an Opportunity of acquiring a great Fortune. He was no less honoured for his Chastity, than for his Learning. The Reader will be pleased to know the Wile he employed to make his

(b) Panz-
rol. de Cla-
ris Legum
Interpret.
lib. 2, cap.
103, pag.
249, dec.

"tu nulla barbaria linguæ delectaris. — Nor did I
"think proper to omit, that I had translated into
"Latin the greatest part of Appianus Alexandrinus,
"because you are displeased with All Barbarism of
"Style." Is it then to the Practice of the Age,
"that the barbarous Expressions of *Francis of Arezzo*,
"in his Writings on the Law, are to be imputed?
"To me it seems, that there is ground to believe,
"he industriously affected them; lest, endeavouring
"to pass for a more Polite Writer, he should not
"be thought so profound a Lawyer. I have perused
"some of his Pleadings, which are Barbarism it
"self. The CXLIIId has been much ridiculed;
"where, in Consequence of the Agreement, made
"between *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, and *Lewis*
"de *Gonzaga*, Marquis of *Mantua*, that, in case
"Dorothy, the Daughter of the Marquis, should be
"found without Deformity of Body, at the Age
"of Fourteen Years, she should be married to *Ga-*
"leazzo, the Duke's Son; he maintains, that the
"Duke had a Right to demand a Search by the Phy-
"sicians, who should see, and feel, the Princess
"stark naked, wherever the Exigency of the Case
"might require. It appears, however, that this
"Examination, how grievous soever in the Execu-
"tion, was demandable by Law; and it was ac-
"cordingly demanded by the Duke, but refused by
"the Marquis."

Having examin'd these Observations of Mr. de la Monnoie, I propos'd some other Doubts to him; and he confirm'd his opinion a-new in this manner. You ought not to doubt in any wise, but that *Francis d'Arezzo*, Translator of some Greek Works, and *Francis d'Arezzo*, the Lawyer, whose Comments on the Law, and Pleadings, are extant, are one and the same Author. Volaterran, who might have seen the Lawyer, allows him, besides his Learning in the Law, a considerable Attainment in the Belles Lettres (7). Philoplaus, who wrote some Years before, says the same Thing. It appears by the Testimony of the Epistles, I have cited to you, that, in his Time, there was one *Franciscus Aretinus*, or *Arretinus* (as he himself, and others, always write) his Disciple, Knight, Lawyer, Professor of Civil Law in the University of Sienna, and One, who excell'd in all manner of Literature. I add this following Passage, to those I have already sent you. It is in the First Epistle of the Twenty sixth Book, which is an Invective against *Leodrisio Crivello*. "At laudas *Franciscum Arretinum*, & jure quidem, sed, ut arbitror, dormitans. Egisti enim præter ingenium, & consuetudinem tuam. At meretur *Franciscus Arretinus*, cum sit tum Jureconsultorum omnium præstantissimus, tum nullius præclaræ discipline ignarus. Tamen laudari à te flagitiorum omnium scelerumque sententiâ dedecoratum est."

VOL. I.

"Jubes ab illo ut discam: rectè mones; nam non ab
"iusto solum, sed etiam abs te ipso, si quid boni af-
"ferre posses, non invitus discerem. Sed cur, quem
"tantopere laudas, non item imitaris? Ille prædicat
"apud omnes discipulum se meum extitisse, mihi quæ
"tribuit tantas laudas, quantis vellem me non carere.
"At est te, inquis, omni doctrina præstantior. Non
"eo inficias, neque fero graviter me à multis etiam
"discipulis meis superari, id quod sine aliqua mea
"laude fieri non potuerit, siquidem hi grati esse vo-
"luere. — You commend *Francis Arretin*, and just-
"ly; tho' sure you was asleep, when you did so; for
"your Disposition and Practice never lead you to
"Panegyric. *Francis Arretin* deserves Commendation,
"as being a most skillful Lawyer, and a compleat
"Scholar. But it is a Disgrace to him to be praised
"by you, who are a Sink of all Villany and Wicked-
"ness. You bid me learn of him; your Advice is
"good; for I should readily receive Instruction, not
"only from him, but even from you, were it possible
"to learn any Good of you. But why do you not imi-
"tate a Man, whom you so greatly commend? He
"publicly declares himself to have been my Disciple,
"and bestows such Commendations on me, as I wish
"were due to me. But he excels me, you say, in
"every Branch of Learning. I confess it, nor am I
"displeased, that many of my Scholars surpass me;
"which very Thing cannot but tend in some Degree
"to my Praise; since They acknowledge themselves in-
"debted to me for it." This Letter is dated the First
"of August 1465. At the same time *Janus Pannonius*,
"who studied, then, in Italy, address'd an Epigram to
"our *Francis d'Arezzo*; the Two first Verses of which
"were these:

*Franciscus, interpres legum, ô Aretine, Sacramus,
Nec minus Aonia nobilis in cithara.*

*Learn'd in the Sacred Laws, O Aretin,
Nor less renown'd on the Aonian Lyre.*

It is certain, then, that this Professor of Civil Law at Sienna, call'd *Francis d'Arezzo* or *Aretin*, was skill'd in polite Literature; and it is no less certain, that the Name of the same Professor's Family was *Accolti*. You may believe himself: For he subscribes himself at the Bottom of his 118th Pleading, "Decretorum Doctor, Senis ordinariæ legens, & illustri D. Marchionis Elitenfis Consiliarius; — Deor of Decretals, Professor at Sienna, and Counsellor of the Illustrious Marquis d'Este." The Times agree. Volaterran says, That *Francis Aretin*, Humanist, and Civilian, was at *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Sixtus IV*. *Francis Accolti* wrote his Hundred and Sixty ninth Plea against the same *Sixtus*, in Favour

(7) These are the Words of Volaterran, at the end of the 25th Book, pag. 782. Alexander Imolenfis, & *Franciscus Aretinus*, ambo scriptis excellentibus nuper relictis in memoria posteritatis vivunt. *Franciscus Aretinus*, præter jura, cæteras etiam liberales artes est adeptus, princeps scilicet hujus habebatur. Kithi tempore magna expectatione in hanc urbem venit, pauloque post se frustra remigravit impari doctrinæ sapientia vitæque institutio, cum in exilium venerit, ac opibus inhiavit, quas cumulatifimas cognatis denum requirit.

his Disciples sensible, of how great Importance it is to keep a fair Reputation [D]. Though he had designed his Estate for the Maintenance of a College, yet he left it to his Relations (c). He had a Brother, who became very famous under the Name of BENEDICTUS ACCOLTUS ARETINUS [E]. I shall speak of him in one of the Remarks.

(c) Ibid.

of Lorenzo de Medicis, and the Florentines, whom That Pope had excommunicated for the Murder of the Archbishop of Pisa, and the Imprisonment of the Cardinal, his Great-Nephew. Volaterran observes, That Francis Aretin, having gone to Rome with great views, stay'd there but a little while, finding that the Success did not answer his Expectation. From whence I infer, that Francis Accolti, who is the same with the Francis Aretin of Volaterran, undertook the more freely to write against Sixtus in Defence of the Florentines, as remembering, that this Pope had let him depart Rome, without acknowledging his Merit. Perhaps, likewise, the Reason of his not marrying was the Hopes he had entertain'd of some Ecclesiastical Dignity, as has been said of the Civilian Jalon. There only remains the Doubt, arising from the Difference between the Style of Aretin, the Professor of Law, and That of Aretin, the Translator. It is true This Difference is very great; and, tho' the Translations be but left us are not, indeed, the most elegant Latin, yet, in comparison of his Civil-Law Works, they may be reputed more than Ciceronian. Had he endeavour'd (as some Authors to divert themselves have) to write in a Macaronic Style, he could not have succeeded better. Sunt etiam multi testes, says he, Concil. 83. qui viderunt aquam bene ire ad molendinum, & ipsum bene molere, & stercerium lignaminis bene in pectus. And, Concil. 13. Probat per duos testes nostros, quod ista mulier gessit portatorem capitis secundum habitum nuptiarum à sex annis citra. The whole Book abounds with these Elegancies. The Orthography of the Words taken from the Greek is strangely perverted in it. We there find Economus, emologatio, cyrothece, Grifogonus, emphitheota. I have insinuated the Reason, which this Lawyer might have, for making use of these barbarisms, viz. that his Brethren did not write, or express themselves, otherwise: if his Language had been more correct, it would not have been understood by those of the Trade. Francis Aretin, or Accolti, which you please, could have express'd himself better; but he loved Money; and, if he had affect'd to employ the Papinian Style, he might have danced attendance in vain, and would have been generally abandon'd. The same Barbarism reign'd at that Time among the Divines and Physicians. They among them, who first attempted to introduce Politeness, were reckon'd neither Divines, nor Physicians, but only Grammarians. They were scarce cur'd of this Prejudice in the Days of Ludovico Vives. His Words are worth transcribing. Quæ Lyranus, & Hugo scribunt (says he, lib. 1. de "causis Corruptar. Art.) Theologia est, quæ Erasmus, "Grammatica. Idem de Hieronymo, Ambrosio, Augustino, Hilario dicturi, nisi nomina obtarent; tametsi hic etiam nescio quid mullant: Quod si Joannes Picus apologiam suam corrupto illo non scripsisset sermone, haud quaquam haberetur Theologus, sed Grammaticus. Alciatus, Zasius, Cantiuncula, Grammatici sunt, cum de jure disputant; Accursius est Jurisconsultus, vel cum interpretatur, que, id est, & ait, id est, dixit; seu, id est, aut. ----- What Lyranus and Hugo write is Divinity; What Erasmus, Grammar. They would say the same of Jerom, Ambrosius, Austin, and Hilarius; did not the Greatness of their Names silence them; tho' even here they mutter I know not what. But if Joannes Picus had not written his Apology in that corrupt Style, he would have been considered, not

as a Divine, but a Grammarian. Alciatus, Zasius, Cantiuncula, are Grammarians, when they dispute concerning Law; Accursius is a Lawyer, when he interprets que by et; ait by dixit; and seu by aut. So that, Sir, there was a Kind of Necessity on Francis Aretin, the Lawyer, to conform to the Practice of his Time; and I think these Reflexions, together with the Proceeding, may suffice to persuade you, that he only differs from the Humanists in Point of Elocution.

[D] The Wife he employ'd to make his Disciples sensible, of how great Importance it is to keep a fair Reputation. When he found, that the frequent Exhortations he gave them to preserve a good Reputation, availed nothing, he made use of the following Stratagem. Ubi (Ferrariæ) studiosos ad famam boni nominis conservandam sæpe hortatus, cum nibil proficeret, ridiculum commentum excogitavit, ut quam vim maximam habere existimatio offenderet (8). The Butchers of Ferrara left their Meat all Night in the Shambles. He went thither with his Lacquey before Day, and, having broke open their Boxes, carried off all the Meat. Two of his Scholars, who were reputed the most unlucky, were accused of This Action, and imprison'd. Aretin waited upon Duke Hercules, to desire their Liberty, taking the Fact upon himself. But, the more obstinately he insisted, that He had done it, the more it was believed, that the Prisoners were guilty. For no one durst suspect a Professor, whose Gravity and Wisdom were so well known, of such an Action. The Affair being at last terminated, he openly declared, that he had gained his Point; which was to shew the Weight and Authority of a good Reputation. Quo constantius se facti autorem fatebatur, eo magis qui in vinculis erant rei credebantur, cum ob viri gravitatem nemo id de eo suspicari auderet. Re demum composita, id se Aretinus ad demonstrandum hominis bonæ opinionis auctoritatem fecisse dixit (9). It is well known, that reputed Liars, are never believed, even when they speak Truth. It is quite contrary with those, who pass for sincere Men; They are believed, even when they lie. See, in Valerius Maximus (10), what a good Opinion once conceived of a Man can do.

[E] He had a Brother, who became very famous under the Name of BENEDICTUS ACCOLTUS ARETINUS. He was born in the Year 1415, and, having gone thro' the Studies of Humanity, he applied himself to That of the Law, with so much Ardor, that, in a short Time, he arriv'd to the Degree of Doctor; and, soon after, by his Public Lectures, and by his Opinions and Advice (11) in difficult Cases, equalled the most famous Civilians of his Time. He did not bid adieu to Polite Learning; but wrote Treatises, which shew'd, that this Branch was not indifferent to him. His Dialogue, de præstantia virorum sui ævi, was printed at Parma, in the Year 1692, from the Manuscript, which Mr Magliabecchi produced. During the last Seven Years of his Life, he was Secretary to the Republic of Florence; where he died, in the Year 1466, in the Fifty first Year of his Age. His Son, Peter, a great Civilian, having been Auditor of the Rota Twenty five Years, was honour'd with a Cardinal's Cap by Pope Julius II. He had another Son, whose name was Michael, and who was the Father of Benedictus Accoltus. This Son was Secretary to Clement VII, and afterwards Cardinal (12). See Moreri's Dictionary, at the Word Accolti.

(8) Panz. de Claris Legum Interpret. pag. 250.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 251.

(10) Valer. Maxim. lib. 3. cap. 7. n. 8.

(11) Some of them have been printed.

(12) Taken from the Life of Benedict Accoltus, prefixed to the Dialogue de Præstantia virorum sui ævi.

ARETIN (Guy), a Monk of the Order of St Benedict, lived in the XIth Century. He became famous by discovering a new Method of teaching Music. He published a Book on this Subject, entituled, *Micrologus*, and a *Letter*, which Cardinal Baronius has inserted in his Annals, under the Year 1022. He published his *Micrologus*, at the Age of Thirty four Years, in the Pontificate of John XX; and had been three times called to Rome by Pope Benedict VIII. This Pope had examined the *Antiphonary of Aretin*, and was fond of several Things, which he had learned from this Author. *Possevin* gives us this Account of him, in his *Apparatus*

(a) Pag. 694.

(a). To say something concerning this Invention of Guy Aretin, I must observe, that

that it was he, who invented the six Notes, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*. The Names of these six Notes are said to be taken from an Hymn, which contains these *Sapphic* Verses.

UT queant laxis *RE*sonare fibris
*Mi*ra gestorum *FA*muli tuorum
*SOL*ve pollutis *LA*bii reatum (b).

(b) See Voffius de Musica, pag. 40.

For this Purpose, you need only take the first and sixth Syllable of each Verse. Some pretend, that the Word *Gammus*, so common in Music, comes from *Guy Aretin's* having, in making use of the first Letters of the Alphabet, to specify his Notes, employed the Letter G, which the *Greeks* call *Gamma*; and that he did this to shew, that Music came from *Greece* (c). They, who attribute to him a Book against *Berengarius* are mistaken [A].

(c) Furetiere, at the Word *Gammus*.

[A] They, who attribute to him a Book against *Berengarius*, are mistaken. *Vossius* fell into this Mistake; and thence infers, that he flourished in the Reign of the Emperor *Conrad the Younger*; and that, therefore, they, who place him an Hundred Years later, are mistaken (1). The Error, I speak of, arose from hence, that they have confounded *Guy Aretin* with another Monk, whose Name was *Guilmont*, a Brother of the Convent of *St Leufred*, of the Order of *St Benedic*, in the Diocese of *Evreux*; who became Cardinal, and Bishop of *Aversa* in *Italy*. They were very near Contemporaries; for *Guilmont* died about the Year 1080. He is the Author of Three Books, "De veritate corporis & sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, adversus Berenga-

rium; — Of the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist; against Berengarius; which have been printed separately, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* (2). The Cause I assign for this Error is so plain, that the same *Vossius* says expressly, in another Place, that, in 1070, in the Pontificate of *Gregory VII*, flourished *Guido* or *Guilmont*, born at *Arezzo*, *Patria Aretinus*, first a Monk in the Monastery of *St Leufred*, in the Diocese of *Evreux*, in *Normandy*, and afterwards Cardinal, and Bishop of *Aversa*; that, while he was a Monk, he composed Two Treatises of Music, one in Verse, and the other in Prose, and is the same, who wrote Three Books against *Berengarius* (3).

(2) Vide Labbé, de Script. Ecclesi. Tom. 1, pag. 402.

(3) Vossius de Scient. Mathem. p. 95.

ARETIN (JOHN), surnamed *Tortellius*, passes for one of the learnedest Men of the XVth Century. He composed the Life of *St Athanasius* [A], at the Request of Pope *Eugenius IV*. He was admitted to the Confidence of *Nicolas V*, whose Chamberlain he was (a). He was a Man of an agreeable Conversation, and honourably distinguished himself from other learned Men, his Contemporaries, by never dishonouring the Profession of Learning by fierce and injurious Disputes. He was chiefly skilled in the Knowledge of Grammar; as he has shewn by his Book *De Potestate Literarum* [B]. *Gesner's Bibliotheca* gives us the Titles of several other Works of *Tortellius*, excepting a Lexicon, which he composed, and which is cited by *Magius* (b). *Laurentius Valla* was much his Friend, and dedicated to him his Books *De Latina Elegancia* [C]. *Vossius*, who affirms (c), that he was the Brother of *Charles Aretin*, would be much mistaken, had he no other Proof for it, than the

(a) Jovius Elog. c. 108.

(c) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 579.

[A] He composed the Life of *St Athanasius*. *Paul Jovius* intimates plainly enough, that *Tortellius* only translated it into Latin (1); *Divi Athanasii vitam Eugenio expetenti Latinam fecit*. *Gesner* says so more expressly; *Athanasii Alexandrini vitam ad Eugenium Pontificem in Latinum transtulit* (2). But *Vossius* allows him much more than the Task of a Translator; He makes him the Compiler of it; *Athanasii vitam ex variis, Eugenii postulat, confarcinavit*; and quotes *Paul Jovius*, and *Volaterran* (3). The Quotation of *Paul Jovius* cannot be altogether exact, as any one may see by comparing the Words. That of *Volaterran* is not more so, than the former; these are his Words. "*Joannes (Aretinus) cognomento Tortellius, Romanæ Ecclesiæ subdiaconus, apud Eugenium quartum fuit. Orthographiam, vitamque Athanasii, ac nonnulla alia conscripsit* (4). — *John Aretin, surnamed Tortellius, Subdeacon of the Roman Church, was in the Court of Eugenius IV. He wrote a Treatise of Orthography, the Life of St Athanasius, and some other Works.*" *Vossius* affirms, that *Wincelius* has inserted This Life of *St Athanasius* in his *Hagiologia*. He conjectures, that *Tortellius* is the Author of the Life of *St Zenobius*, Bishop of *Florence*, inserted in the Collections of *Surius*, under the Twenty fifth of May. The reason of this Conjecture is taken from the Circumstances of Time, and from the Name, which the Author of This Life, assumes; to wit, *Joannes Archiepiscopus Aretinus*.

"some Chapters on the Invention, Number, Figure, Pronunciation, and Joining of the Letters of the Alphabet. The second, which is very long, contains an Alphabetical Catalogue of Latin Words, chiefly taken from the Greek, of which he teaches, or endeavours to teach, the Orthography (5)."

[C] *Laurentius Valla dedicated to him his Books de Latina Elegancia*.] From the manner, in which *Gesner* had expressed himself, no One but would judge, that *Tortellius* dedicated this Work to *Laurentius Valla*: These are *Gesner's* words: "*Joannes Tortellius, natione Aretinus, Laurentii Vallæ amicus, ad quem elegantiarum linguæ Latinæ sex libros perperisit. Nicolai postmodum pontificis contubernalis, & studiorum ejus intims comes* (6). — *Johannes Tortellius, of Arezzo, an intimate Friend of Laurentius Valla, to whom he dedicated Six Books, of the Elegancies of the Latin Tongue. He was afterwards Chamberlain and Confident of Nicolas V, and an intimate Companion of his Studies.*" Those Compilers, who, thro' an Ambition of writing a large Book in a short Time, or for any other Reason, never seek for the necessary Instruction beyond the Page in Sight, would easily commit Three gross Faults, if they applied their own Conjectures to this Text of *Gesner*. I. They would say, that *Tortellius* wrote six Books of the Elegancies of the Latin Tongue, and that he dedicated them to *Laurentius Valla*. II. That, afterwards, he became a Domestic of Pope *Nicolas V*, and his Oracle of Learning; and that the great Success of his Book procured him This Honour. III. That *Nicolas V* held the Chair in the Year 1420; for, since *Gesner* places the flourishing State of *Tortellius* in this time, and common Sense tells us, that this flourishing State must be referred to the time, when *Tortellius*, was

(5) Mr de la Monnoie, Remarques, manuscrit.

(6) Gesner Biblioth. fol. 458, ex Trithemio.

[B] His Knowledge of Grammar is shewn in his Book *De Potestate Literarum*.] "That, which *Volaterran* calls *Orthographia*; *Paul Jovius*, a Book *de potestate literarum*; *Gesner*, *Commentarii linguæ Latinæ*; and *Magius*, *Lexicon*; is but One and the same Volume of *Tortellius* in Two Parts: "The First of which, which is very short, contains

(1) Vossius de Musica, pag. 40.

(b) Magius, Miskel. lib. 2, cap. 14.

(1) Jovius, Elog. cap. 108, p. 251.

(2) Gesner. Biblioth. fol. 458.

(3) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 579.

(4) Volaterran. lib. 21, pag. 773.

Words of *Volaterran*, to whom he seems to refer us. *Volaterran* says nothing of this pretended Brotherhood [D].

Some very good Judges believe, that *Tortellius* was but moderately learned, even for the Age he lived in; but, as he was naturally officious, and held a considerable Post about the Pope's Person, the Wits of those Times gave him great Praises, which some of them retracted afterwards. *Philelphus* was of this Number [E]. I shall observe, in another Place (d), that *Tortellius* was Library-Keeper to *Nicholas V.*

(d) See, in one of the Remarks of the Article NICOLAS V., the Passage in the Letter of the 26th Book of *Philelphus*.

in Favour with *Nicholas V.* it follows, that, according to *Gesner*, This Pope sat in the Chair at the time I have said. The Truth is, that he was elected in 1447; and that *Tortellius* had been his Man of Learning, and his Chamberlain, before; when *Laurentius Valla* dedicated his *Elegantiae* to him. I cannot guess what Mr *Moreri* would be at, in this Article, with his indefinite Citation from *Valerius Andreas*. Why did he not consult *Vossius*, and *Paul Jovius*, who would have furnished him with a Cure for *Leanness*.

[D] *Volaterran* says nothing of this pretended Brotherhood. I have very good Reason to call it so; since *Tortellius*, speaking of *Charles* and *Leonard d'Arezzo*, styles them only his Countrymen.

* In the 4th Part of his Work, at the Chapter of the Greek T.

A doctissimis viris nostrae aetatis, & contreraneis meis *Leonardo & Carolo Arretinis* *. And, when he mentions *Charles*, he always styles him either *Carolus Arretinus contreraneus meus*, or *Carolus noster Arretinus* †. This was communicated to me by Mr *de la Monnoie*. Let us set down the Words of *Volaterran*, and Those of *Vossius*; and we shall see, whether the latter could build upon the former.

† In the second Part, which contains the Words in an Alphabetical Order.

"*Carolus & Joannes Arretini nobilia temporis illius ingenia, quorum alter scriba Florentinorum Leonardus successit; Alter Joannes, cognomento Tortellius, Romanæ Ecclesiæ subdiaconus, apud Eugenium quartum fuit* (7). ----- *Charles and*

(7) *Volaterran*. lib. 21, pag. 773.

"*John Arretin, celebrated Wits of That Time; the former of which succeeded Leonard, as Secretary at Florence; The latter, John, surnamed Tortellius, Sub-deacon of the Roman Church, was retained by Eugenius IV.*" *Vossius* expresses himself thus: "*Joannes Arretinus, cognomento Tortellius, Caroli Arretini, qui post Leonardum Arretinum scriba Florentinorum fuit, frater, Romanæ Ecclesiæ subdiaconus apud Eugenium IV. ----- præter græpde de orthographia volumen, etiam Athanasii vitam ----- confarcinavit, ut præter Jovium auctor est Volaterranus lib. XXI. Anthropol. ubi & hocce Arretinos fratres nobilita illius temporis ingenia appellat* (8). ----- *John Arretin, surnamed Tortellius,*

(8) *Vossius de Hist. Lat.* pag. 579.

(a) *Leon. Arretin. Histor. Rerum Italicar. See also Jovius, Elog. c. 23.*

(b) *Jovius, ibid. cap. 9.*

(c) *Leand. Albert. Descript. Ital.*

(1) *Jovius, Elog. cap. 9, pag. 27.*

(2) *Philelph. Convivior. lib. 1, & Epistol. ad eum scripta.*

(3) *Pogg. in Philelph. Invect. 2.*

(4) *Apud Philelph. Invect. 1, in Vallam.*

(5) *Flor. Sabinus advers. Calumn.*

(6) *Erasmi in Cicroniano.*

ARETIN (LEONARD), is more known by This Name, which was given him as he was a Native of *Arezzo*, than by That of *Brutus*, or *Bruni*, which was his Family Name. He was one of the most considerable Men of the XVth Century [A]. He learned Greek under *Emanuel Chrysolorus*, as he himself informs us (a); and, his Merit being made known to Pope *Innocent VII.*, he obtained of him, though very young, the Place of Secretary of the Briefs, of which he acquitted himself worthily under That Pontificate, and the four following (b). He was afterwards Secretary to the Republic of *Florence* (c), and raised a large Fortune (d), as well, because he always lived a single Life (e), as on account of his Extraordinary Economy. He translated some of *Plutarch's* Lives [B], and *Aristotle's* Ethics, from the Greek into Latin. He composed three Books of the *Punic War*, which may serve to supply some of those, which are wanting in *Livy* [C]. He composed also an *History of the Transactions*

[A] He was one of the most considerable Men of the XVth Century. Paul Jovius says, that *Leonard Aretin* was the first, who restored the Purity of the Greek Tongue in Italy (1). *Philelphus* allows him great Eloquence, and a great Depth of Genius and Learning (2). *Poggius* (3) and *Laurentius Valla* (4) have ranked him above all his Contemporaries in point of Eloquence and Learning; but *Floridus Sabinus* is more moderate in his Commendations of him, and gives us no advantageous Idea of his Latin (5); in which *Erasmus* seems to agree with him (6). *Aeneas Silvius* praises our *Aretin* highly in his Fifty first Letter, and informs us, that the *Florentines* had conferred his Office on *Poggius*. *Vossius* observes, that *Aeneas Silvius* and *Leander Albertus* differ in this; the latter saying, in his Description of Italy, that *Charles Aretin* succeeded *Leonard* in the Post of Secretary to the Republic of *Florence*. See, above,

"*Brother of Charles Aretin, who succeeded Leonard as Secretary at Florence, Subdeacon of the Roman Church, and Domestic of Eugenius IV. ----- besides a large Volume de Orthographia ----- wrote the Life of Athanasius; as, besides Jovius, Volaterran informs us, lib. 21. Anthropol. where he calls the Brothers, Arretins, Celebrated Wits of That Time.*" If they had contented themselves with saying, they were Relations, they might have some ground for it in these Words of *Philelphus*, "*Putabam Carolum Arretinum redisse mecum in gratiam. Ita enim Joannes Arretinus ejus NECESSARIUS tuis verbis mihi renunciavit* (9). ----- *I thought that Charles Arretin had been reconciled to me; for so John Arretin, his Relation, informed me from you.*" For though *necessarius* be sometimes taken for an intimate Friend, yet *Philelphus*, and most of the Writers of those times, never used it but in the Sense of a Relation by Blood, or allied by Marriage. I am indebted for this Observation to Mr *de la Monnoie*.

(9) *Philelph. Epist. lib. 9.*

[E] *Philelphus* was of the Number of Those, who retracted the Praises, they had bestowed on J. Aretin. I shall cite, in the Article NICOLAS V., a Letter of *Philelphus*, dated the first of August 1465, in which he greatly commends *Tortellius* for his Skill in Greek and Latin. But see what the same *Philelphus* wrote, the twenty ninth of May, 1473. "*Video quosdam nostræ tempestatis homines, qui cum magnum de se quiddam voluerunt in arte grammatica proficere, in maximis errores devenerunt. E quorum numero principatum mihi tenere visus est Joannes Tortellius Aretinus, qui cum & Græcam & Latinam litteraturam novisse videri vult, atqueque ignoravisse aperitissime declarat* (10). ----- *I know several Persons of our Age, who, pretending to great Skill in Grammar, have fallen into the greatest Errors. Among These John Tortellius Arretinus claims the first place; who, at the same time that he would seem to be versed both in the Greek and Latin Literature, plainly discovers his Ignorance of both.*"

(10) Mr de la Monnoie supplies me with this.

(d) *Jovius, ubi supra.*

(c) *Volaterran. lib. 21, pag. 772.*

the Article (CHARLES) ARETIN (7), where we prove, from *Aeneas Silvius* himself, that *Leander Albertus* is in the right.

[B] He translated some of *Plutarch's* Lives. To wit, That of *Paulus Emilius*, That of the two *Gracchi*, of *Pyrrhus*, of *Sertorius*, of *Demosthenes*, of *Marc Antony*, and That of *Cato Uticensis* (8). The Printers have been guilty of a strange Mistake in *Moreri's* Dictionary, in putting (*vers de Plutarque*) *Plutarch's Verses*, instead of (*vies de Plutarque*) *Plutarch's Lives*.

(8) *Gesner, in Bibl.*

[C] He composed three Books of the *Punic War*; which may serve to supply ----- *Livy*. The two first of these three Books treat of the first *Punic War*, which is wanting in *Livy*. The third treats of the Confusions, into which the *Carthaginians* fell by the Mutiny of the Soldiers, and Revolt of the People; as also of the War against the *Gauls*, and against

given him; the fame, with which all Antiquity has honoured the great Merit of *Plato*; to wit, That of *Divine*; *il Divino Arefino* [B]: He has been stiled on Medals, *Divus Petrus Aretinus* (a). Some have thought, that he gave himself this Title, to signify, that he performed the Office of a God upon Earth, by the Thunderbolts, which he darted at the most eminent Heads [C]. He boasted, that his Libels were of more Benefit to the World, than Sermons [D]. He was complimented, in Letters, with having subjected more Princes by his Pen, than the greatest Kings had ever subdued by their Arms [E]; and was exhorted to persevere in this kind of Writing, to the end, that Monarchs might learn to amend [F]. Our Age has produced as bold and virulent Satirists, as *Areto* could be; and yet I believe none of them ever settled Contributions in an Enemy's Country. Some misinformed Writers make *Areto* pass for the Author of the Book *De Tribus Impostoribus*.

(a) Spizellus Scrutator Atheismi, pag. 19. affirmes to have seen some of them.

(3) See the *Thoughts on Comets*, n. 162, &c.

THE Judgment of *Montagne* on *Areto*.

(4) *Montagne's Essays*, lib. 1. chap. 57. towards the end.

(5) *Jacobus Gaddius de Scripioribus non Ecclesiasticis*, Tom. 1. pag. 13. apud *Spizellum*, in *Felice Literato*, pag. 112.

(6) It is in a Collection, published in 1538, at Venice, attributed to *Domino Giglio*, in 8vo, at the 22th Page of the first Book.

should not abstain from, if we had no other Fear upon us, but That of the Divine Vengeance (3).

[B] He had a very glorious Appellation, viz. --- That of Divine; *il divino Areto*.] It will not be amiss to see *Montagne's* Opinion of this Elogy: "*Plato*, says he (4), had the Surname of Divine by general Consent, and no one envied him; and the *Italians*, who boast, with Reason, of having generally a more refined Wit, and better Expression, than other Nations, bestow it on *Areto*, in whom I see nothing beyond the common Authors of his Age, except a manner of uttering lofty, frothy, Bombast, or Jest, which are ingenious indeed, but far-fetched and whimsical; so far is he from approaching That ancient Divinity."

[C] He gave himself this Title, to signify, that he performed the Office of a God upon Earth, &c.] I have met with this Thought in an Italian Author, quoted by a German. "Cur vero sibi arrogaverit aliorum consensu divinitatem, nescio, nisi forte DEI munus exercuisse dicendus sit, cum summa capita velut cellulosos montes fulminaverit, lingua corrigens & mulians quæ ab aliis castigari nequeunt (5). --- Why, with the Consent of others, he arrogated this Title to himself, I know not, unless, perhaps, he may be said to have exercised the Function of a GOD, in darting his Thunder on the biggest Heads, as on the loftiest Mountains, correcting and punishing those Faults with his Tongue, which others cannot chastise."

[D] He boasted, that his Libels were of more Benefit to the World than Sermons.] He says, in his Epistle dedicatory to the second Part of his *Ragionamenti*, that "if he does not merit Esteem on the Score of his Inventions, yet ought he to receive some Honour for the Service he had done to Truth, in conveying it into the Chambers and Ears of great Persons, to the Confusion of Flattery and Falshood." He takes notice of what one of *Duke Urbino's* Ambassadors had said, That "if the Ministers of Princes and Courtiers were rewarded for their Services, they were obliged for it to the Pen of *Peter Areto*." He adds, what another had said; "*Areto* is more useful to human Life, than Sermons; because Sermons instruct only the Ignorant; but his Writings reform great Men." These are his Words in *Italian*. "Quando io non fossi degno di honor veruno, merce de le inventioni con le quali do l'anima à lo stile, merito pur qualche poco di gloria per havere spinto la verità ne le camere, e ne le orecchie de Potenti ad onta de l'adulatione, e de la menzogna: e per non disfraudere il mio grado, ufero le parole stesse del Singulare *M. Gianciopo*, Ambasciadore d'*Urbino*: noi che spendiamo il tempo ne servigi de Principi insieme con ogni huomo di Corte, e non ciascun virtuoso, siamo riguardati, e riconosciuti da nostri padroni, bonta de galfighi che gli ha dati la penna di *Pietro*. E lo fa *Milano*, come cadde de la sacra bocca di colui, che in pochi mesi mi ha arricchito di due Coppe d'oro: l'*Areto* è più necessario a la vita humana, che le predicationi, è che sia il vero esse pongono in su le dritte strade le persone semplici, & i suoi scritti le signorilli, & il mio non è vanto, ma un modo di procedere per sostenere se medesimo osservato da *Enea*, dove non era conosciuto."

[E] He was complimented, in Letters, with having subjected more Princes by his Pen, than the Greatest Kings had subdued by their Arms.] This I have read in a Letter, written to him by *Baptista Tornielli* (6).

He tells him, that he merits the Titles *Germanicus*, *Pannonicus*, &c. as formerly the Emperors took the Names of the Provinces, over which they had triumph'd. "Non sapete voi, che con la penna vostra in mano avete soggiogato piu Principi, ch'ogni altro potentissimo Principe con l'arme? La penna vostra à qual non mette terrore, à quale non è formidabile, à chi anche non grata, à chi non cara, ove si mostra amica? La penna vostra si può dir, che v'ha fatto trionfator quasi di tutti i Principi del mondo; che quasi tutti vi sono tributarii, & come infudati. Meriterebbe esser chiamato Germanico, Pannonico, Gallico, Hispanico, & finalmente insignito di quei titoli, quali si davano à gli antichi Imperadori Romani, secondo le provincie per loro soggiogate: che se quelli soggiogavano le provincie per forza d'arme, & per esser piu di loro potenti, non era gran meraviglia; maggior meraviglia, aliai è, che un privato, inerme, haggio soggiogato infiniti potenti: che l'un potente l'altro, non è meraviglia. --- Are you not sensible, that, with Pen in hand, you have subdued more Princes, than ever the most powerful Monarch did by force of Arms? To whom is it not your Pen a Terror? To whom is it not formidable? and who is not pleased with it, when it has the Appearance of a Friend? With your Pen you have, as it were, triumph'd over all the Princes in the World; who are almost all tributary, and as it were feudatory, to you. You merit the Titles of *Germanicus*, *Pannonicus*, *Gallicus*, *Hispanicus*; Lastly, all the Titles given to the ancient Roman Emperors, according to the Provinces they had conquer'd; for that These should subdue Provinces by force of Arms, and superior Power, is no wonder; it is much more surprizing, that a private, unarm'd, Man should conquer numbers of powerful Men."

[F] He was exhorted to persevere in this kind of Writing, to the end, that Monarchs might learn to amend.] The Marquis del *Guasto* sent him this Exhortation, in a Letter, which he wrote to him with his own Hand (7). He desired no Exemption for himself; but that his Faults might be censured by *Areto*; and exhorted him to do it. It is probable he was pretty sure, he should not be taken at his Word. *Areto* did not confound his Friends with his Enemies; he only exercised his Satire upon those, who neglected to buy it off. "Seguete dico col solito, says the Marquis, e se in me vostro amico alcuna cosa men che laudabile conoscete; ricordatevi di non lasciar di riprenderla: accioche fatto accorto dell' error, come desidero, lo fugga, e divenga migliore. Seguite lo stil vostro, che di nuovo ve ne prego: accioche, se i defecti con verità faranno in altri trovati, si vergognino, & & vergognandosi, & mendandosi fuggano dal vizio alla virtù. Onde i rei divenuti buoni, abbracciati con essa virtù, si confermino nel bene. Del che quanto in cio l'humana Repub. si avvanzi; lo giudichino quelli, che lo fanno meglio intendere, ch'io nol lo esprimere. --- Follow, I say, your usual manner; and, if you see any thing faulty even in me your Friend, forget not to reprove me for it, that I may profit by your Admonitions, and become better. Persevere in Satire, I once more entreat you; that others may blush at their Imperfections, and, by blushing, and growing better, may fly from Vice to Virtue; and, being once reformed, may be confirm'd in Good. What Advantages human Society will from hence receive, let those judge, who understand it better, than I am able to express it."

(7) It is at the 44th Page of the second Book of the same Collection.

bus [G]. I cannot believe, that the Epitaph, mentioned by *Moreri*, was engraved on his Tomb [H], in *St Luke's Church*, at *Venice*. The Author of this Epitaph, no

[G] *Some misinformed Writers make Aretin pass for the Author of the Book De tribus Impostoribus.*

We shall, perhaps, have occasion to examine this Matter more fully, in another Place, and to make it appear, that it is very improbable there ever was such a Book. The Abbot *Nicaifus*, one of the worthiest Persons of this Age (8), who is acquainted with all the most learned Men in *Europe*, among whom he holds a very considerable Rank, was so kind as to send me, last Year (9), a very curious Dissertation of Mr de la Monnoie, his Countryman (10), on the Book *De tribus Impostoribus* *. It is full of very curious Observations, and deserves exceedingly to be printed. Mr de Beauval has lately given a small Extract from it (11). The Author shews, by very strong Reasons, that This Book is a meer Chimera. *Grotius* believ'd, but perhaps without Reason, that This very Book had been taken notice of, before *Aretin* was born. He says, that the Enemies of *Frederic Barbarossa* accused him of having composed this Book (12). He should have said, that *Frederic II* was accused of having said, that the World had been deceived by Three Impostors (13). The good Father *Mersennus* pretends, that one of his Friends, who had read the Book in question, had discovered in it the Stile of *Peter Aretin* (14). Meer Cant! Yet one would hardly imagine how much this Notion of Father *Mersennus* has been propagated.

[H] *I cannot believe, that the Epitaph, mentioned by Mr Moreri, was engraved on his Tomb.* He does not say positively and precisely, that this Epitaph was engraved on the Tomb of *Peter Aretin*, in *St Luke's Church*; but every one must suppose, that this is what he meant; for he expresses himself after this manner: "He died at *Venice*, where he is buried in *St Luke's Church*. This is his Epitaph."

Condit Aretini cineres lapis iste sepultos,

Mortales atro qui fale perfricuit.

Intactus Deus est illi, causamque rogatus

Hanc dedit, ille, inquit, non mihi notus erat (15).

Here Aretin enterr'd doth lie,

Whose Satire las'd both High, and Low:

His God alone it spared; and why?

His God, he said, he did not know.

"It is more ingenious in the Italian:

Qui giace l' Aretin Poëta Tosco,

Che d' ognun disse malo che (16) di Dio,

Scufandosi col dir' io no'l conosco.

There is nothing in the Thread of *Moreri's* Narrative, which gives the least Intimation, that these four Verses are not the very Inscription on *Aretin's* Tomb. It is imposing on every Reader, who has not the Ability to rectify a Mistake by his own Reflexions. It is particularly laying a Snare for Protestants, who, unless they believe with caution, will be apt to infer, that there is no Object so scandalous, which the *Italians* do not admit in their Churches. Several, then, amongst them, might easily believe, on Mr *Moreri's* Word, that the Patriarch of *Venice* not only suffered an Atheist to be buried in Consecrated Ground; but also, that the Epitaph of This Atheist was exposed, in the Church, to the View of all the World, in four Verses, which turn the matter into a Jest. For my own part, I cannot believe, that the Corruption and Negligence of the Clergy was ever at such an height, as to suffer Sepulchral Inscriptions of this kind in a Church. I am of Opinion, then, that the Four Verses produced by Mr *Moreri*, are one of Those Satirical Banterers, made on the Death of certain Persons, under the Title and Form of an Epitaph. How many of this kind were made on the Cardinals of *Richieu*, and *Mazarine*? They, who write the Elegies of Illustrious Men, and who, after the Example of *Paul Jovius*, take a pleasure in relating their Epitaphs, ought always to explain, whether they are Verses actually engraved on their Tombs, or only meer Sallices of Wit. If this Precaution

had been used with regard to *Aretin*, we should not at present read in the *Theatrum of Paul Freberus*, and the *Felix Literatus of Spizelius* (17), (17) *At the* that the four Verses in Question are inscrib'd on the Tomb of this Personage at *Venice* (18). A Divine of *Utrecht* affirms (19), that the Epitaph of *Peter Aretin*, inserted in the *Elogies of Paul Jovius*, and That, which *Pazzi* has reported; testify, that he was a grand Apostle of Atheism; "*Aretini epitaphium apud Jo-*" vium in *Elogiis virorum doctorum*, *says he, & al-* " *terum apud Guizeppe Pazzi, indicat qualis & quan-* " *tus Atheismi præco fuerit: scienim Pazzi in lib.* " *cui tit. Continuazione della monstruosa farina,* " *Venetii 1609. Qui giace l' Aretini poeta Tos-* " *ca (20), Che disse mal d'ogn'un fuor che di Dio;* " *ma si scuso dicendo, no'l (21) conosco. Aliter* " *sic. Qui giace estinto quell' amaro Tosco Ch'ogn'* " *huom vivendo col mal dir trafficasse. Vero e che* " *mal di Dio giamai non disse, Che si scuso dicen-* " *do io no'l conosco". Upon this let me observe,* first, that *Paul Jovius* does not mention the Epitaph of *Peter Aretin*. How should He, since he died before him? He mentions That of *Leonard Aretin*, but it contains nothing which in the least reflects on the Faith of the Deceased; it has nothing to do with Religion. In the second Place, there is no depending on the Two *Italian* Epitaphs; for they were wrote without Approbation, and were never engraved on the Tomb. They were Sallices of Wit of some Satirical Poet. *Spizelius* has copied the whole Passage of *Voëtius*, almost Word for Word, without citing it (22). Note, that *Lorenzo Crasso* (23) insinuates yet more clearly, than *Moreri*, that the Four *Latin* Verses are inscribed on the Tomb of This Atheist, in *St Luke's Church*.

Let me here set down a considerable Supplement (24) *At the* " (24). It is a Custom, among the Catholics, to affix 38th Page of " to some Pillar, or other Place, near the Tomb of the Deceased, especially if a Person of Reputation, the 1st Tom. " Funeral Inscriptions, written on Paper. The " Truth is, these Inscriptions are, and always ought " to be, in Honour of the Deceased. But, *Aretin* " having been a noted Libertine, it is very possible, " that some Jester convey'd the Epitaph, mentioned " by Mr *Moreri*, and many others, into *St Luke's* " Church, at the Time of, or after, the Funeral. " Thus the Words of *Ghilini* must be understood, " who has himself likewise explain'd them clearly " enough to the same Effect; when, after having " said; e sopra il suo sepulchro fu posto questo Epita- " fion: Condit Aretini cineres, &c. — Over his " Tomb was hung up This Epitaph, Condit Aretini " cineres, &c. he immediately adds; sù parimente " appeso alla sua tomba quest' altro, quasi tradotto " d'al fuddetto, che va attorno nella bocca fino delle " persone idiote, Qui giace l' Aretin, &c. — This " other was hung up likewise at his Tomb, translated " as it were from the foregoing, which is That which " is most commonly repeated; Qui giace l' Aretin, &c. " The *Italian* Epitaph, as *Ghilini* delivers it, is much " correcter, than That in *le Pazzi, Voëtius*, or " *Moreri*; and I cannot comprehend this latter, " when he says, that it is more ingenious, than the " *Latin*. Both He, and *Ghilini*, seem to me to be " mistaken, in taking the *Italian* for a Transcript " of the *Latin*. The contrary, in my Opinion, is " the Truth; and what inclines me to believe so, " is, because the *Italian* is to be found in the *New* " *Recreations*, printed at *Paris*, in 1572, in 16mo " *, under the Name of *Bonaventure de Periers*, and " the *Latin* is not to be met with in any Book so " Ancient — There are Faults in the *Italian* Epi- " taph of *Aretin*, produced by *Moreri* and *Voëtius* " us — The most correct is That, which you read, " in these Terms, in *Ghilini*:

Qui giace l' Aretin amaro tofco

Del sem' human, la cui lingua trafficasse

Et vivi, & morti: d' Iddio mal non disse,

Et si scuso, col dir, io no'l conosco.

This is so far from weakening my Criticism on *Moreri*, that it rather confirms it.

(18) *Venetii sepulchri jacet cum hoc Epitaphio, condit Aretini, &c. Paulus Frsch. in Theatr. pag. 1461.*

(19) *Voët. Disput. Tom. 1, pag. 206.*

(20) *It should be Tosco.*

(21) *It should be io no'l.*

(22) *Spizel. Scrutinium Atheismi, pag. 18.*

(23) *At the 38th Page of the 1st Tom. of his Elogies.*

(24) *Mr de la Monnoie, Remarques MSS.*

* I cite this Edition, because, in the first, which is of Lyons, in 8vo, by Robert Granjon, 1588, *Aretin's* Epitaph is not recorded.

(8) See the *Elogy* given him in the *Menagiana*, Tom. 2, pag. 68, Edition of *Paris*.

(9) That is, the Year 1693.

(10) They are of *Dijon*.

* [It was printed in 1715, at the end of the fourth Tom. of the *Menagiana*. Edit. of *Paris*.]

(11) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, mois de *Fevrier*, 1664, pag. 278, 279. He transcribes the *Elogy*, given in the *Menagiana*, to Mr de la Monnoie.

(12) *Grot. Append. ad Comment. de Antichristo*, p. 133.

(13) See *Deckherus*, de *Scriptis Adelphotis*, pag. 374. Edit. 1686.

(14) *Mersennus* in *Genesim*, pag. 1830.

(15) *Voët. Disput. Vol. 1, pag. 206, & Spizelius, Atheismi Scrutinio*, pag. 18.

(16) He should have said mal fuor che.

no doubt, exceeded his Commission. If there was reason to think, that *Aretin* did not love God, there was none to say, that he did not know him; his Works of Piety plainly testify the contrary [1]. I do not believe, that any one Tenet of Atheism is

(25) *At*
Page 120.

In the Conversations, which I had, in the Year 1696, with Father *Coronelli*, who accompanied the Ambassador of the Republic of *Venice* to *England*, I ask'd him what he thought of *Aretin's* Epitaph. He answered, that he did not believe it was such as *Moreri* gives it; and promis'd me to make enquiry. He wrote to me from *Venice*, the 2d of *November* of the same Year, that it was very true, that *Aretin* was buried in *St Luke's Church*, but that he could not, as yet, discover any thing concerning the Epitaph. He sent me a Passage, taken out of the (25) *Venetia descritta dal Sanjovino, coll' addizioni del Martiniemi*; which, after informing us, that *Aretin* was interr'd in That Church, says, that he lost all his Reputation after Death, and would have been buried in Oblivion, had not *Ariosto* undeservedly perpetuated his Memory, by crying out in his *Orlando Furioso*; Behold the Scourge of Princes, the divine Peter Aretin! "Vi dorme parimente in un deposito posto in aria quel Pietro Aretino, il quale fu cognominato flagello de' Principi, per la licentiosa presunzione della sua mordacissima penna, & il quale morendo perde del tutto il nome: pioche essendo ignaro di lettere, e operando per forza di natura ne' suoi capricci, hebbe dopo morte il meritato premio della sua petulantia: conciosia che essendo le cosse sue reputate dalla Chiesa poco Cristiane, furono vietate del tutto a Lettori, e si farebbe affatto a cancellata la memoria, se l' *Ariosto* burlandosi del titolo ch' egli si aveva preso indebitamente, non haveffe detto nel *Furioso*;

Ecco il flagello

De Principi, il divin Pietro Aretino.

(26) *Misson*,
Nouveau
Voilage d'
Ital. Tom.
1. pag. 181.
Edition of the
Hague,
1638.

(27) *Bibl.*
Librorum
Novorum,
Tom. 3, pag.
630.

(28) *Freherus*, ubi
supra. *Ghiliini* says the
same, at the
102d Page of
the first Part
of his *Theatre*.

Observe, pray, these Words of Mr *Misson*: "I can scarce believe, what some have affirm'd to me, that the severe Epigram, made upon *Aretin*, is turn'd into an Epitaph. However, I will, at a venture, set down the Copy, which was given me of it (26)". It is pity he could never find *St Luke's Church* open; he went several times thither on purpose to see *Aretin's* Tomb. If he had seen it, he might easily have decided the Dispute. The Journalists of *Utrecht*, speaking of his Travels, mention the Four Verses, *Condit Aretini cineres*, &c. and declare, that they are engraven on the Tomb of This Satirist. *Cajus sepulchro sequentes versus inscripti esse dicuntur* (27). Once more I believe nothing of it.

[1] His Works of Piety plainly testify the contrary.] *Paul Freherus* relates, that certain Italian Princes, bad Imitators of the Emperor and King of France, who brib'd *Aretin* with Presents not to attack them, caus'd an hundred Strokes of a Cudgel to be given him, and that This Punishment had such an Effect, that the Author renounc'd all Defamatory Satires and Libels, and wrote nothing afterwards but pious Books. "Quidam principes Italie minus sibi convenire existimantes donis eum afficere, sustibus ad mortem usque cadere per alios curarunt, & hoc modum linguam ejus maledicam refrenarunt, qui deinceps a scriptis satiricis abstinens sacra scripsit, non sicut prius per Inquisitionem prohibita (28)". So that he was, with some little difference, in the case of those, whom *Horace* mentions in the First Epistle of the Second Book; ver. 154.

— vertere modum formidine fustis
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti.

*Fear made them civil, and design to write
With Modesty; speak well, and to delight.*

CREECH.

I shall mention but Two Circumstances, in which the Cases differ. The first is, that he did not come off with Fear alone; the Cudgel effectually play'd upon his poor Shoulders. The second is, that he

did not greatly entertain the World by changing his Style; He was got out of his Element. Wit distinguishes itself very little, when applied, late, in writing Books of Devotion. This I say, agreeably to the Hypothesis of the *Sieur Freber*, which I shall examine hereafter. But the best of it is, that, in the Opinion of several Persons, the Books he wrote of this kind favour of a true Convert. It is no Secret, what a thorough Conversion That of the famous *Aretin* was; every thing in him was changed, even to his very Name; and some pretend, that he succeeded so happily, that it is almost impossible to discover, in the Books of *Partenio Eitro* (29), the least Marks of the old Man, which are so strongly imprinted in the Works of *Pietro Aretino* (30). We find, in the Conversations of Mr *Ménage*, a Particular, which deserves a Place here. "Aretin wrote Books of Devotion, which gave occasion to a Saying concerning him, *Ubi bene, nemo melius; ubi male, nemo pejus* — Where well, no one, better; where ill, no one worse". The following Epigram was wrote on the Paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms, by *Peter Aretin*.

Si ce livre unit le destin
De David & de l'Aretin
Dans leur merveilleuse science,
Lecteur, n'en fois pas empêche,
Qui paraphrase le peche,
Paraphrase la penitence (31).

*Start not, that here unite in every Line,
The Fate of David, and of Aretin;
He, who before had paraphrased his Sins,
To paraphrase his Penitence begins.*

Note, that, in the second Edition of the *Menagiana*, they have omitted the *ubi bene, nemo melius*, and have said, that, in Works of Devotion, the Style of *Aretin* is insufferable; and that nothing can be more mean, than his *Lives* of *Christ*, the *Virgin*, *St Thomas Aquinas*; his *Genesis*, and *Paraphrase* on the Psalms; whether we consider the Thoughts, or the Expression. It appears from the Passage of *Freherus*, which I have cited, that the Books of Libertinism, and Those of Devotion, were composed by *Aretin* at different Seasons of his Life; the first before his Conversion, the last after. Mr *Moreri* says, he wrote his pious Works towards the latter end of his Days: I question this much; for he says himself, in his Epistle dedicatory of the second Part of his *Ragionamenti*, that he endeavoured chiefly to write quick, and from his own Stock; and, to prove the Fertility and Quickness of his Pen, he sets forth the Titles of several Works, some on Subjects of Devotion, and others on Matters of Gaiety, which he had composed in a very short time; as His Psalms; His History of *Christ*; His Comedies; His Dialogue; all which were wrote, as it were, in a Day, with a view of proving the Strength of his own Genius. "Tutto e ciancia, eccetto il far tosto, e del suo. Eccovi la i Salmi, eccovi la historia di *Christo*, eccovi le Comedie, eccovi il Dialogo, eccovi i volumi divoti & allegri, secondo i soggetti, & ho partorito ogni opera ubasi in un di, e per che si forniva di vedere cio che sa far la dote, che si ha ne le false, tosto udiansi i furori de l'armi e le passioni d'amore, che io doverei lasciar di cantare per descriveri i gesti di quel *Carlo Augusto*." His Paraphrase on the Penitential Psalms was translated into French, and printed at Lyons, in 1540. His Paraphrase on *Genesis*, with the Vision, in which *Noah* discovered the Mysteries of the Old and New Testament, was printed at Lyons in the Year 1540, translated from the Italian (32). Who dares pretend, that This Author had, then, renounced his Sins, and his Libels? However it be, these are the Titles of some of his Works of Devotion. "Specchio delle opere

(29) He prefixed this Anagram of his Name to his Books of Devotion.

(30) *Baillet-Lugem*, sur les Poetes, Tom. 1, pag. 133.

(31) *Menagiana*, pag. 26.

(32) *Bibli.* o. h. de da *Verdier*.

is to be found in his Writings; but, since many of his Libels severely lashed the Disorders of the Clergy, and described, in an impious and libertine Stile, the many Vices imputed to a Monastic Life, no wonder he is made to pass for an Atheist. Add to this, that a Man, who had any Respect for Religion and good Manners, would never have published Dialogues on such Subjects, as *Aretin* made choice of, nor express them in Language so obscene. It is easy to see, that I mean his *Ragionamenti* [K]. They were printed in his Life-time; but it is difficult to discover the

opere di Dio. ---- Parafrafi sopra i sette Salmi. ---- Vita della beata Vergine. ---- Humanita del figliuolo di Dio. ---- Vita di Santo Tomaso d'Aquino. ---- Vita di Santa Catarina Vergine & Martire (33). ---- *A Mirror of the Works of God. ---- A Paraphrase on the seven Psalms. ---- The Life of the Blessed Virgin. ---- The Human Nature of the Son of God. ---- The Life of St Thomas Aquinas. ---- The Life of St Catharine, Virgin and Martyr.*

(31) Fischer. Theatr. Viror. I. lustr. ex Theatro Ghilini.

(34) Mr de la Monnoie, Rem. MSS.

The following is a full Confirmation of what I here advance (34). "*Aretin* composed his Works "of Piety, to exercise his Imagination and to shew, "that he was capable of any Thing; to appease "likewise the Devotees, who were exasperated a- "gainst him, and to reap the Liberality of some "great Ladies, to whom he sent Copies of this "kind of Books. He was not a whit the sorer "Man for this; since, after having published his "Paraphrase on the seven *Psalms*, and his *Humanita di Christo*, in 1535. he bethought himself, at the "end of 1537, of dedicating Those Infamous Po- "stures, which have been so much spoken of, to "*Baptista Zatti*, of *Bressa*, a Roman Citizen, with "a Sonnet at the bottom of each, no less obscene, "as *M. Felibien* observes, than the Posture repre- "sented. The Epistle dedicatory to This *Baptista Zatti* is in the first Volume of *Aretin's* Letters. "It appears also, by the Description, which This "Author gives of his own Manners, in the Two "hundred and ninetieth Letter of the fourth Vo- "lume, dated in December 1547, that, though he "was, then, in the Fifty seventh Year of his Age, "he led a Life no less licentious, than he had ever "done. The Passage, in which he mentions the In- "terruption he was obliged to suffer in writing "This Letter, has something in it very singular (35). "----- We may appeal likewise to the Four "hundred and thirty ninth Letter of the same Vo- "lume, where it appears, that he made open Pro- "fession of a Morality far from scrupulous."

* This is pro- vided from his saying, in a Letter to P. Jovius, in May, 1545, that he was then 47 Years of Age.

(35) It is com- mitted, as being too long.

It is, therefore, a Mistake to pretend, that he composed his pious Works, after he had, by a serious Repentance, renounced his licentious Courses. He composed Works of Piety, and of Libertinism, by turns; being always a debauched Liver, and sunk in Corruption; and if, with regard to Men, he did less Mischief, whilst he exercised his Wit on pious Subjects, than when he employed it on lewd; yet was he more criminal in the Sight of God, on Account of the former Compositions, than the latter. It did not belong to so prophane a Wretch to treat of things sacred. He did them more Injury, by explaining them, with a depraved Heart, and from bad Motives, than if he had openly insulted them. We may apply to him That thundering Censure, contained in these Words of the *Psalms*.

But to the Wicked thus saith God,
How dar'st thou teach my Laws abroad,

Or in thy Mouth my Cov'nant take?

For stubborn thou, confirm'd in Sin,

Hast Proof against Instruction been,

And of my Word didst lightly speak.

When thou a subtle Thief didst see,

Thou gladly didst with him agree,

And with Adulterers didst partake.

Vile Slander is thy chief Delight,

Thy Tongue, by Envy mov'd and Spight,

Deceitful Tales does hourly spread:

Thou dost with hateful Scandals wound

Thy Brother, and with Lyes confound

The Offspring of thy Mother's Bed.

These things didst thou, whom still I prove

To gain with Silence and with Love;

VOL. I.

Till thou didst wickedly surmise,
That I was such a one as thou;
But I'll reprove and shame thee now,
And set thy Sins before thine Eyes (36).

(36) Psalm 50th, Brady's Version. [BAYLE makes use of That of Marrot.]

I confess, the Generality of Men are not offended at Works of Devotion, composed by Indevout and Prophan Writers; but Persons of nice and delicate Taste are more scandalized at them, than at Pieces, in which such Authors deliver their genuine Thoughts. *Choose one side; would such Persons say; be one thing, or other; give not the Printer a Work of Piety to Day, and to morrow a Bawdy Book; we cannot bear such a Face; since you persist in evil Courses, we had rather you would always appear in your proper Colours.*

— quanto constantior idem

In vitis, tanto levius miser, ac prior ille

Qui jam contento, jam laxo fune laborat (37).

(37) Horat. Sat. 7. lib. 2. ver. 18.

He that is constant in his vicious Race,
Runs the same Course, and keeps an equal Pace,
Is certainly not half so great a Wretch,
As he, who now rides loose, and now on stretch.

CREECH.

It were to be wished, that no one would presume to write Books of Devotion, without being persuaded of what he says, and without practising it; for to People of Thought and Reflexion it is matter of Scandal to see such Contradiction between the Thoughts and Words, and much more between the Actions and Writings, of such Authors.

[K] *I mean his Ragionamenti*.*] They are divided into Three Parts; the last of them, which treats of the Court, and Card-playing, is much more tolerable, than the others. The first treats of the disorderly Practices of Nuns, married Women, and Misses. It is sufficient to say, in general, that the Second is the Spirit and History of *Whoredom*. How abominable forever these Dialogues are, yet are they much less so, than the Book generally ascribed to him, *de omnibus Veneris Schematibus*.

* DIA- LOGUES.

The following Remark was communicated to me (38): "This Book (*De omnibus Veneris Schematibus*) which is here ascribed to *Aretin*, and which many perhaps believe to have been composed by him in the Latin Tongue, because, out of Modesty, you give it a Latin Title, is only a Collection, containing Sixteen lewd Figures, engrav'd by the Famous *Marc Anthony* of Bologna, after the Designs of *Julio Romano*, with a Sonnet of *Aretin's* at the bottom of each. He mentions them, in a Letter of the Twenty ninth of November 1527, in which he writes to *Signor Caesar Fregosa*, that he sends him "*il libro de i Sonetti e de le Figure lussuriose. — The Book of Sonnets, and Wanton Figures. Le Vassari,*" and *M. Felibien* after him, have said, that these Figures and Sonnets were Twenty in number. But *Aretin* himself, in his Dedication of them, in 1537, to *Baptista Zatti*, before-mentioned, makes them but Sixteen. There is a Dialogue between *Magdalen*, and *Julia*; the Title of which is, *la Putana errante; — The Whore-errant*; wherein he treats at length, *de i diversi congiungimenti — Of the different Ways of C - p - l - t - n*, to the number of Thirty five. This is to surpass four fold the ancient Debauchery;

(38) By Mr de la Monnoie.

† Usually called *Aretin's* Figures.

Quales nec Didymæ || sciunt puellæ,
Nec molles Elephantidos libelli, —
Sunt illic Veneris novem || figuræ.

|| Others read Didymi.

† Others read Novæ.

Such Lines, as Harlots never read,
Nor Elephantis could indite;

S S

Nine

the Year of their first Impression [L]. We have Six Volumes of his *Letters*, which are

*Nine Postures: Venus there assumes,
To vary the obscene Delight.*

" Though the Work has always been printed under *Arctin's* Name; yet he disowns it; and says it is the Work of One of his Scholars, called *le Veniero*. This he tells us, in his *Capitolo*, addressed to the Duke of Mantua; in which he assures him, that his Pupil greatly exceeds him in Obscenity.

Ma perch' io sento il presente all' odore,
Un' operetta in quel cambio galante.
Vi mando hora in fililadro traditore
Intitolata la Putana errante.
Dal Veniero composta mio creato,
Che me in dir mal quattro giornate inante.

I add to this a fine Passage of Mr *Chevillier*: " It was about the Year 1525, that *Julio Romano*, the most Famous Painter of Italy, infligated by the Enemy of our Salvation, invented Designs, to be engraved on Copper-Plates. The Subjects of them are so lewd, that they are not so much as to be named. *Peter Arctin*, a notoriously infamous Writer, and known in the World for a Profligate and an Atheist, composed Sonnets for each Design. *George Vasari*, who relates this, in his Book of the Lives of the Painters, says, he knows not which would be most immodest, to cast one's Eyes on the Designs of *Julio*, or to read the Sonnets of *Arctin*. *Io non fo qual fusse piu o brutto le spettacolo de i Desegni di Giulio all' occhio, o le parole dell' Arctino a gl' orecchi*. 3. Part. pa. 302. An Engraver, whose Name was *Marc Anthony*, ventured to employ his Tool in engraving these infamous Designs on Twenty Copper-Plates. Pope *Clement VII* threw him into Prison; but the Cardinal de *Medicis* saved his Life. And, as great as *Julio's* Fame was in Painting, he would have been very severely punished, if he had not escaped to *Mantua*. It happened in the Year 1527, that *Rome* was plundered by the Army of *Charles V*. It was this Engraver's Fortune to lose all his Estate, and be obliged to leave the Town; soon after which he died. Mr *Chevillier* adds, that Mr *Jollain*, a Merchant in *St James's* street in *Paris*, being informed where some of these infamous Plates lay, which contained these abominable Designs of *Julio*, and the lewd Sonnets of *Arctin*, went thither, and bought them for an hundred Crowns, with a Design to destroy them; which accordingly he did—He always believed, that They were the Original Plates, engraved by *Marc Anthony*, which he had destroyed (40)."

(40) Chevillier, of the Origin of Printing, at Paris, pag. 224.

[L] His *Ragionamenti* were printed in his Life Time; but it is difficult to discover the Year of their first Impression.] The Preface to the Edition, in 1584, does not suffer us to doubt of the first Fact. The Bookeller, under the fictitious Name of *Barbarigra*, declares, that " the Author had resolved to publish his Dialogues, divided into Days, after the manner of *Boccaccio*," and as they now stand in the Edition I have cited; " But that others had prevented him, and published This Work, against his Will, and in great Disorder." ----- *Hoggi vi presento di loro una bu-na parte — da me ridotte ne la maniera ch' egli le compose, e ne la medesima maniera ch' egli haveva determinato di farle la prima volta stampare, s' altri (contra sua voglia) non havevano prima di lui date per mezzo de la stampa in luce assai male acconcie: conciosia cosa che Giornate questo nomeasse per seguitare l' alte pedate del gran Giovanni Boccaccio*. I add something still more expressive to this; and I do it with so much the more Satisfaction, because, at the same Time, I acquit myself of an indispensable Duty towards Mr *Minutoli*, by the Publick Testimony I give him of my singular Esteem, and the great Value I set on the Friendship, with which he honours me. I have consulted This ingenious Professor of *Geneva*; and here present the Reader with an Extract of a Letter, which he communicated to me, and which was sent to him from *Dijon*. " I must now, Sir, mention to you a Book very opposite to this (41), to wit, the *Ragionamenti* of *Peter Arctin*: You desire me to clear up some Points, concerning

(41) He had been speaking of Mr *Ballin's* Book, concerning the Worship due to the Blessed Virgin.

them. The *Ragionamenti*, or Humorous Dialogues, of *Arctin* were published before his Death. This cannot be doubted of; since, in 1551, there appeared an Invektive of *Joachim Perion*, a *Benedictin* Monk, against the Author of the *Ragionamenti*, who did not die till the Year 1556 (42). *Antonio Francisco Doni*, in the first Part of his *Bibliothèque*, published in 1550, which contains only the printed Books, speaks of Two Dialogues, *Delle Donne* (43), which differ from the *Ragionamenti*, of which he says not a Word, because it is most certain they were not printed at that time. As for the Letters, The first Volume alone deserves to be read, though it contains scarce any thing satirical: The other Five are very flat; you may take Mr *Menage's* Word for it, in the *Menagiana*; who honours them but too much, when he esteems them for the *Stile*. In another Letter, Mr *Minutoli* had the Goodness to communicate to me Two Observations, which he had made, in reading the Letters of Illustrious Men, published by *John Michel Brutus*. He found these Words in a Letter of *John Maludanus* to *Dionysius Lambinus* pag. 369. " Penè me fugerat, quod scribendum in primis fuisse arbitrator. A Perionio editam esse audio orationem adversus Petrum Arctinum. Periculum est, ne, ut jampridem principum, ita posthac & *μωχαλῶν* flagellum esse & nominari velit lascivius Arctinus. I had almost forgot what I ought particularly to acquaint you with. I am informed, that *Perionius* has published an Oration against *Peter Arctin*. It is to be feared, lest *Peter Arctin*, thus provoked, should become, and desire to be called from henceforth, the Scourge of Monks, as formerly of Princes." There is only the Date of the Day in this Letter; *Nonis Maiis*; but as *Lambinus's* Answer is dated *Nonis Junius*, anno 1510 to 11. it is easy to conjecture in what Year *Maludanus* wrote to him. My Reader will be pleased to find here what *Lambinus*, who was then at *Rome*, thought of *Perionius's* Harangue. " *Perionii orationem in Petrum Arctinum jampridem legeramus, sed multo non fine risu. Quid enim magis ridiculum excogitari potest quam hominem Benedictinum, Philosophum, Ciceronianum, Theologum, cum P. Arctino verbis decertare? Omnino suæ estimationi parum consuluisse judicatur; nam quod arguit illum esse impurum, sceleraum, impium, quid tum postea? Tales homines non verbis aut scriptis castigandi, sed legibus & pœnis sunt coercendi*. Sed hac de re alias plura. I had already read *Perionius's* Oration against *Peter Arctin*, but not without much laughter. For what can be conceived more ridiculous, than for One, who is a *Benedictin*, a *Philosopher*, an *Orator*, and a *Divine*, to contest, in Words, with *Peter Arctin*? He can gain but little Reputation by such a Controversy; for, suppose that he proves him to be an impure, wicked, and impious Fellow; What then? Such Men are not to be corrected by Words, or by Writing, but to be restrained by Laws and Punishments. But more of this hereafter."

(42) See Remark [N].

(43) Freherus reckons the two Dialogues among the Works of *Arctin*, and says nothing of the *Ragionamenti*. Perhaps these two Dialogues were the first Edition, which was published without the Knowledge, and against the Will, of the Author, and in a different Method from his own.

As to the Second Part of the Text of this Remark, read what follows; and you will admire the Accuracy and Extent of the Enquiries of the ingenious Gentleman, whom I quote (44). " It is difficult to determine the exact Time of the first Edition of the *Ragionamenti*, as well because it is become so scarce, that it is hardly possible to meet with a Copy of it, as because the Dialogues, which compose the Two Parts of this Work, did not appear at the same Time. The first Part preceded the other some Years; but what is certain, is, that they were both in Print in 1537; the Epistles Dedicatory to both Parts being inserted in the Edition of the first Volume of *Arctin's* Letters, at *Venice*, in *Folio*, by *Francis Marcelini*, in the same Year. The Title of These *Ragionamenti* has varied. In the Epistle Dedicatory to the Second Part of These Dialogues, the Author calls the first *i tre Giorni di capricci*, and even simply *dialogo*; for this is what he understands by these Words, *eccovi il dialogo*, which nevertheless are not to be found in this same Epistle, inserted among the Letters of the first Volume; in which there is a farther considerable Variation. Which is, that, after the Words " *e per non disfraudare il mio grado*, all which follows,

(44) Mr de la Moignon.

are but of little Value [M]. His Works of Devotion were not much enquired after (b); yet they met with some, who gave them great Commendation (c). His Comedies in Prose are much better in their kind. He died about the Year 1556, at the Age of Sixty five Years, more or less [N]. It is said, that he fell into so violent a fit of Laughter, upon listening to some obscene Discourse, that he overturned the Chair, on which he sat; and that, in the Fall, he bruised his Skull, and died upon the Spot [O]. It was unlucky for him, that he wrote Lampoons against Peter Strozzi; for this brave Man threatened to have him assassinated in his very Bed; which so terrified our Poet, that he durst not admit any Person into his House, nor ever stir out of the Doors himself, during Strozzi's stay in the State of Venice. For this I shall quote my Author [P]. Observe, that This so satirical Poet was lavish of his Praises to excess. We find the most pompous Hyperboles, and extravagant Flat-teries, in his Letters to Kings, Princes, Generals of Armies, Cardinals, and other eminent Men: So far are they from carrying the Air of an Author, who makes himself dreaded, or exacts Contributions, that, on the contrary, there appears in them the Meanness of a Writer, who humbly intreats for a Piece of Bread. He employs the most moving Expressions to represent his Poverty, so far as to use the Language of Canaan, I mean a Scripture-Cant, as likeliest to raise Compassion, and excite those to Charity, who expect a Reward of their good Works from God. It must not be forgot, that one of the Subjects of his Importunities was the Dowry of

(b) See Remark [1].

(c) See Remark [1].

"as far as to the Milanese, is entirely omitted; instead of which there is: *Ujaro le parole cadute della sacra bocca del magno Antonio de' Leva, l'Aretino è più, &c.*" Sometimes, instead of *Dialogo*, he says all along, as in his Epistle to his *Ape*, *il Dialogo de la Nanna* &c. de la *Antonia*. Sometimes, as in his *Dialogue della corte*, by his *Nanna* he means the first Part of the *Ragionamenti*, and by *La Pippa* the second. In a letter of the 15th of May, 1537, to *Francesco de l'Orme*, he styles both *Parts Dialoghi*, as *Anthony Francesco Doni* likewise does. It is certain These Dialogues were never entitled *Ragionamenti* by This Author. They bear this Title only since the Edition of the Year 1584. The true Title was *Caprici*. *Perionius* confesses it, in his Invektive against *Aretin*. "Scripsit enim, *says he*, atque edidit nefarium librum quemdam, quem *Capricium* a *Caprarum lascivia* & *libidine* inscriptum. ----- He wrote and published a vile Book, which he called *Caprici* from the Wantonness of (*Capre*) Goats. And a little lower; *Gallii plerique jam Italice sciunt, quo quidem sermone istius Capricius, alique libri, scripti sunt* ----- The French almost in general understand Italian, in which Language his *Caprici*, and other Books, are written. *Le Bandel* is mistaken, when, in the Thirty fourth of his Novels, pag. 235, of the first Part, he says, that *la Zanina* read *la Nanna*; They are his own Words; *O fia Raffaella de l'Aretino*. In effect, *La Nanna* and *la Raffaella* are distinct Pieces, and by different Authors. By *La Nanna* should be understood the first Part of *Aretin's Ragionamenti*, and by *la Raffaella*, the Dialogue of *Madona Raffaella*, and *Margaretta*, entitled *della bella creatura delle Donne*; which instructs Women in the Arts of Gallantry. It is written by *Alessandro Piccolomini* under his Academical Name of *Stordito Intronato*. This Quotation of *La Nanna* by *le Bandel* serves however to make it appear, that the first Part of the *Ragionamenti* had been extant at least from the Year 1535; since, at the end of the same Novel, in which *la Nanna* is quoted, mention is made of *du Bernia*, as being then living, who certainly died in the Month of May, 1535; though *M. Baillet* places him after the Poets, who died in 1606. *Il Bernia Vicario Poeta d'Aretino mori apoplectico*, says *Paul Jovius* in a Letter, of the last of May, 1535, to *Ridolfo Pio*, Bishop of *Faenza*, afterwards Cardinal of *Carpi*, then *Nuncio* in France. *Mr Menage*, who has made a Chapter expressly of *Bernia*, in the first Part of his *Antibaillet*, has not corrected this Error."

[M] We have six Volumes of his Letters, which are but of little Value.] We have already seen the Judgment of a learned Man of Dijon on this Subject (45): That of *Mr Menage* may be added to it. "I have read, *says he* (46), all the Letters of *Peter Aretin*, without ever having found any thing in them, worthy of an Extract. There is nothing in them but Stile." One cannot convey a more

expressive Idea of a Work, which is barren and dry; like an unfurnished House, or heathy, sandy, uncultivated Ground; for *Mr Menage* knew how to make the most of his Reading, and had an happy Talent at varying his Application of it.

[N] He died about the Year 1556, at the Age of Sixty five Years, more or less (47). "The Reason for conjecturing, that *Aretin* died either towards the end of 1555, or in 1556, is, that, from the Month of October, 1555, (the Date of the Epistle dedicatory to the last Volume of his Letters), it does not appear, that he had written any thing; and that *Ruscelli*, who wrote his *Rimario* in 1577, mentions *Aretin* therein, as a Person lately dead. At the Word *Raffa*, in the Vocabulary at the end of the *Rimario*, he says *Onde il mio Aretino di buona memoria*. That This *Rimario* was composed in the Year 1557, appears by a Passage, I have observed from it, above (48), on occasion of *Silvio Antoniano* (49). "Paul Freberus is mistaken, in saying, that *Aretin* died towards the Year 1566 (50).

[O] He fell into so violent a fit of Laughter, ----- that he overturned his Chair ----- bruised his Skull; and died upon the Spot. "Infans obsecrantes de meretricibus, ut aiunt, fororibus suis, cum audiret, ex risu fellam, in qua sedebat, everisse, occipitque vehementer graviterque ad terram affluisse, atque atque alluisse, ut exemplo nequissime interiret (51)."

[P] I shall quote my Author.] He is *Remi of Florence*. "Volsi *Pietro Aretino*, *says he* (52), burlesque & motteggiare il Sig. *Pietro Strozzi*, quando egli diede *Marano* a *Veneziani*, e gli fece un Sonetto, che cominciava;

Mentre il gran Strozzi Arma virumque cano, &c.

"Ma il Signor *Pietro* come huomo valoroso, & che non voleva sue burle ne suoi motti gli fece intendere, che attendesse ad altro, perche lo farebbe ammazzare infin nel letto. Onde il povero *Aretino*, che conosceva il Signor *Pietro* huomo più da farlo che da dirlo, si mise tanto spavento, che serrato in casa, ne dando ingresso à persona alcuna, guardava pure se i pugnali piovevano, & meno giorno e notte una vita infelicitissima, e per fin che lo Strozzi stette in paese de' Veneziani, non ardi mai uscir di casa. ----- *Peter Aretin had a Mind to banter Peter Strozzi, upon his delivering up Marano to the Venetians; and made a Sonnet, which began thus;*

Mean time Great Strozzi, &c.

"But *Peter*, as a Man of Valour, and who desired none of his Jokes, gave him to understand, that he had better mind something else, if he expected to be safe in his Bed. Poor *Aretin*, who knew that he was a Man of Dreads, more than Words, was so frightened, that he kept himself locked up in his House,

* Libreria del Doni. Parte I. pag. 39.

(47) See Citation, however (34) and (35).

(48) At the end of the Remark. D. of the Article ANTONIANO.

(49) Mr de la Monnoye. Rem. MSS.

(50) Freherus in Theatro, p. 1461.

(51) Ant. Laurent. Politianus, in Dialogo de Rifu. p. 78.

(52) Remig. Florent. Confidat. Civil. sopra Galecardini. c. 6. fol. 3. verso 6. See la Rime Pia-cevoli, Parte II. fol. 12.

(45) Ab we, immediately after Citation (43).

(46) Menage, p. 306, of the first Edition of Holland.

of his dear Daughter *Adria* [Q]. He took a great deal of Pains to marry her, but saw her so unhappy in this State, that he heartily repented of his Impatience [R]. A Fatality too common among Men! for how many things are there, which make us extremely uneasy, before they are accomplished, but much more so after Accomplishment?

"Houfe, and admitted no one to enter; he even watched to see, whether it did not rain Poignards, and led a miserable Life, Night and Day, during Strozzi's Residence in the Venetian State, not daring to stir out of his Doors." I fancy, when he found himself out of Danger, he behaved like the *Savo*, that is washed.

[Q] One of the Subjects of his Importunities, was the Dowry of his dear Daughter *Adria*. He loved her very affectionately, and had engaged himself to give a thousand Ducats to the Person, who was to marry her. This future Son-in-law was not to be put off to the next Dedication: such an Assignment, which some Authors have put their Creditors off with, would not satisfy him; he articulated, that a thousand Ducats should be paid him down, before he gave the Ring to the Bride. *Mille ducati e la promessa da me fatta allo sposo in contanti, prima che se le dia l'anello* (53). The Gold Chain, which

(53) Aretin, Letter 145, Book 5. fol. 72. Edit. of Paris 1609.

(54) Id. ib.

(55) See the 24th Letter of the same Book. It is dated at Venice, 1548.

(56) See the 23rd Letter of the 15th Book. It is dated March 1549.

(57) Ibid. fol. 102.

Aretin had received from the Prince of Spain (54), was forced to go towards the Payment of this Sum. He addressed himself to the Cardinal of Lorraine for Assistance in this Necessity. I cannot tell, whether he received any thing from him; but I know, that he was assisted by the Duke of Florence. The Bill of Exchange, which That Prince sent him (55), imported, that the Money should not be paid, but on good Attestations that the Marriage was consummated (56). This Condition haltered the Wedding; the Father would have deferred it; for he fancied his Daughter *Adria* was too Young; but this Consideration must now be past by. When she was laid in the nuptial Bed, he said, that she looked like a spotless Victim laid on the sacred Altar: *Per importarmi piu l'honore della parola obligata, che il rispetto della etade tenera; consentii, che la innocenza si copulasse col sacramento. Ella, nello entrare nel letto, parve una ostia pura, posta sopra l'altare sacro* (57). It appears, that the Son-in-law did not rigorously exact the Payment of the whole Sum before Marriage; he was satisfied with the Gold Chain, which the Emperor's Son, had given Aretin, as Security for what was wanting of the thousand Ducats; but this did not make the Father-in-law a jot the easier; who had a great Desire to keep his Gold Chain; and yet could not get rid of his Daughter, until all the Money was paid: For his Son-in-law refused to take her Home to his own House, without the full Portion.

The Duke of Florence was again importuned, and disturbed something more (58).

[R] He saw her so unhappy in this State, that he repented of his Impatience. It was a very unhappy Match; poor *Adria* was so ill treated by her Husband, that she was obliged to return to her Father (59); but, her Husband promising her better Usage, she was persuaded to a Reconciliation; but was still as unhappy as ever. She was still denied the Power of the Keys; a Power, which never falls to the Petticoat in the Church, but is the Woman's Right in the Management of a Family. She could neither eat, nor drink, but when it pleased others to dispose of the Keys in her Favour: She was perpetually teased about her Dress. Her Husband would not suffer her to wear Jewels, and obliged her to sell a Diamond, which her Father had given her: Thus she was attacked in the most sensible Part; this was tearing her very Heart out. Aretin implored for her the Protection of the Dukes of Urbino (60). What a Heart-breaking must it be to him, to find himself treated so contemptuously by his Son-in-law, whilst his Fame was spread as far as the Court of Persia (61)! What a Dometic Bitter was This amidst the fancied Sweets of a great Reputation! Could it be any Consolation, to consider, that this Brute at the same time despised the Duke of Florence, who had earnestly recommended it to him to treat his Wife well? On the contrary this was a new Subject of Confusion to the Person, who had made so ill a Choice of a Son-in-Law. "Benche in quanto al non fare nessuna stima di me simil cane, non e maraviglia, e ben da stupire del sì poco rispetto che mostra d'havere lo affnaccio al gran Duca, la cui benignita manifesta, uscendo noi di Pesaro, per il viaggio di Roma, così qual era a cavallo, chiomollo, e dissegli; Se tu vuoi che non ti si manchi di gratie, tratta la moglie tua, sì come di me nata fusse (62). — As to this Brute's little regard for me, it is not to be wondered at; but it is astonishing that This Ass should be so wanting in Respect to the Great Duke; who was so kind, at our Departure from Pesaro to Rome, as to call him back, when on Horseback, and say; if you expect the Continuance of my Favour, treat your Wife as if she were my Daughter." Note, That Peter Aretin had another Daughter, whom he was very desirous of marrying (63).

(58) See the 6th Book of the Letters of Aretin, fol. 121.

(59) See the 16th Book of his Letters, fol. 281.

(60) His Letter to the Dukes of Urbino is dated from Venice in November 1554.

(61) See Remark [A].

(62) Aretin, pag. 282, of the 6th Book of his Letters.

(63) She was called Augusta. See the 210th Letter of the 5th Book.

(a) And not ARGYROPHILUS, nor ARGYROPHILUS, as in Moreri.

ARGYROPYLUS (a) (JOHN), a Native of *Constantinople*, retired into *Italy*, while the *Turks* were overturning all *Greece* [A]. He was very kindly received by *Cosmo de Medicis*, who made him Preceptor to his Son *Peter*, and his Grandson *Lorenzo* (b), and Professor of Greek at *Florence*. He testified his Gratitude in a Translation of *Aristotle's* Physics and Ethics. He was attended with a very particular piece of good Fortune in This Work; for *Theodore Gaza*, who had finished a like Translation, threw it into the Fire, that he might not prejudice the Fortune of his good Friend *Argyropylos*. *Gaza* surpassed him in Eloquence, and his Translation would infallibly have eclipsed the other; but, as he was not ignorant of *Argyropylos's* Ambition, and was, besides, a good-natured Man, he made a Sacrifice, which cost him but little; for he was one, who valued neither Praise, nor Money. *Argyropylos's* Conversation disgusted and tired Men of Learning, especially when he took upon him to maintain, that *Cicero* did not

[A] He retired into *Italy*, while the *Turks* were overturning all *Greece*.] I dare not say, with *Moreri*, that he retired into *Italy*, after the Conquest of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*; for Two Reasons make me doubt it. One is, *Paul Jovius's* saying, that *Argyropylos* was driven into *Italy* by the same Tempest, which forced *Theodore Gaza* thither (1). Now he observes, that This *Theodore* took refuge there, while *Amurath* shook all *Greece* with his Victorious Arms. *Amurath* Græciam omnem victoribus armis quætuente, in *Italy* venit (2). This inclines me to believe, that *Argyropylos* left his Country before the *Ottomans* had taken *Constantinople*. My second Reason is, because he addressed a Treatise of Consolation to the Emperor of *Constantinople*. To make this a good Argument, it must, I confess, be proved, that

(1) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 27. pag. 64.

(2) Id. ib. cap. 26. pag. 61.

he composed this Piece in *Italy*; and I own I cannot prove this; so that I only offer this Observation, as a motive to keep my Reader in suspense. *Paul Jovius* is to blame, in having neglected Chronology, so much as he has done, in his Elogies; for he might easily have discovered the date of the Offices, Travels, and Deaths, of his Illustrious Persons. This by the way. *Vossius* observes, that This Treatise of *Argyropylos's* Monodie, his Book de Regno, and his Parallels between the Ancient and Modern Princes, are in the Library of the most Christian King (3). Mr *Moreri*, who never saw these Works, affirms, nevertheless, that the Author dedicated them to the House of *Medici*. Why was he not satisfied with affirming this concerning the Translations of *Aristotle* only? his Guide goes no farther (4).

(b) And not his Nephew, as in Moreri.

(3) Vossius, de Histor. Græciæ, lib. 4, cap. 19, pag. 413.

(4) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 27.

[B] What

not understand Greek. He left *Tuscany*, in the time of a Plague, and went to *Rome*, where he read Lectures on the *Greek Text of Aristotle*. His Salary was considerable; but, as he loved good Eating and Drinking, and as his Constitution was able to bear Intemperance, he spent all his Income. So that what has been said of his Gluttony, is not incredible [B]. He died of a Fever, which he got by eating too many Melons, at seventy Years of Age (c). He discovered great Constancy of Mind, when one of his Sons was killed at *Rome* (d). See, concerning the Order, which Pope Paul III gave for pursuit of the Murderers, and for the Funeral of the deceased, the 200th Letter of the Cardinal of *Pavia*, pag. 620. It has been remarked, that he was the first *Greek*, who taught Philosophy in that City [C]. He disputed with much Vivacity, and had a very extensive Knowledge. He left a Son, who was an excellent Musician (e). The Judgments, which have been passed upon his Translations, differ extremely [D].

(c) T. Hen
from Paul
Jovius, E-
log. cap. 27.

(d) Petrus
Alcyonius,
in Medicis
Legato papi-
no, pag. 25.

(e) Obiit re-
lictus filio I-
sacio, nobili
Musico. Vo-
laterran. lib.
21. p. 776.

[B] What has been said of his Gluttony is not incredible. Let us quote Paul Jovius. "Vini & cibi æque avidus & capax, & multo abdomine ventriculus, immodice melopeponum esu autumnalem accersivit febrem, atque ita septuagesimo ætatis anno ereptus est (5). — Being equally desirous, and capable, of eating and drinking, and having a very large Belly, he got an autumnal Fever by eating too many Melons; and thus was taken off in the Seventieth Year of his Age." To die of excessive eating is scandalous in any one; much more in Men of Letters. It had been more for the Honour of Argyropylus to have died of Hunger. Let us not, however, look upon the enormous Size of his Belly as a good Argument against those, who represent him as a Person of great Abilities: The Event of such a Dispute would be very uncertain. See the Collections, which shall be produced in the Remarks of the Article GORGAS.

(5) Jovius,
ibid. p. 65.

[C] It has been remarked, that he was the first *Greek*, who taught at *Rome*. His Disciple Politian is now to be quoted; read these Words of *Hornius*. "Primitus ex Græcis Romæ philosophiam professus fuit Argyropylus, cujus sectatorem se fuisse memorat Angelus Politianus, Miscel. cap. 1. eumque cum literarum Latinarum minime incuriosum, tum sapientie decretorum, disciplinarumque adeo cunctarum, quæ Cyclicæ à Martino dicuntur, eruditissimum illis temporibus habitum, atque in disputando acerrimum (6). — Argyropylus was the First of the Greeks, who professed Philosophy at *Rome*; whose Follower Politian was, as he informs us, Miscel. ch. 1. as also that, he was not only well versed in the Latin Tongue, but skilled likewise in the Learning of Decretals, and esteemed the greatest Scholar of his Times, in all those Sciences, which by Martians are called Cyclic, and a strenuous Disputant."

(6) Hornius,
Historia Philo-
soph. l. 6.
c. 6. p. 304,
305.

[D] The Judgments, which have been passed upon his Translations, differ extremely. Thuanus observes, that Perionius, intending to avoid the Method of Argyropylus, fell into another Extreme. He found, that Argyropylus had translated Aristotle more faithfully, than elegantly; and therefore undertook a Translation, which should please those, who admire good Latin; but, labouring too much at Elegancy of Style, he lay open to the Charge of departing from the Sense of the Author. "Is (Joachim Perionius) cum Aristotelem hæcenus a Johanne Argyropulo fideliter potius quam ornate versum auribus Latinis proponendum statuisset, dum elegantiori stili potius quam veri rationem plerumque Ciceroni stili addidit habet, in contrarium ab Argyropulo reprehensionem incidit (7). Which Judgment amounts to this: Argyropylus's Translation is faithful, but without Grace or Ornament. Others judge of it quite otherwise; They say there is more of Elegancy, than Faithfulness, in it; and blame him for not translating his Original Word for Word, according to the Duty of those, add they, who translate the Holy Scripture, and Aristotle. Aliquot Aristotelis libros convertit magis eleganter quam

(7) Thuan.
Histor. l. 23.
pag. 472, ad
Ann. 1559.

fideliter, cum in hoc philosopho baud aliter quam in sacris literis verbum verbo reddere oporteat (8). If we consult a Professor of *Louvain*, we shall find this Judgment of Volaterran but ill grounded, and that Argyropylus confined himself more servilely to Aristotle's Words, than Thoughts; and that his Translation can pass for neither faithful nor elegant. See the words of This Professor: "Superiori sæculo, quidam verba verbi ita admensi sunt, ut sententiam depravarent, non aliter quam indocti pictores, qui, operosi in cultu effigendo, membra secundum vestem distorquent: quum Apelles, Parrhasique, prius nudum corpus efformare, quam amictum superinducere soleant. In quorum numero Argyropylum reponas, & Rufinum, alterum interpretem Aristotelis, alterum Gregorii Nazianzeni, de quibus vere id hemistichii dici potest: Dant sine mente sonum. Fit autem illud vel ex incitiis, vel ex κακογυῖα; quum enim sententiam apprehendere nequeunt, verba reddunt, quasi quod ipsi non intellexerint, alius ex illorum verbis intelligere queat, cum verba non minus ex sententia vim suam, & significatum accipiant, quam sententiam constituant. Aliqui rursus fidem existimant à numero verborum non discedere (9). — In the last Age, some Writers so scrupulously adhered to the Words of an Author, as to spoil the sense; like unskilful Painters, who, taking a great Deal of Pains about the Drapery, neglect the Proportions and Symmetry of the Figure: Whereas Apelles, and the Parrhasii, always drew the naked Figure, before they clothed it. In the number of these may be ranked Argyropylus, and Rufinus, The One a Translator of Aristotle, the Other of Gregory of Nazianzen; to whom may justly be applied the Hemistich, Dant sine mente sonum; They give a Sound without a meaning. This proceeds either from Ignorance, or false Emulation; for, when they cannot comprehend the Sense, they render the Words; as if another could apprehend from their Words what They themselves understand not; whereas Words no less receive their Force and Signification from the Sentence, than constitute the Sentence. Others again think it the business of a Faithful Translator to keep to the very number of the Words." Some Learned Men imagine, that Argyropylus is here accused of confining himself verbatim to the Original, and, where he cannot comprehend his Author's Sense, of having recurred to a jingle of Words without any meaning (10). I question whether this is exactly what Nannius aims at. Huettius agrees in his Judgment with Thuanus (11), and consequently condemns That of Volaterran. He condemns Paul Jovius likewise, who preferred the Translation of Gaza before That of Argyropylus, and declares, that, if the first be more Eloquent, the latter is more faithful. Non effores quin major quidem eloquentia laus Gazæ, accurate autem interpretandi Argyropulo debeatur (12). See, above, Remark [B] of the Article ACCIAIOLI (DONATO), and wonder at the Diversity of these (12) Id. ib. Opinions.

(8) Volaterran.
lib. 21. pag.
776.

(9) Petrus
Nannius,
Alcmarianus
in Collegio
Baldiano a-
pud Lovani-
enses Lati-
nes Profes-
sor, sup-
plimentum,
lib. 1. c. 3.
pag. 6.

(10) See Mr
Bailet, Ju-
gem. des
Savans,
Tom. 4. n.
814. p. 356.

(11) Huëtius
de claris In-
terpret. pag.
239.

(12) Id. ib.

ARIARATHES. The Name of several Kings of *Cappadocia*. See the Article CAPPADOCIA.

ARIGONI (POMPEIO), Cardinal and Archbishop of *Benevento*, was born at *Rome*, in the Year 1552. During the Time, that he was one of the Confessorial Advocates, he was retained in all the Causes relating to Philip II of *Spain*. In the Pontificate of Sixtus Quintus, he make a Speech, to shew the Reasonableness of canonizing
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zing the blessed *Diego d'Alcala*. He was made Auditor of the *Rota*, in the Year 1591, and Cardinal in 1596, and exercised the Office of Chancellor under *Leo XI*, and *Paul V*. The Archbishopric of *Benevento* was conferred upon him by This last Pope. He died, the fourth of *April*, 1616, in the *Greeks Tower* near *Naples*, whither he had retired for change of Air. His Body was carried to *Benevento*, where his Nephew erected a Marble Tomb over him, in the principal Church. There are some *Latin Letters* of our *Pompey*, among those of *John Baptista Lauri*, besides the Speech beforementioned, which was printed by *Peter Galefimi* (a). As to his *Decisions of the Rota*, they are only Manuscripts in the Cabinets of some learned Men. *Charles Cartbari* gave him great Commendations in his List of the Consistorial Advocates (b).

(a) In Libello pro Canonizatione B. Didaci Compulenta. See also Franciscus Pegna, in vita ejusdem Didaci.

(b) Ex Bibl. Romana Prosperi Mandolfi.

ARIMANIUS, one of the chief Deities of *Persia*. That Nation was indebted to *Zoroaster* for it's Philosophy; one principal Tenet of which was revived by the *Manicheans*; to wit, That there are two first Principles, one of Good, and the other of Evil. The *Persians* called the Deity, which they acknowledged as the Principle of all Good, and Author of the State, in which Things were first produced, *Orosmades*; and the Divinity, which they acknowledged as the Principle of Evil, and Author of the Corruption, into which the Original Nature is fallen, They called *Arimanius*. They said, that *Orosmades*, having produced the good Spirits, and the Stars, enclosed them in an Egg [A]; and that *Arimanius* produced the bad *Gemii*, who broke This Egg; from whence proceeded Confusion, and a mixture of Good and Evil. They add, that, at last, after divers Conflicts, in which the Victory would be various, *Orosmades* should totally vanquish *Arimanius*, and destroy him beyond retrieve; which would be followed by a State of great Happiness to Mankind, and by a very commodious Transformation, by which the Bodies of Men would become transparent, and be preserved without any Nourishment (a).

(a) Taken from Burnet's Theory of the Earth, lib. 2. c. 10. p. 289, 290. who cites Plutarch de Iside & Osiride.

(b) In Remark [C] of the Article M A N I C H E A N S; and Remark [E] of the Article Z O R O A S T E R.

What I have here said is borrowed from an Author, who had it from *Plutarch*, whose entire Passage I shall produce elsewhere (b). It is remarkable, that the King of *Persia*, when *Themistocles* fled to him for Refuge, prayed to *Arimanius*, that he would always influence his Enemies to banish their bravest Men (c). This is a Proof, that the *Persians* considered *Arimanius* as a Divinity, which took a Pleasure only in Evil [B]. The same Divinity, doubtless, was meant, when, upon *Darius's* complaining of the Deity of *Persia*, when he was informed, that the Queen his Wife was dead a Prisoner in the Camp of *Alexander*; he was answered; *With regard to Funeral Honours, &c. you have no reason to accuse the Bad Genius of the Nation* (d). *Your Wife, Your Mother, and Your Children, have lost nothing of their former Fortune, but the Opportunity of seeing your Glory restored by Orosmades* (e). We see, in these Words, the Opposition, which the *Persians* supposed to be between *Orosmades* and *Arimanius*.

(c) Plut. in Themist. pag. 126.

(d) The Greek version of the text in Alexander, p. 632.

(e) Id. ib.

[A] Enclosed them in an Egg.] I promised, in another Place (1), that I would say something here concerning the Egg, which, according to the Ancient Theology of the Pagans, had been employed in the Production of Beings, when the *Chaos* was reduced. I say, then, that it was the Opinion of the *Phœnicians*, that the obscure Air, and the *Chaos*, were the Principle of all Things. This obscure Air is without doubt the same, which others call Night, and to which they attribute the Production of an Egg, out of which proceeded Love, and Human-kind.

(1) Above, Remark [A] of the Article ADAM.

(2) *Ἰσχυρὸς ἀέρας ὃν ἐμύχλιντο τὸν αἶον* (2). This may be ingeniously explained of the Earth, and compared with the Words of *Moses*; by supposing, that the grosser Parts of This obscure and thick Air, subsiding, met with a fat and glewy Substance, with which, incorporating they formed a kind of Slime; which, being hardened, became an habitable Earth (3). Some of the Ancients said, that a Dove, brooding on an Egg, produced *Venus*, or Love. "Verba citat Grotius ex Nigidio in Scholiasten Germanici, ovum miræ Magnitudinis, quod volentes eiecerunt in terram, atque ita columbam infedisse, & post aliquot dies exclusisse Deam Syriæ, quæ vocatur Venus (4)."

(3) This is Dr Burnet's Explanation, ibid. p. 244.

(4) Id. ib. pag. 259.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Ex Plutarchi Sympos. lib. 2. Quest. 3.

"de Ovo mundano datæque interpretationi tacite faveat mihi videtur incubatio Spiritus Sancti in abyssum, de qua *Moses* in prima telluris productione, ubi ad ovum manifeste alluditur (8). . . . This Moving (or Brooding) of the Holy Spirit upon the Face of the Waters, which *Moses* speaks of in the History of the Creation, where he plainly alludes to an Egg, is a tacit Confirmation of This Doctrine of the Mundane Egg, and the Explication I have given of it."

(8) Burnet's Theory, p. 236.

[B] The *Persians* considered *Arimanius* as a Divinity, which took a Pleasure only in Evil.] If any one is inclined not to grant me this, he may object, that the King of *Persia* was greatly pleased to have gained *Themistocles*; he believed, therefore, the Exile of such Persons to be a fortunate Event for his own Country, and that it was his Interest they should take Refuge in his Court: when, therefore, he prayed to *Arimanius* to inspire his Enemies with a Resolution to banish their bravest Citizens, he demanded a very great Favour of him; and, consequently, he looked upon him as a Principle of Good, upon some Occasions, with regard to the *Persians*. I answer, that This Reasoning is invalid. This Monarch agreed in Opinion with his Divines; he considered *Arimanius* only as a malignant Being; he petitioned for the Exile of the great Men of *Greece*, only inasmuch as it was prejudicial to That Country. It was an Action within the Jurisdiction, and to the Taste, of *Arimanius*, as far as it was unjust and pernicious, with respect to the Towns, which banished them. But, as far as it was beneficial to the *Persians*, it was by no means agreeable to him; nor was it under this Notion, that his Assistance was intreated. In a Word, to solve this Objection, it is sufficient to say, that the Affairs of this World being so interwoven with each other, that, generally speaking, one Country profits by the Misfortunes of another, *Arimanius* could scarce effect any thing

thing simply and absolutely pernicious; some Advantage would always result from it, either by accident, or otherwise. Now, as He did nothing, but on account of the Evil, which he discovered in it, it could never be pretended, that he was the Principle

of any Good. It is true, then, that the Prayer, we are speaking of, is no Proof, that he was considered otherwise, than as a Being, who took a Pleasure only in hurting.

ARIMINI (GREGORY of) See RIMINI.

ARION, a wonderful Horse, and famed in Poetical Story on a different account from *Bucephalus* in the History of *Alexander*. His Origin has been variously spoken of; though all allow it Divine. Some say (a), that *Neptune*, being desirous to procure to Men all the Conveniences, which Horses could afford them, struck the Earth in *Theffaly* with his Trident; and immediately out started a couple of Horses; one of which was our *Arion*. Others say, that *Neptune*, disputing with *Minerva*, which of them should give a Name to the City of *Athens*, it was ordered by the other Gods, that which ever of the Two should make the best Present to Men should give a Name to The City. Whereupon, *Neptune* struck the Beach with his Trident, and caused an Horse to issue forth of it [A]; but *Minerva* produced an Olive-Tree; and gained the Victory; for it was judged, that Peace, of which the Olive is an Emblem, was better than War, in which the Horse was most useful. Now there are, who pretend, that the Horse, which *Neptune* produced on this Occasion, was named *Arion*. Others say, that This Horse sprung from *Ceres* and *Neptune* (b). This Goddess, as she was wandering through the World in quest of her Daughter, met *Neptune*, who made fierce Love to her; but, not being disposed to gratify his Passion, she thought fit to assume the Form of a Mare. This past near the City of *Oncium* in *Arcadia*. *Ceres* in vain endeavoured to conceal herself among the Studd; *Neptune* soon discovered her, and enjoyed her in the Shape of an Horse. She was vexed at it at first; but was, afterwards, appeased, and washed herself in a neighbouring River. She had, by this Adventure with *Neptune*, not only a Daughter, whose Name it was not lawful to declare to prophane Persons, but likewise Our Horse *Arion*. There are, who say, that she was in the Form of a Fury, when *Neptune* begot this Horse on her, or that, in effect, a Fury conceived him, from the Act of *Neptune* [B]. The Poet *Antimachus*, cited by *Pausanias*, gives him no other Origin, than the Soil of *Arcadia*: But *Quintus Calaber* makes him the Son of *Zephyrus*, and a Harpy [C]. However it be, it was believed, that he was brought up by the *Nereids* [D], and that, being sometimes harnessed, with other of *Neptune's* Horses, to the Chariot of That God, he drew him with incredible Swiftnes over all the Seas (c). He had this peculiar to him, that his Feet, on the off side, were like those of a Man (d). *Hercules* mounted him, when he took the City of *Elis*, and afterwards presented him to *Adrastus*. This *Pausanias* informs us of; who adds, that *Antimachus* made *Adrastus* the third Owner of him [E]. *Hesiod* represents him as belonging to *Hercules*, in his Combat with *Cygnus* (e). *Statius* says, in general, that he served *Hercules* in his Travels, and that, afterwards, the Gods gave him to *Adrastus* (f). *Probus* ascribes the whole Honour of This Present to *Neptune* (g). Under this

(a) *Latitudo* in *Statii Thebaid.* lib. 4. v. 43.

(b) *Pausan.* lib. 8. pag. 257.

(c) *Hesiod.* in *Clypeo Herculia.*

(f) *Stat. ubi supra.*

(g) *Probus,* in *Virgil.* *Georgic.* I.

(c) *Stat.* *Thebaid.* I. 6. ver. 308.

(d) *Latitudo* in *Statii Theb.* I. 6. ver. 302.

(t) *Virgil.* *Georgic.* lib. I. ver. 12.

[A] *Neptune, disputing with Minerva* --- *struck the Beach* --- and caused an Horse to issue forth of it. *Servius* informs us of this, on these Words of *Virgil*.

----- tuque ô, cui prima frementem
Fudit equum magno tellus percussa tridenti,
Neptune (1).

And Thou, whose Trident struck the teeming Earth,
And made a Passage for the Courser's Birth.

DRYDEN.

See likewise *Probus* on the same Passage of *Virgil*.

[B] She was in the Form of a Fury, when *Neptune* begot this Horse on her; or --- a Fury conceived him by *Neptune*.] They are the Opinions of *Apollodorus* and *Hesychius*. These are their Words.

Ἐπειὶς ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησε ἑκατόθεσσα Ἐπινύβη κατά τιν ὑμνοῖς (2). *Ceres, under the Form of a Fury, conceived this Horse by Neptune.*

Ἀπὸ τῶν ὀτρυνόντων Ποσειδῶνος καὶ μῆτρὸς τῶν Ἐρινύων (3). *The Horse Arion, the Son of Neptune and one of the Furies. Barbius* has confounded This Opinion of *Apollodorus* with That of *Hesychius*.

"Unius ex Erynibus, sicut be (4), fobolem affentur Apollodoro Hefychius Lexicographus. --- *Hefychius the Lexicographer agrees with Apollodorus, in making him the Offspring of one of the Furies.*" This is to make *Apollodorus* say, that *Arion* was foaled by one of the Furies; but he has said

no such thing; he expressly observes, that *Ceres* was the Mother of This Horse, and that she had assumed the Form of a Fury, only at the Time of Copulation. *Lloyd* has stolen from *Barbius* in this Place, without correcting him.

[C] *Quintus Calaber makes him the Son of Zephyrus, and a Harpy.*] Behold a second Fault of *Barbius*, which *Lloyd* has transplanted into his Lexicon, just as he found it. "Intercedit Quintus, sicut Barbius (5), Harpyia patronus, cuius fuerit potius (5) Id. ib. seminio oriundus patre Zephyro, ingratis etiam Neptune. --- *Quintus Calaber interposes, making him to have been begot upon a Harpy by Zephyrus, against the Will of Neptune.*" There is nothing in That Poet which remarks, that it was with, or without, the Approbation of *Neptune*, that *Zephyrus* and the Harpy produced *Arion* (6).

[D] It was believed, that he was brought up by the *Nereids*.] I shall cite only *Claudian*.

Si dominus legeretur equis, tua posceret ultro
Verbera, Nereidum stabulis nutritus, Arion (7).

To chuse a Master were the Coursers free,
Arion, once the Nereids Care, would be
Subject to thy Command, and court the Whip from thee.

[E] *Adrastus was his third Owner.*] This is true, according to the History, which the Scholiast of *Homer* makes of it, on the Three hundred and forty sixth Verse of the Twenty third Book of the *Iliad*. He says, that *Neptune*, falling in Love with *Erin-*

(7) *Claudian.* *Consul.* IV. *Honorii* ver. 555. *Lloyd* cites this twice.

ny,

this last Matter it was, that *Arion* signaliz'd himself most; he won the Prize of the Race in the *Nemean Games* [F], which the Princes, who undertook the Siege of *Thebes*, instituted in Honour of *Archemorus*, and was the means of preserving *Adrastus* from perishing, with all the other Chiefs, in This famous Expedition. This *Apollonius* testifies in his third Book.

(8) *That is, One of the Furies.* (8) *metamorphos'd himself into a Horse, and enjoyed her in Baotia, near the Fountain Tipblousa; that he got an Horse on her, which was called 'Apeiaon, because he excelled all others; that he gave him to Copreus, King of Aliartus; who presented him to Hercules; who won the Prize of the Race with This Horse, against Cygnus, the Son of Mars, near Trazene, and that, afterwards, Hercules presented him to Adrastus.*

[F] *He won the Prize of the Race in the Nemean Games.* Apollodorus, in his third Book, says, that *Adrastus* was Victor in the Chariot-Race; but *Statius* pretends, that This Prince gave *Arion* to his Son-in-law *Polynices*; and that *Arion* threw his new Driver, and, continuing his Course, outstript all the rest; which did not prevent *Amphiarus* from carrying the Crown: For, though he did not distance *Arion*, yet it was sufficient, that he carried it from his Competitors, and that *Polynices*, being thrown, could pretend to nothing in virtue of the superior Fleetness of his Horse.

(9) *Stat. Theb. lib. 6. ver. 528.* Forsitan & victo prior isset Arione Cygnus, Sed vetat æquoreus vinci pater: hinc vice iusta Gloria manit equo, cessit victoria vati (9).

Neptune forbad, that, in his whirling Car, Cygnus the Prize, should from Arion bear; Hence the Steed gain'd the Honour of the Day, The Prize Amphiarus bore away.

Apollodorus confesses, that *Amphiarus* carried it in the Chariot Race, ἀρμαίης; which his Latin Translator ought to have rendered by *curru*, and not *curfu*, as *Barbicius* has observed (10). As for the Distich of *Propertius*, which makes *Arion* a speaking Animal,

Quis & Adraſti fuerit vocalis Arion,
Trifidis ad Archemori funera victor equus (11).

— *ſuch Arion was,*
Adrastus' vocal Horse, who, at the Games
Sacred to dead Archemorus' Fame,
Was crown'd victorious in the dusty Race.

I do not believe he attributes That Grief to Him, which *Pasſerat* imagines; The Word *trifidis* I take to relate to the fatal Accident of *Archemorus*, for whom These Games were celebrated, and not to the Grief of *Arion*, on finding another Master besides *Adrastus* (12).

(10) *Barth. in Stat. Tom. 3. p. 537.*

(11) *Propert. lib. 2. Eleg. ult.*

(12) *Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, July 1702, pag. 110.*

ARIOSTA (LIPPA), Concubine of *Opizzo*, Marquis of *Est* and *Ferrara*, improved so well the Impressions which her Beauty had made on the Heart of the Marquis, by her Fidelity and artful Management, that, at last, he owned her for his lawful Wife, in the Year 1352. He died the same Year, and left her the Administration of his Estates; of which she acquitted herself very well, during the Minority of her eleven Children. From this Lady is descended *The House of Est, which subsists, at this Time, in the Branches of the Dukes of Modena and Rhegio* (a). The Author, from whom I borrow this, observes, that *Lippa Ariosta* brought more Honour to her Family, *which was one of the noblest of Ferrara, — than she had taken from it* [A]. The Reader will meet with some Reflexions on This in the Remark, which I subjoin to this Article.

(a) *Le Laboureur, Relation du Voyage de Pologne, Part. 3. pag. 372.*

[A] *She brought more Honour to her Family — than she had taken from it.* I have discoursed, in another Place (1), of the singular Efficacy of *Marriage*. It cannot be sufficiently admired; for, in short, it changes the Nature of the three Distinctions of Time; the *past* is no less affected by it's Influence, than the *present* and the *future*. “Do you not admire at the force of Custom, and the Authority it has in the World? With three Words, pronounced by a certain Person, *Ego conjungo vos*, you privilege a young Man and a Maid to go to bed together, in sight, and with the consent, of all the World; and this is called a *Sacrament administered by a consecrated Person*. The same Action, without these Words, is an enormous Crime, which disgraces a poor Lady; and He, who conducts the Affair, is called, an *please you*, a *Pimp*. In the first Case, the Father and Mother make merry, dance, and conduct their Daughter themselves to bed. In the other they are at their Wits'end, get her shaved, and away with her to a Convent. It must be confessed that the Law “is a very merry Affair (2).” This is not the Marvellous of the Matter: The chief singularity consists in the retroactive Effect. Our *Ariosta* had been a Concubine; her Children were Bastards; this was a Stain to her Honour, and her Family; but all was effaced, washed out, and annihilated, by three Words of the Priest, *Ego conjungo vos*. The Marquis of *Ferrara*, by marrying this Mistress, a little before he left the World, metamorphos'd her from a Concubine into an honest Wife, and legitimated her Children. Such Metamorphoses happen daily; and some have pretended, that Children, born

(2) *Buffi Rabutin, Lettre 136, Part. IV, pag. 192. Edit. of Holl.*

(a) *TELL-MESSUS. See its Article. Plutarch, Aristian, Lucian, Clement, Alexandrinus, and several others, say, that Aristander was of this City.*

at a time, when their Father and Mother could not marry for want of a Dispensation, ought to be legitimated by a subsequent Marriage; but the Parliament of Paris gave Judgment against this Pretence in the Year 1664 (3). It may perhaps be asked, why the Marquis did not comply before the Year of his Death. I answer, that a Fornicator, who finds himself near his end, is more disposed to such a Conduct, than if he were in hopes of living longer. The Checks of Conscience, excited of themselves, or by the Discourse of a Casuist, are more lively at the approach of Death; less Difficulty is then made in passing through a vexatious Ceremony, which may quiet them. Add to this, that a great Lord, solicited to marry by a Mistress, whom he enjoys, may imagine, that she will be a thousand times more obliging, and faithful, while she flatters herself with the Hopes of attaining to the Quality of his Wife, but that, after having attained to it, she will discover her Pride and ill Humour, &c. He may, therefore, think proper to keep her in constant Expectation; but, when he is past Hopes of Recovery, he will think it time to give over this Piece of Management. However it be, some are so severe, that they cannot be reconciled to the Conduct of the Marquis of *Ferrara*, and his Imitators: They would have a Woman, who has dishonoured herself, and been a long time a Scandal to a whole Country, remain all her Life-time in Disgrace; that the Example of her being restored to Honour and Reputation may not serve as an Allurement to other Maids, and, under the like Prospect, conceal from them the Infamy of Concubinage (4).

(3) *See the Journal des Savans, for Jan. 12, 1665, pag. 46.*

(4) *See Remark [D] of the Article ALESIUS.*

ARISTANDER, a famous Soothfayer in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, was Native of a certain City in *Asia*, where almost all were born with a Disposition to Prophecy (a). He followed *Alexander* to the Conquest of *Persia*, and acquired

quired a wonderful Ascendant over the Mind of This Monarch [A], by the great Success of his Art [B]. He had been formerly in the same Employ at the Court of King Philip; and it was He, who explained That Prince's Dream, after his Marriage with Olympia, more to the King's Satisfaction, than any of his Brethren. Philip dreamed, that he had sealed the Queen's Belly with a Seal, on which was engraved a Lion,

[A] He acquired a wonderful Ascendant over the Mind of This Monarch. It is certain, on the one hand, that, in all the Macedonian Army, there was no Soothsayer of such great Reputation and Authority, as Aristander: Peritissimus vatium (1). Cui maxima fides habebatur (2). Cui tum plurimum credebatur ex vatibus (3). It is, on the other hand, most certain, that Alexander was very superstitious: Erat non intactus ea superstitione mentis (4). Superstitiosis potens erat (5). It is easy, then, to conclude, that Aristander had a great Ascendant over him. Quintus Curtius observes, that This Prince had an implicit Faith in him. "Qui post Darium victum" Ariolos & vates consulere deferat, rursus ad superstitionem humanarum gentium ludibria revolutus, Aristandrum, cui CREDULITATEM SUAM ADDIXERAT, explorare eventum rerum sacrificiis jubet (6). . . . He, who, after the Conquest of Darius, had left off to consult with Soothsayers and Diviners, relapsing into the Follies of Superstition, commanded Aristander, in whom he had an implicit Faith, to enquire by Sacrifice the Event of "Things." If, in any critical Juncture, he was to beg a singular Favour of the Gods, he shut himself up with Aristander. With him he shut himself up, to perform the most mysterious and ineffable Ceremonies of Religion. Plutarch informs us of this, where he mentions the Preparations for the Battle of Arbela.

Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀναπαυόμενος, αὐτὸς πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ τῷ μάγῳ Ἀριστάνδρῳ διέτριβεν ἱερουργίας τίνας ἀπορήτους ἱερουργήματα καὶ τῷ τοῖσιν σφραγίζμενος (7). Alexander, whilst the Macedonians slept, performed certain mysterious Ceremonies before his Tent, with Aristander the Soothsayer, and sacrificed to Apollo. Quintus Curtius says, that Alexander, being much troubled on this Occasion, sent for Aristander, to implore the Assistance of the Gods, and that Aristander, in his Habit of Ceremony, dictated the Forms of Prayer to him. "Alexander non alias magis terribus ad vota & preces Aristandrum vocari jubet. Ille in candida veste, verbenas manu preferens, capite velato præibat preces regi, Jovem, Minervam, Victoremque propitiantem (8)." It is no wonder, that This Prince had such a Value for his Soothsayer; for he did him more service than any of his Generals. By his Assistance he inspired his Army with Hopes and Courage; which greatly contributed to the Success of his Enterprizes. Do but consider This Aristander in the Heat of the Battle of Arbela, habited in white, and carrying a Branch of Laurel in his Hand, crying out to the Soldiers, that he saw an Eagle perched on Alexander's Head, a certain Pledge of Victory, and that They might see it as well as he. Consider this, and reflect how much this must promote the Victory, without it being necessary, that the Soldiers should really see it? They trusted to the Eyes of the Soothsayer; if they themselves saw nothing, they imputed it to their bad Eye-sight, or the small time they had to look about for such an Object in the Air. "Vates Aristander alba veste indutus, & dextra preferens lauream" militibus in pugnam, intentis avem monstravit, haud dubium victoriæ auspicium. Ingens ergo alacritas ac fiducia paulo ante terribis accendit ad pugnam (9). Plutarch observes, that Alexander lent a helping Hand to his Soothsayers (10), and, least the Event should justify Those, who laughed at Aristander's Promise, that the City of Tyre should be taken before the end of the Month, he ordered, that That Day, which was the last of the Month, should, for the future, be counted as the Twenty eighth. He would give his Prophet time: who had nevertheless not much exceeded it; for the City was taken upon That Day, if we may believe Plutarch, an Author much to be suspected in These Matters. Let us not omit, that no one knew the Art of comforting his Master so well as our Aristander. He used very little Rhetoric in recovering him from the most oppressive Melancholy. A Dream served him instead of every thing else, upon these Occasions. Alexan-

der, perfectly in Distraction at his having killed Clitus, had almost broke his Heart with groaning and weeping. It was feared, he would dye of Sorrow; the Door of his Chamber was forced open; he would hear no Body; but, no sooner had Aristander put him in Mind of a Dream, which related to the Death of Clitus, and represented to him, that That unfortunate Man was from the beginning predestinated to This End, Our Prince receives immediate and perfect Consolation. Ἀριστάνδρῳ δὲ τῷ μάγῳ ὑπομιμνήσκοντος αὐτὸν τὴν τε ὄψιν ἣν εἶδεν περὶ τῷ Κλίτῳ, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ὡς δι' αὐτοῦ καθευδόμενον τῶν ἐξ ὅσων ἐκδίδονται (11). At quum vates Aristander visum illi quod de Clito fuerat ei representatum & prodigium subjeceret, jamdudum bene in satis fuisse, visus est animus relaxare.

[B] By the great Success of his Art. [A] They, who set up for Prediction, are happy, when they serve a Prince, whom the Providence of God designs for great Purposes. A thousand human Reasons induce them to foretel all manner of Success, cost what it will; and they have the pleasure to see the Event justify their Temerity. This was Aristander's Case. He ventured to foretel Things at all Adventures; and Alexander's good Fortune still saved his Credit. The Prophet had reason to be fond of such a Conqueror; and the Conqueror was excusable in trusting to a Man, who divined so rightly. I have formerly wondered, that Alexander should be so superstitious; at present I should wonder, if he had been otherwise; and it is surprising to me, that his Respect for the Soothsayers was interrupted in the Time of his highest Prosperity (12). He could not be ignorant, that his good Fortune exceeded the Foresight of his own Prudence, and the Greatness of his Courage. He must, then, necessarily have believed, that an invincible and most powerful Virtue took particular Care of his Affairs: He must, therefore, morally speaking, have been always disposed to cultivate the Favour of That Power, by all those Means, which the Soothsayers suggested to him; I say, the Soothsayers, whom he considered as the proper Judges of the Time, in which Fortune was in a good or bad Humour, and as Arbitrators of the Means to appease This Goddes, and render her propitious. It would be found to be less strange, that certain Princes should slight the Counsels of those, who are Directors of their Devotions: I say, certain Princes, who succeed in their Undertakings, only in proportion to the human Means, which they make use of to render these Enterprizes almost infallible; and who fail of Success, whenever their Prudence has not taken all necessary Measures. They are the Antipodes of great Conquerors. But I confess there still remains matter of Wonder in the Case. Could such a Great Soul, as That of Alexander, represent God to itself under the Idea, which Superstition gives of him? He had his lucid Intervals; as, when he dismissed one of his Prophets from his Presence, who came to dissuade him from an Attack, for which every thing was prepared; telling him, that nothing could be more impertinent, in the midst of such Preparations, than a superstitious Soothsayer. "Si quis, inquit, arti tuæ intentum & exta inspectantem sic interpellat, non dubium quin incommodus ac molestus videri tibi possit. Et cum ille ita prorsus futurum respondisset; censeñse, inquit, tantas res non pecudum fibras ante oculos habenti, ullum esse majus impedimentum quam vatem superstitione captum (13). — Should any One thus interrupt you, whilst buisied in your Art, and contemplating the Entrails, I question not but you would think him troublesome and impertinent. To which when the Soothsayer assented; The King added; Do you think then, that to me, who have such great Things, not the Entrails of Beasts, in view, any thing can be a greater Interruption, than a superstitious Diviner." The Confidence, which he had in his good Fortune, hindered him sometimes from submitting to the Advice of Aristander. He found himself designed for great Things; an Opinion, which is one of the most powerful Springs of Providence;

(11) Id. ib. pag. 694.

(12) See what has been cited from Quintus in the foregoing Remarks, Citation (5).

(13) Quint. Curtius, lib. 9, cap. 4.

(a) Plut. in
Alexand.
init. p. 665.

(b) Artemi-
dor. lib. 1.
c. 33. p. 30.

(c) Plut. in
Alexandro,
pag. 671.

(d) Arrian.
lib. 1. c. 8.

(e) Q. Cur-
tius, lib. 4.
cap. 2.

a Lion. The other Soothsayers, upon this, advised him to have his Wife's Conduct more carefully observed [C]; but *Aristander* maintained, that the Dream signified, that the Queen was pregnant with a Son, who should have the Heart of a Lion (a). She was, then, with Child of *Alexander*. King *Philip* pretended to expound the Dream himself [D], but could make nothing of it. Though *Aristander* had applied himself chiefly to the Interpretation of Dreams; and though he is One of the Authors, who have wrote the most learnedly on This Subject (b), yet he exercised his Talent on all kinds of Prodigies. If News was brought, that a Statue of *Orpheus* had sweated, he would say, that it foreboded, that the Poets would one Day sweat in singing the Victories of *Alexander* (c). If a Swallow fluttered about this Prince, or perched upon his Head, *Aristander* said, it was a Sign of a Conspiracy against the King; which, however, would be discovered (d). If, during the Preparations for the Siege of *Tyre*, Blood, issuing out of a Soldier's Loaf, dismays the King; *Aristander* recovers him, and tells him, since the Blood proceeded from the internal parts of the Bread, it was a fatal Omen to the City, which was to be besieged (e). On another Occasion, he interpreted the Presage of a Raven, which had let fall something on *Alexander's* Head, and afterwards rested upon a Tower, where it was taken (f). The Entrails of Victims were new Matter of Foresight to This great Soothsayer (g); He explained likewise what the Actions of Men portended [E]. Probably, then, he

(f) Ib. c. 6.

(g) Quintus
Curtius, lib.
7. cap. 7.
Plut. in A-
lex. pag. 679.

(14) Quintus
Curtius, lib.
7. cap. 7.

(15) That of
Alexander
the Great.

(16) Plut. in
Alexandro.

(17) Cic. de
Divin. lib. 2.
cap. 70.

(18) Macro-
bius, lib. 2.
cap. 5.

dence; and by That he kept up the Courage of This Soothsayer. "Rex iustum confidere felicitati suæ re-
miffit. Sibi enim ad alia gloriam concedere Deos"
(14). — *The King sent him back, bidding him
to trust to His good Fortune, and telling him, that the
Gods reserved him for still greater Glory.*

If any one thinks these Remarks too prolix, let him know, that I have my Reasons for it. My design was to ease another Article (15), which abounds but too much with Matter. Four Articles are read with more Pleasure than One, though That one be shorter than the other four. This obliges me to scatter many Things here and there, which naturally belong to one and the same Subject. What are we not obliged to do to humour a capricious Age?

[C] *Advised him to have his Wife's Conduct more carefully observed.* Their Reasons were at least as good as Those of *Aristander*; for thus the latter reasoned. *Men do not seal up an empty Box; the Queen must therefore be with Child; since the King has dreamt, that he sealed up her Womb* (16). But hear the Reasons of the other Diviners. *Men do not seal up a Box, when there is no danger, that any Person should open it; it is sealed only as a Precaution against Those, who may approach it. The Queen's Box, then, is in danger, since the King has dreamt, that he sealed up it: The Lyon, engraven on the Seal, signifies the Necessity there is of being upon his Guard. This imports, that the Place is besieged, and begins to think of surrendering; and that, unless a strong and faithful Garrison be kept in it, the Besiegers will quickly enter the Place.* Cicero, to ridicule the Interpretation of Dreams, alleges the different Explications, which were given in much such another Case. "Parere quædam matrona cupiens, dubitans esse ne prægnans, visa est in quiete obignatam habere naturam: ad conjectorem retulit: Negavit eam, quoniam ob signata fuisse, concipere potuisse. At alter prægnantem esse dixit; nam inane nihil obignari solere" (17).

— *A certain Matron, who desired to be a Mother, but was in doubt, whether she was with Child or not, dreamt, that her Natural Parts were sealed up. She applied to an Interpreter of Dreams; who told her she could never conceive, as being sealed up. But another assured her she was actually pregnant, since it was not the Custom to seal up an empty Thing.* But it may be said, that *Aristander* was more successful in his Conjecture, and therefore argued better. I deny the Consequence; a Person may be happier in his Conjectures, without being consequently a Man of more Skill: And might not both Parties have Reason of their side? Does Pregnancy and Chastity always go together? *Olympia* might resemble *Julia* a little, who said, *Nunquam nisi navi plena tello vestrorem* (18). We are going to see another Explication of this same Dream.

[D] *King Philip pretended to expound this Dream himself.* Neither *Plutarch*, nor any other Pagan Author informs us of this; but a Father of the Church. I shall set down all he says concerning it; since several Things may be learned from it. "Philipus magis cedo nondum Pater Olympiadis Uxoris naturam obignasse viderat annulo. Leo erat signum: cre-

diderat præclusam genituram, opinor, quia leo femel pater est. Aristodemus vel Aristophon conjectans immo nihil vacuum obignari, filium & quidem maximi impetus portendi. Alexandrum qui sciunt leonem annuli cognoscunt (19). — Philip of Macedon, not yet a Father, dreamt, that he had sealed up the Natural Parts of his Wife *Olympia*. The Seal was a Lion: he believed she would never have a Child; I suppose, because the Lion is but once a Father. Aristodemus, or Aristophon, interpreted the Dream to portend the Birth of a very brave Son. They, who know Alexander, know the Lion on the Seal." Hence it appears, 1. That the Seal, applied in a Dream to *Olympia's* Womb, made her Husband believe, that she would have no Children. There was some ground for this Thought; and we may almost suppose, that *Philip* was One of those Pagans of Europe, who, as it is said, had read the Holy Scriptures: I say, this might be supposed, if the Ideas of common Sense did not naturally enough lead to This Prince's Conjecture. But it is certain, that the Word of God represents the Barrenness of Women under This Idea. If the closing of the Womb represents, in Scripture, the Punishment of Sterility (20) inflicted by God, the opening of it represents the Blessing, by which he causes This Evil to cease (21). In the Second Place, it appears, that *Tertullian* made no Reflexion on This Idea, which the Scripture furnishes, and which Nature itself dictates. He considers only the Lyon engraven on the Seal, and believes, that *Philip* built all his Conjecture on That. *Tertullian* supposes wrong in this Place, and concludes ill. It is false, that the Lyon is but once a Father (22); and, besides, would not a Man who thought so, be ridiculous in arguing from it, that he should never have a Child; he ought at least to conclude that he should have One. It appears, in the Third Place, that *Tertullian* had forgot the Name of the Soothsayer, who hit upon the best Explication; he does not know, whether he ought to call him *Aristophon*, or *Aristodemus*. He remembered only the two first Syllables of his Name, and could not properly supply the rest; in a word, he had forgotten the Name of *Aristander*. In the Fourth Place, we see that he was very well satisfied with the Explication of the Dream: It is One of Those, which he alleges, to prove the Excellency of the Soul. Let us finish this Comment, with observing, that, perhaps, King *Philip* contended a long time with his Diviners for the Explication, which he gave of his own Dream; and perhaps *Aristander* said to him, upon this Occasion, what a Musician said, one Day, to the same Prince, in a like Case; *God forbid, that your Majesty should ever be so unhappy, as to understand these things better than myself.* Μὴ γινώσῃς σοι ἑαυτὸς, ὡς βασιλεὺς, κακῶς, ἢ αὐτὰ ταῦτα βέλῃς σιδῆς (23). *Alas! O Rex, ut eo tu infortunio deolectare, ut barum rerum scientia me fias prior.*

[E] *He explained likewise what the Actions of Men portended.* For Example; he foretold, that *Lysimachus*, one of *Alexander's* Lifeguard, should attain to Royalty, but not without much Difficulty (24). His Reason was This: *Alexander* being mounted on a good Horse,

(19) Tertul-
lus de Anima.
cap. 46.

(20) Genes.
xx. 18.

(21) Ibid.
chap. xxx.
ver. 22. See
also chap.
xxix. ver.
31.

(22) See the
Notes of Ri-
galtius on
this Passage
of Tertul-
lian.

(23) Plut.
de discrim.
Aulæ. &
Amici, pag.
67.

(24) Appi-
an. in Syria-
cæ.

was the Author of the Book, mentioned by *Pliny*, so full of prodigious Events [F]. But, as for the Books of Agriculture, mentioned by *Varro* and *Columella* (b), I am apt to believe they were written by another *ARISTANDER*, especially since *Varro* has given the Surname of *Albenian* to the Author of them. Our *Aristander* survived the King his Master; and his Remonstrances brought the People in good earnest to think of burying him. I know not whether this Particular has been touched upon by any other than *Ælian*, who mentions it in the last Chapter of the twelfth Book of his *Various History*.

Horfe, *Lyfmacbus*, who was not able any longer to follow him on foot, had taken hold of the *Horfe's* Tail, that he might not quit his Master. *Alexander* had, by chance, wounded him in the Forehead with his Lance, and having, for want of Linnen, made use of his Diadem to bind up the Wound, it happened, that the Diadem was stained with Blood: And upon this *Aristander* grounded his Prediction.

[F] Probably he was the Author of the Book, mentioned by *Pliny*, so full of prodigious Events.] These are his Words: "Prodigio autem sunt ex dulcibus acerba poma, aut dulcia ex acerbis; gravi offento cum in deteriora mutantur ex olea in oleastrum, ex candida uva & fico in nigras: ut Laodiceæ, Xerxis adventu, platano in oleam mutata: qualibus ostentis Aristandri apud Græcos volumen scætet; apud

"nos vero C. Epidii Commentarii, in quibus arbores locutæ quoque reperiuntur (25). — It is a Prodigy, when bitter Apples become sweet, or sweet bitter; it is of dire Portent, when things are changed into worse, The Olive into the wild Olive, or the white Grape or Fig into black; as at Laodiceæ, upon the Arrival of Xerxes, the Plane-Tree was changed into an Olive; with which kind of Prodigies the Work of Aristander, among the Greeks, abounds; among our own Authors, the Commentaries of Caius Epidius, in which we read even of speaking Trees." Compare with this the Passage of *Cicero* concerning the Inhabitants of *Telmessus*, mentioned in the Article of That City (26), and wonder at the incredible Facility of the Ancient Pagans in multiplying Prodigies.

(b) *Ælian* Hardouin, in Indice Aulorum, takes for the same Aristander Him mentioned by Varro, and Columella, and Him mentioned by Pliny.

(a5) *Plin.* lib. 17, cap. 25.

(a6) Remark [C].

ARISTARCHUS, a Greek Philosopher, and Native of *Samos*, was one of the first, who maintained, that the Earth turned upon it's Center, and described annually a Circle round the Sun [A]. He invented one kind of Sun-Dials (a). It is not constantly agreed, at what Time he lived. It is only certainly known, that he was born before the Death of *Archimedes* [B]. There are extant of his Works only *A Treatise of the Magnitude and Distance of the Sun and Moon*, translated into Latin, and commented on, by *Frideric Commandin*, and published with the Explications of *Pappus*, in the Year 1572. Dr *Wallis* published it in Greek, with the Latin Version of *Commandin*, in 1688, and inserted it in the third Tome of his Mathematical Works, printed at Oxford, in 1699. The *System of the World*, which appeared under his Name, is a Work of *Roberval* (b). We shall remark a Fault, which has crept into the Text of *Plutarch* (c).

[A] Was one of the first, who maintained, that the Earth turned upon it's Center, and described annually a Circle round the Sun.] *Sextus Empiricus*, speaking of the Hypothesis of the Motion of the Earth, intimates plainly, that *Aristarchus* was the chief Inventor of it: for he mentions only Him. Οἱ γὰρ μὲν τὴν τῆ κόσμου κίνησιν ἀνέλονται, τὴν δὲ γῆν κινεῖσθαι δοξάζουσιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν μαθηματικόν, ἃ καλοῦνται νοστὶν χρόνον (1). — They, who denied the Motion of the World, but believed, that the Earth moved, as Aristarchus the Mathematician, could easily form an Idea of Time. *Plutarch*, intending to clear up a Thought of *Plato*, and, considering with himself, whether That Philosopher did not believe the Motion of the World, adds, That This Opinion was afterwards That of *Aristarchus* and *Seleucus*; and that *Aristarchus* taught it Hypothetically, and *Seleucus* Dogmatically. Ὅς ὕστερον Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σέλευκος ἀπεδείκνυσαν ὁ μὲν ὑποτίθειναι μόνον ὁ δὲ Σέλευκος, καὶ ἀποφανθῆναι (2). Ut postmodo Aristarchus & Seleucus ostenderunt. Same hoc ille ita ut supponeret tantum, hic etiam pronuntiavit. This is intimating, that *Aristarchus* was looked upon as the Author of this Opinion. *Archimedes* intimates this more plainly. These are his Words: Ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γεγραμμέναις παρὰ τοῦ Ἀρετολόου διακρίσας Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ Σάμιος, ὑποθέσας τινὲν ἐξιδωκεν γράφας, ἐν αἷς, ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων συλλέγειν τὸν κόσμον πολλαπλάσιον ἤμεν τὴν νῦν εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἀπλανῆ τῶν ἄστρον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, μένει ἀκίνητον. τὰν δὲ γῆν περιστρέφεται περὶ τὸν ἄλιον, κατὰ κύκλου περιφέρειαν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶ δρόμου καί μιν (3). — Aristarchus the Samian, confuting these Notions of the Astrologers, laid down certain Positions: from whence it follows, that the World is much larger, than what we just now mentioned; for he lays it down, that the fixed Stars, and the Sun, are immovable; and that the Earth is carried round the Sun, in the Circumference of a Circle. Probably the Transcribers have falsified the Passage of *Plutarch*, where we read, that *Aristarchus* pretended, that Greece ought to have entered a Process against *Cleanthes* for Irreligion, in believing the Motion of the Earth. Μόνον (εἶπεν) ὁ τῶν, μὴ κρίνιν ἡμῖν ἀσεβείας ἐπαγγέλλειν, ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχος ὥλοιο δέιν κλεισθῆναι τὸν

Σάμιον ἀσεβείας προκαλεῖσθαι τὸς Ἕλληνας, ὡς κινῶν τὰ κόσμου τιν ἐστίν, ὅτι φαίνεται σωζέειν ἀπὲρ ἐπερῶτο, μένει τὸν ἔσθρον ὑποτίθειναι, ἐκ ἐλπίσθαι δὲ κατὰ λογὴν κύκλου τὴν γῆν ἅμα καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλιον διενεμένην (4). — Bring not an Action of Impiety against us, as Aristarchus thought Greece ought to have done against Cleanthes the Samian, as a Disturber of the Lares of the Universe; For he endeavoured to preserve the Appearances of the Heavenly Bodies, by supposing, that the Heavens themselves stood still; but that the Earth revolved in an Oblique Circle, and at the same Time round it's own Axis. The Transcribers seem to me to have transposed the Names; it should be read; Cleanthes was of Opinion, that Greece ought to have tried Aristarchus the Samian for Irreligion, &c. This is a Conjecture of *Gassendi* (5), and a Correction, which Mr *Ménage* adopts as certain. In verbis Plutarchi, says he (6), legendum omnino ὥσπερ Ἀρίσταρχον τὸν Σάμιον ἐπὶ Κλειάνθους δέιν ἀσεβείας προκαλεῖσθαι τὸς Ἕλληνας. Amist did not perceive this Fault.

[B] It is not constantly agreed, at what Time he lived; it is only certainly known, that he was born before *Archimedes's* Death.] The Words, I have quoted (7), prove, that, at the latest, our *Aristarchus* could be but cotemporary with *Archimedes*. Now we know, that *Archimedes* lost his Life, when *Syracuse* was taken by the Romans, in the First Year of the CXLII Olympiad, during the Second Punic War. Observe, that, according to *Plutarch*, quoted above, *Timeus* the Locrian lived before *Aristarchus*; for the Sentiment, which he would have explained, is found in *Plato*, as if *Timeus* had spoken it in Conversation. Now, since *Plato* was a Disciple of This *Timeus* (8), and That, after having seen Egypt; we must conclude, that, if *Plutarch* has well observed Chronology, *Aristarchus* flourished after *Plato*. We are sure, then, that he did not flourish after *Archimedes*, nor before *Plato*; and I believe it is not easy to fix on any thing more exact. *Blancanus* has placed *Aristarchus* Two Centuries earlier, than *Hipparchus*, and has placed the latter an Hundred Years after the Death of *Alexander*, that is, an Hundred Years after the First Year of the CXIVth Olympiad (9). He believed, then, that *Aristarchus* flourished about the LXXXIXth Olympiad.

(a) *Vitruv.* lib. 9, cap. 9.

(b) See *Ménage*, in *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 8, n. 85, pag. 389.

(c) In Remark [A], Citation (4).

(4) *Plut. de facie in Orbe Lunæ*, pag. 922, F.

(5) *Gassendi*, *Phys. sect.* 2, lib. 3, cap. 5, pag. 617, Tom. 1, Oper.

(6) *Ménage*, ubi supra.

(7) In the foregoing Remark.

(8) *Cicero*, de *Finib.* lib. 5, c. 29, & *Tuiculi*, lib. 1.

(9) *Blanc.* in *Mathematico*. Chronol. ad calcem libri de *Arith.* locis *Mathem.* pag. 46, 49.

(1) *Sextus Empiricus adversus Mathematicum*, pag. 410. Mr *Ménage* in *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 8, n. 85, cites this Passage twice in the same Page, first as *Sextus Empiricus*, and secondly as *Pyrrho*.

(2) *Plut.* in *Quest.* *Plat.* p. 1006, C.

(3) *Archimedes* in *Pammitte*, pag. 449, & *apud Ménage*, in *Diog. Laërt.* lib. 8, pag. 389.

(10) Simler. in Epit. Bibl. Gessner.

(11) Lib. Fromond. de Orbe Terræ Immobile, pag. 1. He has omitted this Poet Ant-Aristarchus.

(12) Voss. de Scient. Math. pag. 157.

(13) Joh. Stadius, in Pref. Tabularum Bergensium, apud Voss. ubi supra.

(14) Vitruvius, de Architect. lib. 1, cap. 1.

(15) Dacier's Remarks on Homer's Art of Poetry, ver. 470, pag. 371.

(16) Heinsius, in Prolegomenis Aristarchi Sacerdotis, fol. 3.

(17) Fabricius, Lives of the Greek Poets, pag. 7.

(18) Athen. lib. 2, lib. finem, pag. 71. B.

(19) That the same as the second Evergetes.

(20) Pag. 549. He cites him in several other Places.

(21) That the Name of Scopia, a City of Myfia.

(22) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 419.

(23) Voss. de Histor. Græcia, pag. 135.

(24) Diog. Laert. lib. 5, n. 84, says, that Demetrius Scerpius was a Disciple of Crates and Aristarchus.

(25) Now This Demetrius was Contemporary with one Metrodorus (17), whom Mithridates caused to be put to death in the Year of Rome 681 (18). Judge then, whether One, who flourished under Ptolemy Philadelphus, could be contemporary with This Metrodorus.

(26) The Death of That Ptolemy falls in with the Year of Rome 506. Note, that it may be collected from Diogenes Laertius, that Demetrius was elder than Metrodorus, and, if so, there is no retorting the Reason; for it cannot be said, that I prove too much.

(27) Observe likewise, that the Son of a Disciple of Aristarchus was still living (19), when Strabo was old enough to assist at the public Lectures (20). Now, since Strabo lived to Tiberius's Time, he could not hear the Lectures of the Son of one of Aristarchus's Disciples, if Aristarchus flourished under Ptolemy Philadelphus.

(28) [B] Whenever a Verse displeased him, he treated it as supposititious. Cicero certifies this in these Words: "Si, ut scribis, ex litteræ non fuerunt diserte, scito meas non fuisse. Ut enim Aristarchus Homeri verbum negat, quem non probat, sic tu (libet enim mihi jocari) quod disertum non erit, ne putaris meum"

(29) If, as you write, those Letters were inelegant, be sure they were not mine. For, as Aristarchus denied those Verses, which did not please him, to be Homer's, so I desire, that what is not elegant (allow me to jest) you would believe not to be mine."

(30) To this may be added another Passage of the same Author: "Nisi forte scire vis, me inter Nician nostrum & Vidium judicem esse. Pro-

(31) fert

(32) See Strabo, lib. 14, pag. 447.

(33) Strabo, lib. 14, pag. 447.

(34) Cicero, Epist. 11, ad Famil. lib. 3, pag. 169.

(35) Cicero, Epist. 11, ad Famil. lib. 3, pag. 169.

(36) Cicero, Epist. 11, ad Famil. lib. 3, pag. 169.

(37) Cicero, Epist. 11, ad Famil. lib. 3, pag. 169.

(38) Cicero, Epist. 11, ad Famil. lib. 3, pag. 169.

Olympiad, a little after the Birth of Plato. This does not agree with the Passage of Plutarch, which I have alleged. Simler's Opinion agrees with it as little. That Author makes Aristarchus flourish in the Reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, which reached from the first Year of the LXXXIXth Olympiad to the last Year of the LXXXVIIIth (10). Libertus Fromondus is yet more opposite to Plutarch's Opinion; since he knew not whether Aristarchus preceded, or followed, Pythagoras (11). I believe Vossius (12) would

ARISTARCHUS, a famous Grammarian, was born in Samotracia, and chose the City of Alexandria for his adopted Country (a). He was much esteemed by Ptolemy Philometor, who entrusted him with the Education of his Son [A]. He applied himself diligently to Criticism, and revised Homer's Poems with incredible Exactness, but a little too magisterially; for, whenever a Verse displeased him, he treated it as supposititious [B]. This Edition of Homer was much esteemed, as also much

[A] Ptolemy Philometor entrusted him with the Education of his Son.] This appears plain in the Words of Suidas. Γέγονε, says he (1), κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ φιλομήτορι, ὃ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἡγαγεῖν.

He lived in the CLVth Olympiad, in the Reign of Ptolemy Philometor, whose Son he also educated. The Olympiad, which he specifies, answers very well to the Reign of This Ptolemy; but This however may be said, that it does not appear, that this Prince had any Sons: Historians give him but one Daughter, and make his Brother succeed him. This Objection is of no force; for, on the one side, if the Son, whom he caused to be instructed by our Aristarchus, died in his Youth, the Historians might think, that there was no need of mentioning him; on the other hand, it is false, that They are all silent in the Matter. Justin gives Ptolemy Philometor a Son; and says likewise, that Ptolemy, his Uncle, caused him to be put to death (2).

The learned Leo Allatius has not taken notice of this; he will have it, that the Disciple, which Suidas gives Aristarchus, was the second Ptolemy Evergetes: Cujus (Ptolemæi Philometoris) filium secundum Evergetem erudiit, Olympiade CLVI, ut Suidas tradit (3). This is wrong; the second Ptolemy Evergetes was the Brother, and not the Son, of Ptolemy Philometor. Vossius was no less mistaken, in believing, that Ptolemy Philometor made choice of Aristarchus for Preceptor to his Son Ptolemy Latyrus (4); he should have known, that Ptolemy Latyrus, or Latbarus, was the Son of the second Ptolemy Evergetes. What Suidas observes, that Aristarchus was a Disciple of Aristophanes, the Byzantian, does not furnish a reasonable Objection; for it is well known, that a very great Error has crept into That Passage of Suidas, where we read, that Aristophanes of Byzantium flourished in the XLVth Olympiad; it should be read the CXLVth Olympiad; as Allatius, and Jonsius, have observed (5). "Aristophanis meminit Suidas, in quo obiter Librarianum error in Olympiade notandus est. Ipse namque habet, Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὴν μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα, quæ Hieronymus Wolphius vertit, Vixit Olympiade XLP, cum omnino scribendum sit πρὸς, id est, CXLV (6). . . . Suidas mentions Aristophanes, in which Author, by the way, a Mistake of the Transcribers, with regard to the Olympiad, deserves to be taken notice of. For Suidas has it Γέγονε δὲ κατὰ μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδα, which Jerom Wolsius renders by Vixit Olympiade XLV (he lived in the XLVth Olympiad); whereas it ought certainly to be read πρὸς, i. e. 145. The Anonymous Author of the Description of the Olympiades places Aristophanes the Byzantian, under this Olympiad. Suidas, in saying, that the same Aristophanes was, in his Youth, a Disciple of Callimachus, does not contradict this. Μαθητὴς Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ζηνοδότου, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νέος, τὸ δὲ παλαιὸς νεὺς (7). A Disciple of Callimachus and Zenodotus, but of the former in his Youth, of the latter in his Childhood. A Person, who flourished in the CXLVth Olympiad, might have been a Disciple of Callimachus; for That Poet lived 'till the Reign of Ptolemy Evergetes, the Son of Ptolemy Philadelphus; and we know, that Ptolemy Evergetes reigned to the end of the CXXXIXth Olympiad. Now, if Aristarchus was a Disciple of Aristophanes the

Byzantian, it is pointing out the exact time, in which he flourished, to place him, as Suidas has done, in the CLVth Olympiad. They, who will weigh these several Particulars, will find some Difficulty in assenting to this Proposition: Aristarchus lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, at the same time with Callimachus (8). The learned Heinsius observes, that some Persons say this (9); and, since he does not censure them, we may suppose, that he approves of their Opinion. He would have done better to have condemned it. Faber is more to be credited in this, than his Son-in-law: He places Aristarchus in the Reign of Ptolemy Philometor (10). See the Remark [G], where we shall prove the Truth of This Opinion, from the Consideration, that Crates and Aristarchus were Contemporaries. A Passage of Athenæus might induce some to believe, that our Critic lived under Ptolemy Philadelphus; it is, where Athenæus relates, that Ptolemy Evergetes was one of Aristarchus's Disciples (11). For want of examining the whole, one might be persuaded, that This Ptolemy Evergetes was the Son of Ptolemy Philadelphus; but it is certain, that he must be taken for Ptolemy Physcon (12), Brother of Philometor. In effect, Athenæus speaks of one Ptolemy, who wrote Books, and who must necessarily be the same with Him, whom he cites in the twelfth Book (13), and whom he reckons the seventh King of Egypt.

There are still farther Proofs against Mr Dacier's Opinion. It is well known, that Demetrius Scerpius (14) lived at the same time with Aristarchus. This Strabo testifies: Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγορὸς Κράτητι καὶ Ἀριστάρχῳ (15), æqualis Cratetis & Aristarchi. Vossius did not consider these Words with Attention, when he said, that Strabo affirms, that Demetrius Scerpius was a Disciple of Crates and Aristarchus (16). Now This Demetrius was Contemporary with one Metrodorus (17), whom Mithridates caused to be put to death in the Year of Rome 681 (18). Judge then, whether One, who flourished under Ptolemy Philadelphus, could be contemporary with This Metrodorus. The Death of That Ptolemy falls in with the Year of Rome 506. Note, that it may be collected from Diogenes Laertius, that Demetrius was elder than Metrodorus, and, if so, there is no retorting the Reason; for it cannot be said, that I prove too much. Observe likewise, that the Son of a Disciple of Aristarchus was still living (19), when Strabo was old enough to assist at the public Lectures (20). Now, since Strabo lived to Tiberius's Time, he could not hear the Lectures of the Son of one of Aristarchus's Disciples, if Aristarchus flourished under Ptolemy Philadelphus.

[B] Whenever a Verse displeased him, he treated it as supposititious.] Cicero certifies this in these Words: "Si, ut scribis, ex litteræ non fuerunt diserte, scito meas non fuisse. Ut enim Aristarchus Homeri verbum negat, quem non probat, sic tu (libet enim mihi jocari) quod disertum non erit, ne putaris meum"

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(12) Voss. de Scient. Math. pag. 157.

(13) Joh. Stadius, in Pref. Tabularum Bergensium, apud Voss. ubi supra.

(14) Vitruvius, de Architect. lib. 1, cap. 1.

(15) Dacier's Remarks on Homer's Art of Poetry, ver. 470, pag. 371.

(16) Heinsius, in Prolegomenis Aristarchi Sacerdotis, fol. 3.

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To this may be added another Passage of the same Author: "Nisi forte scire vis, me inter Nician nostrum & Vidium judicem esse. Pro-

fert

(b) See Remark [B].

(c) See the Anti Baillet Tom. 1. p. 80, 81.

much criticized (b). He play'd the Critic upon Pindar (c), and Aratus (d), and other Poets; and it is not true, that, in order to criticize on every one, without Fear of being censured in his Turn, he had the Address not to publish any thing of his own

(d) See Vol. de Scient. Mathem. pag. 156.

(22) Id. lib. 9. Epist. 10. pag. 23, 24.

"fert alter (ut opinor) duobus vericulis expensum Niciae: alter Aristarchus hoc ἐξελίξεν. Ego, tamquam criticus antiquus, judicatorum, utrum sit τὸ ἀντιπρὸς, ἀπαρμυζόμενος (22). — Un-
less, perhaps, you would know, that I am Umpire between our Friend Nicias and Vidius. The one acknowledges certain Verses to be genuine, the other, like an Aristarchus, condemns them. I, as some ancient Critic, am to decide, whether they really are the Poet's, or are spurious." It is said, that Aristarchus marked, over against the Verses, which he condemned as spurious, the Figure of a Spit, from whence it came, that ἐξελίξεν signifies to condemn. Translatum ab Aristarcho, qui Homeri carmina in corpus redegit, atque in libros digessit, versus nostros, hoc est adulterinos & subditos, qui non videntur sapere venam illam Homericam, ἐξελίσκοις, id est minutis veribus prænotatis, damnans: contra, qui videntur insignes ac genuini ἀσπίσκοις, id est stellis, illustrans (23). — Borrowed from Aristarchus, who reduced the Poems of Homer into a Body, and divided them into Books; condemning those Verses as spurious, which seemed not to reek of Homer's Vein, by prefixing an obelisk, or Spit; on the contrary distinguishing those, which appeared to be excellent and genuine, with an Asterisk, or little Star." See Ausonius's Poem, entituled Ludus septem Sapientum; where he desires a rigorous Censure of his Poems from Drepanius Pucatus. He would be treated, as Aristarchus had treated Homer, and expresses himself thus:

Mæonio qualem cultum quæsitivè Homero

Censor Aristarchus, normaue Zenodoti.

Pone obelos igitur spuriorum fligmata vatam,

Palmas non culpas esse putabo meas (24).

(24) Auson. in Ludo septem Sapientum, circa imit. p. 265.

As Aristarchus and Zenodotus polished Homer; so affix the Spits, the Brands of spurious Poets; I esteem them as my Palms, not as my Faults.

It is thought, that he means Aristarchus in the last of these two Verses.

Quique Sacri lacerum collegit corpus Homeri,

Quique notas spuris versibus apposuit (25).

(25) Id. Epist. 18. p. 649.

He, who collected the scattered Poems of Homer, and he who branded the spurious Verses.

(26) Quenstedt. de Patriis Viror. Illustr. pag. 433.

Charles Stephens, Lloyd, and Hofman affirm, in their Dictionaries, that *Ælian* observes, that Aristarchus's Criticisms were so exact, that, whenever he condemned a Verse, as not being Homer's, it was looked upon, of course, as supposititious. *Ælianus* tradit hunc tam castigato fuisse iudicio, ut Homeri versus non putaretur, quem ipse non probasset. Quenstedt affirms the same thing (26). I do not think *Ælian* says so, and, if he did, he must have been mistaken; for we learn from *Athenæus*, that the Taste of this great Critic (27) was often condemned; some Verses of Homer, which he rejected, were still received, and he and his Reasoners laughed at. His Confidence alone was sufficient to bring his Judgment in question: He decided, in some Cases, that such and such Verses of the *Iliad* ought to be transferred to the *Odyssey* (28). *Allatius* was not ignorant, that the Criticisms of Aristarchus were often censured; and, upon this Occasion, quotes *Athenæus* (29), *Plutarch*, and the Scholiast of Homer. He informs us, that the Grammarian *Prologus* of *Alcalon* published a Book of Aristarchi correctione in *Odyssea* (30), and that *Zenodotus* of *Alexandria* was sent for to revise Aristarchus's Criticisms. "Zenodotus alter Alexandrinus ideo advocatus est, ut de reprobatis ab Aristarcho Homericis carminibus iudicium ferret (31)." Idem (*Suidas*); Ζηνόδοτος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεὺς γεγραμμένους ὁ ἐν ἄλλοις κληθεὶς πρὸς τὰ ὕμῳ Ἀεσπερχυ ἀδεδεμένα τῷ Πτολεμῷ. Nevertheless, he affirms, that Antiquity paid too great regard to Aristarchus's Judgment, that it was believed, that those Verses, which displeased him, were not really Ho-

mer's. Aristarchi porro iudicium adeo probavit antiquitas, ut Homeri versus non putarentur, quos ipse non probaret (32). Does not this betray great want of Judgment? *Ælian* Vinetus deserves Censure upon this Occasion: "Cujus (Aristarchi), says he, veteres tanti fecerant iudicium, ut, quem non probaret, Homeri verum non crederent. Ita Cicero, Suidas, Erasmus (33). — The Ancients had so great a Regard for Aristarchus's Judgment, that they looked upon whatever Verse he disapproved of not to have been Homer's; as we find in Cicero, Suidas, and Erasmus." It is false, that Cicero says any such thing (34); he only tells us, that Aristarchus took those alone for Homer's Verses, which he himself approved of. Nor does *Suidas* say, what *Vinetus* imputes to him. I can affirm the same of *Erasmus*, in regard to the Place, from whence I have borrowed what has been cited above (35). *Saldenus*, desiring to make some Alteration in the Words of *Charles Stephens*, which I have quoted, has greatly offended against the Reasoning Part. He has not quoted *Ælian*, nor has he affirmed, that Aristarchus's Criticism was exact; he is satisfied with saying, that this Censor believed it so. Thus far all is well; he defers *Charles Stephens* upon a false Quotation, and will answer but for one thing, which is very probable, to wit, that the Corrector of Homer thought himself a very able Man; but here is the Mischief of it: From this advantageous Opinion, which he had of his own Wit, *Saldenus* concludes, that Antiquity received none for Homer's Verses, but such as pleased Aristarchus. This is a false Inference. *Grammaticus* ille, qui hoc nomen (Aristarchi) gessit, tam castigato se putavit esse iudicio, ut Homeri versus nullus haberetur, quem ipse non probaret (36). Thus *Saldenus* argues; and, to confirm his Argument, he cites us the Words, where Cicero says, that Aristarchus rejected all the Verses of Homer, which were not to his Taste, as supposititious. This Proof is no better, than the Position itself, which was to be proved. I have read, in the Commentary of a modern Author, that Aristarchus had so refined and penetrating a Genius for Criticism, that he was generally called the Prophet, or Diviner, from his wonderful Sagacity (37). I have been surprized not to find any Footsteps of this Elogy in a vast number of Writers, whom I have run over, in the Places, where this Grammarian is mentioned. At last I found, in a Note of *Corradus* on Cicero's Epistles, the following Words: Hinc illam (Aristarchum) μάστιγιν ἐκάλει Παναίτιος ὁ Ῥόδιος φιλόσοφος, ἡ δὲ ῥόδιος κατανομήσις τῆς τῶν ποιημάτων διαβάσεως. *Athen. lib. 14.* (38). I have searched in vain in the fourteenth Book of *Athenæus*. However it be, there is a great Difference between this Quotation of *Corradus*, and That of Mr *Dacier*. The Greek Words signify only, that *Panetius* gave the Name of Diviner to our Aristarchus; and not that it was the common Style of Antiquity.

(32) Id. ib. pag. 104.

(33) *Ælian* Vinetio, in *Aufonii Ludum septem Sapientum*, init. p. 265.

(34) See, above, Citation (21), the Words of Cicero.

(35) Citation (23).

(36) *Saldenus* de *Libris*, p. 388.

(37) *Dacier's* Remarks on *Horace's* Art of Poetry, p. 371, 372.

(38) *Corradus*, in *Epist. 14*. *Cicero*, ad *Atticum*, lib. 1.

Note, that it is the Opinion of many, that Aristarchus was He, who divided each of Homer's Great Works into as many Books, as there are Letters in the Alphabet, and inscribed each Book with a particular Letter. "Plutarch. lib. de Homero. Iliadem & Odysseam Homeri ab Aristarcho Grammatico in numerum librorum divivam ad ordinem & numerum Græcarum literarum. Eustathius in *Iliad*. A. tradit, Aristarchum & Zenodotum confusum antea Homeri opus digessisse in certos libros, eosque literis distinctisse. Unde non solum primus tam Odysseæ, quam Iliadis, liber α vocatur, secundus β & sic deinceps: Verum etiam ipsum opus γεγραμμένα nominatur. Et sane verum est, banc per literas divisionem recentiore. Nam antiqui nunquam ea usi, ut patet ex *Aristotele* de *Poetica*, Cap. 24. (39). — Plutarch, in his Book of Homero, tells us, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer were divided by Aristarchus, the Grammarian, into a Number of Books, answering to the Order and Number of the Greek Letters. Eustathius, upon the first *Iliad*, informs us, that Aristarchus and Zenodotus digested the Work of Homer, which was before confused,

(39) *Joannes* de *Wower* de *Polymathia*, cap. 18. pag. 153, 154.

own [C]. They, who make him cotemporary with *Pisistratus*, are grossly mistaken [D]. His Reputation continued a long time. *Cicero* and *Horace* employed his Name, when they would describe a too rigid Critic [E]. Some ascribe to him a Thought, which

"into a certain Number of Books, and distinguished them by Letters. Whence it is, that not only the first Books both of the Iliad and Odyssey are called A, the second B, and so on; but the whole Work is styled *ἑρμηνεία*, The Letters. And indeed this Division by Letters is of modern Date. For the Ancients never made use of it, as appears from *Aristotle, De Poëtica, Cap. 24.*"

[C] It is not true, that, in order to criticise on every One, without Fear of being censured in his Turn, he had the Address not to publish any Thing of his own. *Saldenus*, under the borrowed Name of *Christianus Liberius*, tells an untruth, when he says, "Sic Aristarchus Grammaticus nullum non reprehendebat,"

(40) *Christianus Liberius*, in *Bibliophila*, pag. 21. apud *Ménage, Anti-Baillet Tom. 1. pag. 81.*

"nihil ipse scribens ne ab aliis reprehendi posset (40). — Thus Aristarchus the Grammarian censured every one; but published nothing himself, for fear of being censured by others." I know not whether he relates it with the same Correctives, as in the Work, which he published in his own Name, in 1688. If he has, Mr *Ménage* has not cited him justly; for he has dropped an Essential Part of the Passage, which he reports. These are *Saldenus's* Words, in the Work, which he published, in 1688. "Sicuti Aristarchus Grammaticus neminem non reprehendebat, nihil interim ipse scribens, ne reprehendi ab aliis posset ut nonnulli volunt: licet aliis sint, ac plerique quidem, qui *πολυγραφοί* ipsum accensent, ut supra diximus (41). — *At Aristarchus the Grammarian censured every one; but published nothing himself. lest he should be censured by others; as some will have it; tho' others reckon him among the Voluminous Writers; as I have observed above.* We may add, upon this Occasion, what Mr *Faber* addressed to a Journalist (42). If you had published any thing of your own, we should be upon the Square; but, as the Case stands, you play with too much advantage; it is mockery to bet a Farthing against a Guinea; I know not who will play with you upon such Terms.

(41) *Guill. Saldenus de Libris*, pag. 43. He bud said, p. 13. Aristarchus Grammaticus supra mille Commentarios interis configuravit; He should have said, as *Suidas* does, supra octingentos.

(42) *Faber. second. Journal. pag. 48. Edit. Holl.*

(43) *Allatius, de Patria Homerii*, pag. 93. & seq. He says, that these Commentaries are not printed.

[D] They, who make him cotemporary with *Pisistratus*, are grossly mistaken. This is a very ancient Error. *Allatius* cites a long Passage (43), in which one of the Commentators of *Dionysius of Thrace* affirms, that *Pisistratus* ordered it to be published over all Greece, that They, who brought him any of *Homer's* Verses, should receive a Reward, at so much per Verse. When he had collected as many as he could, he sent for seventy Grammarians, to each of whom he gave a Copy of this Collection. They were defared, each of them separately, to range these Verses in the best Order they could. After each had done his Best, they met again, by *Pisistratus's* Order, and shewed their Work to each other. They agreed, unanimously, that the Work of *Aristarchus* and *Zenodotus* deserved the preference, and afterwards declared, that *Zenodotus's* Work ought to yield to That of *Aristarchus*. This Story contains This, among other Falsenesses, that *Aristarchus* and *Pisistratus* lived at the same Time. It was easy to discover this mistake; yet the Commentators on *Dionysius of Thrace* have persuaded a great many into a Belief of it. *Eustathius* has vented it, and, after him, *Genebrard*, and *Jafon de Noreis*. Read this Passage of *Allatius*: "Multis aliis recentioribus fucum fecerunt. Nam *Eustathius* in *Iliados* idem asserit. Οἱ δὲ συνδόμενοι ταῦτων κατ' ἐπιστάσαν, ὡς φασι, Πεισιφάτης τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τυραννὸς Γενναῖαρχοῦ, καὶ διορθωσάμενοι κατὰ τὸ ἐκείνου ἀρίστον, ὡν κορυφαῖος Ἀεῖσαρχος, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου Ζηνόδοτος. Id est: "Qui vero eam complerentur Grammatici, jussu, ut tradunt, *Pisistrati* Abotemum Tyranni, & ut mihi melius visum est correxerunt, quorum Princeps Aristarchus, & post eum Zenodotus. Et interius: Ἰὺ δὲ ἀπαρχὴν γάλακτος τῆς οὐμῆς ποίσιον σκεδασθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἐποιούσαο Κιναιδῶν ὁ χιζῶ. Κιναιδῶν τὸ δὲ, φασιν, αὐτῶν πᾶμπόλλα, οἱ περὶ τὸν Κιναιδῶν. καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἀνέοι ποινῶν παρὲν ἀποδοῦναι. Διὸ καὶ διορθώσαναι οἱ Οἰμεικαὶ βέλτοι, ὡς ἀνὰ τὴν εἰρησίαν. Id est: "Homeri vero poemum dispersim recitandi principium fecit Cinæthus Chius. Verum illum multis modis Cinæthi sectatores depravarunt, multaque à se conscripta carmina iniecerunt. Quare libri Homerici

"correcti sunt, ut superius diximus. *Gilbertus Genebrardus Chron. lib. 2. Pisistrati jussu Aristarchus Homeri rapsodiam recensuit, & in 24 partes pro numero elementorum distribuit.* Jafon de Noreis in artem Poeticam Horatii, *Aristarchus miro quadam acumine castigabat veterum scripta, atque ideo colligendis Homeri versibus præpositus fuit.* In quibus vides miros Anachronismos. Primus, qui Aristarchum sub Pisistrato collocat. Secundus, qui Cinæthum Chium asserit primum Homeri poemum dispersim recitasse. Cum uterque post Pisistrati tempora floureret. Cinæthus enim, si Pindari Scholiastæ credimus, in Nemeon, Od. 2. sub Olympiade sexagesima nona apud Syraculas Homeri carmina (44) Id. ib. p. 96, 97. ἐξελθόντες (44). — They have deceived many others of the Moderns; for *Eustathius*, on the first Iliad, asserts the same Thing. Οἱ δὲ συνδόμενοι, &c. i. e. The chief of the Grammarians, who dispersed and corrected it, by order of *Pisistratus*, Tyrant of Athens, were *Aristarchus*, and after him *Zenodotus*. And a little lower, τὸ δὲ ἀπαρχὴν γάλακτος, &c. i. e. *Cinæthus the Chian* was the First, who recited the scattered Poems of *Homer*. But the Followers of *Cinæthus* corrupted them several Ways, and foisted in several Verses of their own. For which reason the Books of *Homer* were corrected, as I have said above. *Gilbert Genebrard, Chron. lib. 2. says, that Aristarchus, by order of Pisistratus, revised the Rhapsody of Homer, and divided it into Twenty four Parts, according to the Number of the Letters. Jafon de Noreis, upon Horace's Art of Poetry, tells us, that Aristarchus with wonderful Judgment corrected the Writings of the Ancients, and was therefore appointed to collect Homer's Poems. In these Passages you see surprising Anachronisms. The first places Aristarchus in the Reign of Pisistratus; The second asserts Cinæthus the Chian to have been the first, who recited the scattered Poems of Homer; Whereas as both of them flourished after the Time of Pisistratus. For Cinæthus, if we may believe the Scholiast on Pindar, Nem. Od. 2. collected together the Verses of Homer, at Syracuse, in the LXXIXth Olympiad."*

[E] *Cicero* and *Horace* employed his Name, when they would describe a too rigid Critic. Consult the Oration against *Piso*, where you will find the following Words: "Verum tamen, quoniam te non Aristarchum, sed Phalarim Grammaticum, habemus, qui non notam apponas ad malum verbum, sed Poëtam armis persequere, scire cupio quid tandem isto in versu reprehendas, Cedant Arma togæ (45). — I desire to know of you, who are not an Aristarchus, but a Phalaris, and who, instead of affixing a Mark to a bad Verse, pursue the Poet himself, sword in Hand; inform me, I say, what you dislike in That Verse, Cedant Arma Togæ, &c." The same Orator declares, that he was afraid of his Friend *Astarchus's* Nails. *Nostrium opus tibi probari letor; ex quo avēn ipsa posuisti, quæ mihi florentiora sunt visa tuo judicio. Cæculas enim tuas minutulas illas extimescebam (46).* Thus we should express ourselves at present to denote the Censures, which a Reader might mark down in the Margin of a Book, and the cæculas minutulas of the Passage, which I have quoted. *Articus* was one of those sincere Persons, who examine the Compositions of their Friends with Strictness, and therefore *Cicero* calls him his *Aristarchus*. Quid multa? totum hunc locum, quem ego varie mei orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro, (noti illas λανθάνουσιν) valde graviter perterritus (47). The Verses of *Horace*, which I am going to quote, furnish an Idea, which is a strong Proof of my Text.

(44) Id. ib. p. 96, 97.

(45) *Cicero, Orat. in L. Pison, c. 30.*

(46) *Cicero ad Attic. lib. 16. Epist. 10.*

(47) Ibid. lib. 1. Epist. 10.

Vir bonus & prudens versus reprehendit inertes
Culpabit duos: incomptis allinet atrum
Transverso calamo signum: ambitiosa recidet
Ornamenta: parum claris lucem dare coget:
Arguet ambigue dictum: mutando notabit:
Fiet Aristarchus: nec dicet, Cur ego amicum
Offendam in nugis (48)?

(48) *Horat. de Arte Poetica, vers. 445.*

which others impute either to *Theocritus*, or *Iſocrates* [F]. He had ſeveral Conteſts, in *Pergamus*, with *Crates* the Grammarian [G]; and died in the Iſland of *Cyprus*, at Seventy two Years of Age. He was ſeized with a Dropſy, and found no better Remedy for this Diſtemper, than ſtarving himſelf to Death. There proceeded out of his School to the Number of forty Grammarians [H]. He left two Sons, whoſe only Merit was their great Simplicity. He, who bore his Father's Name, had been fold

*The prudent Care of an impartial Friend
Will give you notice of each idle Line;
Shew what ſounds baſhful, and what wants Ornament,
Or where it is too lavishly beſtow'd;
Make you explain all that he finds obſcure,
And with a ſtriſt Enquiry mark your Faults;
With Freedom, Ariſtarchus-like, will judge *,
Nor for theſe Trifles fear to loſe your Love.*

Lord RosCOMMON.

[F] Some aſcribe to him a Thought, which others impute either to *Theocritus*, or to *Iſocrates*.] This Saying of *Ariſtarchus* is upon Record; I cannot write, what I would; and I will not write, what I can (49). Mr Dacier tells us this, on theſe Words of *Horace*:

Si quantum cuperem, poſſem quoque (50).
Did but my Pow'r riſe equal to my Wiſh.

The Authors, whom I have hitherto conſulted, have not led me to the Source; and my Enquiries have been leſs ſucceſſful in this Point, than in That of *Ariſtarchus*'s Divination. This makes me paſſionately wiſh, that Mr Dacier, and others like him, would have the goodneſs to leave off the Practice of not quoting their Authors. Are they afraid, that the Great and Polite World, for whom they labour, ſhould look upon Citations as too pedantic? I can ſcarce believe, that a Count de Guiche (51), for Example, would be diſpleaſed to know, where we may find, that *Ariſtarchus* was the Author of this fine Saying, and was treated as a Prophet. Any Lady, who loves Learning, would be better pleaſed to know, that *Plutarch*, or *Ariſtote*, vouch ſuch a Faſt, than, in general, that it is reported. This by the way: To return to our Text; we read, in the Col-lections of *Stobæus*, that *Theocritus*, being asked, why he did not write, answered, becauſe I cannot do it as I would. and I will not do it, as I can. Ἐρωτηθεὶς διὰ τί ἢ συγγράφει, ἢ τι, εἶπεν, ὡς μὲν βύλομαι ἢ δύναιμαι, ὡς δὲ δύναιμαι ἢ βύλομαι (53). *Iſocrates*, being at Table with *Nicæreus*, King of *Cyprus*, was deſired to ſay ſomething, but would not; and gave this Reaſon; What I do know, is not ſeaſonable, and, what may be ſeaſonable, I do not know. Οἷς μὲν ἐγὼ δεινὸς ἔκ οὐ νῦν καίρος, οἷς δὲ οὐ νῦν καίρος, ἔκ ἐγὼ δεινὸς (52). This puts me in mind of The Thought of *Seneca*; "I never endeavour'd to pleaſe the People; for they do not approve of what I do know, and I do not know what they do approve of. Nunquam volui populo placere, nam quæ ego ſcio, non probat populus, quæ probat populus, ego neſcio (54)."

[G] He had Conteſts, in *Pergamus*, with *Crates* the Grammarian (55).] The Words of *Suidas* are expreſs to this Purpoſe: Κράτης τῷ γραμματικῷ περγαμηνῷ πλεῖστα διημιλλήσατο ἐν περγαμῷ (56). *Cum Cratete* Grammatico *Pergamæno* *Pergami* ſepſiſſime contendit. By virtue of this Paſſage, *Cafaubon* maintains, that *Crates Mallotes* was not the Antagoniſt of *Ariſtarchus*; but another *Crates*, born at *Pergamus* (57). As this *Crates Mallotes* was cotemporary with *Ariſtarchus*, and very well known to the King of *Pergamus*, it might eaſily be ſuppoſed, that he was the ſame, who diſputed on ſeveral Occaſions with *Ariſtarchus*. It is proper therefore to obſerve, that *Suidas* gives the Surname of *Pergamæni* to *Ariſtarchus*'s Adverſary. Perhaps he is miſtaken; for They, who quote *Crates* of *Pergamus*, repreſent him rather as an Hiſtorian, than Grammarian (58); and it is certain, that Grammar was the chief Study of *Crates Mallotes*. Read this Paſſage: "Primus quantum opinamur Studium Grammaticæ in Urbem intulit *Crates Mallotes*, Ari-

ſtarchi æqualis, qui miſſus ad ſenatum ab Attalo rege, inter ſecundum ac tertium bellum Punicum, ſub ipſam Ennii mortem, quum in regione Palatii prolapſus in cloacæ foramen cruſis fregiſſet, per omne legationis ſimul & valerudinis tempus plurimas alexandriſubinde fecit, aſidueque diffuſit, ac noſtris exemplo fuit ad imitandum (59). ----- It is believed, that *Crates Mallotes*, Cotemporary with *Ariſtarchus*, firſt introduced the Study of Grammar at Rome; who, being ſent to the Senate by King Attalus, between the ſecond and third Punic War, about the Time of Ennius's Death, and having the Miſfortune to fall, and break his Leg, near the Palatine Hill, continued, during the whole Time of his Embaſſy and Recovery, to read ſeveral Lectures, and to bold Diſputations; in which he ſet the Romans an Example worthy of Imitation." This Paſſage of *Varro* is generally underſtood of *Crates Mallotes*. *Crates* nobilis Grammaricus, qui fretus Chryſippo homine acutiſſimo, qui reliquit ſex libros περὶ τῆς ἀνομαλίας; heis libris contra analogiam atque *Ariſtarchum* eſt nixus (60). ----- *Crates*, a celebrated Grammarian, who relied on Chryſippus, a Man of great Subtilty, who left ſix Books concerning Anomaly; by the help of theſe Books, he oppoſed Analogy and *Ariſtarchus*." If *Varro* ſpeaks here of *Crates Mallotes*, it is probable, that *Suidas* miſtook the one for the other; I mean, that *Crates Mallotes*, and not *Crates* of *Pergamus*, was the Rival of our *Ariſtarchus*. I know not whether the Commentators on *Suetonius* have ever thought of criticifying him on a Point of Chronology, which I ſhall mention. He ſays, that *Crates Mallotes* came to Rome in the Name of King Attalus, about the time that *Ennius* died. The Death of That Poet happened in the Year of Rome 585. Now He, who reigned at that Time at *Pergamus*, was called *Eumenes*: He began his Reign in the Five hundred and fifty ſixth Year of Rome, and died in the Year 596, leaving the Tuition of his Son, and the Regency, to his Brother Attalus. If *Crates Mallotes*, then, was deputed to the Romans by This Attalus, Chronology will not allow us to ſay, that he took this Journey about the time of *Ennius*'s Death. However, *Suetonius* ſupplies us wherewith to confirm the Opinion of Thoſe, who make *Ariſtarchus* flouriſh under *Ptolemy Philometor*, in the CLVth Olympiad (61). *Eufebius* and *Suidas* are of This Number.

Voffius has not followed *Suetonius*; for, inſtead of ſaying, that *Ariſtarchus*, and *Crates Mallotes*, were Cotemporaries, he makes *Crates Mallotes*, and *Apollodorus*, the Diſciple of *Ariſtarchus*, Cotemporaries (62). I do not pretend, that this is falſe; for a Perſon may be cotemporary both with the Maſter and the Diſciple; but I obſerve, by the way, that he is miſtaken in another Point: He believed, that a Drammatic Piece, which had been tranſlated by *Ennius*, and was called the *Acchilles* of *Ariſtarchus*, had this Name given it, only becauſe That great Critic had corrected it. Ab hoc & vetus quedam Comædia, quam *Ennius* poſtea tranſtulit, dicebatur *Acchilles* *Ariſtarchi*. Mementi ejus *Plautus* (63). At ſic non alia de cauſa vocabatur, quam quod ab eo eſſet emendata. It is a Miſtake. This Piece was a Tragedy of *Ariſtarchus* of *Tegeæ*, cotemporary with *Euripides*. See *Scaliger* (64).

[H] Forty Grammarians proceeded out of his School.] He may be reckoned the Head of a Sect; witneſs the Words of *Varro*: "Relinquitur de caſibus, in quo *Ariſtarchi* ſuos intendunt nervos (65). "Hoc in oratione diligentius quam alii ab *Ariſtarcho* Grammatici (66). ----- It remains to ſpeak of the Caſes, in which the Followers of *Ariſtarchus* exert themſelves. ----- This Part of Speech they more carefully obſerve, than the reſt of the Grammarians ſince *Ariſtarchus*." See likewiſe the Raileries

* This Line is not Lord Roscommon's, but neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion.

(49) Dacier's Remarks on *Horace*, Epit. l. 1. 2.

(50) *Horat.* Epod. l. 1. 2. ver. 256.

(51) We find, in the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 6, Edit. of Holland, that this Count, in the miſſion of the *Pleſures* and *Associations* of the Court, never omitted ſtudying regularly, at leaſt three hours a day.

(52) *Stobæus*, Serm. XXI. de cognito. ſecipio.

(53) *Plut.* in Vita *Iſocr.* p. 838. F. See *Id.* in *Symposium*. l. 1. c. 1. p. 613. A.

(54) *Senec.* Epit. 29. pag. 219.

(55) *Suidas* in Ἀριſτάρχῳ.

(56) *Id.* ib.

(57) *Cafaub.* in *Sueton.* de Illuſtr. Gramm. c. 2.

(58) See *Voffius* de Hiſtor. Gr. pag. 347.

(59) *Sueton.* de Illuſtr. Grammat. cap. 2.

(60) *Varro*, de Lingua Latina, l. 8. init. See alſo lib. 7. p. 97. See in *Voff.* ubi ſupra ſeveral Authorities, which prove, that *Crates Mallotes* was a Grammarian.

(61) It anſwers to the end of the ſixth Age of Rome.

(62) *Voff.* de Arte Gram. l. 2. c. 6. p. 24.

(63) *Plaut.* in Prologo *Pænuli*, ver. 1.

(64) *Scalig.* Animadv. in *Eufeb.* n. 1563. pag. 103.

(65) *Varro*, de Lingua Lat. lib. 7. pag. 96.

(66) *Id.* lib. 9. pag. 134.

(e) Taken from Suidas in 'Ariste' 266.

(67) Apud Athenæum, lib. 5. in fine.

(68) Suidas in 'Ariste' 266.

(69) Voff. de Poët. Gr. pag. 67.

(70) It is Cretæ in the Edition of 1688.

(71) Diog. Laërt. in Vita Phil. 1. 4. n. 23.

fold for a Slave; but the Athenians ransomed him (e). I have something to offer against Moreri [J].

Raileries of Herodotus (67). It appears from Suidas, that Arifarchus's School subsisted for some Ages in Alexandria (68).

[I] I have something to offer against Moreri.] I. He suffered himself to be imposed upon by Voffius, when he said, that Arifarchus was of Samos (69). II. Nothing is more impertinent, than to observe, that Arifarchus was Cotemporary with Crates (70). It is explaining an obscure point by one, which is more obscure, *obscurum per obscurius*. There have been several Crates's; Diogenes Laërtius reckons up ten, some Philophers, others Poets, or Grammarians, or Orators, or Geometricians, &c (71). They did not all flourish at the same time; nor were they all of the same Country; what then can be more insignificant, than to remark, that Arifarchus flourished in the Time of Crates? The most famous of these Crates's was the Cynic Philosopher. The most natural Sense, therefore, of Mr Moreri's Words

is, that Arifarchus was Cotemporary with That Cynic: Now this is false; there is a great Interval of Time between them (72). This Censure does not affect Suetonius, who says, that Crates Mallotes was Cotemporary with Arifarchus; for there were few learned Persons in Suetonius's Age, who were ignorant at what time Arifarchus lived. III. I believe no one has said, that This Grammarian composed nine Books of *Corrections on the Iliad*, and the *Odyssey*. Suidas affirms it of Crates Mallotes (73), as Voffius observes (74). Moreri did not understand Voffius's Words. IV. It is false, that Ptolemy Laibus was the Son of Ptolemy Philometor. V. I believe it to be true, at the bottom, that our Arifarchus was living in the CLVIIIth Olympiad; but, since Eusebius and Suidas make him flourish in the CLVith, this ought to have been remarked. Voffius falsely imputes to Eusebius the placing of him in the CLVIIIth (75).

(72) Diog. Laërt. l. 5. n. 8. sup. that Crates the Cynic flourished about the CXIIIth Olympiad.

(73) Suid. in Crates.

(74) Voff. de Poët. Gr. pag. 67.

(75) Id. de Hist. Gr. lib. 1. c. 18. pag. 119.

ARISTEUS, the Son of Apollo and Cyrene [A]. His Article is very imperfect in Moreri, who confines himself to the informing us, I. That, by pursuing Eurydice, the Wife of Orpheus, from place to place, he occasioned her Death, by the bite of a Serpent. II. That the Nymphs, to be revenged of Aristeus, killed all his Bees. III. That, having offered a Sacrifice of Bulls, he recovered what he had lost (a). IV. That

(a) All this is to be found in Virgil's Georgics, Book 4.

[A] The Son of Apollo, and Cyrene] This is the general Tradition; and there are very few Traditions in Mythology more constant than this. Yet Cicero mentions another; he says, that the Greeks make Aristeus the Son of Bacchus; and adds, that, in Sicily, he was honoured in the Temple of That Deity. He addresses himself to Verres. "Quid! ex æde Liberi Simulacrum Aristei non tuo imperio palam ablatum est? — Aristeus, qui ut GRAECI FERUNT, liberi filius, inventor olei esse dicitur, una cum libero patre apud illos eodem erat in templo consecratus (1). — What! was not the Image of Aristeus openly taken away from the Temple of Bacchus by your Command? — Aristeus, who being, as the Greeks relate, the Son of Bacchus, is said to have invented Oyl, and was consecrated by them in the same Temple with his Father Bacchus." In another Book, he takes up with the common Opinion, and says, that Apollo was the Father of Aristeus, the Inventor of Oyl. Quid Aristeus qui olivæ dicitur inventor Apollinis filius (2). Let us next speak of Cyrene: She was the Daughter of Hypleus, King of the Lapithæ, who was the Son of Peneus and Creusa (3). Creusa was the Daughter of the Earth; and Peneus was the Son of the Ocean. Cyrene despised the Employments of other Maidens, and their House-hold Amusements (4), and rising, early (5), was extremely fond of Hunting, and making great Destruction among the wild Beasts. Apollo, encountering her, as she was fighting singly with a Lyon, demanded of Chiron, who she was, and whether he might not use force, and enjoy her.

(1) Cicero in Verrem, Orat. 9. c. 57.

(2) Id. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3. c. 18.

(3) Pindar. Ode 9. Pyth. pag. 433.

(4) Pind. ib. pag. 434.

(5) Τὸν δὲ σύνοιστον γαυκὺν παῦρον ἐπὶ βασιφάροις ὕπνον ἀνα-

λίσκουσα, πρὸς δὲ ἄνα- Exiguum autem somnum concubito- rem suum in palpebris impendens, quum adveniret aurora. Id. ib.

(6) Id. ib. pag. 437.

--- Ὅσια
Κλυδὸν χεῖρ' οἱ προσενεγκεῖν;
ἢ ῥα καὶ ἐκ λεχέων
Κεῖρεν μελινδῆα ποίαν (6).

Fasne est illustrem manum ei admove- Utrum & ex stratis tondere militum herbam?

Chiron, beginning with an Answer to the last Question, represented, that Lovers ought to make use of the Key of the Heart; that is of soft and tender Words, to persuade the Fair to grant what they request; adding, that, among both Gods and Men, Modesty opposes the Precipitation, with which some fall to downright Enjoyment; and explained himself very nicely upon this Subject.

(7) Id. id.

--- καὶ ἔν τε θεῶς
Τότο κἀνδρώποισι ὁμῶς
Αἰδῶν τ' ἀμφαδὼν ἀ-
δείας τυχεῖν τὸ πρῶτον εὐνᾶς (7).

Et inter Deos & homines pariter verecundanter aperte postulato dulci frui primum cubili.

"By the way, continues he, it is a visible effect of your great Civility, that you, who know all things, should do me the Honour to enquire of me concerning this Maid's Extraction." This is Pindar's Sense; I pretend not to give a Translation Word for Word; it is sufficient to represent his Thought. Now, if this be his Meaning, who can see, without Indignation, the Liberty, which a French Author takes of making him express himself thus? "Is it lawful to see her? May I approach her? Shall I not be thought rash, if I take her fair Hand, and gather one of those Vermillion Roses, which I see painted on her Lips? But the Centaur, smiling, answered him thus: A chaste Love, Apollo, ought always to be concealed; and the Fair Sex, among the Gods, as well as among Mortals, do not grant their Favours in the Eyes of the World. This is without doubt the Reason, which makes you speak with so much reserve. A Lover less chaste than you, would not have had so much Respect; and it is to your own good Manners, rather than to my Instruction, that you owe this Modesty (8)." This Translation is repugnant to the Original, and inconsistent with itself; for, should we suppose, that Apollo did not express himself grossly, but modestly and chastely, Chiron's Answer is ridiculous and contradictory. The Event was, that Apollo enjoyed Cyrene, without delay, and transported her into Africa.

(8) Notes on the Aristæus of Virgil, translated into French, and printed at Lyons, in 1668, pag. 28, 29.

Ὡκεία δ' ἐπαγομένην ἦδ' ὁθεὺς
πρᾶξις, ἰδοὶ τε βραχεῖαι.
κεῖνο κιν' ἄμαρ διαίτα-
σεν. Σαλαμὸς δὲ μίγην
ἐν πολυχρύσῳ Λιβύας (9).

(9) Pindar. Od. 9. Pyth. pag. 443.

Celer autem est properantium jam Deorum ætio, viasque breves. Illud illa dies peregit. In thalamo autem Libyæ divite auri congressi sunt.

Chiron would have had him say tender things to her, and proceed in a way of honourable Love; but, as Pindar observes, the Gods of the Poets could not away with delays; they dispatched Matters in a trice; they went the shortest Way to work; they boarded briskly, and enjoyed either by fair, or by foul Means. They took the Romance by the tail (10), and said, with Boreas in Love,

Apta mihi vis est (11).

By Force and Violence I chiefly lie.

CROXAL.
Cyrene

(10) Compare with this the 4th Scen of the Precieuses Ridicules.

(11) Ovid. Metam. lib. 6. ver. 690.

That *be invented the Secret of extracting Honey, making Oyl, and Cheese* [B]. There are several other Things, which should have been said concerning This Son of *Apollo*; it should have been observed, that he was born in That Part of *Lybia*, where the City of *Cyrene* was built; that he was brought up by the Nymphs; that, having taken a Journey to *Thebes*, he there married *Autonoë*, the Daughter of *Cadmus*; that he had by Her *Aëxon*, who was torn in Pieces by his own Dogs; that, after the Death of This Son, he consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*; that, upon the Strength of the Answer, which was given him, concerning the Honours he should receive in the Island of *Cea*, he made a Voyage thither [C]: That, a Plague ravaging all *Greece*, he offered Sacrifices, which put a stop to it; that, leaving his Family in the Island of *Cea*, he re-passed into *Lybia*; from whence he sailed with the Fleet, which his Mother had

- (12) Virgil. Georgic. lib. 4. ver. 355. See also Servius, on ver. 317.
- (13) Hygin. cap. 161.
- (14) Schol. Apoll. in lib. 2. Argon. v. 502.
- (15) Frischlin. in Callimach. Hymn. 2, pag. 397. Edit. Ultraj. 1697.
- (16) Apoll. Argon. lib. 2, ver. 502. & seq.
- (17) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4, cap. 83, pag. 167.
- (18) Pindar. Od. 9. Pyth. pag. 441.
- (19) Schol. Apoll. Argon. lib. 2, ver. 500.
- (20) Apoll. ibid. lib. 4, ver. 1218. mentions a Temple of *Apollo* *Nomius*.
- (21) Benedictus, in Pindarum ubi supra, pag. 442.
- (22) Plut. in Amator. p. 757.
- (23) Scholiast. Apoll. in lib. 2. ver. 509.
- (24) Apoll. Argon. 1. 4. ver. 512, &c.
- (25) Id. ib. ver. 1132.
- Cyrene* conceived, and brought our *Aristeus* into the World. Observe, that *Virgil* (12) and *Hyginus* (13), who make her the Daughter of *Peneus*, follow an Ancient Tradition in this (14). Wherefore we may say, that *Frischlinus* was much in the wrong to blame *Boccace*, and to be ignorant of what They had affirmed. "Constat non recte scripsisse Bocatium, l. 7. Geneal. c. 28. dum asserit Cyrenem Penei fuisse filiam (15). — Boccace was certainly mistaken, in asserting, that *Cyrene* was the Daughter of *Peneus*." *Apollonius* supposes, that she was a Shepherdess, and had resolved to lead a single Life, but that *Apollo*, who carried her away by force, would not suffer her to preserve her Virginity (16). [B] He invented the Secret of extracting Honey, making of Oyl, and Cheese. *Diodorus Siculus* relates, that *Aristeus*, having learnt of the Nymphs, who nursed him, the Art of curdling Milk, and making Bee-hives, and cultivating Olive-Trees, was the first, who communicated these three Inventions to Men. The Conventions, which they received thereby filled them with so great Acknowledgment, that they paid the same Divine Honours to Him, as they did to *Bacchus*. This Historian adds, that the Nymphs imposed three Names on him, That of *Nomius*, That of *Aristeus*, and That of *Agreus* (17). This agrees well enough with *Pindar* (18). But observe, that he says, that the Hours and the Earth, to whom *Mercury* carried this Infant, fed him with Nectar and Ambrosia: Others say, that *Aristeus*, having invented the making of Honey, and Oyl, in the Island of *Cea*, and having caused the Winds, which are called *Etesian*, to blow, was surnamed *Jupiter Aristeus* (19), and *Apollo Agreus*, and *Nomius* (20). The Surname of *Nomius* suited him (21), because of the Care he took of his Herds; and That of *Agreus* was proper, because he applied himself to Hunting. The following is a curious Authority for this Interpretation: They, who take Wolves and Bears in Traps and Gins, put up Prayers to *Aristeus*, because he was the first, who invented the Art of taking them with Snares, and running Nooses. It is a Passage of *Plutarch*. This is the Original. Εὐχόμενοι δὲ Ἀριστέω δοῦναι ὅπρ' ὀρύγματος καὶ βροχίοις λύκους καὶ ἀρκυίς, ὅς παρ' ὅτ' Ἰσσεύοντι ἐπὶ τῇ ποδ' ὀρύγματος (22). *Aristeo* vota faciunt siveis adis, aut laqueis possit, qui lupis aut uris insidiantur, ille feris primus pedicatus quia tendere cepit. The Scholiast of *Apollonius* does not explain the Etymology of these two Names after this manner. He founds That of *Nomius* on *Cyrene's* having to do with *Apollo*, while she was a Shepherdess, and That of *Agreus* on the Act being performed in the Fields. He adds, that, according to others, the Etymology came from *Aristeus's* teaching the Shepherds the Art of Tilling and Manuring the Ground. Ἀγρία καὶ νόμιον, τὸ μὲν, ὅτι ἐν ἀγρῶ ἐμύζον τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων. νόμιον δὲ, ὅτι νεμύει ἐμύζον. ὁ δὲ, ὅτι τὴν κατὰ τὰς ἀγρὰς θεωρεῖται τοῖς νομίσις ἐισπνήσας (23). The Passage, where *Apollonius* says, that the Inhabitants of *Thebessy* gave these two Surnames to *Aristeus*, contains Particulars, which deserve to be produced here. We there find, that *Aristeus* was brought up in *Cbiron's* Cave, and that, when he was come to Age of Maturity, the Muses gave him a Wife, and taught him Physic, and the Science of Divination, and let him over all their Flocks (24). We find, in another Passage of the same Poet, that he invented Honey, and Oyl (25). He hints, in *Virgil*, that the Pains he had taken in perfecting Agriculture, and feeding of Cattle, had procured him all the Glory he enjoyed.

Quem mihi vix frugum & pecudum custodia solers Omnia tentanti extuderat, te matre relinquo (26).

Left are the Honours; of my Herd and Plough
Honours, which scarce my utmost Toils allow;
So wretched is thy Son, so hard a Mother Thou.

He is one of the Deities, whom *Virgil* invokes, when he undertakes to write on Agriculture.

— et cultor Nemorum, cui pingua Cææ
Ter centum nivei tondent dumeta juvenci (27).

And Thou, for whom the Cæan Shore sustains
The milky Herds, that graze the flowry Plains.

DRYDEN.

Oppian (28), *Nonnus* (29), the Scholiast of *Pindar*, and *Apollonius*, &c. all agree, in making him the Inventor of Those Things, which I have specified. Some Passages on the same Subject will occur below. The following is One of them, in which the City of *Athens* is made the Place of his Birth. *Oleum & trapetas Aristeus Atheniensis. Idem mella* (30). By *trapetas* are to be understood the Mills for squeezing the Olives (31). Let us not forget, that he invented the Aromatic Gum *Benjamin*. This is asserted by an Ancient Author, quoted by the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (32), as you may see in the Three Hundred and Fifty sixth Page of *Salmastus's* Commentary on *Solinus*.

Note, that *Justin* (33) relates, that *Cyrene*, being got with Child by *Apollo*, a *Deo repleta*, had four Sons, *Nomius*, *Aristeus*, *Autobocus*, and *Argæus* (34). This is making of the two Surnames of *Aristeus* two Men (35).

[C] He made a Voyage to the Island of *Cea*. The Greek of *Diodorus Siculus* is ἐς Κῶ νῆσον; and a little after, ἐν τῇ Κῳ. *Rhodomani* translates it in *Co insulam*, and in *Co*. This rendering puzzles the Readers for it inclines him to believe, that the Greek Historian is speaking of the Island of *Cos*, the Country of the great *Hippocrates*, and not of the Island of *Cea*, as other Authors do, when they speak of *Aristeus*. However, we may be certain, that he means the Island of *Cea*, whether it be necessary to correct the Text, by putting Κῆω, instead of Κῳ (36), or that the Rules of Contraction allow us indifferently to make use of Κῳ or Κῆω, in speaking of This Island (37). Let us take notice of these Words of *Diodorus*; παρὰ τῶν Κῆων τιμαῖς, de honoribus apud *Ceos* (38). They shew plainly, that he does not design to speak of the Island of *Cos*. However, let us produce some Authors, who have affirmed, that *Aristeus* settled in the Island of *Cea*; and let us begin with the Commentator *Servius*, on these Words of *Virgil*

— et cultor nemorum, cui pingua Cææ, &c.

cited above (39). "Aristeum invocatur, id est Apollinis & Cyrenes filium — hic (ut etiam Sallustius docet) post lanitium à canibus Actæonem filium Thebas reliquit, & Ceam insulam tenuit primo ad huc hominibus vacuum (40). — He invokes Aristeus, i. e. the Son of *Apollo* and *Cyrene*. — This Aristeus (as Sallust also informs us) after his Son Actæon was torn in pieces by Dogs, left Thebes, and took possession of the Island of *Cea*, which, till then, had been uninhabited." *Apollonius* informs us, that *Aristeus*, being sent for by the Inhabitants of the *Cyclades*, to put a stop to the Plague, went from *Thebessy* into the Island of *Cea*.

(26) Virgil. Georg. lib. 4. ver. 326.

(27) Id. ib. lib. 1. v. 14.

(28) Oppian. Cyneg. l. 4.

(29) Nonnus. Dionys. l. 5.

(30) Plin. l. 7. c. 56. p. 99.

(31) Varro de Ling. Lat. l. 4. p. 34.

(32) Aristophanes. παρὰ τῶν Κῆων τιμαῖς, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κῳ ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ Κῆος, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κῳ ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ Κῆος, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Κῳ ἔστιν ἡ πόλις ἡ Κῆος.

(33) Justin. lib. 13. c. 7.

(34) It should be read Agreus.

(35) See Vossius de Theolog. Gentil. lib. 7, cap. 10, pag. 350.

(36) It is the Opinion of Voss. ubi supra.

(37) And not, apud *Ceos*, as *Rhodomani* has translated it.

(38) It is the Opinion of Salmastus in Solinus, pag. 144.

(39) Citations (27).

(40) Servius in Georg. lib. 1, v. 14.

had given him, to *Sardinia* [D]; that he fixed upon an Habitation there; that he cultivated This Country with great Care; that he banished Barbarity from thence, and civilized the Place; that he visited some other Islands; that the plentiful Harvests, and vast Stocks of Cattle, induced him to stay some time in *Sicily*; where he taught his rare Secrets to the Inhabitants; that, by way of Acknowledgment, they honoured him as a God, especially Those, who cultivated Olive-Trees; that, at last, he went into *Thrace*; that he was admitted there by *Bacchus* into the Mysteries of the *Orgies*; and that, by his Familiarity with That God, he learnt many things, which were useful to human Life; that, having lived there, some time, near Mount *Hemus*, he disappeared; and that not only the Barbarous People of the Country, but the very *Greeks* instituted to him Divine Honours (b). Mr *Moreri* fallily observes, that *Diodorus Siculus* mentions another *Aristeus*, in the Eighty fourth Chapter of the Fourth Book; for That Chapter, and the preceeding, contain what I have now delivered. I am surprized, that we meet with nothing there concerning *Arcadia*, which was one of the principal Stations of *Aristeus* [E]. In the Remarks, you will find the different Opinions of Authors, the Impertinence of some Cenfures, with other Particulars; nor shall I omit the Astronomical Discovery, which is ascribed to *Aristeus* [F]; nor his worshipping the Dog-Star; nor his Daughter *Macris*

(b) Taken from *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 4. cap. 33, 34.

(41) *Apoll. Argon. lib. 2. ver. 522.*

Λίπερ δ' ὅγε πατρὸς ἐφελμῇ
φθίνω, ἐν δὲ Κῶν καλ' ἐνάσσατο λαὸν ἀείεργς
Παρθίων (41).

*Commanded by his Sire, the Son obey'd,
And, leaving Phthia, the Parthians led
To Cea's Isle.*

(42) *Schol. Apoll. in lib. 2. ver. 500.*

The Scholiast on this Poet affirms, as I have already observed, that *Aristeus* taught the Art of making Honey, and Oyl, in the same Island. Ἀριστὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ Κῶ εὖρον τὰ μελισσορικὰ πρῶτος καὶ τὴν τε ἑλαιο καλ' ἐρπασίαν (42). We shall see, in the Remark [F], that he established there the Worship of the Dog-Star. *Varrus Atacinus* relates, in his Poem of the *Argonauts*, that, a great Mortality among the Cattle afflicting That Island, *Aristeus* went thither, by *Apollo's* Direction, and delivered it from That Calamity, after he had sacrificed to *Jupiter Icmæus*. The Winds, and Heats, which occasioned the Mortality, ceased. After *Aristeus's* Death, the Inhabitants of the Island of *Cea* obeyed an Oracle, which commanded them to place him in the Number of the Gods, and called him *Nomius* and *Agræus*, because of the Service he had done them, by his Industry in feeding their Flocks, and manuring their

(43) *Voss. de Theol. Gentil. lib. 7. cap. 10. pag. 350.*

Lands (43). Be not surprized, to find, in this Place, that he caused the Mortality to cease, by calming the Winds; and to find, hereafter, that he caused it to cease, by raising the Winds; for thus ancient Traditions are contrived; one confutes, what the other affirms; one forgets the only Particular, which the other remembers. A complete Narrative might have informed us, that, by changing the Wind, he restored Health; but They, who knew not how to express the whole, observed only, that the Wind ceased; you must not expect the rest; or, perhaps, that the Wind rose; you are to know no more of it; they will not inform you, that the pestilential Wind ceased, and the healthy succeeded. The Correction, which I have read in *Salmafus*, of a Passage in *Heraclides*, seems to me an happy one; in the mean while I would not swear, that it is not said in the Original, that the Pestilence in the Island of *Cea* proceeded from the Wind. φθορὰς οὐρανὸς οὐλὴν καὶ ζωὴν διὰ τὸ πνεῦν ἑσέσιος (44). A Plague happening on Plants and Animals, occasioned by the Etesian Winds. *Salmafus* corrects the Passage thus. Δία ἡρώατο τὸ πνεῦν ἑσέσιος (45). He prayed to Jupiter, that the Etesian Winds might blow. Which agrees with what I shall observe in the Remark [F].

(44) *Heraclides, de Politicis, pag. 20.*

(45) *Salmaf. in Solin. pag. 144.*

(46) *Diod. Siculus, lib. 4. cap. 84.*

(47) *Pausan. lib. 10. pag. 332. See likewise Silius Italicus, lib. 12. pag. 498.*

(48) *Id. ib.*

[D] He sailed - - - towards *Sardinia*.] *Diodorus Siculus* says, that he settled in the Island of *Cea*, after the Death of *Altheon*, and afterwards went into *Lybia*, and from thence to *Sardinia* (46); but others pretend, that his Grief for the Death of *Altheon* gave him such a Disaffection to *Bæotia*, and the rest of *Greece*, that he went to reside in foreign Countries (47). They say, it was then, that he led a Colony into *Sardinia*. It is said, that *Dædalus*, having made his Escape from the Island of *Crete*, joined him in conducting this Colony (48); but Chronology refutes this invincibly. *Dædalus* was Contemporaneous with *Oedi-*

pus, King of *Thebes* (49); he could not, therefore, be concerned with *Aristeus*, the Son-in-law of *Cadmus*. However it be, Accounts differ greatly. *Pausanias* says, that a Company of *Lybians* had settled themselves in *Sardinia*, and incorporated with the Natives of the Country, before *Aristeus* came thither; but *Aristotle* relates, that *Aristeus* was the first, who cultivated That Island; and that, before his Time, it served only as a Dwelling to great Numbers of monstrous Birds (50). Consult *Bechart*, who maintains, that This Voyage of *Aristeus* is a Fable (51).

[E] *Arcadia*. — was one of the principal Stations of *Aristeus*.] For This reason *Virgil* gives him the Epithet *Arcadius*, where he mentions the Invention of hiving new Bees:

Tempus & Arcadii memoranda inventa Magistri
Pandere, quoque modo caesis jam sæpe juvenis
Infincerus apes tulit cruer (52).

*'Tis time to touch the Precepts of an Art,
Th' Arcadian Master did of old impart;
And how he flock'd his empty Hives again,
Renew'd with putrid Gore of Oxen slain.*

DRYDEN.

This Art was an Invention of *Aristeus*, and caused him to be honoured as a God in *Arcadia*. "Poët cā (Cea) relicta, cum Dædalo ad Sardiniam transiit fecit. Huic opinioni Pindarus refragatur, qui eum ait de Cea insula in Arcadiam migrasse, ibique vitam coluisse. Nam apud Arcadas pro Jove cultur, quod primus offenderit qualiter apes debeant reparari (53). — Afterwards, leaving this Island (Cea), he passed over with Dædalus to Sardinia. Pindar contradicts this Opinion, who says, that he passed from the Island Cea to Arcadia, and there resided. For the Arcadians worship him as Jupiter; because he first taught the Art of repairing the loss of Bees." *Justin* gives *Aristeus* a large Kingdom in *Arcadia*: I shall quote his Words in the following Remark. It is not true, what Mr *Lloyd* affirms, that *Apollonius* makes *Aristeus* go from *Arcadia* to the Island of *Cea*. He has copied this Mistake from *Salmafus* (54).

[F] The Astronomical Discovery, which was ascribed to *Aristeus*.] If we consider *Justin's* Words only superficially, we may be induced to think, that he ascribes the first Discovery of the Solstices to *Aristeus*; but They, who read him with attention, will easily perceive, that he speaks of the rising of the Dog-Star. "Aristeus in Arcadia late regnasse, eumque primum & apium & mellis usum & lactis ad coagula hominibus tradidisse, Solstitialisque ortus sideris primum invenisse (55). — *Aristeus* reigned over all Arcadia; and was the first, who taught Mankind the use of Bees, Honey, and Cheese, and discovered the rising of the Dog-Star." The most learned Critics have observed, that it should either be read Solstitialisque ortus Sideris, or Solstitialisque ortus Sideris (56). Either of these two Readings mean the Dog-Star, as they pretend. It is certain, that This Star had a particular relation to our *Aristeus*.

(49) *Id. ib.*

(50) *Aristot. de Mirab. Auscult. pag. 281. Oper. Tom. 1.*

(51) *Bochart. Geograph. sacro. Part. II. lib. 1. cap. 31. pag. 632, 633.*

(52) *Virgil. Georg. lib. 4. ver. 283.*

(53) *Servius in Georg. Virg. lib. 1. ver. 14.*

(54) *Salmaf. in Solin. p. 99.*

(55) *Justin. lib. 13. cap. 7. pag. 313, 314.*

(56) *See the Justin, Varronius, or Mr. Grevius, on this Passage.*

(6) See the Commentary of Germanicus, in Aratea Phenomena, cap. de Aquario, pag. 118.

Macris [G]. It has been said, that, in reward for the Services he had done Man-kind by his Knowledge of all the useful Arts, the Gods placed him among the Stars, and that he was the *Aquarius* of the *Zodiac* (c). The Conformity of his History with That of *Moses* has been curiously and learnedly shewn by *Huetius* (d). Al-moſt all that *Lloyd* has added to *Charles Stephens*, on this Article, he has taken Word for Word from the Commentary of *de la Cerda* (e) ; yet without quoting him.

(d) Huetius, Demonſtr. Evang. Prop. IV. cap. 8. n. 17. pag. 110.
(e) In lib. 4. Georgic. Virgili.

The Foundation of it was this. The Heats of the Dog-Days had laid waste the *Cyclades*, and produced a Plague, which the Natives intreated *Arifteus* to put a stop to. Upon which, he went into the Island of *Cea*, and, causing an Altar to be built to *Jupiter*, offered Sacrifices to That God : He offered likewise Sacrifices to the pestilential Star, and established an anniversary Worship of it. This produced a very good Effect ; for from thence the *Etesian* Winds took their Original ; Winds, which continue for forty Days, and which temper the Heat of the Summer :

Καὶ βαμὼν ποίνετο μέγαν διδὸς ἱκεταίοιο.
Ἰσὰρ τ' εὖ ἔρραξεν ἐν ἔρεσιν ἀνέτα κείνῳ
Σειρίῳ, ἀντὶ τὴν κεγνίδῃ διί. τοιο δ' ἔκπλῃ
Γαίαν ἱκετεύοντι ἐτήσιοι ἐν διδὸς αὐτοῖς
Ἡμέλα τασσαράκοντα. Κῆρ δ' ἔτι τῶν ἱερῆς
Ἀρ' ὀλέων περσάγειθε κυνὸς ῥέζουσι θυνάδας (57).

(57) Apoll. lib. 2. Ar-gon v. 524.

To Jove, the God, who bids the Dew descend,
An Altar on the Mountain's Brow be raised.
To Sirius, then, and Saturn's Son be pray'd.
Etesian Gales hence fan the glowing Earth ;
And hence, 'er Sirius lifts his scorching Rays,
The Coan Priests the sacred Rites perform.

Diodorus Siculus does not expressly enough declare, that the *Etesian* Winds were the Effect of *Arifteus's* Sacrifices (58). He seems to say, that, this Sacrifice having been made about the beginning of the Dog-Star, which falls in with the Season of The *Etesian* Winds, the Plague ceased. But it is certain, he pre-tends, that the raging Heat of That Star was abated by the religious Acts performed by *Arifteus*. He finds matter of Wonder in it, that the same Person, whose Son was torn to pieces by Dogs, should correct the Malignity of a Star, which is called the Dog. I leave out his Greek, and give only the Translation of *Rhodomus*. *Singularem banc rerum conversionem, si quis penitus examinet, merito demiretur. Qui enim filium a canibus disceptum vidit, is caeleste fidem canis nomine appellatum, quod hominibus exitium adferre putatur, mitigavit, et mortalibus non paucis auditor salutis exiitit* (59). Other Authors say, in plain and express Terms, that *Arifteus's* Devotions were the Cause of these Winds. "Canicula exoriens aestu

(58) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 4. cap. 84.

(59) Id. ib. pag. 268.

(60) So it should be read, and not eorum. See Salmat. in Solin. p. 144.

(61) Hygin. Poet. Astron. lib. 2. cap. 4. pag. 365.

(62) Schol. Apoll. in lib. 2. ver. 500.

(63) Germanicus in Aratea Phenomena. In Aquar. p. 118, 119.

(64) Apoll. lib. 2. ver. 528. you will find his Words, above, Citat. (57).

μοβήτῃσθε γὰρ τοῖς κώοις (read κείνοις) κατ' ἐν-
αυλὸν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπιπλεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ ὀλὸν τῷ κυ-
νός, καὶ θύειν αὐτῷ (65). *Cicero* says, that they expected to foresee, by observing This Planet, whether the Year would prove healthful, or not. *Ceas accipi-mus ortum caniculæ diligenter quotannis solere servare, conjecturamque capere, ut scribit Ponticus Heracli-des, salubrisne an pestilens annus futurus sit* (66). *Manilius* imputes the same to the *Cilicians* (67). I know not whether the Inhabitants of *Calabria*, who offered up Vows to This Star, borrowed This Act of Religion, mediately or immediately, from *Arifteus* :

— sic cum stabulis & messibus ingens

Ira deum & Calabri populator Sirius arvi
Incubuit, coit agreflum manus inficia priscum
In nemos, & miseris dictat pia vota Sacerdos (68).

So when the Dog-Star o'er Calabria reigns,
And parches with excessive Heat her Plains,
The stupid Peasants, struck with annual Fear,
Assembled in some ancient Groove appear ;
In superstitious Rites they pass the Day,
And, as the Priest directs, the Wretches pray.

What Superstition ! and yet This was not the most extravagant in Paganism. By the way, the Passage of *Justin*, which I have cited in the beginning of this Remark, will furnish us with an Incident here. Mr *Faber* thought himself the first, who understood it. "Justin, says he, does not pretend to say, that "Arifteus taught the use of Milk ; That would have "been contrary to Truth, and all Antiquity ; he "speaks only of the Art of curdling Milk : Sed "ostendisse hominibus qua arte coagulum ex lacte con-fici conformarique posset (69). Neither does he "pretend, that *Arifteus* invented the use of Honey ; "Milk and Honey served to nourish the greatest of "the Gods. Nam *Jupiter*, pater ille hominumque "Deumque, melle nutritus est & lacte (70). He "speaks, then, of the Art of curdling Milk with Ho-ney." Ergo aliud docuit *Arifteus*, scilicet coagu-lum fieri ex mixtura, seu, ut Græci vocant, cramate mellis & lactis. Hunc locum a nemine batienus intel-lectum arbitror (71). This Explanation seems to me very ingenious ; but the Reason, on which it is ground-ed, prove too much ; for, if the ancient Tradition con-cerning the Food, with which *Jupiter* was nourished during his Infancy, prevented *Justin* from saying, that *Arifteus* taught Men the use of Honey, he would not have affirmed, that *Gargoris*, King of the *Cynetes* (72), or *Cunetes*, was the first Inventor of Honey ; and yet he has said so plainly, and without leaving room to give two different Senses to his Words ; Quorum (Cunetum) Rex vetustissimus Gargoris mellis colligendi usum primus invenit (73). It cannot, I think, be pretended, that *Justin* paid such a Regard to poetical Traditions, that he was cautious of advancing things, which confuse them. A great Number of Authors have said, that *Arifteus* invented Honey ; their Words imply so much expressly, and cannot admit of this Signification, be invented a Mixture of Honey and Milk, which formed a Curd. It may reason-ably, then, be concluded, that *Justin* meant as They did, and that he considered not what the Poets had said concerning *Jupiter's* Milk and Honey. Observe, by the way, that *Arifteus's* Inventions consisted some-times in Mixtures ; for he was the first, who taught the *Thracians* to mix Honey with Wine. *Arifteum primum omnium in eadem gente mel miscuisse vino, suavitatis præcipua utriusque naturæ sponte proveni-entis* (74).

[G] His Daughter *Macris*.] Very few Authors mention her ; but This is *Apollonius's* Account of her (75). It was She, who set little *Bacchus* upon her knee, after *Mercury* had rescued him from the Flames ; and it was she, who fed him with Honey. She lived at that time in the Center of the Island of *Eubœa* ; she exposed herself to the Indignation of *Juno*, by the good

(65) Schol. Apollon. in lib. 2. ver. 528.

(66) Cicero, de Divinat. l. 1. cap. 57.

(67) Manil. Astronom. lib. 1. p. 13.

(68) Valer. Flaccus, Argon. lib. 1. ver. 682.

(69) Tanaq. Faber. Not. in Justin. l. 13. cap. 7.

(70) Id. ib.

(71) Id. ib.

(72) A People of Spain.

(73) Justin. lib. 44. c. 4.

(74) Plin. l. 14. c. 4. pag. 127.

(75) Apoll. Argon l. 4. ver. 1131, & seq.

good Offices she performed to This Child, and was forced to leave the Country, and hide herself in a Cave, in the Island of the *Phœaciæ*, where she was a great Benefactress to the Inhabitants.

— Καὶ ὡρὴν δ' ἄλκον ἀδίσφατον, ἰνναῖσιν.

(76) Id. ib.
ver. 1140.

Et infinitis insularios opibus beavit (76).

ARISTEUS, the Geometrician, lived before *Euclid*, and composed Works, which met with Esteem. See, below, a fine Passage of *Pappus* [A].

[A] A fine Passage of *Pappus*. I term it so, because it informs us of a very curious Particular relating to *Euclid*; which is, that this great Geometrician, (contrary to what *Apollonius Pergæus* had alleged) out of respect to *Aristeus*, and having a particular Esteem for All, who had contributed to the Improvement of the Mathematical Sciences, would not seem to be more expert in the Knowledge of *Conics* than He. I have taken Notice of this before (1). Let us produce the Words of *Pappus*. "Aristeus

(1) In Remark (D) of the Article APOLLONIUS (PERGÆUS), Citat. (31).

ARISTEAS, the Proconnesian. Mr *Moreri*, contenting himself with telling us, that he lived in the Time of *Cyrus* [A], and, that he composed the History of the *Arimaspians*, and a *Treatise of the Origin of the Gods*, the whole filled with Fables [B], has omitted what was most singular in This Article. Let us therefore supply it as follows, and say, That This *Aristeas*, dying in his own Country (a), was seen, the very same Day, and Hour, reading Lectures in *Sicily*. This Prodigy being several times renewed, and during several Years, obliged the *Sicilians* to build a Temple, and offer Sacrifices, to Him (b). *Herodotus* has spoken at large of this Miracle [C]. *Pliny* relates, that, in the Island of *Proconessus*, the Soul of

(a) The Island of Proconessus in the Propontia.

(2) *Pappus*, in *Proconessus Mathematicæ Collect.*

(b) Taken from *Apollonius Dyscolus Histor. Comment. cap. 2.*

[A] He lived in the Time of *Cyrus*.] This is proved by the Testimony of *Suidas*. Note, that *Cyrus* began to reign in *Persia* in the LVth Olympiad. *Vossius* infers from hence, that *Suidas*, in saying, on the one side, that *Aristeas* flourished in the Lth Olympiad, and, on the other, that This was in the Time of *Cyrus*, has not observed exactness (1). The Anonymous Author, who has settled the Olympiads, places *Aristeas* in the Lth. This does not agree with what others have said; viz. that *Homer* was his Disciple (2). *Tatian* makes him later than *Homer* (3), and was censured for it by *Vossius*, as too favourable, in this Point, to the Good Cause, to wit, that *Homer's* Age was considerably later than That of *Moses* (4). This Censure seems to me to be but weakly founded; for *Tatian* might justly make use of a Tradition, which was established among the *Pagans*. It has been said, we see, that our *Aristeas* was the Preceptor of *Homer*; and we read, in *Herodotus*, that *Aristeas* appeared in the World, three Ages after he had composed a Poem (5); so that it was not agreed, that he flourished in the Time of *Cyrus*. Observe, that *Herodotus* was born in the first Year of the LXXIVth Olympiad, and that he does not mention this last Appearance of *Aristeas* as a thing which had lately happened; but on the contrary, intimates, that the Tradition of the *Metapontines*, concerning this Adventure, was of long standing; for he does not say, that they marked the Time of it.

(1) *Voss. de Hist. Græc. lib. 4. cap. 2. pag. 433.*

(2) *Strab. lib. 14. pag. 439.*

(3) *Tatian. Orat. ad Græcos, apud Voss. lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 7.*

(4) *Voss. ib. pag. 6.*

(5) *Herod. lib. 4. c. 14.*

[B] The whole filled with Fables.] *Aulus Gellius* relates, that, being at *Brundisium*, he saw several Bales of Books exposed to sale, and that he was permitted to purchase as many as he pleased at a low Price; that They were all the Works of *Greek* Authors, who had collected several surprizing and incredible Fables; as *Aristeas*, *Ifigonius*, *Ctesias*, *Onesicritus*, *Polytæbanus*, and *Hegesias*; that he bought several of them; out of which he made several Extracts, which he inserted in his Work. *Fastes librorum venalium expositos vidimus. Atque ego avidè statim pergo ad libros. Erant autem isti omnes libri Græci miraculorum fabularumque pleni: res inauditæ, incredulæ: scriptores veteres non parvæ auctoritatis, Aristæas Proconnesius, & Ifigonius Nicæensis, & Ctesias, & Onesicritus, & Polytæbanus, & Hegesias. Ipsa autem volumina ex diutino situ squallebant, & habitu adspiciendi tetro erant. Accipis mira atque insperata precium sum: & adducis mira atque insperata villatæ, libros plurimos ære paucis emo; eoque omnes duabus proximis noctibus cursum transeo: atque in legendo*

Let us conclude from hence, that *Aristeas*, Uncle-in-Law to *Bacchus* (77), was much elder than *Bacchus* himself. This does not confuse what *Diodorus Siculus* says concerning the Admission of *Aristeas* into the *Orgies*, &c. nor, what others suppose, that he commanded some Troops in *Bacchus's* Army (78); for Order requires, that the Superiority should ever belong to a Son of *Jupiter*, tho' the Younger Person.

(77) He was the Husband of Autonoe, Sister of the Mother of *Bacchus*.

(78) *Nonimus, Dionysiacor. lib. 13.*

"tradita sunt solidorum libros quinque, conicis coherentes vocavit ---- Euclides autem secutus "Aristeum scriptorem luculentum in iis quæ de "conicis tradiderat, neque anteverens, neque volens "eorum tractationem destruere, cum mitissimus "esset & benignus erga omnes, præterit eos qui "mathematicas disciplinas aliqua ex parte augere " & amplificare possent, ut par est, & nullo modo "inensus sed accuratus, non arrogans velut hic " (*Apollonius Pergæus*) quantum offendi potui de " loco per ejus conica memoriæ prodidit (2).

carpsi exinde quædam, & notavi mirabilia & scriptoribus fere nostris intentata; eaque his commentariis adpersi (6). The rest of this Chapter of *Aulus Gellius* is full of Chimerical Narrations, which he had read in Those Authors, or in *Pliny*. You are to know, that the History of the *Arimaspians*, composed by *Aristeas*, was a Poem (7). You will perhaps say, how do we know but the Author wrote it without intending it should be taken for Truth? *Aristeas* had no such Intention. Why do we not judge of the Ancient Poets, as of Him in this Point? I reply, that *Aristeas* had no Intention of diverting his Readers with Reports, which he designed should be looked upon as Fables, because his Aim, in these Stories, was to cure the Incrediblety he had observed in the People. No One believed he was a Philosopher; and the Reason was, because he denied having ever been instructed (8). He removed this objection, by pretending, that his Soul had left his Body, and that, taking its flight towards Heaven, it had surveyed all the *Greek* and *Barbarian* Countries, and finished its Course in the *Hyperborean* Climates. He boasted to have, by this means, discovered the Situation of Places, the Customs of the Inhabitants, the natural Qualities of the Elements, &c. and also to have observed the Heavens more exactly, than the Earth. Was not this producing his Tales as so many credential Letters? Did he not, by this, endeavour to establish an Authority, which should give credit to every thing else he had to say? He must, then, have proposed these Facts as true. And they were received as such; for more Credit was given to This Man, than to those Philosophers, who dogmatized without any disguise (9). Note, that *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* observes, that it was not universally believed, that our *Aristeas* was Author of the Books, which went under his Name (10).

(6) *Aulus Gellius, lib. 9. cap. 4. pag. 229. Note, that Huetius, in Demonst. Evangel.*

(7) *Prop. 9. cap. 14. pag. 103. cites this Passage of Aulus Gellius, as importing, that what had been said of Aristæus was false. This is not the Thought of Aulus Gellius.*

(8) *Herodot. lib. 4. c. 13. 14. Strabo, lib. 1. pag. 15. & l. 13. pag. 405.*

(9) *Max. Tyrius, Differt. 22. pag. 223.*

(10) *Id. ibid. pag. 224.*

[C] *Herodotus has spoken at large of this Miracle.*] This is the Sum of his Relation. *Aristeas*, one of the chief Men of the Island of *Proconessus*, went one Day into a Fuller's House, and died there. The Fuller shut up his Doors, and went and informed *Aristeas's* Relations of his Death. This News was soon spread all over the City; but, whilst this was the common Discourse, there came one, who affirmed, that he had met *Aristeas* going to *Cyzicus* (11), and that he had spoken with him. His Relations went to the Fuller's House, with Necessaries for his Funeral, but found him not, either dead, or alive. He appeared at the end of seven Years, and composed the Poem of the *Arimaspians*; after which

(11) *Dionys. Halicarn. in judicio de Thucyd. cap. 25. pag. 384.*

(12) *According to Plutarch, in Romulo, pag. 35, there were, who affirm, that they saw him on the Road to Crotona.*

(c) Plin. lib. 7. cap. 52. pag. 85.
(d) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 405.
(e) See Remark [B].
(f) Longin. *τῆς* *ὑπερβολῆς*, §. 9. p. 20.
(g) *Tzetzes* chil. 7. Hist. pag. 144.
See Catull. on Athenæus, lib. 1. pag. 13.

Aristeas was seen to come out of his Mouth, in the Shape of a Raven (c). Others say, that his Soul went in and out of his Body at Pleasure [D]. *Strabo* makes This *Aristeas* one of the greatest Sorcerers that ever was (d). Some say, that, to overcome the Incredulity of the People, with Regard to his Doctrine, he persuaded them, that his Soul had travelled into several Countries, separate from his Body (e). Six of his Verses are found in the Treatise of *Longinus* (f). Some others are found in the *Chiliads* of *Tzetzes* (g). He is twice cited in *Pausanias* (h). By the way, They, who pretend, that he was not quite dead, when his Soul was travelling (i), do not much lessen the Wonderfulness of the Prodigy. It is unnecessary to observe, that *Plutarch* laughed at this fine Story (k). *Gyraldus* has been guilty of some Mistakes [E].

(h) *Pausanias* lib. 1. p. 224 & lib. 5. p. 84. 154.

(i) *Maximus Tyrius*, *Orat.* 28. p. 282.

(k) *Plut.* in *Romulo*, p. 35.

he disappeared. Two or three Ages after, he shewed himself to the Inhabitants of *Metapontus* (12), and commanded them to build an Altar to *Apollo*, and to erect a Statue, near it, in honour of *Aristeas* the *Proconnesian*. He told them, that they were the only *Italians*, whom *Apollo* had honoured with a Visit, and that he had accompanied him in That Journey, not in the Shape of *Aristeas*, but in That of a Raven; and, having said this, he disappeared. The *Metapontines* enquired of the Oracle at *Delphi* what this meant: They were answered, that they would do well to obey; accordingly they executed his Orders (13). The Historian testifies, that, in his Time, there was a Statue of *Aristeas* in the Market-Place of *Metapontus*, near the Altar of *Apollo*, surrounded with Laurel Trees. Let us add to this a Fact reported by *Athenæus*. After the return of *Aristeas* (14), the *Metapontines* dedicated a brazen Laurel to *Apollo*. This Laurel having spoken, at the Time when a Dancer of *Thessaly* approached the Market-Place of *Metapontus*, the Soothsayers, who were present, were immediately seized with such Fury, that they tore the Woman in Pieces. Note, that he had received a sacred Present from *Philemelus*, which was a golden Crown of Laurel; which the Inhabitants of *Lampascus* had consecrated in the Temple of *Delphi* (15).

Note also, that *Aeneas Gazæus*, citing the Narrative of *Herodotus*, adds this Circumstance; that the Sacrifices of the *Metapontines* were esteemed to belong in common to *Apollo* and *Aristeas*, as two Deities (16). *Origen* observes, that *Apollo* commanded This *Aristeas* to be honoured as a God by the Inhabitants of *Metapontus* (17). *Meursius* pretends, that *Athenagoras* reproached the *Pagans* with having honoured *Aristeas* in the Island of *Cbio*, and with having taken him for the same God as *Apollo* and *Jupiter* (18). *Xiōi* *Ἀερίσαν* τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπολλῶν νομίζουσιν (19). *Cbio* *Aristeam*, quem & *Jovem* arbitrantur & *Apollinem*. *Huetius* imagines, with much probability, that, instead *Xiōi*, it should be read *Xéioi*, and that the Passage relates to *Aristeus*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Cyrene* (20); for this latter was worshipped in the Island of *Cea* (21). *Suffridus* understands the Passage of *Athenagoras* of this latter (22). *Huetius* shews, that *ARISTEUS* and *ARISTEAS* have been often mistaken one for the other (23).

They, who will have all Romances founded on some true Story, may suppose, that *Aristeas*, having counterfeited the dead Man in the Fuller's House, found means to get out, in the Master's Absence, and to convey himself privately out of the Town; and that, having hid himself for some Years, he returned thither again, and produced a Poem, in which he celebrated his Extacies (24); which he

was very well pleased should be taken in the literal, and not in the poetical Sense, in which we understand these Verses of *Horace*:

Quo me Bacche rapis tui
Plenum, quæ in memora aut quos agor in specus
Velox mente nova (25).

God of Wine, restless Pot'r,
Whither will you hurry me,
Full of the Deity,
Transported with a Rage unknown before?
Whither, whither, must I rove?
To what wild Cave, what distant Grove?
Anonym.

(25) *Horat.* lib. 3. *Ode.* 25.

and several others, which *Huetius* mentions (26). I cannot easily agree with him, that *Maximus Tyrius* confirms the Conjecture, to wit, that *Aristeas* did not expect to be understood in a literal Sense (27). *Maximus Tyrius* supposes quite the contrary; as we have seen before (28). As for his Appearance to the *Metapontines*, we may suppose, that an Impostor persuaded them of what *Herodotus* relates; for they were *Pythagoreans*, and consequently believed the Transmigration of Souls.

[D] Others say, that his Soul went in and out of his Body at Pleasure. This was said by *Hezychius Illustrius*, and, after him, by *Suidas*. These are their Words. Ἀρίσταν τῷ Περικροννήσι παρὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξίεναι ὅτε ἐβόλετο, καὶ ἐπανίεναι πάλιν (29). *Aristeæ* *Proconnesii* animam à corpore excessisse, ubi vellet, rursumque rediisse fabulatur. Τὴν παρὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ὅταν ἐβόλετο ἐξίεναι καὶ ἐπανίεναι πάλιν (30). *Huius animam, quoties voluisset, exiisse & rediisse dicunt*.

(26) *Huet.* ubi supra pag. 1038.

(27) *Id.* ib. pag. 1039.

(28) *Citation* (8) and (9).

[E] *Gyraldus* has been guilty of some Mistakes. I. He makes *Strabo* say, that the Eloquence and Address of *Aristeas* were of great Force. *Strabo* *Aristeam* *facundia* & *blanditiis* *vehementem* *fuisse* *prodidit* (31). This is to understand nothing of This Greek, ἀνὴρ γῶνς εἰ τις ἀλλῶ, *second to none in Sorcery*. II. He makes *Herodotus* say, that *Aristeas*, having ordered the *Metapontines* to erect, at the same time, an Altar to *Apollo*, and a Statue to himself, and having at last declared to them, that he was a Raven, was translated before their Eyes. This is misunderstanding *Herodotus's* Relation. I refer you to it (33). III. He says, that *Plutarch* approves of *Herodotus's* Narrative. This is false; *Plutarch* touches upon it but lightly, and makes a remarkable Change in the Circumstances of the Place; and then rejects the whole as a Fable.

(29) *Hezychius Illust.* de his qui Eruditionis fama clauere.

(30) *Suidas* in *Ἀρίσταν*.

(31) *Greg.* *Girald.* *Di.* *III.* de *Historia* *Posteriorum* pag. 85.

(32) *Strabo*, lib. 13. pag. 405.

(33) In the Remark [C] from the beginning to Citation (13).

ARISTIDES, surnamed the *Just*, flourished at *Athens* at the same time with *Themistocles*. They were greatly at variance; and it appeared, in their Case, that the being superior to another in Virtue is not always the Means of being so in Reputation [A]. The Vehemence of *Themistocles's* Eloquence made him triumph over the Justice of his Rival. It is remarkable, that one of Those, who voted for the Banishment

[A] The being superior to another in Virtue is not always the means of being so in Reputation. This Thought is borrowed from *Cornelius Nepos*; "In his cognitum est, quanto antistaret eloquentia innocentiae; quamquam enim adeo excelebat Aristides ab innocentia, ut unus post hominum memoriam, quod quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Justus sit appellatus, tamen à Themistocle collapsatus testula illa exilio decem annorum multatus est (1). - - - In Them was seen the Advantage of Eloquence above

Innocence; for, though Aristides was so remarkably Virtuous, as alone (at least as far as I can remember) to have obtained the Surname of Just, yet, through the Influence, and by the Vote, of Themistocles, he suffered a ten Years Banishment." Be as honest as you please; if you are not Master of a noisy, blustering, Eloquence, you may depend upon being foiled, though you come in Competition with the basest Fellow of the Town.

(24) *ἜΦΗ* *δὲ* *Ἀρίσταν* *ὡς* *ἀνίκητον* *καὶ* *ἰσχυρότατον* *πομπῶν* *λαμπρῶς* *γενόμενον*. *Aristeas* memoravit se Phæbo infinitum venisse ad Isoleonas. *Herod.* lib. 4. cap. 14.

(1) *Corn.* *Nepos*, in *vita* *Aristidis*.

nishment of *Aristides*, gave as his Reason the great Reputation for Integrity, which he saw him enjoy [B]. But there is something still more remarkable. This great Man, who so exactly observed the Rules of Equity, in private Affairs, and between Man and Man, did not scruple to prefer the *Useful* to the *Honest*, in Affairs relating to the State [C]. He lived in great Poverty, and gloried in it [D]. He left neither sufficient to portion his Daughters, nor to defray the Expences of his Funeral. The Commonwealth was at the Expence of both (a). He was so generous, as not to join with the Enemies of *Themistocles* at a time, when there was Reason to believe they would crush him (b): For *Themistocles*, was condemned to Banishment, without *Aristides's* appearing against him. Authors differ about *Aristides's* Death (c); but *Seneca* has undoubtedly committed a gross Error in relation to it [E]. We shall observe, in the Article ARTEMIDORUS, that a Grandson of *Aristides* gained his Living by telling Fortunes by Dreams.

(a) Plut. in
Aristide,
pag. 335.

(b) Ib. pag.
334.

(c) He died
the second
Year of the
LXXXVIIIth
Olympiad;
which was
the fourth
after the
Banishment
of Themis-
tocles. Cor-
nel. Nepos,
in ejus vita.

[B] One of Those, who voted for the Banishment of *Aristides*, gave as his Reason, the great Reputation for Integrity he saw him enjoy. A Citizen of Athens, who gave his Vote that *Aristides* should be banished, being asked his Reason by *Aristides* himself, answered very frankly; I have no Knowledge of the Man; but he displeases me by aspiring to the Surname of Just. "Cedenque animadverteret quemdam scribentem, ut patris pelleretur, quæssit ab eo dicitur: Quare id faceret, aut quid *Aristides* commississet, cur tanta poena dignus duceretur. Cui ille respondit; Se ignorare Aristidem, sed sibi non placere, quod cupide elaborasset, ut præter cæteros Justus appellaretur (2)." Thousands think like this *Athenian*, but have not his Candor. Every thing, which excels, displeases them: They have a more favourable Regard for a Common, than a distinguished, Virtue. The Reputation of *Aristides*, which the *Athenians*, one Day, gave such authentic Testimony of, in his Preface (3), has not experienced the Injury of Time, but has preserved itself in all Ages; Read this Passage of *Ausonius*:

(2) Id. ib.

(3) See the
beginning
of Remark
[H] of the
Article
AMPHI-
RAUS.

(4) *Auson.*
in *Mosella*,
ver. 386.
pag. 415.
• *Aristides.*

Nec sola antiquos offentat Roma Catones:

Aut unus tantum justus spectator & æqui

Pollet *Aristides*, veteresque illustrat Athenas (4).

Nor Rome alone her ancient Catos boasts;

Nor He*, whose Virtues raised the Athenian Name,
Claims the sole Merit, to be Good, and Just.

(5) In Re-
mark [H] of
the Article
AGESI-
LAUS II.

(6) *Apul.*
Plutarch. in
Arist. pag.
334. A.

(7) *Cicero*
de Officiis,
lib. 3. cap.
11. pag.
318.

(8) The Peo-
ple conclu-
ded, from
seeing *Ari-
stides* so ill
elad, that he
wanted
Bread. Plut.
P.B. 334.

(9) Id. ib.

[C] He did not scruple to prefer the Useful to the Honest, in Affairs relating to the State. This is a fresh Example of what we have before (5) observed concerning PUBLIC RELIGION. *Aristides* had made the *Athenians* swear to perform a certain thing, and had himself taken an Oath in their Name. Afterwards he counselled them to act as they should think fit for the Publick Good, and leave the Weight of Perjury to him alone, whilst they themselves took Advantage of the favourable Circumstances, which Fortune presented them. This was his general Maxim, as *Theophrastus* observes: Καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ὅταν εἶδε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πράξεσι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόδειξιν τῆς πάλαιδος ἐκ συχρῆς ἀδικίας δεομένην (6). This Great Man, says *Theophrastus*, in private Affairs, and towards his Fellow-Citizens, was Justice itself; But, in Affairs, which regarded the Commonwealth, he did many Things not strictly just, in compliance with the Exigencies of the State. Unhappy Condition of Those at the Helm! The Good of the State requires more than one or two unjust Actions in a Man's Life: perhaps *Aristides* did not come off for an hundred. Observe, that *Cicero* gives us a quite different Idea of him (7).

[D] He lived in great Poverty, and gloried in it. He had a very rich Relation, whose Name was *Callias*, who, finding himself publicly accused of not supplying him, wherewith to support Life (8), desired him to declare, before the Judges, whether it was not true, that he never would receive the Sums, he had offered him, at several Times, and whether he had not always replied, that he gloried more in his Poverty, than *Callias* in his Riches; he declared it was true. His Reason was, that there were numbers, who made either a good or a bad use of their Riches, but that it was rare to find a Person, who bore his Poverty with a noble Mind (9). It was a Principle,

then, of Pride, or Singularity, will some say, which made him despise Riches. It is a pleasure to covetous and ambitious Persons to be able to object This to Those, who are not like themselves. But what do they gain by it? If it should be granted, that all Men act from a Principle of self-love, is it nothing to draw one's Glory rather from This Action or Conduct, than from That? And is not This a sufficient Motive to admire the one, and despise the other? *Ælian* relates a Particular, which, at first Sight, seems inconsistent with the notorious Poverty of *Aristides*: He says, that Those, who were betrothed to his Daughters, refused to marry them after his Death, when his extreme Poverty came to be known (10). He seems to me to be mistaken in his Reasoning; *Aristides's* Poverty was known in his Life time, but it was known, at the same time, that he was in great Credit. Now the most mercenary and interested Minds think it no disadvantageous Match, to marry the Daughter of a Favourite, in her very Shift, who has many profitable Posts at his Disposal. This might make *Aristides's* Daughters find Matches in his Life time without a Penny of Portion; but, after his Death, there was no more to hope for; so that they were cast off for want of Money. A Great Wit (11) puts this Judicious Reflexion in the Mouth of a Favourite; Such a Person would think himself honoured with my Alliance upon equal Terms, and yet thinks he makes a Sacrifice to my Favour, in demanding my Niece. So true it is, that, when any one courts the Alliance of a Person in great Credit, he considers more his own Advancement, than what Money he may gain by Marriage.

[E] *Seneca* has undoubtedly committed a gross Error in relation to his Death. *Aristides*, according to him, was condemned to die: All, who met him going to the Place of Execution, sighed, and turned down their Eyes to the Ground, except one Rascal, who spit in his Face. *Aristides* smiled, and said to the Officers, who guarded him; Advise that Fellow never to open his Mouth so villainously again. Thus *Seneca* relates the Matter. Ducebatur *Athenis* ad supplicium *Aristides*, cui quisquis occurreret, deiecit ab oculis, & ingemiscibat, non tanquam in hominem justum, sed tanquam in ipsam justitiam animadverteretur. Invenit est tamen, qui faciem ejus inspueret: poterat ab hoc moleste ferre, quod sciebat neminem id ausum puri oris. At ille absterxit faciem, & subridens ait comitanti se magistratui, admohe istum ne postea tam improbe officeret (12). *Lipius* has very judiciously observed, on this Passage, that *Seneca* has mistaken one Person for another, and has ascribed to *Aristides*, what he should have applied to *Phocion*. It was *Phocion*, who was condemned to die; it was He, who was spit on, as they were leading him to Prison, where he was to drink Poison; and it was He, who, turning himself to the Officers, who attended him, demanded, if none of them would chastize the Insolence of the Fellow (13). *Seneca* has given these Words his own Turn: Verba noster etiam per argutiam invertit (14). Probably this is not the first time he has altered both the Subject and the Words; it were to be wished he were the only Person, who has taken this Liberty. People are very apt to report a good Saying, not as it was spoken at first, but according to the Form, which they believe to be the best. That he is deceived in the main, is plain from *Plutarch's* Account. That Historian confesses, that some one had said, that *Aristides* died in exile, but he confutes it (15); what *Seneca* says, may be rejected, then, with much greater Reason, as a Fable. Note, that *Lancelot of Peroussa* has not censured this Mistake: perhaps

A REFLEXION on Self-love, and on the Desire of marrying the Daughters of Favourites.

(10) *Ælian.*
Var. Hist.
lib. 10. cap.
15.

(11) La De-
moiselle des
Jardins, in
his Exiles of
the Court of
Augustus.

(12) *Senec.*
Consol. ad
Helviam,
cap. 13. pag.
785.

(13) *Plut.* in
Phocione.

(14) *Lip.*
in *Seneca*,
Consol. ad
Helviam,
pag. 785.

(15) *Plut.* in
Aristide,
pag. 335.
perhaps

perhaps he was aware of it, but chose to take it for granted, that he might have ground to maintain, that That Age was extremely unjust, since the Senate of

Athens caused a Man of such eminent Virtues to be put to death (16).

(16) *See*
l' Hoggidi
del Padre
secondo
Lancello da
Perugia,
Tom. 2. page
399, &c.

A R I S T O, a Native of the Isle of *Cbios*, departed a little from the Sentiments of his Master *Zeno*, who was Head of the *Stoics*, as may be seen in *Moreri's* Dictionary, together with some of his Doctrines. Not to repeat what is to be found there, I shall content my self with observing, that the Reason, why he rejected Logic and Natural Philosophy, was, because he judged That Logic was useless, and that Natural Philosophy was beyond our Comprehension (*a*). I add, that, having espoused Moral Philosophy at first, he afterwards retrenched much of it: For he would not have People teach any thing concerning the particular Duties of a Husband to his Wife, or a Father to his Children, or a Master to his Servants; but confine themselves to Lectures upon Wisdom in general. *Seneca* justly blames him for this [*A*]; and shews, that particular Precepts, and Sentences, may be of wonderful Use [*B*]. *Aristo* said, that the Nature of God was inconceivable [*C*]. This induces us to believe, that he absolutely neglected the Contemplation of Divine Matters. He oppo-

(a) Λέγων
τὸν μὲν
εἶναι ὑπὲρ
ἡμᾶς, τὸν
δ' ἴδὲν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς.
Dicens alte-
rum quidem
esse supra
nos, alterum
vero nihil
ad nos. *Diog.
Laërt. lib.
7. n. 161.*

[A] He afterwards retrenched much of it: — Seneca justly blames him for this.] Read these Words: — “Aristo Chius non tantum superflvacus effe dixit naturalem & rationalem, fed etiam contrarias: morale quoque, quam folam reliquerat, circumcidit. Nam cum locum, qui monitiones continet, fustulit, & pedagogi effe dixit, non Philofophi: tantum quidquam aliud fit fapiens quam humani generis pedagogus (1). — Aristo the Chian fays, that Natural and Rational Philofophy were not only fuperfluous, but contradictory; and Moral Philofophy, the only Branch he left, be curtailed. For he took away the preceptive Part of it, faying, it belonged to Pedagogs, not to Philofophers: as if a Philosopher were any thing elfe, than a Pedagoge of human kind.” He confutes him at large in another place (2).

[B] *Particular Precepts, and Sentences, may be of wonderful Use.* They strongly affect the Mind, he says, when they are contracted in Verse or in Prose, and kindle the Seeds of Honour, which are natural to our Souls. "Ipsa, quæ præcipiuntur, per se multum habent ponderis: utique si aut carmini intexta sunt, aut profa oratione in sententiam composita. Sicut illa Catoniana: *Emas, non quod opus est, sed quod necesse est. Quod non opus est, affertur carum est.* Quæ sunt illa, aut reddita oraculo, aut similia: *Tempori pare; Te nole.* Numquid ratio nem exiges, cum tibi aliquis hæc dixerit verus?"

Injuriarum remedium est oblivio.
Audentes fortuna juvat.
Piger sibi ipse obstat.

"Advocatum ista non quærunt: affectus ipsos tan-
 "gunt, & natura vium suam exercente proficiunt.
 "Omnium honestarum rerum semina animi gerunt
 "quæ admonitione excitantur: non aliter quam scin-
 "tilla, flatu levi adjuncta, ignem suum explicat (3). ----
 "Precepts are of great Weight, when they are com-
 "prehended in a Verse, or reduced to a Sentence in
 "Prose. Such is That of Cato; Buy, not what is
 "expedient, but what is necessary; and What is use-
 "less, is dear at the smallest Price. Such likewise are
 "these, either delivered by an Oracle, or seemingly
 "such; Improve Time; Know yourself. Do you
 "demand a Reason, when such Sentences as these are
 "repeated to you?

*Injuries are repaired by being forgot.
Faint Heart never won fair Lady.
Lazy Folks take most Pains.*

“ Such Sayings want no Advocate. They touch the Passions, and operate by the force of Nature. The Seeds of Virtue are implanted in the Mind, and are excited by Precept; in like manner as a Spark of Fire is kindled, by a Breath of Air, into a Flame.” He adds, that, sometimes, they discover their Force in the most ignorant; and that, *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Augustus*, acknowledged himself very much indebted to an Apophthegm on Concord. “ *Quis negaverit ferri quibulum præceptis effaciat etiam imperitissimos? velut his brevissimis vocibus, sed multum habentibus ponderis;*

- - - - - nihil nimis.

Avarus animus nullo fatiatur lucro.

Ab alio expectes, alteri quod feceris.

“ Hæc cum istū quodam audimus, nec ulli licet dubitare, aut interrogare - - - - M. Agrippa, vir ingentis animi, qui solus, ex his, quos civilia bella claros potentelque fecerunt, felix in publicum fuit, dicere solebat, multum se huic debere sententie : - - - *Nam concordia parvæ res crescunt; discordia maximæ dilabuntur.* Hac fe aiebat et fratrem, & amicū, optimum factūm (4). - - - - *Who weny deny, that the most ignorant have been effectually struck by certain Precepts; such as these short, but weighty, Sayings.*

(4) Id. ib.
pag. 388.

Too much of one thing is good for nothing.

A covetous Mind is never satisfied with Gain.

*The Measure you mete to others, expect to have
measured to you again.*

“We are struck, when we hear sub Sayings, nor is there any room for Doubt, or Question. -----
“Marcus Agrippa, a Perjon of a great Soul, and the only one, among those, who have rose by Civil Wars, who was [usefult] to the Public Good, was wont to say, that he was much indebted to this Saying :
“By Concord small Things encrease ; by Discord the greatest fall to Ruin. This, he said, made him the best of Brothers and of Friends.” This strongly confirms a Sentiment of mine in the Plan of this Work (5). I observed there, that a Sentence, taken out of Livy, or Tacitus, and delivered, as having formerly been serviceable in uniting the Senate of Rome, is capable of saving a State, &c.

(5) See Paragraph IX. at the end of Vol. IV.

[C] Aristotle said, that the Nature of God was inconceivable.] As he gave up Natural Philosophy, because he could not conceive the Divine Nature, it is probable he quoted Theology for the same Reason. *Dinosaurum rerum quæm Iudæis videtur fuisse, commisit sæpe jactaret, quæ supra nos nihil ad nos, ut mirum sit Aristonem Theologos inter hic à Velleio ascribi.* These are the Words of a Jesuit, who has given us a Comment on Cicero's Work of *Natura Deorum* (6). He commits a Fault, when he wonders, that *Velleius*, one of the Interlocutors, placed *Aristo* among the Theologists; for This Philosopher deserved That Rank as much as Those others, whose Opinions *Velleius* has mentioned. This is *Aristo's* Doctrine: "Cujus (Zeronis) discipuli Aristonis non minus magno in errore sententia est: qui neque formam Dei intelligi posse censent, neque in diis sensum esse dicat. du-

(6) Le'cilo-
prier in Ci-
cero. de
de Nat. Deo-
rum lib. I.
pag. 60.

(7) Cicero
ib. pag. 60.

fed *Arcefilas* on the Hypothesis of Uncertainty: But, if any Credit may be given to *Diogenes Laërtius*, Scepticism seems to have been but poorly attacked, and as, poorly defended [D], in those Times. It is said, that *Aristo* was bald, and that his Baldness was the Cause of his Death; the Sun having scorched his Head (b). He was voluptuous in his Old Age: *Eratosthenes*, and *Apollonides*, his Disciples, inform us of this Particular, in *Athenæus* (c). I cannot tell, whether it was that he stooped to flatter a Philosopher (d), at That time, who was in great Credit at *Antigonus's* Court (e). His Sect continued but a short Time [E]. He was the Author of a Saying, which might render

(b) Id. lib. n. 164.

(c) Athenæus, lib. 7. cap. 6. pag. 281.

(d) He was called Perseus.

(e) Athenæus, lib. 6. pag. 281.

(8) Minucius Felice, pag. 154.

(a) Elementum in Minucium Felicem, pag. 154.

(10) Laër. Divin. Institut. lib. 3. cap. 19.

(11) Minucius Felix, pag. 112.

(12) Above, Citation (10).

(13) See Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 1.

(14) Ib. lib. 4.

(15) Citation (22).

(16) Diog. Laër. lib. 7. n. 162.

(17) Ib. lib. n. 13.

intelligendi desperatione senserunt (8). A certain Commentator is guilty of a childish Error upon this Occasion: He believes there is a Difference between the Person mentioned by *Cicero*, and him mentioned in the Passage of *Minucius*; I say, he believes it, because he supposes, that *Minucius* is speaking of one, whose Name was *Aristus*. "Quod *Minucius* *Aristo* Chio, id *Cicero* de *Naturâ Deorum*, lib. 1. tribuit *Aristo* (9). — *What* *Minucius* imputes to *Aristus* "the Chian, That *Cicero*, de *Naturâ Deorum*, lib. 1, "ascribes to *Aristo*." *Elementorborst*, for want of Attention, believed, that the *Aristo* of *Minucius* was a *Dative* or *Ablative*; whereas it is a *Nominative*. By the way, it is not impossible, but that *Father Lescapier* has imputed That to our *Aristo*, which belongs to *Socrates*. "Celebre hoc proverbium *Socrates* habuit, quod supra nos, nihil ad nos (10). — It "was a celebrated Proverb of *Socrates*; What is above "us, is nothing to us." *Laërtius* inferred from hence, that *Socrates* despised all Religion. *Ejus viri* (*Socratis*) *quoties de cœlestibus rogabatur, nota responsio est, quod supra nos, nihil ad nos* (11). Note, that, generally speaking, They, who acknowledge, that the Nature of God is inexplicable, are not to be suspected of neglecting Divine Worship, for it is a Reason with many for adoring God with the greater Humility and Reverence. So that the Observation, made against *Aristo*, has something personal in it, and is founded on it's being well known, that Incomprehensibility was, with him, a Motive of Neglect. I would not positively affirm, that he neglected Religion. I stop at Probability; for, with *Laërtius's* leave, *Socrates's* Maxim, which I have just mentioned (12), did not induce That Philosopher to neglect Theology. His Doctrine thereon was as good as could be expected from a *Pagan* (13); and it looks, as if he only desired to set Bounds to human Curiosity, by such Reasons, as our most pious Doctors make use of; namely, that we ought willingly to be ignorant of what God would conceal from us; for there is Danger in such profound Enquiries. "In a Word, "he would not advise a too curious Enquiry "into the admirable Art, with which the Gods have "disposed the Universe, &c. (14)." You will find the rest of this Passage in the Remark [S] of the Article *ANAXAGORAS* (15), where you will likewise find, that by Cœlestial Things, the Study of which *Socrates* dissuades from, he does not mean matters of Religion, but Astronomy.

[D] *Scepticism seems to have been but poorly attacked, and as poorly defended.* *Aristo* maintained the Doctrine of Evidence against *Arcefilas*; and, seeing a Monster, I mean a Bull with a Womb, he believed his Adversary would draw a very good Argument from thence in favour of *Incomprehensibility*. *Wretch that I am*, cry'd he, *behold here a strong Proof for Arcefilas* (16)! This informs us, that the Dogmatists, in order to maintain, that the Nature of Animals was clearly known, alleged, that the Males and Females of each Species are plainly distinguishable; there being certain Parts so proper to the one, that they are never met with in the other. If they argued after this manner, it is certain, that the Bull, which I have mentioned, served to confute them; but it must be allowed, that they employed a very weak Argument; for the Sceptics did not deny, that, according to Appearances, there was a distinction between the Males and the Females; they maintained only, that it was not known, whether their Nature was such, as it appeared to be. Now it signifies nothing to instance the Example of the Bull in this case. Might they not have replied, *We cannot tell whether it is really a Womb, or not; it may be so only in Appearance*. *Aristo* asked an *Acateleptic* one Day; *Don't you see That Rich Man, who sits near you?* the other answered, *No: Who has put out your Eyes*, said *Aristo* again (17)! This was a childish Defence;

since the Doctrine of Incomprehensibility does not suppose a Person deprived of the use of Sight. He might have replied to *Arcefilas*; *The Resemblance of a rich Man sitting near me strikes my Sight; nevertheless I do not comprehend certainly, that This Man exists, or what his Nature is*. It is observable, that, among all the Tenets of the Stoics, *Aristo* adhered chiefly to This, *The Wife Man has no Opinion*. There was a Philosopher in his Days, whose Name was *Perseus*, who, to attack him upon this Point, suborned Twin-Brothers; one of which trusted *Aristo* with a Deposit, and the other came, some time after, to demand it; and *Aristo*, being in suspense, was therefore confuted by *Perseus* (18). I can scarce comprehend the meaning of This. Did these Twins resemble each other so perfectly, that it was impossible to know them asunder; or were they as unlike, as generally Twins are? *Diogenes Laërtius* says nothing to this. His Brevity is sometimes so intolerable, that it may be said, we have only ill-digested Extracts of his History of the Philosophers. If these Twins were distinguishable; from whence could *Aristo's* Suspence proceed? If it was difficult to distinguish them, his Suspence was not to be blamed, and could not be alleged to confute him; for this very suspence was a Proof of his Regard for the Maxim above; *The Wife Man has no Opinion*.

[E] *His Sect continued but a short Time.* *Cicero* mentions it as One, whose Tenets were lost: "Sententiæ ----- *Aristonis*, *Pyrrhonis*, *Herillii*, nonnullorumque, aliorum evanuerunt (19). ----- *We bear no more of the Opinions of Aristo, Pyrrho, Herillus, and some others*. Sive, *says de elyabere*, "*Aristotelem & Theophrastum* ----- sequuti sunt, five ----- etiam *Aristonis* difficilem atque arduam, sed jam tamen fractam & convictam, sectam sequuti sunt (20). ----- *Whether they followed* "*Aristotelem & Theophrastum* ----- *or the difficult and arduous, but now broken and confuted, Sect of Aristo*. Such extravagant Opinions as his could hardly last long; he made no difference between any two things, except Vice and Virtue; and said, that other things were all alike, nor one preferable to another: *His contrarius Aristo Cibus præfatus, ferreus, nihil bonum, nisi quod rectum atque honestum est* (21). He went farther, than his Master *Zeno*; for *Zeno* did not deny but there were things distinct from Virtue, which were to be wished for, though they were of no use towards attaining to the Supreme Good. This Tenet was far from just, though it was less to be rejected, than That of *Aristo*; For who cannot apprehend, that Health is more to be desired, than Sickness? "Ut "*Aristonis* esse explosa sententia dicentis, nihil differre aliud ab alio, nec esse res ullas præter virtutes & vitia, inter quas quicquam omnino interesse; "sic errare *Zenonem*, qui nulla in re nisi in virtute aut vitio propensionem, ne minimi quidem momenti, ad summum bonum adipiscendum esse diceret. Et quum ad beatam vitam nullum momentum ea res haberet, ad appetitionem autem rerum esse in his momenta diceret: quasi vero hæc appetitio non ad summi boni adeptationem pertineret (22). ----- *As Aristo was mistaken, in saying, that there is no difference of Things, except between Virtue and Vice; so Zeno erred, who thought, that nothing, except Virtue and Vice, had the least tendency towards procuring the Supreme Good; yet that Those Things, which had not This Tendency, were to be desired; as if the Accomplishment of This very Desire were not Part of the Supreme Good*. It is no wonder, then, that This Sect did not continue long; since *Aristo* himself deserted it at an Age the most favourable to his Maxims. He became a Friend to Pleasures in his old Age (23), when it would have become him much better to have been rigid, and inflexible, præfatus & ferreus.

(18) Id. lib. n. 162.

(19) Cicero Tufcul. lib. 5. fol. 276. D.

(20) Id. Lib. 1. de Legibus, cap. 13.

(21) Id. in Hortensio, apud Nonium cum voce Præfatum.

(22) Id. de Finibus, lib. 4. cap. 17.

(23) Athenæus, lib. 7. pag. 281.

render *Aristippus's* Doctrine less odious, than it generally is [F]. Some Works were ascribed to him, which belonged to *Aristo* of *Cea*, a Peripatetic Philosopher [G]. We shall have some Mistakes of *Vossius* to remark [H].

[F] *He was Author of a Saying, which might render Aristippus's Doctrine less odious than it generally is.* He said, that a Philosopher might be of Prejudice to his Hearers, who should misunderstand his Words; that, for example, The Followers of *Aristippus* might become dissolute; Those of *Zeno* morose. Is not this to declare, that the Doctrine of These Philosophers did not produce such Effects, but when misunderstood? *Aristo* Chius dicere solebat, nocere audientibus Philosophos iis, qui bene dicta male interpretarentur; posse enim astutos ex *Aristippi*, acerbos a *Zenonis* Schola exire (24). He should have added that every Teacher is, therefore, obliged to avoid ambiguous Maxims, and to prevent false Glosses.

[G] *Some Works were imputed to him, which belong to Aristo of Cea.* *Diogenes Laërtius*, having given the Titles of several Works of our *Aristo*, adds, that *Panaetius*, and *Socrates*, ascribe them all, except one, to the Peripatetic *Aristo* (25). He does not say, that This Peripatetic was a Native of the Island *Cea*; but I conjecture, that we ought to suppose him of That Country, because it cannot be understood of *Aristo* the *Alexandrian*, another Peripatetic Philosopher, who lived under *Augustus*, and of whom, consequently, *Panaetius* could say nothing; for it can be proved, that he was not living in the Six Hundred and Fiftieth Year of *Rome* (26). So that Mr *Moreri* is deceived, when he says, that many have imputed the Works of *Aristo* of *Chios* to *Aristo* of *Alexandria*. The former wrote a Treatise of *Senectute*, which *Diogenes Laërtius* has not mentioned; perhaps it was but part of Another Book. "Hunc librum de *Senectute* ad te misi: mus: omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non *Tithono*, ut *Aristo* Chius, parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, sed *M. Catoni* feni, quo majorem auctoritatem haberet oratio (27)." I send you this Treatise of Old Age; The whole Discourse, to add the greater Weight to it, I put in the Mouth of Old *M. Cato*; not of *Tithonus*, as *Aristo* the Chian did; for *Fable* would have added but little Authority to it." *Alodbrandinus* quotes this Passage of *Cicero*, as if it should be read *Aristo Ceus* (28); but the best Editions give *Aristo Chius*. He is mistaken, then, in pretending, that *Aristo* of *Cea*, the Peripatetic Philosopher, was Author of the Book of *Senectute*. He might with more reason have applied this Passage of *Cicero* to *Him*. "Hujus (*Stratonis*) *Lyfias* & oratione locuples,

"rebus ipsis jejuniore; Concinnus deinde & elegans" hujus *Aristo*: Sed ea, quæ desideratur à magno Philo-
"lopho, gravitas in eo non fuit. Scripta sanè, & multa & polita; sed nescio quo pacto auctoritatem oratio non habet (29). ----- After *Strato*, *Lyfias* was copious in words, but, barren of Sense. His Disciple *Aristo* was Witty and Elegant; but, wanted, what is essential to a great Philosopher, Dignity: "He wrote indeed much and politely; but, I know not how, what he says wants Weight." This can only be understood of a Peripatetic Philosopher *Aristo*; Mr *Menage* therefore is to blame, in believing, that these Latin Words relate to our *Aristo* (30).

[H] *Some Mistakes of Vossius, &c.* He says, that *Aristo* of *Alexandria*, a Peripatetic Philosopher, in the time of *Augustus*, was Author of a Treatise concerning the River *Nile* (31). His Reason is, because *Strabo* observes, that he had seen two Books, in his Time, concerning That River; one of them composed by *Eudores*, and the other by *Aristo* the Peripatetic (32). But, continues *Vossius*, there having been two *Aristos* of the Peripatetic Sect, one of *Alexandria*, and the other of the Island of *Cea*; Why do I maintain, that he of *Alexandria* composed the Treatise of the Nile? because it is more probable, that an Egyptian should write of this River, than an *Islander* of the *Egean* Sea. He destroys This Reason immediately; for he confesses, that it is probable *Aristo* of *Chios*, or He of *Cea*, wrote a Book of the Nile; because the Scholiast on *Apollonius* quotes the Opinion of *Aristo* of *Chios*, concerning the Source of This River (33). He confounds, adds *Vossius*, *Chius* with *Ceus*. This Reasoning is not exact. But, This Learned Man may be farther censured, for not knowing the true Reason, why the Treatise of the Nile, mentioned by *Strabo*, ought rather to be ascribed to *Aristo* the *Alexandrian*, than *Aristo* of the Island of *Cea*; namely, that *Strabo* speaks of a Book, which was published in his Time. Now *Aristo* of *Cea* flourished a long Time before *Strabo*, as *Vossius* himself acknowledges; for he affirms, after *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Panaetius* and *Socrates* (34) ascribed to This *Aristo* almost all the Books, which passed under the Name of *Aristo* the Stoic. *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have copied this long Passage of *Vossius*, word for word, not forgetting even to put *Socrates* instead of *Socrates*.

(29) Cicero. de Finib. lib. 5, cap. 5.

(30) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 163. This Note is approved in the Commentary on Cicero de Senectute, Edit. Grævian.

(31) Vossius de Hist. Gr. lib. 2, c. 4. pag. 179.

(32) Strabo, lib. 17, pag. 544.

(33) Schol. Apollonii in IV. Argon.

(34) In Vossius it is Socrates.

ARISTO (TITUS) a Roman Lawyer, in the Reign of *Trajan*, was so Excellent and so Learned a Person, that he ought not to have been omitted by *Moreri*. He was perfectly skilled in Common and Civil Law, in History, and Antiquity [A]. If he did not readily answer to the Questions, which were put to him, it was because he would consider the Matter thoroughly, before he gave his Opinion. He was, besides, an Enemy to Luxury, and free from all Ostentation; one, who fought the Reward of a good Action in the Action itself, and not in the Applause of the Multitude

[A] *He was perfectly skilled in — Law, in History, and in Antiquity.* What *Pliny* says upon this (1), and on *Aristo's* Virtue, is so fine, that I shall not lose one Word of it. "Nihil est illo (*Tito Aristone*) gratius, sanctius, doctius: ut mihi non unus homo, sed literæ ipsæ, omnesque bonæ artes, in uno homine summum periculum adire videantur. Quam peritus ille & privati juris & publici (2)? quantum rerum? quantum exemplorum? quantum antiquitatis tenet? nihil est, quod discere velis, quod ille docere non possit. Mihi certe quoties aliquid additum quero, ille thesaurus est. Jam quanta sermonibus ejus fides? quanta auctoritas? quam pressa & decora cunctatio? quid est quod non statim sciat? & tamen plerumque hæsitat. Dubitat diversitate rationum: quas acri magnoque judicio ab origine causisque primis repetit, discernit, expendit: Ad hoc quam parvus in vestitu? quam modicus in cultu? Soleo ipsum cubiculum ejus ipsunque lectum, ut imaginem quandam præfæ frugalitatis, aspicere. Ornat hæc magnitudo animi, quæ nihil ad ostentationem, omnia ad conscientiam refert: recteque facti, non ex populi sermone, mercedem, sed ex factis, petit. — So excellent a Person is Ti-

tus *Aristo*, that not the Life of one Man alone, but Learning itself, and all useful Arts, seem to be greatly endangered in one Man. How skilled is he in every Branch of Law? How versed in Things, in Examples, in Antiquity? Whatever you can desire to learn, he can teach. For my own Part, whenever I would enquire into any abstruse Point, He is my Oracle. How securely may we rely upon his Opinion? What Authority has He? and how becoming is his Deliberation? What is there, which he does not immediately apprehend? yet he generally hesitates. His Doubts arise from the Variety of Reasons, which may be assigned; all which, with great Judgment, he traces to their Source, distinguishes and weighs. Add to this his great Temperance and Modesty in Dress. I am wont to consider his Bed-Chamber, and his very Bed, as a Kind of Representation of the Ancient Frugality. These Qualifications are set off by a Greatness of Mind, which avoids all Ostentation, and is satisfied with the Consciousness of having acted well; and which seeks the Reward of a good Action, not from the Applause of the People, but from the Action itself."

(1) Plinius, Epist. 22, lib. 1, pag. 63, 66.

(2) Add to this the Words of the 14th letter of the 3rd Book, which *Pliny* writes to *Aristo*: Cum se peritissimus & privati juris & publici -- peto ut me deariis scientiis tua, cui superfluit curæ se jura publica ut privata, sic antiqua ut recentia, sic rara ut affridua tractare.

itude (a). He did not profess himself a Philosopher [B]; but some of Those, who did, fell very short of him in the Practice of Virtue. He shewed an unparalleled Firmness of Mind in a tedious Fit of Sickness [C], and at last desired his Friends to ask the Physicians, whether it was possible for him to recover; and declared, that, if they judged him incurable, he would kill himself; but, if he might escape by suffering his Pains ever so long, he was resolved to live; this he agreed to, at the Intreaties of his Wife, the Tears of his Daughter, and the desire of Those, with whom he conversed (b). Pliny, the Younger, who was one of Them, made a good Reflexion upon this, and excellently describes the Tendernefs of his Friendship [E]. The Physicians gave him good Hopes of his Recovery (c). Some affirm, that Aristotle attained to a very great Age [F]; but the Proof they bring for it is weak enough. He was the Author of some Books [G].

[B] He did not profess himself a Philosopher. His Philosophy was put in practice two Ways; for his Manners were like Those of a true Philosopher; and he did not spend his Life in the Solitude of a Closet, or College, but in the Functions of the Bar. Let us hear Pliny. "In summa, non facile quis quæquam ex istis, qui sapientie studium habitu corporis præferunt, huic viro comparari. Non quidem gymnasia sectatur, aut porticus, nec disputationibus longis aliorum otium, suumque delectat: sed in toga, negotiisque versatur: multos advocacione, plures consilio juvat. Nemini tamen illorum callitate, pietate, justitia, fortitudine, etiam primo loco cesserit (3). ----- Upon the whole, it is not easy to draw a parallel between Those, who carry an outward show of Philosophy, and this Great Man. Indeed, he is not a Follower of the Schools, or Porticoes; nor does he entertain the Leisure of others, and his own, with tedious Disputations; but is conversant at the Bar, and in Business; is helpful to many, as an Advocate, to more by his Advice. Yet will he give the Preference to none of the Philosophers in Point of Chastity, Piety, Justice, and Greatness of Mind."

(3) Id. Epist. 20. lib. 7. pag. 66, 67, &c.

(a) See Remark [B].

(c) Plin. Epist. 22. lib. 1. pag. 67.

(6) Id. ib.

[C] He shewed an unparalleled Firmness of Mind in a tedious Fit of Sickness (4). "Helay still, and covered, in the Height of his Fever, and forbore drinking, though he had a violent Thirst upon him. Mirararis, si interesse, qua patientia banc ipsam consuetudinem toleret, ut dolori resistat, ut sitim differat, ut incredibilem febrem ardorem immo usque operisque transmittat (5)."

[D] Pliny ----- makes a good Reflexion upon this, &c. "It is common, he says, to fly to Death through an Impetuosity of Spirit; but a great Mind, having deliberated whether to live or die, weighs the Motives on both sides exactly, and by the Weight of Reason is determined to the one or the other. Id ego arduum in primis, & præcipua laude dignum puto. Nam impetu quodam, & instinctu, procurere ad mortem, commune cum multis: deliberare vero, & causas ejus expendere, utque susceperit ratio, vitæ mortisque consilium suscipere, vel ponere, ingentis est animi (6)."

[E] Pliny admirably expresses the Tendernefs of his Friendship for Aristotle. "He had a passionate Desire to retire to his Country-House at Laurentium, and to study there; but deprived himself of This Pleasure to keep Aristotle Company, who had been sick a long time; and he suffered a thousand Dis-

quietudes at the Sight of this Object, which robbed him of the Leisure, and even Desire of "returning to his Studies." Let us hear himself. *Diu jam in urbe hæreo, & quidem attonitus. Perturbat me longa & pertinax valetudo Titi Aristonis, quem singulariter & miror & diligo (7).* This is the beginning of his Letter. He goes on. *Et medici quidem secunda nobis pollicentur: Superest, ut promissus deus adnuat, tandemque me hac solitudine exolvat. Qua liberatus, Laurentinum meum, hoc est libellos & pugillares, studiosumque otium, repetam. Nunc enim nihil legere, nihil scribere, aut assidenti vacat, aut anxio libet. Habet, quid timeam, quid optem, quid etiam in posterum desinem (8).* I cite this whole Passage, as well for the Honour of Aristotle, as for That of Pliny the Younger; for there appear in it Marks, of a good-natured Disposition; and it is a Proof, that Virtue has always found a Place of Retreat in Cities, which have been the most corrupted by long Prosperity, followed by tedious and cruel Civil Wars, and the Establishment of Tyranny; which was the Case of Rome at that Time.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Epist. 24. lib. 1. pag. 67.

[F] Some affirm, that Aristotle attained to a very great Age; but the Proof they bring for it is weak enough. This Proof is taken from Aristotle's having assisted at the Pleadings of Cassius; that is, of Caius Cassius Longinus, who was Consul in the Reign of Tiberius. Now they reckon sixty Years between Tiberius and Trajan; and it is certain, that Trajan consulted Aristotle in a Point of Law. This is Bertrand's Argument (9). He is confuted from hence; that Cassius lived till the Reign of Vespasian (10); and that, between the beginning of his Reign, and That of Trajan, there are at most but Twenty eight Years (11).

(9) See Bertrand in Vitis Jurisprutorum, l. 2. c. 295, 297.

(10) Pomponius affirms it; see Grotius in Vitis Juriscons. l. 2. c. 3. pag. 123.

(11) Grotius, ubi supra.

(12) Bertrand, and Grotius.

(13) Aulus Gellius, lib. 11. c. 18. pag. 302.

(14) Bertrand ubi supra, p. 299.

[G] He was the Author of some Books. The Pandects make mention of this; and you may see the Titles of them in both the Authors, whom I cite (12). See also Aulus Gellius, who had read, in a Work of Aristotle, that all manner of Theft was allowed among the ancient Egyptians, a People famous for the Invention of Arts and Sciences. *Id etiam memini legere me in libro Aristonis jurisconsulti baudquaquam indolis viri. apud veteres Egyptios, quod genus boninum constat & in artibus rependiendi solertes existisse, & in cognitione rerum indaganda sagaces, furta omnia fuisse licita & impunita (13).* Bertrand supposes it to be a Treatise Of Theft, since Aulus Gellius quotes it particularly, as knowing, that Aristotle was Author of several Books.

ARISTOTLE, commonly called the Prince of Philosophers, or The Philosopher, by way of Excellence, was the Founder of a Sect, which surpassed, and at length swallowed, up all the rest (a). Not but that It has had it's Reverse of Fortune (b) in it's turn; especially in This XVIIth Century, in which it has been violently shaken; though the Catholic Divines, on the one side, and the Protestant, on the other, have run (as to the quenching of a Fire) to it's Relief; and fortified themselves so strongly, by the Secular Arm, against the New Philosophy, that it is not like to lose it's Dominion of a long time. Mr Moreri met with so many good Materials in a Work of Father Rapin (c), that he has given a very large Article of Aristotle, enough to dispense with my Assistance. Accordingly, I design not to enlarge upon it as far as the Subject might allow, but shall content myself with observing, in the Remarks, some of the Errors, which I have collected, concerning This Philosopher. I think I have discovered some in Father Rapin's Account [A]. It is not a certain, that

[A] I have discovered some Errors in Father Rapin's Account of Aristotle. This Remark will be pretty long; I shall therefore divide it.

I. To say that, Aristotle, though he had forsaken his Studies, out of meer Libertinism, and had abused his Tutor's Indulgence for some time, succeeded nevertheless in

(a) Aristotle, more Ottomano-sar, regnare se haud tuto posse putabat, nisi fratres suos omnes contrucidasset. ----- Aristotle, like the Turkish Emperor, thought he could not reign in Safety, till he had slain all his Brethren. Bacon, de Augment. Scient. lib. 3. cap. 4.

(b) See Mr Lamoignon's Book, de Variis Aristotelis fortuna.

(c) Comparison of Plato and Aristotle.

that *Aristotle* exercised Pharmacy in *Atbens*, while he was a Disciple of *Plato* (d); nor is it more certain, that he did not. Very little Credit ought to be given to a current Tradition, that he learnt several Things of a Jew [B], and much less to the Story

(d) See Remark [A].
n. 2.

in Poetry; witness the Poem, which he composed on the Death of the *Heroes*, who were killed at the Siege of *Troy* (1); is no just way of Reasoning; for, if *Euphantius* and *Porphyry*, who mention This Poem, do not expressly say, that *Aristotle* composed it in his Youth (2), we may imagine, that he wrote it after his return to his Studies; and then this Poem can be no longer alleged as a Proof, of the Progress which he made in Poetry, notwithstanding his Libertine Courses.

II. To say, that, having by his Debaucheries consumed part of the Estate, which his Father had left him, he lifted himself in the Troops of the Republic (3); is an improper, and a very indeterminate, Way of Expression. If the question were concerning a Person, who was born at *Atbens*, or *Lacedemon*, the Expression might be proper enough, but it relates to a Native of *Macedonia*. *Athenæus* knew of but one Author, who had said, that *Aristotle*, having consumed his Patrimony, lifted himself; and, finding, that the Profession of Arms was not his Talent, set up to sell Drugs (4). The sole Author of This Story was *Epicurus*. It is very probable, that *Ælian* had it from him (5). *Aristotle*, who rejected it, quotes only *Epicurus* (6). Be this as it will, none of the Authors, whom *Father Rapin* quotes, specify in what Troops *Aristotle* served; and all of them range Matters in this Order. First, *Aristotle* spent his Estate, then he went to the Wars, afterwards he set up a Shop, and at last addicted himself to *Plato's* Lectures. *Father Rapin* will have it, that he was at the same time both a Druggist, and a Disciple of *Plato*. The

Authors, whom he quotes (7), say nothing of this Union of the two Professions. But he ought not, I think, to be censured for this; for it seems probable enough, that *Aristotle*, after he had spent his Estate, was forced to drive a small Trade in sweet Powder, and Medicines, at *Athens*, to subsist himself for some time. This *Father Rapin* says, in relation to the time when *Aristotle* studied Philology. *Francis Patricius* goes much farther; he believes, that *Aristotle* was *Plato's* Disciple till the Age of forty Years, and that he exercised Pharmacy all That Time for a Livelihood. *Satis constat inter omnes ad quadragesimum usque ætatis annum Platoni fuisse auditorem; quo universo tempore pharmacopolii arte nec non etiam medicæ vitiis quæritasse satis est & historiæ & rationi conjunctum* (8). He adds, that, formerly, Physicians exercised the Apothecaries Trade; and that three Reasons induce us to believe, that *Aristotle* was a Physician. He was of a Family for such a Profession; He composed a Book concerning Health and Sickness; and he excited *Alexander* to the Study of Physic, in which That Monarch acquired no small Skill, both in the Theory, and in the Practice (9). Lastly, *Patricius* alleges the Testimony of *Timæus*. This Historian has spoken very ill of *Aristotle*, and reproached him expressly with shutting up a Shop of most excellent Medicines. *Τὸ πολὺ ἱμῶν ἰατρῶν ἀποκεκλειότα* (10). *Qui precioso tabernam medicam clausit*. I know not whether I may be permitted to conjecture, that *Timæus* sneered in making use of the Epithet *πολυῖμων*. Without which, I cannot see how this Passage of *Suidas* is to be reconciled with what *Eusebius* cites from the same *Timæus*. He gives us a Fragment, in which a Peripatetic answers several Calumnies published against *Aristotle*, and particularly That of the Historian *Timæus*, who had said, that *Aristotle*, in his old Age, shut up his Shop of Medicines, which was grown into Contempt: *Ἡ πᾶς ἀν τις ἀποδέξαστο τιμῶν τῶν ταυρομενῶν λέγοντος ἐν ταῖς ἰσότησιν, ἀδῶκε θυρὰς αὐτῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ τὰς τυχεύσας, ἐλὲ τῆς ηλικίας, καλεῖσθαι* (11). This Passage has been very ill translated; for the Latin Translation makes *Timæus* say, that *Aristotle*, in his old Age, was hired to shut up the Shop of an Apothecary of small Reputation. *Quis Timæum Taurorūm audit dum suis in historiis illum ait affecta jam ætate, neglectis obscuri cuiusdam Medici officinæ claudendis foribus præfuisse*. Is not this an Employ highly worthy of *Aristotle's* old Age? What Honour to be Porter to an Apothecary, or Physician, scarce known to his next Neighbours!

III. *Father Rapin* (12) tells us, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirms, that *Aristotle* had Conferences at *Athens* with a Jew, with a Design of being instructed in the Religion of the Egyptians. *Eusebius* has said the same; and both believe it on the Testimony of *Clearchus the Peripatetic*. These Words stand in need of being greatly qualified; for, I. All that *Clemens Alexandrinus* affirms amounts only to this, that *Clearchus* the Peripatetic had said, that he knew a Jew, who had conversed with *Aristotle*. *Κλέαρχος ὁ Περιπατητικὸς εἰδέναι φησὶ τινὰ Ἰουδαῖον ὃς Ἀριστοτέλει συνεγίνετο* (13). *Clearchus Peripateticus dicit se nosse quendam Judæum, qui cum Aristotele versatus est*. As for the Place, and Subject, of these Conversations, you must enquire of any one else, rather than of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. II. It is not true, that *Eusebius* affirms any thing upon this Head; he only cites the Words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*. III. *Clearchus*, to whom he directs us, as the first Source, does not say, that *Aristotle* had any Conversation with a Jew at *Atbens*, but on the contrary, that it was in *Asia* (14); neither does he say, that they discoursed concerning the Religion of the Egyptians, or any other particular Subject. I believe, if we had his Book, we should find an exact Account of this Matter in it; but we have only a Passage of it, which was cited by *Josephus*, in his first Book against *Apion*, to shew, that the Jewish Nation was not unknown to the Greeks. If *Father Rapin* had consulted the Originals, would he have said, that, to avoid the loss of time, which must have been spent in travelling into Egypt, which was then believed necessary towards the acquisition of Learning, it is probable, that *Aristotle* was satisfied with being instructed in the Mysteries and Religion of the Egyptians? Was he not actually travelling in *Asia*, when he had these Conversations, if we may believe *Clearchus*? We shall see, in the Remark [B], whether he deserves Credit.

IV. It is not true, that *Hermias* gave his Sister *Pythias* in Marriage to *Aristotle* (15). See towards the end of the Remark [F].

V. *Father Rapin's* other Faults, which I have observed, are distributed in the following Remarks.

[B] Very little Credit ought to be given to a current Tradition, that he learned several Things of a Jew.] This Tradition has no other Foundation than the above mentioned Passage of *Clearchus*. This Passage would be of no small Authority, did it certainly belong to That *Clearchus*, who was one of *Aristotle's* most famous Disciples. But, according to all Appearances, it belongs to another *Clearchus*: For, first of all, the Author, quoted by *Josephus*, says, that *Aristotle* met with a Jew in his Travels in *Asia*, who had afterwards several Conferences with him, and with some other Men of Letters. *ἡμῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐτέρας τῶν σχολαστικῶν*. Learned Men pretend, that, in *Aristotle's* Time, the Word *σχολαστικὸς* was not used to signify a Scholar, a Disciple, or a Student (16). However it be, as this Journey into *Asia* cannot be reconciled with *Aristotle's* History, it is not probable, that one of his Disciples should have invented a Story of This kind, which he himself, and others, knew to be false. It is therefore a more modern *Clearchus*, who supposed this Journey; and he might do it sincerely; for it is well known, that *Solinus* asserts, that *Aristotle* followed *Alexander* in his Wars against *Darius* (17). The anonymous Author of the Life of *Aristotle* (18) says the same thing. II. If it were true, that *Aristotle* had had many Conferences with so able a Jew, as He, who is mentioned in the Passage of *Clearchus*, would he have believed, what he says concerning the Origin of the Jews? Would he have said, that the Jews were descended from the *Calatins*, a People of the *Indies*, and that they took the Name of *Jews* in *Syria*, because they possessed a Province, which was called *Judea*? That is what *Aristotle* says, in the Passage of *Clearchus*, quoted by *Josephus*. Would his Jew have left him in such a childish Error? And should we have found so few Traces of *Judea*, and the Jewish Nation, in all *Aristotle's* Writings, after such full Information, as the

(12) Comparison of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, p. 304.

(13) *Clemens Alex. Strom. lib. 1. p. 304.*

(14) *Τὸ τοῦ διατριβήσαντος ἡμῶν περὶ τῶν Ἀσίων*. *Notum in Asia forte degentibus*. It is *Aristotle*, who speaks, in this Book of *Clearchus*, de *Sorano*, apud *Josephum*, lib. 1. contra *Apionem*, & apud *Eusebium*. *Præp. 1. 9. c. 5. p. 410.*

(15) *Rapin's* Comparison of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, p. 306.

(16) *Jonstus*, de Script. Hist. Philo. p. 99.

(17) *Cap. 14.* apud *Jonstium*, ib. p. 100.

(18) *Ammonius*, according to *Philoponus*, according to others. See the Notes of *Nunneus* on this Life, n. 44.

(1) *Rapin's* Comparison of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, p. 3-3.

(2) *Father Rapin* does not say, 't'at they make this Remark.

(3) *Id. ib.*

(4) *Athen. lib. 8. pag. 354.*

(5) *Ælian. Var. Hist. 1. 5. c. 9.*

(6) *Apud Euseb. Præp. lib. 1. c. 2. p. 791.*

(7) *Aristoteles Messen. ex. Epist. Epicuri. Ælian. lib. 5. cap. 9. Athen. 1. 8.*

(8) *Fr. Patricius, Difficult. Peripat. Tom. 1. p. 3.*

(9) *Plutarch. in Alexandro.*

(10) *Timæus*, apud *Suidam*, in 'Αριστοτέλει.

(11) *Aristoteles*, apud *Euseb. Præp. lib. 1. cap. 2. p. 791.*

Story of his pretended Conversion to *Judaism*. They, who pretend, that he was born a Jew, are much more grossly mistaken [C]. The wrong Pointing of a certain Passage occasioned this Mistake (e). They are deceived, who say, that he was a Disciple of Socrates for Three Years successively [D]; for Socrates died Twelve or Fifteen Years before Aristotle was born. Aristotle's Behaviour towards his Master Plato is variously related [E]. Some will have it, that, through prodigious Vanity and Ingratitude, he

the Jew might have given him? III. We read, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that the *Gymnosophists* descended from the *Magi*, and that there were some, who gave the Jews the same Origin (19). These are two different Facts: As to the first, it is delivered on the Testimony of *Clearchus*, the Disciple of Aristotle; but no Authority is produced for the second. Was not This the most favourable Opportunity, and the most indispenable, for quoting *Clearchus* concerning This pretended Indian Origin of the Jewish Nation, mentioned by *Josephus*? If the Book de *Somno*, in which Aristotle speaks of their Indian Origin, had been the same *Clearchus*'s, who is cited by *Diogenes Laërtius* (20), would he not have been alluded to? I pass over *Jonfus*'s other Reasons; these three are sufficient to persuade me (21), that Aristotle never said what the *Clearchus* of *Josephus* would make him say. I must therefore agree in Opinion with those, who think it wrong in *Cunæus* to treat Aristotle so ill for a Piece of Folly, which he never was guilty of. "Petrus Cunæus lib. 1. de Repub. Hebr. cap. 4. "Aristotelem falsè nimis & temere perstringit, quod hic apud Clearchum statuat Judæos ab Indiæ sapientibus esse propagatos: Verba Cunæi hæc sunt. "Portentosum est & cum summa injuria consensum, quod Aristoteles apud Clearchum autumavit, Judæos esse ab Indiæ sapientibus propagatos, sed nomen mutavit. Quippe philosophos illos, qui apud Indos Callani appellantur, in cava Syria Judæos dici. "Pudet me antistitis, adeo hoc nihil est (22). . . . "Petrus Cunæus, in Book 1. of the Hebrew Republic, Chap. 4. censures Aristotle too severely and unjustly, for pretending, as cited by Clearchus, that the Jews sprang from the Indian Philosophers. Cunæus's Words are: It is monstrous, and attended with the greatest Ignorance, what Aristotle, in Clearchus, conjectures, that the Jews were descended from the Philosophers of India, but had changed their Name; for that Thof. Philosophers, who, among the Indians, are called Callani, in Cælo-Syria are called Jews." It may be objected, that *Clearchus* was acquainted with the Jew, who had converted with Aristotle; so that he must have been cotemporary with him; but I deny, that *Clearchus* had any Knowledge of him. *Josephus* does not say it; it is *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who adds this Clause; perhaps he quotes by Memory, which is the surest way to pervert a Passage, even as to the most essential Circumstances. See the Carelessness of Translators! He, who translated *Eusebius* (23), renders *εὐδαιμῶν* by *wisdom*; and the Translator of *Clemens Alexandrinus* is content with *wise*. It is not a necessary Consequence, that an Author lived at the same time with another Person, because it is said, that he knew one, who had done, or said This, or That; since his meaning might be, that he knew the Books, in which such Persons had said so or so; but when it is said, that an Author had seen such or such a one, the Consequence then is plain, that they must have been Contemporaries (24). This admits of no Difficulty; and, consequently, the Translator of *Eusebius* has taken a Liberty, which, being added to That of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, strangely falsifies the Consequences, which may be drawn from the Passage of *Clearchus*, as cited by *Josephus*. There are Jews, who affirm, not only that Aristotle had copied *Salomon*'s Works, but that he became likewise a Proleptist of Righteousness (25). Not satisfied with this, They produce a Letter, which they suppose he wrote to *Alexander* to give him an Account of his Conversion. This Letter you will find in a Work of *Rabbi Gedalia Ben Jacob*, and in the *Modern Theologia* (26) *Judaica* of Mr *Lent*, Professor of Divinity at *Herborn*. Read also this Passage of Mr *Cunæus*. Father *Bartolacci*, pag. 471, of the first Volume of his *Bibliotheca magna Rabbinnica* "relates a Story, void of all probability, which the Rabbins tell us of Aristotle. Some of them pretended, that he was born of the Seed of Israel,

"and descended from the Children of *Coba*, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*. Others of them say, that he was not originally a Jew, but that, towards the end of his life, he embraced their Religion. They add, that he borrowed all his Philosophy from *Salomon*'s Books, which were found in the City of Jerusalem, when it was taken by *Alexander*, and that he, afterwards, burnt them, to have all the Honour of the Wisdom, they contained. They add farther, that, to justify the change of his Religion, he wrote a Letter to *Alexander*, which is inserted entire in That Part of the Great Bibliotheca; and in which the Rabbins make him say, that Logic is an Iniquity, that Philosophy is Falshood and Deceit, and that Misery attends Those, who study it; because that, by means of the Disputes, which it leads them into, they go down to Hell (27)." *Selden* quotes Jewish Authors, who have affirmed, first, That, a little before Aristotle died, he communicated to his Disciples the Doctrine, which he had learnt from the Hebrews, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Punishments and Rewards of a future State. Secondly, That, as to the Points, in which his Doctrine contradicted the Law, he was converted, and became another Man, by the Instructions of the High-Priest, *Simon* the Just (28).

[C] They, who pretend, that he was born a Jew, are grossly mistaken.] The Foundation of This Mistake is this. The Ancient Translation of *Josephus* by *George of Trebizond* runs thus; *aque ille, inquit, Aristoteles Judæus erat*, instead of *aque ille, inquit Aristoteles, Judæus erat*. Upon this *Marsilius Ficinus* ventured to say, that, according to the Testimony of *Clearchus*, Aristotle was a Jew. *Clearchus Peripateticus scribit Aristotelem fuisse Judæum* (29). *Genebrard* fell into the same Mistake. *Es de causa fortasse Clearchus Peripateticus scribit Aristotelem fuisse Judæum* (30). This *Jonfus* informs me of (31). I shall not imitate *Schoockius*, who has adorned himself with these Spoils, without giving the Honour where it is properly due (32). But, if we understand a Jew by Religion, and not by Birth, the Source of This Mistake must be searched for higher.

[D] They are deceived, who say, that he was a Disciple of Socrates for three Years successively.] The Life of Aristotle, ascribed to *Ammonius*, or to *John Philoponus*, contains this Error. The Learned *Nunneus*, who wrote Observations on This Life, says, that he met with no one among the Ancients, except *Olympiodorus*, who says, that Aristotle had been a Disciple of Socrates *. He adds, that Cardinal *Bessarion* † fell into the same Mistake, and that *Leonard Aretin*, in the sixth Book of his Letters, and *Odavian Ferrarius*, in his Work de *Sermonibus exotericis*, have shewed the Anachronism.

[E] Aristotle's Behaviour towards his Master Plato is variously related.] *Diogenes Laërtius* says, that Plato, seeing that Aristotle had deserted him, said; He kicks against us, as Colts do against their Dams (33). *Ælian* explains this Thought of Plato. The Colt, he says, kicks the Dam after being filled with her Milk: So Aristotle, having learnt the first Rules and Principles of Philosophy from Plato, and, finding himself well fed with the excellent Pasture, which his Master had supplied him with, spurned at him, and set up a School, to rival His (34). Consult *Helladius*, who changes the Ideas a little; for he employs the Comparison of a Horse, which bites his Sire. *Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ τῷ περιπατῶν προπάτρης ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἰππῷ ἐκτροφέντῳ ἐναντιῶνται δὸκῶν τῷ δίδασκαλῷ καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἵππος τὸν αὐτῷ φιλοῦ πατέρα δάκνεν* (35). Aristotle, Head of the Peripatetic School, was called by Plato The Horse, because he opposed his Master; it being common for the Horse to bite his Sire. But there is still something worse. *Ælian* relates, in another Place (36), that Aristotle offended Plato by going too magnificently

(e) See Remark [C].

(19) *Diog. Laërt. in Proemio*, n. 19.

(20) *Tb. it is of Him, who was the Disciple of Aristotle*.

(21) *Notes, that Schoockius, Fabrice Hamelenius, part. 2. cap. 12. alledge, almost Word for Word, the fine Observations of Jonfus, without citing him.*

(22) *Jonfus, de Script. Hist. Phil. pag. 98.*

(23) *De Præp. lib. 15. p. 410.*

(24) *Provided always, that the Witness be sincere.*

(25) *Apud Buxtorf citante Konig. Bibl. p. 101.*

(26) *This Book was printed at Herborn, in 1694.*

(27) *Jornal des Sçavans, of the 14th of July, 1695, pag. 45. Edit. of Holland.*

(28) *See Seldenus, de Jure Naturæ & Gentium, lib. 1. cap. 1. pag. 14, 15. Edit. Lipsæ 1695.*

(29) *Marsili. Ficini de Christ. Relig. cap. 26.*

(30) *Genebrardi Chronol. ad Ann. 267.*

(31) *Jonf. de Script. Hist. Philol. pag. 100.*

(32) *Schoock ubi supra.*

* *Præxi XLII. in Gorgium Platonia.*

† *Lib. 2. Advect. Columniator.*

(33) *Diog. Laërt. lib. 5. n. 2. in vita Aristot.*

(34) *Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 9.*

(35) *Helladius, apud Photii Biblioth. pag. 1589.*

(36) *Ælian. lib. 3. c. 19.*

he set up Altar against Altar; that is, erected a School in *Athens*, during *Plato's* Life, and in opposition to him; others say, that he did not set up for a Professor till after his Master's Death. We are told some things concerning his Amours [F], which are not altogether to his Advantage. It was pretended, that his Conjugal Affection was Idolatrous; and that, if he had not retired from *Athens*, the Process for Irreligion, which the Priests had entered against him [G], would have been attended with the same Consequences, as That against *Socrates*. Though he deserved very great Praise, yet it is certain, that most of the Errors concerning him

magnificently habited, by an Air of Raillery, and by talking a little too much; which made *Plato* transfer his Friendship to some other of his Disciples. *Aristotle*, having formed a Party, made use of an Opportunity, which the Absence of *Xenocrates*, and the Sickness of *Speusippus* offered him. These were *Plato's* Sword and Buckler, as we may say. It was easy, in the Absence of these, to insult him. Accordingly he went with a great Number of Disciples to *Plato's* School. The good old Man, being eighty Years of Age, had almost lost his Memory: *Aristotle*, taking Advantage of his Master's Infirmary, put several captious Questions to him, pushed him through every Retreat of his Logic, and proudly triumphed over him. After This Affront, the good Man taught no more in public, but kept at home with his Disciples. *Aristotle* took Possession of his Place: But *Xenophon*, at his Return to *Athens*, finding how things had passed, reprimanded *Speusippus* severely, for having suffered *Aristotle* to take Possession of the School; and gave the Uurper so much Disturbance, as obliged him to quit the Post, and re-established the first Master. If *Aristotle* acted thus, he deserved to be detested; but I believe the Story to be false. His Followers have maintained, that he wanted neither Respect nor Gratitude towards his Master. His having been the Author of another Sect of Philosophy was no Argument, that he was deficient in either. The other *Platonists* would have been in the wrong to have expected him to follow *Plato* in every thing. Did *Plato* add nothing to the Lights, which he received from *Socrates*? However this be, it is affirmed, in the Life of *Aristotle*, that he did not set up a School in the *Lycæum* during his Master's Life-time; and for this Reason, because *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, who were both of them related to *Plato*, and at that Time very powerful in *Athens*, would not have suffered it. They add, that *Aristotle* erected an Altar to *Plato*, with an honourable Inscription, and that he did not teach in *Athens*, 'till after the Death of *Speusippus*, who succeeded *Plato*. Lastly, it is observed, that he did not take this Employ upon himself of his own mere Motion, but at the Solicitation of the *Athenians*, who sent Deputies to him for that Purpose. The old Latin Translation of this Life of *Aristotle* is sometimes more ample than the Original. As for Example; in the Place, where the Author denies, that *Aristotle* set up a School during *Plato's* Life, the Translation remarks, that it was a Calumny of *Aristoxenus*, and *Aristoteles*. The Greek has nothing of This. See what *Eusebius* cites from the seventh Book of This *Aristoteles*; you will there find a Passage of *Aristoxenus*, which seems to contain This Accusation against *Aristotle*, in general, and somewhat obscure Terms; and likewise see, that *Aristoteles*, having refuted several other Accusations, drops the Cause, as to the Ingratitude of This Disciple (37). So that Father *Rapin* was much deceived (38), when he said, that *Eusebius* justifies him entirely from This Repræch (39). I cannot conceive, why this Jesuit has joined *Ammonius* and *Philoponus*, as two different Apologists, with *Eusebius*; for the Life of *Aristotle*, which he cites, belongs but to one Author; to *Ammonius* according to some, to *Philoponus* according to others.

[F] We are told some things concerning his Amours. There is a strange Complication of Impurities on this Head. His Calumniators report, that He retired to *Hermias*, who commanded in *Atarnus*, a small Town of *Myfia*, near the *Hellepont*; and that *Hermias* had a very criminal Compliance for him; "Οὐ οὐ πὲν εἰς αὐτὸν ἦν ἡ ἀρετὴ αὐτῶν (40); *Quem alii quidem delicias ad usus ipsius fuisse tradunt*; that he gave him his Daughter, or his Niece, in Marriage; and that, finding him to be in Love with

his Concubine, he made a Present of her to him (41); that *Aristotle* was so dotingly fond of This Lady, that, having married her, he offered a Sacrifice to Her, like That, which the *Athenians* offered to *Ceres*; and that he testified his Acknowledgment to *Hermias*, by an Hymn, which he composed in his Honour.

My Readers need not be told, that these Calumnies did not proceed from one and the same Pen; some told one Story, some another. One of *Aristotle's* Apologists has observed, that they did not all agree in charging him with one and the same Accusation; but that each Censor came with his particular Satire (42). This, it may be said, is a Sign they did not act in Concert; let me add, that it is a Sign they had no good Proof of any thing; for when a serious Accusation is once proved, all who write against the accused, eternally reproach him with it. The same Apologist observes, that the particular Accusations, which were drawn up against *Aristotle*, amounted to so great a Number of Crimes, that, if but one of them had been true, he would certainly have been punished by the Judges then in being. His Enemies gave out, among other things, that he had betrayed his Country, and that Letters were intercepted, which he had written to the Prejudice of the *Athenians* (43). To return to *Aristotle's* Wife; some pretend, that it was after her Death, that her Husband offered such Sacrifices to her, as the *Athenians* offered to *Ceres*. *ὅτι δὲν Ἀριστοτέλει θύσας τέλει ἡκούσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ τοιαύτην Ἀθῆναιος τῷ Δῆμον (44). Scribit* (*Quod Cereræ ad Atheniensibus fecerat, demortuæ uxori facere solitum. Aristoteles* answered, I. That *Apellicon's* Books, concerning the Intercourse of *Hermias* with *Aristotle*, fully justified these two Friends. II. That *Aristotle* had sufficiently justified himself as to his Marriage with *Pythias*, in the Letters, which he wrote to *Antipater*. This *Pythias* was the Sister of *Hermias*, and his adopted Daughter. *Aristotle* made it appear, that he did not marry her, 'till after the Death of *Hermias*; that she was a very virtuous Woman, but reduced to so deplorable a Condition, by the Death of her Brother, that he thought himself obliged to marry her out of a regard to *Hermias*.

[G] The Process for Irreligion, which the Priests had entered against him.] The Circumstances of this Affair are not known. *Diogenes Laërtius* has only told us (45), that *Eurymedon*, the Priest, accused *Aristotle* of Impiety, on account of an Hymn, which he had composed in Honour of *Hermias*, and an Inscription, engraved on the Statue of the same *Hermias*, in the Temple of *Delphi*. *Phavorinus* imputes the Accusation to *Demophilus* (46). It cannot be conceived by what Quirks of Law the Accusers could draw the least Shadow of a Proof from the Inscription to *Hermias*. It consists of four Verses, which have no Relation to Things Sacred, but are only leveled against the Perfidiousness of the King of *Perfia* to This unhappy Friend of *Aristotle*. *Athenæus* informs us, that the Ground of the other Accusation, to wit, the Hymn composed for *Hermias*, was unjust, since it was no Religious Poem, nor sacred Piece, as *Demophilus* pretended (47). *Athenæus* adds, that, to give the greater weight to the Accusation, *Eurymedon* had suborned *Demophilus* (48). It is probable, that *Demophilus* was some Person of Quality, and of great Authority in *Athens*. Perhaps he did not see to the Bottom of the Sacerdotal Craft; nor apprehend, that *Eurymedon*, the Priest, desired his Countenance, only to render poor *Aristotle* the more suspected. He expected, that People would Reason after this manner: If only the Priests had accused *Aristotle*, the Evil might be born withal; their great Piety makes them

(41) *Aristoteles in primo de ant. quæ de licia libro apud Laërtium, ubi supra.*

(42) *Aristoteles, apud Euseb. Præp. lib. 15. cap. 22.*

(43) *Id. ib.*

(44) *Id. ib.*

(45) *In vita Aristot. lib. 5. n. 5.*

(46) *Phavorinus in omnimoda Historia, apud Laërtium, ibid.*

(47) *Athenæus lib. 15. cap. 16. pag. 696.*

(48) *See the Notes of Ca. lauson on Athenæus, pag. 584.*

W H V A. J. Reas. to fear the Priests, his Accusers.

(37) *Eusebii Præp. Evangel. lib. 15. cap. 22.*

(38) *Rapin's Compar. of Plato and Aristotle, pag. 305.*

(39) *It cannot be Eusebius, who justified him; it must have been Aristotle. But neither one nor the other justify him.*

(40) *Diogenes Laërt. in vit. Aristot. n. 3.*

(f) *Essey*
Pardies, in
a letter from
a Peripatetic
to a Cartesian,
says, that
this is the Op-
inion of a
great Wit;
and cites in
the *Martin*,
Corn. de La-
pide, Pref.
in Ecclesi.

him are to be looked for in the extravagant Commendations, which have been heaped upon him: As for Example; Is it not a downright Falshood, to say, *That, if Aristotle spoke, in his Natural Philosophy, like a Man, he spoke, in his Moral Philosophy, like a God* (f): And that it is a question, whether, in his Moral Philosophy, he partakes more of the Lawyer, than of the Priest; more of the Prophet, than of the Prophet; more of the Prophet, than of the God (g)? I shall, in the Remarks, touch upon some Praises bestowed on him, which are still greater than these [H]. Cardinal Pallavicini scruples not, in some measure, to confess, That, if it had not been for Aristotle, the

(g) This is
the Op. of a
great
Wit, a
citing in
Father
Pardies, ib.

(40) *Art. en.*
pag. 696. B.

(50) *Id.*
pag. 697. A.

(51) *Diog.*
Lacrt. vit.
Aristot.
li. 9.

(52) *Nume.*
Nec. in
vit. Arist.
pag. 147.

(53) *Origen.*
contra Cel-
sum, lib. 1.

(54) *Ibid.*
lib. 2.

(55) *Albin.*
lib. 3. cap.
36. See also
Ammonius
in vita Ari-
stot. Origen.
contra Cel-
sum, lib. 1.
Diog. Lacrt.
in Aristot.
li. 9.

(56) *Diog.*
Lacrt. in
vit. Arist.
li. 8.

subject to be alarmed at the least Thing, which affects Religion: but here is Demophilus, who is so scandalized at Aristotle's Impiety, that he openly demands Justice against him; the Evil must needs be very great. The Hymn in question is preserved. It is to be found in *Athenæus*, and in *Diogenes Laërtius*; and there is not the least Trace of Irreligion in it. But, doubtless, his Accusers alleged, that Aristotle profaned the use of Divine Hymns, by employing them in the Praises of a Mortal Man. They maintained, that he sung This Hymn daily at his Meals (49). Aristotle, not willing to rely on the good Construction, which might be made of his little Poem, retired quietly to *Chalcis*, in *Eubœa*, and pleaded his Cause, in writing, at a Distance. *Athenæus* reports some Words of This Apology; but does not warrant them to be really Aristotle's (50). *Phavorinus* affirms, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that Aristotle wrote a Speech, at that time, in the Judiciary Style, and that he was the first, who composed such Speeches in his own Cause; or that this was the first time he made them for himself (51). *Nunneius* affirms, that *Seneca, de vita beata*, observes, that Aristotle made but This one in his whole Life-Time (52). However it be, his safest way was to plead his Cause at a Distance; for his Accusers were Men, who would never have given him any Quarter, but have set all Engines at Work, till they had found one, which would have done the Business. It was impossible to great a Wit as He should not sometimes laugh at the Impertinence of the publick Worship of the *Athenians*, and speak his Sentiments of Priest-Craft. All, that he had ever said in Conversation, would have been raked up; Witnesses would have been heard; in a Word, he would have been effectually crushed. Besides, who knows, but, at some time or other, a Real Impiety might have elapsed him; when, intending to speak only of the immutuable Greatness of the Supremely-Perfect Being? *Origen* says, that The Action of Impiety, which his Accusers would have brought against him, was founded on some of his Doctrines (53). He says, in another place, that it is a Tenet of the Peripatetics, that Prayers and Sacrifices are useless (54). It is probable they built this Doctrine on This false Principle; that infinite Wisdom knows, at all times, what is fit to be done; and that it does not alter its purpose according to the Desires or Interests of Men; as if the Divinity stood in need of our Prayers, as Notices or Hints, not to do That, which we believe he is prepared to do. Such a Principle, if not rectified by the Lights of Religion, is a real Impiety. Aristotle could never have escaped the *Athenian* Priests, if they had held him to This Point. His Answer to those, who demanded the Reason of his Retreat, shews, that he feared, they would find good, or bad, Proofs against him. I would not willingly be the Cause of the *Athenians* being guilty of a second Injustice against Philosophy. The first Injustice was the Death of *Socrates*. Πρὸς τὸν ἐρώμενον ἰδὲ τὴν ἀπαιτῆς τὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι ὁ βέλτερος Ἀθηναίος δὲ ἐξέμαρψεν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν τὸ περὶ Σωκράτη παρὰ τοὺς ἀντιθέμενους, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν κτείνον (55). *Interroganti cur reliquistes Athenas, respondit: quoniam nolisset committere, ut Atheniensibus peccarent in Philosophiam: obsequere Socratis mortem imminere, & suum periculum.* He made use of one of *Homer's* Verses, to signify, that it was not safe living in a City, where the Race of Informers never decreased, but one regularly succeeded another. We may reasonably suppose, that he acknowledged himself guilty of having personally offended *Eurymedon*, the Priest of *Ceres* (56), by some Stroke of Raillery; which kindled the Zeal of this Personage, who had suffered the pretended Impiety of the Hymn to lie dormant for twenty Years. It is more dangerous to offend these Gentlemen in their own Persons, than in the Persons of their Gods. See the Remark [R], where we shall relate the Opinions

of some Authors concerning the Cause of Aristotle's Flight. I have observed, at the End of the Article, that *Hesychius* affirms, that he was actually condemned, and executed at *Athens*. I use no Hyperbole in the Expression of twenty Years; since Aristotle had taught thirteen Years at *Athens*, when the Process of Irreligion obliged him to retire to *Chalcis* (57). He did not return to *Athens*, till he had instructed *Alexander*, whose Preceptor he was not, till after the Death of *Hermias*.

[H] I shall touch upon some Praises, bestowed on him, which are still greater than these. "Acerroes has said, that, before Aristotle's Birth, Nature was incomplete; that, in him, it received it's last Accomplishment, and the Perfection of it's Being; that it could go no farther; that there was the Extremity of it's Power, and the Limits of human Understanding. Another Philosopher has outdone "Acerroes, by saying, that Aristotle was a second "Nature." Those are *Balzac's* Words, in the Four hundred and fifty ninth Page of the Discourses, which were printed after his *Christian Socrates*. This puts me in mind of the Scruples of an Author, who, seeing that Nature herself subscribed to Aristotle's Opinions, durst never doubt of what he had said. *Rege & hoc Aristoteles, ut cetera; nec possum non assensum esse, ejus inventis nec ipsa natura dissentit* (58). A Spanish Divine says, that, without the particular Assistance of an Angel, or Genius, the Wit of Man cannot penetrate to far into the Secrets of Nature, as Aristotle has done (59). He must have believed, then, that Aristotle had a good, or an evil, Angel, which instructed him in a thousand things, to which human Understanding could not attain. *William*, Bishop of *Paris*, mentions, "in several Parts of his "Works (60), that This Philosopher had a Familiar "Spirit, who directed all his Actions, whom he "caused to descend from the Sphere of *Venus*, by "sacrificing a strangled Lamb, and some other Ceremonies." Others have said, that he stood in no need of such Assistance. It was the "Opinion of "the famous Divine *Henry de Asse* (61), that Aristotle could have acquired as perfect a Knowledge "in Theology, by the Light of Nature, as That, "which was discovered to our first Father, when "he fell asleep in the Terrestrial Paradise (62), or to "St Paul, when he was snatched up into the Third "Heaven." A Council, which was held in *France*, under *Philip Augustus*, ordered Aristotle's Metaphysics to be burnt. An English Doctor, of the Order of St *Augustin* (63), has left in Writing, that it was commonly believed, in those Times, that none but Antichrist should be able thoroughly to understand Aristotle's Books; which he would make use of, to convince all those, who should enter into Dispute with him. Let us end this little Collection, with a Passage of *Agrippa*, who informs us, that the Divines of *Cologne* maintained, that Aristotle was the Fore-runner of the *Messias*, in the Mysteries of Nature, as St *John Baptist* was, in the Mysteries of Grace. "Dignissimus profecto hodie Latinorum gymnasium Doctor, & quem Colonienſes mei Theologi etiam divisim numerarent, librumque sub prælo evulgatum edere, cui titulum facerent de Salute Aristotelis (64); sed & alium versu & metro de vita & morte Aristotelis, quem Theologica insuper glossa illustrant, in ejus calce concludunt, Aristotelem sic fuisse Christi præcursores in Naturalibus, quem modum Joannes Baptista in Gratuitis (65). — "A most worthy Doctor of the Latin Schools, and whom my Countrymen, the Divines of *Cologne*, would even exalt to Divinity, and would publish a printed Work Of the Salvation of Aristotle; besides another "in Verse Of the Life and Death of Aristotle; which they have illustrated with a Theological Commentary, "at the end of which they conclude, that Aristotle was the Fore-runner of Christ in Natural Things, as John

(57) *Ammon.*
in
eius vita.

(58) *Ma-*
crob. *Natura*.
lib. 7. c. 6.

(59) *Medi-*
na, in
Thom. A-
quin. I. Se-
condæ.
Quest. 100.
Art. I. cited
by Naudé,
in his Ap-
logy for great
Men. pag.
317.

(60) *De U-*
niverso Spi-
ritu, Part. I.
cap. 92, 153.
& Part. II.
cap. 6. cited
by Naudé,
ubi supra,
pag. 328.

(61) *Apud*
Sibillam I.
Decad. pe-
regri-
Quest. cap.
8. Quest. I.
Quest. II.
IV. cited by
Naudé, ubi
supra, pag.
319.

(62) See
Citation (11)
of the Art. de
ADA M.

(63) *Alex-*
ander Nec-
cam, Lib.
de Natura
Rerum, edi-
ted by la
Mothe le
Vayer, of the
Fragments of
the Pagans.
Oper. Tom.
5. pag. 103.
Edit. in
12mo.

(64) See the
Remarks [R].

(65) *Agrip-*
pa, de Van-
nit. Scien-
tiar. cap.
c. 4. pag. 95.
Baleus has
copied this,
Cent. 14.
pag. 220.
See, below,
the Remark
[U].

the Church would have wanted some of it's Articles of Faith [I]. The Christians are not the only People, who have authorized his Philosophy; the *Mahometans* (b) are little less prejudiced in it's Favour; and we are told, that, to this Day, notwithstanding the Ignorance, which reigns among them, They have Schools for this Sect [K]. It will be an everlasting Subject of Wonder to Persons, who know what Philosophy is, to find, that *Aristotle's* Authority was so much respected in the Schools, for several Ages, that, when a Disputant quoted a Passage from This Philosopher, He, who maintained the *Thesis*, durst not say *Transeat*, but must either deny the Passage, or explain it in his own way [L]. It is in this manner we treat the

(b) See Rapin's Comparison of Plot. and Aristotle, pag. 403.

(66) Tacit. in vita Agric. cap. 41.

(67) You will find many such, in the Speeches of Corningius, entituled Aristotelis Laudatio.

(68) See the Words of Suidas, below, Remark [Z], at the beginning.

(69) Plot. in Vita Phocionis, pag. 743. E.

(70) De Comparat. Platonis, & Aristotelis.

(71) Chap. 6. Art. 6. pag. 253.

(72) Pinacoth. I. pag. 204.

"John Baptist was in those of Grace." To speak impartially, and without any Prejudice, it may be said, that these extravagant Panegyrics do *Aristotle's* Memory more harm than good. These Words of *Tacitus* may, in some respect, be applied to them: "Pessimum inimicorum genus laudantes (66). — "Panegyristas are the worst of Enemies." So many just Praises may be bestowed on *Aristotle* (67), that they are inexcusable, who, not satisfied with them, have added others, which are hyperbolical.

Why were they not satisfied with saying, that he *dipt his Pen in good Sense* (68)? This is what all Philosophers ought to do, if the chief of the Stoics may be believed. "Ο Ζήνων ἐλάσεν ὅτι δέι τὸν φιλόσοφον εἰς τὴν ἀποκρίσιν/α παρέρχεται τὴν λέξιν (69). *Zeno ait mente sinitum proferre Philosophum sermonem debere.* They, who would see a Collection of the Praises given to *Aristotle*, would do well to read *George of Trebizond* (70). *Pererius*, in the first Chapter of the fifth Book of *Principii*; *Justus Lipsius*, in the fourth Differtation of the first Book *Manuductionis ad Philosophiam Stoicam*; *Theodorus Angelutius*, in his Answer to *Francis Patricius*, &c.

[I] Cardinal Pallavicini scruples not, in some measure, to confess, That, if it had not been for *Aristotle*, the Church would have wanted some of it's Articles of Faith.] The Author of the new Gospel of Cardinal Pallavicini does not fail (71) to make the most of these Words of the nineteenth Chapter of the eighth Book, n. 13. "Di cio si doveva in gran parte l'obbligazione ad *Aristotele*, il quale se non si fosse adoperato in distinguere accuratamente i generi delle ragioni, noi mancavamo di molti articoli di fede. — *Great Thanks is due for this to Aristotle, who, if he had not taken the Pains to distinguish accurately the several kinds of reasonings, we should have wanted many Articles of Faith.*" This Encomium puts me in mind of a Passage of *Nicetus Erythraeus*, as great a Flatterer of *Aristotle* as any of them: He says, that was a vain Attempt, in the Subtle and Learned *Patricius*, to oppose the Doctrine of the *Lycæum*; a Doctrine, which can never be shaken, and which will always triumph over it's Rivals. "Altius Aristotelis auctoritas radices egit, quam ut cujusquam vim impetumque pertimefca: viget, semperque vigebit, hominis disciplina; tantumque quis existimabitur scire, quantum ex doctrinæ ejusdem fontibus haustum, intelligentia comprehension habuerit; ac nemo, cui cor sapiat, non satis esse ducet in iis, quæ ad Philosophiam pertinent, cum deo, ut ita dicam, philosophorum errare, quam cum aliis recte sapere, minorum gentium magistris. Itaque ille, omnibus in gymnasiis, ad sapientiam properantibus, dux semper habebitur: ille Theologorum quasi militiæ, adversus religionis nostræ hostes, definitiones, argumentorum copiam, & alia præclare dicta multa, tanquam amentatas hastas elargietur, quas illa Theologici lacertis ac viribus, de cælo suppedatis, torquet ac vibret (72). — *Aristotle's Authority has taken too deep root, to fear the Attacks of any one.*

The Doctrine of that great Man flourishes, and will for ever flourish; and each one will be esteemed learned, in proportion as he is versed in the Writings of this Philosopher; and indeed no Man of Sense, but would chuse, in Matters of Philosophy, to err with this God of the Philosophers, if I may be allowed to call him so, than to think right with Masters of an inferior Class. For this reason, he will be the Head of every School, which is in pursuit of true Wisdom; he will equip our militant Divines, against the Enemies of our Religion, with Definitions, Arguments, &c. which, as so many Weapons from Heaven, they may brandish by the Strength of their Theological Arms." To deal fairly, I think myself obliged to say, that Cardinal Pallavicini

does not advance the Maxim alledged as from himself, nor as an Observation, of which he would inform the World, but only as a malicious Jest of Father *Paul*. He treats this Railery as impertinent, and says, that the Councils, in which *Substance*, *Person*, and *Hypostasis*, were so subtly distinguished, were equally exposed to it. In a Word, he does not deny the Fact, and is content to laugh at Those, who laugh at it (73). Father *Paul*, having set down the Decree of the sixth Session, shews what it was that had been censured in it, and, among other things, says, that they, who were versed in Ecclesiastical History, observed, that all the other Councils, put together, had not decided so many Articles, as That single Session, in which *Aristotle* had a great share, in having distinguished between the several kinds of Causes; and, that, without his Help, we should have wanted many Articles of Faith. In cbi haveva una gran parte *Aristotele*, coll' haver distinto esattamente tutti i generi di cause, a che, se egli non si fosse adoperato, noi mancavamo di molti articoli di fede (74). The Remonstrances of the Sorbonne, upon which the Parliament of Paris made an Order against Chymists, in the Year 1629, imported, that no one could oppose the Principles of *Aristotle's* Philosophy, without interfering with the Scholastic Divinity received in the Church (75). In the Year 1624, the Parliament of Paris banished three Persons, who ventured publicly to dispute against *Aristotle's* Philosophy; and forbade all Persons to vent the Propositions contained in their *Theses*, on pain of corporal Punishments, and to teach any Maxims contrary to ancient and approved Authors on pain of Death (76).

[K] To this Day the Mahometans — — — have Schools for This Sect.] The *Peripatetic* Philosophy "is so established every where, that no other is read in all Christian Universities. Even They, who are forced to receive the Impostures of *Mahomet*, teach the Sciences no otherwise than according to the Principles of the *Lycæum*, to which they are so attached, that *Averroes*, *Alfarabius*, *Almubassar* (77), and several other Arabian Philosophers, often iwerse from the Opinions of their Prophet, that they may not contradict Those of *Aristotle*, whom the Turks have translated into the Turkish and Arabic Languages, as *Belonius* * relates (78)." The Author, from whom I borrow these Words, says in another Volume (79), that, according to *Olearius's* Relation, the Persians have all *Aristotle's* Works, explained by several Arabian Commentators, who are wont to call his Philosophy the Goblet, or Drinking Cup, of the World. "Bergeron, says he, observes, in his Treatise of the Tartars, that they had *Aristotle's* Books translated into their Language, teaching his Doctrine, with as much Submission, as can be done here, at *Samarcand*, an University of the Great Mogul, and at present the chief City of the Kingdom of *Uiber*."

[L] Where a Disputant quoted a Passage from This Philosopher, He who maintained the Thesis, durst not say Transeat, but must either deny the Passage, or explain it in his own Way.] If any one think fit to contest this Fact, I refer him to several Courses of Philosophy, printed in the XVIth Century, where This Method is found to have been in use. The Author proves his Thesis, first by Authority, and afterwards by Reason. The Authoritative Proof are Passages out of *Aristotle*. The Answer to the Objections consists also of two Parts. First, Satisfaction given as to the Passages of *Aristotle*, which seem to oppose the Thesis, and which are Authoritative Proofs for the other Party: Afterwards an Answer is given to the Reasons; but great Care is taken never to say, I own that

(73) Ma quale stoltizia è quello Scherno, che di cio si doveva in gran parte l'obligatione ad *Aristotele*, &c. See Rapin's Reflexions on Philosophy, pag. 449.

(74) Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent. lib. 2. ad ann. 1547, pag. 234. Edit. of 1629.

(75) Rapin's Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, p. 413.

(76) Marcure Francois, Tom. 10. p. 504.

(77) It should be Almubassar, or Almubassar.

(78) La Mothe le Vayer, of the Virtue of the Pagans, Tom. 5. p. 102.

(79) The 12th, pag. 245.

(i) See Remark [I], at the end.

(k) Hassel, in the Preface to the Anti-Spinoza of Wittichius, printed in 1690; and in the Preface to the Investigatio Epistolæ ad Hebraeos of the same Author, printed in 1692.

the Holy Scriptures in the Divinity Schools. The Parliaments, which have proscribed all other Philosophy, but That of *Aristotle* (i), are more excusable than the Doctors: For, whether the Members of Parliament were really persuaded, as is very probable, that This Philosophy was the best of any, or were not, the Public Good might induce them to prohibit New Opinions, lest the Academical Divisions should extend their malignant Influence to the Tranquillity of the State. What is most astonishing to Wise Men, is, that the Professors should be so strongly prejudiced in Favour of *Aristotle's* Philosophy. Had This Prepossession been confined to his Poetry, and Rhetoric, it had been less wonderful; but they were fond of the weakest of his Works; I mean his Logic, and Natural Philosophy [M]. This Justice however must be done to the blindest of his Followers, that they have deserted him, where he clashes with Christianity [N]. And this he did in Points of the greatest Consequence; since he maintained the Eternity of the World, and did not believe, that Providence extended itself to sublunary Beings. As to the Immortality of the Soul, it is not certainly known, whether he acknowledged it or no [O]. We shall take notice, in another Place, of the long Disputes, which have reigned in Italy, on This Subject. In the Year 1647, the Famous Capuchin *Valerian Magni* published a Work concerning the Atheism of *Aristotle*. About One Hundred and thirty Years before, *Marc Anthony Venerius* published a System of Philosophy, in which he discovered several Inconsistencies between *Aristotle's* Doctrine, and the Truths of Religion. *Campanella* maintained the same, in his Book *de reductione ad Religionem*, which was approved at Rome, in the Year 1630. It was, not long since, maintained, in Holland, in the Prefaces to some Books, that the Doctrine of This Philosopher differed but little from *Spinozism* (k). In the mean time, if some Peri-

patetics

that Aristotle believed so and so; nevertheless I deny, that my Thesis, wherein I maintain another Doctrine, is false. All Endeavours are made use of to give the objected Passages such a Sense, as may agree with the Matter in question. The same Method is still in use among Those of the Church of Rome, in the Divinity Schools, with regard to St. *Austin*, and *Thomas Aquinas*.

[M] The weakest of his Works; I mean his Logic, and Natural Philosophy.] To be convinced of the Weakness of these Works, we need only read *Gassendus* in his *Exercitationes paradoxicae adversus Aristoteleos* (80). He says enough there against *Aristotle's* Philosophy, in general, to persuade every unprejudiced Reader, that it is very defective; but he particularly ruins this Philosopher's Logic. He was preparing likewise a Criticism on his Natural Philosophy, his Metaphysics, and Ethics, in the same way; when, being alarmed at the formidable Indignation of the Peripatetic Party against him, he chose rather to drop his Work, than expose himself to their vexatious Persecutions.

Note, that no one pretends to deny, but that, in *Aristotle's* Logic, and Natural Philosophy, there are many things, which discover the Elevation and Profoundness of his Genius. This we may grant, and, at the same time, judge that *Cassaubon's* Elogium on him is somewhat too hyperbolic. "Ego pueros puto fuisse (socios in Logica) præ divino Aristotele; & eorum in hoc genere scripta ὁδὸν καὶ φάσμα præ Aristotelis Organo; quo opere omnia mortalium ingenia (divina aut de rebus divinis semper excipio) longe superavit (81). — I look upon the Logicians as Children, in Comparison of the Divine Aristotle, and their Writings on this Subject to be Trifles, when compared with Aristotle's Organum; in which Work he has surpassed all the Wits of Man; divine Subjects ever excepted. The same may be said of This Passage of Father Rapin; "Nothing appears to have been regular or settled in Logic before Aristotle". This great Genius, fraught with Reason, and Knowledge, searched so deep into the Abyss of Human Wit, that he penetrated all the Secrets of it by his nice Discernment of it's Operations. This vast Depth of human Thoughts had never yet been sounded: Aristotle was the first, who discovered a new Way of attaining to Science, by the Evidence of Demonstration, and by proceeding geometrically to Demonstration in the way of Syllogism, the most finished Production, and greatest Effort, of human Wit. This is, in Miniature, the whole Art and Method of Aristotle's Logic; which is so very sure a one, that there can be no perfect Certainty in reasoning but by this Method, which is a certain Rule for thinking right on what ever ought to employ our Thoughts (82)." This

Philosopher's Treatise of Syllogisms may be commended as it deserves, without employing any such extravagant Expressions. There are several very sublime Questions in his Physics, which he discusses, and clears up, in a very masterly Way; but, in short, the main, the Grofs, of this Work is good for nothing; infelix operis summa. The chief Reason of This Defect is Aristotle's forsaking the Path, which the most excellent Naturalists took, who had philosophized before him. They believed, that all the Alterations, which happen in Nature, are only new Dispositions of the Particles of Matter; they admitted no Generation, properly speaking. This was the Doctrine, which he rejected (83); and, in so doing, was bewildered. For he was obliged to teach, that new Beings are produced, and others destroyed; he distinguished them from Matter; he gave them unheard-of Names, he affirmed, or supposed, things, of which he had no distinct Ideas. Now it is as impossible to philosophize justly without the Evidence of Ideas, as to sail without the Polar Star, or the Compass. To abandon this Evidence is to be beside one's self; it is to imitate a Traveller, who, in a strange Country, should dismiss his Guide; it is to feel one's Way in a strange House by Night without a Candle. Every one knows the many Forms, and Qualities distinct from Substance, which Aristotle's Followers have introduced; he had opened to them This Labyrinth: And if, in the XVIIth Century, Natural Philosophy began to appear again with new Lustre, it was by restoring the Ancient Principles, which he had forsaken, and by recurring to Evidence: In short, it was by excluding the great Number of Entities, of which our Mind has no manner of Idea, out of the Doctrine of Generation, and sticking to the Figure, Motion, and Situation of the Particles of Matter: Things, of which we have a clear and distinct Conception.

[N] This Justice however must be done to the blindest of his Followers, that They deserted him, where he clashes with Christianity.] I intend not to enter into Dispute with Luther, in behalf of the Divines of Cologne: He reproaches Them, and Those of Louvain also, with defending, or softening, Aristotle's greatest and most impious Absurdities, by their forced Interpretations. *Aristotelem ipsi in summo esse pretio, et nihil ab eo dictum esse tam absurde vel aliud à nostra religione quod non defendant, quod non aliqua interpretatione quantumvis longe petita circumveſtiant, quo suus ille confect bonos atque nominis exſtimatione* (84). What is not Prejudice capable of!

[O] As to the Immortality of the Soul, it is not certainly known, whether he believed it or no.] Pomponatius, and Niphus, had a great Quarrel on this Subject. The first maintained, that the Immortality of the Soul was inconsistent with Aristotle's Principles; the latter undertook to defend the contrary. See

(80) They are to be found in the third Volume of his Works.

(81) Casaub. in Perium, Sat. 5. ver. 86. p. 415.

* Aristotle's utriusque partis dialecticæ principia. — Aristotle, the Head of both the Parts of Logic. Cicero Topic. cap. 2.

(82) Rapin's Reflexions on Logic, n. 4. pag. 374, 375.

(83) See the first Book of Aristotle, De Generatione & Corruptione.

(84) Apud Sleidanum, de Statu Relig. & Reip. lib. 2. fol. 33.

patetics may be believed, He was not ignorant of the Myſtery of the Trinity [P]. He made a very good End [Q], and enjoys Eternal Happineſs [R]. He compoſed a very great Number of Books, a great Part of which is come down to us. It is true, ſome Critics raiſe a thouſand Scruples about them. We ſhall ſay ſomething of the Fate of theſe Books, in the Remarks on the Article TYRANNION (I). He was extremely honoured in his own City [S]; and there were Heretics, who worſhipped His Image jointly with That of JESUS CHRIST. I no where find, that the *Antinomians bore greater Reſpect to This wiſe Pagan, than to the uncreated Wiſdom*

(1) See, above, Remarks [B], [C], [D], of the Article AN-DRONI-CUS.

(85) It is in the fourth Page of the Preface to the Demonomania.

(86) He cites Philoponus, in the Life of Aristotle.

(87) He cites Plutarch and Diog.

(88) Sect. II. cap. ii. n. 10. to be cited by Naudé, in his Apology for Great Men.

(89) Emanuel de Moura, lib. de En-ſai. §. II. cap. iii. n. 29. apud Naudé, ubi ſupra, pag. 328.

(90) Tom. II. Traſt. XXIII. n. 3. apud Naudé, ibid. p. 329.

(91) Lib. II. de Compa-rat. Ariſtot. & Plat. cited by Naudé, ibid.

(92) The Circumſtance of Age would enervate the whole Proof of Moura; for they, who ſhould pre-tend, that Ariſtotle had denied the Exiſtence of Spirits, would not like him at the Age of 17 Years.

(93) Cap. 15. lib. 3. adverſus Ca-lumnias. Plat.

(94) Cael. Rhodig. l. 27. c. 34.

See the Diſcourſe of *la Mothe le Vayer* on the Immortality of the Soul (85); and *Bodin*, in the fifteenth Page of the Preface to the *Demonomania*.

[P] According to ſome Peripatetics, Ariſtotle was not ignorant of the Myſtery of the Trinity. Emanuel de Moura, diſputing againſt Thoſe, who accuſed Ariſtotle of Atheiſm, ſays, I. That a Woman wheedled him to that Degree, that ſhe made him conſult the Oracle of *Apollo* (86). II. That he ordered, by his laſt Will, that the Effigies of certain Animals, which he had vowed for the Health of *Nicanor* (87), ſhould be dedicated to *Jupiter* and *Minerva*. III. That he confeſſes, in the firſt Book of *Cælo & Mundo* (88). *Se cum aliis obtuliſſe Diis trina ſacrificia, in recognitionem trinæ perfectionis in eis inventæ* (89). -- That He, and Others, had offered to the Gods triple Sacrifices, in acknowledgment of the triple Perfection found in them. From theſe Paſſages it is inferred, not only that he believed the Exiſtence of Devils, and was ſuperſtitious, but that he was acquainted likewiſe with a Trinity of Perſons in an Unity of Subſtance; as *Salmeron* would have it (90); and *George Trapezontius* before him (91); which laſt wrote a whole Book concerning the Conformity of Ariſtotle's Doctrines with the Holy Scripture. Naudé, from whom I borrow this, obſerves, That Emanuel de Moura evidently miſrepresents Philoponus, who ſays no more, according to the Greek Text, and the Old Tranſlation, which agrees with That of *Nunneſius*, than that Ariſtotle, having attained to the Age of ſixteen Years, was admiſed, by the Pythian Oracle, to addit himſelf chiefly to Philoſophy — Naudé ſays, that the Three Sacrifices, which he offered to the Gods, and the Knowledge of the Trinity, which many Catholic Docters aſcribe to him, "are meer Chimeras," which "owe their Original to what he ſays in his firſt Book of

Cælo, ſpeaking of the Trinary Number; *Διὸς τῶν τριῶν θεῶν εὐαγγέλιον ὡς περ νόμος ἐκείνων καὶ ἀπὸς τὰς ἀγνείας τῶν θεῶν χρωμένον τῷ ἀεθμῷ τῶν.* That is, Wherefore, even in ſacrificing to the Gods, we make uſe of this Num-ber, which ſeems to be dictated by Nature herſelf.

From which Paſſage nothing more can be inferred, "than that Ariſtotle ſays, that, in his Time, they made uſe of the Number Three in Sacrifices; which is alſo teſtified by Theophrastus." Afterwards Naudé obſerves, that Cardinal Beſſarion (93) laughs at Trapezontius for taking ſo much Pains to prove, from this Text, that Ariſtotle had a full Knowledge of the Trinity. The modern Schoolmen will bate nothing of theſe Pretenſions. See *Piccinardi*, Profeſſor at *Padua*, in his *Dogmata Philoſophiæ Peripateticæ*. The *Journal of Italy* mentions it under the Thirty firſt of Auguſt, 1674.

[Q] He made a very good end. Finding himſelf near his Death, he ſhed a Flood of Tears, and, full of Grief and Hope, implored the Mercy of the Supreme Being. He approved a Sentence of *Homer* extremely, which ſays, That it does not miſbecome the Gods to aſſume the Nature of Man, to the end that they may enlighten Human Kind. Theſe were Glimpses of the future Incarnation of the Son of God. "Proditum & illud monumentis eſt, quum philoſophus hic extrema ſibi ingruere præſenſiſſet, dolore ac ſpe in lacrymas amplius proſuſum primæ cauſæ miſericordiam intentum imploraſſet. Quin & *Homeri* ſententiam ex *Odysſea* vehementer approbaſſet, qua non eſt immortalibus diis indecorum pronuntiarum hominis induere naturam, quo ab erroribus ſe vocentur mortales. Qua in re CHRISTI præſenſile adventum augurantur nonnulli ejus viri gloriæ in primis additi." This we read in *Cælius Rhodiginus* (94). His Authority in Matters of this Nature is good for nothing. Others ſpeak very differently of Ariſtotle's laſt Hours. "They ſay, that he died of Vexation, becauſe he could not comprehend the Cauſe of the Ebbing

and Flowing of the *Eurippus*. Upon which ſome Moderns have invented a Fable, which has been greatly in vogue, viz. that this Philoſopher threw himſelf into the *Eurippus*, with theſe Words, Let the *Eurippus* receive me, ſince I cannot comprehend the *Eurippus* (95)." *Diogenes Laërtius* quotes an Author, called *Eumelus*, who ſaid, that Ariſtotle, having fled to *Chalcis*, poiſoned himſelf there, at ſeventy Years of Age (96). *Apollodorus* ſeems to me more worthy of Credit, who ſays, that This great Man died of Sickneſs, at the Age of Sixty three Years (97).

[R] Enjoys Eternal Happineſs. *Sepulveda*, one of the moſt learned Men of the XVth Century, made no Scruple to rank him among the Bleſſed, and maintained his Opinion publicly in Writing (98). The Jeſuit *Gretſerus* rebuked him for his Preſumption, but confeſſed, that he was inclined to favour Ariſtotle as much as *Sepulveda*, whom he diſapproves only for his confident manner of Speaking (99). Add to this, what I have quoted from *Cælius Rhodiginus* (100), and what conſiderable Perſons have obſerved concerning the Reaſon, which obliged Ariſtotle to leave *Athens*. *Albertus Magnus* maintained, that they expelled him thence for his good Qualities; *Propter morum reſtitutionem pulſus Athenis* (101). *Gretſerus*, in his Diſpute with *Sepulveda*, about Ariſtotle's Salvation, does not queſtion, but he intended, by this voluntary Banishment, to avoid the Neceſſity, which they would have laid upon him, of paying That Worſhip to Idols, which he believed to be due to God alone (102). Thus we have, in his Perſon, an illuſtrious Refuge for the true Religion. *Origen* has given a favourable Interpretation to this Flight of Ariſtotle (103); for, in explaining the Precept, which our Saviour gives his Apoſtles, when persecuted in one City, to fly to another (104), he tells *Cæſus*, who denied it with his uſual Prophaneneſs, That Ariſtotle, withdrawing himſelf, as we have mentioned, was conformable to the Goſpel Morality, and that, being injuriouſly persecuted, he acted, as JESUS CHRIST had adviſed his Diſciples to do (105).

I have quoted (106) a Paſſage of *Agrippa*, where he mentions a Book of *Salute Ariſtotelis*. *Volſius*, who had ſo extenſive a Knowledge of Books, had never ſeen it; but knew pretty exactly the Time of it's Impreſſion. He ſays, in a Theſis, maintained by him on the fifteenth of December, 1638, that it was printed at *Oppenheim*, about One hundred and forty Years before, and that *Francis Junius* had ſeen a Copy of it (107). He adds, that one *Lambertus Montanus* Author, of a Commentary on Ariſtotle's *Phyſics*, (where, in the Year 1486, he is ſtiled Doctor of Divinity) had wrote concerning This Philoſopher's Salvation, and had made it probable from Scripture, and the Opinion of learned Men, that the *Stagyrite* was ſaved. *Quæſtionem Magiſtralem ſatis acutum ſcripſiſſe, offendentem per autoritates ſcripturæ divinæ, quid juxta ſaniorum doctorem ſententiam probabilis dici poſſit de ſalvatione Ariſtotelis Stagiritæ* (108). You will find, in a Treatiſe de *Pietate Ariſtotelis erga Deum & hominem*, which *Fortunius Licetus* dedicated to *Innocent X*, and which was approved by two general Inquiſitors, ſeveral Reaſons, by which he endeavours to prove, that Ariſtotle is not damned.

[S] He was extremely honoured in his own City. It had been ruined by King *Philip*, but, at Ariſtotle's Requeſt, was rebuilt by *Alexander*. In acknowledgment of ſo great a Benefit, the Inhabitants conſecrated a Feſtival to This Philoſopher; and, when he died at *Chalcis*, in the Iſland of *Eubœa*, they tranſported his Bones from thence; they built an Altar over his Tomb; they called the Place *Ariſtotelis*; and held their Aſſemblies there (109). *Mandeville*, in his fabulous Account of his Travels, ſays, that this ſubſiſted in his Time, to wit, in the XIVth Century (110).

(95) *Fatler Rapin's* Compariſon of *Ariſtote* and *Plato*, pag. 310; ubi cites *Justin*, in *Adm. ad Gentem*.

(96) *Greg. Naz. con. 22 Jul. ſec. 25* Rhodigin. lib. 29. c. 8. *At to the Ci-tatins of Rapin, ſee the Remark [Z].*

(97) *Apollod. apud Laërt. ibid. n. 10.*

(98) *Sepulveda, lib. 26. de An. 1, cited by la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 5. pag. 114.*

(99) *Gretſerus, cited by la Mothe le Vayer, ibid.*

(100) *Agrippa, Cita-tion (94).*

(101) *Albertus Magnus, lib. 5. Ethic. cap. 1. cited by Rapin, pag. 310.*

(102) *Gretſerus, de variis cel. Luth. cap. 12. cited by la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 5. pag. 109.*

(103) *Orig. contra Celſum, lib. 2. cited by la Mothe le Vayer.*

(104) *Matt. cap. X. ver. 23.*

(105) *La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. 5. pag. 103.*

(106) *In the Remark [H].*

(107) *Claſſ. Voct. Diſp. Theol. Tom. 2. pag. 622.*

(108) *Id. ib. ex Append. II. ad Tri-tem. de Script. Eccl. Edit. Col. 1546.*

(109) *Ammon. in Vita Ariſtot.*

(110) *Itinerar. c. p. 1. apud Hor-nium Hiſt. Philoſoph. lib. iii. cap. xv. p. 157.*

dom [Y], nor that the Aëtians were excommunicated, for giving their Disciples Aristotle's *Categories* for a Catechism (m). But I have somewhere read, that, before the Reformation, there were Churches in Germany, in which Aristotle's Ethics were read every Sunday to the People, instead of the Gospel [U]. There are but few Instances of Zeal for Religion, which have not been shewn for the Peripatetic Philosophy. Paul de Foix, famous for his Embassies and his Learning, would not see Francis Patricius at Ferrara, because he was informed, that That Learned Man taught a Philosophy different from the Peripatetic (n). This was treating the Enemies of Aristotle as Zealots treat Heretics. After all, it is no wonder, that the Peripatetic Philosophy, as it has been taught for several Centuries, found so many Protectors [X], or that the Interests of it are believed to be inseparable from Those of Theology (o); for it accustoms the Mind to acquiesce without Evidence. This Union of Interests may be esteemed as a Pledge to the Peripatetics of the Immortality of Their Sect, and an Argument to abate the Hopes of the New Philosophers; considering withal, that there are some Doctrines of Aristotle, which the Moderns have rejected, and which must, sooner or later, be adopted again (p). The Protestant Divines have very much altered their Conduct; if it be true, as we are told, that the first Reformers clamoured so loudly against the Peripatetic Philosophy [Y]. The kind of Death,

(p) Such is the Hypothesis of moving bodies, necessary for the Doctrine of Vortices, under what general Lawssoever, and without a ruling and directing force, peculiar to each Planet, can never satisfy the Mind.

[T] There were Heretics, who worshipped his Image with That of JESUS CHRIST, &c.] Read this Passage of Father Rapin (111). "The Carpatians were condemned, for placing This Philosopher's Image next to That of JESUS CHRIST, and for adoring him, through an extravagant Zeal for his Doctrine". The Aëtians were excommunicated by the Church, and by the Arians themselves, from whom they sprung, for giving Aristotle's *Categories* to their Disciples, instead of a Catechism†. And the Antinomians proceeded to such Excess of Impiety, as to pay more Respect to "This wise Pagan, than to the Uncreated Wisdom‡". I never was so much convinced, as by this Passage, that This entertaining Writer did not give himself the Trouble of consulting Originals. I confess, Baronius says, under the Year, which Father Rapin quotes, that the Carpatians had Images, and, among others, That of JESUS CHRIST, (which they said was procured by Pilate) That of Pythagoras, That of Plato, and That of Aristotle; and that they paid them the same Veneration as the Pagans do to their Idols. But this should not have been alleged: For, besides that Baronius nowhere says, that These Heretics were condemned on this Account, it does not appear, that They had more Zeal for Aristotle's Doctrine, than for That of the other Philosophers, whose Images they venerated. My Edition of Baronius (112) does not contain one Word of what Father Rapin mentions under the Year 208: Nor is it possible, that Persons, who sprung from the Arians, should be driven from the Communion of the Church, in the beginning of the third Century. It is under the Year 356, that Baronius speaks of Aëtius: he quotes a long Passage of Suidas, in which we find, not that This Heretic gave his Followers Aristotle's *Categories* for a Catechism; but that he explained things to them, according to the Method of Aristotle's *Categories*; meaning, that he was well versed in Logical Disputations and Subtilties. Just, as if, at present, a Spanish Schoolman, who undertook to explain a Point of Faith, should follow the Method of the Schools. Could it be said, that he substituted Aristotle's Works in the room of our Books of Religion? To quote Eusebius, in the Twenty-seventh Chapter of his History, is an unwarrantable way of Citation. I do not believe That Author has said one Word of the Antinomians.

[V] In some Churches of Germany, Aristotle's Ethics were read - - - instead of the Gospel.] I shall quote my Author; he is Spanhemius, the Father, in the Secular Oration, delivered by him at Geneva, in the Year 1635 (113). "Quin & Philippus Melancthon, says he (114), vir candidissimus testatur diebus Dominicis, variis in locis, pro thematibus Dominicalibus, inde à Karoli M. ætate opera P. Guarenfridi, seculo octavo, in Cathedras Ecclesiasticas introductis, Ethica Aristotelis publice populo prælecta, & se Tubingæ in agro Wirtenburgico audita. - - - Philip Melancthon, a Man of great Candour, affirms, that, in several Places, instead of the Sunday Lectures, introduced into the Churches, from the Time of Charles the Great, in the VIIIth Century, by the Care of

Guarenfridus, the Ethics of Aristotle were publicly read to the People, and that he himself had been present at the reading of Them, at Tubingen, in the Country of Wirtemberg." If another Witness be demanded, and Magirus may be admitted, I shall produce him. "Tubingæ quondam Monachus, says he (115), pro concione Aristotelis librum Ethicorum explicavit, & vulgo dicebat, quemadmodum Johannes Baptista Christum præcursum fuit in Theologicalibus, ita Aristoteles fuit præcursum Christum in Physicalibus (116). - - - A certain Monk, formerly, at Tubingen, explained Aristotle's Book of Ethics publicly to the People; and was wont to say, that, as John the Baptist was the Forerunner of CHRIST in Divine Things, so Aristotle was in Natural Things."

[X] It is no wonder, that the Peripatetic Philosophy found so many Protectors.] If All, who have embraced the Philosophy of Descartes, had been ended with That wise Moderation, which makes a Man stop, when he has attained to a certain Point; if they could have discerned, what was fit to be divulged, and what kept secret (117), they would not have raised such a Clamour against the Sect in general. The Method of the ancient Philosophers was founded on good Reasons. They had Tenets for the Vulgar, and Tenets for Disciples initiated into their Mysteries. Be that as it will, the applying, or endeavouring to accommodate, Descartes's Principles to the Doctrines of Religion, has been of great Prejudice to His Sect, and retards the Progress of it. This is an almost unavoidable Case. The ancient Fathers complained heavily of the Aristotelian Sect (118); and it is almost a general Complaint, that Philosophy does injury to Religion. But, on the other side, it is certain, that Divinity wounds Philosophy: They are two Faculties, which would seldom agree about their just Boundaries, did not the Secular, or Ecclesiastical, Powers, which are always in the Interest of the former, take the necessary Precautions, to reconcile them?

[Y] The first Reformers clamoured loudly against the Peripatetic Philosophy.] Here is another Passage of Father Rapin (119): "Nothing did more honour to This great Man's (120) Doctrine in the last Century, than the bitter Invectives of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin, Pössel, Paul Sarpi (121), and all Those, who wrote against it, and against the Church of Rome. For Their Complaints against Aristotle are only because the solidity of his Method gives the Catholics great Advantage in discovering the Subtlety and Artifice of the false Reasonings, which Heresy makes use of to disguise Error, and destroy the Truth." In another Piece, This Author does not speak so much at random, and with so few Proofs. "St Thomas, says he (122), made use of Aristotle's Method, with so great Success, in explaining the Doctrines of the Church of Rome, that Bucer, one of the greatest Enemies of our Church, used to say; *Suppreſſi Thomæ Works, and I will destroy the Church of Rome*." It was This Method, borrowed from Aristotle, which rendered the Doctrines of our Religion so formidable to all the Innovators of these last Centuries; who, being unable to resist it, endeavoured to cry it down, by declaiming

(116) Magirus in Eponymol. Critico, pag. 81, 82.

(117) He cites Greg. Michael in Not ad loc. Gaffarelli, Curioſit. inaudit. pag. 109.

(118) Finite Potestas denique quædam sit ratione utque alitè terminus herens, Luc. lib. 1. v. 77.

(119) See in Mr de Lamoi. de varia Aristotelis Fortuna. cap. 1, a long List of their Passages.

(120) Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, pag. 412.

(121) He speaks of Aristotle.

(122) How can it be said, that he wrote against the Church of Rome, in the XVIth Century.

(123) Reflections on Philosophy, pag. 450.

• Tolle Thomam, & Ecclesiam Romanam subvertam. Bucer, Father Rapin would have done well to have cited the Book and Page of Bucer.

(m) Rapin's Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, pag. 392.

(n) Thuan. de vita sua, lib. 1.

(o) See the Remark [I].

(111) Rapin's Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, p. 392.

• Baronius Annal. Eccles. ad Ann. 120.

† Ibid. ad Ann. 208.

‡ Euseb. Hist. c. 27.

(112) That of Antwerp, in 1597.

(113) It is intitled Geneva Restituta.

(14) Pages 17, 18.

"Justinus cognomento Martyr, & Gregorius Nazianzenus, qui primi, aut inter primos, hanc fabulam olim in scripta sua reulerunt, id vel studio Philosphie Christianæ (ita enim isti Græculi Christianissimum vocare solent) fecere; dum videlicet infanientem veterum Græcorum sapientiam obcurandam & premendam existimarent; vel fortasse etiam, (quidni enim veris locus sit?) prisce historię ignorantie. Nam ex Eumolpi, Apollodori, Favorinique scriptis, quæ illa etiam tempestate superflue scimus, facile didicisse Boni Viri poterant, rem longe se fecus habuisse, quam prodiderunt (128). — In Greece, as is done even at this Day, the Sacred Orators, if this Name be applicable to those noisy Haranguers of the Mob, commonly gave out, that Aristotle, when he could not discover the reason, why the Euripus ebbed and flowed seven times in a Day, took it so to Heart, that he threw himself headlong into That River. Justin Martyr, and Gregory Nazianzen, who first adopted this Fable in their Writings, did it for the sake of the Christian Philosophy, as they love to stile Christianity; being, forsooth, of Opinion, that the pretended Philosophy of the ancient Greeks ought to be eclipsed, and kept under; or perhaps, through Ignorance of ancient History. For

"the good Men might easily have learned from Eumolpus, Apollodorus, and Favorinus, whose Writings we know were extant at that Time, that the Matter was quite otherwise, than as they have related it."

Gyraldus had fathered it upon them before, and made a pious Reflexion upon the whole. I. He says, that Justin Martyr affirms, that Aristotle died, because he could not discover the Cause of the Ebbing and Flowing of the Euripus. II. That Procopius has said the same, in the fourth Book of his History. III. That Gregory Nazianzen, having observed, that Homer's not knowing how to resolve a Question proved fatal to him, immediately contemns Aristotle's Philosophy, with regard to the Variation of the Euripus, which was the Cause of his Death. IV. That the Greek Commentator on That Father relates, that the Philosopher cast himself into That Arm of the Sea, with these Words, Let the Euripus receive me, since I cannot comprehend the Euripus. Επειδὴ Ἄριστοῦς οὐκ ἔβη τὸν Εὐεῖπον, εὐεῖπον ἐχέτω τὸν Ἄριστον. Postquam Aristoteles non prebendit Euripum, Euripus habeat Aristotelem (129). V. That from hence we may conclude, that Fortune has been unpropitious to the impious, not only in the true, but also in the false Religions.

(128) Tanaq. Faber. Epist. part. I. pag. 49, 50.

(129) Lilius Gregor. Gyraldus Dialectic. xxx. pag. 912. Tom. II. Oper. Edit. 1696.

ARISTOTLE, a famous Architect in the XVth Century, was of Bologne, and of the Family of the Alberti (a). One of the most remarkable things related of him, is, that he could transport an entire Stone Tower from one place to another [A]. John Basilides, Great Duke of Muscovy, sent for him (b), and employed him in building of several Churches. There are Names, which are difficult to be supported. That of Aristotle is one of them. Yet we meet with above Thirty Aristotles [B].

(a) Leon. Alberti in Descript. Ital. pag. 516.

(b) See the Account of Muscovy, by Hercules Zani, in the Journal of Leipzig, 1601, pag. 476.

[A] He could transport an entire Stone Tower from one Place to another. Jonsius cites two Testimonies, Beroaldus, and Matthew Palmerius (1). The first expresses himself thus: "Non diu est, quod Aristoteles civis noster, mechanicus longe omnium præstantissimus, turrim ex fede sua movit, motamque arte mechanica in alium haud longe diffitum locum transportavit. Non est mendacius locus, cum adhuc superint qui videre 2). — It is not long ago, that our Countryman Aristotle, the most excellent of Mechanics, moved a Tower from its Place, and transported it, by Mechanic Art, to a Place not far off. The Truth of this is vouched by several, who were Eye-witnesses of it." These are the Words of Palmerius: "Aristoteles Bononiensis Architectura insignis habetur, qui lapideas turres in-

(1) Jonsius de Scriptor. Hist. Philol. pag. 68.

(2) Beroald. in Sueion. Vespat. cap. 18.

"tegras illas subjecis fundamento lapidibus ad alium traduxit locum (3). — Aristotle of Bologne is famous for Architecture; who transported Stone Towers, entire and unburnt, from one place to another, placing Stones under the Foundation."

(3) Matth. Palmer. Chron. ad Ann. 1455.

[B] We meet with above thirty Aristotles. See the Dilettations of Jonsius de Historia Peripatetica; and you will find Twenty one Aristotles in the first of them. The Author believed, at that time, that he had summed them all up (4); but he found, that Knowledge increases with Years. For, when he published his Treatise de Scriptoribus Historiæ Philosophiæ, he had eleven Aristotles more to add to the former. He had likewise something more to say of some of the Twenty one. What has been related in the preceding Remark, is one of these Additions.

(4) See the 12th Chapter of the Treatise of Jonnius, just cited.

ARIUS, the Head, and Founder, of ARIANISM, a Sect which denied the Eternal Divinity, and Consubstantiality, of the WORD, lived in the IVth Century. He was born in Africa near Egypt. Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, much in Favour with Constantia, Sister of the Emperor Constantine, and Wife of Licinius, contributed greatly to the Propagation of this Heresy (a). He was a Man of a ready Wit, a true Court-Bishop, in short, perfectly well qualified to make the Fortune of a new Doctrine. He took Arius into his Protection; and brought him into favour with Constantia. For it has been always thought, that unless Women concern themselves in the Interests of a Sect, it can never make any considerable Progress. Arius's Party visibly gained Ground: There were Bishops, who publicly embraced it: Disputes were frequent in the Cities; and sometimes from Words they came to Blows: It was absolutely necessary, that the Emperor should remedy This Disorder. This he did, by convening the Council of Nice, in which the Doctrine of Arius was condemned in 325. This Heresiarch was banished by the Emperor, who, likewise, ordered his Books to be burnt; and prohibited them under Pain of Death [A]. Some pretend, that Arius, having abjured his Heresy in the Presence of the Council,

(a) Hieron. ad Ctesiphont.

[A] The Emperor — prohibited his Books under Pain of Death. Socrates gives us the Letter, in which Constantine ordered, that All, who should find any Book composed by Arius, and not burn it, should be immediately punished with Death. Εξείνο μὲν τοι παραδοῦναι, ὡς εἰ τις σύγγραμμα ὑπὸ Ἀρίου συνιστῶν φανερώσῃ κρυψας, καὶ μὴ εὐθὺς παρσηκεῖν πύρι καλανάκωσῃ, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ἔσθαι ἡ ζημία, παραγγέλλω γὰρ ἄλλος ἐπὶ τούτῳ κεφαλικὴν ὑποσχέσεται τιμωρίαν (1). Illud etiam demuntio, quod si quis Librum ab Ario compositum occultasse deprehensus sit, nec eum statim ablatum igne cum-

(1) Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. I. cap. 9, pag. 31.

bufferit, mortis pœnam subibit. I do not remember to have read any Author, who has remarked this strange and surprising Extravagance of Constantine. He is satisfied with banishing this Arch-Heretic; he does not condemn those to Death, who adhered to Arianism; and yet threatens with Death Those, who should conceal any of Arius's Works. Was there ever a wider Disproportion between Punishments and Crimes? May not a Man be very Orthodox, and yet curious enough to see what Heretics can say for themselves, and to preserve scarce Books, as those generally are, which are condemned to the Flames? And yet, if an Orthodox

cil, avoided the Sentence of Banishment [B]; but others assert, that he suffered Exile [C], and that the Emperor did not recal him 'till Ten Years after [D] (b). They contend, that some had induced That Prince to believe, that *Arius* was Orthodox at the bottom. They add, that *Constantine*, being confirmed in this Opinion by the Profession of Faith, which *Arius* presented to him, wrote in his Favour to the Bishops, who were assembled at *Jerusalem*, for the Dedication of the Temple; That the Bishops, who still remained in That City, when *Arius* arrived with the Emperor's Letter, were for the most part concealed *Arians*; so that they did not fail to declare his Doctrine Orthodox, and to re-admit him to the Communion of the Church; That, to compleat the Triumph, they were of Opinion, that *Arius* ought to be re-established in *Alexandria*, where he had received the first Strokes of the Church's Anathema; And that, as St *Albanasius*, who was it's Patriarch, and *Arius*'s grand Adversary, was in Exile, they believed, that, in His Absence, it would be no difficult matter to re-instate *Arius* in the Communion of the Church of *Alexandria*; But that they were deceived; and that the People would never re-admit him; That *Constantine*, being informed of the Continuance of the Troubles, cited *Arius* to *Constantinople*, and prevailed upon him to subscribe the Formulary of *Nice*; That, afterwards, he sent him back to the Bishops, who were then assembled at *Constantinople*; I say, sent him back to them, to be received into the Communion of the Church, in That Imperial City; That He, who was then Bishop of *Constantinople*, would never give his Consent to it, though it was represented to him, that *Arius* had signed all that was required of him; That, notwithstanding, *Eusebius* procured, that the Sacrament of the Church should be administred to his Friend in the great Church of *Constantinople*; That he conducted him thither in a kind of Triumph, attended by a great Number of his own Party; but that, as they drew near the Great Square, *Arius*, pressed by a natural Necessity, retired in haste to a Public House of Office, and died immediately, all his Bowels gushing out, together with his Liver and Spleen, in the Year 336 (c). Some very Learned Men reject this Chronology [E]. *Arius*'s Sect did not die with him; it subsisted a long time, and with Credit, in several Parts of the World. It cannot sufficiently be wondered at, that a Minister, who passes for a Learned Man, should be ignorant of so notorious a Fact

(b) See Maimbourg's History of Arius, lib. 1, 2.

(c) Taken from Maimbourg's History of Arius.

Orthodox Christian had been found with a Book of *Arius* in his keeping, though upon such a Principle, he would have been immediately hanged; whilst one, who made open Profession of *Arianism*, was suffered to live. What more ridiculous? Not to say, that it is a Contradiction to let Heretics live, and yet forbid them, on pain of Death, to keep the Books of their Founder. To this may be added, that *Arius*, and some Bishops, his Adherents, being banished, their Conversation was still more dangerous, than the reading of their Books. How came it then, that They, who should converse with these Exiles, were not threatened with the Punishment of Death?

[B] Some say, that *Arius* — avoided the Sentence of Banishment. Baronius affirms, on the Credit of St *Jerom*, that *Arius* made a shew of Repentance; and that, having subscribed to the Council of *Nice*, he was admitted to the Peace of the Church by That Council, and was not banished. It cannot be denied, but that St *Jerom* says, that *Arius* made his Peace with the Council of *Nice* (2); but much greater Credit is due to the Letter of That Council, than to the Opinion of a single Person, who lived after That Time. In This Letter is set forth how *Arius*'s Opinions had been examined, and condemned; but as to what had been acted against his Person, and what became of him, they forbear to mention it, that they might not be thought to insult him in his Disgrace. Would they have spoken thus of One, in whose Recantation they had acquiesced? The learned *Henry Valesius*, reasoning on This Letter of the Council, commends their Moderation, because they did not anathematize *Arius* by Name, but Those in general, who taught such and such Heresies; and because that, instead of soliciting the Emperor to banish the Heretics, they expressed their Concern at their Banishment (3).

[C] Others assert, that he suffered Exile. *Sozomen* is of this Number; for he affirms (4), that *Arius* was recalled, a little after the Separation of the Council. Ἀρῖος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξορίαν ἀπαχόμενος ἀνεκλήθη (4). Non multo post Synodum Nicenam Arius ab exilio revocatus est. The Submission of the two Bishops, who were deprived of their Churches, is a Proof of *Arius*'s Banishment. I mean *Eusebius*, and *Theognis*. *Philostorgius* informs us, that these two Prelates were banished by *Constantine*, three Months after the breaking up of the Council (5); and affirms, that they ob-

tained their Recal, three Years after. Now they obtained it by submitting to the Decisions of the Council in a Writing, which they sent to the Bishops; wherein they took notice, that He, who was the Principal in these Disputes, had been recalled from his Banishment; and that it would be absurd to pretend, that, after His Reconciliation, They could not make their own Innocence appear (6). Thus we have two Facts cleared up; one, that *Arius* was banished; the other, that he made his Peace with the Bishops, and that he obtained his Recal, before *Eusebius* and *Theognis* procured theirs; which fell out, according to *Philostorgius*, in 328; whose Opinion agrees very well with the History of those Times. It is false, then, that *Arius* was not recalled before the Year 335.

[D] That the Emperor did not recal him 'till ten Years after. Father *Maimbourg* has followed This false Chronology. We have already proved him to have been in an Error.

[E] He died in the Year 336 — very learned Men reject This Chronology. *Valesius* proves, that *Arius* was not living at the time of the Council of *Jerusalem*, which received Letters from *Constantine*, concerning the Reconciliation of some principal Members of *Arianism*. "Arius Hæresiarum die ante Synodum Hierosolymitanam e vita excesserat; ut certissimis argumentis probavi in libro secundo Observationum Ecclesiasticarum, Capite II (7). — Arius the Hæresiarch died long before the Council of Jerusalem, as I have proved by invincible Arguments in the second Book of my Eccles. Observ. Ch. II. It was not, therefore, *Arius*, the Arch-Heretic, who was recommended to This Council by *Constantine*, and who found the Bishops, assembled at *Jerusalem*, so favourable to him. In the mean time, *Socrates* says expressly, that the Council, which was transferred from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*, for the Dedication of the Temple, received *Arius* and his Adherents into the Communion of the Church, by virtue of Letters from *Constantine*, which testified, that He was persuaded of the Orthodoxy of *Arius*, and *Euzoius*. Ἀρῖον μὲν καὶ τὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐδάξαντο τοὺς βασιλεὺς γράμμασι παθεῖν λατρίαν, δι' ἃν δεδωδωκεν αὐτοῖς πεποιθεῖν περὶ τῆς αἰρέσεως Ἀρῖου καὶ Εὐζοίου (8). Arium quidem una cum sociis in communionem recipiunt, obtemperare se dicentes Imperatoris literis, quibus certiores ipsos fecerat fidem

(f) Sozomen. lib. II, cap. 16.

(7) Valesii Note in Socrat. lib. 1, cap. 33.

(8) Socrat. Histor. Eccles. lib. 1, cap. 33.

(2) Hieron. in Dialogo contra Lucianum.

(3) Vales. in Sozomenum, lib. II, cap. 16, pag. 108.

(4) Sozomen. lib. II, cap. 16, Valesius observes, that, according to the Force of these Words, ἔτι τῶν ἐξορίαν, we must understand, that *Arius* was recalled, as he was going to the Place of his Banishment.

(5) Apud Vales. in Hist. Eccles. Socrat. lib. I, cap. 14, pag. 100.

a Fact [F]. He was ignorant likewise of another no less evident; for he pretends, that no Penal Laws were enacted against This Sect [G]. Another Thing, which he has advanced, has not a little perplexed him; for great Advantage has been made of what

se Arii & Euzoii penitus persequam habere. Constantine had sent the Confession of Faith, which Arius and Euzoii had presented to him (9), to the Bishops, assembled at Jerusalem; and St Athanasius plainly says, that the Synod of Jerusalem received Arius and his Followers into its Communion. Ἐπαποῖσεν δὲ αὐτὸν Νεχὲβας Ἀπὸστολὴν καὶ τὰς αὐτὸν εὐ-
 τῶ (10). *Scribentes suscipiendos esse Arium & Socios.* Valesius solves the Difficulty, by saying there were two Arius's; one the Arch-Heretic; the other his Follower; they had both been excommunicated by Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria. He, who presented a Confession of Faith, with Euzoii, to Constantine, and was reconciled by the Council of Jerusalem, was not the Arch-Heretic, but the Other Arius. Valesius proves this, not only by Reasons, which shew, that the Arch-Heretic was dead long before the Year 335, but also by the Petition of Eusebius, and Theognis. These two Bishops implored Pardon, protesting their Innocence, in the Year 328, and alledged, that the Head and Author of these Controversies was reconciled and restored. This could not be said of That Arius, who was re-united to the Church, by the Synod of Jerusalem; for the Petition, or Confession of Faith, which He, and Euzoii, presented to Constantine, a little before That Synod, that is about the Year 335, testifies, that they were then in Exile and excommunicated. The sudden Death of Arius, in which the Orthodox have found so many Mysteries, happened after the Council of Jerusalem. It follows, then, that the Arius, who died in this manner, was not the Heresiarch, and that they have transferred to one Point of Time what happened at another Conjunction. It is strange there should be so little Order, and Exactness, in Ecclesiastical History; one cannot ascertain Arius's Exile, the Duration of it, and such like Particulars, but by arguing from different Facts, some attested by This, others by That Author. One good Historian might suffice to give the Thread of the principal Events, though all the rest were lost.

[F] Arius's Sect did not die with him; it subsisted a long time. — a Minister, who passed for a learned Man, was ignorant of so notorious a Fact. See what he says: "I am persuaded, that Arianism never made a great Party in the World. It is true, several Bishops made profession of it; but this Heresy did not spread among the People (11)." What he says elsewhere, is much stronger; for he asserts, that Arianism only passed through the Church like a Torrent. It cannot be pleaded, in his excuse, that This is one of those Errors, which escape by Surprise, and through want of Attention; for he remarks this Fact as fundamental and essential to his System. His Opinion, on the one side, is, that Heresies against the Mystery of the Trinity are fundamental and damnable; and, on the other, that God has never suffered such kind of Heresies to continue long, or make any considerable Figure in the World. "God, says he (12), cannot permit large Christian Societies to fall into damnable Errors, and persist a long Time in them; at least, to judge by Experience, we cannot believe it possible, since such a thing never yet happened."

Mr Nicolle was the first, who read him a Lecture on the Words of the Hundred and forty ninth Page. This he did without Bitterness, or Insult, in these Terms: "What Mr Jurieu says, is very true, if understood of the great Blaze of Arianism, which passed, indeed, like a Flash of Lightning: But it is less exact, when applied to the Times, which succeeded. Though the Church had recovered its former Splendor in most Parts of the World, yet there were several considerable Bodies, as the Vandals in Africa, the Goths in Asia, in Italy, in part of France, and in Spain, who openly professed Arianism, and where the Controversy was sufficiently enough cleared, for the People to take part in it (13)." Mr Pellissier came next to the Charge, in this manner. "Those Arians gave him some Trouble, as well as the Pbanatics and Socinians of these Times, and Those, whom he calls Pbotini-

ans of Poland, and Transylvania. Some Remains of Modesty hindered him from associating himself with them, in one and the same Church. He found the means to get rid of them, without entering upon This Discussion, or calling in Maller Workmen, to know whether the Foundation was ruined wholly, or but in part. He does not pretend, he says, to comprehend, in This one extensive Church, Any but Those Societies, which form a visible Body. The Arians, it seems, never became a Body, at least a Great Body, (and this against the Faith of all History, which every where mentions their Communion, their Assemblies, their Basilicas, or Churches, as wholly distinct from Those of the Orthodox). The Pbanatics, the Socinians, the Pbotinians of these Times, have not, as yet, any regular Assemblies, or Policy, or Union with each other. They are, therefore, of no Account. But if, for the Punishment of our Sins, and unhappy Divisions, God should permit these common Enemies to multiply, and to regulate and form themselves into a Body, they are, then, agreeably to his own Principles, upon the same Foot with others; and there will be no Difficulty in supposing, that a Man may be saved among them (14)." The Author, in reply to Mr Nicolle, confesses, "That the Arians formed a GREAT Body," but maintains, that they continued but a very short Time, and that God suffered their Communion to perish, because it did not preserve the Fundamental Truths (15)." A third Censor has arisen, who maintains, like the two former, that Arianism was not only of great Extent, but also of considerable Duration, and that it was an Heresy, which spread among the People. See the Book, entitled, *Janua Caelorum restructa* (16). The Author makes it appear (17), that Arianism subsisted above Three hundred Years in splendor; that it was, for almost two Ages, the established Religion in Spain; that it was on the Throne in the East, and West, and that it reigned in Italy, France, Pannonia, and Africa. Never was Author driven from one vexatious Consequence to another more vexatious, as was the Author of the System, by the pretended Carus Larebonius (18). He plainly shews him, that, if God never suffered great Christian Societies to run into damnable Errors, and continue in them long, and if God destroyed Arianism, because it did not preserve the Fundamental Truths; it necessarily follows, I. That the Errors of the Church of Rome are not damnable. II. That Mahometanism has preserved the Fundamental Truths. The Author of the System pretends, that Mahometanism is not a Sect, which arose from Christianity, and therefore that he has nothing to do with its Extent or Continuance. These are Objections, which the utmost Chicanery can never answer. The Synods cannot pretend Ignorance, and yet they have never censured this Doctrine of the System; though it fully justifies the Church of Rome, and consequently convicts the Reformed of being Schismatics.

[G] He pretends, that no Penal Laws were enacted against this Sect. Let us cite a fine Passage of the *Preservative against a Change of Religion*. The Minister, of whom I speak, published this Book, whilst he was in France (19), and opposed it to the Catholic Expulsion of the Bishop of Condom. See what he says at the eleventh Page (20). "The Church has suffered Persecutions, but never exercised any. She has had the upper Hand of Paganism, as Paganism has had of her; but never returned her like for like. She did not employ the Authority of the Constantines, and the Theodosius's, to embrace the Temples of the false Gods with the Blood of their Worshipers, as the Pagans did the Swords of their Nero's, Maximin's, Decii, and Dioclesian's, to drench the Earth with the Blood of Christians. One must be very little versed in the History of the Church, to be ignorant, that, in all the Contest she had with the Arians, Eutybian's, and other Heretics, she made use only of Exhortations, Reasons, Councils, and such like Arms." The Au-

(9) It is inserted at length in Sozomen, lib. 2, cap. 27.

(10) Athanasius in libro de Synodis, apud Valesium in Secretis lib. 1, cap. 33, pag. 16.

(12) Jurieu's True System of the Church, pag. 149.

(13) Ibid. pag. 236.

(14) Nicolle, pag. 15, 26, of his Preface to the Unity of the Church.

(14) Reflections on the Disputes in Religion, Part II, pag. 429, 430.

(15) Jurieu of the Unity of the Church, pag. 364.

(16) It was printed at Amsterdam, in 1792.

(17) Pag. 87.

(18) This is the Name, which the Author of Janua Caelorum restructa assumed.

(19) The first Edition, I believe, was of Rouen, in 1680, there have been others since, in Holland.

(20) Edition of the Hague, 1682.

what he says concerning the Faith of the Fathers, who preceded the Rise of *Arianism* [H]. This Sect has been, by turns, Persecuting, and Persecuted [I], and fell at last by the Way of Human Authority [K]. I scarce meet with any Author, who does not esteem it a Crime in *Arius*, that he put his Opinions into Verse, to be sung by his Disciples. Both the Matter, and the Form, of the Poem, which he intitled

Tbalia

thor of the *Philosophical Commentary* had reason to wonder, that a Professor of Divinity, who passed in *France* for a Man well versed in Ecclesiastical History, should betray such Ignorance as this (21). But he was still more astonished, that, after Father *Thomas* had set this Matter in the clearest Light, another French Writer, addressing himself to the Bishop of *Meaux*, should say, "One thing I must tell you, my Lord, Thou, throughout ancient and modern History, all Acts of Violence, exercised by Princes on the Score of Religion, have ever been looked upon as Spectacles of Horror, and that the Names of such Princes are never mentioned, even to this Day, without Execration." I add here the Reflexion of the Commentator. "What! Are the *Constantine's*, the *Theodosius's*, the *Honorius's*, the *Marcian's*, the *Justinian's*, who put in Execution so many Penal Laws against Sectaries, who condemned to Death those, who persevered in Pagan Idolatry, in *Manicheism*, &c. and even those, who read, or were in possession of, the Books of Heretics; are These, I say, Names, which are never mentioned, at this Day, without Execration? How will he prove this (22)?" The Divine, who published the *Preservative*, has, it seems, studied Ecclesiastical Antiquity better, since his Transplantation into *Holland*. He has there learned to refuse Toleration, by the Authority of the *Constantines*, the *Theodosius's*, and the *Charlemagnes*. "Paganism, says he (23), would have been still in being, and three parts of Europe would still have been Pagan, if *Constantine*, and his Successors, had not made use of their Authority to abolish it." In *France* he took it very ill, that the Secular Power should be made use of; and in *Holland* he takes it very ill, that it should not be employed. And now, after this, who dares pretend, that, by changing of Climate, one does not change Opinion?

Cœlum, non animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt (24).

They, that beyond-sea go, shall sadly find,
They change their Climate only, not their Mind.
CREECH.

There is a local Faith, and a temporary Faith, which have not yet been mentioned in the Division of the *Genus* into its Species: See the Remark [H], of the Article St AUGUSTIN.

[H] Great Advantage has been made of what he says concerning the Faith of the Fathers, who preceded the Rise of *Arianism*.] He maintained, in his Pastoral Letters, that Those Fathers did not believe an Equality of Persons in the Trinity; and that they admitted a Temporal Generation of the Word, which had conferred on the Second Person his entire and perfect Existence. It is plain, that this Opinion differs in nothing from *Arianism*; and that it overthrows the Eternal Trinity of Persons. The Bishop of *Meaux* pressed Mr *Jurieu* to home upon this Point (25), that he obliged him to break the Silence, to which he had reduced him on some other Points: But his Reply did him more harm, than his Silence could have done; he was forced to contradict himself, and retract several Things, and still got nothing by it. The Bishop returned to the Charge; drove his Adversary before him, and obliged him to enter the Lists no more: So that, among the most distinguishing Elogies, which were bestowed on this Prelate, it was not forgot, that he had stopped the Mouth of the most daring Critic of the Age (26). Mr *Jurieu* was scarce got out of the Bishop's Hands, when he fell into those of *Carus Larebonius*, who shewed him, that if the Fathers of the three first Centuries held That Opinion of the Trinity, and the Generation of the Word, which he imputes to them, it must necessarily follow, that neither the Heresy of the *Arians*, nor That of the *Socinians*, were Dam-

nable, or Fundamental (27). It must be carefully remarked, that the Victories, gained over this Minister, concern only his particular Opinions, and in no wise the Doctrine of his Church; of which *The History of the Works of the Learned* (28) advertised the Public. This is no Foreign Matter; it belongs of right to a Critical Dictionary; for it is false in Fact, that the Heresy of *Arius* was implicitly taught by the Fathers of the three first Centuries. It is something strange, that Mr *Jurieu*, having considered *Arianism* in so many Lights, should always view it in the wrong. It would be more difficult to find a Fencer, who could never hit a Bull. *Taurum toties non ferire difficile est* (29). We must not omit, that, as to the Matter of Fact, in relation to the Penal Laws of *Constantine*, and the Continuance and Extent of *Arianism*, the Authors, I have already cited, have shewn him his Error very civilly, and without having recourse to the Insults, and hard Language he himself would have made use of, in the like Case, against an Adversary.

[I] This Sect has been, by turns, persecuting, and persecuted.] It cannot be denied, that the Orthodox were the Aggressors; for we have seen, that *Constantine* banished the Ringleaders of *Arianism*, and threatened those with Death, who should not burn all the Writings of That Arch-Heretic; but it is certain, that *Constantine*, his Son, and *Valens*, who raised *Arianism* to the Throne, treated the Orthodox with more Rigor, than *Constantine* had done the *Arians*. Upon all other Occasions, the latter seem to have been of a more tolerating Spirit, than the former; and it is a Thesis, which the Philosophical Commentator has undertaken to prove, in the Supplement to his Work (30). Among other Reasons, he alleges this; that, at the time, when *Recaredus* extirpated *Arianism* in *Spain*, the Catholic Bishops were much more numerous than the *Arians*, though the *Arian* had been the predominant Religion, for near Two hundred Years before: A strong Presumption, that the Catholics were but little molested.

[K] And fell, at last, by the way of human Authority.] *Mariana* passes lightly over the Rigors, which *Recaredus* must needs have exercised, and excuses them from hence, that the Case required Severity, and that the People were not displeased with it. "Contigit autem *Recaredo*, quod haud scio an regum ulli, ut religione permutanda, quod propemodum necesse erat, motus existerent, sed neque diuturni admodum neque graves; & severitas animadversionis non modo invidiosa non esset, quia necessario suscipiebatur, sed etiam popularis, &c. cum bonis omnibus, tum infimo cuique gratissima (31).—It happened to *Recaredus*, as to scarce any other King, that, though the Change of Religion, in his Dominions, which was almost necessary, was attended with some Disturbances, yet were they neither of long Continuance, nor of ill Consequence; and so far was the Severity, which he exercised upon this Occasion, from being odious, that it was popular, and pleasing, not only to good Men, but to the meanest of the People." The Author, before-mentioned, observes, that, if the Complaints, which the *Arians* made, had been preferred to us, it is probable we should find in them a very long Detail of Acts of Violence; and that, after all, it was purely by Accident, that *Arianism* was ruined, without Persecution: For, as *Mariana* says, since Punishments were not made use of, but when Necessity required, we must conclude; I. That, if they were not often put in practice, it was because the *Arians* were not obstinate. II. That, had the Difficulties been ever so great, yet they would have been reduced, either by fair, or foul Means, to a Compliance (32). By the way, This Author (33) is guilty of a very gross Contradiction, into which Writers, who undertake to speak of Conversions, are apt to fall. They lay it down, as a general Maxim, that Obstinacy is the Character of Heresy; and yet, to cover the Violence

(27) See the *Janus Cyclicum* references, pag. 119, &c.

(28) For the Month of May, 1692, Article 9, pag. 391, &c.

(29) See *Trebellius Pollio*, in the Life of *Gallienus*.

(30) The 30th and 31st Chapters.

(31) *Mariana*, lib. V, cap. 14. Consult the Supplement to the Philosophical Commentary, pag. 313.

(32) Supplement to the Philosophical Commentary, p. 375, 376.

(33) Ibid. of pag. 377.

(21) Pag. 354, of the Supplement.

(22) Ibid. pag. 355.

(23) Droits de deux Souverains, pag. 280.

(24) Horat. Epist. 11, lib. 1, v. 27.

(25) In his Avertissement.

(26) See the Speech, made by Mr *Bruyere*, when he was admitted a Member of the French Academy.

Thalia, have met with Censure [L]. There might perhaps be some Prepossession in This. A Modern Author, who favoured This Heretic's Opinions, has wrote some Treatises to shew, that the Fathers of the three first Centuries held the same Opinions [M]. He was at no great trouble to compile Passages; for he found them ready collected to his Hand in the *Dogmata Theologica* of Father *Petavius*. Two English (d), and one French Divine (e), have wrote an Apology for the Ancient Fathers against Him.

(d) Gordner, and Bull.

(e) Mr le Moine, Professor at Leyden.

of the Converters, they tell us, that the Conversions were made with ease; and from this Facility draw a Proof of the Heresy of those converted. For the true Church, say they, is not so easily deserted; the Resistance, which the *Arians* made to King *Rearedus*, was so weak, and short, that this alone is enough to shew, that they contended for Falshood, and not for Truth, which alone is able to govern reasonable Minds, and inspire them with Fortitude (34).

(34) Thomassin, de l'Unité de l'Eglise, pag. 449.

[L] Both the Matter, and the Form, of the Poem, which he intituled *Thalia*, have met with Censure.] There has been great Reason to condemn Heresies; to pity Those, who profess them in good earnest, and to abominate those, who teach them, without believing them; for such Teachers are Monsters of Ambition, and Wickedness: but I cannot conceive, why it should be imputed as a Crime peculiar to heretical Teachers, that they make use of Methods suited to the Capacities of the Ignorant, in instructing them according to the false Lights of their Consciences. "After *Arius* had forsaken the Church, he formed "a Design of composing several Songs for Seamen, "Travellers, and Those, who work at the Mill; he had "also set such of them to Tunes, as he thought were "proper to affect his Followers, according to their "different Dispositions, endeavouring, by the Me- "lody of These Songs, to infuse his Impiety into the "most ignorant and stupid among the People — "But his *Thalia* was much more celebrated, than his "other Works. He borrowed the Title, and Mo- "del, of it from an ancient Poet, called *Sotades* — "This Burlesque Poet affected to wanton a Style in "his Song, and the Numbers of it were so effemi- "nate, that the *Pagans* themselves treated him with "the utmost Contempt; nor is this at all aggravated "in the words of *St Athanasius*; since the most un- "chaste Poets, and They, who write most licentiously, "blush at the Impurity of the Songs of this Infa- "mous Author. It was in imitation of this Poet, "that *Arius* gave his Work the Name of *THALIA*; "which properly signifies a Banquet, and Assembly "of young People, or a Song made to be sung in "Those kind of Feasts (35)." Afterwards Mr *Hermant* cites a very long Passage of *St Athanasius*, in which *Arius* is called an *I know not what* *Sotades*; ridiculous even to the *Pagans* themselves — and an Heretic, who had no emulation for any thing, but the ridiculous Discourses of *Sotades* (36). In the same Place we meet with the beginning of the *Thalia*, and another Fragment, which contains the Heresy of *Arius* concerning *JESUS CHRIST*. One cannot but condemn the ridiculous and insufferable Pride, which appears in the *Exordium* of the *Thalia*; but, once more, let us condemn *Arius* for being an Heretic, and not, upon this Supposition, for having put a Formulary of his Belief into Verse; otherwise we must allow Heretics and Infidels to condemn the Orthodox, not only for professing the true Gospel, but likewise for singing, besides the Psalms of *David*, several Hymns and Canticles, whose Verses and Airs may chance to resemble the most prophane and wanton Songs of an Opera. To speak in general, it is fitter, that every one, be his

(35) *Hermant's* Life of *St Athanasius*, lib. I. cap. 13, pag. 61.

(36) *Ex O-rat. II, contra Arianos*.

WHETHER we are to condemn Spiritual Hymns and Songs, which are set to the same Airs with prophane Ballads.

(a) This Word in Dutch signifies Old Water, and from thence the Name of *Arminius's* Country in the Titles of his Books is *Vettraquone*.

Religion what it will, should sing Pious, than wanton and satirical, Songs. The Sailor, and the Miller, under the Misfortune of being *Arians*, did better to sing their Catechism, than their Amours. To say, that the *Pagans* themselves laughed at *Arius's* Songs, is alledging a very weak Reason; for I believe the *Geniles* made no great difference between the *Arians*, and the *Orthodox*, but hated them both alike; the *Arians* were no more favourable to *Pagan* Idolatry, than the *Orthodox*. I cannot tell whether Mr *Hermant* had Reason to say, that the *Pagans* themselves treated *Arius* with the utmost Contempt as a ridiculous Fellow. For the words, which he cites a little after, shew plainly, that it was *Sotades*, and not *Arius*, whom *St Athanasius* meant, when he said, that he was ridiculous to the *Pagans* themselves. I say it, and repeat it; it is allowable to compose pious Verses in the same Metre, and of the same Measure, with the Songs of an Opera; consequently one might compose Hymns to the *Sotadic* Measure. The Evil does not lie in this Conformity; it is rather in the Handle, which is given to Scoffers to laugh at Psalmody. I let aside the Subject of the Poetry. And, to let the Proteflants, in particular, see what Judgment they ought to make of the Invektives against the *Thalia* of *Arius*, they must be informed of what Father *Maimbourg* published concerning the Psalms, translated into Verse by *Clement Marot*. He speaks as ill of them, as of the *Thalia* of *Arius*. What he says of the *Thalia*, is to be found in the Eighty first Page of the first Tome of his History of *Arianism* (37). What he says of the Psalms, in his History of *Calvinism* (38), is This: "These were the Psalms, which they sung at That time; "to which *Beza* afterwards added the rest of the "Psalter; and which were set to Tunes of a soft and effeminate Air, which have nothing in them of the Devotion and Majesty of the Music of the Catholic Church." We cannot deny what *Varillas* says (39), that the Airs were taken from the best Songs of the Times. See *Jeremiah de Pours*, in his second Book of *Divine Melody*, pag. 577. It is not without Reason, that I alledged the Songs of an Opera, as my Example: I would insinuate, that we should carefully avoid imitating the Airs of a Ballad in Spiritual Songs; otherwise Religion is too much exposed to Contempt and Laughter; as appears by the Book, which the Author of the *Court Bishop* so much ridicules (40). It is a Collection of Spiritual Songs, composed by a Jesuit, and by Father *Martial de Brive*, a Capuchin, and set to the most burlesque Ballad-Tunes; I fancy the *Thalia* of *Arius* might vie with the Impertinence of This Collection, printed with the Approbation of two Doctors of Divinity.

(37) *Tom. I. pag. 81, E-dit. of Holl.*

(38) *Pag. 99.*

(39) *Varill. History of Heresy, Book XXI, pag. 49, ad Ann. 1559.*

(40) See his *tribi Dialogue*, pag. 86, *sec. Jacobi Edit. of Holl.*

[M] A Modern Author — wrote some Works, to prove, that the Fathers of the three first Centuries held the same Opinions.] His Name was *Sandius*. What he wrote on this Subject is entituled *Nucleus Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ*, in 1668, in 8vo. The same Book was much enlarged in the Year 1676, in 4to. Appendix addendorum, confirmendorum, et emendendorum, ad *Nucleum Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, cum responsionibus ad Gardinerum*, in 1678, in 4to.

ARMINIUS (JAMES) Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, was born at *Oude-water* (a) in *Holland*, in the Year 1560 [A]. His Father died during his Infancy; and he was indebted for his first Instructions to a good Priest, who had relished the Opinions of the Reformed, and who, to avoid being obliged to say Mass, changed his Abode often. He followed his Studies at *Utrecht*, when Death bereft him of his

[A] He was born in the Year 1560. *Bertius* amuses himself with giving the Year of *Arminius's* Birth two Characters, which no doubt he thought worthy of Reflexion. He observes, that *Philip Melancthon* died in That Year, and that the Conference of *Poissy* was held in the same Year, in which the Protestant Deputies pleaded the Cause of two Thousand one

Hundred and Ninety Churches, who humbly sued to the King for Liberty of Conscience (1). To say nothing of his Calculation, which, perhaps, is not the most exact, He is mistaken as to the Year; the Conference of *Poissy* began in the Month of September 1561. Begin the Year either at *Easter*, or on the first of *January*, you will never justify *Bertius*.

(1) *Bertius*, in *Orat. Funer. Jacobo Arminio*.

[B] He

his Patron. This Loss would have plunged him into great difficulties, if he had not fortunately met with assistance from his Countryman, *Rodolphus Snellius*, who brought him with him to *Marpurg*, in 1575. Scarce was he arrived there, when he received the News that *Oudewater* was pillaged by the *Spaniards*. This News threw him into a deep Melancholy; nor could he forbear returning into *Holland*, to be himself a Witness of the State of things there; but, finding, that his Mother, Sister, Brothers, Relations, and almost all the Inhabitants of *Oudewater*, had been put to the Sword, he returned to *Marpurg*, travelling all the way on Foot. Having heard, that an University was founded at *Leyden*, he soon returned to *Holland*, and studied in this new Academy with so great Application and Success, that he acquired a very particular Esteem. In 1582, he was sent to *Geneva*, at the Expence of the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, to perfect his Studies in the Colleges there, where he chiefly followed the Lectures of *Theodore Beza*, who at that time expounded the Epistle to the *Romans*. He had the misfortune to displease some of the Principal Members of the Academy, by publickly maintaining the Philosophy of *Ramus*; and That with much heat; and even teaching it in private; for this he was obliged to retire, and went to *Basil*, where he was received with Applause. He read public Lectures there [B], and acquired such Credit, that the Faculty of Divinity would have given him the Degree of Doctor without any Expence. He modestly declined the Offer, and returned to *Geneva*, where, finding the Adversaries of the *Ramists* somewhat cooled, he moderated his own heat likewise. He had a great desire to see *Italy*, and particularly that he might hear the Philosophical Lectures of the famous *James Zabarella*, at *Padua*. He satisfied This Curiosity, and passed six or seven Months in his Travels; after which he returned to *Geneva*, and from thence to *Amsterdam*, where he found he had been sufficiently censured in relation to his Journey into *Italy* [C], which had a little cooled the Affection of the Magistrates, his Patrons

[B] He read public Lectures at Basil. "The Professor *James Grynæus* came often to them, and gave him great Commendations. Nor did he scruple, in maintaining a Thesis, to refer it to Him to answer Those Objections, which seemed the strongest; and was wont upon those Occasions to say, *Let my Hollander answer for me.*" *Solent Basileæ feriis vindemiaibus doctores studiosi publicè interdum in Academia exercitiis grati aliquid extra ordinem ducere. Eam laborem Arminius noster haud inuitus suscepit, laudatus ab id à reverendo viro D. Jacobo Grynæo, qui etiam lectiones ipsius præsentia sua aliquoties cobonassevit: idem quoque in disputationibus publicis, si quid gravius proponeretur, aut dignus vindice nodus occurreret, non est veritus, bonoris causâ Arminium nostrum media in studioforum turba sedentem citare, & (ut Grynæi candorem agnoscat) dicere, Respondet pro me Hollander meus (2). Note, that he observed in him a Spirit too much inclined to refine upon things, and that he gave him very good Advice thereupon. *Bertius* is not the Author, who informs me of this, but *Philip Pareus*. He relates, that *Theodore Beza* advised one of his Friends to restrain the Subtility of his Genius, as what Satan had often taken advantage of to delude great Persons. "Do not engage yourself, continued *Beza*, in vain Subtilities; and, if sometimes certain new Thoughts arise in your Mind, approve them not, without first examining them to the bottom, how pleasing soever they may be at the first View. *Calvin* gave me this Advice; I have followed it; and have found the benefit of it." *Sicut magnopere se tortor, ut Dei dona in te collata omni studio excelas: ita cum te ἀγχινοία non vulgari donatum esse videam, quæ sæpe ad maximos decipiendo viros non irritò conatu Satanas est abusus, velim te diligenter coovere, ut nullis inanius argutis te ipsum irretias, & quoties nova quædam tibi in mentem veniant, diligenter illa, quantumlibet in initio tibi illa arriperant, excutere, priusquam approbes. In omnibus denique istis prompto & alacri ingenio tibi concessio modereris. Ego quidem certe per Dei gratiam non profus bebes de hoc ipso à magno illo viro beate memoriæ JOHANNÉ CALVINO admonitus ita facere statim ab initio studii, cum ad sacra studia me totum converterem. Neque me bujus consilii unquam parituit: nec, ut spero, paritabit (3). *Philip Pareus* had the Original of This Letter of *Theodore Beza*; and he adds, that "JAMES GRYNÆUS had given the same Advice to ARMINIUS, the Founder of the New Pelagianism, at the time when he studied Divinity at *Basil*; as *Grynæus* himself had informed him." In quam sententiam clarissimum & sagacissimum JACOBUM ARMINIUM, novi Pelagianismi instauratorem in Belgio, cum juvenis**

operam daret S. Theologie in Academia Basiliensi, gravior quoque admonitum fuisse à venerando senè D. JACOBO GRYNÆO, cujus memoria fit in benedictione! Ipsemet mihi, quando ad pedes ejus in Raurica discentium Synagoga sederem, narravit (4). If any one accuses me of inferring these Passages at length, only as Helps to swell out a large Book, he will betray a want of Judgment; for they are very fit to suggest useful Reflexions to several Persons, and very necessary for some Readers. Remember St *Paul's* Maxim, *Knowledge puffeth up* (5); but take notice, that there is another Talent which puff; up yet more. A Man of an unbounded Memory, and Reading, applauds himself on his Knowledge, and grows proud; but he prides himself, and presumes much more, when he fancies he has invented a new Method of explaining, or treating, Matters. We do not esteem ourselves so much Proprietors of That Knowledge, we have drawn from Books, as we do of an Explanation, or Doctrine, of which we are the Inventors. It is for such Inventions that we feel all the Force of Paternal Love and Tenderneß. It is here we find the most bewitching Charms; it is This, which blinds us; it is This, which makes us lose Ground. This is a Rock, of which young Persons of a subtle Wit cannot be too frequently warned.

[C] He had been sufficiently censured in relation to his Journey into Italy. Among the several Epidemical Distempers of the Human Mind, I know of none more blameable, and productive of bad Effects, than the Practice of giving the Reins to Suspicion. It is a very slippery Road. We are soon got a great Way from the Place we set out from. We easily pass from one Suspicion to another; we seldom stop at Possibility; we run forward to Probability, and to the greatest Probability; and, presently after, That which passed only for Probable, is reported as certain and incontestable; and in a little time, This pretended Certainty is spread over a whole Town. Great Cities are more subject to This Disorder, than others. It was reported, in *Amsterdam*, that "Arminius had kissed the Pope's Toe, whom he had seen only in a Croud; that he had contracted an Intimacy with Jesuits, whom he had never heard of; that he had made himself known to *Bellarmino*, whom he had never seen; and that he had abjured the Reformed Religion, for which he was prepared to die." These Reports were all false; and yet They made an Impression on the Minds of the Magistrates, who supported This young Man. Let us hear the Author of his Funeral Oration. "Inter damna itineris Italici (penebat) quod in amplissimi Senatus Amsterdamentis offensunculam ob id factam tunc temporis in-

(4) *Philipus Pareus, ibid.*

(5) 1 Cor. viii. 1.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

(3) *Beza, apud Philip-pum Pareum, in vita Davidis Pa-rel, pag. 57. See also a Letter of the same Beza, among those of Arminius, pag. 26, Edit. 1684.*

(b) Inferni quidam fratres factum illud perpetuo infecturi, & in circulis fuggillare. Bertius in Orat. Funer. Jac. Arminii.

(c) He was the first, on whom this Title was solemnly conferred in the University of Leyden. Bertius, ubi supra.

(d) Not on account of his Morals, but for his Opinions.

trons and *Mecenas's*. He easily justified himself with Persons of Understanding; but there were some weak and suspicious Spirits, who could not get over this *Stumbling-Block* (b), till he had made the whole Church sensible of his fine Talent at Preaching; by the means of which he regained the Love and Esteem of all the World. His own Colleagues paid Homage to his Understanding, and confessed, that his Sermons were useful and instructive even to Them. *Martin Lydius*, Professor of Divinity at *Franker*, judged him a proper Person to answer a Writing, in which the Doctrine of *Theodore Beza*, concerning Predestination, was opposed by some Ministers of *Delft*. *Arminius*, in compliance with his Request, undertook to refute This Work; but, during the Examination, and whilst he was ballancing the Reasons on both sides, he went over to the Opinion, he was to refute, and even carried it farther than the Ministers of *Delft*. He condemned, with Them, the *Supralapsarian Beza*, and afterwards acknowledged no other Election, but That, which was grounded on the Obedience of Sinners to the call of God by *JESUS CHRIST*. He was brought into trouble for This at *Amsterdam*; he was accused of departing from the received Doctrine; but the Authority of the Magistrates suppressed This Contest. He was advanced to the Professorship of Divinity, at *Leyden*, in the Year 1603; and it was with no small difficulty he obtained his Dismission from Those of *Amsterdam*. After he had removed the ill Impressions, which had been given of his Doctrine, he was admitted Doctor of Divinity at *Leyden* (c), and installed in the room of the Professor *Francis Junius*. He had exercised his Ministry in the Church of *Amsterdam* fifteen Years. The Disputes about *Grace* soon after grew hot in That University; and the States of the Province were obliged to appoint Conferences between Him and His Adversaries. He was summoned several times to the *Hague*, and went thither to give an account of his Doctrine. This Contest, his great Application to Business, and the Vexation to find his Reputation sullied by several Calumnies (d), impaired his Health in such a manner, that he fell into a Distemper, of which he died, the nineteenth of *October*, 1609 [D], with great Sentiments of Piety and Patience (e). It were to be wished he had made a better use of his Knowledge [E]; for, tho' his Intentions probably were good, yet it may be said, that he innovated

(e) Taken from his Funeral Orations, spoken by *Peter Bertius*.

"currisset, suffundentibus frigidam quibusdam, quos
"omnino praestitisset judicia in ipsius reditum sus-
"pendere. Hinc ergo, sumpta occasione, spargebatur
"in vulgus, illum Pontificis solemne deosculatum,
"quem non nisi in conferta turba, ut reliqui spe-
"ctatores, vidisset, nec foleat bellum honorem illum
"nisi Regibus ac Principibus deferre: Jesuitis ad-
"suevisse, quos nunquam audivisset: Bellarmino in-
"notuisse, quem nunquam conspexisset: Religio-
"nem orthodoxam abjurasse, pro qua paratus esset
"ad sanguinis usque profusionem decertare (6)."

(6) Bertius in Orat. Funer. J. Arminii.

[D] The Vexation to find his Reputation sullied
"----- impaired his Health, and brought him in-
"to a Distemper, of which he died, the nineteenth of
"October, 1609.] There is reason to think, that this
"Vexation contributed more to his untimely Death,
"than any thing else. It was a bad Leaven, which
"soured the peccant Humours, and which complica-
"ted his Distemper a thousand Ways. "Quum in-
"domita mali pertinacia ipsi quoque arti (Medicinae)
"faceret opprobrium: Altius enim dehisca quam ut
"evelli posset, nova indies excitabat symptomata, fe-
"bres, tussim, hypochondrium extensionem, expi-
"randi difficultatem, oppressionem à cibo, laboriosos
"somnos, atrophiam, arthritidem; nullamque aegro
"pauisam vel requiem concedebat: accessere postea
"dolores in intestinis, ilio, & colo, cum obstructione
"nervi optici sinistri, & ejusdem oculi obfuscatione.
"----- The Stubbornness of his Disease baffled all
"the Art of Medicine; for, being past cure, it every
"Day brought on new Symptoms: Fevers, a Cough,
"an Extension of the Hypochondria, Difficulty of
"Breathing, Oppression of Food, restless Sleep, Con-
"sumption, and Gout; nor had he any respite from
"his Distemper; afterwards he felt Pains in his In-
"testines, with an Obstruction of the left optic Nerve,
"and a Dimness in the left Eye (7)."

(7) Bertius, ubi supra, fol. **ij, verso.

Sometimes he was heard to sigh, and cry out, as formerly the Prophet did, *Wo is me, my Mother, that thou hast born me a Man of Strife*, &c. Let us produce a long Passage of Bertius. "Quid mirum, si commo-
"tus fuerit famae suae, salutis, & laborum dispendio;
"quum neque viro bono quicquam fama sua sit an-
"tiquius, neque Christiano salute, neque S. Theo-
"logiae doctori petitis ex scriptura demonstrationi-
"bus? Oppressio, inquit Siracides, infanire facit sa-
"pientem. Eadem huic dolore, ex dolore morbum
"conciliavit, ex morbo mortem. O tetrum, & vi-
"perinum, exque imo tartaro excitatum malum!

"Quoties illum ex Propheta privatim etiam cum
"gemitu exclamantem audivimus! *Ve mihi, mater
"mea, quare genuisti me virum discordiae in uni-
"versa terra? Nec seneravi, nec seneravit mihi
"quisquam; & tamen omnes maledicunt mihi*. Re-
"vocavit tamen seipse ad rationis & tranquillitatis
"septa (8). --- *What Wonder, if the loss of his Reputa-
"tion, his Health, and his Labour, affected him; since
"a good Man sets the greatest Value on his Fame,
"a Christian on his Health, and a Divine on Proof
"fetched from Scripture?* Oppression, says the Son
"Sirac, maketh a wise Man mad. It was This very
"Thing, which first afflicted him: Affliction next
"impaired his Health; and at last a Distemper killed
"him. O Thou Black, Poisonous, and most Hellish
"Evil! How often have we heard him exclaiming
"to himself, with a Sigh, in the Language of the Pro-
"phet; *Wo is me, my Mother, that Thou hast born
"me a Man of Strife, and a Man of Contention
"to the whole Earth! I have neither lent on Usury,
"nor Men have lent to me on Usury; yet every
"one of them doth curse me. However, by the
"help of Reason, he recovered his Peace of Mind.*"
This we cannot reflect on, without deploring the
"Vanity of human Things. We look upon Stupidity
"as a great Misfortune; and Fathers, who are not
"blind to the Dulness of their Sons, are sensibly af-
"flicted at it: They want to discover in them a great
"Genius, a sublime Understanding; and, if they find
"them thus qualified, their Joy is inexpressible. This
"is to wish we know what. *Arminius* had much better
"have been an errant Blockhead, than so great a Wit;
"for the Honour of giving his Name to a Sect, which
"makes a Figure in the World, and which has
"produced able Men, was but a chimerical Good,
"in comparison of the real Evils, the Vexations, the
"Pains, and Bitterness, which he felt in his Life-time;
"which shortened his Days; and which he had ef-
"fected, had he been but an ordinary Divine, a little
"Wit, or a Blockhead; in short, had he been One
"of That Class of Men, of whom it is proverbially
"said, *He will broach no Heresies*". Juvenal would
"have alledged an Example of this kind in his Tenth
"Satire, if there had been Religious Disputes in his
"Times, which had caused the Death of one of the
"Disputants.

(8) Id. Ibid. fol. **, ver- so.

* A Proverb in France, to denote a dull Wit.

[E] It were to be wished he had made a better use of his Knowledge.] I mean, that he had governed himself by St Paul's Rule. This great Apostle, inspired

innovated without necessity, and under Circumstances, in which his Innovation proved a Source of Disorders, which ended in a Schism. He left seven Sons, and some Daughters, and a great number of Disciples, who continued the Dispute so warmly, that it was thought necessary to have recourse to a National Synod. They were condemned in it; but did not submit, and soon formed a separate Sect, which still continues, and which, by Degrees, has engaged itself in several other more considerable Errors. The *Moreri of Amsterdam* mentions some of the Authors, who give an account of this famous Quarrel. I add to them the Histories of *Triglandius*, and *Boxbornius*, and a new Work of a Professor of *Tubingen* (f). This grand Dispute produced Multitudes of Books on both Sides. A Professor of Divinity at *Cologne*, disguised under a fictitious Name (g), gives a List of them according to the order of Years, in a Work, which he intitled *Pacificatorium discepti Belgii*.

I question

(f) Johas. Wolfgangus Jager. His Work is intitled *Historia Ecclesiastica Seculi XVII. The first Decad was printed in 1692.*

(g) *Ægidius Afhackerius. He assumed the Name of Salomo Theodorus. See Val. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. p. 22.*

spired by God, and immediately directed by the Holy Ghost in all his Writings, raised to himself the Objection, which the Light of Nature forms against the Doctrine of Absolute Predestination; he apprehended the whole Force of the Objection; he proposes it without weakening it in the least. *God hath Mercy on whom he will have Mercy, and whom he will be hardeneth* (9). This is *St Paul's* Doctrine; and the difficulty, which he starts upon it, is This; *Thou wilt say then unto me, why dost he yet find fault? For who hath resisted his Will* (10)? This Objection cannot be pushed farther: Twenty Pages of the subtlest *Molinist* could add nothing to it. What more could they infer, than that, upon *Calvin's* Hypothesis, God wills Men to commit Sin? Now This is what *St Paul* knew might be objected against him. But what does he reply? Does he seek for Distinctions and Qualifications? Does he deny the Fact? Does he grant it in part only? Does he enter into Particulars? Does he remove any Ambiguity in the Words? Nothing of all this; he only alleges the Sovereign Power of God, and the Supremacy Right, which the Creator has, to dispose of his Creatures as it seems good to him. *Nay but, O Man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the Thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus* (11)? He acknowledges an Incomprehensibility in the thing, which ought to put a stop to all Disputes, and impose a profound Silence on our Reason. He cries out, *O the Depth and the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out* (12)! All Christians ought to find here a definitive Sentence, a Judgment final and without Appeal, in the Dispute about *Grace*; or rather they should learn, from this Conduct of *St Paul*, never to dispute about *Predestination*, and immediately to oppose This Bar against all the Subtilties of Human Wit, whether they arise of themselves in meditating on This great Subject, or whether others suggest them. The best, and the shortest, Way is early to oppose this strong Bank against the Inundations of Reasoning, and to consider this definitive Sentence of *St Paul* as Those Rocks, immovable in the midst of the Waves, against which the proudest Billows beat in vain; They may foam and dash; but are only broken against Them. All Arrows, darted against this Shield, will have the same Fate, as That of *Priam*.

Sic fatus Senior, tellumque imbelli sine ictu
Conjecit; rauco quod protinus ære repulsum,
Et fummo clypei nequicquam umbone pependit (13).

This said, his feeble Hand a Javelin threw;
Which, fluttring, seemed to loiter as it flew:
Just, and but barely, to the Mark it beld,
And faintly tingled on the brazen Shield.

DRYDEN.

Thus ought Men to behave, when the Dispute is between Christian and Christian. And, if ever we think proper to exercise our Wit on Points of this Nature, we ought at least to found a Retreat betimes, and retire behind the Bank I have just mentioned. Had *Arminius* acted thus, as often as his Reason suggested to him Difficulties against the Hypothesis of the Reformers, or whenever he found himself called upon to answer any Disputants, he would have taken a perfectly Wise and Apostolic Course, and employed

the Lights of his Understanding just as he ought to have done. If he believed there was something too harsh in the received Doctrine; or, if he found it an ease to himself to adopt a less rigid Opinion, he might have enjoyed his particular Notion; but then he should have been content to have enjoyed it in Silence; I mean, without disturbing the Rights of Possession; since he could not do this, without raising a dangerous Storm in the Church. His Silence would have saved him a great deal of Trouble; and he should have remembered the old Apologue.

Sed tacitus pasci si posset Corvus, haberet
Plus dapis, & rixæ multo minus invidiæque (14).

But, could the talking Crow in quiet eat,
His Envy bad, been less, and more his Meat.

CREECH.

See the Remark [D] of the Article *HALL* (*JOSEPH*).

But, say some, would he not have been a *Prevaricator*, and unworthy of the Ministry, if he had neglected to instruct his Auditors, whom he believed to be engaged in a false Doctrine? I answer; That two capital Reasons would have excused his speaking out; one was, that he did not believe the Hypothesis, which he disapproved, to be contrary to Salvation; the other, that his new Method was useless towards removing the principal Difficulties, which occur in the Doctrine of Predestination. We may grant, that the least Truth, absolutely speaking, deserves to be proposed, and that there is no Error so inconsiderable, which it is not better we should be cured of, than retain; but, when the Circumstances of Time and Place will not permit any Novelty to be proposed, be they ever so true, without occasioning a thousand Disorders, in Universities, in Families, and in the State itself; it is infinitely better to leave Things as they are, than undertake to reform them: The Remedy is worse than the Disease. Our Conduct in this Case should resemble That towards certain sick Persons, to whom no Physic can be administered, without stirring several bad Humours, the agitation of which would be more pernicious, than the Coagulation (15). I except one Case; viz. where the saving of Souls is concerned, and the snatching them out of the Jaws of the Devil; for, in this case, Charity will not suffer us to stand idle, how great soever the Commotions may be, which by this means are accidentally raised: we must submit the consequences to the Care of Providence. Upon this foot, *Arminius* was no ways obliged to oppose the common Doctrine; he did not believe, that any one endangered his Salvation, by following the Hypothesis of *Calvin*. Let us consider the other Circumstance, which rendered him inexcusable. To a System, full of great Difficulties, he substituted another System, which, to speak truly, involves no less Difficulties, than the former. One may say of his Doctrine, what I have observed of the Innovations of *Sauveter* (16). It is better connected, and less forced, than the Opinion of *Mr Amyraut*; but, after all, it is but a palliative Remedy; for the *Arminians* have scarce been able to answer some Objections, which, as they pretend, cannot be refuted on *Calvin's* System; besides, they find themselves exposed to other Difficulties, which they cannot get over, but by an ingenuous Confession of

(14) *Horat. Epit. 17, lib. 1, v. 50.*

(11) *Ibid. ver. 20.*

(12) *Ibid. chap. xi, ver. 33.*

(13) *Virgil. Æneid. lib. 2, ver. 544.*

(15) *Expediebat quasi æque fuscæque Reipublicæ requiescere quomocunque ne vulnera curacione ipsa reciderent. ---- It was expedient for the Commonwealth, that the very Cause should tear open its Wounds. Florus, lib. 3, cap. 23.*

(16) *See Remark [E], of the Article A M Y. R A U T.*

I question whether his Catalogue be compleat. It is difficult not to omit some in such a number of Pieces. As to the Works of *Arminius* [F], see our last Remark.

the weakness of human Reason, and the Consideration of the incomprehensible Infinity of God. And was it worth while to contradict *Cabins* for this? Why was *Arminius* so very difficult at first, when, at last, he was obliged to fly to This Asylum? Why did he not begin here, since here he must come sooner or later? He is mistaken, who imagines, that, after entering the Lists with a great Disputant, He shall be allowed to triumph, only for some small Advantage, which he had over him at first. An Athletic, who throws out his Antagonist in the middle of the Race, but has not the Advantage of him at the End, is not entitled to the Palm. It is the same in Controversy; it is not sufficient to parry the first Thrusts. Every Reply, and Rejoinder, must be satisfied, and every Doubt perfectly cleared up. Now this is what neither the Hypothesis of *Arminius*, nor That of the *Molinists*, nor That of the *Socinians*, is able to do (17). The System of the *Arminians* is only calculated to gain some few Advantages, in Those Preludes to War, in which the forlorn Hope is sent out, to skirmish; but, when it comes to a general and decisive Battle, This Detachment must retire, as well as the rest, behind the Intrenchments of Incomprehensible Mystery.

(17) See Mr. Jurieu, in his Judgment on the rigid and latitudinarian Methods of explaining the Doctrine of Grace.

[F] *The Works of Arminius*. These are the Titles of them: "Disputationes de diversis Christianæ Religionis capitibus. --- Orationes, itemque Tractatus insigniores aliquot. --- Examen modestum libelli Guilhelmi Perkinii, de Prædestinationis modo & ordine, itemque de amplitudine gratiæ diviniæ. --- Analysis capituli ix. ad Romanos. --- Dissertatio de vero & genuino sensu cap. viii. Epistolæ ad Romanos. --- Amica collatio cum D. Francisco Junio de Prædestinatione, per litteras habitæ. --- Epistola ad Hippolytum à Collibus, &c. --- i. e. *Disputations on the several Heads of the Christian Religion. --- Orationes, together with some more remarkable Tracts. --- A Modest Examination of a Book of William Perkins, concerning the Manner and Order of Predestination, and concerning the Extent of Divine Grace. --- An Analysis of the ninth Chapter to the Romans. --- A Dissertation concerning the true and genuine Sense of the Seventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. --- A Friendly Conference with Francis Junius concerning Predestination, held by Letter. --- An Epistle to Hippolytus à Collibus, &c.*"

ARNAULD, a Noble and Ancient Family of *Auvergne*. It is above Two Hundred Years, since a Daughter of this House was married to a Lord de la *Fayette*, the Grandson of Him, who was Marshal of *France* under *Charles VIth*. About the Year 1480, HENRY ARNAULD married *Catherine Bariot*, a Kinswoman of Him, who was Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and Master of the Requests in the Reign of *Lewis XI* (a). Soon after this Marriage, He settled at *Riom*, whither he was invited, with several other Persons of Merit, by *Peter de Bourbon*, Count of *Beaujeu* [A], who kept his ordinary Residence there. This Prince was married to *Anna of France*, Daughter of *Lewis XI*, who had an absolute Power over the Mind of her Brother *Charles VIII*, and was Regent during his Minority. *Henry Arnauld* insinuated himself into the Esteem of the Count and Countess of *Beaujeu*. He was made Master of the Horse to the Count, and Governor of the Town and Castle of *Hermant*. It was the Place of his Birth, and about eight Leagues distant from *Riom*, on the Frontiers of the *Marche de Limousin*, near *Ussel*. This Government was continued to him by the Constable of *Bourbon*, Son-in-Law to the Count de *Beaujeu*. The Office of Master of the Horse was also continued to him. He did great Service to the Constable, by causing his Horses to be shod backwards (b), when *Francis I*, who considered him as a Rebel, sent a Guard to take him. They, supposing by the Horses Tracks, that he was gone quite the contrary Way from the Place, where he had concealed himself, lost their time in searching for him where he was not. *Henry Arnauld* had contracted a very strict Friendship with *Florimond de Robertet*, Secretary to the Count de *Beaujeu*, and afterwards Secretary of State under *Francis I*; and it was wholly his own fault, that he did not procure a very advantageous Match for his Son, by the Generosity of this Friend; but he would return one Act of Generosity by another [B]. He left two Sons *John* and *Anthony*. The first died without Children: In the Parish Register of the City of *Riom*, in the Year 1542, he is stiled Commander of *Hermant*. His younger Brother, ANTHONY ARNAULD kept up the Family. His first Wife was *Margaret Mosnier-Dubourg*, a near

(a) From Him descended Mr. Bariot, Marquis of Moully, and Mrs. Bariot, Countess of Honneuil and Maury.

(b) We find in the Galleries des Rois de France, printed in Holland, in 1694, pag. 289, of the first Tome, that the Family of Arnauld was deprived of all for this Stratagem.

[A] He was invited to *Riom*, with several other Persons of Merit, by *Peter de Bourbon*, Count of *Beaujeu*. In *Riom* are yet to be seen the Houses of *Montboissier*, *Montmorin*, *Chazeron*, *Florat*, *Chasteauguy*, *Marillac*, *Dubourg*, *Duprat*, *Forget*, and *Robertet*; who were all chief Officers, and Favourites, of the Count and Countess of *Beaujeu*, and of their Son-in-Law, the Constable of *Bourbon*; by whom they were all successively advanced to the chief Dignities of the Sword, and of the Gown (1). Thus you see by what Accident it happened, that so many *Auvergnats* appeared at the Court of *France* in the highest Posts, under *Charles VIII*, *Lewis XII*, and *Francis I*. The Countess of *Beaujeu* had drawn them out of their Province, and had put in their Power to make their own Fortunes. Had it not been for her, they might all have died in obscurity; their great Talents would never have shone beyond their own Country. Conclude from hence, that the particular Glory of a Province, at certain times, depends wholly on Patronages of this kind. You will find a Supplement to

This in the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 304, and 305, of the Edition of *Holland*.

[B] He would return one Act of Generosity by another.] The Affair was this: *Florimond de Robertet*, leaving *Montbrison*, his native Place, settled at *Riom*, and became Secretary to the Count de *Beaujeu*. He governed him absolutely; as he afterwards did *Charles VIII*, and *Lewis XII*, after the Death of the Cardinal d'Amboise; and lastly, *Francis I*, to whom he was Secretary of State. He had such an Affection for *Henry Arnauld*, that, when he left *Riom*, to reside at the Court of *Charles VIII*, he took all his Children along with him, except his Eldest Daughter *Jane de Robertet*, whom he left at *Riom* with the Wife of *Henry Arnauld*, designing, that they should marry her to their Eldest Son *John Arnauld*, when she came of Age. But the Guardians did not think their Son a Match good enough for her; so they married her to the richest young Man of *Riom*, whose Name was *Amable de Carriers*, the Son of one *Marillac* (2).

(1) Taken from a Memoir, inserted in the *Mercure Galant* of December, 1693, pag. 42.

(2) Taken from the same Memoir.

[C] He

a near Relation of the Chancellor of That Name, Sister of the famous *Annas Dubourg*, Counsellor in Parliament, and of *John Dubourg*, Lieutenant-Criminal of *Riom*. He had but one Son by This Marriage, viz. *JOHN DE LA MOTTE-ARNAULD*, whom *Ibuanus* mentions with so much Praise in his History; and who, at the Head of a Troop of Horse, of which he was Captain, shut himself up in the Town of *Tyffire*, which held for the King against the *League*, and maintained the Siege of it a long time with the Lords of *Chabanes*, and of *Chazeron*; after which he made a vigorous Sally at the Head of thirty Troopers, and killed the Count of *Randam* (a) with his own Hand, who was Chief of the League in *Auvergne*. The Death of This Person occasioned the raising of the Siege, and the winning of a Battle, which was fought some time after, and which secured all *Auvergne* to *Henry IV*, on the same Day, and in the same Year, that he gained the Victory in the Battle of *Ivry*. The Father of this *John Arnauld* had followed the Profession of Arms from the beginning. He had raised a Company of Light-Horse, and was in several Actions. But *Catherine de Medicis*, knowing him to be an able and faithful Person, made him her Attorney-General, and the King's Attorney in the Presidial Court of *Riom*, which, at that time, had above forty Leagues of Extent (d). He distinguished himself greatly in these two Employes. In all the Acts remaining of him, he styles himself Lord of *la Motte*, *Chantegrenelle*, *Fontainebleau*, *Pessac*, and *Bonnefilles*, all Fiefs, and Castles, not above half a League from *Riom*. His second Wife was *Anne Forget*, Daughter of the Steward of the Household to the Constable of *Bourbon* (e). He lived to the Age of an Hundred and One Years, and died at *Paris*; whither *Queen Catherine de Medicis* had called him. He was buried in the Church of *St Sulpice*, and in the first Chapel, that had been built in it, of which he himself was the Founder. The Title of the Foundation imports, that he had the Office of Auditor of the Accompts, and Comptroller-General [C], and that he was Lord of *Corbeville* near *Paris*. From his second Marriage proceeded twelve Sons (f), one of whom was *ANTHONY ARNAULD*: I shall mention him in a separate Article; *ISAAC ARNAULD*, who was Intendant of the Finances; *DAVID ARNAULD*, a Captain, who was killed at the Siege of *Jerzeau*; *LEWIS ARNAULD*, Receiver-General of the Finances at *Riom*; another *LEWIS ARNAULD*, the King's Secretary at *Paris*; and *PETER ARNAULD*, who was the youngest of the twelve Brothers, and who distinguished himself most in the Profession of Arms. He was Marshal of the Camps, and Armies, of King *Lewis XIII*; Governor of Fort *Lewis*, and Colonel of the Regiment of *Champaigne*. He it is, of whom the *Sieur de Pontis* makes such honourable mention; who ventures to equal him to the most famous Commanders among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. He says, that he understood the Ancient Military Discipline the best of any Man, and made his Soldiers strictly observe it, who loved him even to Adoration. *Isaac Arnauld*, above-mentioned, was the Father of another *ISAAC ARNAULD*, who was Governor of *Philippsburg*, and Camp Master to the Carabineers, one of the bravest Men, and finest Wits, of the Age: He is celebrated in the Works of *Voiture*. His Sister was married to *Manasses de Feuquiers*, who commanded the King's Army before *Tionville*, in the Year 1639 (g).

(a) *Mademoiselle de Senecy, Governor of the King, was his Daughter.*

(d) *The Presidial Courts of Guercy, of Clermont, and of Aurillac, were not as yet dismembered from it.*

(e) *Monf. Forget, Secretary in the Reign of Henry IV, was of the same Family.*

(f) *The Historical Discourse of the Life of Mr Arnauld, Doctor of the Sorbonne, mentions only eight Sons, which John de la Motte Arnauld had by two Wives, pag. 2, Edit. of Liege, 1702.*

(g) *Taken from a Memoir, communicated to the Author of the Mercure Galant, Decemb. 1693.*

[C] *He was Auditor of the Accompts, and Comptroller-General.* Since the first Edition of this Work, I received a small Memoir, written by one of the principal Genealogists of Europe; in which I find as follows: "*Anthony Arnauld, Sieur de la Motte, and Villeneuve, His Majesty's Attorney in the Seneschal's Jurisdiction of Auvergne, at Riom; Solicitor-General to the Parliament in 1568, and 1570; afterwards Auditor of the Accompts at Paris, and Attorney-General of Catherine de Medicis; was ennobled, in December 1577, by the Title of Auditor*

"of the Accompts. He was the Son of *Henry Arnauld*, Bailiff of the Town of *Harmant, in Auvergne*, and of *N. Colonges*. He had married *Anne Forget*, Daughter of *John Forget, Sieur de Bidoigne*, the King's Attorney in *Auvergne*, and of *Jane Godinet*; and he died at the Age of an Hundred and One Years, about the Year 1591. See the *Memoirs of Sully*, Tom. IV. fol. 27." Read also the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 305, Dutch Edition.

(a) *König calls him Marc Anthony. The Letter M, which He, and Others, met with before Anthony, in some French Books, in which it stands for Maître, or Monsieur, was, probably, the Cause of this Mistake.*

ARNAULD (ANTHONY) (a) Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, the Son of another *Anthony*, whom I have mentioned in the preceeding Article, acquired a wonderful Reputation by his Eloquence. *Henry IV*, intending to shew the Duke of *Savoy* the Parliament, made Choice of a Day, when *Arnauld* was to plead a fine Cause (b). He gave this able Man a Breviate for Counsellor of State. The *Queen Mary de Medicis* made him her Advocate-General, and would have made him her Secretary of State; but he declined this Office, and told her Majesty, *he could do Her more Service, in quality of Advocate, than if he was Secretary of State*. This Fact is intimated in his Epitaph [A]. One Day the Advocate-General, *Marion*, was so well

(b) *The Relation was, concerning the Punishment due to Slandrers. See in Matthieu's History of Henry IV. Tom. I. pag. 455, an argument on this Subject.*

[A] *He refused to be Secretary of State — This Fact is intimated in his Epitaph.* Mr le Maître, Grand-Son, and God-Son of *Anthony Arnauld*, the Advocate, was Author of the Epitaph. They, who would read it, need look no further than this Page; and They, who have no such Curiosity, may pass it over.

Passant, du grand Arnauld revere la memoire. Ses vertus à sa race ont servi d'ornement, Sa plume à son pais, sa voix au Parlement, Son esprit à son siecle, & ses faits à l'histoire. Contre un second Philippe Usurpateur des lis Ce second Demosthene anima ses écrits, Et contre Emmanuel arma son éloquence.

(c) Taken from the *Memoir*, in the *Mercurie Galant*, for Decemb. 1693.

well satisfied with hearing him plead, that he took him home in his Coach to Dinner, and seated his Eldest Daughter *Catherine Marion* near him. After Dinner, he took him aside, and asked him what he thought of his Daughter; and, being answered, that she seemed to him a Lady of great Merit, he gave her to him in Marriage (c). One of the most famous Causes, which *Anthony Arnauld* ever pleaded, was That of the University against the Jesuits, in the Year 1594. We shall see hereafter how he was rewarded for it [B]. Some say, that he published a Book in 1602, to prevent their Re-call [C]. But, foreseeing, that they would return, and become formidable, he endeavoured to suppress it. He had been Counsellor and Attorney-General to Queen *Catherine de Medicis*. They, who have reported, that he was of the Reformed Religion, have reported a very great Falshood [D]. He had

Twenty

Il vit comme un neant les hautes dignitez,
Et prefera l'honneur d'oracle de la France
A tout le vain éclat des titres empruntez.

*Passenger, whose'er thou art, revere the Memory
Of the Great ARNAULD.*

His Virtues were the Ornament of his Family,

*His Pen of his Country, His Voice of the Par-
liament,*

His Wit of the Age, and his Actions of History.

Against a second Philip, Usurper of the Lilly,

This second Demosthenes

Animated his Writings;

And arm'd his Eloquence against Emmanuel.

He despis'd the highest Dignities,

*And prefer'd the Honour of being
The Oracle of France*

To all the vain Splendor of borrowed Titles.

[B] *How he was rewarded for it.* He sent back the Present, which the University had ordered him; He would have it said, that so famous a Cause was pleaded gratis. The University drew up an Act in the most authentic Form, by which it engaged itself to an eternal Acknowledgment, not only to himself, but to his Posterity. These are the Terms of the Decree: "Quapropter, cum Consultorum diffinitimus & Difertorum consultius D. ANTONIUS ARNALDUS, in Foro Parisiensi spectatus à multis annis Patronus, pro Defensione juris Academici — tantopere defudavit: & longa compaque Oratione, quæ Doctorem manibus teritur, probavit — Cumque idem pro Defensionis laboribus & Patrocinii jure oblatum sibi ab Academia honorarium remisit, gratitatemque suam operam esse voluerit; ne apud Nos ingrati animi culpa residat, placuit Rectori, quatuor Facultatibus, & singulis Nationibus, ut perpetua tanti beneficii memoria publicis Tabulis consignata & testata apud posteritatem existeret, huicque Sacramento se omnes Academicæ Ordines obstringerent, se ea officia, quæ à bonis clientibus fido Patrono solent deferri, omnia IN ILLUM EJUSQUE LIBEROS ac posteros studiosè collaturos, nec eorum unquam honori, commodis, famæque defuturos (1). — Wherefore, since the most famous Lawyer, ANTHONY ARNAULD, many Years a celebrated Advocate in the Courts of Paris, has so greatly exerted himself in Defence of the Rights of the University; and proved, in a long and beautiful Oration, which is in the Hands of the Learned, &c. And, whereas the said Lawyer has declined accepting the Present, sent him by the University, in consideration of the Pains of his Defence, and as justly due to his Patronage; and desires to bestow his Labour gratis; Therefore, lest the Imputation of Ingratitude should rest upon us, it hath pleased the Rector, the Four Faculties, and every Order, that the Memory of so great a Benefit shall be preserved upon Record to Posterity, and that every Member of the University shall oblige himself, by an Oath, to discharge every Instance of Duty, usually paid by good Clients to a faithful Patron, to HIM and his CHILDREN, nor ever to be wanting to their Honour, Advantage, and Fame." You will find This at large in the Preface of a Book printed at Liege, in 1699, and entituled "Causa Arnaldina, seu Antonius Doctor & Socius Sorbonicus à censura Anno 1656, sub nomine Facultatis Theologicæ Parisiensis vulgata, vindicatus. — The Arnaldian Cause, or Anthony Arnauld,

(1) Prefat. Cause Arnaldinae, pag. xcviij.

"Doctor and Fellow of the Sorbonne, vindicated from the Censure, published, in 1699, in the Name of the Faculty of Divinity at Paris."

[C] He published a Book, in 1602, to prevent their Re-call.] It is a small Book, entituled, *Le Franc & Veritable Discours*. Father *Richesme* refutes him, in his Apologetical Complaint, in which he refutes likewise the Jesuits Catechism, which appeared at the same Time, and came from the Pen of *Stephen Pasquier*. I have read a Particular, in the Remarks on the Catholic Confession of *Sancy* (2), which I shall here transcribe: "The Advocate *Arnauld* returned no Answer; not that the Book entituled, 'The Truth defended' (3), had stopped his Mouth; but because he perceived, that the Interest of the Jesuits with *Henry IV* would carry it in the end against all the Reasons, which could be alledged for establishing the Decree of their Banishment. In effect, the poor Man was so much afraid, that he had gone too far in his little Book, that I have seen a Copy of it, wherein an able Man of those Times had made the following Observation with his own Hand. This Book (The Free and True Discourse) composed by Mr Anthony Arnauld, their good Friend: And a little lower, The Copies suppressed by the Author."

[D] They, who have reported, that he was of the Reformed Religion, were greatly mistaken.] The Author of the *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, disguised under the Name of *Clarus Bonaricus*, which is the Anagram of *Carolus Scribanus*, his true Name, speaks of the Advocate *Anthony Arnauld* as a known Calvinist. The *Image Primi Saeculi Sac. Jesu* does the same. The Author of the Apology of *John Chabot* says, pag. 205, that the Name of *Arnauld* comes from *apryma*, which signifies to deny or apostatize, and that it approaches near to That of *Antichrist*, in which is found the Name of the Beast. And, p. 206, A worthy Minister of him, to whom a Mouth is given, speaking great Things and Blasphemies, Rev. xiii. (4). *Du Pleix* had related the same Falshood, but retracted it publicly. He had said, in the first Edition of his History of *Henry IV*, speaking of the Trial, which the Jesuits had with the University of Paris, in 1564: "That *Anthony Arnauld* making Profession of Calvinism, the Choice, which the Agents of the University had made of him, was esteemed highly scandalous and unbecoming." But thus he recants. "Anthony Arnauld, a most eloquent Man, was Council for the Plaintiff (5). I formerly believed, upon false Information, that he was a Protestant; but, in truth, he never was. He left behind him most virtuous Children, and most zealous for the Catholic Religion." It is strange, that an Historian, who was none of the meanest, could be deceived, as to the Religion of so famous a Lawyer, who had taken the whole Parliament to witness of his Catholicism, in the same *Plas*, which gave *Du Pleix* occasion to speak of him. This is what he says in That *Plas*. "If perhaps They, and Their Favourers, have the Impudence to assert, that the Sorbonne was Heretical in the Year 1554: when it published This Decree against Them: Just as they have the Assurance to give out, among the Women of their Congregations, that all, who prosecute This Cause, are Heretics, sprung either from Geneva, or from England. If I myself, who speak, were not known to have been brought up, from my Infancy, in the Royal College of Navarre; and if my Profession, so notorious, and my Admission into such public and honourable Employments, in the Years 80, and 85, did not too manifestly secure me from their Impositions; they would

(2) Book II, chap. 6, pag. 535.

(3) The Author of the Remarks had said, p. 534, that *Richesme*, under the Name of Francis de la Montagne, had answered, in 1594, *Pasquier's* Plea, in a Book, entituled, *La veritable Defense*.

(4) Taken from the Question curieuse 6 Mr Arnauld est Heretique, pag. 13. i. e. A curious Enquiry, whether Mr Arnauld is a Heretic.

(5) That is, the University.

(d) Taken from the *Memoir*, inserted in the *Mercure Galant*, December, 1693.

Twenty two Children by his Marriage with Catherine Marion (d) [E], and died about the Year 1618. Observe, that one of his Daughters reformed the Abbey of Port-Royal [F].

He acquitted himself at the Bar, "with so much Honour (e), and in so extraordinary

(e) Perrault's *Hommes Illustres*, pag. 54, 55. Ed. de Holl.

"would no doubt pretend, that I came from thence 'likewise to plead against them.'" Experience convinced him, and convinces to this Day, that he was mistaken, in fancying himself sheltered from their Impositions; for, besides the Writers I have cited, there have lately arisen two new Accusers; the first is Father Hazart; the second, though the Name he gives himself be a fictitious one (6), produces a Letter from a Gentleman, whose Name is Mr de Heucourt (7), who affirms, that the Father of Mr Arnauld, Doctor of the Sorbonne, was born, and died, a Huguenot. I have reason to say, that Father Hazart has renewed the Accusation; for these are his Words, "The Recantation of Mr du Pleix does not affect me, nor debar me of the Liberty of taking 'his first Sentiment for the Legitimate Issue of his best Information, and the second as the Offspring 'of his Complaisance for the Relations of the Sieur Arnauld, who had Credit enough, at that Time, 'to gain over, or oblige, an Author, to any thing 'of This Nature (8)." It was replied, that one must be of a very perverse Spirit "to prefer, what 'an Historian acknowledges he had said on false 'Suggetions, to what he asserts, as certain and 'indisputable, upon better information. Were 'there many Persons of so wicked a Character, 'the Prejudice, which an Historian might do by 'publishing, from bad Memoirs, Falehoods to 'the Dishonour of his Neighbour, would be irreparable, 'since his Recantation would signify nothing (9)." It is but flying to Father Hazart's Answer. "See, by 'the way, concludes he, how well Mr du Pleix is rewarded for having been so partial to the Jesuits. They 'shew how much they love him, whilst they make 'him have so little Conscience, as that, having 'said nothing but the Truth, when he affirmed, 'that the Advocate, who pleaded against them, was 'an Huguenot, he should notwithstanding retract 'this afterwards, and establish a Lie out of meer 'Complaisance." I know not (10) of any Reply, which has been made to the Challenge of Him, who published Mr d'Heucourt's Letter: The Summons was very pressing; for thus the Author addressed himself to Mr Arnauld: "This Letter, the Original 'of which is put into my Hands to be sent to you, 'absolutely requires you to produce the Certificate 'of your Baptism; for the Jesuits, your Enemies, 'are not, it seems, the only Persons, who reproach 'you with being born a Huguenot." But the Publisher of this Letter was greatly confounded, when the World was informed, that Mr d'Heucourt disclaimed it.

The Public has seen This in the Journal of Mr Bajnage (11), and in a Book, which has appeared since the first Impression of this Article: I mean the *Abridged History* of the Life and Writings of Mr Arnauld. Observe how the Author treats this Matter, in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Pages. "We shall not 'here lose time in consulting the impertinent Author 'of the Important Advice to Mr Arnauld, &c. wherein 'an Extract is produced of a pretended Letter of the 'Marquis d'Heucourt, to prove, that Mr Arnauld 'and his Father were born Calvinists. All this is downright Imposture. For not only the Extract of the 'Certificate of Baptism, which the Adviser required 'might be produced, is at Hand, but also an Instrument in Form under The Marquis's Hand, dated 'from Brompton, near London, the 13th of May, '1692, wherein he declares, that he knows nothing 'of it, that the Letter never came from him, and 'that it is a Piece maliciously and falsely composed." It is very probable, that one of our Advocate Arnauld's Brothers turned Huguenot (12); for one, who must have known this very well, has informed me, that Madam de Feuquieres (13), and Madam d'Heucourt, her Sister, who were This Advocate's Nieces by the Father's Side, were of the Reformed Religion to their Death. The same Person informed me likewise, that ISAAC ARNAULD, Minister of Rochel, and Author of a Book, entitled *The Contempt of the World*, was of the same Family with Mr Arnauld. This Work was printed more than once; for the Edition of Rouen in 1637, imports, that it had been Revised, Corrected, and Augmented with three other

Treatises by the same Author; to wit, *Virtuous Resolutions; Of the Obedience due to the King; and Meditations on old Age*.

[E] He had Twenty Two Children by his Marriage.—] The Name of the Eldest was Robert; The same, who became so famous by the Name of ARNAULD d'ANDILLI: See the following Article. The second died Bishop of Angers, in the Month of June, 1692. His Name was HENRY ARNAULD; who had acquired a great Esteem under the Name of the Abbot of St Nicholas, before he attained to the Mure. Being at Rome, he saved, by his Dexterity and Courage, the Honour and Estates of the Barberini, from the Attempts of the Creatures and Relations of Pope Innocent X. In acknowledgement of which, the Prince of Palestrina, and the French Cardinals, Anthony and Charles Barberini, not only caused a Medal to be struck, and his Picture to be drawn, which they hung up in all their Houses, but erected likewise a Statue to him in their Palace at Rome, with an Inscription, which Fortunatus had composed for St Gregory of Tours (14). He died in the Odour of Sanctity in his Diocels at Angers; which he had never left for near Forty four Years that he was Bishop of it. CATHERINE ARNAULD, the Eldest Daughter of Anthony, was married to Mr le Maître, one of his Majesty's Council, and Master of the Accounts at Paris, by whom she had Anthony le Maître, the Famous Advocate, and Isaac le Maître of Sacy, known by his Translation of the Bible, by That of the Imitation of JESUS CHRIST, the Life of Dom. Bartolomé des Martyrs, and his sacred Poems. ANGELICA ARNAULD, another Daughter of Anthony, perpetual Abbess of Port-Royal in the Fields, reformed That Abbey on the same Foot with That of Clairvaux, and made it Eleventh and Triennial. Five of her Sisters, with their Mother, took the Religious Habit in this Convent, and led a very austere Life there till their Death (15).

Observe, that, in the *Abridged History* of the Life of Mr Arnauld, pag. 20, it is asserted, I. That he was the Twentieth and last of the Children of Anthony Arnauld, and of Catherine Marion. This does not agree with the Memoir (16), which I have quoted, and which gives them Twenty Two. II. That, when the Father of so many Children died, there were but Ten of them alive, Four Sons, and Six Daughters.

[F] One of his Daughters reformed the Abbey of Port-Royal.] The Name of Port-Royal makes too much noise, the Arnaulds are so much concerned in it, and the Particulars of all this so little known, that I may well suppose the Curious will receive with pleasure any Information on this Subject. For this Reason I believe it will not displease my Reader, if I here insert what I have read in a printed Case (17). Pieces of this kind are seldom known to many Persons.

"Port-Royal is originally a Monastery of Bernardin Nuns, six Leagues from Paris. One of Mr d'Andilli's Sisters was made Abbess of it, in the beginning of this Century, when she was but Eleven Years of Age. This was a common Abuse at that time; from which God drew great Good. For, at the Age of Seventeen Years, God inspired her with so earnest a Desire to reform her Abbey, tho' there were none, either Men or Women, reformed in the whole Order of the Cisterciens, that she resolved and performed it with ease enough, God giving an extraordinary Blessing to her good Designs. She banished all Property from thence; all the Nuns, after her Example, bringing into the common Stock what they had before in their private Possession. She established an exact reclusive Life, perpetual Abstinence, the Office of the Night, Fastings, Labour, and Silence, according to the Rules of St Benedict. And it was this Odour of Sanctity, like the Perfume of the Spouse, which drew her Sisters, Nieces, and her Mother likewise, in their turns, to this House. The Design of so perfect a Reformation, undertaken so courageously, and executed so happily, acquired her so great an Esteem with the whole Order, that, when she was but Twenty seven, or Twenty eight, Years of Age, she was chosen to reform the famous Abbey of Ma-

(14) It is This. Alpius Arvernia veniens mons altior ipsa. The Barberini alluded to the Arms, and Country of the Arnaulds. This Family is of Auvergne, and has for it's Arms a Mountain. Memoire du Merc. Galant, Decemb. 1693.

(15) Taken from the same Memoir.

(16) That is the *Mercure Galant*, for December, 1693.

(17) The 17th Fascium of the Great Nephews of Janenius, against Father Hazart.

HISTORICAL Facts concerning the Abbey of PORT-ROYAL.

(6) That of St Foi, in the important Advice to Mr Arnauld, on the Preface of a new Bibliothèque of Janenius. This is a Letter, dated from Paris, the 28th of September, 1693.

(7) It should be so, and not Rencour, as in the printed Copy.

(8) See the 17th Fascium or Case of the great Nephews of Janenius, pag. 20.

(9) Ibid.

(10) This was wrote in 1694.

(11) That is, in the History of the Works of the Learned, for the Month of November, 1692, pag. 134.

(12) See Remark A [A], of the Article D'ARANT (SAMUEL).

(13) The Wife of Him who was known before Thionville.

"dinary a manner, that no Person since, except his Grandson *Mr le Maître*,
 "has been known to appear there with so much Reputation and Dignity. His
 "House was continually filled with Princes, and great Lords, who came to consult
 "him about their most important Affairs, and he was every where held in such Veneration, that, after his Death, they were forced to expose his Body for some
 "time on a Bed, to satisfy the People, who pressingly demanded it." They are
 mistaken, who impute to him an Apology for *Phalaris* [G].

"*buiffon*. She past Four or Five Years there; which
 "obliged her to leave to her Sister, who was afterwards called *Mother Agnes*, the Care of her House
 "of *Port-Royal*, as her *Coadjutrix*. It was about this
 "time, and while she was at *Maubouffon*, that she saw
 "St Francis de Sales, who was come to Paris, to
 "found there an House of the Visitation. She sent
 "to desire he would visit her, and put herself under
 "his Conduct; and it appears by this Saint's Letters
 "what an Esteem he had for his dear Daughter the
 "Abbess of *Port-Royal*."

The Author of the *Faustum* adds, that the Widow
 of *Antony Arnauld*, Mother of This Abbess, had a
 strong Desire to become a Nun, under the Conduct
 of her own Daughter; and that, as God had inspired
 her with this Desire, about the same time that the
 Abbess was advised to transfer her Monastery of the
 Fields to Paris; "She bought a very fair and large
 "House, and Gardens, in the Suburbs of St James,
 "which she bestowed on the Abbess, Convent, and
 "Nuns of *Port-Royal*, that they might settle there;
 "which they actually did, having, at a great Expence,
 "put the House at Paris into the Condition it is at
 "present in, by the Blessing of God on their Charity
 "and Disinterestedness. There it was, that this
 "happy Mother of so many pious Children took her
 "own Daughter for a Mother, consecrating herself
 "to God by a Religious Profession to live under her
 "Discipline: And, having done so for the space of
 "fourteen or fifteen Years, with very edifying Fer-
 "vour and Humility, she had the Consolation, before
 "her Death, to give her Blessing to six Daughters,
 "and six Grand Daughters, who were all in the
 "Monastery, and all Nuns, except one, who died
 "young, and had been only a Pensioner." Lastly,

it appears by This *Faustum*, that the Abbess of *Port-Royal* was Incumbent for Life, and one of her Sisters
Coadjutrix; but that both of them, having only the
 good of their House in view, willingly parted with their
 Titles, and settled a triennial Election. Mr d'Andilly
 obtained the necessary Permission from the King, tho'
 it deprived him of the Means of keeping this Abbey
 always in his own Family. Add to this what we
 shall observe in his Article.

[G] They are mistaken, who impute to him an
 Apology for *Phalaris*. [The Words of Father Abram,
 which I am going to cite, have a visible Relation
 to our *Arnauld*. "De Phalaridis Agrigentorum Ty-
 "ranni immani crudelitate supervacaneum fuerit di-
 "cere, cum & pleni sunt aliorum libri, & ipse se
 "nefarium, immanem, & sceleratissimum in epistolis
 "sæpe fateatur. Unus inventus est Arnauldus, qui
 "non ita pridem orationem dicam, an nugæ de
 "ejus laude conscripserit. Videlicet ex eodem cala-
 "mo Phalaridis Apuleiique laudatio & Societatis no-
 "stræ criminatio manavit, ut quibus se similem esse
 "mallet, liquidius offenderet. — It will be su-
 "perfluous to say any thing of the monstrous Cruelty
 "of *Phalaris*, Tyrant of Agrigentum, since other Au-
 "thors have given a full Account of it, and *Pha-
 "laris* often acknowledges himself to be monstrously
 "wicked in his Epistles. Arnauld alone is found,
 "who lately wrote an Oration in his Praise. From
 "the same Pen flowed the Panegyric of *Phalaris* and
 "Apuleius, and the Accusation of our Society; that
 "the Author might more plainly shew, whom he would
 "resemble." The Mistake is a gross one; for the
 Author of the Apology for *Phalaris* was an *Arnauld*
 of *Provence*. See the Remark [M] of the Article
 EPICURUS.

(10) Abram.
 in Cloucon.
 Orat. Tom.
 1, pag. 103.

ARNAULD d'ANDILLI (ROBERT), Eldest Son of the preceding,
 was a Person of great Merit. See his Elogy in *Moreri's* Dictionary, and in the
Illustrious Men of Mr Perrault. He married Mademoiselle de la Broderie, the Daugh-
 ter of Him, who had been so long Ambassador in England, and Grand-Daughter
 to a Sister of the Chancellor de Sillery. This Marriage produced five Daughters,
 all Nuns at *Port-Royal*, (the Eldest of which, Sister *Angelica* of St John, passed for a
 Prodigy of Wit, Knowledge and Virtue) and three Sons. The Eldest is the
 Abbot ARNAULD, Commendatory * Abbot of *Chomes* (a), who, after having
 born Arms a long time in the King's Service, in the Regiment of his Cousin *Isaac*
Arnauld, Camp-Master of the Carabineers, retired to his Uncle, the Bishop of *An-
 gers*. The second is HENRY ARNAULD, Lord of *Luzancy*, who passed his
 Life in Solitude. The third is SIMON ARNAULD, Marquis of *Pomponne*,
 formerly Minister and Secretary of State, and still a Minister of State, known by his
 Embassies into Holland and Sweden (b). Mr *Arnauld d'Andilly* was sent early into the
 World. He had several Employs, which attached him to the Court, and to an At-
 tendance on the deceased King; but he never suffered himself to be corrupted by
 the bad Air, which is usually breathed in such Stations [A]. The Difference he had
 with the President de Grammond, who had mentioned him, in his Latin History,
 otherwise than he ought to have done, may be seen in the Collection of his Letters.
 They, who forged the Romance of the Assembly of *Bourg-Fontaine*, denoted by the
 Letters A.A. one of the pretended Accomplices of the Design, which was supposed
 to have been taken there, of introducing *Deism*; and, when they perceived, that
 these Letters could not belong to Mr *Arnauld*, the Doctor, they applied them
 to

* One, who
 enjoys a Be-
 nefice in Com-
 mendam.

(b) Memoir
 of the
 Mercure
 Galant, for
 December,
 1693.

(2) He died
 in February,
 1699.

[A] He never suffered himself to be corrupted by
 the bad Air, which is usually breathed in such Stations.]
 "He was a Frenchman, who, all the time he lived
 "at Court, in Paris, and in the Country, had the
 "best established Reputation, and was the most ge-
 "nerally talked of for his Piety and Probity; there
 "being no one, who would not willingly subscribe
 "to what a famous Author wrote of him above fifty
 "Years ago, That he was never ashamed of the Gospel
 "Truths, nor made an Offentation of the Practice
 "of its Precepts." This is what we find in the

fourth *Faustum* of *Jansenius's* Great Nephews (1). (1) At the
 Where we likewise find (2), "That, before he for- 12th Page.
 "took the World, and during his Residence at Court,
 "he dedicated his whole Genius for Poetry to the
 "Honour of his Saviour, and to the Design of giving
 "a Relish for the Christian Truths; for he had not
 "as yet retired from the World, when he wrote
 "his Poem (3) on the Life of JESUS CHRIST, and
 "his Stanzas on the Noblest and most Edifying
 "Truths of Religion." (2) At Page
 18. (3) See, be-
 low, the Re-
 mark [C].
 Citation (9).

(c) In the Answer of Father Haurer to the Case of the Great Nephews of Janfenius. See their IVth Fa-ctum, p. 14. (d) See the Catalogue of them, at the end of his E-logy, in the Journal des Sçavans, of September, 1675.

to another Person, to wit, *Arnauld d'Andilli*, as was at last fairly explained (c). But the Author of the *Faëta*, or Cases, of *Janfenius's* Great-Nephews, made it appear by solid Reasons, that the second Application of the two A. A. was absurd [B]. Mr d'Andilli retired to the Monastery of *Port-Royal* in 1644, where he passed the Remainder of his Life in a continued Application to Works of Piety. He composed several Books there (d), which the Public received favourably, and which are so numerous, that they make eight Volumes in Folio (e). He died there on the 27th of September 1674, in the Eighty sixth Year of his Age (f). He left his Wife in the Year 1637. *Balzac's* Reflexion on this Loss is worth knowing [D].

(e) Perrault, *Illustrious Men*, p. 142. Edit. of Holl.

(f) Moreri, pag. 346.

[B] The second Application of the two A. A. was absurd.] I shall not repeat all the Reasons alledged to prove this; I shall only remark, that it is observed, among other things, that he had been present in all the Expeditions, which King Lewis XIII made, both before, and after, the Time of the chimerical Cabal of *Bourg-Fontaine* (4), "to quell Those of his Subjects, whom their false Religion had engaged in Rebellion (5). These were Occasions, continue they (6), of enflaming more and more his Zeal for the Catholic Religion, by the Averfion, which these kind of Wars inspire against Heresy; but it was not the way to become a Divine, having never studied Theology, as he could not have done, to sustain the Part, which they make the Authors of the Fable of *Bourg-Fontaine* act. He knew as much of Religion, as a Man of great Parts could learn of it, from his Catechism, from pious Books, from the Conversation of holy Persons, from reading the Word of God, and hearing it preached; but the less he knew of what was taught in the Schools, the more incapable was he of raising Doubts concerning the Truth of our Myfteries (7), having accustomed himself early to captivate his Understanding to the Divine Authority, which is visibly lodged in the Church; and sure never any Person was farther from cavilling with God, or pretending, by his weak and self-conceited Reason, to comprehend what we ought to believe with Faith and Humility."

(4) In the Year 1622.

(5) IVth Fa-ctum, &c. pag. 18.

(6) Ibid.

(7) These Words are very remarkable, and confirm what many suspect, that there are no Persons left persuaded, that they, who employ the most Time in disputing and teaching in the Schools.

(8) See his Judgment of Mr Arnauld d'Andilli, at the beginning of the Collection of Letters, published at Amsterdam, in 1694.

[C] He retired to the Monastery of Port-Royal.] Let us continue to quote the fourth Fa-ctum. "It was to *Port-Royal* in the Fields, that he retired in the Year 1644; whither his Nephews, the Advocate Mr le Maître, and one of his Brothers, who was a Soldier, had retired five or six Years before, when there were yet no Religious there; for it was not 'till the Year 1648, that the Houfe of Paris obtained leave of the Archbishop to send Part of their Religious to their Country Houfe." My Reader may choose between the Author of this Fa-ctum, and Mr Richelet (8), who says, that Mr Arnauld d'Andilli made his own Houfe of *Pomponne* his Retreat. I am satisfied with confronting these two Authorities; and pass on, with Pleasure, to cite what you are now going to read; because it contains some of Those Particulars, relating to the Lives of great Men, which so many are curious to know. "Arnauld d'Andilli ----- served the King and the State twenty Years. As a Reward of his Services, he had a Pension of Eight thousand

"Livres settled on him, which were afterwards reduced to six; with this he retired to *Pomponne*, a Village seven or eight Leagues distant from Paris, where, forsaking the Vanities of the World, and leading a truly Christian Life, he composed several Works: His Letters, and a Poem on the Life of JESUS CHRIST (9). ----- Josephus's History of the Jews, the Works of St Theresa, and Those of Davila, translated, are the Fruits of his Solitude. ----- The best of his Translations is That of *Josephus* (10). Some time after it had been published, Richelet went, one Day, to see him at *Pomponne*; after some Discourse, the Conversation fell on the manner of some Authors composing. And, knowing that Richelet was particularly acquainted with the famous D'Ablancourt, he asked him, how many times That excellent Man revised each Piece before he gave it the Publick: Richelet replied six times; and I, replied Mr Arnauld, revised the History of Josephus ten times; I carefully corrected the Style of it, and polished it more than any of my other Works. Arnauld d'Andilli ----- in his Retirement, after seven or eight Hours Study, every Day, used to divert himself with the Pleasures of the Country, and, above all others, with That of pruning his Trees. He had generally so good Fruit, that, every Year, he sent Presents of it to Queen Anne of Austria; and That Princess was so well pleased with it, that every Season the desired to have some." This Application to Gardening, and philosophizing profoundly on the Nature of Trees, is attested by Mr Perrault, in his *Illustrious Men*, pag. 143, Edition of Holland.

(9) This is contrary to what has been said, above, in the Remark [A], Citation (3).

(10) The Critic find great Fault with it. See the Opinion of some Divines of Holland. I have heard say, that Mr Arnauld, revised the History of Josephus ten times; I le Moine was desired by the Friends of dilli ----- to mark the Place, which he thought the Translator might mistake, and that he declined, upon fear of re-marking too many.

[D] Balzac's Reflexion on this Loss is worth knowing.] What he wrote concerning it is much for the Honour of our Robert Arnauld, and his Family. "The News of Madam d'Andilli's Death affected me sensibly. I interest myself in all the good and bad Success, of a Family which ought to be dear to France, and which arose for the Honour of the French Name. But I pity our Friend particularly, who, having never had any unlawful Passion, loses all his Mistresses, and Pleasures, at once, in his Wife. He is, nevertheless, so well skilled in the Christian Doctrine, and has so many learned Men of his Family about him, that he needs no Stoic Philosophy, nor any foreign Assistance, to defend himself against the Attacks of Fortune. All Reason, all Preach, all Persuade, That Family, and One Arnauld is worth a Dozen Epictetuses (11)."

(11) Balzac's Letters to Chapelain, in Book 2, Lett. 19, dated 14 Aug. 1637, p. 32.

ARNAULD (ANTHONY) Doctor of the Sorbonne, Son of Anthony Arnauld the Advocate [A], was born at Paris, the sixth of February, 1612, being the twentieth Offspring of his Father's Marriage with Catherine Marion. He studied Humanity and Philosophy

[A] Son of Anthony Arnauld the Advocate.] This Decent is undoubtedly the Origin of the great Hatred of the Jesuits towards Mr Arnauld, and of Mr Arnauld towards the Jesuits. The Author of the *Question Curieuse* (1) does not absolutely deny this, since he speaks in this manner. (2): "Mr Arnauld was born the sixth of February, in the Year 1612. His Father was Mr Anthony Arnauld, so famous at the Bar, and known in the History of the Jesuits, by the famous Plea, which he made against them, for the University of Paris, in 1594. ----- For the Reason, which I have mentioned, Mr Arnauld was born with a second Original Sin, which no Sacrament could efface; and, the Crime of the Plea having made the Father a Calvinist, and Minister of Antichrist, in the Minds of the Jesuits (3), though a good Catholic, and a good Christian, every where

"else, the Son, in their Opinion, must necessarily be born a Child of Wrath, and be yet worse than a Heretic, before he could be a Christian." One of the Protestant Authors, who wrote against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, believed, that Mr Arnauld's Averfion to the Jesuits proceeded from Education. These are his Words (4). "I have formerly compared him to Hannibal, too obliquely persecuted by the Romans (5). I cannot tell whether I may not compare him to the same Han-

(4) New Letters against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, pag. 125.

(5) It is in the Vth Letter of the Critique Generale. Quand je me figure, &c. I. e. When I represent to myself this great Man, reduced to the hard Necessity of concealing himself, I recollect the famous Hannibal, and the last Words, which the unjust Persecutors of the Romans uttered from him. Liberum est tunc curia populum Romanum, quando mortem lenis expectatio longum confect, &c. ----- Let us free the Romans from a long Anxiety, free they wait with Impatience for the Death of an old Man. Livy, lib. XXXIX.

(1) See, in the Margin of the text of the Article, Citat. (b), what Book this is.

(2) Pag. 12.

(3) See Remark [D].

(a) It is sufficient to say, that the new Edition of the Sorbonne being built on its Ruins.

(c) This Thesis was dedicated to the Clergy of France, at that time, at Paris.

(d) Of these one thing, which the Author, whom I copy, does not distinguish is, that Mr Arnould did not begin to read this Course of Philosophy, till the 2d Year of his Licence.

Philosophy in the College of *Cakvi* (a), and afterward began to study the Law; but he was soon taken from this Study, and turned to That of Divinity, by the Care of his Mother, seconded by the Abbot of St Cyran. After this Determination, he applied himself to study in the College of the Sorbonne (b), and went through a *Treatise of Grace* under Mr l'Escot: But, not finding This Professor of the Sorbonne's Lectures conformable to the Doctrine of St Paul, he resolved to study This Point in St Ausin himself, and preferred This Father's System to That of Mr l'Escot. This he testified publicly in a Probation Thesis, which he maintained, in the Year 1636, in order to be admitted to his Degree of Bachelor (c). He employed an Interval of Two Years, which, according to the Laws of the Faculty at Paris, must pass between the Probation, and the Licence, in hard Study; after which, he began the Acts of his Licence, about the Easter of the Year 1638, and continued them till Lent 1640. He went thro' the Act of *Vesperies* the eighteenth of December 1641, and, the Day following, received the Doctor's Cap. While he was a Licentiate, he composed, and publicly taught, *A Course of Philosophy* (d). At the end of this Course of Philosophy, which he taught at Paris, in the College of *Mans*, he caused Theses to be maintained, wherein he gave a remarkable Instance of his Integrity, Docility, and Humility [B]. He was ordained Priest in the *Ember Week of September*, of the Year 1641, and celebrated his first Mass on *All Saints Day*, of the same Year, after a Retirement of Forty Days—He had began his Licence, without any design of becoming a Member of the Sorbonne—He would have been satisfied with enjoying the Rights of Hospitality, which gave him the liberty of lodging in the House (e). But The principal Doctors pressing him to think seriously of entering into it, and promising him, that, provided he would read a Course of Philosophy, no notice should be taken of the Circumstance of Time, he undertook the Affair without any regard to the Obstacles, which lay in his way, to wit, that, while he was performing the Acts of his Licence, the Time, in which the Statutes prescribed that the Course of Philosophy should be gone thro', was elapsed—The two Years of this painful Work being ended, he petitioned the House, that they would admit him to the Proof of his Course, and deliberate on the Honour he demanded of being received into That illustrious Body. Mr l'Escot found an Opportunity at this time of being revenged on him. As he had not taught his Penitent Cardinal Richelieu to forgive, He had himself learned of his Penitent never to forgive (f). He prevented Mr Arnould's Admission into the

(b) In the Year 1633.

(e) He was admitted the 1st of October, 1636. Prefat. Cause Arnould. pag. 227.

(f) He was Confeſſor to Cardinal Richelieu, and afterwards Bishop of Chartres.

"nibal, promising his Father, in his tender Years, that, as soon as he should be of Age to bear Arms, he would wage War against Those mortal Enemies of his Country. It is well known, that Mr Arnould is the Son of the famous Anthony Arnould, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, who pleaded so eloquently, for the University, against the Jesuits, in the Year 1594, and who omitted nothing to persuade the Judges, that they ought not to be tolerated in the Kingdom. This Action rendered him as odious to the whole Society, as the whole Society was to him, or more. It is very probable, that he inspired the same Sentiments, with regard to the Jesuits, into his Sons; it is very certain, at least, that in this they have not degenerated from the Virtue of their Father."

[B] He gave a remarkable Instance of his Integrity, Docility, and Humility. At the end of the Course of Philosophy, which he taught in the College of *Mans*, in the University of Paris, he made several of his Scholars maintain Theses: Among whom, was the *Sieur Barbe*, since a famous Professor of Philosophy in the same University, and Mr *Wallon de Beaupuis*, an Ecclesiastic of *Brauvais*, a Person of great Piety, who is still alive, and has delivered this Fact in Writing. This latter maintaining his Thesis, on the Twenty fifth of July, 1641, Mr de la Barde, a learned Priest of the Oratory, and at that Time Canon of the Cathedral Church at Paris, took up the Dispute, and pressed his Arguments so home, that the Professor was obliged to come in to the Assistance of his Scholar. But he was himself so hard pressed by the illustrious Disputant, that he found himself unable to Reply. It had been easy for him to have got off by some Distinction or other, as Professors often do. But this did not agree with his Sincerity, and Love of Truth. He told him, therefore, publicly, and without Ceremony, that he believed him to be in the right; that his Opinion appeared, in His Judgment, to be the most true, and that he himself would follow it for the future. He was as good as his Word; for, about three Years after, This same Disciple being to perform his Probation-Lecture in the Sorbonne, for his Degree of Bachelor, he desired Mr Arnould to compose his

Thesis for him. He did so, and laid down the contrary Opinion to That in his own Philosophical Theses (6). An essential Part is wanting in This Narrative. We are not told what Opinion Mr Arnould had maintained, when he confessed his Error, upon the strong Objections of his Opponent. Let us supply this, and say, that the Thesis, which Mr de la Barde attacked, was this: *Ens synonymè convenit Deo & creaturæ* (7). The Author of the Narrative judges right, when he says, that this Action of Mr Arnould was Great before God, and Rare among Men, and that That, which proceeds from Integrity of Heart, from a constant and uniform Love of Truth, from a Greatness of Soul, which is above the Desire of Victory, and the Fear of lessening a Reputation, - - - is always great (8). But he seems to me to treat the Solutions, which may be given of Their Arguments, who maintain, that the Idea of Being is not applicable, synonymously, to God and his Creatures, with a little too much Dilidain. I formerly examined this Dispute, which is very famous in the Schools, and was of Opinion, that They, who deny the Univocation of Being, have the Crowd, the Many, on their Side;

(6) Abridged History of Mr Arnould. pag. 46.

(7) Prefat. Cause Arnouldine. pag. 271.

(8) Abridged History of Mr Arnould. pag. 47.

Defendit numeros, junctæque umbone phalanges (9); illos

but not the most solid Reasons; wherefore I chose the Opinion, which they oppose. I have maintained it often in public Disputations, but never found, that any Objection of Difficulty was proposed to me. My Adversary presently flew to the common Objection, that God is a Being *ναὶ ἑξῆς*, a self-existent Being, Infinite, and supremely Perfect; whereas the Being of Creatures is only precarious. I found no manner of Difficulty in this Objection; for the very Rudiments of the Doctrine of *Universals* instruct us, that the Ideas of the *Genus* are entirely distinguished from the *Specific* Properties, by an Abstraction of the Mind. But had I known, that Mr Arnould, having once been of this Opinion, had renounced it in Disputation, I should have suspected, that there were some Difficulties in it, which I had not met with in any of the Spanish School-men, whom I had examined. Let us remember, that it has been observed, that he was not necessitated to alter his Opinion. This imports

(9) Juven. Sat. 2, vers. 45.

the Society of the Sorbonne [C]. He had not the same Credit after the Death of the Cardinal: But, if he had the mortification to see this young Doctor admitted into That Society, in the Year 1643, He did not fail to promote his Exclusion, when an Opportunity offered. The Book concerning *Frequent Communion*, published by Mr Arnauld in 1643, greatly displeased the Jesuits. They represented it, both in their Sermons, and in printed Books, as fraught with the most pernicious Doctrines. The Controversy about *Grace*, which grew warm at that time in the University of Paris, served only to foment the Animosities between the Jesuits and Mr Arnauld. This Doctor strongly defended *Jansenius*, both by refuting the three Sermons of Mr Habert, and the Apology of this Preacher for them, and by replying to Mr le Moine, Professor of the Sorbonne (g), and some others. There was no room for a Judicial Censure, till he published Two Letters on an Adventure of the Duke de Liancourt, a great Friend of the Port-Royal [D]. Two Propositions were found in the second of these Letters, which the Faculty of Divinity condemned in the Year 1656. Mr Arnauld was at the same time declared excluded from the Faculty. There were many Irregularities in the Proceedings against him [E]. He had not appeared publicly for several Years before; for, from the time that he had been cited to Rome, on occasion of the Disputes about his Book concerning *Frequent Communion*, the Queen-Mother being with difficulty prevailed on to revoke the Orders she had given him to depart immediately, *he passed his Time, either absconding here and there, or in Solitude at Port-Royal*. This retired Life continued near twenty five Years, till the Peace of *Jansenism*, concluded in 1668. Mr Arnauld was included in This Peace; and, accordingly, went to pay his Duty to the King, and the Nuncio, and appeared as much as he pleased in Public, till 1679, when he voluntarily quitted the Kingdom, being informed, that his Enemies rendered him suspected to the King (b). It is not doubted, but he has lived ever since in the Low-Countries; tho' he has discovered himself but to a very few of his trusty Friends. He was put to Trouble at Liege in the Year 1690 [F]. The Reflexion, which was made on This Enterprize, deserves

(b) Taken from a Book, printed in 1690, and entitled, *Question curieuse si Mr Arnauld Docteur de Sorbonne est hérétique*. — A curious Enquiry, whether Mr Arnauld, Doctor of the Sorbonne, be an Heretic; or from a Book, which is a second Edition of this, much augmented, and published in 1695, with the Title of *Histoire Abrégée de la vie & des Ouvrages de Mr Arnauld*. — An abridged History of the Life and Writings of Mr Arnauld. See also the Preface to the *Causa Arnaldina*. — Mr Arnauld's Calic.

(g) The Title of this Refutation is, An Apology for the Holy Fathers of the Church, Defenders of the Grace of Jesus Christ.

ports, that he did not find his first Tenet indefensible; but only, that the *Analogy of Being* seemed to him a better Doctrine, than the *Univocation*. *Erudito discipulo sub validissimorum argumentorum mole fatiscente* (10), *suppetias venit Magister, diuque confilatus, non cedens necessitate coactus, sed veritate & veritatis amore victus, victum se ultro professus est, & a sententia sua discessum publice spondendit. Promissis stetit, &c.* (11).

[C] Mr l'Escot presented Mr Arnauld's Admission into the Society of the Sorbonne.] There were but two Doctors, who opposed Mr Arnauld's Request: "They alleged Statutes, and Custom, which required, that the *Course* should be performed before the Licence. And, as to this Difference, which was to be decided by a Plurality of Voices, they were of Opinion, that Cardinal Richelieu, Patron of the Sorbonne, should be appealed to, as Judge of what was against the Laws and Liberty of the House; and it would have been a Crime, at that Time, to have refused such a Judge. Monf. Hardiniers, Archbishop of Bourges, and Mr Habert, Doctor of Divinity, of the Church of Paris, were deputed to him (12). — The Cardinal did not judge it proper, that the Society should do any thing against their Statutes and Customs. But it was not so much a Zeal for the Orders and Rules of the House, which made him act in this manner, as the Knowledge he had of the strict Union between Mr Arnauld, and Mr de St Cyran; as Resentment, because Mr Arnauld had not sought his Protection, during his Licence; and, lastly, as the Influence, which Mr l'Escot had on his Penitent, the Cardinal. For This Doctor was One of the Two Opposers, and, as I have observed, had conceived a strong Prejudice against Mr Arnauld, from a meer Spirit of Jealousy, and Revenge. It was certainly more honourable for Mr Arnauld to be excluded the Society in this manner, than received into it, as most others are. He was, however, admitted after the Cardinal's Death; the Sorbonne, as well as other Societies, having, then, recovered its Liberty (13). Mr l'Escot, "made himself amends some time after, by getting him excluded both the House, and Faculty, by the Censure of 1656, of which He was the Promoter, together with Mr le Moine, who succeeded him, both in his Chair, and his Opinions (14).

[D] He published two Letters on an Adventure of the Duke de Liancourt, a great Friend of the Port-Royal.] This Duke sent his Grand-Daughter to be educated at Port-Royal, and kept the Abbot de Bour-

zeys in his House. In the Year 1655, he came to Confession to a Priest of St Sulpice, his own Parish, who declared, "that he could not give him Absolution, unless he promised to break off all Commerce with Those Gentlemen, to withdraw his Grand-Daughter from the Port-Royal, and dismiss The Abbot. — This Affair making a great Noise at Paris, and all over France, Mr Arnauld was desired to publish a Letter, in Justification of this Lord. — A great Number of Answers being published to this Letter, Mr Arnauld thought himself obliged to refute the Calumnies, with which they were filled, by publishing a second Letter, in which he answered nine of those Pieces (15)."

[E] There were many Irregularities in the Proceedings against him.] "Commissioners were appointed in Mr Arnauld's Cause, who were his declared Enemies, against whom he had written on these Subjects, and who were known by every one to have been the most zealous for his Ruin; and all the Representations he could make thereupon signified nothing (16). All the Doctors of the Community of St Sulpice, against whom Mr Arnauld's Letter was written, were so unjust as to continue his Judges, notwithstanding his Exceptions; whereas they wanted only a little Honour to have made them voluntarily decline it, as good Men do even in Lay-Tribunals (17). You will find several other Irregularities, Innovations, Contraventions to the Order, always observed on these Occasions, and Violations of Natural Right, in the Process of Mr Arnauld against the Faculty (18).

The Book, which was printed at Leige in the Year 1699, under the Title of *Causa Arnaldina*, may serve as a complete Account of the Proceedings of the Divines of Paris, and the Substance of the Doctrines, which they censured. Several Pieces are collected in This Work, which Mr Arnauld, and his Party, published at that Time, to support the Justice of his Cause.

[F] He was put to Trouble at Leige in the Year 1690.] Six Superiors attempted to issue out Canonical Warrants against him. These were the Guardian of the Franciscans, the Guardian of the White-Friars, the Sub-Prior Vicar of the Augustines, the Rector of the Jesuits, the Vicar of the Dominicans, and the Prior of the Jacobins. They tiled him *One Arnauld*; but, with submission, This did no Honour to their Communities; It was either an Ignorance unpardonable in Men of Letters, or an Affectation of Contempt unbecoming Persons, who are

(10) Observe, that, in France, they never preside in a Dispute, do not speak, till their Disciple has done. In other Countries, they speak incessantly, and scarce allow him time to repeat the Argument.

(11) Prefat. Cause Arnald. pag. xix.

(12) Abridged History of Mr Arnauld, pag. 50.

(13) Ibid. pag. 51, 52.

(14) Ibid. pag. 33.

(15) Question curieuse, pag. 58, 59.

(16) Ibid. pag. 69, 70.

(17) This Express n will be a Jest to some Persons, who think, that Civil Tribunals can be compared with Ecclesiastical, only as God with Man.

(18) At Page 71 of the Question curieuse. See in the Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, for June, 1636, Art. III. what Mr de Launoi thought of this Censure of the Sorbonne.

A REFLEXION on Mr Arnauld's being contempuously tiled *One Arnauld*.

(i) See Remark [A], of the Article BOSSU (JAMES).

deserves the Consideration of Those, who govern (i). He continued his Exploits of the Pen against the Jesuits with great force to his Death, as he did for some time against Those of the Reformed Religion; but a Minister, who was the most exposed to his Attacks, had recourse to a Stratagem, in the Year 1683, which put a stop to his Incursions on the Protestant Party. I mean the Author of the *ESPRIT DE MR ARNAULD* [G]. We might give a long List of Falshoods in point of Fact relating to This Doctor; but we shall content our selves with mentioning a Few of them. It has been pretended, that he was born an *Huguenot* (k). He has

(k) See Remark [D], of the Article ARNAULD (ANTHONY) the Advocate.

are dedicated to the Service of the Altar, and who make Decrees concerning the Faith. No Man of Letters can say, without exposing himself to the Laughter of the Learned, One Scaliger, One Sirmond, One Petavius, One Salmassius, One Grotius, One Selden, and (if the Question be about a Doctor of the Sorbonne) One Arnauld. The Disputes, in which this latter was engaged, have made so much Noise, and are remarkable for so many great Exploits on both sides, that all Men of Letters, who should but think themselves suspected of being ignorant of them, would have reason to oppose the four following Lines of *Virgil* to Suspicions so injurious.

Quis genus Æneadum, quis Trojæ nesciat urbem,
Virtutesque, virosque, aut tanti incendia belli?
Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Pæni,
Nec tam averfus equos Tyria sol jungit ab urbe (19).

(19) Æneid. lib. 1, vers. 569.

Who has not heard — — —
The Name and Fortune of your Native Place,
The Fame and Valour of the Phrygian Race?
We Tyrians are not so devoid of Sense,
Nor so remote from Phœbus' Influence.

DRYDEN.

Be this as it will, I cannot forbear producing here the Decree of the six Regulars of *Leige* (20); the Latinity of it is so exquisite, that it may serve to unbend my Reader a little. "Nos infra scripti Superiores Conventuales Regularium in Civitate Leodiensi, certiorati de Conventiculis, quæ habentur apud CERTUM ARNOLDUM, doctrinam suspectam spargentem, censemus D. Vicarium charitativè certiorandum, ut similia Conventicula dissipare, & prohibere non dignetur, etiam cum dicto Arnolde conversationes. Datum in Conventu Minorum hac 25. Augusti 1690. Ad quem effectum commissimus R. P. M. Ludovicum Lamet, Priorem Dominicanorum, ad nomen nostro accedendum D. Vicarium, & exponendum intentionem nostram. — We, the undersigned Conventual Superiors of Regulars in the City of *Leige*, being certified of Meetings held at ONE ARNAULD's, a Spreader of suspected Doctrine, are of Opinion, that the Vicar be charitably certified, that he would condescend to disperse and prohibit such Meetings, and even all Conversation with the said Arnauld. Given at a Meeting of the Minors this Twenty fifth of August 1690. To which effect we have commissioned Father Lewis Lamet, Prior of the Dominicans, to go, in our Name, to the Vicar, and declare to him our Intention." The Author of the *Question Curieuse* says indeed, that Father d'Yserin had boasted of having a Commission, or Permission, from his Highness the Bishop of *Leige*, to cause Mr Arnauld to be arrested wherever he should find him in his Diocess (21); but he treats it as an egregious Lye (22).

(21) Ibid. pag. 198.

(22) Ibid. pag. 200.

[G] I mean the Author of the *ESPRIT DE MR ARNAULD*. An hundred things may be said of This Work; but, as it is probable, I shall have other Occasions of mentioning it, I shall confine myself here to a very few Observations. The Author of This Book had published a Work, which met with great Success. They, who had the Care of the Impression, at the Hague, entituled it, *The Politics of the Clergy of France*. They are Dialogues, in which there is a great deal of Beauty and Politeness, but little Solidity of Argument, and very little Caution in the vending of several Facts, which are notoriously false. Mons. Arnauld refuted this Book (23) in a little too contemptuous a way, and in a manner so much the more disobliging, as he manifestly convicted his Adversary of

(23) In an *Apology for the Catholics*, printed in 1682.

having argued very weakly, and published several Untruths. He began with another Book of the same Author (24); and seemed inclined to reply to the Apology for the Morality of the Reformed concerning the *Inamissibility* * of Grace: In a Word, the Author of the *Politics of the Clergy* fore-saw, that he was like to have such an Adversary in Mr Arnauld, as would never allow him any Respite, nor ever pass by a Contradiction, a false Reasoning, or false Matter of Fact. This by no means agreed with one, who was determined to publish a great many Books, and who seldom gave himself the Trouble of revising what he had once written. He gave himself up to the Fire of his Imagination; and This was an inexhaustible Fund to him of false Logic, and gross Contradictions. He considered with himself, in what manner he might best prevent Mr Arnauld from sticking thus in his Skirts, and judged, that none could be more effectual, than to attack him personally; I mean, to impute all manner of personal ill Qualities to him. He executed this Design with all imaginable Passion, and, being in the full Career of Scandal, he stuck at nothing; he cast about to the Right and Left, to find still more subject for Satire; so that we may apply to him, in regard to Slander, what was said of *Voiture*, in respect to Love; he extended it from the Scepter to the Sheep-book, from the Crown to the woollen Cap. Mr Arnauld, not thinking proper to engage with a Person, who fought with such Weapons, resolved to be absolutely silent in relation to the Reformed; and thus, what the whole Society of the Jesuits could not compass, one single Minister contrived, and executed successfully; I mean the Secret of silencing This Doctor. This was not the only Advantage, which the Author of the *Espirit de Mr Arnauld* drew from his Satire; he struck such a terror into an hundred other Authors, who would have attacked him, and into several other Persons, to whom he was not the most agreeable, that they were afraid of drawing his Indignation upon them. This ought not to surprize us; for, in short, there are few Families, which may not be reproached with some Adventure (25), or who have not some Enemies malicious enough to publish some scandalous Story or other, especially if they can privately get it printed. The *Espirit de Mr Arnauld* seems to promise Publication to every little scandalous Story, which may be sent by the Post; whether it concerns a private Person, as Father Soulier, or a public Minister, as the late Mr Colbert.

(24) Entitled, *A Preservative against a Change of Religion*.

* *Impossibility of Ising*.

(25) The Spaniards have a Proverb; No ay generation, do no aya puta ô lae drone.

A young *Jansenist*, considering the Effect of this Satire, compared Mr Arnauld to the ancient City of *Troy*, which the bravest Warriors, and a thousand Ships, could not conquer; but which fell by the Artifice of a Defenter, and a wooden Horse.

Talibus insidiis, perjurique arte Sinonis,
Credita res, captivæ dolis — — —
Quos neque Tydides, nec Larissæus Achilles,
Non anni domuere decem, non mille carinæ (26).

(26) Virgil. Æn. lib. 2, vers. 195.

With such Deceits be gain'd their easy Hearts,
Too prone to credit his perfidious Arts.
What Diomed, nor Thetis' greater Son,
A thousand Ships, nor ten Years Siege had done,
False Tears, and sawning Words, the City won.

(27) Hæc delecta virum fortis corpora furum includunt æcœ lateri, penitusque cavernas ingentes, uterunque armato milite complet. Id. ibid. vers. 186.

DRYDEN.

"It is true, added he, this Comparison will not hold in all Points; for the *Espirit de Mr Arnauld* does not resemble the wooden Horse, which had the chief Captains of the Army in it's Belly (27); but rather Those Ships, which, by Hannibal's Advice, were provided with earthen Pots, filled with

"Scorpents."

been reckoned One of the Cabal of *Bourg-Fontaine* [H]. He has been made to go to Nocturnal Witch-Meetings [I]: He has been sent to command the Troops of the *Vaudois* [K]: He has been advanced to the Post of Squire to the *Goliab Peter Jurieu*

"Serpents." See *Cornelius Nepos* in the Life of That *Carthaginian* General.

[H] He has been reckoned one of the Cabal of *Bourg-Fontaine*.] *Du Pleix's* Calumnies, with regard to the Father, are nothing in comparison of the Falshood, which *Mr Filleau*, the King's Advocate in the Presidial Court of *Poitiers*; published concerning the Son, in the Year 1654; for there is no doubt, that he reckoned *Mr Arnauld* in the Number of the seven Doctors of the Assembly of *Bourg-Fontaine* (28). The Cafe, in short, was this: *Mr Filleau*, publishing a *Judicial Relation*, in the Year 1654, of what had passed at *Poitiers*, on occasion of the new Doctrine of *Janfenius*, declared, that an Ecclesiastic had assured him, that, in a Conference, which seven Persons had held at *Bourg-Fontaine*, in the Year 1621; They had consulted about the Means to abolish Christianity; that This Ecclesiastic had himself been one of the seven; that, some time after, he broke with the other six, only one of whom was then living, and whose Names were (J. D. V. D. H.) (C. J.) (P. C.) (P. C.) (A. A.) (S. V.) By certain Circumstances, attending this Narrative, and by the Character of certain Books, which we are given to understand were published purely in execution of the Engagements entered into at *Bourg-Fontaine*, every one believed, that the Letters of the first Name denoted *John du Verger de Hauranne*, Abbot of *St Cyran*; those of the second *Cornelius Janfenius*, Bishop of *Ypres*; those of the third *Philip Cyprian*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, Bishop of *Nantes*, and since of *Lisieux*; those of the fourth *Peter Camus*, Bishop of *Bellay*; those of the fifth *Anthony Arnauld*, the Subject of this Article; and those of the sixth *Simon Vigor*, Counsellor in the Great Council. *Mr Filleau* affirms, "That it was resolved, in this Assembly, to attack the two Sacraments, which are the most frequented by Adults, to wit, Those of Penance, and the Eucharist; and the Means, proposed for attaining this, was, to introduce a dispute of them; not by discovering any direct Design of making them less frequented, but by rendering the Practice of them so difficult, and clogged with Circumstances so incompatible with the Condition of the Men of Those Times, that they should remain in a manner inaccessible, and that, by this dispute of them, founded on such plausible Appearances, All Belief in them would by degrees be lost." The Public thought, that This was pointed at *Mr Arnauld*, because of his Book of *Frequent Communion*, and that therefore *Mr Filleau* certainly meant him, by the fifth of those dangerous Conspirators against the Christian Religion, marked (A. A.) (29).

As we are not concerned, in this Place, to examine into the Truth, or Falshood, of this Conspiracy, I shall content myself with saying, that *Mr Arnauld* looked upon this as one of the highest Excesses of Calumny, that had ever been known, and that, in particular, he perfectly cleared himself from the Accusation of being found in the Conference of These Deists (30). For he made it appear, that, having been born in 1612, he could be but nine Years of Age, when it was pretended, that this Conference was held. This justification is so strong, that not only the Silence of the Accuser, but even the formal Confession of one of the Accuser's Friends, made it appear, that nothing could be replied to it. On the other side, *Father Meynier*, pretending, that *Mr Filleau's* Account of the Conference of *Bourg-Fontaine* contained nothing but what was very certain, confesses, "that *Mr Arnauld* had given convincing Proofs, that he was not of this Assembly; but, adds he, he is deceived, in believing, that *Anthony Arnauld* is the Person meant by the Letters A. A. I assure him, in behalf of the Author of the Judicial Relation, that Those Letters denote Another, who is yet living, and is too good a Friend of *Mr Arnauld's* to be unknown to him (31)." *Mr Pascal*, who was then writing the Provincial Letters, pressed the Jesuits to name the private Betrayer of the Conference, the six Doctors, who had assisted at it, and particularly the Person denoted by the Letters A. A. and who, tho'

not *Mr Arnauld* himself, was too intimate a Friend of his to be unknown to him. But these Challenges were disregarded; and it is but a few Years since, that a very famous Jesuit of *Antwerp* declared to the Public, that This Friend of *Mr Arnauld* was his own Brother *Arnauld d'Andilli* (32). This has been already confuted. See the Remark [B] of the Article ARNAULD d'ANDILLI.

[I] He has been made to go to Nocturnal Witch-Meetings.] I cannot tell in which of the two Assemblies *Mr Arnauld* would rather have been present, That of *Bourg-Fontaine*, or That, which the late *Mr Maupas*, Bishop of *Evreux*, has somewhere spoken of. "It is certain, that he affirmed to several Persons, that he had been informed by a converted Wizard, that he had seen *Mr Arnauld*, and a certain Prince of the Blood (33), at Nocturnal Witch-Meetings, and that *Mr Arnauld* had made a very fine Speech to the Devils (34)." If he must have a chosen between these two Extremes, and if the Speech might have tended only to excite the Devils to more Amendment of Life, I make no doubt, but the Doctor would much rather have harangued in this Meeting, than have given his Opinion in the Charter-house of *Bourg-Fontaine*, for the Abolishment of Christianity, and the Propagation of Deism.

It were to abuse the Patience of my Readers to expose the ridiculousness of this Tale, which this Prelate related to several Persons; it is one of Those Falshoods, which *Mr Arnauld* thinks no one ought ever to give himself the Trouble of confuting. These are his Words (35): "The Interest of Honour may be considered two Ways; either with regard to the Calumny itself, which possibly may be very heinous, of with regard to Those, who, being once prepossessed with it, may afterwards have a very ill Opinion of the Person calumniated. It is properly the latter Consideration, which obliges a Man to defend himself; for, how enormous soever it be in itself, it may safely enough be slighted, if it is of such a Nature, that no sober Person will give Credit to it. As for Example; what the late *Mr de Maupas*, Bishop of *Evreux*, had formerly said, that he was told, by a converted Wizard, that *Mr Arnauld* had been at their Nocturnal Meetings, and that the Devils had admired the Speech he made to them, was in itself an horrible Calumny; in the mean time, if any impertinent Fellow had inserted this in a Libel, would any one have the Doctor give himself the trouble of confuting it; and, in default of this, would there be any Reason to suppose, that it was the Possibility of answering it, which forced him to be silent, and that he had, in Effect, confessed it?"

[K] He has been sent to command the Troops of the *Vaudois*.] This Falshood has little more of Probability in it, than the former. There have been, of late, Manuscripts, which positively affirm, that the *Arnauld*, who is at the Head of the *Vaudois*, is *Mr Arnauld*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, who has at last declared himself, and does Wonders in Savoy, at the Head of the Troops of That Party (36). It would be a very surprising Metamorphosis, if, at the Age of Seventy eight Years, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, who has employed his whole Life in Study, and who has wrote so much against the Protestant Clergy, should himself become a Minister militant, and exchange his Pen for a Sword, and a brown Musket, endeavouring to make *Arnauld's* Carabineers still more talked of, than Those of One of his Uncles, very well known to the *Robellers*, under the Reign of *Lewis XIII* (37). The late Bishop of *Leige* was told, at his own Table, That *Mr Arnauld* had abjured the Catholic Faith at *Boisleduc*, and that he was married there (38). The greatest part of Those, who are called Zealots, fear nothing more than the Orthodoxy of Those, whom they accuse. They do not imitate God, who desires not the Death of a Sinner, but that he may be converted, and live. They would have the Person, they have once accused, apostatize in good earnest; and are angry, that he does not go over to the Enemies Party, to make their Accusations good. They would much rather

(28) *A Character of Filleau, written 16 or 17 Leagues off Paris.*

(29) The IVth Factum for the Relations of Janfenius, pag. 21, and 12, proves, that he was the Person designed in the Judicial Relation.

(30) In his Letter to a Duke and Peer, in 1655. See also the 5th Part of the IVth Factum for the Relations of Janfenius.

(31) *Father Meynier*, in the Book, entitled, *Le Port-Royal & Geneve d'intelligence contre le St. Sacrement de l'Autel*, printed at *Poitiers*, in 1656.

(32) *Father Hazart*, in his Answer to the Factum for the Relations of Janfenius. See the History of the Works of the Learned, 1688, and the 2d Part of the IVth Factum for the Relations of Janfenius.

(33) Probably the late Duke of Longueville.

(34) Fourth Factum, above mentioned.

(35) See Tom. III, de la Morale Pratique, cap. XI, pag. 257.

(36) *Questionnaire*, en curieuse, pag. 4.

(37) See the *Memoirs of the Sieur de Pontis*.

(38) *Troisième Plainte de Mr Arnauld*, p. 8.

Jurieu [L]. It has been said, that he was banished from *France* [M]; and that He wrote the Apology for the Catholics only to recover his Benefice [N]. Several Books

(39) General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, pag. 384, second Edition.

(40) Father Maimbourg has play'd upon the same equivocal Name of Arnould of Bresse, in his Decad. di l' Empire; and Theoph. Raynould has wrote a Book, entitled, Arnouldus de Brixia rediit in Arnaldo de Lutetia. . . . i. e. Arnould of Bresse re-visited in Arnould of Paris.

(41) This Title was given him, because he was a Natural Son of Philip IV of Spain.

(42) Religion of the Jesuits, p. 59.

(43) Morale Pratique, Tom. 3. pag. 773.

(44) He is called Abbé de Ville. See Nouvelle des Lettres, for July 1686. Art. 8.

(45) The Title imports, that it was at Cologne, by Abraham du Bois.

rather another should damn himself, than that themselves should pass for notorious Calumniators. See what a Modern Author says upon this (39).

[L] He has been advanced to the Post of Squire to the Goliath Peter Jurieu.] They, who place Mr Arnould at the Head of the *Vaudois*, certainly affront him less, than They, who represent him as Squire to the Goliath *Jurieu*. This the Bishop of Malaga did, in his *Catholic Complaint*, by applying, as well as he could, to these two famous Writers, a Thought of St Bernard, in relation to Peter Abelard, and Arnould of Bresse (40); which gives him an opportunity of drawing this Conclusion: "Illi qui modo furrexerunt, novus Goliath, & ejus armiger, PETRUS scilicet, & ARNALDUS, facili negotio exterminabuntur. — They, who have lately arisen, The new Goliath, and his Armour-Bearer, to wit, PETER, and ARNALDUS, will be easily exterminated." The Public has seen the Letter, which Mr Arnould wrote to this Prelate, wherein he tells him, that his Highness (41) must needs have been strangely imposed upon, to be told "that Dr Arnould was Squire to Mr Jurieu, the Goliath of the Protestants against the Catholic Party; for, continues he, if your Highness had known This Arnould, you could not have been capable of so great an Error in Judgment, as to take Two of the most declared Enemies in the World to be of the same Party, and to mistake Him, who has zealously supported the Cause of the Church against That Minister, for his Associate and Confident in the cruel War, which he wages against the Church." It is certain, that the two Authors, who have been taken, the one for a Goliath, and the other for his Squire, are both so far from being such, that it is not more false, that Mr Arnould assisted at the Conference of Bourc-Fontaine, or at the Nocturnal Meetings of the Wizards, or at the Irruptions of the *Vaudois*, than that he is the Squire of the Goliath Peter Jurieu. Nothing, then, can be more cold, or more remote from Truth, than the Allusions borrowed from the Passage of St Bernard.

This is what the pretended Goliath has reproached the Author of the *Catholic Complaint* with, no less than the pretended Squire. "If This Bishop, says he (42), had been of a discerning Taste, his violent Invektives would not have turned upon the silly Allusion to the Names of Arnould of Bresse, and Peter Abelard; meaning, that Monsieur Arnould is the Successor of Arnould of Bresse, and the Minister Peter Jurieu of Peter Abelard. He would not have called That Minister the Goliath-Enemy of the Church, and Arnould his Squire. That Arnould and This Minister are too much at variance, to conspire together: Besides, Mr Arnould is of a fitter Age, Size, and Strength, to be the Goliath, than the Squire. This He also pretends to, and no one will dispute the Honour of it with him."

I must here note a small Defect of Memory in Mr Arnould. He complains (43), that, after the weak Comparison of Arnould of Bresse with Arnould of Paris, and of Peter Abelard with Peter Jurieu, they make the Bishop of Malaga say, that This Doctor was the Goliath of the Party, and the Minister his Squire. We have seen, that he has been made to say quite the contrary.

[M] It has been said, that he was banished France.] A Doctor of the Sorbonne (44), a Savoyard by Nation, maintained, in a Book intitled *Reasonable Prejudices against Janfenism*, printed at Geneva in 1686 (45), that Mr Arnould had been banished France by the King's Order. The following Words, in the Advertisement to the Reader, import this: *I thought I could not speak the whole Truth, without blaming the Conduct of this old Puritan, who, by the JUSTICE of the MOST CHRISTIAN KING, is a FUGITIVE in Holland*. It is, nevertheless, certain, that he voluntarily quitted the Kingdom; and it cannot be doubted, after the Letters, which he wrote, in 1679, to the Chancellor, Mr le Tellier, and to the Archbishop of Paris, printed in the first Volume of the *Espit de Mr Arnould*, in the Year 1684. So that it is strange, that two Years after, the Abbot de Ville should be ignorant of a Truth, exposed to public View, in a Satire, for which there has been so great a Demand. But it is

yet more strange, that, in the Year 1690, Mr Arnould should be obliged to get These two Letters printed, in order to confute Those, who published every where, that he was a Rebel to his King, and that he had been banished France, as a turbulent Fellow (46). I believe the Author of the *Espit* has reported a no less Falshood, in maintaining, *That he was expelled Flanders. 'Tis this good Man*, continues he (47), *thinks his Adventures are unknown, yet we have certain Intelligence, that he was expelled the Netherlands by order of The Governour*. The Term *Chasser*, which the Author of the General Criticism on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism makes use of, is a little equivocal. *They have reported*, says he (48), *that Mr Arnould's House was a Rendezvous of disaffected Persons; that caballing and seditious Conferences were held there; that they prepared Memoirs there for the Court of Rome; is a word, they have gained their Point, which was to expel him * with the rest of the Cabal*. This means no more, than that they procured certain Orders to be sent to Mr Arnould, which were the cause that he made choice of a Retreat in a foreign Country.

[N] He is said to have wrote an Apology for the Catholics, only to recover his Benefice.] Mr Jurieu was grossly mistaken, when he said, that Mr Arnould had wrote the Apology for the Catholics, in hopes of being restored to his native Country, that he might peaceably enjoy his Estate, and Benefices (49), and that the fear of having his Benefices confiscated engaged him in some false Steps. This could not be better refuted by a Geometrical Demonstration, than by the public Declaration, which Mr Arnould made, that he never had a Benefice; for it can never enter into the Mind of a reasonable Man, that a Doctor so jealous of his Reputation, as he is, and who could not expect to escape the most mortifying Confusion, if he falsely denied, that he ever had a Benefice, when he really had enjoyed one, should venture to publish such a Falshood in a printed Work. We need, then, only cast our Eyes on these Words of Mr Arnould, to be demonstratively convinced of his Adversary's Falshood.

"The seditious manner, says he (50), in which they presumed to speak of the Affairs of That Country, obliged the Ambassador of his Britannic Majesty to demand of the States a Condemnation of the most Vehement of their Libels, to which they were pleased to give the Title of *Espit de Mr Arnould*; tho' perhaps I am the least ill treated in it of a great Number of Persons, whom they pull to pieces, without their having any relation to me, but what is either Ridiculous or Imaginary; having almost nothing to reproach me with, but secret Intentions, often grounded on manifest Falshoods: As, when they say, that it was not out of Regard to Religion, that I wrote the Apology for the Catholics, but upon a Prospect of Interest, and for fear of losing my Benefice; I, WHO, ALL THE WORLD KNOWS, HAVE NONE." Thus he speaks, in a Letter dated the Twentieth of October 1684. He speaks no less positively in a Work printed in 1689. "As for the

Book falsely entitled *Espit de Mr Arnould*, he (51) never had any thoughts of answering it; for, it having been sent him some time after it appeared, in opening each Volume in several places, he met with such things, as sufficiently acquainted him with This Minister's Genius; for instance, That idle Calumny (52), that they suffered the Children of Quality of twelve or thirteen Years of Age, who studied Humanity at Port-Royal, to read the Socinian Books; and another no less ridiculous, tho' less heinous; that Mr Arnould, who has NO BENEFICE, AND WHO NEVER SOUGHT ANY, wrote the Apology for the Catholics to preserve his Benefices. He concludes from hence, that so passionate and unreasonable a Calumniator, being unworthy of Credit, deserved no answer, and from that time till now he never read a word in the Book, before your Defence appeared (53)." So that what the Latins express by the Proverb, *Cantherius in porta*, has happened to the Author of the *Espit de Mr Arnould*: He has stumbled at the very Threshold.

Note, That Mr Arnould had once a Canonship in the Cathedral of Verdun, when he began his Licence in

(46) Quæst. Curieuse, pag. 212.

(47) *Espit de Mr Arnould*, Tom. 1. pag. 38.

(48) Letter V.

* le CHASSER.

(49) *Espit de Mr Arnould*, Tom. 1. pag. 34.

(50) The second Addition to the Apology for the Catholics, p. 140.

(51) It is of Himself that Mr Arnould speaks.

(52) See the Refutation of this Story in Mr Arnould's Dissertation on the pretended Happiness of the Pious, printed in 1687.

(53) Tom. III, de la Morale Pratique.

Books have been ascribed to him, which he never wrote [O]. I shall take notice of some of them; and I doubt not but many others may be pointed out. His Silence has

(54) Prefat. Cause Arnouldine, p. viii.

(55) Ibid. pag. xix.

in the Year 1638 (54), but he quitted This Benefice a little before he received Deacons Orders in the Year 1641 (55).

[O] Several Books have been ascribed to him, which he never wrote.] I shall divide this Remark into four Sections.

PERPETUITY of the Faith. A Dispute between Mess. Arnould and Claudi.

I. Without observing the Order of Time; As the first Falshood in relation to the Books ascribed to him, I shall mention That, which regards *The Perpetuity of the Faith*. For This Book has given occasion to the most famous Dispute, that was ever raised between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. Mr Claudi, who was Advocate for the latter, has gained the greatest Honour by it, that ever Minister gained: And Mr Arnould, who was principal Advocate for the former, perhaps never exerted the whole Force of his Genius with more Application, than on this Occasion. All that wait Wit, Eloquence, Reading, and Logic, can furnish of shining and strong, appeared on both sides in the Course of the Dispute; Each Party claims the Victory; nor can all the Pains and Expence, which the Port-Royal has been at, to procure a great Number of Attestations from the Levant, avail any thing against the Persuasions of the Reformed, touching the Faith of the Christians of Those Parts, with regard to the Eucharist. The Ignorance, which reigns among Those Christians, the ill Character of the Greek Nation, Time out of Mind, in Point of Sincerity, the mercenary Subscriptions, of which they are thought capable (56), &c. enervate, in the Eyes of Protestants, all the Attestations, which the Port-Royal has produced. But this does not prevent the Controversy's being looked upon (setting aside the Prejudices of Party) as one of the most memorable and glorious Transactions of Mr Arnould's Life. I had reason, then, to begin this Remark with the first Exploit of this great Contest.

(56) See, below, Remark [5].

(57) A. B. R.D.L.D.P. ubi ita, A-bel Rotolp, de la Devezze, Pasteur. He was formerly Minister at Castrès, and now at the Hague.

I could wish, that the Author, who has given us a good Abridgment of the Life of Mr Claudi (57), had, with the utmost Exactness, noted the Epoch of This War, since Mr Claudi has not dated the Preface of his first Book. This Defect may deceive several Persons; for example, I have Mr Claudi's first Answer, printed at Paris, by Stephen Lucas, in 1672. The Title does not inform me, whether it be the first or second Edition; and, in the first Line of the Preface, I find, that the Dispute had been depending about four Years, and that it was a Year since the Manuscript, which had been communicated at that time to Mr Claudi, was printed. Till I have better information, I find myself almost invincibly inclined to pass this false Judgment, that the *Perpetuity of the Faith* was printed the first time, in the Year 1671. In saying This, I am aware, that One is often mistaken in Conjectures of this kind, when the requisite Date is not prefixed to the Prefaces. My Edition of the *Perpetuity of the Faith* is the Fourth, and is of the Year 1666; but I am informed by it of the Date of the first; for I find, at the bottom of the Abstract of the Licence, that the first Edition of This Book was finished the fifteenth of July 1664. Mr Claudi's first Answer seems to me to be of the Year 1666 (58). The Author of his Life, not thinking exact Dates necessary in an Abridgment, was the Occasion, that the learned Men, who wrote the Journal of *Leipfic*, to the great Benefit of the Republic of Letters, and with much Honour to their City, which may justly be called the *Athens of Germany*, were mistaken with regard to the first Writings of this Minister. They pretend, that his first Answer to the *Perpetuity of the Faith* was printed, before he served the Church of Montauban (59); but the Truth is, The First and Second were both printed at the same time, after the first had been handed about, for four or five Years, in Manuscript, and after he had left Montauban. But to return to the Fact;

(58) That is, according to the Book-feller's anticipated Date; for I believe the Book came out in 1665.

(59) Acta Erudit. Lipsienf. 1083, pag. 639.

Mr de la Devezze does not affirm, that the *Perpetuity of the Faith* is a Work of Mr Arnould; but is satisfied with saying, that he is supposed to have been the Author of it. The Journalists of *Leipfic* keep within the same Bounds (60); but, in the Supplement of *Moreri*, in which is a very long Article of CLAUDE, taken in part from the Abridgment of his Life, it is

(60) Acta Erudit. Lipsienf. 1613, pag. 441. sicq. affert it.

positively affirmed, that Mr Arnould is the Author of the *Perpetuity of the Faith*. In the mean time, the most common and probable Opinion ascribes This Work to Mr Nicolle, the Three large Volumes of the *Perpetuity defended* to Mr Arnould, and the General Answer to the second Book of Mr Claudi to Mr Nicolle. The *Question curieuse* says nothing positively of it; because the Catalogue, which we find in it, of the Writings of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal against the Protestants, does not distinguish Those of Mr Nicolle from Those of Mr Arnould.

Observe, that the first Volume of the *Perpetuity defended* was printed in the Year 1669, and that the Author, having hesitated for a Year, whether he should answer Mr Claudi's Book, began to do it in January 1667, and finished The first Volume in June 1668 (61). Observe also, that it is ascribed to Mr Arnould in some of the Approbations at the Head of the Work. This is sufficient to remove all uncertainty.

II. The Author of the *Espit de Mr Arnould* ascribes the second Volume of the *Moral Pratique* to This Doctor, but gives no manner of reason for it. Mr Arnould gave him the Lye publicly. "It is certain, says he (62), that Mr Arnould is not the Author of the *Moral Pratique*. The Jesuits have ascribed it to him — on the Faith of Mr Jurieu only; a Person decried for his Falshood and Lying, and who alone ascribes This Book to "Mr Arnould, as he does many other Pieces, in which every one else knows he never had the least share." From That time the Accuser never endeavoured to justify what he had said; so that Equity must judge it to be a false Imputation. The Proofs must needs be very difficult, since the Bishop of Malaga speaks but doubtfully of it, on the sole Authority of Mr Jurieu; for he says (63): *modo fit ARNALDUS, ut innuit PETRUS JURIEU in suo SPIRITU. — If ARNALDUS be the Person, as PETER JURIEU intimates in his SPIRITUS*. The Author of the *Defence of the new Christians*, who is thought to be Father le Tellier, one of the best Pens of the Order, was more decisive, than the Prelate, though he seems to have no other Authority than Mr Jurieu: For which Mr Arnould gives him a smart Reprimand, and accuses him of judging rashly; which wounds Charity and Justice, if the Circumstances of it be well considered. The only Reason, adds he (64), why you make him the Author of it, is the Testimony of a Man, who, in your own Esteem, is unworthy of Credit, and so notorious for his Falshoods, that he is only fit to call the clearest Truths in question, when he advances them.

THE second Tome of the *Morale Pratique* — Practical Morality.

(62) Letter of a Divine, on the Defence of the new Christians, pag. 2.

(63) Catholic. Quer. m. pag. 103.

(64) *Morale Pratique*, Tom. III. pag. 36.

III. The Journal of *Leipfic* ascribes *The Lawful Prejudices against the Calvinists* to Mr Arnould (65). Yet, according to the general Opinion of Those, who are best informed in these Particulars, Mr Nicolle is the Author of it; and the Abbot de Ville ascribes it to him by Name (66), in the Preface of the Book before-mentioned; where he retorts on the Gentlemen of Port-Royal the Prejudices, which they made use of against the Reformed. The Proof, which the Gentlemen of *Leipfic* employ, is not a good one; for, tho' the Bishop of Condom, and He of Grenoble, give their Approbation, in One and the same Act, to the *Prejugex Legitimes*, and three other Books, one of which is certainly Mr Arnould's, yet they do not suppose, that the others are so too. They were joined together, because they came all four from the Port-Royal at the same time. These four Books; are the *Prejugex Legitimes* — *Lawful Prejudices*; the *Reponse Generale à M. Claudi*; — *General Answer to Mr Claudi*; the *Renversement de la Morale*, — *Overthrow of the Morality*; and the second Volume of the *Perpetuite defendue*, — *Perpetuity defended*.

PARJURE Legitimes — Lawful Prejudices.

(65) Acta Erudit. Ann. 1683, pag. 438, 450, and in the Index, p. 561. Anna. 1690, pag. 18, 595.

(66) Fyni-fake he calls him Nicol. which is justly ascribed, says he, to Mr Nicol, one of the most polite Writers of Port-Royal.

IV. In the Year 1669, A Work called *A Defence of the Church*, against Mr Claudi's Book, intituled, *A Defence of the Reformation*, was printed at Antwerp (67). The Journalists of *Leipfic* conjectured, that it was a Piece of Mr Arnould's (68); but it came from another Hand, viz. from Peter d'Antecourt, a Religious of St Genevieve, and Chancellor of the University of Paris, as another excellent Journalist informs us (69).

THE Defence of the Church.

(67) The 77. le Page imports, at Cologne, for Peter Marteau.

1690, pag. 18, and in the Index, pag. 611. (69) History of the Works of the Learned, August, 1689, pag. 514; September, 1689, pag. 34.

(68) Acta Erudit. Ann. the Works

has been imputed to a false Reason [P]. Some have given him Spectacles, and a faithless Servant [Q]. The chief Works, written by him, since his quitting France, relate to the System of Nature and Grace, by Father Mallebranche; the *Philosophical Sin*; the Practical Morality of the Jesuits; and some Propositions of Mr Steyart. In this last Book, he vigorously attacks Father Simon, in defence of the New Testament of Mons, and in relation to the Inspiration of the Sacred Writers, and the Translations of the Scripture into the Vulgar Tongue [R]; as also in favour of the Attestations

I pass by an Error of the Jesuit Papebroch; which is That of ascribing the Books, which have appeared under the Name of *Petrus Aurelius*, to Mr Arnauld. *Petrus Aurelius vero nomen est Antonius Arnauldus* (70). I know not what to say to a Fact, which I have met with in a Pamphlet (71), intitled, *A Defense of the Mandate of my Lord the Bishop of Arras, of the thirtieth of December, 1697, against a Libel intitled, The ancient Heresy of the Jesuits renewed*, &c. The Author of the Defence pretends to prove, that the *Jansenists* have acknowledged the Authority of the Church in determining the Sense of a Book. And This is what he says at the Twenty fourth Page; "Among several, whom I could produce, I shall content myself with one Author, who may serve instead of all the rest. It is Mr Arnauld, the Head and Oracle of *Jansenism*. After having, in the fourth Part of the Apology for the Nuns of Port-Royal, exceeded all that ever has been said against the Infallibility of the Church, in ascertaining the Sense of Books; and, in a new Work, in defence of the Apology, and others of his Writings, being reduced to an Impossibility of justifying himself from the Reflexion cast upon him, that his Arguments tended to destroy the Certainty of Tradition; he found himself necessitated, in spite of himself, to make this important and decisive Acknowledgment, which ruined, in a few Lines, all his Labours for so many Years. "There are certain Matters of Fact, says this Writer", "from which the Truth of a Doctrine must necessarily be concluded: And these are They, which contain the Tradition of the Church. For instance, from the Fathers having unanimously taught, that such a Doctrine is Matter of Faith, it follows, that this Doctrine is Matter of Faith — and thus it is plain, that the Church being infallible in the Decision of Doctrines, she is likewise so in the Decision of such Facts, as necessarily follow from those Doctrines, and which are the necessary means, by which she attains to the Knowledge of the Truths of Faith. Thus far Mr Arnauld." This is clear and express. It is positively affirmed, that The Apology for the Nuns, and the Confutation of one of Father Annat's Books are two of our Doctor's Pieces. I do not pretend to deny it; though, on the one side, the Style of the Apology seems to me more correct than His, and on the other, less lively, and less vehement. This Apology is a pretty large Quarto, divided into four Parts, and printed in 1665. Observe, by the way, the Fate of Disputes: It scarce ever happens, in supporting an Opinion, that we are at full Liberty to make use of Maxims, which are purely universal. We have some other Opinions to manage, which oblige us to Restrictions; but This is a very inconvenient Restraint; for The Adversary makes his Advantage of our Exceptions. This supplies him with Arguments *ad hominem*, and gives him great Advantage; and it is, generally, by this Means, that he recovers himself, after he has been fairly thrown. The *Jansenists* are an Example of This in the Apology for the Mandate of the Bishop of Arras. I would willingly see how they will get off. Both Parties are Sufferers in this Affair. The Infallibility of the Church cannot be maintained as to Facts; and, unless this be admitted, one is exposed to a thousand Inconveniences. As to the Book *des deux chefs qui n'en font qu'un*; — Of two Heads, which make but one; I shall speak of it in another Place. It is a Work falsely ascribed to Mr Arnauld. This Imputation is in an anonymous Piece, printed in the Year 1688, and supposed to be Father le Tellier's. The Title of it is *An Apologetical Letter for Mr Arnauld, &c.* It would be more reasonable to say, that the Doctrine itself, of the two Heads which make but one, was maintained by the Doctor of the Sorbonne, in the Preface to his Book

of *Frequent Communion*; but even This wants Proof. See the *Abridged History of his Life* (72).

[P] His Silence has been imputed to a false Reason.] The Difficulties proposed to Mr Steyart make it appear, that the Author of the *Voyage to the World of Des Cartes* had not exactly consulted the Period of Time, as to the Quarrel between Mr Arnauld and Father Mallebranche, when he said, that the first engaged in it purely to have a Pretence for not answering two Books, which had appeared against him, one composed by a Minister, and the other by a Jesuit. It must be confessed, that the Public is scarce yet recovered from the Astonishment, which the first Year's Silence of this Doctor raised with regard to these two Books; but it is certain, whatever the subtle and polite Traveller to the New World may say of it, that he was engaged with Father Mallebranche, before the *Espriu de Mr Arnauld*, and the Observations of Father le Tellier, appeared (73). I must not dissemble, that the Reasons Mr Arnauld gave for this Silence pleased some; but they are very far from pleasing all Readers. I have already cited a Passage, which relates to these Reasons (74); here is another; "As for Mr Jurieu, he is become so famous all over Europe for Slander and Calumny, that he is no longer able to hurt Those, whom he attacks. I know that two Persons, both Protestants, have wrote to Mr Arnauld about him, as a Man decried among his own Party, and whose Passions have made them ashamed of him; and that they have offered to send him Memoirs, which would discover what he is. But it is no wonder Mr Arnauld did not take them at their Word, or that he would not throw away his Time in writing against a Man formidable only by Abuse and Slander (76)." He immediately produces some Facts, which he pretends were nothing but monstrous Calumnies, published by This Minister. The Reasons he gives for his Silence, as to Father le Tellier (77), have satisfied but few Persons.

[Q] Some have given him Spectacles, and a faithless Servant.] The Writings published on a Correspondence by Letter between a pretended Arnauld, and a Professor of Douay, contain Matters, which may be thought à propos to a Work of this kind; however I shall only observe the manner, in which Mr Arnauld refutes the Complaint imputed to him of having been robbed by his Servant, and being scarce able, by reason of his great Age, to read a small Character. How could I complain of a Servant, says he, who robbed and betrayed me; I, who never had any, but what were very faithful, and who have had none at all for twelve Years past, since I left Paris (78). In a Note on Mr de Ligny's Letter, it is said, That Mr Arnauld never made use of Spectacles, and that he could read the smallest Character as easily as the largest. These are little Particulars, which deserve to be communicated to Those, who are curious in the History of illustrious Persons. As to the Intrigue of the False Arnauld, it is one of the finest Comedies, has ever been acted; and had as much Success as the Authors could expect. Perhaps there is no Instance of a Mortality, which, in so short a Time, swept away so many Professors in a University, as This Affair did in That of Douay; perhaps no Discharge ever cleared the Ranks so well. This may serve to put us in Mind of these Words of the Psalmist; *And Thou shalt renew the Face of the Earth*.

[R] He vigorously attacks Father Simon, in Defence of — The Inspiration of the Sacred Writers, and the Translations of the Scripture.] I have elsewhere (80) produced two Propositions of the Jesuits, which were censured by the Faculties of Divinity of Lowain and Douay. They are Propositions, which seem to limit or qualify the Inspiration of the Scriptures. Upon this, Mr Simon took part against the Censors (81), and was refuted

(70) Papebroch. *Eliensis Histor. Actor. in Controversia Carnolica*, pag. 135.

(71) Printed at Cologne, by Van Buning, 1708. It contains 57 Pages in 12mo.

* Refutation of a Book of Father P. Annat, &c. pag. 5.

(72) Page 85, &c.

(73) See the Difficulties proposed to Mr Steyart, Part I, pag. 59, &c.

(74) Above, Citat. (53).

(75) It is at the 23rd Page of the 3^d Tome of the *Morale Pratique*.

(76) Diffutation on the pretended Happiness of the Pleasures of Sense, pag. 122.

(77) *Morale Pratique*, Tom. III, p. 266, 267.

(78) *Premiere Plainte*, pag. 9.

(80) In the Article FATHER ADAM, a little before Citation (9).

(81) See Chap. 23, 24, of The Critical History of the New Testament.

Attestations of the Greeks [S], &c. — He died in the Night between the eighth and ninth of August 1694, Aged Eighty two Years, six Months, and two Days. At this great Age, he received two signal and uncommon Favours from Heaven; for the Sickness, of which he died, continued but a Week, more or less, and never prevented his saying, or hearing, Mass, and rebearding his *Breviary almost at the ordinary Hours* (l). His Agony was mild, calm, and short. On the other Hand, he had as great strength of Mind, and Memory, and wrote as well the last Year of his Life, as at forty or fifty Years of Age. These are Blessings, which rarely attend learned Men. Some few Months before his Death, he wrote four Letters against Father Mallebranche (m), and one to his old Friend Mr du Bois, full of *Reflexions on the Eloquence of Preachers* (n). The Public has seen these last Works, and found no signs in them of a declining Judgment. Mr du Bois did not long survive either his Admission into the French Academy, or the reading of these Reflexions, from which he might have learned, that he understood nothing of St Austin's Rules concerning the Eloquence of the Pulpit (o). I question whether the Public will ever see what Mr Arnauld wrote, about the same time, in Favour of Mr Boileau [T]; I doubt not but his Letter to him is admirable. There

(l) Abridg'd History of Mr Arnauld, p. 279.

(m) See the Journal des Scavans, of the 28th of June, 1684.

(n) Abridg'd History, pag. 294.

(o) What he has said on this Subject, is to be found in the Preface to his French Translation of some Sermons of St Austin. See the Journal des Scavans, of the 7th of June, 1694.

(82) Printed at Paris, in 1695, in 4to.

(83) In the New Observations on the Text, and Versions, of the New Testament, from pag. 46, to pag. 584.

refuted by Mr Arnauld, from page 113, to page 236, of the *Difficulties proposed to Mr Stoyaert*. He defended himself in his *New Observations on the Text and Versions of the New Testament* (82), from Page 33, to 91. Many Things may be learned, by exactly comparing the Reasons of the one with Those of the other. It is well known, that, of all the Catholic Writers, Mr Arnauld was the Man, who most learnedly and solidly supported the Usefulness of the Translations of The Scripture. What he said, as to the Reason of the thing, on this Subject, is admirable: And what he has said as to Fact; I mean, to shew, that, in the Intention of the Church, the Laity were never excluded from reading the Word of God in the Vulgar Tongue, is fine and curious; but if you read Mr Simon's Answer (83) attentively, you will not know what to think as to the Church's Opinion in This Matter. The Sentiments of Doctors, the Judgments of Universities, and Mandates of Prelates, in a Word, the public Acts alledged on both sides, form such a strange Variety, and especially when we examine the Motives and Principles laid down by Those who condemn, and Those who allow of, the reading the Translations, that, upon the whole, the People, according to the Church's Intention, ought to be both forbid, and permitted, to read the Holy Scriptures. There are few Facts, which may be more easily reduced to historical Pyrrhonism, than This Question: *Does the Church disapprove, or approve, the reading of the Scripture, in the Vulgar Tongue, by the Laity?* How strange is it, that no positive Decision can be given of this Question, either in the Negative or Affirmative? Should not a Body, which boasts of Infallibility, be more uniform in it's Proceedings? Mr Arnauld would, with the Torrent of his Eloquence and Learning, carry away a great Number of Readers to a Belief, that the Church of Rome was calumniated, when it was so often reproached with prohibiting the Laity the reading of the Word of God; I say he would induce them to believe this, did not Mr Simon oppose his Banks to These Torrents. Thus, in the same Communion, one Doctor defeats the Labours of another: The common Enemy makes his Advantage of this, and has reason to cry out;

Sæpe, premente Deo, fert Deus alter opem.

Oppress'd by One, Another God befriends.

[S] — As also in favour of the Attestations of the Greeks. I have observed before (84), that the Protestants despised them, as things easily obtained from That mercenary Nation. "Emendaticis undique per Legatos Regios, Consules, Missionarios, Græcorum hac de re testimoniiis, a quibus nihil non pretio extorqueas (85). — Attestations of the Greeks, of whom Money will buy any thing, having been begged up and down by Ambassadors, Consuls, and Missionaries. Mr Arnauld produced several Attestations from Greek Priests, to shew, that, in this Point, they followed the Doctrine of the Romish Church; but it is, nevertheless, true, that most of them were obtained by Money. Mr Wheeler affirms, that, in his Travels thro' Greece, he spoke with several Papas, whom Mr de Nointel, Nephew of Mr Arnauld, endeavoured to corrupt in

"this manner (86)." Here are two Evidences of the Fact I had asserted. Note, that Mr de Nointel was not Mr Arnauld's Nephew. They call him so there, in all probability, from having read, in Mr Claude's Answer (87), that Mr de Pomponne, Nephew to Mr Arnauld, and at that time Ambassador in Sweden, had procured him Materials. However it be, Mr Simon confessed, that there were even Catholics, who did not rely on this great Number of Attestations (88), and he assigns the reason of their Doubts. Mr Arnauld examines all this with extraordinary Zeal, and gives the Sum of what he had replied to Spanhemius, in his Apology for the Catholics (89).

[T] What Mr Arnauld wrote in Favour of Mr Boileau. The Criticism on the tenth Satire of Boileau (90), falling into Mr Arnauld's Hands, put him upon "writing a Differtation, in the form of a Letter, in which he undertook the Defence of the Satire, with That Force of Wit, and Style, which never failed him: The Party for the Ancients was proud of it; and this occasioned Boileau's writing Those fine Verses on Mr Arnauld, in which he prefers the Apology, which This Doctor wrote, for his Satire to all the Honours he enjoyed, and even to That of being the King's Historiographer. — The rigid *Jansenists*, or the Rigidists, were not pleased with this last Piece of Mr Arnauld. What! a Doctor, grown grey in serious and grave Disputes, to write, at above Eighty Years of Age, of Poetry, Women, and Romances! How unbecoming! The Party were vexed at it, and whispered, that their Head demeaned himself. Poetry, as they represented it, was a frivolous Art, which ought not to have employed the Thoughts of so great a Genius for a Moment. This came to Boileau's Ears; upon which he set about his Poem Of the Love of God, to shew, that Poetry can reach the most sublime Subjects." These Particulars have been communicated to me by a Person of great Wit and Learning (91), very well known to Boileau. Let us here produce a Passage, in the tenth Epistle of This great Poet, where he addresses himself to his own Verses.

Mais des heureux regards de mon Astre étonnant
Marquéz bien cet effet encor plus surprenant;
Qui dans mon souvenir aura toujours sa place:
Que de tant d'Ecrivains de l'Ecole d'Ignace
Étant, comme je suis, ami fi déclaré,
Ce Docteur toutefois si craint, si révéré,
Qui contre Eux de sa plume épuise l'énergie,
Arnaud, le grand Arnaud, fit mon apologie (92).
Sur mon tombeau futur, mes Vers, pour l'énoncer (93),
Courrez en lettres d'or de ce pas vous placer.
Alléz jusqu'où l'Aurore en naissant void l'Hydaspe,
Chercher, pour l'y graver, le plus précieux jalpe.
Sur-tout à mes Rivaux sachez bien l'étaler.

But observe the still more surprising Effect of the happy Influence of my wonderful Star; an Effect, which shall ever hold it's Place in my Memory; that, being a declared Friend, as I am, to so many Writers of St Ignace's Province,

(86) Bibliothèque universelle, Tom. XI, p. 445.

(87) Claude's Answer to Preliminary Discourse, Book IV, chap. III, pag. 48.

(88) In his Critical History of the Faith of the Levant.

(89) Difficulties proposed to Mr Stoyaert, Par. 6, pag. 276, &c.

Boileau inserted it in his Edition of 1722. This Piece has appeared since, in all the subsequent Editions.

(90) It is his Satire against Women.

(91) Mr. Marais, Advocate in the Parliament of Paris.

(92) Mr Arnauld wrote a Differtation, in which he is to be seen my Countryman, and in his last Work.

(93) It is this in the Edition I made of his Poems, published in June 1700 of the United Kingdom's Province.

(p) Prefat.
Cause Ar-
naud pag.
ix. See the
Abridg'd
History of
his Life, pag.
20.

There is another Happiness to be considered in his Life, which surpasses Those I have observed; to wit, his having always been very exact in the Practice of the Exercises of Piety, which his Priesthood required of him; and, what is yet more difficult, his abstaining, in his very Youth, from sensual Pleasures, and ever preserving a Purity of Manners, without Taint or Blemish (p). It does not appear, that his Adversaries ever attacked him on this Head; tho', in point of Orthodoxy, they have endeavoured to defame him all manner of ways. If the reading of bad Books could produce the same Effect in the Minds of all young Persons, as it did in his, it would not be amiss to recommend it to them [U]. The Protestations he has made of his Adherence to the true Faith, and of his Zeal for God, appear in several parts of his Works, particularly in the *Spiritual Testament* [X], which he made, the sixteenth of September 1679, wherein he calls God to witness with what Dispositions he engaged in writing such and such Books. The Court of Rome did, at last, acknowledge his Merit [Y]; and it was purely his own fault, that he was not a Cardinal. It is unnecessary to observe, that he opposed all relaxation of Morality, and that he was always a Teacher and Director of Austerity. It appeared, indeed, that he swerved a little from the strait Path, in an Affair, which gave occasion to a *Fatum*, or Case, of Mr Des-Lyons [Z]. Note, that the Place, where he died, is unknown. It is believed

TO

tius's School, This Doctor, so ever dreaded, and revered, who exhausts the whole Force of his Pen against them, Arnould, I say, the Great Arnould, writes my Apology. My Muse, inscribe this Event in Letters of Gold on his future Tomb. Fetch from the distant East, where Aurora, rising, salutes the Hyades, the most precious Jasper, to engrave it. But be particularly careful to display it to my Rivals.

[U] If the reading of bad Books could produce the same Effect in the Minds of all young Persons, as it did in his, it would not be amiss to recommend it to them. This is his own Account of this Matter. "I remember to have formerly read (when I was very young) in a Book, entitled, if I remember right, *The Muses Rally'd*, something very wicked on this Subject. The Poet glories in having obtained, what he could not ask without a Crime; and the Reason he gives for obtaining his Desire is altogether abominable. It was, Because, says he, the Lady had too solid a Judgment, not to look upon *Those old Stories of Honour, which arise in the Brains of married Men and Mothers, as meer Chimeras*. I am certain, that what is here in *Italic* was in His Verses. For I was so greatly shocked at it, that it has ever since remained in my Mind. This Poet, then, must have supposed, that nothing but the Consideration of Honour could have prevented This Lady's satisfying his Desires; and that she had got over This Consideration by the Force of Reason (94)."

(94) Arnould's Cinquieme de noncation du peche philosophique, pag. 57, 58.

[Y] *The Court of Rome did, at last, acknowledge his Merit*. Pope Clement X, having read some of Mr Arnould's Works, commended them extremely, and declared, that the Author would do him a great Pleasure, if he would send him Copies of them, or deliver them to his Nuncio (95). Cardinal Altieri, who had shewed the Pope these Books, could not sufficiently commend the Author, and often concluded his Praises with this honourable Testimony: Mr Arnould has done the Church great Service; it were to be wished, that Death would never deprive it of such a Man. — *De Ecclesia optime meritis est Arnouldus; optandum esset, ut talem virum mors illi nunquam ereptura esset* (96). The Esteem and Affection of Innocent XI for This Doctor is not unknown to the Public. See the Letter, which he caused to be written to him by Cardinal Cibo, the second of January, 1677; it is printed at the end of the Letter, which Mr Arnould wrote to the Bishop of Malaga, the second of December, 1683. There is also a Letter of Mr Favoriti, That Pope's Secretary, dated from Rome the third of April, 1680, which contains great Commendations of him, and lively Expressions of the Pope's Grief, on account of the Persecutions of Mr Arnould (97). He had an Intention of promoting him to the Purple; and it was wholly the Doctor's Fault, that it was not done, "De Arnaldo in purpuratum Procerum Ordinem adlegendo aliquando Sanctitatem suam committit, est certum est; pluribus notum, nollem

(95) Prefat.
Cause Arnould, p. LXX.

(96) Ibid.
pag. LX.

(97) Ibid.

"tamen hic commemorare, nisi Eminentissimus Cardinalis intimorum Romanæ Aulæ consiliorum testis locuples, id nuper Parisiis evulgasset, afferissetque per unum Arnaldum stetit quominus is Eminentissima illa dignitate ornaretur (98). — *Though the Intention of his Holiness to have made Arnould a Cardinal be certain, and known to many, yet I should have taken no Notice of it here, had not a very Eminent Cardinal, who is perfectly acquainted with the Councils of the Court of Rome, of late publicly declared it at Paris, and asserted, that Arnould might, if he pleased, have been invested with That high Dignity.*" Alexander VIII, who had a great Kindness and Esteem for Mr Arnould, before he was Pope, did not alter his Dispositions, after he was raised to St Peter's Chair. He granted him some Favours, and would have done him many more, if he had lived longer, and Mr Arnould had given him Opportunities of doing it (99).

(98) Ibid.
pag. LXXI.

Take notice, that the Bishop of Malaga caused almost all the Copies of the first Edition of his *Querimonia Catholica* to be burnt, as soon as he understood, that, without his Privy, Mr Arnould was called an Heretic in it. He, who burnt the Copies with his own Hand, gave a formal Attestation of this (100).

(99) Ibid.
pag. LXXII.

(100) Ibid.
pag. LXXIV.

[Z] He swerved a little from the strait Path, in an Affair, which gave occasion to a *Fatum*, or Case, of Mr Des-Lyons. A Niece of Mr Des-Lyons, Doctor of the Sorbonne, and Dean of Sensis, dexterously engaged Mr Arnould in a Conduict, not altogether to his Honour. She sued her Father; and Arnould patronized her in the Suit as much as possible. This did not become a rigid Calvinist. Besides, she was so whimsical in her Devotions, and of so wrong a Turn, that Mr Arnould had but little of That Faculty, which is called *The Discernment of Spirits*, when he suffered himself to be deceived by This Hypocrite. Mr Jurieu, who had heard of the *Fatum* of Mr Des-Lyons, passionately desired to procure a Copy of it, and applied several Times to a Person, who might have lent it him. He chiefly employed the Bookseller's (101) Intercession, who printed his *Justification of the Morality of the Reformed*, at the Hague, in the Year 1685. This was applying himself to a proper Person; for, if any one could have obtained it, it was doubtless This Bookseller; but The Person, who had the *Fatum* in his Hands, would never part with it to a Writer, whom he knew disposed to draw from it whatever new Matter he could for Insult, and Invective. He was not ignorant, in what manner This Author poisoned every thing, when the Business was to pull Mr Arnould to pieces. Observe the Artifice of Mr Jurieu! Having failed this way, he would persuade the Public, that he set no Value on the Advantage he might have made of This *Fatum*, and had even been so moderate, as voluntarily to renounce it. These are his Words; "To convince the World, that we are not very solicitous in enquiring after every thing, which may serve to render Mr Arnould odious, we omit all that the *Fatum* of Mr Des-Lyons might have supplied us with against him (102)." There are several Falshoods in Prefaces, which pass

(101) He is alive, and perfectly in Health; and any one may require of him, whether I speak the Truth. I wrote this on the 2d of April, 1699.

(102) Jurieu's Preface to the Justification de la Morale des Reformez. Paris, chez la Hague, 1685.

to be a Village in the Country of *Leige*. It is still less known, where he was buried; and this is one point of Conformity, which his Friends have observed, between His Fate, and That of *Moses* (q). He desired, that his Heart might be carried to *Port-Royal* (r). This was accordingly done; but Mr *Santeuil*'s Verses on this Subject raised a furious War [AA]; which gave great Diversion to several Persons. There

(r) *Perrault's Illustrations Men*, p. 57.

WAS

for venial Sins, not only at the Bar of the Republic of Letters, but even at the Bar of the Church; but This can plead Privilege at neither of These Tribunals. The Jesuits did not let the *Fatum* of Mr *Des-Lyons* fall to the Ground; they maliciously weighed the Circumstances of it, and drew Matter of much Reflexion and Railery from it. See a Piece, which is supposed to have come from Father *le Tellier*, and which appeared in the Year 1688, entitled; *An Apologetical Letter for Mr Arnauld, written to an Abbot, a Friend of His, on three of the last Books, which were written against That Doctor*. I. *The Esprit de Mr Arnauld*. II. *Observations on the New Defence of the French Translation of the New Testament printed at Mons*. III. *An Answer of Mr Des-Lyons, Doctor of the Sorbonne, Dean and Prebend of Senlis, to Mr Arnauld's Letters*.

[AA] Mr *Santeuil*'s Verses on this Subject raised a furious War.] The Ladies of *Port-Royal* received Mr *Arnauld*'s Heart, "with all imaginable Transports of Joy, and deposited it in the most honourable Place they could think of. The Heart being thus disposed of, an Epitaph was wanting. No Person was thought more capable of writing one, than Mr *Santeuil*. — As the Business was of a delicate Nature, the Nuns considered, that they must take Mr *Santeuil* at an Advantage. For this Purpose, they invited him to come and pass a few Days at *Port-Royal*, with one of his Brethren, who was its Superior (103); and, during his Abode there, he composed the following Verses.

Ad Sanctas rediit sedes ejectus & exul:
Hosce triumphato, tot tempestatibus actus,
Hoc portu in placido, hac sacra tellure quiescit,
Arnauldus, veri defensor, & arbiter æqui.
Illius ossa memor sibi vindicet externa tellus;
Huc cœlestis amor rapidis cor transtulit alis,
Cor nunquam avulsam, nec amatis sedibus absens (104).

Mr de la Fêmas gave this French Translation of it.

Enfin, après un long voyage,
Arnauld revient en ces saints lieux:
Il est au Port malgré les envieux,
Qui croyoient qu'il seroit naufrage.
Ce Martir de la vérité
Fut banni, fut persécuté,
Et mourut en terre étrangère;
Heureuse, de son corps d'être depositaire,
Mais son cœur toujours ferme, & toujours innocent,
Fut porté par l'amour, à qui tout est possible,
Dans cette retraite paisible,
D'où jamais il ne fut absent (105).

In English thus.

Here rests in ballowed Earth, secure from Spight,
Arnauld, great Arbitrer of Truth and Right;
Arriv'd in Port, and landed safe on Shore,
The Fox subdued, and the wild Tempest o'er.
Tho' in some distant Land his Bones be laid,
His Heart, on rapid Wings by Love convey'd,
Enjoys the dear Retreat, from which it never strays'd.

No sooner were these two Pieces printed together, and dispersed in the World, but the Jesuits complained of Mr *Santeuil*'s Proceedings. — He turned a deaf Ear to them, flattering himself, that the Murmurs, then raised, would insensibly die of themselves (106). But, finding himself attacked in a Piece, supposed to be sent out of the Country (107), — he began to think of making Satisfaction. "He was Thunder-struck, and ran immediately to the Jesuits College, to

beg Pardon in the most humble and moving Terms, conjuring all Those he met with not to undo him; that he had always been a Friend to the Society, and that the Epitaph in question was not His, but had been forged in his Name by his Enemies, to ruin him with the Jesuits. They replied, that they wished what he said were true, but that bare Protections were not sufficient; and that he must undeceive the Public by an authentic Confession; which they required of him, as an Earnest of his Sincerity. He promised all they would have him; but the Difficulty was how to perform his Promise (108). The Flattering Panegyric, which he wrote, on their Society, did not serve his turn (109); they perceived, "the little Artifice, he made use of, to elude his Promise; they treated him as a double Dealer, and a Knave; in a Word, he found himself overwhelmed with Epigrams, which came pouring upon him from all Parts; and in which the young Jesuits of the College, whom he somewhere calls *Pubes Jesuitica Sagittaria*, had no small Share. On the other hand, the *Jansenists* took no less Offence at his Cowardice, than the Jesuits at his Insincerity; and they gave him Marks of it, in a Piece in Burlesque Verse, which they published against him, and which begins,

Santeuil, ce renommé Poëte, &c.

Santeuil, That far fam'd Bard, &c.

"Thus he found himself sadly out in his Reckoning, and perceived, that, by endeavouring to keep fair with all the World, he had disoblged all." Having thoroughly considered the whole Affair, He resolv'd to sacrifice the *Jansenists* to the *Jesuits*, and made an humble Confession of his Fault to These, by Letter; but This would not satisfy them; they demanded a Recantation (110). He was pestered with Epigram upon Epigram, which he received Day after Day (111). He wrote a Letter to Father *la Chaise*, in which he interpreted some Terms of the Epitaph in the softest manner he could. The Answer, he received from this Jesuit, encreased his Disquiet (112). He was obliged to think of a second Apology (113). The Tenderest Point, and That, in which all the Difficulty lay, was his having said of Mr *Arnauld*;

— Istus illo fulmine (Vaticano)

Trabeate Doctor, jam mihi non amplius Arnalde, faperes.

"That is; If you had been struck with the Thunder of the Vatican, I should absolutely have disclaimed you. Now this was saying nothing at all. The Jesuits would have had him put *Sapias*, instead of *Saperes* (for all was brought to the Text, before the Copies were printed off). To have put *Sapias* would have been to have declared Mr *Arnauld* excommunicated and condemned. One of his Friends, with whom he advised about it, gave him a Hint for finding out a Medium between *Saperes* and *Sapias*; which was to put *Sapias*, which might equally be taken in the sense of the other two Words; but he found, that he could not give up the *Saperes*, without offending the *Jansenists*. At last, after long Deliberation, he resolv'd to please each Party as near as possible. He got two kinds of Copies printed; in some of which was *Sapias*, for the Jesuits; telling them, *viva voce*, that he took it in the sense of the *Sapias*; and *Saperes* in the others, "to please the *Jansenists*." To this he added an Explanation of some other Parts of the Epitaph. But he neither satisfied the Jesuits, nor the *Jansenists*. The latter published a very bitter Piece against him (114), and the latter attacked him no less vigorously. At last Father *Commire* entered the Lists. He had lain by hitherto, as a Body of Reserve, "but at last ap-

(108) *History of the Troubles*, caused by Mr *Arnauld*, after his Death.

(109) *Ibid.* p. 10.

(103) *History of the Troubles*, caused by Mr *Arnauld*, after his Death; or The Quarrel between Mr *Santeuil* and the *Jesuits*, p. 8. 5. Edit. 1696.

(104) *Ibid.* p. 40.

(105) *Ibid.* p. 41.

(106) *Ibid.* p. 7.

(107) Entitled, *Santeuil's Vindictatus*.

(114) Entitled, *Santeuil's Pontifical History of the Troubles*, &c. p. 20.

was a great Clamour raised against the Jesuits, for procuring an Order, that Mr *Perrault* should be obliged to suppress the Sheet, in which he celebrated Mr *Arnauld*, in his Collection of the Portraits and Elogies of the Illustrious Men of the French Nation [B B]. I must not forget the Esteem, which this Doctor of the Sorbonne gained with

(114) Ibid.
P. 33.

"peared in the Field of Battle; and, to break off a Dispute, which there was no end of, and to prevent Mr *Santeuil* from so often contradicting himself, he seized him, and put a Gag in his Mouth, which has ever since been very troublesome to him. "I mean the *Linguarium*, which all the Learned ascribe to This great Poet (115)." A Poet of the University, and no Friend to the Jesuits, entered the Lists, and wrote a Piece entitled *Santuius pendens, Santeuil on the Gibbet*. It is One of the best, which appeared during This long Poetical War. I think Three Accounts have appeared of this Quarrel: I have not seen the first; That, which I have quoted, is the second: The third is of the Year 1697, and posterior to the Death of Mr *Santeuil*: It contains the Letters, which were written to This Poet by several Jesuits, and differs from the second in some Circumstances.

(116) Ibid.
P. 3: 4.

It is certain, that This Quarrel made a great noise; for which reason the Author of the Relation thought himself obliged to make use of this Preamble (116). "It is the Fate of Those, who have occasioned great Troubles in their Life-time, to occasion others after their Death. That of *Alexander* did not extinguish the War in *Asia*; on the contrary, it broke out again with greater fury, thro' the Ambition of his Lieutenants, who long disputed the Crown. "Something like this happened to Mr *Arnauld*; if it be proper to compare a Doctor with a Conqueror. His Death, which seemingly ought to have put an end to all the Troubles, he had occasioned in his Life-time, on the contrary raised new ones. Every one knows, in how unworthy a manner the *Jansenists* exclaimed against an Holy

(117) The
Alce of la
Trappe.

Abbot (117), for explaining himself too freely on this Occasion, and saying, with regard to the great Head of a Party, which fell in the Person of Mr *Arnauld*, *Happy is He, who has no other than Jesus*. CHRIST. This was what the first News of Mr *Arnauld*'s Death produced. But, his Heart being afterwards carried back to France, could not re-enter it without scattering still farther Seeds of Dissention, by the Quarrel, which it occasioned between Mr *Santeuil* and the Jesuits. Many will here recollect a Complaint of *Balzac* against Father *Gaul's* Epitaph (118); but if the Jesuits, on the one side, might say, that the very Tomb of Mr *Arnauld* insulted them, the *Jansenists* might exclaim, on the other, that They did not suffer this Divine to rest even in his Grave.

(118) See Remark [M], of the Article P. GOULU, General of the Bernardine Mendicants.

Et ce n'est pas assez de paier en la vie,
Il faut encor paier au dela du trepas (119).

Even Death from farther Payment cannot save;
The Debt must be discharged beyond the Grave.

(119) These are two Lines of the Opera, which was acted in 1674, entitled, as I take it, Le Triomphe d'Alceste. — The Triumph of Alceste.

(120) Letter of a Lady of Quality to another learned Lady, p. 24, 25.

[B B] Mr *Perrault* was obliged to suppress the Sheet, &c.] The following Passage we meet with in a Letter, published in the Year 1697 (120). "Mr *Perrault*, of the Academy, has presented the Public with a Book intitled, *The Elogies of the Illustrious Men of this Reign*. Mr *Arnauld* and Monf. *Pascal* justly had a Place in it. *Baptiste*, and *Moliere*, hold their Rank in it, as illustrious Persons of their kind: The Book was printed by Authority; the Portraits engraved. It was to have been published four Months ago; but the Fathers Jesuits have applied so strongly to the higher Powers, that they have ordered the Author and Bookfeller to retrench Monsieur *Arnauld* and Monsieur *Pascal*'s Articles, and suppress their Elogies. — Monsieur *Arnauld* was one of the greatest Men of This Age: He did the Church service in opposing *Calvinism*, and defending the Faith of the Eucharist. He lived and died in the Communion of the Church, and in perfect Obedience to the Holy See, which would certainly have rewarded his great Deserts, if the profound Humility of This learned Person had not several Times made him refuse one of the most eminent Dignities of the Church. *Moliere* lived impiously, and died excommunicated, like a Reprobate: In

"the mean time Monsieur *Arnauld* is struck out of the Number of Illustrious Men, and *Moliere* holds his Rank among them." Such Reflexions were made all over France, and in foreign Countries; and what *Tacitus* said, on the Statues of *Cassius* and *Brutus* not appearing at *Junia's* Funeral, was not forgot on this Occasion; *Præfulgebant Cassius atque Brutus eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visibantur* (121). — *Cassius* and *Brutus* outshone the rest for this very Reason, because their Statues were not exposed. This Thought was applied to Messrs. *Arnauld* and *Pascal*. The Verses, which were made on this Occasion, have been spread all the World over; for they have been inserted in the *Nouvelles Historiques & Politiques*, printed every Month at the Hague. Let us add, that several were of Opinion, that the Jesuits did not act over prudently in this Affair; since the surest way to draw the Eyes and Attention of the Public on These two famous Persons, was to oblige Mr *Perrault* to suppress their Elogies and Portraits. This Conduct served only to enhance the Merit, which it strove to efface; it led directly to the Passage of *Tacitus*; and could only occasion Exclamations, and Censures, in favour of the Persons suppress'd, and against the Instruments of their Suppression. But all are not agreed as to the supposed Imprudence in this Point: Skillful Persons have maintained, that the Faction, which all along oppos'd Mr *Arnauld*, did nothing but what favoured of the justest and most refined Policy. What! say they; do you think *Tiberius* did not foresee the Reflexions, which would be made, on his not exposing the Statues of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, among so many others, in a Funeral Ceremony? He knew the Advantage, which their Absence might give them; but thought the Inconvenience greater in letting these two Assassins of *Julius Cæsar* appear among the Images of his Family; this would have been in some measure vindicating their Memory; and it was not his Interest to make the least step that way. There is no question, but the Jesuits likewise foresaw the Advantage, which Mr *Perrault*'s suppressing the Elogies of these two great Men would give them. But, all things considered, they thought this would be a much less Inconvenience to themselves, than the giving the opposite Faction room to make their Advantage of Mr *Arnauld* and Mr *Pascal*'s appearing, with Privilege, on the Theatre of Illustrious Men. By procuring them to be struck out, they armed themselves with a new AG, which might be useful in the Course of the Process: They kept them in Disgrace; and prevented any one's alledging the Licence, obtained by Mr *Perrault*, as a Proof of their being restored; but, what was more considerable, the Public was prevented from imagining, that the Jesuits had not the same Credit as formerly. The Public would scarce conclude, that, if the Characters and Elogies of These two Gentlemen had full liberty to appear in a privileged Book, it was because the Jesuits had no Inclination to make any Opposition to it. It would be much more natural to think, that it was out of their Power to prevent it. Now such an Opinion is to be guarded against; the Effects of it may be of ill Consequence; for the Influence of Reputation is of great Efficacy, either in advancing or retarding Events. Who knows not, that, in Matters of Trade, a Merchant, who passes for rich, and is not so, is generally more successful, than One, who is really rich, but passes for poor? All other Conditions of human Life are the same in this respect. If it be Imprudence to engage in certain things, it is still greater Imprudence to abandon them, after having once engaged in them. Upon the whole, Honour and Glory are here both concerned. This Principle is no less active in the Wars at the Bar, than in those properly so called (122). Lastly, every one knows, that, in all Suits of great Importance, each Party provides against all the Proceedings of the other. Good Policy, then, required, that They should not, by their Silence, acquiesce in any Proceedings of the *Jansenists*. They were to guard against Epitaphs, and the Authors of Elogies, the better to maintain the grand Process, and sup-

(121) Tacit.
Annal. Lib.
III, in fine.

(122) Marcellus multa magni ductibus sicut non aggreddenda, ita semel aggreffus non dimittenda esse dicendo, quia magna fame momenta in utranque partem fiunt, tunc ne incipio abire. — Marcellus confirmed him in his Undertaking, by saying, that, many things, as they ought not to be undertaken by great Generals, so, when once undertaken, are not to be dropped. Titus Livius, lib. IV, Decad III.

Mr *Des Cartes* [CC]. I have heard some, who were admitted to an Intimacy with him, say, that he was of great Plainness of Manners, and that, unless some Question was proposed to him, or some Information desired, he said nothing out of the Road of common Conversation [DD], or which might create a Suspicion of his being a learned Man; but, when he was obliged to answer Those, who put him upon some Point of Learning, he seemed to be quite another Man; he said an hundred fine Things, with all the readiness imaginable, and had a particular Gift of making himself intelligible to the meanest Capacity. I propose, in part of my Work (1), to insert a Letter, which it is supposed the King wrote to him, in the Year 1678. By the way, They, who were the occasion of his resolving on a voluntary Exile, lost more than they gained by it; for he never wrote against them in *Paris*, but religiously observed the Conditions of Peace; till seeing himself driven by force out of the Kingdom, he published a great number of Pieces, which have done the Jesuits no small Prejudice (1). It is pretended, that he became the Apostle of *Jansenism* in *Holland* [EE].

(1) See Remarques [1.] of the Article YPRES.

(1) See the Abridged History of his Life, pag. 179.

port the Discussion of the Problem, or *Curious Enquiry, whether Mr Arnauld be an Heretic*; a strange Question indeed, and which some Roman Catholics affirm, and others deny daily, with Impunity. This shews, there is a Source of Anarchy in the State of Man, which can never be wholly rectified. It is chiefly to be seen in Ecclesiastical Bodies; for, since the Church of *Rome* has not the Secret of determining between the Affirmative and the Negative, what other Church can ever expect to have it? Other Churches have not, like That, Tribunals, which are acknowledged to be infallible. They are not governed with such an Air of Authority, and high Reputation, as That is. It is, therefore, less to be wondered at, that the Protestant Ministers accuse each other of Heresy in printed Books, than that a Doctor of the *Sorbonne* should be torn to pieces, as an Heretic, by the Faction of the *Molinists*, whilst three Popes honoured him with their Friendship, Esteem, and Praises, and the most famous Prelates set their solemn Approbations at the Head of his Works. It is near fifty Years, since this Dispute began (123); and there is still as much room as ever to deny or affirm. Protestant Controversies are not of such long Continuance. They are generally adjusted after three or four Pamphlets of a Side, and the Reputation of Orthodoxy, which they would take from each other, is secured to both. But even this smells a little of *Anarchy*, and of That State of Nature, in which the Aggressor has nothing more to fear, than the Resistance of the Attacked, and not the Punishment of a common Judge. Bodies Politic are not subject to such Disorders. No one is permitted to call another Knave, or Rascal; Thief, Traitor, Murderer, Prostitute, or Liar (124). Reputation is here something better fixed.

(123) This dispute lasted in 1699.

(124) This must be understood with regard to publick Accusations.

For the rest, the Suppression, enjoined Mr *Perrault*, hindered not, but that the Copies of his Book, published in *Holland*, contained the Elogies of *Medicurs Arnauld* and *Pascal*. It only occasioned some small Confusion in the figuring the Pages, which the Edition of *Holland* has set right.

[CC] *The Esteem, which Mr Arnauld gained with Mr Des Cartes*.] He was the Author of four Objections against This Philosopher's Speculations; and they are judged by all to be the solidest, that have been proposed against That Work. Mr *Des Cartes* himself gave this Judgment of them: see his *Life* composed by Mr *Baillet* (125). I must observe, that Mr *Arnauld* had taught the same Philosophy at *Paris*, with That of Mr *Des Cartes*, before the latter had published his first *Essays* (126). So that he was as falsely called a *Cartesian*, as a *Jansenist*. Read what follows: "He had fetched his Opinion of *Grace* from the Source; that is, from *St Austin's* Works, before ever the Book of Mr *d'Ypres* appeared.

(125) Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, Tom. 2. pag. 174, &c. See also Perrault's Illustrations Men, pag. 57, 58.

(126) Id. ib. pag. 543. See also pag. 528.

"He had publicly maintained them, in the Presence of Bishops, four or five Years before That Prelate's Book was published (127). He had embraced them without so much as knowing, that *Jansenius* was writing on *Grace* ———." Scarce did he know, that there was such a Man, as *Jansenius*, in the World (128).

[DD] *He said nothing out of the Road of common Conversation*.] This must be understood with some Restriction; otherwise it cannot be reconciled with what we find in the Account of his Life; we there meet with some Hours of Conversation after Meals, in which much was to be learned from him; because, being qualified for Reflexion, he always made such as were very solid, either on human Events, on the Conduct of Life, on the Rules of Morality, or on Matters of Learning, and public Affairs. These Conversations were often employed in perusing new Books; and he always judged so rightly of them, that the Opinion he gave (tho' rarely with a decisive Air) was decisive of itself, and without Appeal. His Memory, as things were read or spoken in Company, supplied him always with something of what the best Authors had said on the same Subject: And it was surprizing to hear him repeat a great number of *Latin*, and *French*, Verses, which he had read only in his Youth, or several Years before. He was a Master of the *Latin* Poets, and applied the finest Passages of them with great Justness, and a great Presence of Mind, according as occasion offered in Conversation (129). Let us say, then, that his Conversation was plain and vulgar, only when he was with Persons, who were not intimate with him, or who did not engage him by their Questions to exert his Talents.

(127) Abridged History of Mr Arnauld, pag. 35.

(128) Ibid. pag. 31.

(129) Ibid. p. 287, 288.

[EE] *It is pretended, that he became the Apostle of Jansenism in Holland*.] There appeared a small Book (130) in the Year 1698, in which it is affirmed (131), that Mr *Arnauld* "having wandered for some time in the Catholic *Netherlands*, at last took Refuge in *Holland*. Mr *Neerkassel*, Bishop of *Castoria*, and Apostolical Vicar in the United Provinces, received him as a Man of God, and lodged him in his Nunnery of *Delft*; where Mr *Arnauld* lived some Years without being known to any, but his intimate Friends. In this Place he governed the Mind of That Prelate absolutely, who took great delight in recommending all the young Divines, in whom he discovered any Genius, to Him for Instruction. His most constant Companions were Mr *de Coddæ*, the present Archbishop of *Sebastia*, and Successor of the Bishop of *Castoria* in the Apostolical Vicarship; Mr *van Hussen* ——— So that *Jansenism* in *Holland* proceeded, properly speaking, from the Nunnery of *Delft*, about the Year 1698.

(130) Intituled Memoirs concerning the Progress of *Jansenism* in *Holland*.

(131) Pages 8, and 5.

ARNGRIMUS, a learned Man, and a Native of *Iceland*. Look for JONAS.

ARNISÆUS (HENNINGUS) born at *Halberstadt*, and Professor of Physic in the University of *Helmstadt*, was a Philosopher, and Physician, very much esteemed towards the beginning of the XVIIth Century. His Political Works are in great Repute, in which he has established a Tenet directly opposite to That of *Althufsius* [A]. He was invited to *Denmark*, and went thither; where he had the Honour to be

(1) See the Article ALTHUSIUS. VOL. I.

[A] He established, in his Political Works, a Tenet directly opposite to That of *Althufsius* (1). For he maintained, that the Authority of Princes ought never to be violated by the People. See his Book *de Autoritate*

(a) Witte, in *Diario Biogr.* ad Ann. 1635.

(b) Arniseus, Præf. libr. de Jure Majest.

be the King's Counsellor, and Physician (a). The University of *Helmstadt* lost greatly by this Retreat [B]. It is falsely pretended, that he was Professor at *Jena* [C], and that he left his Library to the University of That Place. It might have been said, without a Falshood, that he read Lectures in the University of *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, before he read Any in That of *Helmstadt* (b). He had travelled into *France* and *England* (c). He died in the Month of *November* 1635 (d). I shall give the Titles of several of his Works [D].

(c) Id. ib.

(d) Witte, ubi supra.

(2) Bofius de comparanda Prudentia Civili, n. 2.

(3) Boeclerus in Grot. de Jure Belli & Pacis, lib. I. cap. 3. n. VIII. pag. 236.

(4) Id. ib.

(5) Grot. de Imperio Summar. Potestatum circa Sacra, cap. III. n. 8.

(6) Conring. de Civili Prudentia, cap. 14.

(7) Id. in Dedicat. Exercit. de Rep. Imperii German.

ritate Principum in populum semper inviolabili, printed at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1612. See also his three Books of *Jure Majestatis*, printed at the same Place in 1610, and his *Prælectiones Politicæ*, printed also at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1615. He did not finish this last Piece, which however appeared to be very fine. *Opus præclarum, sed imperfectum* (2). He gave a Catalogue of Those, who have maintained, that the Sovereignty resided in the People; a most pernicious Doctrine, in the Opinion of *Boeclerus*, and the Hinge of Rebellion. *A fatali hoc & pestilenti errore — suspensa est omnis illa rebellandi licentia, quam variis vocabulis præscribit* (3). *Boeclerus* adds, that it is a deplorable Consideration, that there are very great Men in This List, and remarks the different Passions, which lead them to take this Side. "Patrons & Præcones nefariæ philosophiæ recentis fuit Arniseus principio libri de auctoritate principum in populum semper inviolabili. Fuisset in illis magnos viros, dolendum: quorum aliquos animus arrogans, elatus, indomitus, ad fingendam & pingendam libertatem stoico supercilio forte impulserit: alios metus oppressionis & tyrannidis eo evibraverit, ut potestatem civilem bene constitutam negarent, nisi populo subjiaceret: nonnullis commentitæ sapientiæ species placuerit, ut tali tanquam terribiliamento reges, ne in tyrannidem elaberentur, retentatos cuperent" (4). — Arniseus, in the beginning of his Book, Of the Inviolable Authority of Princes over the People, reckons up the Patrons and Preachers of the contrary wicked Doctrine. It is melancholy to consider, that there are many great Men among Them; some of whom, perhaps, were prompted, by an Arrogant, Elate, Unconquerable Disposition, to conceive and describe Liberty with all the Pride of Stoicism; others were driven, by the fear of Oppression and Tyranny, to deny any Government to be well constituted, which is not subject to the People; and some were pleased with a kind of pretended Philosophy, which taught them, that Kings should be kept in Awe, lest they degenerate into Tyrants." If such a Catalogue were to be made in this present Year 1699, it would be much larger; for the Doctrine of the Supreme Authority of the People is of late grown into Fashion. *Grotius* praises a Political Piece of Arniseus very highly (5).

[B] *The University of Helmstadt lost much by His Retreat.* This is testified by *Conringius*, who styles Arniseus, *æternum Julii Academiæ & incomparabile ornamentum* (6). — *The Perpetual and Inimitable Ornament of the Julian Academy.* "Vir incomparabilis, jays he, in another Book (7), à quo civilis philosophiæ in Academiâ Julia, ut alibi nusquam, fuit exulta, & simul Imperii quoque, ut aliarum Rerum publicarum veterum recentumque, historia etiam ipsarum quidem, accurate tamen satis est inculcata — illius in Daniam discessu simul utrumque hoc studiorum genus fuerit heic quasi confesultum. — An Incomparable Man; who

"caligated Politics in the University of Helmstadt, beyond what it had ever been elsewhere; and, at the same Time, inculcated the History of the Empire, as also of other Republics both ancient and modern, accurately enough, though scattered here and there. — By his Departure to Denmark both these kind of Studies were at once buried in this University."

[C] *It is falsely pretended, that he was Professor at Jena.* This we find in an Edition of a Work of Bofius, de comparanda prudentia civili. But This Edition was disclaimed by Bofius's Widow. See the Advertisement, which she inserted at the beginning of this Book, when she published it free from the Errors, which disfigured the former Edition.

[D] *The Titles of several of his Works.* Besides the Poetical Treatises, which I have already mentioned (8), he wrote a Book of *Subjectione & Exemptione Clericorum* — *Of the Subjection and Exemption of the Clergy*: Another of *potestate temporali Pontificis in Principes* — *Of the Temporal Authority of the Pope over Princes*: Another of *Translatione Imperii Romani* — *Of the Translation of the Roman Empire*: Another of *Repubblica* — *Of Civil Society*: Another of *Jure Connubiorum* (9). — *Of the Rights of Marriage*: The Title of another is *Doctrina Politica in genuinum methodum, quæ est Aristotelis, reducia & ex probatissimis quibusque Philosophis, Oratoribus, Jurisconsultis, Historicis, &c. breviter comperta & explicata* (10). — *Political Institutes reduced to Aristotle's Method, and briefly compiled and explained from the most approved Philosophers, Orators, Lawyers, Historians, &c.* He wrote also on Physic: His *Observationes aliquot Anatomicæ* — *Some Anatomical Observations*; were printed at *Frankfort* in the Year 1610, in 4to. His *Dispute de Lue Venerea cognoscenda & curanda* — *Of the Knowledge and Cure of the Venereal Disease*; was printed the same Year at *Oppenheim*, in 4to. I do not know the date of the first Edition of his *Disquisitiones de partibus humani legitimis terminis* — *Enquiries into the lawful Bounds of Human Birth*; nor of his Books of *Preservatione à peste* — *Of a Preservative against the Plague*: *de Hydropum essentia & curatione* — *Of the Essence and Cure of Dropsies*: *de apoplexia & epilepsia cognoscendis & curandis* (11). — *Of the Knowledge and Cure of the Apoplexy and Epilepsy.* As for his Philosophical Writings, we are to know, that he wrote Annotations on *Crellius's Logic*: *Epitome Metaphysicæ ad mentem Aristotelis* — *An Abridgement of Metaphysics according to the Principles of Aristotle*: *De constitutione & partibus Metaphysicæ* — *Of the Constitution and Parts of Metaphysics*: *Vindicia pro Aristotele de subiecto Metaphysicæ & Natura Entis* — *Aristotle vindicated on the Subject of Metaphysics, and the Nature of Being*: *Disputationes viii Metaphysicæ* — *Eight Metaphysical Disputations*: *Epitome doctrinæ Physicæ* — *An Epitome of Natural Philosophy.*

(8) In Remark [A].

(9) See the *Diarium Biograph.* of Witte ad Ann. 1635.

(10) See *Linæus renovatus*, pag. 390.

(11) Witte, ubi supra.

(a) See Remark [A].

(1) Hieron. in Chronico Ecclesiæ ad Ann. II. Cap. p. 276.

ARNOBIUS, Professor of Rhetoric, at *Sicca*, in *Numidia*, towards the end of the III^d Century, was brought over to the Profession of Christianity by Dreams (a). He applied himself to the Bishops for admission into the Church; but They, remembering how violently he had always opposed the true Faith, distrusted him, and, before his admission into the Number of Catechumens, would have him give Proofs of his Sincerity [A]. To satisfy them, he wrote a Book against the *Gentiles*, where-

in

[A] *The Bishops—before his Admission into the Number of Catechumens, would have him give Proofs of his Sincerity.* St *Jerom* furnishes us with these Particulars. *Arnobius Rhetor, jays he* (1), *clarus in Africa habitur: qui quum in civitate Siccæ ad declamandum juvenes erudiret, & adhuc Ethnicus ad credulitatem somniti compelleretur, neque ab Episcopo impetraret fidem quam semper impugnaverat, elucubravit*

"adversus pristinam religionem luculentissimos libros, & tandem velut quibuscum obfidibus pietatis fœdus impetravit. — Arnobius is a famous Rhetorician of Africa; this Person taught Oratory in the City of Sicca, and was converted from Heathenism by Dreams; but being distrusted by the Bishops, as having hitherto opposed the Faith, he wrote an excellent Work against his former Religion, and, at last, upon

in he very powerfully confuted the Absurdity of their Religion, and the Ridiculousness of their false Gods. He employed all the Flowers of his Rhetoric, and displayed much Learnings, in it; but, as he had a laudable Impatience to be admitted into the Body of the Faithful, He made a little too much haste in composing this Work [B]; which is the true Reason, why It is not so justly and beautifully disposed, as could be wished. The worst is, that, not having a full Knowledge of the Christian Truths, he vented very dangerous Errors [C]. It is not known what became of him afterwards, nor at what time he died. His Work contains Seven Books, and

"upon giving these Hostages of his Sincerity, was admitted to the Peace of the Church." He was looked upon as an Enemy, who had a Mind to enter into a Treaty of Peace; but, before the Conclusion of it, they expected Security for his good Behaviour; Hostages were demanded, and he gave them: These were Seven Invectives against the Pagans: He was afterwards looked upon as a good Brother; and received into the Peace of the Church.

[B] He made a little too much haste in composing this Work.] Let us Comment upon this by a Passage of Baronius. "Quod verò opus illud, ut inter Fideles admitteretur, quasi fidei suæ vadem festinus absolvit; hinc plane est quod in eo (ut ait Hieronymus) fuisse visus est inæqualis & nimius, & absque operis sui partitione confusus. Rursus, verò quod nondum plene esset scientia rerum Christianarum imbutus, utpote cum non solum non fuerit baptismate illustratus, sed nec in Ecclesiam inter catechumenos acceptus; venia dignus est, si aliquibus nævis visus esset commentarius ille esse reperiendus (2). — The Reason of that Inequality, Prolixity, and Confusion, which St Jerom observed in this Work, which he wrote as a Pledge of his Faith, in order to be admitted among the Faithful, was the haste, with which he composed it. Again, if this Commentary be interspersed with some Errors, the Author may in excuse say, that he had not as yet a full Knowledge of Christianity, having neither been enlightened by Baptism, nor received into the Church among the Catechumens (3)."

[C] He vented very dangerous Errors.] We have just seen, that Baronius imputes the Heterodoxy of the Seven Books of Arnobius to the Precipitation, with which they were written: For the Author could not defer writing them, 'till he had leisure to be better instructed in all the Points of the Christian Faith. The Annalist would have us excuse the Errors of Arnobius, as being of no Consequence; but it is certain, that the Inquisition would, at this Day, condemn Those to be burnt, who should publish such Doctrines. I own, we ought to make great Allowances for Arnobius; but it is no less true, that his Opinions concerning the Origin of the Soul, and the Cause of Natural Evil, together with some other capital Matters, are very pernicious. This I have observed elsewhere (4). In regard to our Mysteries, he might have pleaded what Persius confesses with Regard to Poetry, that he ventured to write, before he understood his Subject.

Nec fonte labra prolui Caballino:
Nec in bicipiti somniaffai Parnasso
Memini, ut repente sic Poëta prodirem.
Heliconidasque, pallidamque Pyrenen
Illis remitto, quorum imagines lambunt
Hederæ sequaces. Ipse semipaganus
Ad sacra Vatum carmen afferro nostrum (5).

I never did on cleft Parnassus Dream,
Nor taste the sacred Heliconian Stream;
Nor can remember when my Brain inspired
Was by the Muses into Madness fired.
My Share in pale Pyrene I resign,
And claim no part in all the mighty Nine.
Statues, with winding Ivy crown'd, belong
To nobler Poets, for a nobler Song:
Headless of Verse, and hopeless of the Crown,
Scarce half a Wit, and more than half a Clown,
Before the Shrine I lay my rugged Numbers down.

DRYDEN.

Read here Mr Du Pin's Judgment. "It is plain he was not as yet thoroughly instructed in the Mysteries of

our Religion. He attacks the Religion of the Pagans more solidly, than he defends That of the Christians. He discovers the Folly of Paganism more happily, than he proves the Truth of Christianity. But this ought not to be thought strange; for it is common to all new Converts, who, being as yet full of their own Religion, are better able to detect the Errors and Folly of it, than to display the Proofs and Excellency of That, which they embrace (6)." I meet with no Author, who speaks so tenderly of Arnobius's Errors, as Dr Cave. He says, that, perhaps, there are Doctrines in him something different from the True Faith. "Dogmata quædam habet FORSAW minus Catholica, quæ hominibus Gentilium tenebris recens erumpenti, & nondum Christianæ fidei elementis satis instructo, condonanda sunt (7). — He advances some Doctrines perhaps not altogether Catholic, which may be pardoned in one but just emerged from the Darkness of Paganism, nor yet fully instructed in the Elements of Christian Faith." This is carrying the Indulgence much farther, than was done in the Preface to the Edition of Leyden in 1651, where it was thought sufficient to say, that Arnobius swerved a little from Orthodoxy. "Aliis in locis à veritate Christiana NONNIHIL recedit. Sed hoc condonandum illi, qui ex Ethnicismi tenebris recens ad veritatem Christianam pervenerat. Idem huic Autori evenit, quod is solet, qui ex carcere tenebricoso in lucem perducti visum adhuc dubium habent (8). — In other places, he recedes a little from Christian Truth. But he is excusable in this, being then but just arrived from the Darkness of Heathenism to Christian Truth. Our Author's Case is the same with Theirs, who, being brought out of a dark Dungeon into Light, cannot immediately distinguish Objects with certainty." Once again; let us excuse This Father, but not be so simple, as to call the Doctrines, he advanced, by the soft Name of Small Errors. If we consider them right, they merit the same Treatment as would be given them, at this Day, if any Doctor should at present advance them. It must be owned, without a Cavil, that a Modern Author read a good Lecture for his Censor upon this Subject. Let us hear him. "Mr Jurieu weighs Errors in a false Balance. He judges of the Doctrine by the Persons, and not the Persons by the Doctrine. One and the same Error alters its Nature, according to the Circumstances of Place, and Time. It is monstrous Hereby, according to the Subject in which it is found, and the Age in which it reigns. This Partiality of Mr Jurieu appears in all his Disputes against the present Sectaries, in whom he pardons nothing; at the same time that he carries his Indulgence for the Fathers to a prodigious Excess (9). The respect we have for Persons should not make us respect their Errors, when they are capital. On all occasions of the like Nature, we should call *A Spade, a Spade*, &c." Mr Jurieu willingly excuses Origen's Errors, on account of his great Zeal; but, if any Modern should presume to put us off with the Dreams of the Ancients, Mr Jurieu would not think himself obliged to bear with them. "If These visionary Notions be Heresy and Impiety, which change Hell into a Purgatory, and by this means destroy the Dread of Eternal Punishment, and the Fear of God, why ought they to be suffered in Origen (10)? — The Tenderness, with which Mr Jurieu speaks of St Hilary's, and St Jerom's Errors, is certainly not edifying." He excuses them, by saying they are Mistakes, and Oversight. "But, should a Divine of this Age think fit to maintain the same Opinions, Mr Jurieu would think himself obliged to call them Extravagancies, and Impieties. "What a notorious Partiality is This! The same Things, which are Extravagancies, and Impieties, in our Age, are only excusable Mistakes, and Oversight, in the

(6) Du Pin, Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. Tom. I. pag. 204. Col. 2. Edit. of Holland.

(7) Guelmi Cave Histor. Literar. pag. 112.

(8) Pref. Arnobii in Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

(9) Sanrin, Examen de la Doctrine de Mr Jurieu, pag. 681.

(10) Id. ib. pag. 683.

(2) Baronius ad Ann. 302. n. 67. pag. 733.

(3) Mr du Pin is not of this Opinion. He composed, says he, (Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. Tom. I. pag. 203.) when he was but a Catechumen, VII Books.

(4) Consult the Table of this Dictionary, at the Word ARNOBIUS.

(5) Persius, in Prologo.

and not *Eight*, as was believed for some time [D]. They have been commented on by learned Men, and printed several times [E].

(11) Id. id.
pag. 684.

(12) Id. ib.
pag. 687.

"IVth Century. Why (11)?" This Author pretends to have discovered the source of these double Weights. Let us hear him again (12). "Mr *Jurieu* forgives them Those Errors, as light and trifling "Faults, which, in Persons of our own Age, would be "Infernal Heresies. It is common for us to shew "great Respect, and an high Esteem, for Those, "who have had the happiness to live several Centuries "before us; tho' we discover in them all Those "Weaknesses, and bad Qualities, which we cannot "suffer in the Moderns. If we cannot esteem the "Ancients, we think ourselves at least obliged to "love them; and, by judging with Christian Cha- "rity, to put the most favourable Construction we "can upon their Words. Whereas, on the contrary, "we glory in an enflamed Zeal against our Cotem- "poraries; we forgive them nothing, but are lavish of "our *Anathema's* against them. And yet, the Inte- "rests of Religion once preserved, Charity should "rather be exercised towards the Living, than Those, "who have been dead for several Ages past. The "Charity, we have for These, costs us little; be- "cause their Merit does not excite our Jealousy and "Envy, nor do we consider them as our Rivals. But "we must mortify Self-love not a little, to judge "charitably of an Adversary, who speaks and writes "against us, and whose Reputation eclipses our "Glory; and this is a Sacrifice, which we do not "easily make. As Mr *Jurieu* had no Quarrel against "Origen, and as he has personal Enemies in the So- "cietarian Party, no wonder, if he has more indulgence "for the former, than the latter."

[D] *Seven Books, and not Eight, as was believed for some time.* Every one knows, that the Title of the small Work of *Minucius Felix* is *Octavius*. It is found, in several ancient Manuscripts, joyned with the Books of *Arnobius*, which occasioned it's passing for One of His; and, without doubt, the Word *Octavius*, taken for *Octavus*, mislead many a Reader. Let us cite the following Words of Mr du Pin. "This "Book (13) passed a long Time for the *eight* Book "of *Arnobius*; for, being found in an ancient Ma- "nuscript of the *Vatican*, with the seven Books of "*Arnobius*, it was four times printed under That "Name", without any one's knowing it's true Au- "thor. The learned Civilian *Baudouin* was the first, "who discovered This vulgar Error, and caused This "little Treatise, with a learned Preface, in which "he restores it to it's proper Author, to be separate- "ly printed at *Heidelberg*, in the Year 1560. Now, "tho' the Honour of having made the first Discovery "be due to This famous Civilian, yet, Thirty three "Years after, *Ursinus*, causing *Arnobius's* Works to "be printed at *Rome*, whether he had not seen *Bau- "doin's* Edition, or would assume the Honour of "This Remark to himself, separated *Minucius's* Book "from Those of *Arnobius*, without any Intimation "that it had been done before, thus ascribing to him- "self the Honour of the Discovery (14)." We find "the same thing in the Preface (15) to the *Minu- "cius Felix*, printed at *Leiden* in the Year 1652. "We there find likewise, that, almost at the same time "that *Francis Baudouin* made it appear, that the pre- "tended *eight* Book of *Arnobius* was the Work of "*Minucius Felix*, another Critic had some Suspicion "of the Mistake. "Eodem fere tempore id ipsum "subulit etiam *Hadriano Junio* (16). — About the "same time *Hadrian Junius* began to suspect the same "Thing." This is not exact: It should have been "said, that *Francis Baudouin* was not the first, who "discovered it; for He did not publish what he knew "of the Matter, till four Years after another had com- "municated This Thought to the Public. His *Minuci- "us* appeared in the Year 1560. Now we find the "following Passage concerning this Matter, in a Piece, "which *Hadrian Junius* published in the Year 1556. "Arnobio, qui septem duntaxat adversus gentes libros "edidit, octavus accrevit, quum fit Minucii Felicis "Octavus, ab interlocutorum uno ita vocitatus, nova "ratione obliterandi auctoris (17). — An *Eight* "Book was insensibly tacked to the seven Books of *Ar- "nobius* against the Gentiles, which was indeed the "Octavus of *Minucius Felix*, so called from one of "the Interlocutors; a new Way of concealing the Au- "thor." The following Year, *Baudouin* was not

cured of the common Error; for he cited the Treatise of *Minucius* as the *eight* Book of *Arnobius*. "Sic "ille apud *Arnobium* *Cecilium* Christianus dicitur cum "coeunt infantis occisi sanguinem lambere (18). — "Horribilis profecto est oratio *Cecilii* illius leguleii "Romani qui apud *Arnobium* libro octavo hæc ad- "huc Christianis objicit (19). — Thus the *Cecilius* "in *Arnobius* pretends, that the Christians, when "they come together, drink the Blood of a murdered "Infant. — It is a shocking Speech of That *Cecilius*, "the Roman Lawyer, who, in the *eight* Book of "Arnobius, still charges the Christians with This "Practice." *Lewis Carrio* ascribed to *Junius* the Honour of being the first, who had restored the *Octa- "vius* to it's True Author; and, in a Book, which he published, at *Paris*, in the Year 1583, he speaks thus. "Illi (*Minucio*) Octavum adversus gentes "librum *Junius* noster in Animadversis suis princip- "jam olim vindicavit (20). — Our *Junius*, the First, "who made the Discovery, had before, in his Animad- "verses, restored the eighth Book against the Gen- "tiles to it's True Author, *Minucius Felix*." Read these Words of Mr *Joly*: "Minuti Felicis vetustissi- "mi scriptoris Christiani dialogus elegantissimus "contra idolorum vanitatem tam diu pro octavo "Arnobii adversus gentes libro habitus est, quia *Minu- "tius* cum sub nomine Octavii protulerat, donec "à *Francisco* *Baldino* Jurisconsulto, anno 1560, "Arnobio abductus, & genuino Auctori redditus est, "veluti *Nicolaus* *Rigaltius* in præfatione ad eundem "Minutium observavit (21). — The most elegant "Dialogue of *Minucius Felix*, against the Vanity of "Idolatry, was so long thought to be the eighth Book "of *Arnobius*, adversus gentes, because he had in- "scribed it Octavus; till *Francis* *Baudouin*, in "Lawyer, took it from *Arnobius*, and restored it to "the true Author, as *Nicolaus* *Rigaltius* observed in "the Preface to the same *Minucius*." Here are two learned Men, who were ignorant, that *Junius* was before-hand with *Baudouin* in the Discovery of the true Author of the *Octavius*. However I think Mr *Joly* had no reason to place This Book in the List of the Pseudonymous. He pretends, that, in publishing it, the Author disguised himself under the Name of *Octavius*; I think it were better to say, that *Octa- "vius* is the Title of the Book, and not the supposed Name of it's Author. It would be improper, to say, that *Plato's* Dialogues were published under the False Names of the Persons, from whom they are entituled. *Minucius Felix* imitated *Plato*; he would have his Dialogue carry, for it's Title, the Name of The principal interlocutor.

[E] *His Works* — have been printed several times.] If I had the necessary Books, I would give an exact account of the Editions of *Arnobius*; but I must give up this Design, and confine myself to some critical Observations on Those, who have given us Catalogues of these Editions. The Author of the Preface to the *Arnobius*, printed at *Leiden*, in the Year 1651, says, I. That the first Edition of This Father is That, which *Francis Priscianensis*, a Florentine, published at *Rome*; but does not say in what Year; a Fault of Omission, which cannot be excused. II. That *Sigismund Gelenius* altered several things in this Edition, not by the Assistance of Manuscripts, but by trusting to the Conjectures of his own Genius. III. That *Theodore Canterus*, in publishing *Arnobius* with Additions, complained of *Gelenius's* Boldness. IV. That *Godescalc Stewechius* laboured with Success on This Father. V. That *Elmenhorst* added to his Commentary the various Readings, collected as well from the Manuscripts, and the Edition published at *Rome*, in the Year 1542, from an ancient Manuscript of *Francis Sabauus* (23), as from the Edition of *Fulsius Ursinus*. VI. That *Desiderius Heralduus* published Annotations on the Seven Books of *Arnobius*. I have three things to offer against all this: In the first Place, the List of the Editions is very imperfect; in the second Place, the Edition of *Rome*, 1532, is the same with the First, though it be mentioned here as different from it. In the third Place, it is not true, that the Annotations of *Desiderius Heralduus* followed the Edition of *Elmenhorst*. The latter is of the Year 1610, and *Heralduus's* Edition appeared at *Geneva*, in the Year 1597, and at *Paris* in the Year 1605. Let

(18) *Franciscus* *Baldouinus* ad edita veterum principum Romæ de Christianis, pag. 47. Edit. Basil. apud *Opportunum*, 1557.

(19) Id. ib. pag. 50.

(20) *Lodov. Carrio*, E. mendat. lib. II. cap. 18, fol. 52.

(21) *Claudius* *Joly*, Differat. de Verbis *Uf-nardi*, pag. 134. This Book was printed in 1663.

(22) *Rigaltius*, and *Joly*.

(13) *Tovey*, That of *Minucius Felix*.

• The first by *Sabauus*, from the Manuscript of *Rome*, in 1542. The second, in Germany by *Gelchius*. The third in Holland, at *Leiden*, in 1552. The fourth at *Basil* by *Erasmus* in 1560.

(14) *Du Pin* *Bibl. des Auteurs Ecclesiast.* Tom. I. pag. 119, col. 2.

(15) Written by *James Ouzellius*.

(16) *Jacob. Ouzellius* in *Præf. Minucii Felicis*.

(17) *Hadrianus Junius*, Animadvers. lib. VI. c. 1.

(23) His Name was *Faustus*, and not *Francis*.

(24) It is at the 20th Page, C. l. i. of the first Tome of his Bibliotheca Edu. Holl.

(25) I make use of the Edition of Holland.

(26) Pocci-antius de Scriptor. Florentinis, pag. 69.

(27) Ludov. Carrio E-menstat. lib. I. cap. 9. fol. 18. Mr. Du Pin affirms it, pag. 110. Tom. I. Biblioth.

Let us now examine Mr du Pin's List (24). I observe, in the first Place, that the proper Names in it are very much disguised (25). There we find *Carrerus*, instead of *Carterius*; *Hermenborfius*, instead of *Hermenborffius*; *Stewechius*, instead of *Stewechius*. Besides, I observe, that he mentions one *Theodorus Prifcianenfis*, as the Printer of the first Edition. This is certainly a mistake. We have seen, that the *Florentine Franciscus Prifcianenfis* was the first, who published the Works of *Arnobius*. Now he was no Printer. *Pocciantius* does not give him this Appellation; he only makes him a good Philologist, and Author of some Italian Books (26). I am persuaded, that *Fauftus Sabæus*, Library Keeper of the Vatican, communicated the Manuscript to him, from which the Edition of *Rome* was printed, in 1542. Therefore, in the Preface of the Edition of *Leiden*, it was wrong to make a Distinction between the Edition of *Franciscus Prifcianenfis*, and That, which was published from the Manuscript of *Sabæus*. Note, that *Lewis Carrio* is of Opinion, that the Manuscript of *Arnobius*, which is in the Library of the King of France, is That, which was employed in the first Edition (27). He imagines, that, because it was dedicated to *Francis I.*, the Manuscript was likewise sent him. In the third Place, I observe, that it is not true, that the seven Books of *Arnobius* were printed with the Notes of *Heralduus*, in 1583; nor that the Edition of *Hamburg*, in 1610, ought to be distinguished from That before-mentioned; I mean from That, which was accompanied with the Commentary of *Elmenborff*.

Lastly, I observe, that *Stewechius* did not publish an Edition of *Arnobius*, at *Duëy*, in the Year 1634; his Edition is of *Antwerp*, in 1686, and he had been dead a long time, when his *Electa in Arnobium* were reprinted at *Duëy*, in the Year 1634, *Cum paratilis seu Summaris Leandri de Sancto Martino*. You will find a like Mistake at Citation * of the Remark [D], where Mr Du Pin says, that *Erasmus* published *Arnobius* in 1560; whereas He died in 1536.

Let us take some Notice of Father *Labbé* (28). He thinks the Edition of *Leiden* a very good one; but wonders, that The Undertakers of it, did not insert the *Arnobianus Criticus* of *Meurfus*, which was printed at *Leiden*, in the Year 1598, *cum Hypercritico Minutiano*. He would at least have had them take Notice of it. They, who should retort upon him, that he himself ought to have remembered the *Eloge ad Arnobium* of *Julius Caesar Baulenger* (29), would not have the same Reason; for That Book is of no use, either in correcting the Text of *Arnobius*, or in unfolding the literal Sense; it is nothing but a Series of Quotations, explaining some Thoughts of *Arnobius*. The same Jesuit reflects upon the great *Salmafius*, for promising a Commentary on This Author, and not keeping his Word. *Salmafiani autem illi Commentarii tandem expectati, tam sæpe ejus amicorumque literis promissi atque jactati, in fumum tandem ventosque evanuerunt* (30). I believe such a Piece of *Salmafius* would have made finer Discoveries, than his learned Commentary on the Treatise of *Tertullian de Pallio*.

(28) Labbé, Differt. de Scriptor. Eccl. Tom. I, pag. 105.

(29) Printed at Toulouse, in 1612, in 8vo.

(30) Labbé, ubi supra.

ARNOLDUS (NICHOLAS) Professor of Divinity at *Franecker*, was born at *Lefna*, a City of *Poland*, the Seventeenth of December 1618. His Mother being left a Widow, when he was but three Years of Age, took all imaginable Care of his Education, and dedicated him to Learning. He went through his Humanity Studies in the College of *Lefna*, under *Comenius*, among other Regents, who at that time read his *Janua Linguarum* to his Scholars. He was ordained *Acolyth* (a), in the Synod of *Ostrowog*, at Fifteen Years of Age, and, in this Station, accompanied *Orminius* (b), for two Years, in visiting the Churches of *Poland*; after which, he was sent to *Dantzic*, in the Year 1635, and there applied himself to the Study of Eloquence and Philosophy. He sometimes experienced the ill Humour of *John Botsac*, who was grieved, that a young Man of such Hopes should be a *Calvinist*. In the Year 1638, he returned into *Poland*, and studied *Sermonary Theology**, under the Direction of *Orminius*, and, a Year after, was sent to *Podakia*, to be Rector of the School of *Jablonow*. Having exercised This Employ during three Months, he discharged the Ministerial Functions at the House of a great Lord (c) for two Years successively. It being observed, that his Talents might be of great Use to the Church, it was thought proper to give him an Opportunity of improving them in the most famous Universities. He began his Travels in the Year 1641, and came first to *Franecker*, where he made a great Progress under his Countryman *Macovius*; and under *Cocceius*. The Year 1643 he spent in the Universities of *Groningen*, *Leiden*, and *Utrecht*, and soon after returned to *Franecker*; where he applied himself to study *French* and *English*. The following Year he went over into *England*; but, finding it impossible to get to *Oxford*, the Roads being stopped by the King's Forces, or by Those of the Parliament, he went on Foot to *Cambridge*; but could hear no Divinity Lectures there, the Professors being all under Confinement in *Trinity College*. Being on his Return to *Franecker*, he applied himself to Preaching, even in *Dutch*; and his Sermons were so well relished, that, in hopes of retaining him in *Friesland*, they dissuaded him from revisiting *Poland*. He was judged very capable of the Ministry by the Claffical Synod of *Franecker*, who had examined him; and the Praises they gave him induced a young Gentlewoman of That Country to accept of him for a Husband [A]. He was married to her in the Year 1645, and soon after

* A System of Divinity compiled from Sermons.

(c) Johannes de Potock Potocki, Succemari-rius Terre Halicicæ.

(a) The Reformed Churches of Bohemia retain'd this Part of Ancient Discipline. — An Acolyth is an Under Diacon, the lowest Order of Priests.

(b) Superintendent of the Churches of Great Poland.

[A] The Praises they gave him induced a young Gentlewoman of That Country to accept of him for a Husband. This we are informed of by the Author of his Funeral Oration. "Fecit paulo post, says be (1), tanta omnium laus, ut nobilissima in Frisia Virgo Remigia à NITZEN facili in conjugales ejus rueret amplexus anno 1645. — Soon after, This general Approbation induced a Noble Lady of Friesland, Remigia of NITZEN, readily to meet his Embraces in Wedlock, in the Year 1645." This Lady was to be commended for preferring Reputation and Merit to Riches. There are other Examples of Matches of this Nature; for it is certain, that many Protestant Divines, recommended only by the

Credit of their Eloquence, or Learning, have married to great Advantage, and rendered themselves very considerable by the Rank of the Family, into which they have married. The great Probability, that they may, sooner, or later, be raised to distinguished Benefices, or considerable Professorships, may have contributed towards it. Be this as it will, the Wife of our *Arnoldus* is to be commended. She died in the beginning of the Year 1652, and left no Children. In the Year 1653, he married again to the Widow of an Advocate of *Leeuwarden*, whose Name was *Anne Pybinga*, the Daughter of a Burgo Master of *Franecker*, who brought him nine Children, five Sons (2) and four Daughters, and survived him

(2) The second and third were Twins. See the Program-ma of the Rector of the University. It is printed before the Orat. Funer.

(1) Marckius, in Orat. Funer. Arnoldi, p. 38.

Note, that the Precepts of This Rabbi do not at all agree with the Advice of Physicians; who pretend, that a Child, conceived under Distraction of Mind, I mean under ferious, grave, and spiritual Thoughts, will be simple, foolish, and weak (5). They give very different Advice to Those, who desire Children (6); but any Man of tolerable Sense must grant, that They lead Mankind into a very bad School of Chastity; Their Precepts are calculated only for Those, who would confine every thing to Animal, Earthly, Sensual, and Epicurean Life. We must go to our Rabbi's School, if we would learn to demean ourselves, in this part of our Duty, like Creatures endowed with a Spiritual Soul, and not deserve the Censure;

(5) See Remarks [C] of the ASSISIA (FRANCIS d').

(6) See Roderic de Castro, de Naturis, lib. 3. cap. 5.

(7) Persius, Sat. II. ver. 36.

O curvæ in terras animæ, & cœlestium inanes (7) !
O *foetid Minds, of Heavenly Thoughts devoid !*

We shall the better comprehend how excellent and sublime the Morality of This Jew is, if we remember, that it is directly opposite to the Maxims of Those Doctors of Impurity, who have filled their Poems with so much Wantonness. These dangerous Poisoners are far from advising Silence; and it is This, which furnished a Modern with a Confirmation of the Interpretation he has given of the Words of a Greek Poet, which contain a Description of the Grotto of the Nymphs. *As for the agreeable Murmuring*, says he (8), *mentioned by Homer, they are without doubt the obliging Words of Lovers, the ohi me cor mio (Oh! my Heart!) of the Italians; the ζων και ψυχην (My Life and Soul!) of the Greeks; and the alma de mi alma (Soul of my Soul!) of the Spaniards; such as attend upon the most favourable Privacies, and which made the most knowing, of all the Poets, in the Art of Love, to say;*

(8) Hexameron's unique, IV Journee, p. 112, &c.

* Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. II. ver. 723.

Accedant questus, accedat amabile murmur,
Et dulces gemitus, aptaque verba juro *.

*And, whilst in Bliss together you expire,
Let Sighs, and gentle Murmurs, fan the Fire.*

Hear what he says in another Place;

Et mihi blanditias dixit, dominumque vocavit,
Et quæ præterea publica verba juvant †.

† Id. Amor. Lib. III. Eleg. 6. ver. 11.

*She list'd soft Flattery, my Desires to move,
And try'd the Force of Words, to kindle Love.*

I will not inform you, that the Term juvare is altogether Erotic, and consecrated to the last Delights of Love, which are again expressed, as well as the Murmurs, in these two Verses of the same Author;

‡ Id. de Arte Amandi, Lib. II.

Me voces audire juvat sua gaudia lassas,
Uique morer, me, me, sustineamque roget ‡.

ARRERAC (JOHN d') Counsellor in the Parliament of Bourdeaux, towards the end of the XVIth Century, is Author of a Book, which I shall take notice of below [A].

[A] He is Author of a Book, which I shall take notice of below. It is intitled *La Philosophie Civile & d'Etat, divisée en l'Irenarchie & la Polemarchie*. — *Civil and Political Philosophy, divided into Irenarchy and Polemarchy*; and was printed at Bourdeaux, by Simon Millanges, in the Year 1598, in 8vo. It consists of two Volumes, only the first of which I have seen (1). The Author gives us this Idea of it (2). "I have borrowed my Subject from the Laws of the first Book of the Pandects, which the Doctors universally despise, either because they do not understand them, or because they look upon them as of but little use toward Chancery, of which they are more Slaves, on account of the Gain they hope from it, than Lovers of Virtue and Honour. This Book is so rich and fruitful of excellent Laws, that I am much mistaken, if I do not prove in mine, that it contains the greatest Part of the Laws of Nature, and of both Moral and Civil Philosophy, together with the Order of the Roman Magistracy

(1) It contains 721 Pages.

(2) J. d'Arrerac, Epistle Dedictory to the Cardinal de Joyeuse.

*Give me the Girl, who dies upon the Kiss,
In Murmurs soft, expressive of the Bliss;
Who courts my Stay; whose Beauties never cloy,
Inspire new Raptures, and revive the Joy.*

— The famous Epithalamium of the Emperor Gallienus, which Trebellius Pollio persers to Those of an hundred other Poets, who all exerted their Pens on the same Subject, wonderfully expresses these soft and obliging Murmurs, and the Careless, which are inseparable from them. It is said, that, holding the Hands of two of his Brother's Children, when he married them, he pronounced these Verses of his own Composition;

Itē, itē, o pueri, pariter sudate medullis
Omnibus inter vos, non murmura vestra columbæ,
Brachia non hederæ, non vincant oscula conchæ.

*Now go, my Children! prove the Tails of Love;
In Murmurs soft surpass the cooing Dove;
Cling, like the Tendrils of the curling Vine;
And close each Kiss, as sticks the Shell-fish, join.*

It is difficult to conceive any thing more pathetic, or passionate, on this Head. To be diametrically opposite to These false Doctors, the Bane of Youth, is no small Praise; it is a just Presumption, that the Morality, which one advances, is of admirable Purity. Add to all this the judicious Answer of the famous Mr Drelincourt to a Bishop, who had made an Observation altogether unbecoming. I will not say a Person of his Character, but even a Layman, who is not over fond of a wanton Stile. These are Mr Drelincourt's Words (9); "Instead of washing out, with his Tears, those ways of speaking, that the Virgin Mary is the Spirit and Life of Christians, he defends them with a Rallery, which would better become Those, who tread the Stage. You Gentlemen, says he, *Passion of the Protestant Church, who have your dear Counterparts, not so much inseparable Accidents of your Substance, as Bone of your Bone, and Flesh of your Flesh, nay, who are but one Flesh in two Persons, use indeed much more endearing Terms to Those Souls of your Souls, Those Lives of your Lives, Those Lives of your Hearts and Souls, Those Souls of your Lives and Hearts, than the World knows of; for you are Those Spiritual Persons, who judge the whole World, nay the very Angels, and with much more Reason the Romanists, without being subject to be judged by any. I know not whence he had his Information, and shall not answer for the Expressions of Those, who have Wives by stealth. But a grave Person, who lives in a chaste Marriage, does not study such extravagant Rhetoric." The Prelate replied in a manner so Burlesque, that nothing could exceed it (10).*

(9) Drelincourt's Avant-coureur de la République à Mr le Camus, Evêque de Belley, pag. 36, 37.

(10) See his Answer to the Avant-coureur of Mr Drelincourt, pag. 156.

and Jurisdiction. I have added to this first Book the two first Titles of the second, upon which I have discoursed of the Rights of Jurisdiction, as well according to the Roman Policy, as our own French and Ecclesiastical Law; and of This Law of Nature; *quod quisque juris in alium statuerit, ut ipse eodem jure utatur*." This relates to the first Tome, or the Irenarchy, that is, *State of Peace*: what follows concerns his Polemarchy, or *State of War*. It is a small Volume, containing, in four Books, the Qualities and Perfections of the General of an Army, the Artifices and Stratagems of ancient Commanders, the Uses to be made of Occurrences in War, and the Way to preserve a Victory, after it is obtained (3). This Author had read much, and is not sparing of his Quotations; but, generally speaking, he says but little on each particular Subject, which gives him room to treat of a great Number. He frequently attacks the most celebrated Lawyers, as Accursius, Alciatus, Budæus, Cujacius, &c. and, from Time to Time, he makes uncommon Observations.

(3) Ibid. pag. 2.

ARRIA, the Name of some Roman Ladies, whom I shall mention in the Remarks of the Article PAETUS.

ARRIGA (RODERIC d') a Spanish Jesuit, was born at Lucrona, the Seventeenth of January, 1592. He entered into the Society on the Seventeenth of September, 1606, and taught Philosophy, with great Applause, at Valladolid, and Divinity at Salamanca; and, being informed, by Letters from the General of The Order, that it would be more for the Glory of God, that some Spanish Jesuits should go into Bohemia (a), to teach the sublimer Sciences there, he offered himself for This Employ. He arrived at Prague in the Year 1624. He taught Scholastic Divinity there for the Space of thirteen Years, and was Director-General of the Studies twenty Years successively, and Chancellor of the University for twelve Years. He solemnly received the Cap of Doctor of Divinity, and acquired much Reputation. The Province of Bohemia deputed him three times to Rome, to assist there at the general Congregations of the Order (b). He was several times intreated to return into Spain, but to no purpose. He was very much esteemed by Urban VIII, Innocent X, and the Emperor Ferdinand III. He died at Prague on the Seventeenth of June 1667 (c). He published several Books [A], in which he discovered much Subtlety, and Wit. He seems to have succeeded much better in confuting what he denied, than in defending what he affirmed; and it is pretended, that thereby he became a Favourer of Pyrrhonism, tho' he always declared, that he was no Pyrrhonist [B]. It would certainly be the highest Injustice to suspect him of the least Prevarication, or of betraying the Dogmatists; for, if, on one hand, he exerted all his Strength in confuting a great number of Opinions; he employed it on the other, in supporting the Opinions, which he had embraced: It was easy to see, that he acted with Sincerity, and exerted himself to the utmost; and, if his Proofs are weaker than his Objections, the blame must be laid on the nature of the Things. The Diligence, with which he confuted the Subtleties, which have been invented by the Schoolmen, to prove, that two contradictory Propositions are sometimes true, and sometimes false [C], is a sufficient Demonstration, that he was passionately in the Interest

(a) The Jesuits had newly made this Country a Province of their Order, diff'ng from That of Austria. Sotuel, Bibl. Script. Socier. Iesu, pag. 728, 729.

(b) At the 8th, 10th, and 11th.

(c) Taken from Sotuel, ubi supra.

[A] He published several Books. A Course of Philosophy, in one Volume; and a Course of Divinity, in eight Volumes. The Course of Philosophy, printed in Folio, at Antwerp, in the Year 1632, has been reprinted several times. The Edition of Lyons is augmented. The first and second Volume of his Course of Divinity were printed in the Year 1643; the Third and Fourth in the Year 1644; the Fifth in the Year 1649; the Sixth in Year 1650; the Seventh and Eighth in the Year 1655. They are All in Folio, printed by Baltazar Moret, at Antwerp (1). He had The ninth Volume in hand, when he died: It was That de Jure & Justitia (2). Don Nicolas Antonio makes Arriaga the Author of a Book, De Oratore, printed at Cologne in the Year 1637, and of The Brevis Expositio Literar Magistri Sententiarum, cum Quaestionibus quae circa ipsam moveri possunt, & Authoribus qui de illis disputant. — A Brief Exposition of the Letter of the Master of the Sentences, with the Questions, which may be started thereupon, and the Authors, which controvert them; printed at Lyons, in the Year 1636, in 8vo, after other Editions (3); but, as Father Sotuel does not mention These two Books, tho' the first was ascribed to This Jesuit by Alegambius, there is reason to believe, that Don Nicolas Antonio is mistaken.

(1) Nicolas Antonio, Biblioth. Hispan. Tom. II. pag. 299. & several of these Volumes were printed likewise at Lyons.

(2) Taken from Sotuel, in Biblioth. Script. Soc. Iesu, p. 729.

(3) Nicol. Anton. Biblioth. Script. Hispan. Tom. II. p. 209.

(4) Petrus de Villemandy in Sermone deo deb. 170, cap. I. pag. 15.

(5) Id. ib. cap. IV. p. 32.

[B] It is pretended, that thereby he became a Favourer of Pyrrhonism, tho' he always declared, that he was no Pyrrhonist. This is the Opinion of Mr de Villemandy: "Sua alii, sibi de (4), qui periculosus adhuc sollicitant (jaeratora fidei dogmata) cujusmodi Arriaga suis in disputationibus Theologicis: nihil enim non moliantur ut aliorum quorumcunque placita reflexionibus & objectionibus suis destruant, ipsi autem nihil fere adferunt — Celebris est inter Romanenses Scholasticos Rodericus ille Arriaga — Is multis Volum. Fol. & Philosophiam & Theologiam est persecutus; jam autem singula quaeque sic tractat ut aliorum fere omnium opinionem variis rationibus infirmare studeat, suas autem levissime sufficiat. Si ex hac methodo ingenii conditio dijudicetur, verè Pyrrhonius potest haberi; cum tamen placita sua quantum potest firmet, iisque constanter inhaereat, non potest legitime eo nomine donari (5). — There are some, who yet more dangerously shake the most sacred Articles of our Faith, such as Arriaga, in his Theological Disputations; for they take a great deal of Pains to overthrow the Opinions of others, but establish nothing themselves —

"This Roderic Arriaga is famous among the Roman Catholic Schoolmen. He treats of Philosophy, and Divinity, in many Folio Volumes; but handles them in such a Manner, that he endeavours to weaken the Opinions of almost all others by a Variety of Arguments, but makes but a poor Defence of his Own. If the Author's Way of Thinking may be judged of by this Method of Proceeding, he is a thorough Pyrrhonist; but, when he labours to establish his own Opinions, he cannot fairly lay claim to This Appellation." It may be affirmed, that, if the Reading this Jesuit's Writing inclines us to think him a Pyrrhonist, it is purely by Accident, and against his Intention; for he is as Dogmatical as any One, and as zealous to confirm his Decisions; but, whether thro' the Weakness of human Understanding, or the Difficulty of the Subjects, he found himself in the Case of a great numbers of Authors, who can discover the weak Side of a Doctrine to admiration, but never where the Force of it lies. They are like Those Generals, who destroy the Enemy's Country with Fire and Sword, without being able to put their own Frontiers in a Posture of Defence. Mr Ancillon thought This Jesuit "very singular in his Way of Writing, and much freer than others, who, thro' a base Servitude, dare not forsake the Opinions of the Writers of Their Society, and who scrupulously follow them as infallible — Reporting the Opinion of Vajquez, he says plainly, that, in the main, he lays but little stress on Father Vajquez's Solutions (6). Mr Ancillon adds, "In reading Arriaga and Oviedo, I have observed, that, when one of these two Jesuits maintains the Affirmative of a Proposition, the other maintains the Negative; which is not very usual among the Doctors of the Romish Religion in general, and which I have seldom observed, except in Cornelius à Lapide, and Estius." It is no uncommon thing for the Jesuits to confute each other on a great number of Questions, as well in Philosophy, as School-Divinity. Witness Suarez and Vajquez.

[C] The Subtleties of the Schoolmen, to shew, that two contradictory Propositions are sometimes true, and sometimes false. He has very well distinguished These Sophisms: See his second Disputation on the Summulae of Logic (7). I have seen some Professors very much puzzled, when these Objections were made to them; which, in truth, ought only to pass for Cavils, unluckily invented by Perions of too much leisure,

(6) See the Mélanges Critique de Littérature, Tom. I. p. 208.

(7) Sect. V. Subsect. III, & IV. p. 19, &c. Edit. Paris 1639.

Interest of the *Dogmatists*, against the *Pyrrhonians*. He gave up most of the received Opinions of the Schools in Points of Natural Philosophy, such as the Composition of the *Continuum*, Rarefaction, &c. and therefore undertook to defend The Innovators in Philosophy (d). It is pity so refined and penetrating a Genius had not had a better Notion of right Principles; for he might have carried them very far. A small knowledge in Hydrostatics would have discovered to him the reason of a Phenomenon, in the Explanation of which he took a great deal of Pains to no purpose. His Efforts, and his Zeal in this Matter, make it lamented, that he ran with such force out of the right Way.

(d) In the Preface to his Course of Philosophy.

leisure, but who never pretended, like *Heraclitus*, that one and the same thing effectually is, and is not. They only intended to exercise their Wit. Observe, that *Aristotle* does not believe, tho' *Heraclitus* said this, that he really thought so. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὄντιν τὰ αὐτὰ πολλαχῶς εἶναι καὶ μὴ εἶναι, καθάπερ τινὲς οἰοῦνται λέγειν Ἡράκλειον. καὶ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον εἰ τις λέγει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὑπολαμβάνειν (8). — It is impossible for any One to think, that the same Thing is and is not, as some believed *Heraclitus* to have affirmed. For it is not necessary we should believe every thing we say.

(8) *Aristot. Metaphys. lib. III, cap. 3, pag. 667.*

[D] *The Reason of a Phenomenon, in the Explanation of which he took a great deal of Pains to no purpose.* The Phenomenon was, that a Piece of Timber, which is lighter than Water, does, nevertheless, not float on the Water, with regard to its whole bulk, or thickness. A Beam, floating in a River, lies partly under, and partly above, the Water. This cannot be explained according to the common Principles of Gravity and Levity, and hence proceeded the Vanity of the Efforts of *Arriaga* (9). The new Philosophers find no difficulty in this. See the System of Mr *Gadrosi*.

(9) *Arriaga Disputat. 4. de Generat. Sect. 5, de Element. Subsect. VI. pag. 519.*

ARSENIUS, a Deacon of the Roman Church, famous for the Nobility of his Family, but much more for his great Learning, and Piety, was chosen by Pope *Damasus* to be sent to the Emperor *Theodosius*, who wanted a Preceptor for his Son *Arcadius*. He came to *Constantinople* in the Year 383, and was very well received by the Emperor, who was offended, one Day, both at the Disciple and the Master, because he found the latter standing, and the other sitting, at his Lesson. He ordered, that his Son, tho' he had already been declared *Augustus*, should stand uncovered, while *Arcadius* instructed him, and lay aside the Marks of Imperial Dignity during That time. *Arsenius*, employing all his Endeavours to accomplish his Disciple in Learning and Virtue, found himself at last obliged to add Chastisement to Censure. Young *Arcadius* was so incensed at it, that he desired one of his Officers to rid him of his Preceptor (a). The Officer advertised *Arsenius* of it, who retired privately into the Deserts of *Egypt*, where he passed several Years with the Anchorites of *Scetis*, in the most fervent and austere Exercises of Devotion. He died there at the Age of ninety five Years [A]. *Theodosius*, hearing with grief of *Arsenius*'s Retreat, ordered him to be sought for every where, without being able to discover him (b). There are some Faults in *Moret's* Dictionary relating to this Article [B]. I have met with some likewise in other Writers [C].

(a) Taken from the Annals of Baronius, ad Ann. 383, n. 22, 23. He cites Metaphrasis under the 26th of May, and Surius under the 19th of July.

(b) *Flechet's History of Theodosius*, pag. 273, 274.

Several

[A] He died there at the Age of Ninety five Years. Hear how Mr *Arnould d'Andilli* (1) divides this long Life of *Arsenius*. He says, that, "He passed forty Years in the Court of the Emperor *Theodosius*, forty in *Scetis*, ten in *Troché*, which is above *Babylon*, over against the City of *Memphis*, three in *Campus* of *Alexandria*, and two in the fame Town of *Troché*, whither being returned he finished his Course in the fear of God." This Expression, He pass forty Years in the Court of *Theodosius*, is very improper; for, unless we will find a notorious Error in it, it must be taken in this Sense; He was forty Years old, when he quitted the Court of *Theodosius*. In effect, to take it in the proper and natural Signification of the Words, *Arsenius* must have lived to above One hundred and twenty Years of Age. His Age, at the time when he went to *Constantinople*, upon being chosen Preceptor to *Arcadius* by *Damasus*, ought to have been added to the Ninety five Years. This Pope would not have chosen a young Man of twenty: Besides, *Theodosius* reigned but about sixteen Years, and he did not receive *Arsenius* till the fourth Year of his Reign.

(1) *D'Andilli's Lives of the Fathers Solitary*, p. 204.

(a) *Baronius*, ad Ann. 383, n. 22.

(1) It is in the 11th Tome of the Lives of the Fathers Solitary, by *Arnould d'Andilli*, p. 118, of the Edit. in 8vo. of 1676.

(4) *Lib. III, n. 37.*

(5) *Ad Ann. 385, n. 26.*

(6) *Part II, cap. 36.*

[B] There are some Faults in *Moret's* Dictionary. I. *Arsenius* could not have been sent to *Theodosius*, in the Year 383, to be Preceptor to *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, since *Honorius* was not born before the Year 384. *Baronius* had remarked this Fault to *Those*, who wrote the Life of *Arsenius*, and ascribed it to one, who knew, in general, that *Theodosius* had two Sons; aliquis quod sciret duos fuisse Theodosio filios, adjectis Honorium (2). This Error remained in the Life of *Arsenius*, written by Mr *d'Andilli* (3), who quotes *Rufinus* (4) as his Authority. II. I confess, that *Baronius* (5), on the Credit of the Lives of the Fathers, says (6), that *Arsenius* was Godfather to the two Sons of *Theodosius*; but this does not agree with *Rufinus*, who says, that they

were put into *Arsenius*'s Hand presently after their Baptism (7). Besides, *Baronius* himself has observed, that it is a Mistake in the Life of *Arsenius*, where it is said, that he was sent by *Damasus* to be Preceptor to *Arcadius* and *Honorius*. The latter was not yet born; and the other was but about eight Years old. And it is not probable, that *Arsenius* continued at the Court of *Theodosius*, till the Time that *Honorius* stood in need of a Preceptor. III. Mr *Flecbier* says plainly, that *Theodosius* ordered *Arsenius* to be searched for throughout the whole Empire. It is very improbable then, that *Arsenius* did not leave the Court till after the Death of *Theodosius*, in the Year 395. I say, this is very improbable, tho' it be advanced as a certain Fact, in the first and third Volume of The Dictionary. IV. He should not have suppressed the Circumstances, which Mr *Flecbier* had expressly remarked, to wit, that the Officer, whom *Arcadius* employed to kill *Arsenius*, gave This Preceptor notice of it. The Supplement to the Dictionary supposes, that *Arsenius* was divinely forewarned of it. V. *Arcadius* was not associated to the Empire at six Years of Age, but at the Age of seven or eight; as *Baronius*, and *Flecbier* observe. "Erat tunc *Arcadius* annum ætatis agens octavum, natus nimirum sub consulatu Gratiani quarto & Merobaudis, triennio ante Theodosii patris Imperium (8). — *Arcadius* was then eight Years of Age, having been born in the fourth Consulship of Gratian and Merobaudes, three Years before the Accession of his Father *Theodosius* to the Empire." VI. *Socrates* should not have been quoted; for what he says of *Arsenius* has scarce any relation to the Article of the Supplement. However, if any, the Twenty third Chapter of the third Book should have been alledged.

(7) *Apud Arnould d'Andilli*, ubi supra.

(8) *Baronius*, ad Ann. 383, n. 22.

[C] Some Mistakes in other Writers. *Matthias*, in his *Historical Theatre* (9), supposes perpetually, that

(9) *Pag. 713. Edit. Amstel. 1668.*

(c) See the
first Volume,
printed at
Paris, in
1677.

Several of *Arsenius's* Actions, and Sayings, are to be found among the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, published by Mr *Cotelier* (c).

that *Arsenius* was Preceptor to *Honorius*, as well as to *Arcadius*, and That at the same Time. He does not consider, that *Honorius* was not born, when *Arsenius* was sent to *Theodosius*, to instruct *Arcadius*: He never so much as dreams, that *Honorius*, being nine Years younger than his Brother, was very unfit to assist at the Lectures, which were read to *Arcadius*, during the Life of *Theodosius*. Observe this Circumstance well; because *Matthias* was not ignorant, that *Arsenius* absconded before the Death of the Emperor; for he remarks, that *Theodosius* ordered him carefully to be searched for. He quotes the Twenty third Chapter of the fourth Book of *Socrates*, where nothing of what he says is to be found. He adds, that *Arcadius*, after the Death of

his Father, was informed where *Arsenius* lay concealed, and sent to desire his Pardon for what had passed, and his Holy Benediction. *Doujatius*, being carried away with the Stream, joins *Honorius* with *Arcadius* (10). *Charles Stephens* knew our *Arsenius* only under the Quality of *Patrician*; and supposes him not to forsake the Court, but only his Estate, to go into a Monastery, being admonished by a Voice from the Clouds, commanding him to fly, and live in Silence and Peace. *Hofman* has added to this only the Post of Preceptor to *Arcadius*. *Lloyd* has suppressed the whole Article. Observe, that *Nicephorus*, the Son of *Callistus*, affirms, that *Theodosius* appointed *Arsenius* Preceptor to his Sons (11).

(10) *Arse-*
nus, non il-
le *Arcadii* &
Honorii
Preceptor....
Arse-nus, non
the Preceptor
of *Arcadius*,
and *Honorii*.
ut. *Doujatius*
Prænot. Ca-
non. p. 429.

(11) *Nice-*
phor. *Histor.*
lib. XII, cap.
23.

ARSENIUS, Patriarch of *Constantinople* in the XIIIth Century, was a Native of That City. He was educated in a Monastery of *Nice*, and was likewise Superior of it: But he renounced This Dignity to addit himself wholly to a Monastic Life, either in the Monasteries of *Apolloniade*, or Those of Mount *Albos*. He was taken from this way of Life, in the Year 1255, by the Emperor *Theodorus Lascaris*, who made him Patriarch of *Constantinople*. Four Years after, the same Emperor, before his Death, declared him one of the two Preceptors of his Son *John*. The other Preceptor was *George Muzalon*; who, discovering Designs very contrary to the true Interest of the Young Prince, gave *Arsenius* a dislike to his Employment, which was the cause of his returning to a Monastic Life. But, in the Year 1261, when the *Greeks* had recovered *Constantinople*, under the Conduct of *Michael Palæologus*, *Arsenius* was recalled to resume the Patriarchate, and fill That See, from which the Patriarchs had been excluded for above fifty Years. The next Year, the Emperor *Michael Palæologus* caused the Eyes of *John Lascaris*, Son of the Emperor *Theodorus*, to be put out. *Arsenius*, offended at so barbarous an Action, committed on his Pupil, excommunicated *Michael*, who, to disperse these Ecclesiastical Storms, assembled a Council, and, on false Accusations, caused *Arsenius* to be deposed, and banished him to the Island of *Proconnesus*. He lived a long time in This Exile; but it is not certainly known in what Year he died. He was a good Man, but wholly unqualified for Business (a). He is an Author [A].

(c) Taken
from Cave's
Historia Li-
teraria
Scriptor. Ec-
cles. p. 725.

[A] He is an Author. He wrote a *Nomo-Canon*, or Collection of Canons, divided into One hundred and forty one Titles, to each of which he adds some Articles or Heads of the Imperial Laws. It is inserted in *Greek* and *Latin* in the *Bibliothèque*

of Canon-Law, published by Messieurs *Jussel* and *Faet*. We have also the Testament of *Arse-nius*, published in *Greek* and *Latin*, by Mr *Cotelier*, in the second Volume of his Monuments of the *Greek* Church (1).

(1) *Cave's*
Histor. Libe-
rar. p. 725.
Doujat. Præ-
not. Canon.
p. 429.

ARSENIUS, Archbishop of *Monembasia*, or *Malvasia*, in the *Morea*, in the XVIth Century, passed for a learned Philologist. He was an intimate Friend of *Paul III*, and wrote very elegant Letters to him; in one of which he complains of the little Affection of the Church of *Rome* for the *Greek* Nation [A]. He submitted to the Church of *Rome*, which made him so odious to the *Greek* Schismatics, that *Pachomus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, excommunicated him; and the *Greeks* reported, that *Arse-nius*, after his Death, was *Broukolakas*, that is, that the Devil hovered about his Corps, and re-animated him (a). We have some Works of His [B].

(a) See Guil-
let, *Lacedæ-*
mon Anci-
enne & Nou-
velle, p. 527,
and *Crusius*
in his *Turco-*
Græcia.

[A] He complained of the little Affection of the Church of *Rome* for the *Greek* Nation. See the Words of Mr *Guillet*. " *Arse-nius* wrote some elegant Letters to Pope *Paul III*, which are still extant. In one of them he complains much of the little Affection the Church of *Rome* has for the *Greek* Nation, in that it hath not raised any of them to the Dignity of Cardinal. *Paul* was made " Pope in the Year 1535 (1). If this Complaint be taken for general, *Arse-nius* is guilty of a Falshood; for it is certain, that Cardinal *Bessarion* was a *Greek*: we must, then, believe, that *Arse-nius's* Reproaches were like Those of *Masurius*. The latter complains bitterly, that not one *Greek* had a Share in the numerous Promotions, which *Leo X*, had newly made (2). *Paul III*, was elected Pope in the Month of *October*, 1534.

(1) *Guil-*
Laced. Anc.
& Nouv. pag.
327.

(2) See the
Article *MU-*
SURIUS.

I have been informed by Mr *de la Monnaie*, " That no Letter of *Arse-nius* to That Pope is to be found, except That, which serves as a Dedication " to the *Scholia* of *Euripides*. It is there he com- " plains, that, among so many Cardinals of all Na- " tions, there are not, at least, two or three *Greeks*. " *Καίτοι ἰδὲ πολλοὶς ἢ ἑνα ἢ δύο τῶν Ἑλλή- " νων ἐν τοσούτοις καρδινάλιοις ὑπεριστάδα* " *τῶν Καρδινάλων*." Nothing is more useful, or necessary, than to have recourse to the Fountain-head.

[B] We have some Works of his. A Collection of *Apophthegms*, printed at *Rome*, in *Greek*: Another Collection of *Scholia* on seven Tragedies of *Euripides*, printed at *Venice*, 1534. He says, in his Epistle Dedicatory to Pope *Paul III*, that he had composed it in the Isle of *Candy*, at *Venice*, and at *Florence*. See the *Bibliothèque* of *Geshar*.

ARSENIUS, A *Greek* Monk, wrote a Letter against *Cyrillus Lucar*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, which was published in *Greek* and *Latin*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1643, with the Acts of the Council, wherein *Parthenius*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, caused the Confession of This *Cyril* to be condemned in the Year 1642. Every one knows,

knows, that the Confession of Cyril was conformable to the Opinions of *Genev.* Mr *Claudé* maintained (a), that This Condemnation was a spurious Piece. The Catalogue of the Library of Oxford has confounded *Arfenius*, Author of the *Nomo-Canon*, with our Greek Monk.

(a) *Claudé's*
Answer to
Mr *Arnauld*,
lib. III, cap.
12, p. 473.

ARSINOE. There have been several Queens of This Name. Mr *Moreri* has mentioned the Principal, not without some Mistakes. He is a little too short on *Arfinoe*, the Sister of *Cleopatra*: We shall make amends for this Brevity in the Article *PTOLOMY AULETES* (a).

(c) Remark
[A]

ARSINOE, the Wife of *Magas*, King of *Cyrene* [A], dishonoured herself by her Lasciviousness. A little before *Magas* died, he contracted their only Daughter *Berenice* to the Son of *Ptolomy*, King of *Egypt*. Immediately after his Decease, *Arfinoe*, who was not pleased with this Contract, considered how to break it. She caused *Berenice*, with the Kingdom of *Cyrene*, to be offered to *Demetrius*, Brother of *Antigonus* (a). This Offer was accepted: *Demetrius* immediately embarked, and had so favourable a Passage, that he soon came to the sight of *Berenice*. He was a handsome Man, and valued himself the more upon it, as he soon perceived the Impression, which his Beauty had made on the Heart of *Arfinoe*. He neglected the Daughter, to make himself more acceptable to the Mother: He treated the Soldierly with Contempt; in short, he rendered himself so odious, that the whole People turned their Thoughts on the Son of *Ptolomy*. It was resolved to make away with *Demetrius*; and the Means of doing it were concerted with *Berenice* (b). Ruffians were set to murder him, at a Time when he had appointed to lie with *Arfinoe* [B]. This Lady, hearing her Daughter's Voice, who stood at the Door, and commanded them to spare her Mother, covered her Gallant's Body with her own, as well as she could; but her Endeavours were in vain. He lost his Life; after which the Marriage of *Berenice* with the Son of *Ptolomy* was consummated (c). *Justin*, if I mistake not, is the only Historian, who informs us of this: I am surprized at it; for an Action of this Nature highly deserved to be taken notice of. What is still more strange, is, that no one informs us what became of *Arfinoe*, nor whence she sprung, nor what became of *Berenice*; and, so far from any one's relating, that *Ptolomy Evergetes*, the Son of *Philadelphus*, married her, it is on the contrary affirmed, that he married *Cleopatra* (d). Note, that *Ptolomy Evergetes* had a Son, called *Magas* (e), from whence it may be conjectured, that his Wife's Father's Name was *Magas*, as *Justin* reports. I shall remark some Errors of Mr *Moreri* [C], and one of Mr *Menage* [D].

(d) See *Mat-*
thias The-
atr. Histor.
pag. 363.
He cites no
Author; but
we find in
Josephus
Antiq. lib.
XII, cap. 4,
that the Wife
of *Ptolomy*
Evergetes
was called
Cleopatra.

(e) *Plut in*
Agide &
Cleomene,
pag. 820.

[A] *The Wife of Magas, King of Cyrene.* In the Editions of *Justin*, he is called *Agas*; but good Critics have observed, long ago, that it must be read *Magas*; they add, that *Pausanias*, *Polianus*, and *Athenæus* call him so (1). It may be objected, perhaps, that He, whom *Pausanias* mentions, was not the Husband of our *Arfinoe*; for He was Brother, by the Mother's side, of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; whereas the Husband of *Arfinoe* was the Brother of *Ptolomy Evergetes*. This is the History of *Magas*, according to *Pausanias*. He was the Son of *Berenice*, and of *Philip*, a Macedonian of mean Extraction. *Eurydice*, *Antipater's* Daughter, having been married to *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, carried This *Berenice* into *Egypt*; who lay with *Ptolomy*, and, among other Children, brought him *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who reigned after his Father. She caused the Government of *Cyrene* to be given to her Son *Magas*; who married *Apama*, the Daughter of King *Antiochus*, and had a great Difference with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. This is the *Magas* of *Pausanias* (2). Is it not plain, then, may any one say, that This cannot be the *Magas* of *Justin*, who was married to *Arfinoe*, and who died about the time that the Son of *Pyrrius* was restored to the Kingdom of *Epirus* (3). The Critics may reply, that *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, having reigned fifty Years (4), he might very well have lived till the Restoration of the Son of *Pyrrius*, which the best Chronologers place in the Year of Rome 493 (5), which was the Twenty fifth of the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. So that, instead of saying, as is commonly done, that *Justin* (6) speaks of *Ptolomy Evergetes* in his Twenty sixth Book, it must be asserted, that he speaks of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; and that it is to him that he gives *Magas*, King of *Cyrene*, as a Brother: that, if he calls *Arfinoe* the Wife of *Magas*, it is no proof, that His *Magas* differs from This of *Pausanias*; since the same King of *Cyrene* might have been successively married to *Apama*, the Daughter of *Antiochus*, and to our *Arfinoe*. By the way, the Wars, wherein he was engaged against *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, according to *Pausanias*, agree very well with the *Magas* mentioned by *Justin*. "Rex Cyrenarum Agas decessit, qui, ante infirmitatem,

"Berenicem unicam filiam, ad finienda cum Ptolomæo fratres certamina, filio ejus deponderat (7). — Agas, King of Cyrene, died, who, before his Weakness, had betrothed his only Daughter *Berenice* to the Son of his Brother *Ptolomy*, in order to put an End to all Contests." I confess, this does not seem to agree with the *Magas*, mentioned by *Athenæus*; for he was one, who, enjoying Peace, was immersed in Pleasure and Idleness, and grew so fat with eating, that his very Grease choked him (8). But this Objection is not unanswerable; may not a Prince, in the space of fifty Years Reign, be engaged in some Wars, and live afterwards in a long Repose?

(7) *Justin*,
lib. XXVI,
cap. 3.

(8) *Athenæus*,
lib. 12, pag.
550.

[B] *Ruffians were set to murder him, at a Time when he had appointed to lie with Arfinoe.* The Jewish *Bisellius* thought this Circumstance matter of Admiration. "Adulteris autem, says he (9), duobus illis, *Berenice* cæ filiâ mœchæ concia, tenæ per dispositos percussores ita sunt insidiæ (quod mireris) ut in ipso flagrantis sceleris ardore deprehensis superveniens adulteræ filia, mœchique conjunx, *Berenice* pro thalami nefandi foribus subsistens, &c. — The Two Adulterers (which is surprizing) were so betrayed into the Hands of Assassins by *Berenice* the Daughter, who was conscious of the Intrigue, that, in the very Arder of their enormous Guilt, *Berenice*, the Daughter of the Adulteress, and betrothed to the Adulterer, surprizing them, and standing at the Door, &c." But neither the Circumstances of Time, nor Place, have any thing wonderful in them. It was easy to observe, when *Demetrius* went to *Arfinoe's* Chamber, and it was the most plausible Opportunity that the Conspirators could take.

(9) *Bisellius*,
Rutnar. Il-
lustrum De-
cade IV,
pag. 1336.
Justin says,
Cui (*Demetri-*
us) cum in
lectum fo-
cens com-
missit, per-
cussores im-
mittuntur.

[C] *Some Errors of Mr Moreri.* I. This way of expressing himself is not exact; *Magas* gave his Daughter *Berenice* in Marriage to *Ptolomy*: The Latin says *Berenicem — filiam deponderat* (10). — *Betrothed his Daughter Bernice.* *Moreri's* Words conceal a Fact, which is not unravelled in the Sequel of his Narrative; to wit, that *Berenice* continued with her Father and Mother. Quite a different thing was intended, where we read, that he was given in Marriage to the Son of a King of *Egypt*. That he might not therefore mislead his Readers, he should have

(10) *Justin*,
ubi supra.

have used the word *dependere* in the strictest Sense. This Observation is small in itself; but the Application of it may be of Importance to Those, who Translate. They can never too scrupulously follow This Rule; to wit, that they should avoid equivocal Expressions, and all that may hinder the Reader from entertaining the Ideas best suited to the Nature of each Subject. II. It is not true, that *Justin* says, that our *Arfinoe* was Daughter of *Antiochus Soter*. III. Nor, that her Husband's Name was *Magus* (11). IV. Nor, that this pretended *Magus* was the Son of *Ptolomy Lagus* (12). V. Nor, that she obliged her Daughter to marry *Demetrius*. VI. Nor, that she had a Design of setting the Crown on his Head. VII. Nor, that she was deposed. Can we sufficiently censure so bold a Liberty? This Narrative is at pleasure, without any Authority. And yet he quotes his Author. I know, that, in taking an Historian of so little Judgment, as *Justin*, for a Guide, there is a Necessity of supplying several Circumstances; but then notice should be given, that they are supplied, and not imposed on us as a Translation of *Justin*. I have often said, that this Abbreviator had but little Judgment; and I am certain, that *Trogus Pompeius* would exclaim a thousand times against him, did he but know in what a sad Condition his Work is left by this Epitomizer. He would lose himself in the Errors of his Abbreviator. Almost all the *Antiochus's*, the *Ptolomy's*, and the *Antigonus's*, appear in his History without their Marks of Distinction: It is uncertain, whether he speaks of the Father, or the Son, or the Grand Son; and it must be guessed at for the most part: He has not taken the Trouble to tell us, whether This Marriage of *Berenice* was consummated or no. A fine Question, you will say! And yet he ought expressly to have affirmed, or denied, it; for it is not improbable, that One, who observed, with Joy, that he was beloved by the Mother, should readily agree,

to defer his Marriage with the Daughter. You will answer me, perhaps, that *Justin* gives *Arfinoe* the Title of Mother-in-Law to *Demetrius*; *nimis placeat sacri caperat*; but I reply, that, after this, he gives *Berenice* the Title of *Virgin*; *que res suspensa primo virgini*; and, consequently, one of these Phrases overthrows the other; which is a shrewd Suspicion, that he does not employ his Terms in the most exact Sense: *Justin's Index*, in the Edition of Mr *Grævius*, gives *Berenice* only the Title of Betrothed (13). However that be, *Justin*, and many other Epitomizers, never consider, that Abridgments ought to resemble Pygmies, who have all the Parts of a perfect human Body, tho' each of them in Miniature. Contract the Parts of a Narration in an Abridgment as much as you please, but cut off none. Let us reckon Mr *Moreri's* contradicting himself for the eighth Fault. He will have it here, that *Berenice*, the Wife of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, was the Daughter of *Magus*, and yet affirms elsewhere (14), that she was this *Ptolomy's* own Sister.

[D] I shall observe one Error of Mr *Menage*.] It is in his Annotation on these Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*: Δημήτριος τὸ πλυνσάριον εἰς Κυρηνεὶν ἐπὶ πλὴν νεοθίναι λυγίσαι (Ἀρετσίλαος) (15). *Demetrius qui Cyrenem* (16) *navigavit amasse plurimum dicitur (Arcefilas)*. "I do not wonder, says "Mr *Menage*, that This Philosopher, who was so fond of young Boys, should fall in love with *Demetrius*, whose Beauty seems to have been very extraordinary, and was, at last, fatal to him, for he "was killed in the Embraces of his Mother-in-law." *In novæ concubitus casus est. Justin*, cited by Mr *Menage*, gives no Authority for saying, that *Arfinoe* had such a Relation to the Minion of *Arcefilas*. It had been much better for him to have taken notice of the Faults of the Latin Interpretation (17).

(13) *Demetrius à SPONSA sua interficitur*, 26, 3, 7.

THE Qualifications of a good Abridger. See Remark [A] of the Article DOMITIA.

(14) In the 2d Article BERENICE.

(15) *Diogenes Laërtius in Arcesilaus*, lib. 4, n. 41.

(16) The Editions have it, cum in Cyrenem navigasset; which is false; for the Answer of *Arcefilas* as did not commence after the Voyage to Cyrene.

(17) See the preceding Marginal Note.

ARTABANUS, the Son of *Hyrtaspes* [A], and Brother of *Darius I*, of That Name, King of *Persia*, is represented to us, by *Herodotus*, as a wife Man, who always opposed those pompous Expeditions, which were so fatal to the *Persian* Monarchy (a). He was not of Opinion that *Darius* ought to attack the *Scythians* (b); and much less that *Xerxes* should engage himself in a War with the *Greeks*. *Herodotus* has preferred to us the solid Reasons, on which his Advice was grounded [B], and the Judgment he gave on the prodigious Army both for Sea and Land Service, with which *Xerxes* prepared to pass from *Asia* into *Europe* (c). The Difficulties, which *Artabanus* represented to him, made the King choose to send him back into *Persia*, to command there in his Absence, rather than have his Attendance in the Expedition (d). The Event demonstrated how judiciously, and faithfully, he had advised. He did not however always preserve This Fidelity; for he conspired against *Xerxes*, and slew him (e); and afterwards drew in *Artaxerxes*, the Son of *Xerxes*, to make away with his Brother *Darius*: he drew him into it, I say, by making him believe, that *Darius* was the Murderer of *Xerxes*. But *Artaxerxes* discovered the Truth soon after, and killed *Artabanus* as he was pulling off his Cuirass (f). *Diodorus Siculus* differs from *Justin*, as to the manner of *Artabanus's* being punished for his Crime (g). We shall see, in the Remark [B], how This Prince reasoned on Dreams, and upon the Duration of human Life.

[A] The Son of *Hyrtaspes*.] I cannot imagine where Mr *Moreri* had read, that *Artabanus* was a Native of *Hircania*. The two Authors he has quoted (1) say nothing like it. *Ctesias* makes the Father of *Artabanus* to have been a Favourite of *Cambyses*, named *Artasgras*, who, at first, favoured the Usurpation of the *Magus*, and afterwards the Design, formed by the seven great Lords, to expel the *Magus* (2).

[B] *Herodotus has preferred to us the solid Reasons, on which his Advice was grounded* (3).] One would think *Herodotus* had made it his Business to do Honour to *Artabanus's* Prudence and fine Sense. He never indulges his Imagination more, than when he makes This Prince argue. *Xerxes*, after putting himself into a great Passion, and violently abusing him, submitted to his Reasons, and thought no more of the Expedition; but two Dreams, one upon another, pushed him on to prosecute it (4). He went to *Artabanus*, and told him his Dreams; adding, withal, I will try whether you will have the like; take my Robes, sit on my Throne, lie in my Bed. *Artabanus* answers, That he was not worthy of so much Honour; and then reasons very judiciously upon Dreams, saying, That, if there be any thing Divine in these

Dreams of *Xerxes*, his Majesty had Reason to think, that he should have the like; "for what could we think, if a God, who had a War at Heart, and came at Night to injoin it some Monarch, who had resolved to live in Peace, should not appear, and give the same Orders, to his first Minister of State, when nothing less can make it certain whether this God does indeed desire the War? But, continues he, do not imagine, that it is therefore necessary I should take your Habit, and lie in your Bed. That I know not what to call it, which appeared to you in a Dream, is not so ignorant a Being, as to mistake me for you, by seeing me dressed in your Robes; and, if he does not think fit to address himself to Me, your Garments will no more influence him to do so, than my own." *Xerxes* would be absolutely obeyed: *Artabanus* dreamed in Conformity with his Master, and opposed the War no longer, but became the Promoter of it, though he remained greatly diffident of the Success (5). If these Things were true, ought we not to conclude, that they had for their Author That Spirit, which was a Liar and a Murderer from the beginning; for *Xerxes* was threatened with great

Disgrace,

(11) His Name, in the Editions of *Justin*, is *Agas*; his true Name is *Magas*.

(12) He was the Son of one *Philip*, and the Mistress of This *Ptolomy*.

(a) *Herodotus*, lib. 4, cap. 83.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) *Ibid.* cap. 49, & seq.

(d) *Id. lib. 7, c. 52, 53.*

(e) *Diodorus*, lib. 11, *Justin*, lib. 3, cap. 1.

(f) *Justin*, lib. 3.

(g) *Diodorus*, lib. 11, *Siculus*, lib. 11.

(1) *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. 11, and *Justin*, lib. 3. It should have been *Justin*, lib. 3, cap. 1.

(2) In *Persia*, cap. 13, 14, 20.

(3) *Herodotus*, lib. 3, c. 10.

(4) *Id. lib. 7, cap. 15, & seq.*

A REFLECTION of *Artabanus* on Dreams, and on the Duration of human Life.

(5) *Herodotus*, lib. 7, c. 47.

(6) Id. ib.
cap. 14.

Disgrace, if he desisted from That Enterprize (6). At another Time, *Artabanus* reasoned, in a very uncommon manner, on the Shortness of human Life; a Subject, which had caused *Xerxes* to weep, at the Sight of his numberless Army (7). "We live but too long," says he; our Life, short as it is, is long enough to turn our Brain, and make us often wish for Death, as an easy Refuge from the Miseries that overwhelm us. If Life is, nevertheless, seasoned with an agreeable Relish, it is an Argument, that God is envious of human Happiness."

Would not the Greek Philosophers have said of this way of thinking, as *Pyrrhus*, upon his viewing the Roman Army; *The Order of Battle of these Barbarians*, said he, and their Manner of encamping, have nothing of the Barbarian in them (8)? Christianity only can rectify this. It is to be observed, that *Herodotus* was very well acquainted with the Vanities, and Miseries, of Mankind; but he affected a little too much to trace the Causes of them in the Envy, or Malignity, of the Gods. *Plutarch* has condemned him for it (9).

(8) *Plutarch*, in *Pyrrho*, pag. 393.

(9) See Remark [K], of the Article PERICLES, towards the End.

(a) About 240 Years before CHRIST.

ARTABANUS I, King of *Parthia*, the seventh from *Arfaces*, Founder of the Monarchy (a), was the Son of *Priapatus*, and Brother of *Phrabates* and *Mithridates* [A], who had all three reigned successively over the *Parthians*. He succeeded his Nephew *Phrabates*, and died soon after of a Wound in the Arm, which he received in the War he made against the *Tibogarians* (b).

(b) *Justin*, lib. 42. c. 2.

[A] He was the Son of *Priapatus*, and Brother of *Phrabates*, and *Mithridates*. Mr *Moreri* makes him the Son of *Phrabates* I, and Uncle to *Phrabates* II; but these are two incompatible Relations; for *Phrabates* II was the Son of *Mithridates*, who was Brother to *Phrabates* I; how then could a Son of *Phrabates* I be Uncle to *Phrabates* II? This is the Reason, why, though *Justin* gives *Priapatus* but two Sons, I have given him a third, namely, *Artabanus* I. When Authors explain themselves ill, we must take this Liberty with them. *Justin* relates two Things (1). I. That *Priapatus*, dying in the Twenty fifth Year of his Reign, left two Sons, the elder of

whom, named *Phrabates*, reigned before his younger Brother *Mithridates*. II. That *Phrabates*, the Son of *Mithridates*, reigned after his Father, and that his Paternal Uncle *Artabanus* was his Successor (2). How confused is this! He mentions *Mithridates*, and *Phrabates*, as the only Sons of *Priapatus*, and yet intimates, that he had another, since, otherwise, *Artabanus* could not be Paternal Uncle to *Mithridates*'s Son. I have, in vain, searched for a Solution of this Difficulty, in several Commentators on *Justin*, and also in the Notes of the last French Translator (3).

(2) Id. lib. 42, cap. 1, 2.

(3) He takes the Title of *Monfieur* D. L. M. His Translation was printed at Amsterdam, 1694, from the Paris Edition of 1693.

(v) *Justin*, lib. 41, c. 5.

ARTABANUS II, King of *Parthia*, when he was only King of the *Medes* [A], was called by the *Parthians*, to reign over them, in Exclusion of *Vonones*, whom they had sent for to *Rome*, and whom *Tiberius* had very freely granted them (a). *Artabanus* was of the Race of the *Arfacidæ* as well as *Vonones*, and had this farther Advantage, that he was not become obnoxious to That People by a Roman Education (b). The first Battle was fortunate to *Vonones*; but he came off so ill in the second, that he was forced to fly into *Armenia* [B]. The victorious *Artabanus* would not let him rest there; and, as *Tiberius* had not promised *Vonones* the necessary Protection (c), he was forced to quit *Armenia*, and retire to *Silanus*, Governor of *Syria*. This contributed greatly to secure the Crown on the Head of *Artabanus*, which he received about the Seven Hundred and sixty ninth Year of *Rome*, and sixteenth of the 1st Century. However, he was not easy at the Continuance of his Rival in *Syria* (d); for the Communication of Intelligence, being quick and easy, kept up the Spirit of Faction: He therefore sent an Embassy to *Germanicus* to renew the Alliance between them, and insisted, at the same time, that *Vonones* should be obliged to leave *Syria*. The Success of This Embassy is not known; but it is certain, that, after the Death of *Germanicus*, the King of the *Parthians* grew very haughty towards the *Romans*, and cruel to his own People (e). He was so elated with his good Fortune in the Wars he had waged with several neighbouring Nations, that, without any regard to *Tiberius*, whose grey Hairs he despised, he seized upon *Armenia* [C], and

(a) *Joseph*, Antiq. lib. 18, cap. 3.

(b) *Tacit*, Annal. lib. 2, cap. 2.

(c) Id. ib. cap. 4.

(d) Id. ib. cap. 58.

(e) Id. ib. lib. 6. c. 31.

[A] When he was only King of the *Medes*. *Moreri* and *Hofman* have both said, that *Tacitus* makes him King of the *Dacians*. This is what That Historian never dreamed of; he only says, that *Artabanus* had been educated among the *Dabæ*; *Artabanus Arfacidarum sanguine apud Dabas adultus exiit* (1). There is a great deal of Difference between the *Dabæ* and the *Dacians*; and he must have his Thoughts otherwise employed, (to say no worse,) who could believe, that a *Parthian* Prince had been educated near the *Danube*.

[B] *Vonones* — his Competitor came off so ill in the second Battle, that he was forced to fly into *Armenia*. Mr *Moreri* has published two other Falsities. He has made *Vonones* obtain two Victories over the *Parthians*, who yet had the better of his Competitor but once (2); and he attributes one Defeat of *Artabanus*'s Army to *Vitellius*; a Defeat, I say, followed by other Losses of *Artabanus*, towards the Year 36. But I. It is false, that *Vitellius* defeated the Troops of this King of the *Parthians*; II. It is certain, that the Mischief *Vitellius* did him, by Intrigues and Money, was not 'till after other Losses. Mr *Hofman* also ascribes two Victories to *Vonones*, and one to *Vitellius*, which, he says, was the Cause of *Artabanus*'s abandoning *Armenia*. A Mistake; yet infinitely more excusable, than what this Writer has committed after *Lloyd* and *Charles Stephens*, in say-

ing, that *Artabanus*, being a great Enemy to *Tiberius*, seized upon *Armenia*, and was killed by a Persian Soldier, whose Name was *Artaxerxes*; after whom there were no more Kings of the *Parthians*, but only of *Persia*. A prodigious Anachronism! See the Article ARTABANUS IV.

[C] Without any regard to *Tiberius* — he seized upon *Armenia*. It is impossible to be more insulted, than This Emperor was by *Artabanus*; who no sooner perceived, that his Invasion of *Armenia* was an Injury, which *Tiberius* did not revenge, but he attacked *Cappadocia* (3). But what can be more feverish, than the Letters he wrote to him? Let us here *Suetonius*; "Quin & Artabani Parthorum regis laceratus est literis, parricida & caedes & ignaviam & luxuriam obiectis, monentisque ut voluntaria morte maximo iustissimoque civium odio quam primum satisfaceret (4). — He was also stung with Letters from *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, reproaching him with his Indolence, Luxury, Murders, and Parricides, and advising him, by laying violent Hands on himself, to give immediate Satisfaction to the extremest Hatred, and just Resentment of his Subjects." There was, certainly, some personal Averision in the Case; for *Artabanus* behaved very civilly, and even very humbly, towards *Tiberius*'s Successor. Let us hear *Suetonius* again. "Artabanus Parthorum rex odium semper contemp-

(3) *Dion*, lib. 58, sub. fin.

(4) *Suet*, in *Tiber*, cap. 66.

(1) *Tacit*, Ann. lib. 2, cap. 3.

(2) *Joseph*, Antiq. lib. 18, cap. 3. *Tacit* ibid.

and gave it to his Eldest Son *Arfaces* [D]. He sent to demand all the Treasures, which *Vonones* had deposited in Syria and Cilicia (f), and, in *rodontade*, gave out, that, if all that *Cyrus* and *Alexander* had been posselt of were not restored to him, he would come and take it by force. The Malecontents at Court deputed private Messengers to *Tiberius*, desiring him to send them *Pbrabates*, the Son of King *Pbrabates* (g). This was readily granted; and, when it was known, That this Prince, endeavouring to live after the manner of the *Partians*, to which he had been a long time disused, had fallen sick, and was dead, *Tiridates*, who was of the House of the *Arfacidæ*, and nearly related to *Pbrabates*, was substituted in his Place. Another Adversary was at the same time stirred up against *Artabanus*, namely *Pbarasmanes* King of *Iberia*. *Artabanus* was worsted from this Quarter; for, after his Son, King of *Armenia*, had been poisoned, his other Son *Orodes*, whom he had sent into *Armenia*, was defeated there by *Pbarasmanes*. Some time after, he was beaten there himself, and being obliged to advance towards the Provinces, which *Vitellius*, Governor of Syria, threatened (b), there remained no Obstacle to hinder *Mitbridates*, Brother of *Pbarasmanes*, from becoming King of *Armenia* (i). This Loss of *Artabanus* was soon followed by a greater. *Vitellius*, by his Money and Intrigues, obliged him to quit That Country, and retire into *Hircania*, where he was reduced to live upon what he could get by Hunting (k), while *Vitellius* put *Tiridates* in Possession of his Kingdom. But so powerful a Party was formed against the new King, that it was no hard matter for *Artabanus*, who was recalled, to compel so weak a Prince as *Tiridates*, to retire (l). This happened in the thirty sixth Year of the 1st Century. *Artabanus's* former Pride was now sufficiently mortified: He courted the Friendship of *Caligula* (m), and when he found that his Design of carrying the War into Syria (n), was in danger of miscarrying thro' the Diligence of *Vitellius*, he agreed to an Interview with This Roman, and to a Treaty of Peace, the Conditions of which were to the Advantage of *Caligula*. Ten Years after, he was deposed, and forced to retire to *Izates*, King of *Adiabene* (o), by whom he was received in a most generous manner, and not with bare Compliments. For *Izates* negotiated the Matter with the *Partians*, in such a manner, that he obliged them to set him again upon the Throne; and *Cinna* himself, who had been advanced in his Room, was the Person, who replaced the Diadem upon his Head. There is Reason to believe, that *Artabanus* died a little after; but whether by the Treachery of *Gotarzes* his Son, or Brother [E], or otherwise, is uncertain.

(f) In the Year of Rome 783.

(g) Tacit. lib. 6, cap. 32, & seq.

(b) Id. ib. cap. 36.

(i) Dio, l. 8. sub fin.

(k) In Hircania reportur est inluvie obitus, & alimenta arcu expeditionis. Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. cap. 42.

(c) Id. in Calig. c. 14.

(6) Dio, lib. 59.

(7) Joseph. Antiq. l. 18. cap. 6.

(8) Id. ib. cap. 3.

(9) Fama occidit falso creditur exterruit Partios, victoriamque concecit. Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. c. 35.

(10) Joseph. lib. 18. c. 3.

(11) Tillem. Hist. des Empere. ad Ann. 47. pag. 56. Edit. de Bructius.

(f) Id. ib. cap. 44.

(m) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 14. See Remark [C].

(n) Dio, lib. 59.

(o) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20, cap. 20.

"tumque Tiberii præ se ferens, amicitiam Caligulæ ultro petit, venitque ad colloquium legati confusus, & transfretus Euphratem aquilas & signa Romana Cælarumque imagines adoravit (5). — Artabanus, King of the Parthians, always discovering an Hatred and Contempt of Tiberius, industriously sought the Friendship of Caligula, and came to confer with the Consular Embassadors, and passing over the Euphrates, he paid Adoration to the Roman Eagles and Standards, and to the Images of the Cæsars." Dion remarks, that *Vitellius* obliged *Artabanus* to sacrifice to the Statues of *Augustus* and *Caligula*, and to give his Children for Hostages, after having agreed to the Treaty of Peace, which he prescribed to him (6). This shews *Josephus* to be mistaken, in believing the Interview between *Vitellius* and *Artabanus*, with all it's Consequences, to have happened under *Tiberius* (7). According to Him, it was to *Tiberius*, that *Darius*, the Son of *Artabanus*, was sent as an Hostage, with rich Presents, and a Giant, a Jew by Nation, and *Elazar* by Name, who was seven Cubits high.

[D] He gave *Armenia* to his Eldest Son *Arfaces*.] Thus *Tacitus* and *Dion* name him. *Josephus* calls him *Orodes* (8), confounding one of *Artabanus's* Children with the other. His Son *Orodes* was not King of *Armenia*, but was sent thither to revenge the Death of his elder Brother *Arfaces*, and had like to have been killed in the Attempt; for having, in the Battle, engaged personally with *Pbarasmanes*, King of *Iberia*, he was dangerously wounded, but not killed, as was immediately given out, to the great Discouragement of the *Partians* (9), and as *Josephus* has since affirmed, in his Jewish Antiquities (10).

[E] *Artabanus* died — by the Treachery of *Gotarzes*, his Son, or Brother.] The manner, in which the exact Mr de Tillemont expresses himself, is fallacious. *Artabanus*, says he (11), died soon after, by the Treachery of *Gotarzes*, his Brother, according to *Tacitus*, or rather his Son, as *Josephus* affirms.

Every Reader will imagine, from these Words, that *Josephus* lays, that *Artabanus* was put to death by his Son *Gotarzes*, when not a Syllable is to be met with to this Purpose. So far from it, he mentions *Artabanus* as dying of a Distemper, and succeeded by his Son *Varadanus*, whose Successor he makes to be *Artabanus's* other Son, *Gotarzes*. It is strange, that *Tacitus* and *Josephus* should agree so little in the main Circumstances of Matters so near their own Time! The latter gives *Artabanus* a peaceable Death, and several Sons: The former makes him perish with his Wife and Son by the Treachery of his Brother; which seems to import, that *Artabanus* had but one Son. One cannot tell which side to take, considering that *Tacitus* is not wholly free from Contradiction. First, he will have *Gotarzes* to be the Brother of *Artabanus*; a little after he makes him the Brother of *Bardanes*, and intimates very clearly, that *Bardanes* was the Son of *Artabanus*; for he represents him in a great Rage with the *Seleucians*, not so much because they did not submit to him, as because they had been Rebels against his Father. In quos, ut patris sui quoque desultores, ira magis quam ex ipse presentis accensus (12). Who is this Father, if not *Artabanus*? I should be almost tempted to believe, that this *Artabanus*, mentioned by *Tacitus* (13), was the Son, who had already succeeded, or who was to succeed King *Artabanus*, and that *Gotarzes*, another Son of King *Artabanus*, murdered this Brother, to make his own way to the Throne, and, for the greater Security, involved the Mother and Son in the same Destruction with the Father. This Conjecture clears all Contradictions. But there are other Differences between *Josephus* and *Tacitus*. The latter makes *Gotarzes* die a natural Death, and gives him *Vinnes* for Successor, and his Son *Vologes* after him (14). *Josephus* makes *Gotarzes* perish by the Treachery of his Subjects, and his Brother *Vologes* to be his immediate Successor (15).

(12) Tacit. Annal. l. 11. cap. 8.

(13) Inter Gotarzes pleaque secula (qui necem fratri Artabanus conjungit ac filio ejus properaverat, [ut] se read prepararent) unde metus ejus in ceteros accituerat. Tacit. lib. 18. c. 3.

(14) Idem, lib. 12. cap. 14.

(15) Joseph. lib. 20. c. 2.

ARTABANUS III, King of the *Partians*, Successor, and perhaps Son, of *Vologes*, whom *Suetonius* mentions as a great Friend of *Nero* and *Vespasian*, lived in the Reign

Reign of the Emperor *Titus*. This is what *Zonaras* informs us of after this manner (a). He says, that an *Assiatic*, whose Name was *Terentius Maximus*, pretending to be *Nero*, prevailed with some of his own Countrymen, and a great many other Persons towards the *Euphrates*, to believe it, and at last retired to *Artabanus*, King of the *Parthians*, who, being then displeased with *Titus*, received the Impostor very kindly, and prepared to re-inthronise him [A].

[A] Received the Impostor very kindly, and prepared to re-inthronise him.] Although there were more than one counterfeit *Nero*, yet few will believe this *Terentius Maximus* to have been any other, than the Impostor, mentioned by *Suetonius*. And, if it be objected, that the latter did not appear 'till twenty Years after the Death of *Nero*, that is, in the seventh Year of *Domitian*; it may be answered, that *Zonaras* is not incapable of confounding one Reign with another; and that, after all, it must be something surprizing, that, in so short a time, two Impostors should meet with so great Encouragement in the same Country, or, if they did, that they should

not both be recorded by the Historian, who speaks of One of them, as of a singular Adventure. The Impostor, mentioned by *Suetonius*, was very powerfully protected by the *Parthians*. "Cum post viginti annos adolefcente me extitisset conditionis incertæ qui se *Neronem* esse jactaret, tam favorable nomen ejus apud *Parthos* fuit, ut vehementer adjutus & vix redditus sit (1). — Twenty Years after the Death of that Emperor, when I was a Lad, a Person, of unknown Condition, gave out, that he was *Nero*, and was so strongly supported in his Pretensions by the *Parthians*, that he was defeated with great Difficulty."

(a) *Zonaras* in *Tito ad Ann. circiter*, 80.

(1) *Sueton.* in *Neron.* sub. finem.

ARTABANUS IV. was the last King of the *Parthians*; for *Artaxerxes*, a *Persian* by Nation, having deprived him of his Crown and Life in the Year 229, took upon him the Title of King of *Persia*, which his Successors continued as long as That Monarchy lasted. The Reign of *Artabanus* had been glorious enough, and had given some Trouble to the *Romans*, who were not at all behind hand in making suitable Returns. He was so imprudent as not to keep upon his Guard, while the Emperor *Severus* ravaged the Neighbouring Countries; and was taking his Rest under the Security of a Peace, when he found the *Roman* Forces on a sudden pouring in upon his Dominions. All that he could do was to save himself with a small Guard (a). The City of *Ctesiphon*, in which he kept his Residence, was plundered, and all his Treasures and Moveables fell into the Hands of the Enemy (b). But this foul Play was nothing in comparison of the perfidious Trick, which *Caracalla* played him. This Emperor sent Ambassadors to him with rich Presents to demand his Daughter in Marriage, and alledged an hundred fine Things, which would result from That Alliance, to the Honour and Advantage of both Nations (c). *Artabanus* at first rejected the Proposal, foreseeing no Concord in This Marriage, considering the Difference of Language and Customs, between his Daughter and a *Roman* Emperor. At last *Caracalla's* repeated Instances, his Oaths, his Proteftations of Love for his future Ennephres, obtained the Father's Consent. But, all this while, *Caracalla* was meditating such a Scene of Villany, as may be taken for the Model, or at least the rough Draught, of the *St Bartholomew* of *Catherine de Medicis*. He marched with his Army into the Country of the *Parthians*, and was every where received as the King's Son-in-Law; and, upon his advancing towards the Capital, *Artabanus* went out to meet him, accompanied with an infinite Number of his People. The *Parthians* thought of nothing but shewing their Joy, in Feasting, Singing, and Dancing, when *Caracalla* gave the Signal to his Soldiers to fall on This unarmed Multitude. They killed as many of them as they pleased, there not being any in a Condition to resist. *Artabanus* had much ado to save himself. From that Day *Caracalla* did nothing but plunder and burn; till, tired with his Ravages, he returned into *Mesopotamia*, where he was assassinated. *Artabanus*, being eager to revenge the Injury which he had suffered, marched with all possible Expedition against the *Roman* Army, which had elected *Macrinus* in the room of *Caracalla*. The Battle, having continued two whole Days from Morning till Night, was renewed upon the Third, and, in all probability, would have lasted till one or other Army had been quite destroyed, if *Macrinus* had not found means of acquainting *Artabanus* with the tragical End of *Caracalla*, and of declaring, that he himself disapproved what had passed, and was willing to restore all the Prisoners and Booty then in his Possession, and to live in Peace with him. *Artabanus* accepted these Offers, and a Peace was concluded between Him and the New Emperor in the Year 217. He was the first, who took upon him the Title of The Great King, and wore a double Diadem [A]. His evil Destiny

(a) *Herodian.* lib. 3, cap. 9.

(b) In the Year 220, according to *Calvisius*.

(c) *Herodian.* lib. 4, cap. 10, & seq.

[A] He was the first, who took upon him the Title of the Great King, and wore a double Diadem (1).] I have cited my Author, and it is very true, that *Herodian*, in the place cited, has these Words: *Ἀρταβανὸν τε τὸν πρῶτον καλούμενον τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα, καὶ οὕτως διαδήμασι χρῶμενον ἀποκρίνας* (2). *Aque Artabano, qui rex magnus primus appellatus est, duplicique diademate utebatur, necem intulisse.* But I believe his Meaning is, that, before *Artabanus* IV. no King of *Partia* assumed this Title of The Great King; and he would be much mistaken, if he should say absolutely, that he was the first Prince, who called himself so; it being certain, that the ancient Kings of *Persia* used This Style, as appropriated

to themselves. See the Twenty fourth Verse of *Æschylus's Persians*, and *Stanley's* Observations upon It. He quotes the Testimonies of *Dion Chrysostome*, *Orat.* 3. of *Josephus*, in *Antiquit.* lib. 11. cap. 6. of *Herodotus*, lib. 8. and lib. 5. of *Xenophon*, in *Expedit.* lib. 1. of *Aristides*, in *Romæ Encomio*, of *Suidas*, in *μέγας βασιλεύς*. Mr du Rondel informed me of This Passage of *Stanley*. We may add, to these Authors, *Plato*, in *Gorgia*, pag. 321. C. *Plutarch*, in *Vita Cimonis*, pag. 485. E. *The Book of Esther*, cap. xvi. ver. 1. Read also the Panegyric of *Isocrates*, and you will find in it the Complaint of That Orator against the *Greeks* of his Time, who, in their common Discourse, gave the pompous Title

(1) *Herodian.* lib. 2, cap. 2, pag. 257.

(2) *Id. ibid.*

Destiny raised him up a formidable Enemy in the Year 226; I mean That *Artaxerxes*, who maintained his Rebellion with such Courage and Success, that, in three Years Time, he put an end to the *Partbian* Monarchy.

of The Great King to the Monarch of Persia. Οὐ βασιλῆα τὸν μέγαν αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦμεν, ὡς περ αἰχμάλωτος γεγνημένος (3). Do we not call him the Great King, as though we were his Captives? Note, that the Kings of Persia were not the first, who assumed this Title. The Kings of Assyria had used it, as may be collected from the eighteenth Chapter of the second Book of *Kings* (4), where we find the Words of the Ambassadors of Sennacherib.

(4) *Verfes* 19, and 28.

I remember the Answer, which Father Goulu made to a Criticism upon a Passage of his Translation of Socrates's Apology. Let us first produce the Words of the Critic. "Je ne sçay de quoy l'acuser; si ce n'est d'une ignorance volontaire, en un passage de son Apologie de Socrates, où il lui fait dire: Je m'affure que quand ce seroit le Grand Seigneur, & non pas une personne de basse condition, qu'il préféreroit une nuit semblable à celle-là à toutes les nuits & à tous les autres jours de sa vie, &c. Je voudroy bien luy demander si ce Grand Seigneur n'est pas le Turc; & si c'est lui, comment Socrates en pouvoit parler, si ce n'estoit par prophétie, puis qu'il n'y peut pas avoir huit cent ans que les Ottomans ont commencé leur Tyrannie, & qu'il y en a plus de treize cens du siècle de Socrates au leur, à compter depuis l'année quatriesme où il est né dans la soixante & dixseptiesme Olympiade (5). — I am at a loss how to charge him, except with wilful Ignorance, in a Passage of the Apology of Socrates, where he makes Socrates say: I am persuaded, that, were he the Grand Seigneur, and not a Person of mean Condition, he would prefer a Night like That before all other Nights and Days of his Life, &c. I would fain know of him whether this Grand Seigneur of his be not the Turk; and, if he be, how Socrates could speak of him, except by way of Prophecy; since the Turks began their Empire not quite Eight hundred Years ago, and the Age, in which Socrates lived, was above Thirteen hundred before That, reckoning from the fourth Year (in which he was born) of the LXXVIIIth Olympiad." Here follows the Refutation of this Criticism. "Un habile Homme m'auroit épar- gné une réponse, en ne me faisant pas une demande si fotté. Mais, Patience; répondons à cet ignorant. Ouy, Paladin (6), le Turc est aujourd'hui celui qu'on nomme Grand Seigneur. Mais, du tems de Socrates, c'étoit le Roy des Perles, qu'on appelloit de la sorte, & qu'on ne nommoit point autrement. Aus autres Rois, dit Suidas, on donne la titre des Etats & des pais qui sont de leur Obeissance, & pour ce on dit le Roi de Macedoine, & le Roi des Lacedemoniens. Celui des Perles se qualifie simplement le Grand Roi, ou le Grand Seigneur, μέγας βασιλεύς, μέγας δεσπότης. Et, comme il portoit le titre de Grand Seigneur, ses Sujets prenoient le qualité d'esclaves, & la Cour s'appelloit la Porte, ses Courtisans οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως, ceux qui estoient à la porte du Roi. L'Empereur de Turcs lui a succédé au Titre de Grand Seigneur, aussi bien qu'en la meilleure partie de ses Roiaumes, & en la forme de son Gouvernement. De façon que, sans révélation & sans prophétie, Socrates à pu parler du Grand Seigneur, de quoi le Paladin ne l'a pu reprendre sans decouvrir son avarice. Mais, de le renvoyer à Herodote, à Thucydide, & aus autres bons Auteurs, pour apprendre la vérité de ce que je dis, ce seroit à moi pêne perduë. Car le pauvre malheureux confesse qu'il n'a point de livres, n'i d'argent pour en acheter; & à pêne ceux qui ont des Bibliothèques lui voudroient confier les leurs; & puis, il n'y entend du tout rien. Je me contenterai donc de l'envoyer étudier l'Histoire des Turcs au bout de pont neuf; où les colporteurs estallent leurs images, à fin que, sans qu'il lui coûte rien, il apprenne dans les Cartes, où les Empereurs des Turcs font figurez en taille douce, depuis quel temps les Ottomans sont devenus Grand Seigneurs, s'il y a 800 ans, comme dit le Paladin, ou bien si c'est depuis trois siècles seulement (7). — A Man of tolerable Sense would have spared me an Answer, by not asking so foolish a

(5) Discours d'Ariflarque à Nicandre sur les fautes de Phylarque, p. 120, 121.

(6) He makes use of this word, because he had to do with Javerfac, against whom a Satire had appeared intitled, La défaite de Paladin Javerfac, i. e. Javerfac the Knight-Errant defeated. See his Article.

(7) Achatas à Palemon pour la Défense de Phylarque, pag. 43.

Question. But, Patience; let us answer this ignorant Fellow. Yes, most renowned Don Quixote, the Turk is at this Time called the Grand Seigneur. But, in Socrates's Time, the King of Persia was called so, and by no other Name. Other Kings, says Suidas, take their Titles from the Dominions and Countries under their Obedience; and therefore we say, the King of Macedonia, and the King of the Lacedemonians. The Persian Monarch calls himself only the Great King, or the Grand Seigneur, μέγας βασιλεύς, μέγας δεσπότης. And, as he bore the Title of Grand Seigneur, his Subjects took upon them the Quality of Slaves; his Court was called the Port, and his Courtiers οἱ ἐπὶ θύραις βασιλέως, They who stood at the King's Gate. The Emperor of the Turks has succeeded him in the Title of Grand Seigneur, as well as in the best part of his Dominions, and in the Form of his Government. So that Socrates might speak of the Grand Seigneur, without Revelation or Prophecy; and our Don's Criticism does but discover him to be an arrant Ass. But it would be loss of Time for me to refer him to Herodotus, Thucydides, and other good Authors, for the truth of what I say; because the poor unhappy Creature confesses he has no Books, nor Money to buy any; and they, who have Libraries, will hardly trust him with the use of them, nor does he understand any thing at all of the Matter. I shall content myself therefore with sending him to study the History of the Turks, at the Foot of the Pontneuf, among the Printjellers, where, without any Charge, he may learn, from the Prints of the Turkish Emperors, how long it is since the Ottomans became Grand Seigneurs; whether Eight hundred Years ago, as this de la Mancha Knight pronounces, or only Three hundred." I have copied this long Passage, that the Reader, at a small Expence, and without consulting the Pieces of this famous Controversy of the General of the Feuillans, may see the coarse, rude, Manner of the Paper Wars of Those Times (8). But we must not let pass the Legerdemain of Father Goulu, who, not finding his Account in μέγας βασιλεύς, cunningly adds μέγας δεσπότης as the Words of Suidas. This will never acquit him with learned Readers; it only serves to impose on the ignorant, and brands him with Forgery in the Opinion of all others. Upon the whole, the Criticism upon his *Grand Seigneur* appears to be just.

To conclude; The Pride of Eastern Monarchs was not so well flattered with the lofty Title of King of Kings, as with That of The Great King; for we see, that *Artabanus* IV, to enhance his former Character, caused himself to be styled the Great King, rather than continue That of King of Kings, which he had received from his Predecessors. In *Pompey's* Time, This was commonly given to the King of *Parthia*; and, if *Pompey* did not observe This Form in writing to him, it was from a Regard to those other Kings, who were come to pay him Homage (9). *Ptolemaeus* assumed it in a Letter, which he wrote to *Augustus* (10). *Suetonius* has given it to the King of *Parthia*, who was Cotemporary with *Germanicus*, in the Place, where he mentions the Sorrow, which was exprest for the Death of That illustrious Roman. "Regulus quosdam barbarum possuisse, & uxorum capita rasisse ad indicium maximi luctus. REGUM ETIAM REGEM & executione venandi & convictu Megistanum abstinuisset, quod apud Parthos iustitiae instar est (11). — Several petty Kings had their Beards taken off, and their Wives Heads Shaved, as a Mark of the deepest Mourning. The King of Kings also abstained from Hunting and Feasting with his Nobles, which, among the Parthians, is like shutting up the Courts of Justice, in some public Calamity." I do not wonder at *Artabanus's* Taste, when I consider, that the Title of King of Kings had been much more common, than That of the Great King. The Title of King of Kings was given to *Agamemnon* (12). *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Oymandus* and *Sejoftris* were so styled, the one in his Epitaph (13), the other in Inscriptions on Pillars (14). Both had reigned gloriously in Egypt. The same Title was given to *Cyrus*

OF THE Title of King of Kings.

(9) Plot. in Pompeio, p. 639. C.

(10) Dion. lib. 55. ad ann. 748. pag. 636.

(11) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 5.

(12) Cicero. Epist. 14. lib. 9. ad fam. lib. p. 37. Livius, lib. 45. c. 27.

(13) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 1. cap. 47.

(14) Id. ib. cap. 55.

ARTABAZUS. ARTAVASDES. 515

(15) Strabo in his *Epitaph* (15) and also to *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia* (16). The Holy Scriptures apply it to *Nabuchodonosor* (17). Note, that the Kings of *Persia*, who succeeded the Kings of *Partbia*, continued to style themselves Kings of Kings. See *Sapor's* Letter to *Constantius*, in *Ammianus Marcellinus* (18), and the Annotations of *Valesius* on That Place. See also *Trebellius Pollio*, in the Life of *Aurelian*, and the Notes

of the Commentators. Some Authors will have it, that the Emperors of *Constantinople* carried this Title still farther. They bore, in their Achievement of Arms, four B's, termed in *Heraldry* *Fusils* (19), which stood for βασιλεύς, βασιλεὺς βασιλεῶν βασιλεύσι, that is to say, King of Kings, reigning over Kings: Let us note, by the way, that the giving the Title of King to a tributary Prince was out of pure Pride.

(19) Bodin, de la Republique, liv. 1. ch. 9. sub. fin. pag. 211.

(18) Ammian. Marcell. lib. 17. cap. 5. pag. 163. ad. ann. 357. Biffeliius, Ruinarum Illustr. dec. 4. pag. 645. affert falsum, ubi Capitolinus has taken Notice of this Letter.

ARTABAZUS, the Son of *Pharnaces*, commanded the *Partbians*, and the *Ghorasmians*, in the Expedition of *Xerxes* (a). It was He, who, after the Battle of *Salamis*, escorted the King his Master as far as the *Hellepont* with 60000 select Soldiers (b). As soon as *Xerxes* was passed into *Asia*, *Artabazus* returned back, and, in his way, thought himself obliged to punish the City of *Potidaea*, which had cast off the *Persian* Yoke on the News of their ill Fortune. He besieged it a very long time, without being able to take it, by reason of Innundations, arising from tempestuous Weather. He was more fortunate in the Siege of *Olinthus*. He disapproved the Resolution taken to leave *Mardonius* in *Europe* (c), and it was wholly against his Advice, that *Mardonius* engaged in the Battle of *Platea*, which was so fatal to the *Persians*. *Artabazus*, who had foreseen what happened, preserved the 40000 Men, whom he commanded, and with much Prudence brought them back into *Asia* [A]. Mr *Moreri* shews no Discernment in this Matter. See the Remark.

(a) Herodot. lib. 7. c. 66.

(b) Id. lib. 8. cap. 126.

(c) Id. lib. 9. cap. 65, 88.

[A] Preserved the Forty Thousand Men, whom he commanded, and with much Prudence brought them back into *Asia*. Mr *Moreri* says, that *Artabazus* gathered together the broken Remains of the Army. This is not understanding the Author, whom he quotes. *Herodotus* plainly informs us, that *Artabazus* kept these Forty Thousand Men apart as a Body of Reserve, and that, when he was going to lead them to Battle, he perceived, that *Mardonius* was routed, and fled another way. If *Mardonius* had survived the Loss of That Battle, he would not have failed to have said, in his Vindication, that *Artabazus* had sacrificed him; that

he had either been a Spectator only, or a Run-away; that, having given his Advice against the Battle, he had contributed what lay in his Power to the Loss of it, in order to raise a Trophy to his own Prudence. *Artabazus* would not have been the only Person, who, by such a Conduct, had maintained the Opinion he had given in a Council of War. It is a strange Oversight to say, as Mr *Moreri* does, that the *Greeks* lost That Battle. And The Siege of *Potidaea*, naked and unfinished of all manner of Circumstances, what does it do there? Of what use is it to a Reader?

ARTAVASDES I, King of *Armenia*, Son and Successor of That *Tigranes*, who was conquered by *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, in the War with *Mitridates*, betrayed the *Romans* basely, in the Expedition of *Crassus* (a); for, after having been to wait upon That General with 6000 Horse, and promising him a Supply of 40000 Men, he broke his Word, and excused himself on Pretence of the War he was obliged to maintain in his own Country against the *Partbians* (b). *Crassus*, finding himself abused, threatened very severely (c), but was not in a Condition to punish This Treachery; on the contrary, *Artavasdes* had a great Share in the Rejoicings, which were afterwards made, at the Court of the King of *Partbia*, for the Destruction of the *Roman* Army. He had fixed the Marriage of his Sister with *Pacorus*, the Son of *Orodes*, King of the *Partbians* (d), and was at the Court of *Orodes*, during the excessive Joy occasioned there by so great a Victory. He saw a thousand Diversions full of Insults on the *Romans*; he was present at their Feasts and Comedies, and heard *Euripides's* Verses applied to the Disaster of *Crassus*, whose Head was brought in upon the Stage, while the *Bacchantes* of That Poet was represented. This gave *Plutarch* occasion to say, that *Orodes* understood Greek, and that *Artavasdes* composed Tragedies, Orations, and Histories [A], some of which were preserved to his own Time. I take This *Artavasdes* to have been the same, who deceived *Marc Antony* [B]. He persuaded him to turn his Arms against

(a) Dio, lib. 40.

(b) Plutarch in *Crasso*, pag. 554.

(c) Id. pag. 556.

(d) Id. pag. 564. Cleora Epist. ad Fam. lib. 3. l. 15.

[A] *Artavasdes* composed Tragedies, Orations, and Histories. Here is a Greek Poet and Historian, who has been forgot by *Vossius*, as a Poet, but not as an Historian (1); tho' *Mallinrot* places him in his Collection of Historians never before taken notice of. *Mallinrot* observes, that *Appian* has cited the History of our *Artavasdes*, but has differed a little as to the Author's Name. He adds, that he was the first Prince of That Name, who reigned in *Armenia* (2). This may be true, altho' the Conjecture of several Critics on a Passage of *Justin* should be good. They pretend, that we ought to read *Artavasdes*, and not *Orodes*, in the second Chapter of the Forty second Book. So that there must have been a King of *Armenia* called *Artavasdes*, in the time of *Mitridates* the Great, King of *Partbia*. This *Mitridates* was deposed, and succeeded his Brother *Orodes*, who obtained That memorable Victory over the *Romans*. Our *Artavasdes*, indeed, reigned at the same time with *Orodes*; yet nothing hinders, but he might have begun to reign before him, and his Father *Tigranes* be dead before the deposing of *Mitridates* the Great; in which Case *Artavasdes* might have been at War with the latter. It is true, that, to make *Justin* agree

with *Plutarch* (3), and *Dion* (4), it must be supposed, that His *Mitridates* the Great is the *Pharabates*. These make to reign in the Time of *Tigranes*. [B] I take this *Artavasdes* to have been the same, who deceived *Marc Antony*. My Reasons are these: He, who betrayed *Crassus*, was the Son of *Tigranes*, as *Dion* affirms (5). He, who deceived *Marc Antony*, was the Son of *Tigranes*, as *Josephus* says (6), whose Testimony, if there were occasion for it, might be confirmed by *Strabo*, who not only affirms, that He, whom *Marc Antony* punished for his Perfidy, reigned after *Tigranes* (7), but also that he was His Son (8). So then He, who deceived the *Romans* in the Time of *Crassus*, is the same, who deceived them in the Expedition of *Marc Antony*. Mr *Moreri* did not understand it so; He would have us acknowledge Two *Artavasdes's*. Had he stoped here, his Opinion would not have been thought so strange; but what follows can never be enough wondered at. He will have it, that One of These *Artavasdes's* was He, who composed Histories and Poems, and that the other was He, whom *Marc Antony* led in Triumph to *Alexandria*, in the Year of *Rome* 720. He says, that the latter left a Son of his own Name, the same, perhaps, mentioned by *Plutarch*, who

(3) Plut. in *Pompejo*.

(4) Dio, lib. 37.

(5) Id. lib. 40.

(6) Joseph. lib. 15. c. 5.

(7) Strabo, lib. 11. sub. finem.

(8) Id. ib. lib. 11. pag. 365.

SEVERAL Mistakes of Mr *Moreri*.

(1) Voss. de Hist. Grec. pag. 154.

(2) Mallinrot, Paralipomenon de Hist. Gr. pag. 11. de 8. coll. b. m. with Vossius, *Artavasdes*. Mr *Ryck*, upon Tacit. pag. 28. pretends, that *Plutarch* calls him *Artabazus*; but it is certain he calls him *Artavasdes*.

(e) He was called Artavasdes.

(f) Dio, lib. 49. Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 561, 366. Plutarch, in Anton. pag. 933.

(g) Dio, lib. 51. See Remark [C] Circulation (11).

(h) Cicero, ad Attic. Epist. 21. l. 5.

(9) Plutarch does not say, that he had much, or so much, Wit.

(10) Strabo, lib. 11, sub finem.

(11) See Tacitus, Ann. lib. 2. c. 3.

(12) Id. ib.

(a) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5.

(b) Dio, lib. 49.

(c) Artavasdes vi regnumque tutatus est. Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 6.

(1) See Lipsius on Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. c. 3.

(2) Tacit. ibid.

(3) Horat. Epist. 12. lib. 1. v. 26.

against the King of Media (e), and by that means engaged him in an Enterprize, which had a very bad Issue, and in which he never seconded him (f). Marc Antony, deferring his Revenge till a more convenient Season, dissembled for the present; but, two Years after, viz. in the Seven Hundred and twentieth Year of Rome, he used for many Artifices and fine Promises, that at last he drew him to a Conference, and then, keeping him Prisoner, loaded him with Silver Chains [C], and led him in Triumph to Alexandria. Artavasdes's Wife and Children were also forced to adorn Marc Antony's Triumph. They were all led in Chains of Gold, through the midst of the People, to Cleopatra; but neither Promises nor Threats could prevail on them to fall on their Knees before her, or make Supplications to her: they called her only by her Name, which was the occasion of their being more severely treated. Some time after, Artavasdes was put to Death, and his Head sent to the King of the Medes. It was Cleopatra, who sent him This Present upon her return to Alexandria, after the loss of the Battle of Actium (g). She fancied, That this Head would induce the King of Media to enter into a stricter Alliance with Marc Antony against Augustus. We shall find, in the following Article, what became of the Sons of Artavasdes. He had a Daughter, married to King Dejotarus (h).

had so much Wit (9), and betrayed Crassus. What Blundering is here! Crassus was betrayed in 701; He, who betrayed him, was actually King of Armenia; how then could he be the Son of a King of Armenia, who was dethroned in the Year 720? Mr Moreri remarks, that This dethroned Prince died some time after in Prison. This is forgetting a very essential Circumstance; for he was killed. Ἀρτάβης οὐρανὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀκταίου πολέμῳ (10). — He was taken off upon the breaking out of the War of Actium. Cleopatra, according to Dion, was returned to Alexandria, from the Battle of Actium, when this Murder was committed (11). He adds, that he left a Son named Artavasdes. No such thing; his eldest Son, who succeeded him, was called Artaxias; his other Son Tigranes. And as to That other Artavasdes, who, according to Mr Moreri, quoting Tacitus, soon lost Armenia, which Tiberius had given him, he was not the Son of the former, but the third, or fourth, King after him. It is moreover false, that Tacitus says, that Tiberius gave him Armenia. What he says is this: "Dei iussu Augusti impoſitus Artavasdes, & non sine clade nostra deſectus. Tum C. Cæſar compendendæ Armeniæ deligitur: Is Ariobarzanem origine Medium ob insignem corporis formam & præclarum animum volentibus Armeniis præfecit (12). — Afterwards, by Augustus's Order, Artavasdes was set over them, who lost not his Kingdom, without the Defeat of our Forces. Then C. Cæſar was appointed for the settling Armenia. He pitched upon Ariobarzanes, of Median extraſſ, and excellent Endowments both of Body and Mind, to be their King, whom the Armenians very willingly received." Lastly, what Mr Moreri says, that Augustus sent a Son of Agrippa thither, who was soon dethroned, is very false; for Caius Cæſar, the Son of Agrippa, was not sent into Armenia till after the Destruction of the last Artavas-

des. Nor was he sent to take it for himself, but only to settle That Kingdom: accordingly he placed Ariobarzanes on the Throne, and afterwards continued to visit the East with a Magnificence becoming the presumptive Heir to the whole Roman Empire. If one would endeavour to commit Mistakes, is it possible to make more than Mr Moreri has done, who has been guilty of seven or eight or sixteen Lines? Mr Hoffman makes but three, in this Article. He says, I. That Artavasdes assisted Crassus against the Parthians (13). II. That Tiberius gave Armenia to another Artavasdes. III. That Augustus had before given it to Artabazus, the Son of Agrippa, who was soon deposed. Mr Lloyd has supposed this whole Article, tho' it stood very fair in Charles Stephens.

[C] Marc Antony — loaded him with Silver Chains.] Dion remarks, that the Choice of this Metal was to avoid dishonouring Royal Majesty with Chains of Iron (14). Paterculus says, that, in order to render them more honourable, they were made of Gold. "Catenis, sed ne quid honoris deesset, aureis vinxit (15). — He ordered Chains to be put on, but, that they might be as honourable as possible, they were of Gold." The same Ceremony had been used to Darius (16). But what shall we say to Mr Ryck, who treats a Fact, advanced by Lewis d'Orleans to reconcile Paterculus with Dion, as a meer Fiction (17)? The Fact is this; that Artavasdes was loaded with Silver Chains in Prison, and with Chains of Gold on the Day of Triumph. Mr Ryck maintains, that neither of these two Historians have mentioned either Prison or Triumph, and therefore can never admit of any such Reconciliation. But yet it is very true, that Dion, in the same Page, where he speaks of Silver Chains, mentions also those of Gold, which were put upon Artavasdes, and his Family, on the Day of Triumph. The Slips of Memory are sometimes very surprising.

(13) Charles Stevens joins to too.

(14) Dio, lib. 49. circa fin.

(15) Paterculus, lib. 2. cap. 82.

(16) Curt. lib. 5. cap. 12. Vide ibi Freinheimium.

(17) Ryck, Animadv. ad Tacit. Ann. lib. 2. cap. 3. pag. 28, 29.

A RTAVASDES II. was established King of Armenia by Augustus. Between the Death of Artavasdes I, and this time, had preceded Artaxias, Tigranes, and the Children of Tigranes. Artaxias, the Eldest Son of Artavasdes I, had made his Escape, when his Father was put in Chains (a); but not before he had endeavoured to maintain himself on the Throne, with his Troops, and the Towns, which had proclaimed him King, after his Father was taken (b). He had the Misfortune to be beaten by Marc Antony, and then took Refuge among the Parthians, by whose Assistance he reigned at last in Armenia (c); but, upon the Complaint of his Subjects, and their Request to have his Brother Tigranes, who was educated at Rome, Augustus ordered Tiberius to depose Artaxias, and confer the Kingdom on Tigranes (d). Artaxias was murdered by his own Subjects, before the Approach of Tiberius [A], so that he had no

(d) Dio, lib. 54.

[A] Artaxias was murdered — before the Approach of Tiberius.] Dion, who informs us of this Circumstance, is mistaken in the Name; for he calls him Artabazes, instead of Artaxias (1). Tacitus imputes the Death of Artaxias to the Treachery of his Relations; *occiso Artaxia per dolum propinquoꝝ* (2); but Horace ascribes it to the Valour of Tiberius.

This is no wonder; Poets know too well how to give an agreeable turn to Events: Every thing, in their Hands, becomes Matter of Panegyric, and furnishes Flowers to crown Princes with. Josephus says only, that Artaxias was depoted by Archelaus, and Tiberius (4). Suetonius, without mentioning Artaxias, contents himself with observing, that Tiberius placed Tigranes on the Throne. "Duſto ad orientem exercitu regnum Armeniæ Tigrani reſtituit, ac pro Tribunali diadema impoſuit (5). — Leading the Army into the East, he restored the Kingdom of Armenia to Tigranes, and on a Throne impoſed him

(4) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 15. cap. 5.

(5) Suet. in Tiber. c. 9.

— Claudii virtute Neronis Armenius cecidit (3).

By brave Tiberius' Arms Armenia's Monarch fell.

(c) *Id. ib.*

no hard Task to infall *Tigranes* (c). This happened in the Year of *Rome* 734. Neither *Tigranes*, nor his Sons, enjoyed their Royalty long (f); they gave place to *Artavasdes* II [B], whose Reign was also short (g). *Augustus*, who had advanced him, being made acquainted with the Confusions of *Armenia*, dispatched thither his Grandson *Caius Caesar*, to compose them. This young Prince made *Ariobarzanes* their King, with Universal Satisfaction.

(f) Nec Tigrani diuturnum Imperium fuit, nec liberta ejus. Tacit. ubi supra.

(g) *Id. ib.*

(6) Παρσιων, armis subjugavit, receptum ad dedicationem compulit.

"with the Diadem." The Term *restored* does not seem properly applied, because *Tigranes*, who was the younger Brother of *Artaxias*, had never been in possession of the Crown of *Armenia*, nor could he have any Right to it during the Life of his Elder Brother. *Scaliger*, who very rightly observed the Mistake of *Eusebius*, in using an Expression, which implies the Conquest of *Armenia* by *Tiberius* (6), when the *Armenians* desired nothing more, than to have *Tigranes* for their King: I say, *Scaliger*, who justly censures this Impropriety of *Eusebius* (7), ought himself to have avoided the *restitut* of *Suetonius*, and not given *Artaxias* the Title of *Usurper* (8). There is another Impropriety, or Mistake, in *Eusebius*, and in his Translator *St Jerome*, which has not been noted by *Scaliger*. They affirm, that *Tiberius* seized on *Armenia*, καπεχθησα, occupavit Armeniam: Now he only gave the *Armenians* the Master they desired. It is also certain, that he introned him, and put the Diadem upon his Head, and, if there had been occasion for it, would have assisted him with his Forces: how comes it then, that *Scaliger* says, *Armenia* was given to *Tigranes* without any Act of *Tiberius*? What does he mean in maintaining, that *St Jerome*, when he affirms, that *Tiberius* seized on *Armenia*, occupavit, ought to have believed, that it belonged already to the *Romans*? I confess I understand nothing of this Logic. But why does he not condemn *Paterculus*, as well as These two Fathers of the Church? *Paterculus*, tho' an Historian, flatters *Tiberius* like a Poet, and has complimented him upon having reduced *Armenia* under the Power of the *Roman* Empire (9). This is not his only Error: he calls Him *Artavasdes*, whom *Tiberius* crowned King of *Armenia*, when his true Name was *Tigranes*.

(7) *Scaliger* in *Euseb.* pag. 170.

(8) He calls him Artabazes by mistake, in imitation of Dion. Fratre ejus Artabazae, says he, regni infensore ab Armeniis occiso. --- His Brother Artabazae, who had usurped the Throne, being killed by the Armenians.

[B] *Tigranes and his Son* --- gave place to *Artavasdes* II.] Here the Authors of The Supplement to *Moreri* have been no less faulty, than *Moreri* himself. I omit their asserting, that our *Artavasdes* was the Son of *Artaxias*, and consequently the Nephew of *Tigranes*: There is nothing of this in the second Book of *Tacitus's* Annals, the only Author whom they have quoted; but let that pass. They add, that the Sons of *Tigranes* were stiled Kings by *Tiberius*, and that *Artavasdes* II, their Cousin, succeeded soon after to the Crown, by the Order of the same Emperor. *Tacitus*, their only Evidence, confutes them; for he expressly

(9) Redacta Armeni in potestatem populi Romani, regnum ejus Artavasdi tradidit. --- Having reduced Armenia under the Power of the Roman Empire, he made Artavasdes their King. *Paterculus*. lib. 2. cap. 96.

FAULTS of *Moreri's* Supplement.

says, that all this was done by *Augustus*. Instead of affirming with them, that the *Romans* took Arms against this *Artavasdes*, and at last destroyed him, his Words are, non sine clade nostra defunctus, which rather signify the contrary, that he was deposed in spite of the *Romans*, who supported him, and by the Defeat of their Succours. See the Article *ARTAVASES*, King of *Media*. Lastly, they say, that *Tigranes*, the Uncle of our *Artavasdes*, was beheaded at *Rome*, under the Emperor *Tiberius*. This is absurd; for the Intalling of *Tigranes*, whom they would have to be the Uncle of *Artavasdes* II, was performed in the Seven hundred thirty fourth Year of *Rome*, and his Reign lasted but a very short time. The Execution of *Tigranes* under *Tiberius* happened in the Year 789: So that, according to these Gentlemen, That Prince must have lived above fifty Years after he was deposed, and attained to such an Age, as would not have escaped the Observation of the Historian, who mentions the Indignity of his Death. It is to be observed, that *Tigranes*, created King of *Armenia* in the Year 734, had been taken Prisoner, together with his Father, by *Marc Antony* in 720, and was then a Youth full grown (10). Observe also, that a little after his Coronation, he married his Children to one another (11), according to the Custom of those Nations. But, what is yet more observable, He, whom *Tiberius* caused to be put to Death, was *Herod's* Grandson. *Josephus* tells us, that *Alexander*, the Son of *Herod*, had, by his Wife *Glaphyra*, the Daughter of *Archelaus* King of *Cappadocia*, two Sons, one of whom, named *Tigranes*, reigned in *Armenia*, and was impeached before the *Romans* (12). This without doubt was He, of whom *Tacitus* speaks in this manner. "Ne Tigranes quidem Armenia quondam potitus, ac tunc reus, nomine regio supplicia civium effugit. --- Not even *Tigranes*, who had been King of *Armenia*, when accused and sentenced as a Criminal before the *Romans*, could escape Punishment on account of his Royal Dignity (13)." Mr de *Tillemont's* Conjecture, that This *Tigranes* was King of the lesser *Armenia*, which *Augustus* had given to *Archelaus* (14), might be admitted, if it could be reconciled with *Josephus*, who says, that the Descendants of *Alexander* and *Glaphyra* reigned in the greater *Armenia*. Η δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνὴ τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας ἐκαλεῖτο (15).

(10) See *Josephus*, lib. 15. cap. 5.

(11) *Tacit.* Annal. lib. 2. cap. 3.

(12) *Josephus*, lib. 18. c. 7.

(13) *Tacit.* Ann. lib. 5. cap. 40.

(14) Hist. des Empereurs. Tome I. not. 11. sur *Tibere*.

(15) *Josephus* de Bello Jud. lib. 2. c. 19.

ARTAVASES, King of *Media*, was attacked by *Marc Antony*, at the Solicitation of another *Artavasdes*, King of *Armenia*. This Enterprize proved very fatal to *Marc Antony*; and, as he believed himself betrayed by the Adviser of it, he turned all his Rage against him, and entered into an Alliance with the King of *Media*. He gave him part of *Armenia*, as soon as he had taken it from the other *Artavasdes*, and cemented This Peace by the Marriage of his Son *Alexander* with *Jotape*, Daughter to the King of the *Medes*. The Troops, with which he supplied him, made him victorious over the *Partians*, and over *Artaxias*, the Son of *Artavasdes*, King of *Armenia*; but, as soon as he recalled them, and detained those which his Ally had lent him, This Prince, unable to resist his Enemies, fell into their Hands. *Dion* relates this under the Seven Hundred and twenty first Year of *Rome* (a). It is probable he was not long a Captive, and that he was the same King of *Media*, to whom *Cleopatra* sent the Head of *Artavasdes*, King of *Armenia*, in the Seven Hundred and twenty fourth Year of *Rome* (b). The Supplement to *Moreri* is here very erroneous [A].

(a) *Dion*, lib. 49.

(b) *Id. lib.* 51.

[A] The Supplement to *Moreri* is here very erroneous. We find there I. That this *Artavasdes*, King of *Media*, Son and Successor of *Darius*, maintained a vigorous War both against *Artavasdes*, King of *Armenia*, and against *Pompey*: II. That he was at last defeated by the *Parthians*, and that he took Refuge at *Rome* under *Augustus*, who conferred on him the lesser *Armenia*, instead of *Media*, which he had lost. *Plutarch* is quoted, and *Dion* in his Forty ninth Book. But, to confute this the retrograde way, by one obvious Remark: Does not the bare citing *Plutarch* look like banting the World, and resolving to assert Fal-

sities with Impunity? For who would not much rather give over criticizing, than read two great Volumes in Folio, to discover the Truth of one inconsiderable Fact? It is certain, *Dion*, in his Forty ninth Book, no where says, that This *Artavasdes* fled to *Rome*; nor that *Augustus* made him a Present of the lesser *Armenia*. I know of no Author, who says so. I find indeed, in *Tacitus*, that *Augustus* ordered one *Artavasdes* to reign in *Armenia* after the Son of *Tigranes*; but not that it was to make him amends for *Media*. It is likely, That they, who wrote the third Volume of *Moreri*, have made use of this Passage of *Tacitus*

(1) See Remark [B] of the Article ARTAXATA. VASDES II.

Tacitus for a double Purpose; on the one side, to assert, that *Tiberius* gave *Armenia* to an *Artavasdes*, the Son of *Artaxias*, and Nephew of *Tigranes* (1); and on the other, that *Augustus* conferred it on *Artavasdes*, the deposed King of *Media*. Lastly, how careless is it to say, that he maintained a vigorous War against the King of *Armenia*, and against *Pompey*? This War against the King of *Armenia* had no such

need of being vigorously maintained, considering that the Treachery of That Prince to *Marc Antony*, was later than the War, which *Pompey* made in That Country, by about Thirty Years. Nor have I observed, either in *Plutarch*, or *Appian*, that any *Artavasdes*, King of *Media*, was attacked by *Pompey*: I find only, in *Appian*, that *Pompey* subdued *Darius* King of *Media* (2).

(2) Appian. in Mithrid.

(a) Plot. in Lucull. pag. 513. Strabo, lib. 11. pag. 364. See the Article ARTAXATA. AS I. Citation (c).

ARTAXATA [A] was the Capital City of *Armenia*, on the River *Araxes*. *Hannibal* was the Person, who not only drew the Plan, but also surveyed the Building of it, at the Request of *Artaxias*, King of *Armenia*, to whom he retired after the Defeat of *Antiochus* (a). We may be sure, that a Situation, made choice of by so able a General, was very advantageous [B], both in time of War and of Peace. This City was burnt by *Corbulo*, in the Eight Hundred and eleventh Year of *Rome* (b). That great Captain would not have proceeded to such Extremity against the Inhabitants, who brought him the Keys of their City, upon his first investing it, if the Laws of War had not made it absolutely necessary [C]. For so great a City could not be kept without a great Garrison, which he could not spare without weakening his Army to such a degree, as must have disabled him from any farther Enterprize; And, to have abandoned it in the Condition he found it, would have been giving up both the Glory and Advantage of the Conquest. He resolved therefore to raze it, and was encouraged thereto by a great Miracle [D], *si credere dignum est*. The City was covered all on a sudden with a thick Cloud, from whence issued abundance of Lightning, while the Sun continued to shine all round it to the very Composts of the Walls. Some time after, This City was rebuilt by *Tridates*, who called it *Neronea* in Honour of *Nero* (c), from whom he had received at *Rome* a thousand Civilities, upon his going thither to pay him Homage in the Year of *Rome* 819.

(b) i. e. 58 of CHRIST.

(c) Xiphil. in Nerone.

(1) Plot. in Lucull. pag. 513.

(2) It is probably through an Error of the Press, that we read Artaxata, in Mr. Baudrand.

[A] ARTAXATA. *Plutarch* observes, that this City took its Name from That of King *Artaxas*, (or *Artaxias*), to whom *Hannibal* proposed the Building of it (1). What *Mess. Lloyd* and *Baudrand* note, that *Tacitus* calls it *Artaxia*, is not true; for he calls it constantly *Artaxata*. What they add, that *Strabo* names it *Artaxiasata* (2), is not accurate; for this is plainly insinuating, that he calls it nothing else, or, at least, that it is the principal Name he gives it. Now it is certain, that he commonly calls it *Artaxata*, and only once observes, that it was also called *Artaxiasata*. *Pinedo* had reason to alter *Ἀρταξιαστὰ* to *Ἀρταξιαστὰ* in *Stephanus Byzantinus*, who doubts whether used the Expression of *Strabo*, since he quotes him. It is certain, at least, he never called This City *Artaxia*, as *Ortelius* falsely affirms both of Him, and of *Tacitus*. The Omission, which *Pinedo* accuses this *Stephanus* of, is indeed inexcusable; for that *Hannibal*, a Refugee in *Armenia*, observing a very advantageous Situation, advised the Prince, whose Guest he was, to build a City there, and took upon himself the Direction of the Work, is a Circumstance, which ought not to have been suppressed in a Dictionary of Cities. I am inclined to believe, that *Stephanus Byzantinus*, having *Strabo* before his Eyes, when he composed the Article of *Artaxata*, did not overlook what he found there concerning *Hannibal*; but that his Epitomizer, a Person of much less Judgment, ought to be charged with this Neglect, which *Pinedo* so justly complains of. There is, perhaps, no Work, which requires more Discernment, or a better Taste, than the abridging a large Book (3). I cannot forbear making this Remark, because I am myself daily perplexed by the Negligence of Abreviators; while by their means I meet with Difficulties and Obscurities in an hundred Places, which probably were intelligible in the Authors, whom they have abridged. See what Mr. *Gronovius* observes of the Authors of the *Synopsis Criticorum* (4).

(3) See Remark [C] of the Article ACHILLES, at the end; and Remark [C], No VII. of the Article ARSINOE

(4) Gronovius in Tractatu de Julii proditoris. Consult. de la Rep. des Lettres, May 1684, Art. 6. pag. 276.

(5) Pinedo in Stephan. de Urbib. pag. 117.

[B] Its Situation was very advantageous. *Strabo* informs us, that *Artaxata* was built in a Place, where the River made a *Peninsula*; so that the Walls were surrounded with the River, in form of a Circle, wanting but little of being perfect. His Translator entirely mistakes his Meaning, and is justly reprimanded for it by *Pinedo* (5). If the Version only be consulted, we must believe this City to have been without Walls, except in the Place, where the River did not surround it; *Cincta muri loco flumine, nisi quæ isthmus est*. — It was encompassed by the River instead of a Wall, except only at the Isthmus. The Greek tells us quite another story; *Τὸ τεῖχος κύλας περιέχοντων τὸν ποταμὸν πλὴν τῷ ἰσθμῷ*. — The Wall was

surrounded by the River in form of a Circle, except only at the Isthmus.

[C] It was burnt by *Corbulo*, — which the Laws of War made absolutely necessary. The more we consider the inevitable Consequences of War, the more we shall detest Those, who are the Causes of it. Here is *Corbulo*, who reduced a great and fine City to Ashes, and made an infinite Number of Women, Children, and old Men, miserable, who never did him any Injury. Inquire of Those, who understand the Trade of War best, whether he did well, they will tell you, he did very well; and that, in case he had not acted so, he must have been esteemed a very weak General, for the Reasons alleged by *Tacitus*. "Artaxatis ignis immixtus" delectaque & solo æquata sunt, quia nec teneri "sine valido præsidio ob magnitudinem morum, nec id nobis virium erat quod firmando præsidio & capessendo bello divideretur, vel si in-tegra & incustodienda relinqueretur, nulla in eo utilis aut gloria quod capta essent (6). — Artaxata was burnt down, and razed to the Ground, because "so large a City could not be defended without a strong Garrison, which was not to be spared out of an Army, but just sufficient for carrying on the War; and, to leave it entire, and ungarrisoned, would have been throwing away both the Honour, and Benefit, of taking it." The Insults, which a General suffers, when he leaves his Conquests without putting them out of a Condition to hurt him, or keeps them to the too great weakening of his Army, make him so despicable, that, to maintain his Reputation, one of the main Springs of War, he must give occasion to no such Insults. So that it is by a fatal and an unhappy Necessity, that the hard Laws of War oblige us to deprive an Enemy of That, which can be of no Advantage to ourselves.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. 13. cap. 41.

[D] And was encouraged thereto by a great Miracle. *Tacitus*, with all his great Wit, has swallowed the Marvellous with as much Relish, as Those of meaner Capacities are used to do such sort of Dainties. Doubtless the Inhabitants of *Artaxata* endeavoured to comfort themselves on the Destruction of their City, among other Reasons, by some Miracle, which might assure them, that the Gods were displeased with it; and therefore every thing, which could be represented in this Light, was easily believed. But what Notions they had of this Matter we want some Historian of theirs to inform us of. The Romans, on their Part, did not want Persons, who knew how to turn the Tables in favour of their Country. For this Particular we are obliged to *Tacitus*. "Adjicitur Miraculum velut numine oblatum, nam cuncta

- " cuncta extra tectis luculentis sole inlustrata fuere, " to enjoy the brightest Sunshine, all within was so
 " quod momentis cingebatur ita repente atrâ nube " suddenly covered with a black Cloud, darting forth
 " cooptum fulguribusque difcretum est, ut quasi " Lightning on all Sides, that the City was thought
 (7) Id. lib. " inferantibus Deis exitio tradi crederetur (?) — " to be marked out for Destruction by the Anger of
 " Heaven itself seemed also to appear in it by a Mi- " the Gods."
 " racle's jar, while all without the Walls continued

ARTAXIAS I, King of *Armenia*, while he was only one of the Generals of *Antiochus* the Great, made a Partition of *Armenia* between himself, and another of That King's Generals [A]. That Prince suffered them both to enjoy their Sovereign Authority (a). They took Advantage of his Complaisance; and, when he was defeated by the *Romans*, they submitted to the Victors, and obtained from them the Title of King (b); after which, They endeavoured to enlarge their Dominions, as much as they could, at the Expence of their Neighbours. *Tigranes*, who made himself so famous in the Wars of *Mitridates*, whose Daughter he had married, was descended from *Artaxias*. *Plutarch* relates, that *Hannibal*, being retired to *Artaxias*, after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, gave him a great deal of good Advice; and that, having found out a Place, which no account was made of, very proper for building a City, he drew a Plan for it, shewed *Artaxias* the Ground, and persuaded him to build it. *Artaxias* was very much pleased with the Proposal, and desired *Hannibal* to undertake the Direction of the Work. His Request was complied with, and hence arose a large and beautiful City, which, in Honour of the Founder, was named *Artaxata* (c). This is all I find, in the two Authors, quoted by The Supplement to *Moreri* (d): As to his rebelling against his lawful Prince, upon a Confidence in the Friendship of the *Romans* (e), I find no shadow or trace of it, any more than of his practising all possible Methods, to maintain himself in his Usurpation, or of his dying in Prison under *Antiochus Epiphanes*. These are meer Chimeras, without the least support from any Quotation.

- [A] He made a Partition of *Armenia* between himself, and another of the Generals of *Antiochus* the Great] In the Editions of *Strabo*, he is called *Θαλασσιος* in one Place (1); and *Ζαπιάδης*, or *Ζαπιάδης*, in another (2). It was easy for those, who had the Direction of these Editions, to have inserted the same Word every where; and I wonder *Casaubon* has made no Remark upon this, since he has made some, which are not more material.

ARTAXIAS II, King of *Armenia*, Eldest Son of *Artavasdes*, as we have already said (a), was proclaimed King by his Father's Army [A], upon his Father's being taken Prisoner with his Queen, and other Children (b). This Eldest Son endeavoured to support himself against *Marc Antony*, and gave him Battle; but was defeated, and forced to fly into the Country of the *Partians*. He returned some time after into *Armenia*, and reigned there. This was undoubtedly after the taking of *Artavasdes*, King of *Media*: For, before the *Partians* took That King (c), they were beaten by him, and *Artaxias* bore a share in the Disgrace. He disgusted his Subjects in such a manner, that they impeached him at *Rome*, and desired his younger Brother *Tigranes* for their King (d). *Augustus*, having this *Tigranes* in his Custody, sent him to them, and ordered *Tiberius* to in-throne him. But *Artaxias* was murdered by his Relations, before the arrival of *Tiberius*.

- [A] He was proclaimed King by his Father's Army.] The Continutors of *Moreri* make *Tolophus*, or *Tacitus*, say, that it was *Marc Antony* who placed *Artaxias* upon the Throne; than which nothing is more false. They add, that *Artaxias*, having been defeated, was sent into Exile among the *Partians*. Which is another Mistake; for he retired thither himself for Refuge. If *Marc Antony* had been in a Condition to have banished him after his Victory, he would not have sent him to the *Partians*, but have brought him bound Hand and Foot to *Alexandria*.

ARTAXIAS III, King of *Armenia*, was the Son of *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*, and was named *Zeno*. He took such a pleasure, from his Infancy, in imitating the Customs of the *Armenians*, that he thereby gained the Affections of the Nation. So that *Germanicus* thought he could not cast his Eye on a fitter Person, to supply the Place of *Vonones*, whom the *Armenians* had driven out. He went therefore to *Artaxata*, and, in the presence of all the People, gave the Diadem to This *Zeno*, in the Year of *Rome* Seven Hundred and seventy one. At the same instant, the Assembly proclaimed him *Artaxias*, after the Name of the Capital City. *Tacitus*, who informs us of all these things (a), mentions his Death under the Year Seven Hundred and eighty eight (b).

ARTEMIDORUS, He, who wrote on *Dreams*, was a Native of *Ephesus*; nevertheless, in That Book, he gives himself the Surname of *Daldianus*, in Honour to the Country of his Mother [A]. But, in his other Books, he continues to call himself The *Ephesian*.

- [A] He gives himself the Surname of *Daldianus*, in Honour to the Country of his Mother.] *Ephesus*, " says he, of which Place I have, in the Title of " several of my Books, declared myself a Native, " is sufficiently renowned of itself, and has been " justly celebrated by many able Pens; but the small " Town of *Daldia* (1), has hitherto remained in obscurity for want of Panegyrista. I am resolved there- " fore " in Lydis

(*) Artemid. lib. 1. cap. 28. See also chap. 66. of the same Book.

Epheſian. He lived under *Antoninus Pius*, as he informs us himself, where he ſays, that he knew an *Athlete*, who, having dreamt, that he had loſt his Sight, obtained the Prize (a), in the Games, which That Emperor ordered to be celebrated. No Author ever took more pains on a uſeful Subject, than *Artemidorus* has done upon a very trifling one [B]. He was not contented to buy up all that had been written on the Explication of Dreams, which amounted to ſeveral Volumes [C], but he ſpent many Years

“ fore, ſince it happens to be my Country by my Mother’s Side, to acknowledge my Obligations to “ it in this manner.” This would be more liable to a Suſpicion of Vanity, had it been delivered with more Formality and Method; but this Author expreſſes himſelf with ſo much Ingenuity, that it ſeems rather to have been the manner of That Age to uſe theſe Words with different Ideas from what they would now be underſtood to import. Τὴν δὲ ἐπιγροῶν καὶ θαυμάσιος διότι Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δαλδῖαν καὶ οὐκ ἔφησε ἐπιγροῶν. ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἡδὴ εἰς ἄλλας περὶ μαλαίας πεποιμένων μοι βιβλίων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἔφησον συμπερίεχεν καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ἐαυτὴν περιώνυμον εἶναι καὶ πολλὰν ἀξιολόγων κερύκων τετυχηκέναι. Δαλδία δὲ, πόλις Ἀνδρίας, καὶ ἡ σφόδρα ἐλλογμένη. διὰ τὸ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τετυχηκέναι, ἀγνοῶν τὸ μέχρι εἰς ἐμὲ μεμνημένη. διδὲ δὲ τὴν ἑσθὴν ἔσθῃ μοι παλῖδι πρὸς κερύκεν ταῦτα ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῇ (2). *Wonder not, that, in the Title of this Book, I call myself Artemidorus the Daldian, and not the Epheſian, as my other Works have it. For Epheſus has had the good Fortune, not only to be famous in itſelf, but alſo to be highly complemented by many eminent Perſons. While Daldia, a little Place in Lydia, and not very conſiderable, for want of ſuch Patrons, continues yet unknown. Therefore, as this is alſo my Country, ſince I owe it to my Mother, I thus repay the Debt.*

(2) Artemid. lib. 3. ſub fin. p. 193.

Rigaltius ought to have kept to this Reaſon, and not have fought for two others: one of which is, that *Apollo* inſpired *Artemidorus*, in the City of *Daldia*, with the Deſign of interpreting Dreams; the other is, that, there having been another *Artemidorus* of *Epheſus*, the Interpreter of Dreams ought not to have uſed the Title of *Epheſian*, which was already in the Poſſeſſion of another (3). This laſt Reaſon, though the worſt of the two, was nevertheless adopted by a Man of Learning (4). *Artemidorus* himſelf confutes it beyond Contradiction, ſince he declares, that he ſtyled himſelf the *Epheſian*, in a great Number of Books. So that he did not then think of preventing his being confounded with *Artemidorus* the Geographer. Without doubt he was much better known by the Title of *Epheſian*, than by That of *Daldian* (5).

(3) Rigalt. Not. in Artemid. p. 1.

(4) Mr de Tillemont, in the ſecond Tome of his Hiſt. des Emp. Part II. pag. 731. Edit. of Bruxelles.

(5) Lucian in Philopat. cites him. Ἀρταμίδωρον τὸν τῆς Ἐφεſίας.

(6) The extraordinary Dreams, mentioned in Scripture, are out of the Queſtion.

(7) Compare with this the Reſcription of A. R. TABANUS the Son of Hyſippos. See the Remark [C] of his Article.

(8) Virgil. Æn. lib. 1. ver. 427.

Quid natum toties crudelis tu quoque falſis
Ludis imaginibus (8)?

Ab, cruel Mother, ſuch Deceits to uſe,

And with deſuſive Forms thy Son abuſe!

What I am moſt ſurprized at, is, that *Artemidorus* ſhould take ſo much Pains to eſtabliſh a Doctrin, which might give him ſo much Vexation: For muſt

he not be afraid of dreaming, what his Art might repreſent to him as ominous? He had found, by his Studies, that, when a Traveller dreams he has loſt the Key of his Houſe, it is a Sign that ſome Body has deſeached his Daughter (9). If *Artemidorus* had dreamt ſuch a Dream, while he was abroad, would he not have believed there was a fine Trade driving at Home? Could this Knowledge have been agreeable to him? Or had he not much better have been without it? He tells us, that, having dreamed, his Wife had inſulted him (10), he was much troubled the next Day, when he perceived a Man coming towards him, who was not his Friend. Obſerve how, by Virtue of his Onirocrify, he turned an imaginary Evil into a real one.

(9) Artemid. lib. 5. pag. 255. n. 170.

(10) Δέξας ὁρῶ τῆς ἑμῆς γυναῖκος δι’ ὀφθαλμοῦ. Conſarius tranſlates it thus, per ſomnium viſum ſum mihi ab uxore mea vituperari & plagia impetiri. I dreamed my Wife ſeemed to and beat me. Artemid. lib. 2. cap. 52. pag. 144.

The Objection, which I have juſt hinted, and which I ground on the Notions the Chriſtian Doctors give us of the Angelical Natures, ſeems very ſtrong to me, on a Suppoſition of the Truth of theſe Notions; but, if we eſtabliſh a different Syſtem, and which has no repugnancy to the Poſſibility of things, That Objection is much weakened. That is, if we believe there are Spiritual Beings, not only more limited than Man in certain Reſpects, as to the manner of making themſelves underſtood, but even more ſickle and capricious. How can we tell, whether they do not love to divert themſelves at our Coſt, and make us run after Enigma’s, in which they mix ſomething puerile and frivolous, on purpoſe to make the Scene more ridiculous? How do we know but we ſerve to divert them, as Beaſts do us? And perhaps, when they would correſpond with us, they may meet with ſuch Difficulty, in the Motion of our animal Spirits, as may render the Attempt impracticable? See the Remark [D] of the Article MAJUS. Be it as it will, Reaſon gives us a ſufficient Caution againſt eſtabliſhing any ſuch Art, and ſhews all Pretence to it to be a moſt vain and chimerical Undertaking.

(11) See, how I, too, the Poſſibility of Ter-tullian, Citation. 14.

(12) Rigalt. not. in Artemid. pag. 5.

(13) And. Schot. on Seneca’s Controv. IX. & Joſeph de Script. Hiſt. Phil. pag. 329. call him Geminus Pyrius. Rigaltius’s Edition of Artemidorus, lib. 1. cap. 40. has τὸς Τυρί-.

(14) Tertull. lib. de Anim. cap. 46. See alſo Fulgentius, lib. 1. Myth. cap. 13. & ibi Mander.

(15) And. Schotus in hac verba Seneca Controv. 9. An-tipho-nis li-bros vocabat, tantum in illis ſer-mo-nem eſt.

[C] He bought up all that had been written on the Explication of Dreams, which amounted to ſeveral Volumes.] I have already expreſſed my Aſtoniſhment at ſome Perſons, who have laboured hard to convince themſelves of the pretended Science of Dreams. I ſhould not wonder, that ſeveral, who call themſelves Diviners, ſhould boaſt of being Maſters of it; they may maintain themſelves by it, and, not having any Faith themſelves in the Art they profeſs, may be great Gainers by the Dreams of others, without being at all diſquieted with their own. But I cannot judge thus of *Artemidorus*, nor of ſeveral other grave Authors, who have written on the Interpretation of Dreams (11). They were themſelves the firſt deceived. Thoſe, named by *Rigaltius* (12), are as follows, *Artemon Mileſius*, *Antiphon*, *Apollodorus Telmiſſenſis*, *Apollonius Aitalenſis*, *Ariſtander Telmiſſenſis*, *Ariſtarchus*, *Alexander Myndius*, *Cratippus*, *Demetrius Phalerus*, *Dionyſius Rhodius*, *Epicharmus*, *Epaphroditus Tyrius* (13), *Hermippus*, *Nicoſtratus Epheſus*, *Phæbus Antiochenus*, *Philochorus*, *Panyasus Halicarnateſis*, *Serapion*, *Strato*. Theſe, according to *Rigaltius*, were all prior to *Artemidorus*. *Tertullian* names only ſome of them, when he ſays (14), “ Quanti autem commentatores & adſcriptores in “ hanc rem, Artemon, Antiphon, Strato, Philocho- “ rus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, & Diony- “ ſius Rhodius, Hermippus tota ſæculi literatura.

— How conſiderable are the Commentators and “ Authors on this Subject, Artemon, Antiphon, Stra- “ to, Philochorus, Epicharmus, Serapion, Cratippus, “ Dionyſius Rhodius, and Hermippus, the whole “ Learning of the Age.” *Andrew Schot* adds, to ſome of thoſe beforementioned, *Aſtrampychus*, *Cæſius Maximus*, & *Dionyſius Heliopolita* (15). He ſays, that *Artemidorus* has quoted theſe two laſt; but, as to *Cæſius Maximus*, I do not ſee, that *Artemidorus*, who has dedicated the three firſt Books of his Work to him, ſpeaks of him otherwiſe, than as a Man, who was curious in this Science (16), and might

(16) Artemid. lib. 3. init. pag. 164. lib. 4. init. pag. 197.

(d) i. e. *Interpreters of Dreams. See this Passage of Tertullian cited above* (14). But we have no Remains of them [H]. *Tertullian* has not taken notice of him in That Passage, where he quotes several Onirocritic Authors (d); but *Lucian* does not forget him, tho' he names but two Writers of This Class (e).

(e) In *Philopator*.

115. A little after, he addresses him in this manner; "Audisti, Maxime, quorum pleraque scilicet legeras apud antiquos philosophorum. — The greatest part of what thou hast heard, O Maximus, thou hast read thyself amongst the ancient Philosophers." Elsewhere (30) he says to him; "Multa fando, Maxime, audisti, & plura legendo didicisti, non pauca experiendo comperisti; — Many things, O Maximus, thou hast heard in Discourse, more thou hast learned by Study, and not a few thou hast discovered by Experience." And again (31); "An quod multo præstabilis est, tua doctrina, Claudii Maxime, tuæque perfectæ eruditione fretus, contemnâ stultis & impolitâ ad hæc responderé. — Much rather had I rely, O Claudius Maximus, on thy great Learning, and despite giving any Answer to the ignorant and illiterate." He seems also to have been at first a Philosopher by Profession, but to have raised himself by his long military Services. "Erras — si eum fortunæ indulgentiâ non ex philosophiæ censurâ metiris: si virum tam AUSTERE SECTAE, tamque diutina militiæ non putas amiciores esse: cœcitate mediocritati quàm delicatæ opulentia (32). — You are mistaken — if you think, the Favours of Fortune have more weight with him, than the Dictates of Philosophy; or that a Person of so AUSTERE A SECT, and so old a Soldier, will not rather take the Part of contented Mediocrity, than of effeminate Opulence."

[H] He wrote a Treatise of Auguries, and another of Chiromancy; but we have no Remains of them.] *Vander Linden* falsely affirms, even in his Edition of *Merklinus*, that *Aldus* has printed them in Greek, that *Cornarius* translated them into Latin, and that *Rigaltius* published them in both these Languages (33). We must search a little higher for the Original of this Mistake; nor will the Inquiry be useless; it may serve to let those, who write Abridgments, see, into what a Multitude of Errors they are apt to lead their Readers. *Geyner* had said; "Artemidorus — scripsit de somniorum interpretatione libros 4, item de auguriis & manuum inspectione. *Suidas*. Hujus autoris quinque libros *Aldus Græcè* excudit (34). — Artemidorus — wrote four Books of the Interpretation of Dreams, and also of Auguries, and of Chiromancy. *Suidas*. Five Books of this Author are printed in Greek, by *Aldus*." He had observed, afterwards, that these five Books were only concerning Dreams. See how *Simler* has abridged this Text. "Artemidorus — scripsit de somniorum interpretatione lib. 4. Item de auguriis & manuum inspectione. Eos *Aldus Græcè* excudit. — Artemidorus — wrote four Books of the Interpretation of Dreams. Also of Auguries, and Chiromancy. These *Aldus* has printed in Greek." Is This abridging, or misinterpreting, an Author? It looks more like the latter than the former.

(33) De Script. Medicis.

(34) *Ceph. Bibliothec. fol. 96, verso.*

ARTEMISIA, Queen of Caria, and Daughter of *Lygdamis* [A], accompanied King *Xerxes*, in Perion, in his War with the Greeks [B]. She was a Woman of great Capacity, and perfectly Masculine Courage. So that, happening to be possessor of Sovereign Authority, as well by being Widow of the late King, as on account of the Minority of her Son (a), during the Preparations of *Xerxes*, she took this occasion to signalize herself, and voluntarily engaged in That famous Expedition. She distinguished herself in it very particularly both by her Counsel and Conduct. The Reasons, on which she grounded her Advice, against engaging in the Battle of *Salamis* (b), were extremely just. She saved herself very artfully in That Battle; for, seeing herself pursued by an *Albeman* Ship, without any hope of escaping, she attacked a *Persian* Ship, commanded by *Damastibymus* King of *Calyndus*, with whom she had a quarrel, and sunk him (c). This made Those, who were in chace of her, believe, that her Vessel was of their own Party [C], and so quit the Pursuit. By good fortune for her, not one of *Damastibymus's* Men was saved. So that she got rid of an Enemy, without the least suspicion of having destroyed him; and escaped being taken, with the honour of having sunk a Greek Ship. *Xerxes* was much mistaken on this occasion; for he cried out, that his Men had behaved themselves like Women, and his Women like Men [D]. He intrusted her with the Government of his Children, the young Princes

of

[A] She was Daughter of *Lygdamis* [Herodotus does not say, what *Moreri* fathers upon him, viz. that *Lygdamis* was King of *Halicarnassus* (1). He only says, that *Artemisia* was of *Halicarnassus*, by the Father's side, and of *Crete* by the Mother's Side. If the same Historian had not declared, that *Lygdamis*, who assisted *Pisistratus*, and to whom, after *Pisistratus* was re-established in *Athens*, he gave the Command of the Isle of *Naxos*, was a Native of That Isle (2), I should have taken him for our *Artemisia's* Father, or Grand-father. *Blancardus*, in his Edition of *Harporation* (3), has continued the Error of Those, who went before him, viz. *Damis*, for *Lygdamis* (4). *Valesius's* Annotations point out the proper Correction, which *Gronovius* has actually made, upon publishing *Harporation*, in the Year 1696.

[B] She accompanied King *Xerxes*, in Person, in his War with the Greeks (5). *Suidas* says, it was against the *Persians* she took Part (6); but this Passage may, perhaps, have been mangled; for That piece of Wit of *Xerxes*, mentioned immediately after, by *Suidas*, that the Men were become Women, and the Women Men, would be unintelligible, if *Artemisia* had been in the Greek Army, where the Men fought like Lions. *Mauffac* supposes, that *Suidas* wrote, as it is in *Harporation*, *κατὰ τὰ Περσικά* (7). In the *Persian* War.

[C] She made those, who chased her, believe, that her Vessel was of their own Party. *Herodotus* has forgot a

very essential Circumstance, for want of which his Narration loses much of it's Probability. He ought to have told us, as *Polyænus* has done, that *Artemisia* caused her *Persian* Colours to be taken down (8). *Polyænus* makes her follow the Conduct of Those Pirates, who hoist all sorts of Colours, according as they have occasion. When he gave Chace to a Greek Ship, she hung out *Barbarian* Colours; but, if a Greek Ship pursued her, she display'd Greek Colours. He has turned the Engagement of this Queen so many Ways, that he makes three or four different Actions of it, and tells us of a Spindle and Distaff, sent by the King of *Persia* to a Captain of a Ship, which there is no making Sense of, since the Ship, which *Artemisia* engaged with, was sunk, and all the Men in her lost.

[D] Upon her Account, *Xerxes* cried out, that his Men had behaved themselves like Women, and his Women like Men. Let us see what *Herodotus* says: *ἑτέρον δὲ στρατὸς λέξις ἀπὸς τὰ ἑκατόμυρα, οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες γυναικῶν μοι γυναικῶν. αἱ δὲ γυναικῶν, ἄνδρες* (9). *Xerxes*, upon hearing this Account, is reported to have cried out, "My Men are become Women, and my Women Men." To this let us add, what *Justin* says: "Artemisia regina *Halicarnassi*, quæ in auxilium *Xerxi* venerat, inter primos duces bellum acerrimè ciebat, quippe ut in viro muliebrem timorem, ita in muliere virilem audaciam cereretur (10). — Artemisia, Queen of *Halicarnassus*, who joined her Forces with *Xerxes*, appeared

(8) *Polyænus*. Strat. lib. 8, cap. 53.

(9) *Herodotus*. lib. 8, c. 83.

(10) *Justinus*. lib. 2, c. 12. See also *Polyænus*, ubi supra, and *Pausanias*, lib. 3, p. 93.

(a) He was called *Pisistratus*. See Remark [E] of the Article MAUSOLUS.

(b) *Herodotus*. l. 8. c. 67.

(c) *Cap. 87.*

(1) *Herodotus*. lib. 7, c. 99.

(2) *Id. lib. 1, cap. 61, 64.*

(3) *That of* *Harporation*, 1083.

(4) In *Ap. τριπύρα*.

(5) *Herodotus*. lib. 7, c. 99.

(6) *Ἡρόδοτος κατὰ Περσικά*. — See below briefly against the *Persians*.

(7) *Mauffac*. Not in *Harporation*.

of *Perſia*, when, according to her Advice, he quitted *Greece* to return into *Aſia*. The *Athenians* were ſo incenſed at a Woman's making War againſt them, that they promiſed a great Reward for the taking *Artemiſia*, and ordered all their Captains of Ships to endeavour it (d). Her Statue was erected at *Lacedæmon*, among thoſe of the *Perſian* Generals, in the Portico, built with the Spoils of That Nation (e). The Stratagem ſhe uſed, to make herſelf Miſtreſs of *Laiſmus*, is as much to be commended upon the Principles of *Macchiaveliſm*, as to be condemned upon Thoſe of Chriſtianity. She placed her Troops in Ambuſcade, and then went in a devout Proceſſion, with Eunuchs, Women, Trumpets, and Drums, to celebrate the Feaſt of the Mother of the Gods, in a Wood, which was conſecrated to her, near That City. The Inhabitants, charmed with this Zeal, ran thither to admire her Piety; and, in the mean time, *Artemiſia's* Army took Poſſeſſion of the Town (f). Theſe great Qualities did not preſerve her from amorous Foibles [E]. She was paſſionately in Love with a Native of *Abydos*, whoſe Name was *Dardanius*, and was ſo enraged at his ſlighting her, that ſhe put out his Eyes while he ſlept (g). The Gods, to puniſh her, cauſed her Paſſion to grow yet more violent; inſomuch that being adviſed by the Oracle to go to the Promontory *Leucas* (h), the Refuge of Lovers in deſpair, ſhe went thither, took the Leap, but did not recover it. She was buried in that Place. Many Writers prepoſterouſly confound her with the *Artemiſia* I am going to mention [F].

(12) Herod. lib. 1. c. 95.

(c) Pausanias, lib. 3. pag. 93.

(f) Polystratus, Stat. lib. 2. cap. 53.

(g) Ptolemy, Hephæst. apud Phot. cod. 190. p. 491.

(h) See the Article LEUCAS.

"appeared among the forwardest Commanders in the hottest Engagements; and, as, on the Man's side, there was an effeminate Cowardice, on the Woman's was observed a masculine Courage."

[E] Her great Qualities did not preserve her from amorous Foibles. All Heroines are not like *Agrippina*, who overcame the Weakness of her own Sex, by imitating the Fortitude of the other. "A- grippina, æqui impatiens, dominandi avida, virili- bus curis femininarum vitia exuerat (11). — Agrip- pina, impatient of an Equal, and eager for Rule, by manly Thoughts put off the Woman's Weakness." *Semiramis*, who was ambitious and warlike to the highest Degree, was prodigiously lascivious. It is observed, that most great Warriors are of an amorous Complexion: Of which the mystical Commentators may give *Homer* the Honour, for so naturally describing the Intercourses of *Mars* and *Venus*; but I believe this is not so generally true, in the Case of Women, who seem best secured against the Follies of Love by the Pursuits of Ambition.

[F] She is preposterously confounded with *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mausolus*. It seems *Pliny* is guilty of this Fault; for he says, that *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mausolus*, gave her Name to the Herb called *Parthenis* (12). Now, since the Herb *Artemiſia*, (which we call *Mugwort*), is mentioned by *Hippocrates*, and the Wife of *Mausolus* was not born till after *Hippocrates*; *Pliny*, in that Passage, has mistaken one *Artemiſia* for the other. If one of them gave her Name to the Herb *Mugwort*, it must be the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, the great and courageous *Artemiſia*, who accompanied *Xerxes*. Mr *Chevreau*, to whom I owe this Remark against *Pliny*, observes, that *Leo Allatius*, from whom he has it, has, with Reason, censured *Robert Stephens*, for saying (13), That *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mausolus*, signalized herself in *Xerxes's* War against the Grecians (14). Mr *Chevreau* has remarked the same Mistake in the Historical Theatre of *Christian Matthew*: he adds, That it was not without Reason, that *Pliny*, in the Passage alluded, gave *Mausolus* the Title of Rich. I find, indeed, This Epithet in *De Pinet's* Translation; but not in the *Pliny* of *Father Hardouin*: And I find, that *Pliny*, in another Place (15), describing the Magnificence of the *Mausoleum*, says only, that *Mausolus* was a petty King of *Caria*, *Carice regulus*. *Father Hardouin* endeavours to help out his Author, by suggesting, that all the Kings of *Caria* assumed the Name of *Mausolus*, as all the Kings of *Egypt* did the Name of *Ptolemy*; and, therefore, that *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mausolus*, to whom *Pliny* imputes the Vanity of giving her Name to an Herb, is She, who lived in the Time of *Xerxes*: But he must give me leave to say, that, in this Case, his Author would be very liable to confound another Account; namely, for characterizing a Queen by a Tide, which must have been common to her with all the other Queens of That Country. *Father Hardouin* grounds his Conjecture on a Passage, where the two *Artemiſia's* are styled Queens of *Caria* (16). I shall pass by this reasoning of his, and observe, that *Tzetzes* is a little puzzled (17). According to him, one of the *Artemiſia's* was the Wife of *Mausolus*, and the other the Wife of *Hecatomnes*; the first

of whom he makes the Companion of *Xerxes*. Now all Authors agree, that She, who built a magnificent Tomb for her Husband, was the Daughter of *Hecatomnes*, and Wife of *Mausolus*; and that the *Artemiſia*, who joined the *Perſians* against the *Greeks*, was the Daughter of *Lygdamis*. The great *Scaliger* will not pass Muller here: He has too apparently taken the one for the other (18), and Thatin a Place, where it was not easy to make such a Mistake: For it is in the Abstract of a Book, the Author whereof has declared, in plain Terms, that he speaks of one *Artemiſia*, the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, who took up Arms against the *Perſians* (19). *Scaliger*, suppressing all these particular Descriptions, has substituted That of the Widow of *Mausolus*, which can only be applied to That Queen of *Caria*, who so much honoured the Memory of her Husband. This celebrated Writer has led another great Man into an Error, having occasioned *Valſius* to affirm, that, after the Death of *Mausolus*, *Artemiſia*, seeing herself slighted by *Dardanius*, whom the loved, put out his Eyes, and, finding herself afterwards still more in Love, went to take the *Leucadian Leap*, by which the lost her Life (20). By comparing This Passage with That of *Scaliger*, it plainly appears, that the one is a Transcript of the other. This stumble of *Valſius* is so even a Road, and the Difference he observes between *Theopompus*, who makes *Artemiſia* die of Grief for the Loss of her Husband, and *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephestion*, who makes her die for Love of another Man, as *Valſius* pretends, are so much the more amazing, as he had, but two Lines before, quoted the seventh Book of this same *Ptolemy*, to prove, that *Artemiſia's* Father's Name was not *Damis*, but *Lygdamis*. *Balthazar Bonifacius*, who gives the same false account of the Wife of *Mausolus* (21), confesses he took it from *Scaliger*. *Habemus confitentem reum: The Criminal pleads Guilty*. And it may be properly said of this Way of propagating Faults,

— dedit hanc contagio labem,
Et dabit in plures: sicut grex totus in agris
Unius scabie cadit, & porrigine porci;
Uvaeque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva (22).

Infection, from one single Case begun,
Soon spread their Poison, and thro' Numbers run.
So, one Sheep touch'd, some of the Flock escape;
And the whole Bunch rats from one smitten Grape.

Mr *Merrage*, having said a great many fine Things of *Artemiſia*, the Wife of *Mausolus*, and particularly of the Honour done her, in proposing her as a Model of conjugal Love, goes on in this manner: Yet *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephestion* — says, that *Artemiſia* was so smitten with the Love of one *Dardanius*, &c. And, having repeated the whole Story, he proceeds thus: "There were two *Artemiſia's*, both Queens of *Caria*, as *Suidas* informs us; She, who was married to *Mausolus*, and another more ancient: and, if this Story be true, it is most probable, that it happened to the first *Artemiſia*, and that This *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephestion*, in applying it to the Wife of *Mausolus*,

(11) Tacitus, Annal. lib. 6. cap. 25.

(12) Plin. lib. 25. c. 7.

(13) In his Theſaurus Lingue Lat. I have met with the same Faults in his Dictionarium Novissimi Propriorum, &c. printed in 8vo at Cologne, 1558.

(14) Chevreau Hist. du Monde, Tome 4, pag. 33, of the first Dutch Edit.

(15) Lib. 36, cap. 5.

(16) This Passage is in Hecatomnes; but we should ascribe it to Xerxes, if we follow exactly the Expression of Hardouin, Tom. 4, pag. 398.

(17) Tzetzes, chil. 12, lib. 455.

(18) Scaliger, Aulonar. Lector. lib. 2, cap. 18. See Aulonar. Tullian. pag. 329.

(19) Ptolemy, Hephæst. apud Phot. n. 190. pag. 491.

(20) Valer. Not. in Harpocrat. Lexicon, pag. 111.

(21) Hæc Ptolemaeus Hephæstionis filius apud Juniorum Scaligerum recenset. — Thus Ptolemy, the Son of Hephæstion, has it, according to Scaliger junior. Balth. Bonifacius. Hist. Ludic. lib. 3. c. 87.

(22) Juven. Sat. 2. v. 78.

(23) Meneg. Observat. fur Malherbe, pag. 53.

"*Mausolus*, was mistaken (23)." The Conjecture of this learned Man is very just; but he was in the wrong in charging *Ptolemy* with fixing this Adventure on the Wife of *Mausolus*. *Sarasin*, introducing Mr *Menage* in the Dialogue, upon the Question, *whether a young Man ought to be amorous*, makes him say, that *Artemisia*, the same *Artemisia*, who was so afflicted for the Death of her Husband, *who drowned herself in Tears*, and reproached the Stars, which could not help it,

(24) Sarasin's Works, pag. 131.

With all that Rage can make one say, When Reason flies, and gives it way (24).

(25) See the Nouveaux Dialogues des Morts, 2. part. p. 17. Dutch Edit.

fel], at last, in Love with *Dardanus*, and that the most professed Coquette would be ashamed of the Passion of *That Queen*. Upon this he quotes what *Scaliger* says; so that we see one, or rather two, ingenious Men, Mr *Sarasin* and Mr *Menage*, deceived by the learned *Scaliger*. The witty Author of the *New Dialogues of the Dead* has made *That Artemisia*, who lamented her Husband so much, in Love with a young Man (25).

(a) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 437. Suidas in 'Apropru-
cia.

(b) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(c) Lib. 7. cap. 3.

(d) Diodor. Sicul. l. 16.

(e) Strabo, l. 14. p. 471.

(f) See Remark [D].

ARTEMISIA, Queen of Caria, the Daughter of *Hecatomnes* (a), Sister and Wife of *Mausolus*, immortalized herself by the Honours she paid to the Memory of her Husband. She caused a very magnificent Tomb to be built for him, in *Halicarnassus*, which was called *Mausoleum*, and was one of the seven Wonders of the World; from whence the Appellation of *Mausoleum* has ever since been given to all sumptuous Structures of this kind. *Pliny* has left us a particular Description of this stately Monument (b). It may be seen in *French* in the History of Mr *Chevreaux* (c), and in the Supplement to *Moreri*. *Artemisia* lived but two Years after her dear Husband (d), who died without Children (e), after he had reigned twenty four Years, towards the End of the CVIth Olympiad [A]. She died of Grief and Melancholy (f) [B], before the *Mausoleum* was finished (g). It is said the mixed her Husband's Ashes with Water, and drank them, that the might serve him for a living Tomb (h). It must not be forgot, that she caused excellent Panegyrics to be made on him, and proposed a Prize of great Value for him, who should acquit himself best (i). *Theopompus* obtained it. They say, that his Master *Isoocrates* was one of the Orators, who entered the Lists [C]. *Theodectes* of *Pbafelides*, who was another of the Competitors, composed a Tragedy called *Mausolus*, which had better Success, than his Prose. Nor must we forget, that, instead of Lamentations and Tears, in which most Writers

(26) In Officina. (27) Valerius Maximus Variorum, It pag. 395. Edit. 1655.

(g) Plin. lib. 36. cap. 5.

(h) A. Gell. l. 10. c. 18. V. Maxim. lib. 4. c. 1.

(i) A. Gell. lib. 10. c. 18. Plutarch. in Vita 160r.

[A] *Mausolus*, her Husband, died — towards the End of the CVIth Olympiad. Most Editions of *Pliny* make *Mausolus*, King of Caria, die in the second Year of the CVI Olympiad, and the Three hundred and second of Rome (1). But Father *Hardouin*, according to the best Manuscripts, has fixed his Death to the second Year of the CVIth Olympiad, and the Four hundred and second of Rome. *Obiit Olympiadis centesima sexta anno secundo; Urbis anno 402*. Mr *Chevreaux* observes, that *Ulper* judged this Passage of *Pliny* to be corrupted, and that *Mausolus* died in the fourth Year of the CVIth Olympiad, *Anno Mundi* 3661 (2). This agrees very well with these Words of Father *Hardouin*: "Quid quod & Diodorus non "ad Olympiadis cvi annum alterum Mausoli obitum, "sed ad quartum refert, lib. 16. ver. 435 (3)." But "Diodorus places the Death of Mausolus, not in the "second, but fourth, Year of the CVIth Olympiad: and with the Duration of the Reigns of Those, who succeeded *Mausolus*, till *Alexander's* Expedition. See the Remark [A] of the Article ADA. It is certain, that *Mausolus* was dead, and *Artemisia*, who did not survive him above two Years, living, when *Demosthenes* made an Oration for the Liberty of the Rhodians. Now he spoke this Oration in the second Year of the CVIth Olympiad, as may be collected from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* (4). *Mausolus*, then, died in the last Year of the CVIth; and the anonymous Author, who described the Olympiads, was mistaken, in placing *Mausolus's* Funeral Oration, by *Theopompus*, in the first Year of the CIIIth Olympiad. *Valesius* has committed the same Mistake. *Hec Artemisia in funere Mariti agones celebravit Olympiade ciii* (5). — *This Artemisia solemnized her Husband's Funeral with Prize Contests in the CIIIth Olympiad*. They, who, after the Example of *Caepion*, Mr *Lloyd*, and Mr *Hofman*, &c. would refer us to the seventh Book of *Herodotus*, for an Account of the *Mausoleum*, can never have rightly consulted the Chronological Tables, which must be very false indeed, if the Death of *Mausolus* be found in them, before *That of Herodotus*. [B] *She died of Grief and Melancholy*. We have several great Authorities for this Fact, no less than a

It would be too tedious to point out all those, who have confounded the two *Artemisias*. *Ravifus Textor* (26) In Officina, and the Authors of the *Theaurus Fabri* are of This Number. *Olivier*, who wrote a Commentary on *Valerius Maximus*, is also one of them; though he knew, that *Strabo* and *Herodotus* did not agree about the Genealogy of *The Artemisia*, whom they mention (27). He innocently imagined, that one of the two must be in the wrong, and never dreamed, that they spoke of different Persons, and were both in the right. It is true, Mr *Hofman* gives two Articles of *Artemisia*; but, in the first, he has huddled together confusedly, what should have been distinguished under the two different Heads; and he is doubtful, whether the Wife of *Mausolus*, and the Daughter of *Lygdamis*, are not one and the same Person. Besides, he quotes *Vitruvius* for Facts, which he never once mentions. Mr *Lloyd* led him the way in That false Quotation from *Charles Stephens*, which he has not corrected; And from whom he has very surprisingly pirated the whole Article of *That Artemisia*, who followed *Xerxes*; which Article was very correct.

Theopompus, a *Cicero*, and a *Strabo*. *Theopompus's* Account is very full. "Ην φησι Θεόπομπος ὀβιβάς νόσῳ ἀπεθῆσθαι διὰ τὴν λύπην ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῷ Μαννολῷ, ἀποθανεῖν (6). Who is said, by *Theopompus*, to have died of a wasting Distemper, contracted through Grief for the Loss of *Mausolus* her Husband, and Brother. That of *Cicero*. "Artemisia illa, fays he (7), Mausoli Cariae Regis uxor, quae nobile illud Halicarnassi fecit sepulchrum, quam diu vixit, vixit in luctu, eodemque etiam confecta contabuit. Huic erat illa opinio quotidie recens, quae tum denique non appellabatur recens cum vetustate exaruit. — That *Artemisia*, the Wife of *Mausolus* of Caria, who built The famous Monument at Halicarnassus, lived in Sorrow, and pined away with it to Death. To her, the same Sentiment "was always new, which was then only not esteemed "new, when quite worn out with Age." It is almost certain, *Cicero* was ignorant, that *Artemisia* survived her Husband but two Years; otherwise he would not have used such Expressions as signify a very long Sorrow. But let us see what *Strabo* says: φθίγει δ' ἀποθανίσθαι διὰ πένθος τῷ ἀνδρὶ (8). She died of a Consumption, through Grief for her Husband.

[C] They say *Isoocrates* made a Panegyric on him. I have quoted two good Vouchers (9); and can add a Third, of great Weight, which is *Theopompus*: He publicly boasts of having carried the Prize from his Master *Isoocrates* (10). But I am not ignorant, that *Suidas*, without mentioning *Isoocrates*, the Athenian, speaks of another *Isoocrates*, Disciple and Successor of the former, and born either at *Heraclea*, or *Apollonia*, on the *Euxine* Sea. *Suidas* says, it was He, who disputed the Prize of Eloquence with *Theodectes*. *Theopompus*, and *Erythreus* (11). This latter was of *Naucratis* in Egypt, which will make *Aulus Gellius* guilty of a Mistake, in the Place, where we read, that *Theopompus*, *Theodectes*, and *Naurites* disputed That Prize (12). *Naurites* is not the proper Name of One of Those Competitors; it is only his Name derived from the Town, where he was born, a little altered; for it should have been *Naucratis* (13). *Olivier* names them *Theopompus*, *Theodotes*, and *Naucratis* (14). But

(6) Apud Harpocrat.

(7) Cicero. Tusculanae. 3. This Passage is warranted in Val. Max. Variorum. The last Period in Roman Character is without the Paratich non, which makes it intelligible Norjense.

(8) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 452.

(9) Plutarch. in Vita 160r. A. Gell. lib. 10. cap. 18.

(10) See Eusebius Praep. Evang. l. 10. cap. 3. pag. 464.

(11) Suidas in 'Isona-
745.

(12) A. Gell. lib. 10. cap. 18.

(13) Moreri and Hofman have it Naurites.

(14) Olivier. in Val. Max. pag. 395. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1655.

(1) Plinius, lib. 36. c. 5. pag. 280. & cap. 6. pag. 283.

(2) Chevreaux. Hist. du Monde, lib. 7. cap. 3.

(3) Hardouin. in Plin. Tom. 5. p. 280.

(4) Dion. Halicarn. Epist. de Art. & Script. D. moeth.

(5) Vales. Not. in Harpocrat. Lexicon, pag. 93.

bury *Artemisia* during her Widowhood, there are those, who affirm, that she made some very heroic Conquests [D].

if *Aulus Gellius* is to be preferred before *Suidas*, as in my Judgment he ought to be, then we must own, that the latter is mistaken in the Place, where we read, *ἡμεῖς τῷ Ἐρυσθραίου Ναυαγιστῆρι δινυνοῖσθαλο* (15); he contended with *Erythraeus*, the Naucrator. *Plotius* favours *Aulus Gellius*, by saying, that *Naucrator* of *Erythraea* was one of *Theopompus*'s Competitors (16). On one side, or the other, they have mistaken the proper Name for the Name derived from the Town. Observe, that *Cicero* (17), *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* (18), and *Quintilian* (19), speak of One *Naucrator*, a Disciple of *Isocrates*. However, *Amiot* has translated the Passage of *Plutarch* in a quite different manner from *Wolffius*, and *Xylander*: according to These, *Isocrates*'s Panegyric on *Mausolus* was lost; but, according to *Amiot*, it was preserved. *Isocrates*, says he, contended for the Prize, which *Queen Artemisia* instituted on account of the Tomb of her Husband *Mausolus*; and the Oration, which he made in Praise of the deceased, is still extant. Without doubt the different Manner of Accenting has produced These different Translations: some read τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον ἔσώζεσθαι, but this Panegyric is not preserved; others read τὸ δὲ ἐγκώμιον ἔσώζεσθαι, And this Panegyric is there preserved. See what sport Fortune makes with Manuscripts; one single Point, either taken away, or added, or altered, turns the Affirmative into the Negative.

[D] There are some, who affirm, that she made some very heroic Conquests. I say nothing of *Demosthenes*'s Oration, which has been quoted before (20), though it is certain, from the manner of That Orator's expressing himself, that *Artemisia* was not represented in Athens as a disconsolate Widow, pining away, and neglecting the Affairs of her Kingdom, to confine her Thoughts wholly to the Memory of her Husband. The Athenians considered her as a Woman in a Condition to make herself feared; for one of the Arguments, which *Demosthenes* had to confute, was drawn from the Motions which *Artemisia* might make, if the Athenians should espouse the Interests of the *Rhodians*. But I leave this, to pass to something more close to the Point. *Vitruvius* tells us, that, after the Death of *Mausolus*, the *Rho-*

dians, disdaining, that *Caria* should be governed by a Woman, attempted to dethrone her (21). Their Design was defeated by a Stratagem of *Artemisia*'s, which was presently followed by another, executed by herself, in Perion, with so much Vigour and Success, that, in a very short time, she made herself Mistress of *Rhodes*. She caused two Statues in Brals to be erected there, as a Trophy of her Victory; one of them represented the City of *Rhodes*, the other *Artemisia* marking That City with a hot Iron. *Vitruvius* adds, that the *Rhodians* never durst remove This Trophy from it's Place, (for That was a thing forbidden by their Religion), but they encompassed it with a Building, which concealed it from public View. Does this look like the Conduct of a disconsolate Widow, entirely employed in sighing and groaning, and so lavish of Life, as to sacrifice it to sorrow in two Years Time? It is in vain to pretend, that *Vitruvius* speaks of the other *Artemisia*: I am sensible Mr *Chevreau* has thought so (22); but there are two incontestable Arguments to the contrary. For, I. the *Artemisia* of *Vitruvius* was the Wife of *Mausolus*; and, II. she possessed herself of a City, which was not built till the Time of the *Peloponnesian* War, when *Xerxes* and *Artemisia* were no longer in Being. 'H δὲ ὕν πάλαι ἐκίχον κατὰ τὰ Πελοποννησιακά ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἀρχιτέκτονι, ὡς φασιν, ὅφ' ἔκλειψεν (23). The City, that now is, was built in the Time of the *Peloponnesian* War, they say, by the very same Architect, who built the Piræum. It is not, therefore, without Reason, that *Tzetzes* makes both the *Artemisias* Commanders of Armies, and Women of Martial Spirit, ἀμφὶ δὲ στρατηγείδας, γενναίας ἀρχοῖσπας. What can we think of Authors, who give us such inconsistent Accounts of one, and the same, Queen? One Person, greatly obliged by her, might be sufficient to make the World believe, that her Grief for her Husband was the Cause of her Death. Writers would repeat it an hundred Times, from one to another, not only as a Rarity, but also, as an Example worthy of Imitation. The most singular Embellishments are given, sooner or later, to such sort of Traditions.

ASCLEPIADES, a Native of *Phlia* (a) in *Peloponnesus*, made a great Figure among the ancient Philosophers. He was a Disciple of *Stilpo* (b), and brought over *Menedemus* to the same School; *Menedemus*, I say, with whom he contracted such an intimate Friendship (c), that it might, perhaps, be compared to That of *Pylades*, and *Orestes* [A]. After having studied together under *Stilpo*, at *Megara*, they went to *Elis*, where they conferred with the Disciples of *Phædon* (d). They were both very poor, and forced to earn their Living with the Sweat of their Brows [B]; however, they found Time for their Studies, and became great Philosophers. *Menedemus* was younger than his Friend (e); but they had no Regard to the Difference of their Age, when they came to a Resolution of marrying. Their Design was to live and keep House together, even after quitting their State of Celibacy. To this end they judged it necessary to choose their Wives, with a Precaution most likely to secure their domestic Quiet, and believed this End would be answered in a Family, where there was a Mother and her Daughter, both marriageable. *Menedemus* married the Mother, and *Asclepiades* the Daughter (f). The latter being dead, *Menedemus* surrendered his Wife to his Friend, and married a rich Maid; but would have *Asclepiades*'s Wife continue Mistress of the House. It was no hard Matter for him to find out a good Match; because he had the chief Authority in the Town, where he lived (g); I mean *Eretria*, the Place of his Birth. *Asclepiades* died there very old (h). He had lived very temperately, amidst the great Plenty of his Friend's Table (i), and bore the Misfortune

[A] His Friendship for *Menedemus* might be compared to That of *Pylades* and *Orestes*. These are the Words of *Diogenes Laërtius*; φίλον τε ἦν μάλα (Μενέδημου) ὡς ἦσαν ἐκ τῆς ἀπὸς Ἀσκληπιάδου συμπαροίας, ὡς ἦν τε διαφερόμενος Πυλάδου φιλοσοφίας (1). — *Menedemus* was remarkable for his Friendship, as appeared from his Conjunction with *Asclepiades*, no way inferior to That of *Pylades* with *Orestes*. After this, our Author says, that *Archeopolis*, intending to make them a Present of a considerable Sum, his Generosity was of no service to them; for a laudable Disagreement happened between them, about the taking last, and, as they could not settle this Point, neither of them took any thing.

[B] Both he, and his Friend, were forced to earn their Living with the Sweat of their Brows [B] They hired themselves, as Labourers, to a Mason. *Asclepiades* was not so much ashamed of it, as *Menedemus*; he did not value who saw him, naked (2), carrying up Mortar to the Top of the House; but *Menedemus* hid himself, when he saw any Body pass by (3). *Athenæus*, who says nothing of this, tells another, yet more remarkable, Story. "The *Areopagites*, says he (4), caused *Menedemus*, and *Asclepiades*, two young Students in Philosophy, and very poor, to be summoned before them, and demanded of them, How come you to be so fat? you have no Estate, you follow no Employment, but spend all

(17) Vitruv. de Architect. lib. 2. cap. 8.

(22) Chevreau, lib. 7. cap. 3. p. 34.

(23) Strabo, lib. 14. pag. 45.

(24) Tzetzes, chil. 12, vers. c65. hilt. 455.

(h) Id. ibid. n. 138.

(i) Συζήσας τὸ Μενέδημου σφῆδρα ὑπελάσας ἀπὸ μεγάλων --- He lived with Menedemus very sparingly in the midst of great Opulence.

(2) Ischæus is to be understood of a d. n. literally of an ab. his Nakedness, but of the usual meaning of stripping of his raiment.

(3) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 131.

(4) Athen. lib. 4. c. 13, pag. 168.

(17) Suidas in 'Eρυσθραίου.

(16) Photius in Biblioth. cod. 1. 6. p. 32.

(17) Cicero de Orat. lib. 3. & in Oratione.

(18) Dion Halicarn. in 'Ισοκράτους, p. 228.

(19) Quintil. lib. 3. c. 6. init.

(20) That de Libertate Rhodiourum, at page 78 of his Works; Edit. Genev. 1607. folia.

(a) Φιλία, ἢ φίλος, a Philon. Diog. Laërt. de Vita Phil. lib. 1. 2. in Menedem. circa init. p. 153. Edit. Amst. 1692.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 159. n. 137.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 153. n. 126.

(e) Id. ib. p. 8. 159. n. 137.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) Id. ibid.

(1) Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2. n. 137.

yet greater admiration [B]. He engaged to renounce the Title of Physician, if ever he should be sick, and won the Wager; for he died by a Fall, at a very great Age. It was at Rome he became so famous. He came thither to teach Rhetoric (g); but, not finding That Employ profitable enough, he applied himself to the Practice of Physic; and, not being acquainted with the Remedies then in use, he took occasion to condemn them, and invent new ones. He contrived easy Methods, and such as any one might use without the Help of a Physician. This made them very acceptable; and all the World ran to him, as to one sent from Heaven [C]. One Thing, which favoured his gaining so great a Reputation, was the foolish Credulity of That Age as to the Magic Virtue of certain Plants; for it being easy to demonstrate, that most of those Virtues were chimerical, it was no hard Matter for *Asclepiades* to destroy all the Credit of the ancient Prescriptions [D]. He held, that the Soul was not distinct from Matter (h). He composed several Books, which are all lost. *Pliny*, *Celsus*, and *Galen* have quoted some of them. He had also many famous Disciples (i). *Pliny's* Niceneſis seems to be carried too far; he could not bear, that a Man, who had only studied Physic for Profit, should be allowed to give Rules of such consequence

(g) *Id. ibid.*

(h) See Terullian, in his Book de Animâ, cap. 15.

(i) See their Names in the 46th Letter of Reineſius to Ruperus, pag. 395.

" deep a Lethargy, that her Husband, and those about her, believed her dead. They wrapped her up only in Linnen, according to the Custom of poor People in That Country, and had her carried out to be buried. As they were going to Church, one of her Bearers went so close to a Bush, that the Thorns pricked her, and roused her from her Lethargy. Fourteen Years after, she was dead again, at least supposed so. As they were carrying her to the Grave, and coming near the old Place, the Husband cried out, two or three times: "Pray keep a little farther off the Bush (5)."

(5) Menges, p. 117, 118. of the 1st Dutch Edition.

[B] The Wager, which he laid against Fortune, made him be cried up with yet greater Admiration. I do not believe, that the most pretending Quacks, of our Days, dare lay any such Wager, especially if they were obliged to deposit a Sum of Money. However, I am persuaded, that the Reader will not be displeased to find *Pliny's* Text here: "Summa autem *Asclepiadi* Prusensi (fama est) — maxime sponſione facta cum fortuna, ne medicus crederetur, si unquam invalidus ullo modo fuisset ipse: & victor, suprema in senecta lapſu ſcalarum exanimatus est (6). — *Asclepiades*, the Prusian, gained the biggest Reputation, — chiefly by staking his Credit, as a Physician, against his ever being sick himself; he carried his Point, and died, in an extreme old Age, by a Fall down Stairs." It was a surprizing Temerity in Our Physician; but the good Fortune, in not being belied by the Event, appears, to me, yet more extraordinary. I observe, that, in some things, he was a meer Quack. He administered Wine in some Distempers, and boasted so much of his Remedy, that he said, the Power of the Gods was hardly equal to That of Wine. *Asclepiades* utilitatem vini æquari vix Deorum potentia pronuntiavit (7).

(6) *Plinius*, lib. 7. c. 37. pag. 58, 59.

(7) *Id. ibid.* 23. cap. 1. pag. 251.

[C] All the World ran to him, as to one sent from Heaven. We may conceive, from the Words of *Pliny*, an Idea of the Ascendant some Physicians have, even in our Days. "Torrenti ac meditata quotidie oratione blandiens, omnia (remedia) abdicavit: totamque medicinam ad causam revocando, conjecturæ fecit, quinque res maxime communium auxiliorum professus abſtinentiam cibi, alias vini, frictionem corporis, ambulationem, gestationes: quæ cum uniusquique semetipsum sibi, præstare posse intelligeret, fœventibus cunctis ut essent vera quæ facillima erant, universum prope humanum genus circumegit in se, non alio modo, quam si cœlo emissus advenisset (8). — Soothing the People every Day with a fluent and premeditated Oration, he banished all Medicines; and, reducing the whole Art of Physic to the Test of Reason, he proved it to be but conjectural. Five Things, of most common Benefit, he held to, Abſtinance from Meat, at other Times from Wine, the use of the Fleſh-Bruſh, the Exercise of Walking, and of Riding: Which, as every one believed he could prescribe for himself such Remedies as these, and as it is natural to wish those Things true that are most easy, made all People flock to him, as to one sent from Heaven."

(8) *Id. ibid.* 26. cap. 3. pag. 444.

[D] Most of the Magic Virtues of Plants being chimerical, it was easy for *Asclepiades* to destroy the Credit of ancient Prescriptions. It is the Nature of Man to run into Extremes. Shew him but some Truths, and he shall believe all the Falsities you think proper to couch under them. Undeceive him but

of some Falsities, by evident Demonstration, and he shall question the Truth of every Thing. Thus, by exploring the Impertinence of the Remedies called Magical, *Asclepiades* was enabled to overthrow even those Things, which might be better grounded. *Pliny* very naturally describes this Inclination for Extremes, so remarkable in Human Nature. "Super omnia, says he (9), adjuvere eum (*Asclepiadem*) Magicæ vanitates, in tantum eveſcæ, ut abrogare herbas fidem cunctis poſſent. *Æthiopiæ* herbâ amnes ac stagna ſiccari conſectæ, tactu clauſa omnia aperiri. *Achæmenide* conſectâ in aciem hoſtium, trepidare agmina, ac terga vertere. Latæcen dari ſolitam à Perſarum rege legatis, ut quocunque veniſſent omnium rerum copiâ abundarent, ac multa ſimilia. Ubinam iſtæ fuere, cum Cimbrî Teutonique terribili Marte ulularent, aut cum Lucullus tot reges Magorum paucis legionibus ſterneret? Curve Romani duces primam ſemper in bellis commerciorum habuere curam? Cur hercè Cæſaris miles ad Pharfaliæ famem fenſit, ſi abundantia omnis contingere unius herbæ felicitate poterat? Non fatius fuit *Æmilianum* Scipionem Carthaginiſ portas herbâ patefacere, quam machinis clauſura per tot annos quætere? Siccentur hodie *Æthiopiæ* Pontinæ paludes, tantumque agri ſuburbanæ reddatur Italiæ. Nam quæ apud eundem Democritum invenitur compoſitio medicamenti, quo pulchri bonique & fortunati gignantur liberi, cui unquam Perſarum regi tales dedit? Mirum eſſet proſpecto, hucusque proſpectam credulitatem antiquorum, ſaluberrimis ortam initiis, ſi in ullâ re modum humana ingenia noviſſent, atque non hanc ipſam medicinam ab *Asclepiade* repertam, ſuo loco probatûr eſſemus eveſcæ ultra Magos etiam. Sed hæc eſt omni in re animorum conditio, ut à neceſſariis orſa primò, cuncta pervenerint ad nimium. — The greatest Assistance, *Asclepiades* received, was from the Magical Superſtitious, which were carried to ſuch an Height, as made it eaſy to aboliſh all Sort of Faith in Plants. That the *Æthiopian* Plant would dry up Lakes and Rivers, if thrown into them, and force open Doors, or the ſtrongeſt Securities, by the Touch of it. That the *Achæmenian* Plant, by being caſt at the Enemy, would make their Troops tremble, and turn their Backs. That the Plant, called Latæce, uſed to be given by the Perſian King to his Embaſſadors, that they might always be ſure of Plenty, wherever they went: and many more of this Nature. But where were theſe Virtues, when the Cimbrî, and Teutoni, thundered at their Gates, and when Lucullus, with a few Forces, overthrew ſo many Kings of the Magi? Or why were the Romans, in their Wars, ſo careful, in the firſt Place, to ſecure their Supplies? How came Cæſar's Soldiers to ſall ſhort of Proviſions at Pharfalia, if one Plant only could make plenty? Would Scipio *Æmilianus* have lain, ſo many Years, battering the Walls of Carthage, with his Engines, if he could have forced open the Gates with a Plant? Let the *Æthiopian* Herb dry up the Pontine Lake at this Day, and reſtore to Italy ſo great a Tract of loſt Land. Did ever That Composition of Medicine, reported by the ſame Author Democritus, to have been ſo ſerviceable towards beguiling handſome, diſtful, and fortunate Children, produce any ſuch Effect in any one of the Perſian Kings? It would be wonderful indeed, that the Credulity of the Ancients, which at firſt had ſome reaſonable Foundation,

(9) *Id. ibid.* cap. 4. pag. 446.

consequence to Mankind [E]. *Suidas*, who has confounded our Physician with one *Asclepiades*, a Grammarian of *Myrlea*, has been reprov'd for it by Mr *Moreri* agreeably to the Observations of *Vossius*. Therefore I shall mention it no farther, but content myself with pointing out the Causes of it. I shall only remark the Mistakes of some other Authors [F]. Those of Mr *Moreri* are not very considerable

"Foundation, should be stretched to such a Pitch, if human Nature knew how to observe a Medium in any thing; or, if this very Reformation in Physic, introduced by *Asclepiades*, had not been carried, as we shall shew in it's proper place, to a greater height of Extravagance, than even That of the Magi. But such is the Impertinence of our Minds, that, though we set out reasonably, yet we carry every thing to an Extreme." Father *Hardwin* repeats this in the Place, where *Pliny* describes the great Power, which certain Physicians had gained over the People, at the same time that they mutually condemned one another's Practice. "Hinc illæ, says he (10), circa ægros miseræ fœnentiarum concertationes, nullo idem consente ne videatur accessio alterius. Hinc illa infelicitas Monumenti inscriptio, turba se medicorum perijisse. Mutatur ars quotidie toties in populo, & ingeniorum Græciæ statu impellimur. Palamque est, ut quique inter istos loquendo polleat, imperatorem illico vitæ nostræ necique fieri. — Hence arise those wretched Wranglings of Physicians about their Patients, no one caring to come into the Sentiments of another, for fear it should look like giving him the Preference. Hence That unlucky Epitaph, The Dissembler he died of was the Number of his Doctors. The Art is always changing, by such daily Innovations, and the Wits of Greece turn us which Way they will. And we see, that every one of them, who has a Talent for talking, presently assumes over us the Power of Life and Death."

[E] *Pliny* — could not bear, that such a Man should be allowed to give Rules of Physic Consequence to Mankind. His Words are remarkable. "Id solum possumus indignari, unum hominem de levissimâ gente, sine opibus ullis orsum, vestigialis sui causæ, repente leges salutis humano generi dedisse, quas tamen postea abrogare multi (11). — This one Thing is enough to raise our Indignation, that one of so very mean an Extraction, and of no Fortunes, should, for his own Profit only, so suddenly take upon him to give Rules of Health to Mankind, which, by the Way, were afterwards exploded by several of his Successors."

[F] The Mistakes of some other Authors, concerning *Asclepiades*, &c. *Meursius* has been reprimanded for taking *Asclepiades* of *Myrlea*, and *Asclepiades* of *Niceæ*, for two different Persons. "Malè *Meursius* hunc *Myrleæ*anum & *Nicenæ*um tanquam duos distinctos recenset (12). — *Meursius* has erroneously distinguished this *Asclepiades* the *Myrleæ*an, and *Niceæ*an, into two different Persons." *Jonfius* affirms it to be a Mistake, and that the same *Asclepiades*, who was born at *Myrlea*, and whose Family was of *Niceæ*, is indifferently named *Myrleæ*an, and *Nicenæ*us. *Pinedo* fell into the same Error with *Meursius* (13). In the List of Authors, quoted by *Athenæus*, *Asclepiades* of *Myrlea* is understood to be meant in these Words of the tenth Book: Ἀσκληπιάδης ἐν τοῖς τελεσθῶμενοις (14). *Dalechamp* has translated them, *Asclepiades* libro de iis quorum nomine editæ sunt tragædiæ. — *Asclepiades*, in his Book of those, in whose Names have been published Tragedies. *Cajaubon* censures him for This, and makes it appear, that the Title of That Work was not of the Masculine Gender *τελεσθῶμενοις*, but of the Neuter Gender *τελεσθώμενα*, and that *Plutarch* also has quoted it so (15). He does not say where the Quotation is to be found. But, to supply This Defect, I shall observe, that it is in the Life of *Iocastes*, as we shall see presently. He might have added, that the same Work of *Asclepiades* is quoted in the Neuter Gender, by *Stephanus Byzantinus*, and by *Photius*, as we shall make appear by and by. This Critic understands That Work of *Asclepiades* to have treated of the great Actions, which served the Tragic Poets for their Subject-matter. I am altogether of the same Opinion, and take *Dalechamp* to be mistaken. The Latin Translator of *Plutarch* has also misunderstood the Title of That Book; for these Words of *Plutarch*, Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τελεσθώμενα συγγραψάς,

he has thus rendred, *Asclepiades* tragædiæ scriptor (16).

— *Asclepiades*, a Writer of Tragedy. This shews clearly enough, without consulting exactly what follows (17) in the Translation, that he took *Asclepiades* for a Tragic Poet. *Andrew Schot* makes the same Slip in his Translation of *Photius*. *Photius* speaks thus. Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ τὰ τελεσθώμενα συγγραψάς (18). i. e. according to *Andrew Schotus*, *Asclepiades*, qui Tragædiæ scriptor. — *Asclepiades*, who wrote Tragedies. But it is all a Mistake; the *Asclepiades*, there mentioned, is not represented to us as such an Author. Observe, by the way, that he was the Disciple of *Iocastes*, from whence you may judge of the time, in which he lived. *Pinedo* under stood the Sense of the Word *τελεσθώμενα* better than the Translator of *Plutarch*, and has rendred Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τελεσθώμενα γράψας ἐν τῇ βιβλίῳ (19); *Asclepiades* qui de rebus in Tragædia decantatis sex libros scripti. — *Asclepiades*, who wrote six Books of those Things, which have been made the Subject of Tragedies. These Greek Words are taken from *Stephanus Byzantinus*, where he informs us, that the *Asclepiades*, who composed those six Books, was of *Tragile*, a City of *Thracia*. *Cajaubon* should have censured *Dalechamp*, for imagining, that *Athenæus* means *Asclepiades* of *Myrlea*, in the Passage above cited. *Gesner* has fallen into the same Error (20). *Stephanus Byzantinus* would have justified such a Censure. You will find in *Pinedo* two grand Mistakes: I. He says, that *Asclepiades* of *Myrlea*, a Disciple of *Apollonius*, was a Grammarian, who taught at *Rome*, under *Pompey the Great*, and had lived, in his Youth, at *Alexandria*, under *Ptolemy* IV. II. He proposes it as a Question, whether he is the same *Asclepiades*, who taught Grammar in *Turdania*, a Province of *Spain* (21). On the first Head, I must observe to him, that a Man, who had lived under *Ptolemy* IV, and had taught at *Rome*, in *Pompey's* Time, would have been a Prodigy; for between the last Year of That *Ptolemy*, and the Death of *Mithridates*, who was vanquished by *Pompey*, there are no less than an Hundred and forty Years. On the second, I shall only observe, that *Strabo* plainly says, that *Asclepiades*, of *Myrlea*, taught Grammar in *Turdania* (22). The *Sieur Pinedo* had observed it himself, in another Place (23). How comes he then to make a Query of it?

Let us examine, in two Words, an Observation of Father *Hardwin*. He says, that *Asclepiades*, of *Prusa*, was a Friend of *Cicero*, and proves it from a Passage of the first Book *De Oratore*. He quotes only a little part of it (24); but this is the whole Passage. "Neque verò *Asclepiades* is, quo nos medico amicoque usi sumus, tum quum eloquentiâ vincebat ceteros medicos, in eo ipso quod ornatè dicebat, Medicinæ facultate utebatur, non eloquentiæ (25). Nor did *Asclepiades*, who was both my Friend and Physician, though he excelled all other Physicians in the Art of Speaking, make no use of his Eloquence, but only of his Physic." We ought to observe, that it is not *Cicero*, who speaks, but the Orator *Craffus*: *Asclepiades* therefore was the Friend and Physician of *Craffus*, and not of *Cicero*. Besides, *Cicero* makes *Craffus* speak thus in the Year of *Rome* 662 (26), and mentions *Asclepiades* as then dead. This furnishes us with an Objection against *Pliny*, for saying, that *Asclepiades*, gaining but little by the Profession of Eloquence, turned Physician in the Time of *Pompey* (27). It is certain, that, in 662, *Pompey* was but a young Lad. See the following Remark, Number IV.

Jonfius supposes, that there were two *Asclepiades's* of *Myrlea*; that the first was a Disciple of *Apollonius*, the Grammarian, and Author of a Book entitled φιλοσόφων βιβλίων διορθώσις, *Philosophorum librorum emendationes* (28). — Emendations of the Books of the Philosophers: and that the second wrote some Books concerning Grammar and Grammarians (29). I cannot conceive upon what he can found this Distinction. The best Thing he can say for it is, that *Asclepiades*, of *Myrlea*, refused, in his Grammar, a

(16) *Plut.* in *Vita Iocast.* pag. 837. C.

(17) Which confirms, that he took *Tragile* for a Writer of Tragedies.

(18) *Photii Biblioth.* Cod. 260, pag. 1456.

(19) *Steph. Byzant.* verbo τράγικοι.

(20) *Gesner* in *Biblioth.* fol. 97.

(21) *Pinedo*, in *Steph. Byzant.* pag. 757.

(22) *Strabo*, lib. 3, pag. 208.

(23) *Pinedo*, in *Steph. Byzant.* pag. 479.

(24) *Eloquens Medicus dicitur Cicero*, lib. 1. de *Orat.* pag. 283. qui se eo medico & amico usum esse gloriatur. *Hardwinus* in *Indice Autor.* *Plinii*, pag. 99.

(25) *Cicero*, lib. 1, de *Orat.* fol. 61. C.

(26) See *Fabricius*, in *Vita Cicero*, ad *Ann.* urbis 662.

(27) *Plin.* lib. 26, c. 3.

(28) *Jonfius*, de *Script.* *Hist. Philof.* pag. 167.

(29) *Id.* ibi, pag. 205.

(10) *Id.* lib. 29. cap. 1.

(11) *Id.* lib. cap. 3. pag. 445.

(12) *Jonfius* de *Script.* *Philofoph.* pag. 167.

(13) *Pinedo*, in *Steph.* *Byzant.* pag. 479, n. 15, & pag. 757.

(14) *Athen.* lib. 10. 456.

(15) *Calaub.* in *Athen.* pag. 769.

siderable [G]. There was another *Asclepiades*, a famous Physician, under the Emperor *Adrian* [H].

Sentiment of *Dionysius of Thrace*. "In isto opete
"Dionysii Thracis de partibus Grammaticæ senten-
(30) Id. ib. tiam refellit, teste Sexto Empirico (30). — In
"That Work, he confutes an Opinion of *Dionysius*,
"the Thracian, concerning the Parts of Grammar,
"as *Sextus Empiricus* witnesses." This *Dionysius*,
according to *Suidas*, taught at *Rome* in *Pompey's*
Time, and had been a Disciple of *Aristarchus*. It
must therefore follow, you will say, that the *Ascle-*
piades, who refuted him, was not He, who was a Dis-
ciple of *Apollonius*. I grant the Consequence; but I
suspect some small Mistake in *Suidas*. It seems to
me, that a Disciple of *Aristarchus* (31) would have
been too old to teach in the Time of *Pompey* (32).
I am therefore of Opinion, that *Dionysius of Thrace*,
the Disciple of *Aristarchus*, did not live till *Pompey's*
Time. In which case it would be possible, that *Ascle-*
piades, a Disciple of *Apollonius*, might confute
him; for this *Apollonius*, having been Keeper of the
Alexandrian Library, after *Eratosthenes* (33), who
died in the Beginning of the CXLVth Olympiad
(34), might very well be cotemporary with *Aristarchus*,
and have Disciples at that time cotemporary
with those of *Aristarchus*. Consequently there is
no necessity for finding out another *Asclepiades*, the
Confuter of *Dionysius of Thrace*, younger than *Ascle-*
piades, the Disciple of *Apollonius*. I cannot tell why
Vossius acquiesces so readily with *Suidas's* joining the
Character of a Disciple of *Aristarchus* with That of
Professor at *Rome* in *Pompey's* Time (35). He is just-
ly censured for saying, that *Asclepiades*, of *Alexandria*,
wrote a Book about the People of *Attica*, and quoting
the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* to prove it. *Asclepiades*
Alexandrinus * τὸς καὶ δὲ δῆμον ἀρχοῦντας con-
signavit, ut auctor Scholiastes *Aristophanis* in *nubes* (36).
Jonfus shews him, that the Scholiast says no more,
than that *Asclepiades* called the *Demarches* τὸς
καὶ δὲ τὸν δῆμον ἀρχοῦντας (37).
[G] Those of Mr *Moreri* are not very consider-
able. I. The Ancients do not ascribe the History of
Alexander the Great, quoted by *Arian*, to *Ascle-*
piades of *Myrlea*, as he affirms. II. His saying,
Strabo adds, that *Asclepiades* of *Myrlea* had taught
Grammar in *Spain*, is making *Strabo* father the other
Particulars, which *Moreri* had mentioned before. But
this is groundless. III. He questions, without any
manner of Reason, whether the Relation to *Spain* concerns

another *Asclepiades*; for *Strabo* affirms it expressly of
Asclepiades of *Myrlea*. IV. He ought not to have
asserted so positively, that *Mithridates* was at War
with the Romans, when he endeavoured to get *Ascle-*
piades the Physician to his Court; for we have seen,
above (38), that *Cicero* speaks of This Physician as of
one, who was not alive in the Year of *Rome* 662.
at which time *Mithridates*, strictly speaking, had
not made War with the People of *Rome*. This
shews, that Mr *Moreri* might well be mistaken, in
affirming, that *Asclepiades* was in *Esseum* at *Rome*
in the Time of *Pompey the Great*; — that is to say,
when That great Man was at the Head of the Re-
public. Does he not place the Birth of This *Pompey*
on the last Day of September, of the Year of *Rome*
648? How will he reconcile this with the Passage
in *Cicero*, where *Asclepiades* is mentioned? I know
very well, he may shelter himself under the Authority
of *Pliny*, and that *Jonfus* may be brought in for a
Second. But how comes *Pliny* to be of more Credit
than *Cicero*? And can he be sure, that *Jonfus* is not
mistaken? "Asclepiades Medicus quidam" behold a
quidam very ill employed: This *Asclepiades* is too fa-
mous to deserve so slighting an Epiteth (39), "Prusianus"
in *Bithynia* Philophiscus cognomine sub *Pompeio*
"M. vixit teste *Strabone* lib. 12. (40). — *Asclepi-*
des, a certain Physician of *Prusis*, in *Bithynia*, fir-
"named Philophiscus (from his Love of Philosophy),
"lived under *Pompey the Great*, as *Strabo* testifies
"in Book 12." But I find nothing more in the
twelfth Book of *Strabo*, than that *Asclepiades*, of
Prusis, was a Physician (41). Father *Hardouin* has
quoted *Strabo* (42), to prove this Point as well as
Jonfus. V. The *Asclepiades*, mentioned by *Plutarch*
in the Life of *Isocrates*, was not a *Tragic Poet* (43),
as Mr *Moreri* affirms.

[H] There was another ASCLEPIADES, a
famous Physician, under the Emperor *Adrian*.] He
was of the same City as the former (44), and flour-
ished under *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and *Antoninus*; he
was made free by one *Calpurnius*, and obtained the
Rights of a Roman Citizen, and several other Privi-
leges. We learn all this from an Inscription: See
the Letters of *Reinesius* (45). He wrote several
Books about the Compositions of Medicines, both
Internal, and External (46).

ASPASIA of *Miletus*, Mistress to *Pericles*. We shall give her History in the Remark [M] of the Article PERICLES.

ASPASIA of *Phocæa*, Mistress to *Cyrus* the younger. We shall give her History in the Remark [C] of the Article of That Prince.

ASTYANAX, the only Son of *Hector* and *Andromache* [A], gave the *Greeks*
Uneasiness in the midst of their Victories, tho' he was then but an Infant. Being
hindred, by contrary Winds, from returning home after the Destruction of *Troy*, *Calchas*
declared, they ought to throw *Astyanax* headlong from the Top of the Walls, because,
if he lived to Man's Estate, he would not fail to revenge the Death of his Father,
and even exceed him in Valour. Whereupon *Ulysses* went to search for him; and
having found him, notwithstanding all the care his Mother took to hide him, he
executed the Sentence *Calchas* had pronounced (a). Others say, that *Menelaus* was the
Executioner (b). Others attribute his Death to *Pyrrhus* alone, without intimating,
that the *Greeks*, or *Calchas*, had judged it necessary (c). However it be, the Poets, and
Writers of Romances, found means to restore him to Life again, or rather to make
him escape out of the Hands of the *Greeks* [B].

[A] He was the only Son of *Hector* and *Andromache*.] *Homer* affirms This expressly; for, without
question, they, who translate *Ἐκτοῦ δὲ δῆμον ἀρχοῦντας*
(1), the only Son of *Hector*, are in the right; so the Scholiast understands it. The Grief of *Andromache*,
in the Twenty second Book of the *Iliad*, plainly shews, that she had only This Son. *Hector*
gave him the Name of *Scamandrius*, and the *Trojans*
called him *Astyanax*, because *Hector* was the sole
Defence of the City (2).

[B] The Poets, and Writers of Romances, found
means to restore him to life again, or rather to make
him escape out of the Hands of the *Greeks*.] They

have said, that the same Son of *Hector*, whose
Name was *Astyanax*, or *Scamander*, was called, also,
Francion, and that from him the Kings of *France*
are derived (3). The *Manetho* of *Annus* of *Viterbo*
makes *Francus*, the Son of *Hector*, King of the *Celtæ*,
that is, of the *Gauls*. The Forger of That Piece,
in his Notes, cites *Vincent of Beauvais*, who says,
that This *Francus*, retiring among the *Gauls*, after the
Destruction of *Troy*, became so great a Favourite
of the King, that He married his Daughter, and succeed-
ed him in his Crown. I do not find, in *Manetho* (4),
what *Du Pleix* quotes from him, viz. that *Francus*
succeeded *Rebmus*, King of the *Gauls*, whose Daughter
he

(38) *Cicero*
(25) (26)

(39) *Com-*
pare this
with what
has been said
above, at
the beginning
of the Remark
[F], of the
Article AR-
NAULD
(ANTHO-
NY) The
Doctor.

(40) *Jonfus*,
de *Scriptor.*
Histor. Philo-
sof. pag. 207.

(41) *Pag.*
390.

(42) *Hard.*
in *Indice*,
Autor. lib.
12, pag. 566.

(43) See the
preceding
Remark.

(44) *OffPrus-*
is in Bythi-
nia.

(45) *Epist.*
Reinesii ad
Hoffman-
num & Ru-
pertum, pag.
394.

(46) *Ibid.*
pag. 395.

(a) *Servius*
in *Aen. lib.*
3. ver. 489.

(b) *Id. lib. 2.*
ver. 457.

(c) *Paulus*
lib. 10.

(1) See *Rom-*
and, at the
beginning of
his Franci-
de.

(4) *Ant-*
werp Edit.
in 8vo. 1552.

(5) Du Pleix, *Mémoires des Gaules*, lib. 2, cap. 24.

(6) Ditya Cretensis, in his 6th Book, says, that Pyrrhus took Laodamas, the Son of Hector and Andromache, Prisoner.

he had married (5). Neither do I find it in the Commentator upon *Manetho*. Du Pleix adds, that *Tritemius*, alledging as his Authority, *Hunnibaud*, who lived under Clovis I. and who names, for his Authors, Dorcy, and Walthald, two Scythian Historians, says, that *Hector* had two Sons, one of which, called *Afyanax*, or *Scamander*, perished at the taking of *Troy*, the other, named *Laodamas* (6), or *Francion*, escaped out of the Enemies Hands, and fled, with a great Number of Trojans, into *Pæonia*, which was afterwards called *Pannonia*; and that, being kindly received by the King of the *Pæonians*, he settled in that Country, on the Frontiers of *Scythia*, and there built the City of *Sicambria*, where he, and his Posterity, reigned, till the Days of King *Antenor*, who was killed by the *Goths*. Four hundred and twenty Years before *CHRIST*. The Violences of the *Goths* obliged the *Trojans*, or *Sicambrians*, to retire into *Germany*, where they divided themselves into two Branches: one of which, afterwards, founded the

Fresh Monarchy among the *Gauls*; the other remained in *Germany*, and there founded *Francia*, or *Eastern France*. What *Chimeras* are these! Mr *Moreri*, not considering, that the Authors of these Legends are charged with a sufficient Number of Fables, fathers upon them others, which they never advanced. He ascribes to the false *Manetho*, and to other Authors of that Stamp, the making *Francion*, or *Francis* (7), the Son of *Hector*, the first King of the *Gauls*. But they are so far from saying this, that they affirm, that the King of the *Gauls* gave him his Daughter. Besides, how thoughtless is it to describe *Andromache* only as the Mother of this *Francion*, and never once to mention her undoubted Son *Afyanax*! There are two Faults in *Moreri*; to which we shall add a third. He says, that *Afyanax* was thrown down, headlong, from the Walls, by order of *Ulysses*, and quotes for it *Virgil's Æneid*. Now this Poet has said nothing like it in all his Works.

(7) This is an ill Translation of the proper Name *Francus*.

(a) Baron. Annal. Ecclesiæ. Tom. 2. pag. 226, ad ann. 179. n. 39, 40.

ATHENAGORAS, an *Athenian* Philosopher, flourished after the middle of the 11d Century: He was a learned Man, and very zealous for Christianity. All Which appeared from the Apology, which he addressed to the Emperors *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*, and *Lucius Aurelius Commodus*. This happened, according to *Baronius* (a), in the Year 179; or, according to Mr *Dodwell* (b), in the Year 168. It is no easy matter to give a Satisfactory Proof, that the last Opinion is more probable, than the first [A]. I find all agree, that *Athenagoras* was deputed by the Christians to the Imperial

(b) Dodwell. Differt. Cypricæ. 1. 1. 2. 37, 38. pag. 261, & seq.

(1) Dodwell. Differt. Cypricæ. 1. 1. 2. 37.

[A] He presented — his Apology in the Year 179, — or in 168. — It is not easy to prove, that the last Opinion is more probable, than the first. Many Reasons are alledged on both sides. These are Mr *Dodwell's* (1). The Apology of *Athenagoras* is addressed to two Emperors, to whom the Author gives the Titles of *Armeniacis*, *Sarmaticis*, & *quod maximum est*, *Philippis*. This is applicable to *Marcus Aurelius*, and to his Brother *Lucius Aurelius*, but not to his Son *Lucius Aurelius*. He was never called Philosopher; And the second Apology of *Justin* shews That Title to have been common to *Lucius Aurelius*, and to his Brother, *Marcus Aurelius*. Hunc Titulum cum *Marcus Lucium verum habuisse communem constat à secundâ Apologiâ Justinî* (2). Father *Pagi*, *Differtat. Hypat.* pag. 216. makes use of the same Argument, and quotes *Eusebius*, lib. 4. cap. 12. Now this *Lucius Aurelius* died towards the end of the Year 169. So that the Apology must have been presented before That time. I wave the particular Reasons, which induced Mr *Dodwell* to make choice of the Year 168 for the Epochæ of This Work. It is objected against him, that the Complement of *Sarmaticus* cannot belong to *Lucius Aurelius*, who died before the *Sarmæ* were attacked; but he answers, that this might be a Slip of the Transcriber, instead of That of *Partibus*, which was given to the two Brothers, together with That of *Armeniacus*, after the War of *Armenia* (3). He adds, that the profound Peace, on which *Athenagoras* congratulates the Emperors (4), cannot agree with the time of *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son reigning together. He makes no answer to the chief Objection; and yet something may be said to it, as will appear presently. We must not forget his Observation, that *Athenagoras* intimates, that his Apology was made in the same Olympiad, that *Peregrinus* burnt himself (5). This Action of *Peregrinus*, according to *Messieurs Dodwell*, and de *Tillemont* (6), belongs to the Year 165; but *Scaliger* places it in the Year 166 (7). He grounds his Notions on this, that *Peregrinus* exhibited this Spectacle during the Celebration of the Olympic Games. He is of opinion, that *Athenagoras's* Work was presented to the Emperors in the same Olympiad: His Reason is, because *Peregrinus* threw himself into the Fire three Years before the Death of *Lucius Verus*, one of Those Emperors. This Argument is preferable to Mr *Dodwell's*, grounded on the Words of *Athenagoras*; for they note only the Place, and not the Time, of this Man's burning himself. *Περί τῆν Ολυμπιαν* (8); *Near the City Olympia*. See Mr de *Tillemont* (9). The Proof, drawn from the profound Peace of the Empire, is of such a Nature, that it serves both Parties: Cardinal *Baronius* makes use of

it, to shew, that the Apology could not have been presented under the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius's* Brother, nor in any other time, but in 179 (10). Mr de *Tillemont* does not rightly understand This Cardinal's Argument, since he represents him as inferring, that This Apology must have been written in the Year [176, or] 177, because it intimates, that the Empire was then in profound Peace (11).

(10) Baron. ad Ann. 179. n. 40. pag. 226.

(11) Tillemont. Hist. des Emp. pag. 1066.

These are the principal Reasons of Those, who pretend, that the Apology of *Athenagoras* was not presented before the Year 177, which was That of the Promotion of *Commodus*, the Son of *Marcus Aurelius*, to the Dignity of *Augustus* (12). They maintain, that He, who is associated with *Marcus Aurelius*, in the Inscription of the Apology, was the Son, and not the Brother of That Emperor; and prove it from the Words, which compare these two Princes to God the Father, and God the Son. "Ipia quidem oratio longè validius nobis præbet argumentum. Vos quidem, subjicit Vir disertus, in summa Imperii Majestate adeo conjunctis animis orbem regitis, ut inde Cælestis etiam Regni contemplationem animo quis completi queat. Ubi enim Patri & filio in potestate sunt omnia, regno in Vos divinitus collato, (Regis enim anima, inquit Spiritus Propheticus, in manu Dei est) sic uni Deo & Filio ejus, hoc est Verbo, subjeta sunt omnia. Nullus hic est cavillatious locus: Imperatores non tantum alloquuntur, sed etiam comparationem instituit duos inter terrenos Reges, quibus omnia humanitus loquendo parebant, ac summum Cæli & Terræ Dominum, qui simul cum suo Unigenito Imperii Orbis universi habens moderatur (13). — The Apology itself furnishes us with a much stronger Argument. Your Imperial Majesty, says the learned Author, govern the World with such perfect Harmony, as in some sort resembles That of the Cælestial Government. For, as the suprem Power on Earth is, by the Grant of Heaven, (the Life of Kings, as the Prophet says, being in the Hand of God,) committed to your Majesties, Father, and Son; so the suprem Power of the Universe is lodged in one God, the Father, and his Son, the Word. Here is no room for Controversy: be not only addresses the Emperors, but also makes a Comparison betwixt two earthly Kings, to whom all things, humanly speaking, are subject, and the supreme Governor of Heaven and Earth, who, together with his only begotten Son, commands the Universe." See how strongly Mr de *Larroke* has stated this Argument. Mr de *Tillemont* has seconded it with another Passage. "Athenagoras† tells Those two Princes, he wishes, that the Son may succeed the Father: ἵνα αὐαὶς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδέχησθαι τὴν βασιλείαν. [He speaks, therefore, to a Father, and

(12) Mr de Larroke, following Eusebius, has placed this Promotion under the Year 179. Daniel Larrogianus Martini & filii, Differt. de Legionis fulminatrice, p. 642.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 649.

† Athenag. Leg. 40. a.

— a Son,

(2) Id. ib. pag. 262.

(3) Capitol. in Vita Marci Aurelii, cap. 5.

(4) Ἡ οὐρανοῦ αἰὲς ἀνέμῳ τῇ οὐρανόθεν βαθείας ἐπὶ πύλιν ἀπολαύουσιν — The subtle World, by the Wisdom of your Government, enjoys a profound Peace. *Athenag.* pag. 14.

(5) This was the 23th.

(6) Tillemont. Hist. des Emp. Tom. 2. pag. 753.

(7) Scal. Animad. in Euseb. n. 2182, pag. 220.

(8) Athenag. pag. 244.

(9) Tillemont. Hist. des Emp. Tom. 2. pag. 1067.

perial Court, and that he actually presented their Apology [B]; but there is Room to

† Ibid. pag. 17, d.

¶ Pagi, 177, § 8.

(14) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 1066.

(15) Pagi, in Baron. ad Ann. 177.

(16) Athenag. sub fin. pag. 318.

(17) In the Article P.A.R.I.S.

(18) Scellig. Animadv. in Euseb. num. 1282, pag. 320.

(19) Labbé de Script. Eccles. Tom. 1. pag. 123.

(20) Chevre. Hist. de Monde. Tom. 2. pag. 533, of the first Holland Edition, fixes the presenting the Apology in the Year 165.

Mr de Larroque, in his Differt. de Legione fulmin. p. 648, represents him as placing it in the Year 175.

Perhaps he made use of some other Edition.

(21) Suffrid. Petri Comment. in Athenag. pag. 100. He pitches upon the Year 179.

(22) Petav. apud Pagi Differt. Hypat. pag. 116. He locates it the Year 171.

(23) Du Pin, Biblioth. p. 176, apud Larroque, num. Differt. de Legione fulmin. He takes the Year 178.

(24) Grotius de Verit. Relig. Christian. p. 128, apud Larroque, num. ibid.

(25) Baronius ad Ann. 179, n. 39. pag. 220.

(26) Labbé, Differt. de Script. Eccles. Tom. 1. pag. 123, 124.

"a Son, of whom the first only governed the Empire, though the other might have the Title of Emperor; that is to say, to *M. Aurelius*, and his Son *Commodus*, and not to two Brothers, who reigned in Conjunction. It is yet clearer in another place †, where he says, *All is submitted to your Majesties, to the Father and the Son: ως ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντ' αὐτὰ κειμήσια*" which Father Pagi † had no other way of getting over, but by saying, that *Athenagoras* will have *Lucius* to be the Son of *M. Aurelius*, though he was only his Brother, purely to make a more exact Allusion to the two Persons of the Trinity, the Father, and the Son (14)." Father Pagi has made use of an Evasion, in this Place, which is not likely to do much Mischief. He had better have said, that *Athenagoras* was not ignorant, that *Lucius Aurelius* had married the Daughter of *Marcus Aurelius*, and that, therefore, as he addressed himself to the Father-in-law, and Son-in-law, he might justly consider them as Father, and Son. It is thus, in effect, that Father Pagi has answered this Objection (15). He observes, also, that Mr *Tornard* is of the same Sentiment. The other Passage, which Mr *de Tillemont* quotes, is not conclusive: we may understand it in this Sense: *We put up our Prayers for your Empire, that the Son may relieve it from the Father, as Justice requires.* Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχόμεθα, ἵνα παῖς μὲν παρὰ πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαιότατον διαδέχῃ τὴν βασιλείαν (16). This Thought is very reasonable, whether we suppose the Apology addressed to *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Brother, or to *Marcus Aurelius*, and his Son. It is a Prayer, which, according to *Baronius*, does not respect *Commodus*, who was, already, associated in the Empire, but his Descendants. It is a Wish, that *Marcus Aurelius's* Family might always possess the Imperial Dignity, according to the Order of lawful Succession, in a direct Line. Note, that Father Pagi quotes this Prayer as a Proof, that the Son of *Marcus Aurelius* was not yet Emperor. I shall, in another Place (17), confute the Inference, which is drawn from what *Athenagoras* has said of one *Alexander*.

We may conclude two things from all this: First, That the Foundation of the Controversy is, that one side makes the Brother of *Marcus Aurelius*, the other his Son, to be his Partner in the Empire. Secondly, That their Arguments, on both sides, are far from conclusive, since the Dispute continues yet undecided. Scaliger (18), Father Labbé (19), Father Pagi, Mr *Dodwell*, Mr *Chevreau* (20), &c. are for the Brother: *Suffridus Petri* (21), *Baronius*, *Petavius* (22), Mr *du Pin* (23), Mr *de Larroque*, Mr *de Tillemont*, and several other learned Men, are for the Son.

Let us observe, by the way, a Mistake of *Grotius*. *Flouris Athenagoras*, says he (24), circa ann. Christi 190, ut ex libri inscriptione apparet. This is not just; for, *Marcus Aurelius* being dead in the Year 180, the Title of a Book, dedicated to him, can never prove, that the Author flourished towards the Year 190.

[B] It is agreed, that *Athenagoras* was deputed to the Court — and that he actually presented their Apology; but there is Room to doubt of these Facts: These are the Words of *Baronius*. "Orientis quoque Ecclesias eadem esse clade vexatas, LEGATIO pro illis ab Athenagorâ Atheniensî — tunc ad Imperatores SUSCEPTA, & Apologia pro eisdem tunc scripta ac dictis principibus OBLATA, manifestam certamque fidem faciunt (25)." That the Eastern Churches were under the same Persecution, the DEPUTATION, then UNDERTAKEN, on their Behalf, by *Athenagoras*, the Athenian, to the Emperors, and the Apology composed for them, and PRESENTED to those Princes, sufficiently demonstrate." Father Labbé expresses himself as fully. "LEGATIONEM SUSCEPIT pro Christianis inter annum 165 — & annum 170 — non defuit tamen qui anno dumtaxat 177 OBLATUM librum illum Imperatoribus afferant (26)." He UNDERTOOK A DEPUTATION for the Christians, betwixt the Year 165, and 170. But there are some, who affirm, the Apology was not PRESENTED till the Year 177." Mr *Moreri*, translating this Passage of Father Labbé, uses these Words. *He presented an excellent Apology*

for the Faithful to the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. — He had been Deputy at Rome for the Christians, from the Year 165, to 170. He did not rightly understand his Original; for the Words of Father Labbé do not signify, that the Deputation of *Athenagoras* lasted from the Year 165, to 170, but that it happened in some part of That Interval. They, who know the frequent Journeys of the Roman Emperors in those Days, would never venture to expose themselves, by affirming, that This, or That, Person was deputed to them at Rome, without being very well assured of it. It must be allowed therefore, that Mr *Moreri* has quitted his Guide a little too unadvisedly, in determining both the Duration and Place of this Deputation; when Father Labbé has not said one Word of either. Mr *Dodwell*, who conjectures, that *Athenagoras* discharged this Deputation (27), upon the Return of the Emperor *Lucius Verus* to Rome, to triumph there (28), is not in the least concerned in this little Criticism, in Regard to his determining the Place; because he has not done it, without a very learned Deduction of proper Circumstances. But I can hardly agree with him, that This Christian Philosopher did really ever discharge this Deputation at all.

My first Reason is taken from the Silence of all the Ancients. Is it possible, that such a Deputation, which the Circumstance of the Time, the Merit of the Deputy, and the Strength of the Apology presented to the Emperors, must have made so memorable, should never be once mentioned by any one Author? In the second place, It does not seem probable, that, when the Christian Name was so hated and persecuted, *Athenagoras* should present himself at the Imperial Court, as deputed by That Body, or that he should obtain Audience there, and even deliver to the Emperors a long Writing, in which, notwithstanding his respectful Moderation, he represents the Pagan Religion in so ridiculous and scandalous a Light, as would have been most likely to have inflamed the Rage of the Persecutors. I shall add, that the Title of This Writing, the strongest Proof that can be urged against me, is, in my Opinion, no Proof. Ἀθηνάγορας Ἀθηναῖος φιλοσόφος Χριστιανὸς ἀποστολὴ πρὸς Κεῖσαντον: The Deputation of *Athenagoras the Athenian, the Christian Philosopher, in behalf of the Christians*. This is the Title of the Piece. But, you may, if you please, observe, I. That some Manuscripts, after ἀποστολὴ, add ἡ ἀπολογία, or Apology (29); and that others, instead of ἀποστολὴ, read ἀπολογία. II. That the Word ἀποστολὴ not only signifies an Embassy, or Deputation, but also an Address, or Petition; τὴν ἀποστολὴν non modo Legationem, sed & Deprecationem ac Supplicationem apud Græcos significare notum est (30). III. That the Title of Embassy is not given to an Ambassador's Speech, but to the whole Account of his Negotiations. So that it would be very improper to take the word ἀποστολὴ here for Embassy. Lastly, I observe, that Mr *de Tillemont* expresses himself differently from other Writers. It appears plainly, says he (31), that the Faith was then persecuted in the East, seeing *Athenagoras* was obliged to compose an Apology there, under the Title of A Legation for the Christians, which he address to both the Augustus's. He does not mention any Journey, or Deputation, or the presenting of any Apology to the Emperors; he speaks only of a Piece composed in the Author's Study, and address to *Marcus Aurelius*, &c. Every body knows the difference between a Writing actually given into the Hands of a Monarch, and a Writing only address to This Monarch. I confess, Mr *de Tillemont's* Authority seems here to be very good: for he lays it down as a Rule, not to extend the Testimonies of Authors beyond what they clearly import; And he keeps himself scrupulously within the limits of his Proofs. From whence I infer, that he found no manner of ground for This Deputation of *Athenagoras*, nor for the actual presenting of his Apologetical Writing.

To reduce what I think of this matter into a narrow Compass, I am not ashamed to own, that I take *Athenagoras* to have been like those modern Writers, who, without stirring out of their Studies, have spread Pieces of their own composing all the World over,

(27) Legationem exit pro Christianis. Dodwell. Differt. Cyprian. 11. n. 37. pag. 251.

(28) Id. ib.

(29) See the Commentary of Suffridus Petri in Athenagor. Apolog. p. 91.

(30) Adam Rechenberg. Not. in Athenagor. pag. 2.

(31) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 2. pag. 766, 757. Edit. de Brucklæ.

(c) *Father Labbé, Disser- de Script. Eccl. Tom. 1. pag. 65, affirms it, and so does Moser.*

to doubt of these Facts; and we may with a great deal of probability believe the same Thing of This Writing, which was known to be true of an infinite Number of Petitions of the Protestants in France, which have been printed without ever being presented to the Prince [C]. I cannot imagine on what ground *Athenagoras* is said to have been a Priest (c). It is something surprising, that he should be unknown to *Eusebius*, *St Jerome*, and to almost all the other Fathers; for we find him no where quoted, except in a Work of *St Epiphanius* [D]. He was not entirely clear from Heterodoxy [E]; but, this excepted, the two Pieces, which we have of his, are very valuable (d).

(d) *The other is a Treatise de Refutatione.*
The

(32) See the following Remark.

under the Title of *A Petition of the Protestants presented to the King*. They, who shall read these Compositions an hundred Years hence, will not question but that they were actually presented; but we know better. We know, there was handed about, in 1680, a printed Piece, which had all the Air of a Petition, actually presented to the King of France by Thole of the Protestant Religion (32). An infinite Number of People in foreign Countries, and in the Provinces remote from Paris, believed it. Yet I am credibly informed, that it never was presented, and it is certain, that the Deputies of the Churches, who drew it up, disowned the Publication of it. There appeared in Print another such Piece, during the Conferences at *Ryfwick*, in the Year 1697, which was handed about without being owned; but which may one Day be placed among authentic Acts, since it does not appear from the Petition itself, that it was not actually delivered into the Hands of *Lewis XIV*. Without doubt the Primitive Christians acted in the same manner. They composed Writings, addressed to the Emperors, and published them, in hopes that some of the Copies might come to the Hands of Those Princes, and incline them to put a stop to their Persecutions, by shewing the Accusations to be false. To conclude, I am persuaded, *Athenagoras* did, in the 11d Century, what *Calvin* did in the XVth. *Calvin*, lurking in a little Chamber at *Basle*, dedicated his *Christian Institution* to *Francis I*, which neither He, nor any Body else, ever presented to him.

(33) He is a Scotchman, a Doctor of Divinity, the Author of some English Books against Bourgeoisie.

It ought not to be concealed, that, the very Day I finished this Remark, I communicated it to Mr *Cockburn* (33), who offered immediately to consult Mr *Dodwell* upon it. He has done me the favour to communicate to me the Answer he received, which is full of excellent Learning, in support of Arguments, brought in favour of the Sentiment I have now been opposing. These Arguments have some Weight. The Letter of That learned Man deserves to be printed, and I would willingly have inserted it here, if I had had his Permission; but, not having That, I ought also to deprive myself of the Liberty of the Dispute.

[C] *An infinite Number of Petitions of the Protestants in France, have been printed without ever being presented to the Prince*] The Public is so well apprized of this, that it were a very needless Task to go about to prove it. But, as for what concerns the Petition, which was handed about in the Year 1680, I have reason to believe, that my Readers will imagine I have gone too far, in denying, that it was ever presented. Therefore it is but just, that I should give my Reasons. I begin, by distinguishing this Petition from several others, which were drawn up at different Times; and I say it is the same, which was composed by a Priest, called *Soulter*. The Answer, which he gave to it, was printed without his Name. This Answer is mentioned in Page 6 of *The last Efforts of oppressed Innocence*, and in Page 305 of the *History of the Edicts of Pacification* (34), and in Volume III of the *History of the Edict of Nantes* (35). In this last Book is also found a Summary of This Answer, as of a Writing, whose Author was unknown. This Historian of the Edict of *Nantes* affirms (36), that the Petition was presented, and adds, *It happened, I know not how, that, some time after, it was printed, and publicly dispersed abroad*. I believe he is mistaken, and that it was printed and dispersed, before it could be presented. Now after it had appeared in public, to be sure the King never received it. See, in the Life of Mr *du Bos*, how the Council was offended, because the Deputies of The Protestants had published a Petition, which they had presented, but which the King had not yet answered (37). This Prince was so displeased at the printing of This Petition, that he condemned it with-

out seeing it, and ordered two of the Deputies to be clapt into the Bastille (38). This passed about the Year 1671. How is it probable then, that, nine Years after, that is to say, at a Time, when things were much worse, the Deputies of the Churches durst publish a Petition, after having presented it to the King, and before the receiving his Answer? The Author of the History of the Edict of *Nantes* might elude this, by maintaining, that the Millionaries got the Petition of the Protestants printed. This, though possible, is against all Probability. But here is a Fact which is more home to the purpose. In a very little time, after This Petition was seen in public, Mr *Jurieu* composed a Book, wherein he speaks of it only as of a Petition, THAT WAS DESIGNED to be presented (39). Does he not deserve more Credit in such a Point, than the Historian of the Edict of *Nantes*, who did not write 'till many Years after This Event? Upon observing the Difference between these Writers, I caused three of the chief Deputies of the Churches to be consulted, and particularly Him, who passes for the Author of the Petition. The Answers, which I received from them, agree perfectly in this, that they do not remember whether it was presented or not. They excused their Forgetfulness, by reason of the great Number of Affairs, which then passed through their Hands, and the long, and very troublesome, Time, that has elapsed since. I have no reason, then, to fear, that any reasonable Person will accuse me of Rashness, in taking up with this Opinion; for, besides the Proofs I have alledged, I remember, that the freshet, and, as it were, original Tradition, was, which Mr *Jurieu* has also followed, that the Petition was published without ever being presented by the Deputies.

[D] *We find him no where quoted, except in a Work of St Epiphanius*. We must even correct the Text, to make out this Quotation of him: Τὶ ἐν ὁ διαβολῶν λέξις; πνεῦμα αἰετὶ τὸν ὕλον ἔχον, καθάπερ ἐλεχθῆν, ὁ Ἀθηνάγορας, γινώσκον ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ (40). What then shall we understand the Devil to be? A Spirit conversant about Matter, as it has been said, O *Athenagoras*! created by God. This is what the Editions of *Epiphanius* say; and, according to this, it ought rather to be understood of another *Athenagoras*, who had been introduced, as one of the Speakers, in the Dialogue, from which *Epiphanius* gives some Extracts. Now it is a Dialogue, composed by *Methodius* against *Origen*, and in which *Methodius* is one of the Interlocutors. But the Critics have very justly conjectured, that, instead of ὁ Ἀθηνάγορας, we ought to read τῷ Ἀθηνάγορα, by *Athenagoras* (41).

[E] *He was not entirely clear from Heterodoxy*. He admits two sorts of bad Angels; the one comprehends those, whom God created, and who acquitted themselves ill in the Commission, which was given them, to govern Matter, and to preside over the Production of Forms; the other comprehends those, which the former begot by carnal Conversation with Women: It comprehends, I say, the Souls of Giants, who were begot by This Copulation (42). *Suffridus Petri* observes, that *Athenagoras* supports his Hypothesis by two Passages of Scripture, which he has misunderstood. "Testimonia sunt potissimum duo, sed male intellecta, quibus niti videtur Athenagoras." — The principal Authorities, which *Athenagoras* seems to build upon, are two, but both misunderstood. He misunderstands, and misapplies, much in the same manner, That Passage of the Gospel, which condemns those, who repudiate one Wife to marry another; for he makes use of it to condemn second Marriages, which he calls, without mincing the Matter, a specious Adultery. "Ἡ οἷα τις ἐτίχθη, μίαν, ἢ ὅτι ἐν γάμῳ. Ὁ γὰρ δεύτερος, εὐπρετής ἐστὶ μοιχεία. ὅς γὰρ ἀν' ἀπολύσει, φησὶ, τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ γαμήσῃ ἄλλαν, μοιχεύει."

(38) *Ibid.*

(39) See the *Derniers Efforts de l'Innocence opprimée*, p. 6.

(40) *Epiphanius* advert. Heret. n. 64. p. 544. Tom. 1.

(41) *Fabius Leopoldus*, Emendat. lib. 19. c. 9. Petri in *Athenagoras* advert. Heret. n. 64. p. 544. p. 260, 261.

(42) *Athenagoras*, p. 227, & seq.

(43) *Suffridus Petri* in *Athenagoras*, p. 218.

(34) Of the Holland. Edition 1682. The *Sieur Soulier* is Author of this History, and has put his Name to it. He has owned himself Author of the Answer to the Petition. Ib. pag. 305.

(35) Lib. 16. pag. 403, and the following.

(36) *Ibid.*

(37) Life of Mr *du Bos*, p. 31.

The Style of them is good, and Attic enough, but a little too much clogged with Parentheses, and Transpositions. They have been printed a great many times, as may be seen in Mr du Pin, who has, nevertheless, forgot some Editions [F]. I shall mention a Romance

ἕτε ἀποδύει ἐπιτρίβων ἢ ἐπανασί τις τὴν παρ-
δόναν, ἕτε ἐπιγαμνεί. ὁ γὰρ ἀποσπῶν αὐτὸν
ἡς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ εἰ τὸ θῆκε, μοιχὸς
ἔστι παρὰ κεκαλυμμένῳ, παρὰ βαίνων μὲν τὴν
χρῆσιν τῆ θῆς, ὅτι ἐν ἀρχῇ ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἁνδρά
ἐπέλασε καὶ μίαν γυναῖκα (44). Let every one
either continue in the same State he was born in, or
content himself with once marrying. For a second
Marriage is but a specious Adultery. For the Scrip-
ture says, Whofoever shall put away his Wife, and
marry another, committeth Adultery. Neither per-
mitting the putting away of Her, whose Virginity
has been enjoyed, nor the marrying of another. And
whofoever quits his first Marriage, although his Wife
be dead, is in some measure an Adulterer, by exceed-
ing God's own Appointment, who, in the Beginning,
made one Man, and one Woman. You see he imposes
the same Law on all Men, which God prescribed
to the chief Priest alone; if they will marry, it must be
only with a Maid (45). He is not contented, that they
have their Virginity themselves, but will also have
them choose none but Virgins for their Wives. But
this is erring consistently; Because, if second Marriages
were criminal, it would be criminal even for a
Bachelor to marry a Widow, and every time he
discharges the matrimonial Duty would be commit-
ting a fresh Crime. For this would be causing his
Wife to sin, and, according to the Rules of Mora-
lity, whofoever causes others to sin sins himself.
The same may be said of a Maid, who should marry a
Widower. I don't know, says Mr de Tillemont (46),
Whether the Expression "which Athenagoras uses
concerning the Prophets, at a time, when the Extasies
of Montanus began to trouble the Church, may not
give ground to suspect, that he was engaged in That
Party. However, neither Scultetus, nor Mr du Pin,
† have observed That Place to be liable to any bad Con-
struction. I do not find, that there is the least Reason
to suspect him of Montanism on this Account. How
many of the Orthodox are there, who believe, that
the ancient Prophets were in Extasies, and that their
Tongues, or their Pens, were the Instruments of the
Holy Ghost? What then could they find fault with
in these words of Athenagoras? Νομίζω καὶ ὑμεῖς
οὐκ ἀνοήτως γενομένοις οὐτε τῶν Μωσῶος,
οὐτε τῶν Ἰσαΐου καὶ Ἱερემίου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
προφητῶν, οὐ κατ' ἐκστάσιν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς λο-
γισμῶν κηρύσσας; αὐτοὺς τὴ θῆν πνεύματι;
αὐτοὺς ἐν ἁνδρά ἐξερῶντας συζητοῦσάν τε
πνεύματι; ὥστε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀλλήν, ἐμπεύ-
σαι (47). I suppose that even you — are not igno-
rant of the Transfactions either of Moles, or of Iliasis,
and Jeremias, and the rest of the Prophets, who, by
an Extasy of Thought, the Divine Spirit moving them,
spoke as they were inspired; the Spirit operating on
them, in like manner as the Musician on his Flute. It
is true, the Comparison of the Holy Ghost with one,
who plays on a Flute, is mean, but the Foundation of
it is right.

(44) Athe-
nag. p. 298.

(45) Levi.
xiii. 13, 14.

(46) Tillemont, ubi
supra, pag.
759.

• Athenag.
Leg. p. 9, d.

† Scult. pag.
52. Du Pin,
Tom. 1. p.
215.

(47) Athe-
nag. pag. 72,
74.

A REPRIS-
ALION ON THE
JEWISH
High Priest
not being
allowed to
marry unless
with a Vir-
gin.

(48) See 1
Pet. ii. 5, 9.

on the High Priest. The Law, prescribed to him, would these Jesters say, ought to command something mortifying to his Pleasures; whereas, on the contrary, it obliges him to the most delicious Relish of them, and not to take up with a second-hand Dish. The Rest of the People may make shift with the leavings of others: He only is taught to be nicer, and of a daintier Palate. Poor insipid Raillery! for it is in reality a Slavery, not to have the liberty of marrying where we please; and how many sensual Persons, in a full Liberty of Choice, would prefer a Widow before any other Mistress? But, besides, is it not meer Blindness, not to see the Wisdom of the Lawgiver in this Prohibition? Did not This Law warn the great Pontiff to abstain, more than others, from the least Irregularities? For, if a Woman ceased to be worthy of him, the moment she left aspiring to That supreme Degree of Perfection and Honour, which she might have attained by preferring a chaste Widowhood before a second Marriage; if the sole want of This height of Virtue, if, I say, this sole want, which is not so much a real Fault, as a bare Privation of distinguished Merit, was sufficient to make her unworthy to marry with the High Priest, was not this a Proof, that God required of him a more exact Conduct? Read these Words of a great Man: "Quin & illa ad declaran-
dam insignem vitæ mundiciem pertinent, quod si
quis de stirpe Aaron teneatur profuvio sanguinis,
vetatur ad sacerdotis meniam accedere sacrificii
vesci panibus: item quod quicumque vitio macu-
lâve corporis essent deformati, submoventur à sa-
cris ministris: rursus quod ipse pontifex jubetur
virginem suæ gentis ducere, à vidua, repudiata, ac
prostituta, abstinere. Non statim quod plebi licet,
licet & sacerdoti: multitudini multa conceduntur,
à sacerdote summa requiruntur puritas in omni vitæ
porcione (49). — Now these Things are intended
to point out a more particular Purity of Life, That,
if any of the House of Aaron be taken with an
Hemorrhage, he should not be permitted to come to
the Priest's Table, or to taste of the consecrated
Bread: Also, that such as were defective, or deformed,
in their Bodies, should be incapable of the Priest-
hood: Again, that the High-Priest himself is com-
manded to abstain from a Widow, a Wife divorced,
and a Prostitute, and to marry, if at all, to a
Virgin of his own Nation. Not every thing, that
is lawful for the People, is also lawful for the
Priest: Many things are allowed to the Multitude,
but from the Priest is required the strictest Purity
in every Station of Life." The same Spirit reigned
in the Christian Discipline, even at the time, when
married Persons were not excluded from the Priest-
hood (50); for it excluded Those, who had mar-
ried either two Wives successively, or a Widow, or
who had been dishonoured by the Adultery of
their Wives; and, if This dishonour happened to them
in the Time of their Priesthood, they were obliged
either to free themselves from it by a Divorce, or abdi-
cate their Character. "Verba synodi Neocæsar. cap.
8. hæc sunt: si cujus uxorem adulterium commi-
sisset, cum esset laicus, evidenter fuerit probatum,
hic ad ministerium ecclesiasticum admitti non po-
test. Quod si in clericatu eo jam constituto adul-
teravit, dato repudio dimittere eam debet: si vero
retinere ejus consortium velit, non potest suscipere
ministerio perfrui. cap. si cujus, 34. distin. (51). —
In Chap. 8. of the Council of Neocæsarea, are
these words: If it proved, by good Evidence, that
the Wife of any Layman has committed Adultery,
he cannot be admitted to the Ecclesiastical Function.
But, if the Wife of a Priest commit Adultery, he
must divorce her: or, if he will retain her, he
must renounce his Ministry." See Mr Morin's
Dissertation, or the Abstract given of it in the News
from the Republic of Letters (52).

[F] Mr du Pin has forgot some Editions of Athe-
nagoras. His List is very large (53), but not every
where rightly pointed, in the Edition of Amsterdam
(54). This confounds our Understanding. He has
not taken Notice of the Edition of Oxford, nor That
of Leipzig: The first appeared in the Year 1682,
the second in the Year 1703.

(49) Eras-
mus in Ec-
clesiast. l. 1.
pag. 45, 47.

(50) See
Duaren de
Sacris Eccl.
Minist. ac
Benefic. lib.
4. cap. 8.
pag. 386.

(51) Id. ib.
pag. 387.

(52) For the
Month of Ju-
ly, 1684, art. 6. pag.
517.

(53) See the
first Tome of
his Nouvelle
Bibliothèque
primée in
1686.

(54) I speak
of that, as not
being That
in of Paris.

(e) It is the third of the second Time of his Apparatus ad Bibliothecam maximam Veterum Patrum.

a Romance, which appeared under the Name of *Athenagoras* [G]. If I could have consulted the Dissertation, published by Father *le Nourry* (e), it would have furnished me, without doubt, with some good Materials for this Article; but his Work is not yet come to our Hands (f), tho' it was printed in the Year 1697. I have seen some account of it in the *Journal des Sçavans* (g), and in the *Acta Eruditorum* of *Leipsic* (b).

(f) I write this in April 1699.

(g) Of May 13, 1697, pag. 331.

in 12mo, by the Care of Dr *Fell*, Bishop of *Oxford*; and the latter, in the Year 1684, in 8vo, by the Care of *Adam Reichenberg*. They are both of them in Greek and Latin, with Notes. Neither has he mentioned the Commentary of *Keribolt* on the Works of *Athenagoras*. This Piece was printed at *Kiel*, in the Year 1675, in Folio, and was inserted, with Additions, in the Edition of *Juslin Martyr*, of *Athenagoras*, &c. at *Leipsic*, in 1686. Note, that *Guy Gauffart*, Prior of *St Foi*, at *Coulemmiers*, published a French Translation of the Apology of *Athenagoras*, and subjoined the Annotations of *Suffridus Petri*. This was printed at *Paris*, in 8vo, in the Year 1574. *Du Verdier Vau-Privat*, who is my Author for this (55), mentions a French Translation of two Pieces of *Athenagoras*, done by *Arnould du Ferrou* (56), but does not say when, or where, it was printed (57).

(55) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Francoise, p. 533.

(56) He wrote a Continuation of Paulus Emilii in Latin.

(57) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Francoise, p. 57, 58.

[G] *I shall mention a Romance, which appeared under the Name of Athenagoras*. According to Dr *Cove*, we have, hitherto, only seen the French Translation of it, printed at *Paris*, by *Daniel Guillemin*, in the Year 1612, with this Title: *Of the true, and perfect, Love, written, in Greek, by Athenagoras, an Athenian Philosopher, containing the chaste Loves of Theogenus and Charida, of Pherecides and Melanigenia*. *Martin Fumée*, Lord of *Genille*, was Author

of This Translation, and sent it, in the Year 1569, to Mr de *Lamané*, Secretary to the Cardinal of *Armagnac*. It was found among the Papers of *Bernard de Sanjorjy*, who published it in the Year 1612 (58). Consult *Huetius* (59), who speaks largely of This Book, and who supposes, that *Philander* is its true Author. He informs us, that This *Fumée* boasted, that he had procured the Greek Original, by the means of *Lamané*, Protonotary of the Cardinal of *Armagnac*.

(b) For Dec. 1698, pag. 554.

(58) Taken from Dr Cave's History. Literar. de Scriptor. Eccles. pag. 49.

(59) Huet. de l'Origine des Romans, pag. 42, & seq.

Note, that the Edition, mentioned by Dr *Cove*, and which he had seen in the Library of *Vassius*, is not the first. I have one, printed at *Paris*, by *Michael Sonnius*, in 1599, 12mo. The Title differs but very little from That, which we have seen above (60). The Preface is of *Bernard de Sanjorjy*, and dated from *Castres*, the first of *October*, 1596. It informs us, that *Sanjorjy* being almost *Seventy*, had found, among his Papers, a Copy of This Work, which he had got transcribed from *That*, which had been sent to Mr de *Lamané*, and, that he had desired *Monsieur de Fombourz*, who was going to Court, about some Affairs of his own, to do him the Favour to carry this Work with him, and to take the Trouble of communicating it to some Printer, as he passed through *Paris*.

(60) Instead of Theogenus, my Edition has Theogenes, and instead of Pherecides, it has Pherecydes.

A T H E N Æ U M [A], was a public Edifice in *Rome*, built by the Emperor *Adrian* [B], to serve for an Auditory to the Learned, and to those who chose to recite their

[A] A T H E N Æ U M. This Name comes from *Minerva*, in Greek *Ἀθηνᾶ*, The Goddess of all polite Arts, and Sciences. It was thought fit, that an Edifice, built in favour of the Learned, should bear the Name of That Goddess. Some have thought, it was a Temple, consecrated to her; but *Aurelius Viſtor* does not give us That Idea oft. "Gymnasium," *sia*, says he (1), speaking of the Emperor *Adrian*, "Doctoresque curare occupat, adeo quidem ut etiam ludum ingeniarum artium, quod Athenæum vocant, constitueret. — He began to shew a great Regard to *Exercise*, and *Professors*, in all learned Arts and Sciences, inasmuch, that he built them Schools, which are called the Athenæum." Other Historians, who speak of this Edifice, represent it only as a Place for Lessons, Declarations, and Lectures. "Ad Athenæum audiendum & Græcorum & Latinorum rhetorum vel poetarum causa frequenter proceſſit. — He frequently went to the Athenæum, to hear the Greek, and Latin, Rhetoricians and Poets." *Lampridius* speaks thus of *Alexander Severus*. This Passage is quoted in *Calepin*, a little after having said, that the *Athenæum* was consecrated to *Minerva*, and that the Poets, and other Greek Writers, brought their Works thither, as the Latin Authors brought theirs into the Temple of *Apollo*. Judge by this of the Exactness of Those, who composed, or corrected, That great Dictionary. *Cruquius* makes use of the same Division; he sends the Latin Poets to the Temple of *Apollo*, and the Greek to the Temple of *Minerva*, which he calls *Athenæum* (2). But let us go on in observing what the Ancients have said of the Place in question; "Cum Pertinax eo die processerem quam ad Athenæum paraverat, ut audiret Poetam, ad sacrificii prælagium distulisset (3). — When *Pertinax*, by reason of some ill Omen in the Sacrifices, put off the Procession he intended to have made, that Day, to the Athenæum." Another says, that *Gordian*, the Emperor, had declaimed, in the *Athenæum*; ubi adeo, in *Athenæo* controversas declamavit (4). *Philoftratus* says, that the Sophist *Adrian*, who was in great Esteem at *Rome*, had no sooner declared, that he would make a Declaration, but the Senators, Knights, and every body, flocked to the *Athenæum*. *Δρόμοι ἐχέοντες τὸ Ἀθηνᾶιον ὄρεον παρὸς* (5). They ran to the Athenæum with great eagerness. Let us add these Words of *St Jerom*: *Quando omne Athenæum Sibi-*

(1) Aurelius Viſtor, in *Hadriano*.

(2) In *Horat. Sat. 1.*, lib. 1.

(3) *Julius Capitolinus* in *Pertinax*.

(4) *Capitolinus* in *Gordiano*.

(5) *Philoftr.* in *Adriano*.

lasticorum vocibus personabat (6). — When the whole Athenæum rang with the Voices of the Professors: And those of *Sidonius Apollinaris*: Dignus omnino quem plausibilibus Roma foret ulnis, quoque recitante crepitantis *Athenæi* subellia cuneata quaterentur (7). — Worthily, in the biggest Manner, of the greatest Applause, Rome could give, and to shake the crowded Seats of the echoing Athenæum with his Repetitions. The Etymology, *Dion* gives us, is a new Argument against Those, who have taken the *Athenæum* for a Temple of *Minerva*; he says, that the Place was so called, from the Exercises of the Learned, there performed, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πειραστικῆς ἀσχολίας (8). He informs us also, that the Consul assembled the Senate, in the *Athenæum*, when he understood, that the *Prætorian* Cohorts had seized the Murderers of *Pertinax*. The Objection, which might be drawn from the Senate's never meeting but in Places consecrated by the *Augurs*, does no way balance the Reasons, which prove, that the *Athenæum* was not a Temple of *Pallas*. To conclude, They, who pretend, that the first Place, which was called *Athenæum*, was a Building in *Athens* (9), will have much ado to prove it. Good Mr de *Marolles* has a very wrong Notion of This Word; for, in his Translation of *Aurelius Viſtor*, he says, that *Adrian* invited learned Men from all Parts, as if he intended to transplant Athens to Rome.

(6) Hieronymus de Obitu Pauline ad *Pamachiam*.

(7) *Sidonius Apollin.* Epist. 14. lib. 9. See also Epist. 9. ejusd. libri, & Epist. 8. lib. 4.

(8) *Xiphil.* in *Didio Juliano* sub nomine *Xylander* translat: *Adrianus* by *Templum Minervæ*.

(9) *The Theophrastus Fabri*, Edit. 1692.

I shall observe, occasionally, that, in the City of *Athens*, the Rhetoricians, and Grammarians, met in the Temple of the Muses, upon Trials of Skill. *Ἀρχαῖοι παρὰ τὸ τέμενος τῶν Μουσῶν ἐνθα ποιεῖσαι καὶ ῥήτορες καὶ τῶν γραμματικῶν οἱ καλῆς ποιήσεως ποιῶναι τὰς ἐκδιδέχοντες*. He leads away to the Temple of the Muses, where the Poets, Rhetoricians, and Grammarians Scholars often resort to shew their Parts. Thus speaks an Author of the VIth Century of the Practice in his time; I mean *Zachary*, of *Mitylene*, in his Book de *Mundi officio*. See the Three hundred thirty ninth Page of the eleventh Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1644.

[B] Built by the Emperor *Adrian*.] This I have proved by the Passage of *Aurelius Viſtor*: *Cassaubon* has also very good Reason to laugh at *Theodorius Marfilus* (10), whom he treats roughly enough, without naming him. This Author spends a great many Words, in his Commentary on *Persius*, to prove, that the

(10) *Cassaubon* Comment. in *Capitol. Vit. Pertinax*.

their Works in Public. It appears from the beginning of *Juvenal's* Satires, that these sort of Lectures were very frequent, and that *Fronto* lent his House and Gardens to those Poets, who had a mind to recite their Verses before a numerous Audience (a). Many others were also willing to lend their Houses for the same Purpose (b); but, unfortunately for the Poets, these Favours were often very expensive [C]: for He, who was to read his Work, was to fit up the Room, and pay the Hire of the Seats. It is very probable, that the Emperor *Adrian*, who loved and underfooted the Sciences, had This View, among others, in building the *Athenæum*, viz. to free Authors from these great Incumbrances. Without doubt This Place served also for a College (c); for it was not only used for reciting of Compositions, but likewise for reading of Lectures. I find too, that the Senate sometimes met there (d). The Name of this Place has been applied, in a general Sense, to signify all kind of Universities, or Seminaries of Learning, appropriated to the teaching of Languages; for they are called in *Latin Athenæa*. Some are also of Opinion, that Libraries have been called *Athenica* (e).

(a) Frontonis
platani con-
vulsi
marmora
clamant,
Semper &
affiduo rupte
lectore co-
lumne.

(b) Stella, in
Martial. Ep.
fig. 6. l. 4.
Titianus
Capito, in
Pliny, lib. 8.
Epist. 12.
Quadratus,
in Arrian's
Epict. lib. 3.
cap. 23.

(11) Vossius
de Imitat.
p. 36.

(12) Horat.
Sat. ult. lib.
2. ver. 37.

(13) Savar.
in Sidon. A-
pollon. Ep.
24. lib. 9.

(14) Lipf.
Epist. 48.
Centur. 3.
ad Belg-

(15) See
Vossius de I-
mitat. p. 61.

(16) Juven.
Sat. 7. ver.
45.

(c) See Re-
mark [A].

(d) Ibid. to-
wards the
end.

(e) Salmast.
in Trebell.
Pollion. de
triginta
Tyrannis.

the *Athenæum*, and the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus*, were one and the same. *Vossius* (11) has repeated the same Accusation against him, and has given him, for an Accomplice, *Father Raderus*, on the seventieth Epigram of the tenth Book of *Martial*. He might have added *Savaron* for a second Accomplice, who, by these Words of *Horace*,

----- hæc ego ludo,

Quæ nec in æde sonent certantia iudice Tarpâ (12);

*These idle Lines shall ne'er in Judgment come
Before the learned Audience of Rome;*

understands, that *Horace* would not have his Verses read in the *Athenæum* (13). He gives This Interpretation as the very Words of an ancient Scholiast. *Lipfius* makes use of the same Authority, though he confesses, that another ancient Scholiast understands there by *ædem* the Temple of *Apollo Palatinus* (14). If That learned Man had remembered the Passage of *Aurelius Victor*, he would not have preferred the Interpretation of the first of these Scholiasts to That of the latter (15). See the Article *TARPA*, in it's Place.

[C] *These Favours were often very expensive:* The Author of the Dialogue de *Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ* is my Evidence, where he says, *Domum mutuatur, & auditorium exfruit, & subellia conducit, ut beatissimus recitationem ejus eventus consequatur.* — He borrows a House, builds an Auditory, and hires Seats, that his Repetitions may meet with the most favourable Reception. *Juvenal* will serve for a second Witness, where he threatens the Poets with the Mortification of not finding any Great Man, who will re-imburse them the Expences they have been at.

Nemo dabit regum quanti subellia constent,
Et quæ conducto pendent anabathra tigillo,
Queque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris (16).

*With no kind Patron now the Poet meets,
To pay the Hire of Pulpit and of Seats.*

I do not deny, but they sometimes repeated in an

hired House, but cannot forbear saying, that *Vossius* maintains it without any ground, since the Testimonies, he alleges, mean nothing less, than what he pretends. The first Passage, he quotes, is That of the Dialogue de *Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ*, where we have just now met with *domum mutuatur*, which signifies a borrowed, and not an hired, House. The second is of *Juvenal*, in these Words:

— cum jam celebres notique Poëtæ
Balneolum Gabiis, Romæ conducere fûrnos
Tentarent (17).

*When now the celebrated Wits, for need,
Hire Bagnios, to the Cryer's Trade succeed,
Or get their own, by baking others Bread.*

CHA. DRYDEN.

which denote only the dismal Poverty of the Trade, which had almost forced the Poets to become Bankrupt to the Muses, and to seek their Living by some mechanic Employ, as one may call That of a Bath-Keeper, a Baker, or a Cryer. The third Testimony is taken from these Words of the same *Juvenal*:

Ipse facit versus, atque uni cedit Homero
Propter mille annos; & si dulcedine famæ
Succensus recites, Maculonis commodat ædes (18).

*Himself writes Verse, which he to your's prefers,
And only yields to Homer's for their Years:
But, to your Share to try what Fame will fall,
Any great Man will lend an empty Hall.*

It is so plain, that, neither in this, nor in the foregoing Passage, are Poets said to have hired the Chamber, where they recited their Verses, that it is unaccountable how such Mistakes should escape the Sight of the learned *Vossius*. Observe, that they are found in a Book, which was printed in the Author's Life-time (19), the Title whereof is, *De Imitatione cum Oratoriâ tum præcipuè poëtica, deque Recitatione Veterum*. This latter Subject has been amply treated by *Crescilius*, in his Theatre of the ancient Sophists.

WHETHER
the Poets re-
peated in a
hired House.
Errors of
Vossius.

(17) Juven.
Sat. 7. v. 3.

(18) Juven.
Sat. 7. ver.
38.

(19) At Am-
sterdam
1647, with
the Instru-
ctions Poë-
tiques.

ATHENÆUS, a Greek Grammarian, born at *Naucratis* in *Ægypt*, flourished in the III^d Century [A]. He was one of the most learned Men of his Time; he had read

[A] *Athenæus* — flourished in the III^d Century. *Faber* has censured *Helvicus*, who, in quoting *Suidas*, places *Athenæus* in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius* (1). Here are two Faults, for *Suidas* makes him flourish under *Marcus Aurelius*, though he does not deserve to be copied in this, since *Oppian*, who dedicated a Poem to the Emperor *Caracalla* (2), died before *Athenæus*. *Helvicus* ought not then to have placed *Oppian* fifty Years after him. *Faber* reproves him for this Mistake, and maintains, that *Athenæus* lived at the same time with *Herodian*, who finished his History in the Year 238. It is certain, *Athenæus* places himself after *Oppian*, in point of Time. Καὶ τὸν ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑμῶν γενομένων Ὀππιανὸν τὸν Κιλικίαν. (3). And *Oppian*, the Cilician, who lived a little before our Time; says he, speaking

of several Authors, who had treated of Fishing. Without doubt it will be objected, that he elsewhere says (4), that he knew the Poet *Panocrates*, who received some Present from the Emperor *Adrian*: But This raises no great Difficulty; it is sufficient to suppose, that This *Panocrates* was very young, at That time, that he lived eighty Years, and died before *Athenæus* had attained to the twentieth Year of his Age. You will find, by this, that the latter might very well have lived 'till the Reign of *Gordianus*. If Mr de *Tillemont* had recollected the Greek Passage of *Athenæus*, which I have quoted, The Age, which he thought due to This Writer, would have appeared still more surprizing to him; for he supposes him very aged, by imagining only, that his Work was written after the Death of *Commodus*; and the Reason, he

(1) Id. lib.
15. p. 677.

(1) Tanaq.
Faber Epist.
63. lib. 1.
p. 211, 212.

(2) *Wetstein*
killed in 217.

(3) Athen.
lib. 1. p. 13.

(a) See the Preface of Cafaubon in Athenæus.

read so much, and had so good a Memory, that he may justly be called the *Varro of the Greeks* (a). Of all his Works [B], there remains only That intituled the *Deipnosophists*, that is to say, the *Sophsists at Table* (b), where he introduces a number of learned Men, of all Professions, who converse upon various Subjects, at the Table of a Roman Citizen, called *Larensius*. There is an infinite Variety of Facts and Citations in this Work of *Athenæus*, which makes the reading of it very pleasant to Those, who have skill enough to love Antiquity from a rational Motive. But, without doubt, the learned Men, who were cotemporary with the Author, did not judge of this Work so favourably, as we do in this Age. Those learned Men could consult the Originals, and there find most of the things, which *Athenæus* presented them with; for which Reason they considered his Book in a bad Light, as nothing else but a tedious Collection from others. But, for our part, who can come at but a very few of the Authors referred to by *Athenæus*, and have no other Opportunity of meeting with a hundred particular Curiosities, mentioned by him, but in his Collection, we look upon it as a very precious Treasure: we regard it with a favourable Eye, and transfer to the Author all the Esteem we have for the Rarities recorded by him, which are indeed become such, only because the Books, out of which he took them, are lost. For this same Reason, such a Compiler, whom our Age might not esteem in the least, would be greatly admired a thousand Years hence, if there should happen, in the Republic of Learning, such Revolutions as destroyed most of the Works of the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*. We cannot answer, that nothing like this will ever happen again. Let us, then, not blame those, who compile; they labour perhaps more usefully for future Ages, than the Authors, who borrow nothing from others. We find, in the *Deipnosophists* of our Author, a great many Touches of Slander, Fragments of scandalous Reports, and obscene Stories. No Book has been worse treated by Transcribers, than This of *Athenæus* [C]; all the Editions we have of it are very imperfect [D]. Somebody made an Abridgment of This Work [E]. Mr *Moreri* could

(b) Δειπνοσοφιστῶν Βιβλία τὰντῶν καὶ Σίθη. Of the Deipnosophists, 1. Books. Vossius should not have employed, two or in the same Page (viz. p. 232, of his de Hist. Gr.) the Term Δειπνοσοφιστῶν.

(c) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 2. p. 309.

(6) Cafaub. in Athen. pag. 958.

(7) Ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀλεξανδρου βιβλίῳ. In his book concerning Alexandria. Athen. lib. 15. p. 676.

(8) Ibid. lib. 5. pag. 211.

(9) Voss. de Hist. Gr. p. 232.

(10) Athen. lib. 3. c. 13. in fine.

he gives for it, is, *That Athenæus had known the Poet Panocrates, famous in the Time of Adrian* (5). He finds no Fault with *Suidas*, who placed him under *Marcus Aurelius*; tho' he ought to have censured him, in consequence of the *Greek* Passage above-mentioned. I would not have it pretended, that it is not *Athenæus*, who boasts of having known the Poet *Panocrates*, but that they are the Words of *Callixenus*, the *Rhodian*, whom he had quoted a little before. This Supposition will not pass. *Cafaubon* perceived plainly, that these are not *Callixenus's* Words, in the Book of *Athenæus* (6); but he has omitted a very strong Reason for proving this Point. It is, that the Passage in question begins thus; *Since I have mentioned the City of Alexandria*. Now *Callixenus* would never have spoken thus, in a Work of his own, concerning That very City (7). It is therefore *Athenæus* himself, who makes use of these Words, after having finished the Relation of what he had borrowed from *Callixenus*.

[B] Of all his Works. One was concerning the *Kings of Syria*, as himself informs us (8). *Vossius* ascribes to him another, concerning *Illustrious Men*, and *Generals of Armies, who had fought Duels* (9). He grounds his Opinion on these Words of the fourth Book. Ὅτι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐνδοξοὶ καὶ οἱ ἡσυχρότεροι ἐμονομάχουν καὶ ἐκ περὶ κλισίας τῶν ἐπὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοῖς ἐπρηκαμέν (10). But that *Illustrious Men*, and *Generals of Armies, have fought Duels, upon Challenge, we have in another Place discoursed*. This Subject would be very proper for a particular Treatise, but it might also be inserted as an Episode in another Work, and chiefly by an Author, who ran so much Ground in a little Time, and who loved Rhapsody so well, as *Athenæus*. Therefore *Vossius's* Opinion is not very certain.

[C] No Book has been worse treated by Transcribers, than This of *Athenæus*. The Omissions, Transpositions, and false Reasonings, are not to be numbered. These are Faults of the Transcribers; but, as to the loss of part of the Work, there is no Reason to lay That to their Charge. The two first Books, the beginning of the third, and most part of the last, are wanting. To supply this loss as well as possible, they have printed the Abridgment of what was lost, together with what was preserved entire; for, as I shall shew presently, we have still an Abridgment of the whole Work.

[D] All the Editions we have of it are very imperfect. The first is That of *Aldus Manutius*, in the Year 1514. *Marcus Musurus*, a Greek by Nation, assisted him with his Care and Skill. However, for want of good Manuscripts, and a due Exactness in

correcting it, there remains an infinite Number of Faults in their Work. The Basil Edition of *Joban Valderus*, in Folio, which followed next in the Year 1535, by the Care of *James Bedrot*, and *Christian Herlinus*, was little better. *Natales Comes* ventured to translate *Athenæus* into Latin. His Learning is very well known. It appears by his Mythology, that he had read and studied much; but, as he was ignorant in Criticism, it is certain, that his Translation is most wretched. It is the first that was published. "Ante omnes alios (nam de Sanga Romano vereor ut credendum sit Paulo Jovio) Latinum fecit Athenæum (11). Quamvis rumor "spargeretur Sangam patritium Romanum, virum, "ut aiunt, eximie doctrinæ id præstitisse (12)." *Cafaubon* does not cite the Place, where *Paulus Jovius* says this: It is in the Book of *Piscibus Romanis*. These are the Words: *Sanga Romanus, Poeta lapidatus, cuius beneficio Athenæum Latinum legimus* (13). But these five last Words are left out of the Basil Edition, in 1561, by *Henry* and *Peter Perna*: which shews, that *Paulus Jovius* had corrected his Mistake. *Dalechamp*, a famous Physician, published a second, which exceeds That of *Natales Comes*, and might have been much better than it is, if the Author had met with less Practice. But, as he kept close to his Profession, and spent only the leisure Hours, his Patients left him, on *Athenæus*, he has not done all that might be expected from him, though for near thirty Years he dedicated all his spare Time that way (14). And thus it remained ever since. The Edition of *Dalechamp*, the Greek on one side, and the Latin on the other, with the Volume of *Cafaubon's* Annotations, is the best *Athenæus* extant. The Abbot of *Marolles* has translated this Greek Author into French. I do not question but he followed the Latin Translation as his only Model, and has committed many Mistakes. I know nothing of this Work, but from the *Journal des Sçavans* (15). It is in 4to, and was printed at Paris, in the Year 1680. It is the first French Translation from the Original, and the last Performance of the Translator. I have been informed, that it sold so well, that it is very scarce at the Book-sellers, and bears an excessive Price. As to what has been said concerning a Translation by *Sanga*, see, above, Citation (11), (12), and (13).

[E] Somebody made an Abridgment of This Work. *Cafaubon* confesses ingenuously, that This Abbréviation is unknown to him, and that he can neither tell his Name, nor Country, nor the Age he lived in (16). However, he places him above Five hundred Years before himself, and is very certain he ought to be placed before *Eusebius* (17), because *Eusebius*

(11) Cafaub. Pref. Animadv. in Athen.

(12) Dalechamp. Ep. Dedic. Athenæi.

(13) P. Jovius de Piscibus Romanis, cap. 31, pag. 104. Edit. 1531, ex Officina Froben.

(14) Ex Prefat. Cafaub. in Athenæum.

(15) Of May 1680.

(16) Cafaub. Animadv. in Athen. inæ.

(17) Id. in Prefat. & in Animadv. p. 3.

could not forbear saying something of it, but was grossly mistaken [F]. All that he has said of *Athenæus*, and of two other Persons of the same Name, is erroneous [G]. See the last Remark of this Article.

has, upon several Occasions, made use of the Abridgment of *Athenæus*, in Preference to the Original, which led him into some Errors (18). *Casaubon* fancies, that this Abbreviator was some Grammarian, who undertook the same thing on *Athenæus*, which *Hermolaus* had done on the Work of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, for which, in some Respects, he deserved to be commended for his Learning, and in others, to be condemned for his want of Exactness (19). The Manuscripts of *Athenæus* were very much corrupted, even when this Abridgment was made. This is proved by two Reasons: There appears several Faults in the Abridgment, answering to those in the Manuscripts: And the Abbreviator confesses, that he passes over several things, because they were corrupted (20). *Casaubon* had a Manuscript of the Abridgment (21), which *David Hoefhelius* lent him: It wanted the first Book, and part of the second; so that they had retrenched from the Beginning of it almost all that had been inserted in the Editions of *Athenæus*, to supply what was lost from the Original of the *Deipnosophists*.

[F] Mr *Moreri* — was grossly mistaken. These are his Words; *Athenæus composed a Work of the Deipnosophists, in fifteen Books, which Hermolaus of Byzantium abridged, according to Suidas*. I pass by his Sin of Omission: No doubt he ought to have told us, whether That which is extant be the Work itself, or only the Abridgment he is speaking of. We shall only take notice of his Sins of Commission. I. It is false, that *Hermolaus of Byzantium* abridged *Athenæus*. II. It is false, that *Suidas* says so. III. It is false, that *Suidas* mentions any Abbreviator of the *Deipnosophists*. At first I took *Casaubon* to be the Cause of this Mistake, I mean a very innocent Cause; for who would ever imagine, that any one could stumble at these Words? "Putem confectam Constantinopoli ante annos quingentos & amplius hanc epitomen ab aliquo Grammatico, qualis fuit Hermolaus Byzantinus, auctor eorum Excerptorum, quæ hodie pro "Εἰρηκῶν Stephani libris in doctorum manibus versantur (22). — I suppose this Epitome was composed at Constantinople, above Five hundred Years ago, by some such Grammarian, as *Hermolaus* of Byzantium, who is the Author of Those Extractions, which now pass among the Learned, for the original Work of *Stephanus* the *Ethnicus*." But afterwards I found, that it was *Charles Stephens*, who deceived Mr *Moreri*. I think *Volaterran* is the first, who falsely makes *Suidas* say, that *Hermolaus* of Byzantium had abridged *Athenæus*. This Fault of *Volaterran* was taken notice of in the Edition of *Athenæus*, in 1535, as may be seen, without consulting That Edition, if we cast but an Eye on *Gesner's Bibliotheca*. How easy soever it was to avoid the same Error, since *Gesner* observed it, yet it is certain, that *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, are fallen headlong into it; and they assure us, which is worse, that we have no other *Athenæus*, but the Abridgment of *Hermolaus* of Byzantium: *Opus, quod ad nos sanè baud-ququam integrum pervenit: ejus epitome ab Hermolaus Byzantio TANTUM reliâ: Auctore Suida*.

[G] What has been said — of two other Persons of the same Name, is very erroneous. These are *Athenæus* the Historian, and *Athenæus* the Philosopher. Mr *Moreri* says, that the first *Athenæus* wrote the History of Semiramis, and that this History is to be found in the second Book of *Diodorus Siculus*, and that *Muretus* has copied it, without citing the Author. It is easy to see, that these Words contain I know not how many Contradictions. Is it usual for an Historian to crowd into a small Corner of his Work all that another Historian has wrote on a long Reign, a Reign fruitful of Events? Could such a Critic, as *Muretus*, include the whole Life of *Semiramis* in one of his short Chapters (23)? This is absurd. He ought, therefore, to have expressed himself in this, or some such manner: *Diodorus Siculus relates an Action of Semiramis, and quotes an Author, whose Name is Athenæus*. *Muretus* mentions the same Action, without quoting any Author. To conclude from hence, that this *Athenæus* had composed the History of *Semiramis*, and ought consequently to be ranked among the Historians, is going a little too fast: According to this Rule, *Seneca* must have wrote the History of almost all the great Men in the World; for there is scarce one of them, who is not recorded by him, for some memorable Action, or Sentence. This may be said against *Vossius*, who, at a venture, places Him, whom *Diodorus Siculus* mentions, in the Number of Historians; but he has taken care not to say, positively, that the same *Athenæus* wrote the History of *Semiramis*. As to *Athenæus*, the Philosopher, it is false, that *Strabo*, cited by Mr *Moreri*, says, that he taught *Aristotle's* Philosophy at Rome; that, being returned home again, he was accused of a Design to form a Republic, and that he was taken into Custody. This is what *Strabo* says of him (24). "*Athenæus*, a Peripatetic Philosopher, a Native of *Seleucia*, in *Cilicia*, had a Share in the Government, and was a Demagogue in his Country for some time. Afterwards he became an intimate Friend of *Murena*, and fled with him, upon the Discovery of *Murena's* Conspiracy against *Augustus*. He was taken in his Flight; but the Emperor, not finding him guilty, set him at Liberty. *Athenæus* returned to Rome, and to those, he first met with, repeated these Words of *Euripides*:"

Ἦκα νεκρῶν κευθμῶνα καὶ σκότος πύλας
Λιπύειν.

From Death's wide Caverns, and Hell-Gates, I come.

One can hardly guess at the Original of these Mistakes of Mr *Moreri*; for it seems more difficult to corrupt things in this Manner, than to deliver them as they are found.

AT R A X, or ATRACIA (a), a City of *Thessaly* (b), on the River *Peneus*, had it's Name from *Atrax*, the Son of *Peneus*, and *Bura*, who was it's Founder (c). It must have been considerable, since the Poets have sometimes made use of the Epithet *Atracian*, to signify *Thessalian* [A]. *Pliny* places the *Atracians* amongst the People of *Ætolia* (d); but we must not from thence infer, that he would be understood to speak of them, as different from the Inhabitants of the City *Atrax*, which he assigns to *Thessaly* (e). The Divisions of Nations, and Boundaries of Provinces, have often been altered; so that the same District, which belonged, at one Time, to *Ætolia*, might, at another, be esteemed part of *Thessaly*. The River ATRAX, whose Mouth opened into the *Ionian Sea* (f), passed thro' the Country of the *Atracians*.

[A] The Poets have sometimes made use of the Epithet *Atracian*, to signify *Thessalian*. *Ceneus*, who was killed in the Quarrel between the Centaurs and *Lapithæ*, at the Wedding of *Pirithous*, is called *Atracides*, by *Ovid* (1); not to represent him as the Son of *Atrax*; for he had a little before called him the Son of *Elacus* (2); but, in general, as a *Thessalian*. I am not unaware, that some Authors (3) say, he was the Son of *Atrax*. The same Poet calls the Wife of *Pirithous* only *Atracis*.

Define mirari posito quod candida vino

Atracis ambiguos traxit in arma viros (4).

No wonder Beauty ev'n a Centaur warms,

And makes him quit the Nuptial Cup for Arms.

In another Place, he gives her proper Name *Hippodamia*; but he adds to it the Epithet *Atracis*.

(23) It is the 17th of the 16th Book, Variarum Lectionum. *Moreri* has cited it, but it is in his Article of *Athenæus* the Physician.

(24) *Strabo*, lib. 14. pag. 461.

(18) Id. in Animadv. pag. 1, 2.

(19) Ibid. pag. 3.

(20) Id. in Prefat.

(21) Id. A. animadv. init.

(22) Ibid. pag. 3.

(a) *Steph. Byzant.* verbo "Ατράξ.

(b) *Strabo*, lib. 9. pag. 303.

(c) *Steph. Byzant.* ubi supra.

(d) *Plinii Histor. Nat.* lib. 4. c. 2.

(e) Ibid. c. 8.

(f) Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 2.

(1) *Ovid. Met.* l. 12. ver. 209.

(2) *Proles Elateæ*, ib. ver. 89.

(3) *Antonini Liber. I. Metam.* c. 17.

(4) *Ovid. Amor. lib. 1. Eleg.* 4. v. 7.

(5) Ovid. *E-pist. Helen-circæ fœnem.* ver. 247.

An fera Centauris indicere bella cœgit
Atracis Hæmonios Hippodamia viros (5) ?

*Offended Beauty cruel Wars can wage;
The Centaurs felt the Force of Female Rage.*

(6) Valer. *Flacc. Argon. lib. 1.* ver. 141.

Valerius Flaccus describes her by the Words *Atracis Virgo* (6).

We cannot suppose *Ovid* takes her to be the Daughter of *Atrax*; this would prove too much. For then *Ceneus* must also have the same Father; whereas he makes him the Son of *Elatus*, and does not say one Word of *Ceneus* being Brother to the Bride; an unpardonable Omission, if he had understood him to be Brother-in-law to *Piritibous*.

I take it, that *Apuleius* imagined, that *Atracis* was the proper Name of the Wife of *Piritibous*; for, as he wrote in Prose, he would not have called her by That Name, if he had thought it only a figurative and poetical Expression. *Sic instar Atracis*, says he (7), *vel* (read *est*) *Piritiboi displicet disturbatque Nuptiæ*. *Beroaldus* very well understood it of *Hippodamia*, (or *Hippodamia*,) Wife of *Piritibous*; but when he adds, that she was called *Atracis*, because she was the Daughter of *Atrax*, who was the first Inventor of Magic amongst the *Thessalians* (8), he affirms, what he ought to have proved; for we nowhere find, that *Atrax* established Magic. It is very true, Magic has been called *Art Atracis* (9); but this means no more, than *Art Thessalica*, and signifies only Magic in general, because *Thessaly* was famous for That Art (10). We are to understand in the same Sense These Verses of *Valerius Flaccus*:

*Quamvis Atracis lunam spumare veneno
Sciret, & harmoniis agitari cantibus umbras* (11).

*Tho' by Thessalian Arts the Moon be slain,
And calls up Spirits by his Magic Strains.*

The Scholiast of *Statius* is the only one, if I am not mistaken, who has said, that *Atrax* was the Father of *Hippodamia*. It is thus I would correct the Word, *Hippocattæ*, and not, as *Barbicus* makes it, *Hippocrææ* (12). The Scholiast of *Homer*, on the Twenty first Book of the *Odyssey*: *Eustathius*, on the same place; and *Hyginus*, at cap. 23; say, that the Wife of *Piritibous* was called *Hippodamia*, and was the Daughter of *Adrastus*. I do not know whether the Genitive *Ἀδρασίου* might not have been changed into *Ἀδράς*. If this was the Case, *Atrax*, the true Name of the Father of *Hippodamia*, would be lost in That of *Adrastus*. The Transcribers have made Mistakes full as great as This. I shall give an Example, not foreign to our Subject. All the Manuscripts of *Lycophron*, at present, read *ἀτραξας λύκος*, *Rapaces Lupos, Ravenous Wolves* (13); this signifies the *Argonauts*; but the Copy, which *Stephanus Byzantinus* made use of, read *ἀτραξας λύκος* (14), *Atracenses lupos*, that is, *Thessalian Wolves*. It is thus *Eustathius* has cited this Place of *Lycophron* (15).

What *Barbicus* pretends, that *Atracis ora*, in *Propertius* (16), signifies a very distant Place, and that *Catullus* has used the Word *Atracis* in the same Sense (17), is not very ingenious. Some Critics, in *Catullus*, read *Atacis*, a River in *Gaul*, instead of *Atracis*, a River in *Greece*; but, however that be, we ought to understand literally the Words of *Catullus* and *Propertius* (18). As to the Supposition of *Barbicus*, that they allude to the Art of Magic, it is altogether ridiculous.

(12) See the Commentary of *Barthius* on *Statius*, Tom. 2. p. 37, 38.

(13) *Lycoph. Alexandr.* ver. 1309.

(14) *Steph. Byzant. at the Word "Ατραξ"*.

(15) See *Canter. on the Words of Lycophron*.

(16) *Propert. Eleg. 8. l. 1.*

(17) *Catull. Epigr. 96.*

(18) See *Scaliger on this place of Propertius*.

ATTALUS, the Name of some Kings of *Pergamus*. See *PERGAMUS*.

ATTICUS (*TITUS POMPONIUS*) has the Character of one of the most honourable Men in ancient *Rome*. He behaved himself so prudently, that, without forfeiting his Neutrality, he preserved the Esteem and Affection of the Two contrary Parties [A]. The intimate Friendship, which he had for *Cicero*, did not hinder his having a very strict Union with *Hortensius*; and he brought Those Two Rivals in Eloquence not only to forbear all mutual Reflexion, but even to keep up a good Understanding [B]. He never had the least Difference, either with his Mother, or his

[A] *He preserved the Esteem and Affection of the two contrary Parties.* He sent Money to the Son of *Marius*, who was a declared Enemy to the Republic; and insinuated himself so far into *Sylla's* Favour, that this *Roman* General would always have him near him, and did not take it ill, that *Atticus* excused himself from following him to *Rome*, on account of his resolving to observe a Neutrality (1). "Noli, oro," te, inquit *Pomponius*, adversum eos me velle ducere, cum quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italia reliqui (2). — Ask me not, says *Pomponius*, "to go against those, whom because I would not follow against you, I left Italy." He kept himself quiet in *Rome*, during the War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; this was not displeasing to *Pompey* (3), but extremely pleasing to *Cæsar*. After the Death of the latter, he sent Money to *Brutus*, when the Party for Liberty began to grow weak, and did a thousand good Offices to the Wife and Friends of *Marc Antony*, when his Party seemed ruined beyond all Recovery. *Marc Antony* was not ungrateful; for, though he exerted a furious Hatred against all the Friends of *Cicero*, yet he wrote, with his own Hand, a very obliging Letter to *Atticus* (4). He afterwards promoted the Marriage of *Atticus's* Daughter, with *Agrippa*, the Favourite of *Augustus* (5). Lastly, notwithstanding the cruel Divisions, which broke out between *Marc Antony* and *Augustus*, our *Atticus* maintained himself in both their Friendships. One of them (6) never set out any where, without sending him a particular Account, by Letter, of what he was doing, what he was reading, and where he was going; and, when he was at *Rome*, he wrote almost every day to consult him on some Question; the other (7) acquainted him with all his Affairs. Without doubt it was difficult to preserve, at the same time, the Friendship of two such Antagonists. "Hoc

"quale sit facilius existimabit is, qui judicare poterit, quantæ sit sapientiæ eorum retinere ulum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solum æmulationi, sed obtestatio tanta intercedebat, quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cum se uterque principem non solum urbis Romanæ, sed orbis terrarum, esse cuperet (8). — What this was, he is best able to judge, who is sensible of the great Prudence, requisite to preserve the Correspondence and Friendship of those, who were not only Competitors for the greatest Things, but such Enemies to one another, as Cæsar and Antony must necessarily be, when each of them aspired to be Emperor, not only of *Rome*, but of the whole World."

[B] *He brought Cicero and Hortensius — to keep up a good Understanding.* They, who are sensible, how much an Emulation in Eloquence influences and stirs up the other Passions, will conceive no mean Idea of the Conduct and Merit of a Man, who knew how to keep the Peace between the two most famous Orators of Antiquity. It was not sufficient, that *Pomponius Atticus* could insinuate himself agreeably into People's Affections; he must also have some remarkable Qualities to deserve so great an Esteem. What I am going to quote, is, therefore, very proper to describe his Merit. "Utebatur intimæ Quintus Hor-tensio, qui iis temporibus principatuum eloquentiæ tenebat, ut intelligi non posset uter eum plus diligeret Cicero an Hortensius, & id quod erat difficile limum, efficiebat ut inter quos tantæ laudis esset æmulationi, nulla intercederet obtestatio, essetque talium virorum copula (9). — He was very intimate with *Quintus Hortensius*, who, at that Time, was acknowledged Supreme in Eloquence, so that it was hard to say which loved him most, Cicero or Hortensius; and, what was most difficult of all,

(8) *Idem, cap. 5.*

(9) *Id. ib.*

(1) *Corn. Nepos, in Vita Attici, cap. 2.*

(2) *Idem, cap. 4.*

(3) *Idem, cap. 7. yet Cicero, Ep. 6. lib. 11, ad Atticum, says, that Pompey would have been an Enemy to Atticus, if he had conquered.*

(4) *Idem, cap. 10.*

(5) *Idem, cap. 12.*

(6) *Namely, Augustus. Corn. Nepos, cap. 20.*

(7) *Namely, Marc Antony. Corn. Nepos, cap. 20.*

his Sister [C]. He always behaved himself generously to his Friends, and opened his Purse to them in their Necessities. This he could well afford; for, besides the great Fortunes, which fell to him by Succession [D], he found ways to lay out his Money to a very great Advantage. The Troubles, which arose at Rome, between the Parties of *Cinna* and *Sylla*, made him resolve, in his Youth, to go to *Athens*, where he lived a long time. He was so very much beloved by the *Albaniens* [E], that the Day he left their City was, in some Manner, a Day of Mourning. He loved Learning extremely, and had, in his Family, several Librarians (a), and very good Readers. He had always something read at his Table, even when he entertained his

(a) See, below, Citation (38).

"he brought it about, that, between these two so great Rivals, there was not only no Contention, but even an Union."

[C] He never had the least Difference either with his Mother or his Sister. When he was Sixty seven Years of Age, he lost his Mother, who was ninety Years old, and had a Sister near the same Age with himself. He declared, at his Mother's Funeral, that he had never any Occasion to seek her Reconciliation, and that there never had been any Quarrel between his Sister and himself. "Hoc ipsum verè gloriantem audierim in funere matris suæ, quam exulit annorum 90, cum esset septem & 60, se nunquam cum matre in gratiam rediisse, nunquam cum forore suâ in similitate, quam propè æqualem habebat; quod est signum aut nullam unquam inter eos quærimoniam intercessisse, aut hunc cæ fuisse in suos indulgentiâ, ut quos amare deberet irasci eis nefas duceret (10). — This I heard him deservingly glory in, at the Funeral of his Mother, whom he buried at ninety Years of Age, being sixty himself; that he had never stood in need of her Pardon, or been at Variance with his Sister, who was about the same Age with himself; which is a Sign, either that there was no Complaints among them, or else that he had so great an Indulgence for his Family, as to think it a Sin to be angry with those he ought to love." I do not mention this Circumstance of Time to swell my Book, or rather to fill up a Sheet of Paper: every one sees it is essential to this Remark; for, if the happy Temper of *Atticus* appears here to be so very singular, it is chiefly on account of the Number of Years he passed with his Mother and Sister without the least Brawl. It is pity the History did not add how he lived with his Wife. He does not boast at all on this Head (11); and this may create some Suspicion, that his Conduct, or Patience, could not signalize themselves so much in this respect, as towards his Mother and Sister, who perhaps, on their Part, contributed very much to That good Agreement, and did not oblige him to make great Advances. The Matter, on this Supposition, would lose much of its Singularity with regard to *Atticus*, but, taking it all together, it would not be less, but rather more extraordinary. See, in the following Remark, that *Atticus* kept always in Favour with an Uncle, whose Temper was so humourfome, that no other of his Relations were able to bear it. Let us return to the Wife of *Atticus*. It is strange, that *Cornelius Nepos* should say nothing of her, neither good nor bad, and that we must have recourse to other Authors to know that her Name was *Pilia*, and that *Atticus* married her in the Year of Rome 697 (12). He was far from young; he was Fifty three Years of Age. He had made no great haste to inlist himself in That Warfare. We may collect from one of *Cicero's* Letters (13), that *Pilia* loved her Husband; for, as to That other Passage (14), from which some have concluded, that she had Thoughts of a Divorce, it is plain it ought to be read other-ways, and only signifies, that she was threatened with the Palli. Mr *Sarazin* affirms, in his Translation of the Life of *Pomponius Atticus*, that the City of *Athens* erected also Statues to *Pilia*, the Wife of *Atticus*: but it is evident, he made use of a bad Edition; for you must not read *Pilia* in *Cornelius Nepos*. *Atticus's* Marriage was too long after his Return from *Athens*, for the *Athenians* to think of erecting Statues to his Wife. Would *Cornelius Nepos* have been so senseless as to speak of the Statues of *Pilia*, without saying who she was? The Family, *Pilia*, makes no manner of Figure in the ancient History of Rome.

[D] The great Fortunes, which fell to him by Succession. *Quintus Cæcilius* was his Uncle by the

Mother's Side. He was a Man of an insupportable Temper; but *Atticus* humoured This perverse Spirit of his so well, that he kept in his Favour, without any Interruption, to the very last. He found his Account in this Compliance; for *Cæcilius* made him his principal Heir, and left him near a Million of Money. *Atticus's* own Patrimony was about Two Hundred Thousand *Li. res*. In *Severus's* vices quod a Patre acceperat (15). In short, *Cæcilius* having adopted his Nephew by Will, it became necessary for *Atticus* to take upon him from that time the Name of *Q. Cæcilius Pomponius Atticus*. Let us see what *Cornelius Nepos* says of the peevish Temper of this Uncle. "Habebat avunculum *Q. Cæcilius* equitem Romanum, familiarem *L. Luculli* (16), divitem, difficilimâ naturâ, cujus sic asperitatem veritus est, ut quem nemo ferre posset hujus sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinere benevolentiam: quo facto tulit pietatis fructum: *Cæcilius* enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum, hæredemque fecit ex dodrante. Ex qua hæreditate accepit circiter centies *L. L. S.* (17). — He had an Uncle by the Mother's Side, named *Q. Cæcilius*, a Roman Knight, an intimate Friend of *L. Lucullus*, rich, and extremely ill-natured, whose Temper he was so fearful of offending, that, though no Body else could please him, he kept in Favour with him to the last; by which means he reaped the Fruit of his Dutifulness; for *Cæcilius*, at his Death, adopted him in his Will, and made him his Heir to three Parts in Four. He made of this Inheritance about 100000 *Sesterces*.

[E] He was very much beloved by the *Athenians*. He had carried thither the best part of his Effects, and, both by Loans and Presents, very much obliged the City of *Athens* (18). They were not ungrateful, but complimented him with all sorts of public Honours. He refused the making him a Citizen, and the erecting a Statue to him; but, after his Departure, they erected several. There was a very great Concern shewn at his leaving them. "Quo factum est ut huic omnes honores quos possunt publice habere, civemque facere studeant, quo beneficio illi uti noluist: quod nonnulli interpretantur, amitti civitatem Romanam, alia adscita. Quamdiu affuit ne qua sibi statua poneretur refutit, absens prohibere non potuit — Tranquillitas autem rebus Romanis remigravit Romam — Quem diem sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta est, ut lacrymis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret (19). — For which reason, they studied to heap on him all possible public Honours, and were desirous of making him a Citizen; but he declined This Favour: some think, because this new Freedom would have taken away his Privileges, as a Citizen of Rome. Whilst he continued there, he would never suffer any Statue to be erected to him, but, when he went away, he could not prevent it — The Distractions of his Country being composed, he returned to Rome — Which Day the whole City of Athens did so stridly observe, that they expressed, by their Tears, the greatness of the Loss they were going to suffer." He spoke the Greek Language so perfectly well, that one would have taken him for an *Athenian* (20). Some think his Surname of *Atticus* came from thence. *Volaterran* affirms it, as a thing related by *Cornelius Nepos* (21); but he is mistaken. The *Abbot St Real* says, that *Atticus* called himself so, because he was very learned in Greek, and lived most of his Time at Athens (22). He has been told, that he ought only to have said, on account of the long Stay he made at Athens, in his Youth; since it is certain, that he lived most part of his Life in Italy, or *Epirus*, where he had an Estate, as appears by his Life, written by *Cornelius Nepos*, and by several Passages in *Cicero's* Letters (23).

(15) *Corn. Nepos*, c. 14.

(16) *Valer. Maximus*, lib. 7. c. 8. n. c. *Jays*, that *Cæcilius* was bad provided to make *Lucullus* his Heir, and that, having desired him, his Corpse was dragged through the Streets.

(17) *Corn. Nepos*, c. 5.

(18) *Ibid.* cap. 2.

(19) *Ibid.* cap. 3. & 4.

(20) *Ibid.* cap. 4.

(21) *Volaterran*, lib. 18 pag. 666.

(22) *Remon-lez* in *Cicero's* Epistles to *Atticus*, in the Bibliothèque Universelle, Tom. 20. pag. 78.

(23) The Author of *Bibliothèque Universelle*, *ibid.*

(20) *Corn. Nepos*, in *Vita Attici*, cap. 17.

(22) See the beginning of the foregoing Citation.

(12) See the above Epistle of *Cicero* ad *Quintum Fabrum*, lib. 2. and *Fabrianus* in the Life of *Cicero* ad annum urbis 697.

(13) The 2nd of the 9th Book to *Atticus*.

(14) Of the 7th Epistle of the 16th Book to *Atticus*.

(b) Nata est Attico neptis ex Agrippa cui virginem filiam collocavit. Hanc Cæsar vix anniculum Tiberio Claudio Nepoti Drusilla nato privigno suo desponsavit. --- Atticus had a Grand-daughter, by Agrippa, who had married his Daughter, Cæsar, when she was scarce a Year old, betrothed her to Tiberius Claudius Nero, who was born of Drusilla, by his Son-in-law. Nepos in Vita Attici, cap. 19.

his Friends [F]. He never had a Thought of advancing himself above the Rank he was born to, which was That of a Knight. He might have attained to great Offices in the Republic; but he chose rather to decline them [G]; because, in the Corruption, which then reigned, he could neither obtain, nor exercise, them legally. He never had a Law-Suit in his Life. He never impeached any one, nor seconded Those, who did. The Emperor *Augustus* was related to him; the manner of the Relation was thus. *Atticus* had married his Daughter to *Agrippa*. That Marriage produced a Daughter, whom *Augustus* betrothed to *Tiberius* almost as soon as she was born (b). I believe the Wife of *Atticus* was of no great Family (c). He deserves a Place in the List of good Authors [H]. He attained to the Age of Seventy seven Years almost without knowing what Sickness was. He had lived for Thirty Years together without any occasion for Physic. At last he fell sick, and, for Three Months, his Distemper was but slight, but, afterwards, his Pains were excessive. He sent for his Son-in-Law *Agrippa*, and two other Persons, and declared to them, he was resolved to put an end to his Life by abstaining from all Nourishment; he desired them to approve of his Resolution, and not oppose it, since all their Exhortations would be in vain. *Agrippa*, however, employed both his Prayers, and his Tears, to prevail with him to live, but all to no purpose. After two Days Abstinence, his Fever ceased, and his Pains were much abated; yet *Atticus* persisted in his Resolution, and died three Days after (d). This was in the Year of *Rome* 721. He is fallen, in our Times, into

(c) See Remark [C] towards the end.

(d) Ex Cornelio Nepote, in Vita Pompeii Attici.

(24) Corn. Nepos, c. 14.

[F] He had always something read at his Table, even when he entertained his Friends. If he had kept an open Table for all sorts of Guests, this Custom of Reading would have been very disagreeable to a great many People; but he invited none, but those of his own Taste. "Nemo in convivio ejus aliud acroama audit quam anagnosten ---- Neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum coenatum est, ut non minus animo quam ventre convivæ delectarentur, namque eos vocabat quorum mores a suis non abhorrerent (24). ----- No Body heard any other Music at his Entertainments, but Reading. Nor did any Body eat with him, without something being read; so that his Company were entertained in their Minds, as well as Bodies; for he invited those only, who were of the same Taste with himself."

[G] He might have attained to great Offices in the Republic, but he chose rather to decline them. This was certainly the strongest Proof he gave of his Virtue. There was no attaining to Offices in those Times but by ill Practices; nor could they be exercised according to the Rules of Justice, and for the public Good, without running the Hazard of some Violence from a great many ill Persons. He chose therefore rather to live in a private Condition, than to purchase Dignities at the Price of his Conscience. How good and rare is this! If all the World were of *Atticus's* Mind, there would be Room to apprehend a State of Anarchy; but we may sleep very quietly on this Score: there never will be wanting a Number of Persons, corrupt enough to accept of Employments, upon any sort of dishonest Terms, greater than the Number of Places to bestow on them. I have been told, that a Person, who had travelled all his Life-time, answered those, who made a Jest of his unsettled Temper, that he would willingly have fixt in some Town or other, if he could but have found one, where Power and Credit were in the Hands of honest Men. Another Traveller, happening once to declare, that he would ramble no longer, than till he could meet with a Town governed by Men of the most Merit, was answered, YOU WILL DIE THEN IN YOUR TRAVELS. "Honores non petiit cum ei paterent propter vel gratiam vel dignitatem; quod neque petiit more majorum, neque capi possent conservatis legibus, in tam effusis ambitus largitionibus, neque geri à republica sine periculo, corruptis civitatis moribus (25). ----- He declined all public Offices, tho' both his Interest and Authority were great enough to have got him any Thing: Because they could neither be applied for, according to the Custom of his Ancestors, nor procured, without breaking through the Laws by excessive Bribes, nor discharged with Integrity, even under the Sanction of the Government, without very great Danger, from so general a Degree of Corruption." Compare with this what was said, above, in the Article of ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO.

(25) Ibid. cap. 6.

[H] *Atticus* deserves a Place in the List of good Authors. He composed Annals, wherein he observed an exact Chronology, and cleared the Genealogies of the Roman Magistrates in the plainest Manner that

could be. This Work comprehended seven Centuries; from whence we may easily conjecture, that it principally concerned the Roman History. I say principally; for no doubt but the Author, in his Chronological Series, gave an abstracted Account of several other States. *Cicero* puts it beyond all Question: "Cognoscat etiam, jays he (26), rerum gestarum & memoriar veteris ordinem maxime scilicet nostræ civitatis: sed & imperiosorum populorum & regum illustrium: quem laborem nobis Attici nostri levavit labor, qui conservatis notisque temporibus nihil cum illustre prætermitteret, annorum septingentorum memoriam uno libro colligavit. ----- Let him be well acquainted with the Chronological Order of the Customs and Actions of Antiquity, chiefly of our own City, but also of other considerable States, and illustrious Princes: which will now become an easier Work, by the Pains our Atticus has taken, who, by an exact Observation and Distinction of Times, without omitting any Thing remarkable, has included an Account of Seven hundred Years in one Book. These Annals seem to have contained a kind of Chronological Tables. "Habuit ille liber Attici & nova mihi quidem multa, & eam utilitatem quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem (27). ----- This Book of Atticus had indeed many Things new to me, and such a Convenience as pleased me, by digesting the Order of Times in such a manner, that I could see every thing at one View." I have already said, that *Atticus* observed the Genealogical Order very exactly: I shall add here, that he wrote particular Treatises on some Families, and composed Inscriptions, of four or five Verses each, to be placed under the Portraits of eminent Persons; and that his Talent was much admired in expressing so many things in so few Words. "Attigit quoque Poëticen, credimus, ne ejus expertus esset suavitatis. Namque veribus qui honore rerum que gestarum amplitudine ceteros Romani populi præstiterunt exposuit, ita ut singulorum imaginibus facta magistratuumque eorum non amplius quaternis quinisque versibus describeret, quod vix credendum sit tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari (28). --- Moris etiam majorum summi imitator fuit antiquitatis amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ornavit. Nulla enim lex, neque pax, neque bellum, neque res illustris ejus populi Romani, quæ non in eo suo tempore fit notata, & quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarium originem subtexuit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere. Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Juniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc ætatem ordine enumeravit, notans qui a quo ortus, quos honores, quibusque temporibus cepisset. Pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum; Scipionis Cornelii, & Fabii Maximi de Corneliorum, & Fabiorum, & Æmiliorum quoque, quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius eis qui aliquam cupiditatem habent notitiæ clarorum virorum (29). --- He attempted something also in Poetry; very likely, that he might be no Stranger to it's Harmony. "For

(26) *Cicero* in Oratore.

(27) *Licinius* in Bruto.

(28) *Cornelius Nepos*, cap. 18.

(29) *Ibid.*

into the Hands of a very severe Cenſor [I]; but he has not been left undefended againſt the Rigour of theſe Cenſures [K]. We have ſomething to correct in Mr Moreri's Dictionary [L]. I forgot to mention, that *Atticus* was of the Sect of *Epicurus* (c), and that we may deſy the moſt zealous Defenders of That Doctrin, which holds it impoſſible, that Men, without the Belief of a Providence, can equal in Virtue Thoſe, who acknowledge a *Jupiter*, a *Neptune* &c. to ſhew a better Man, than *Atticus*, among the greateſt Bigots of Paganism.

(c) See Gaſſendus de Vita Epicuri, lib. 2. cap. 6.

"For he deſcribed, in no more than four or five Verſes, under each Picture of ſome of the moſt famous Romans, all the Offices and Actions, for which they had been eminent, and expreſſed ſo many Things in ſo few Words, as is ſcarce to be credited. — He was alſo a ſtrict Imitator of the Cuſtoms of his Anceſtors, and a Lover of Antiquity, which he ſo perfectly underſtood, that he wrote a full Account of it, in the ſame Work, which he compoſed concerning Magiſtrates. For there is not a Law, a War, a Peace, or any one remarkable Thing relating to the Roman People, which he did not mention in it, together with the Time when each happened. And, what was moſt difficult of all, he has ſo nicely traced the Original of Families, that it is eaſy to ſee from what Stocks our great Men are derived. He compoſed particular Pedigrees in other Books; one for the Junian Family, at the Requeſt of M. Brutus, from the very Beginning of it, in exact Order, down to our Times, remarking every Branch, from whence ſprung, what Honours, and in what Times, each had enjoyed. In like manner, he obliged Marcellus Claudius with the Genealogy of the Marcelli, and Scipio Cornelius, and Fabius Maximus, with thoſe of the Cornelli, the Fabii, and the Æmilii; which Book, afford the greateſt Pleaſure imaginable to ſuch as are curious to know the Particulars concerning eminent Men." It is pity theſe Books are loſt; they would clear up a very great Number of Difficulties. I ſay nothing of the *Hiſtory* of *Cicero's Conſulſhip*, which *Atticus* had wrote in the Greek Language (30), and in a plain Style (31).

the Ties of Friendſhip, occaſioned by This Marriage; ſince *Cornelius Nepos* obſerves very particularly, that *Atticus* had more kindneſs for *Cicero*, than for his Brother-in-law *Quintus Cicero*. "Erat nuptia ſoror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroſi, eaſque nuptias M. Cicero conciliarat, cum quo ſi condiciplatu vivebat conjunctiſſime, multo etiam familiarius, quam cum Quinto, ut judicari poſſit plus in amicitia valere ſimilitudinem morum quam affinitatem (34). — Atticus's Siſter was married to Q. Tullius Cicero; the Match was made by M. Cicero, with whom he had lived in the greateſt Intimacy from the Time of their being Schoolfellows; and much more familiarly, than even now with Quintus; whence we may judge, that Friendſhip is not ſo much governed by nearneſs of Relation, as by ſimilitude of Manners." *Pomponia*, the Siſter of *Atticus*, did not always live well with her Husband (35); ſo that ſhe was not very fit to tie the Knot of Friendſhip between her Husband, and Brother. III. *Cicero* did not dedicate a Volume of his Letters to *Atticus*; it ſhould have been ſaid, that he kept a continual Correſpondence with him by Letters, and that we have a Collection of the Letters, he wrote to him, divided into ſixteen Book. *Cornelius Nepos* mentions it (36), and ſays, that they comprehend the Hiſtory of thoſe Times, and, in ſome ſort, a Prophecy of what was to follow. "Ut nihil in ſiſ non appareat, & facile exiſtimari poſſit prudentiam quodammodo eſſe divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea ſolum quæ vivo ſe acciderunt futura prædixit, ſed etiam quæ nunc uſu veniunt cecinit ut vates. — That nothing was omitted in them, and it may be truly ſaid, that his Judgment was, in ſome ſort, prophetic; for *Cicero*, like a true Prophet, did not only foretel what would happen in his own Time, but alſo what is now come to paſs in ours." IV. It is carrying the Point too far, to ſay, That *Atticus* had no other Servants, but ſuch as were fit to read to him. It was ſufficient to have ſaid, that he had ſeveral ingenious Domeſtics, who could read, and write, very well, and bind Books; and that every one of his Footmen could do This (37). *Cornelius Nepos* ſays no more of it; Who, therefore, in the XVth Century, would take upon him, to make twenty times as much of it? Has he not expreſſy obſerved, that, beſides his Domeſtics, who might be Readers, and Librarians (38), *Atticus* had others, all very well inſtructed, and born, and bred, in his Houſe? "In ea (familia) erant pueri literatiſſimi, anagnoſtæ optimi, & plurimi librarii, ut ne diſſiliquus quidem quiſquam eſſet qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere poſſet. Pari modo ARTIFICES CETERI quos cultus domeſticus deſiderat apprime boni. Neque tamen horum quemquam, niſi domi natum domique factum, habuit (39). — He had, in his Family, very learned Youth, excellent Readers, and many of them Librarians, and every one of his Lackeys had both theſe Qualifications. He had, alſo, OTHER ARTIFICERS, moſt ſkillful in their kind, for all domeſtic Uſes; and every one of them born, and educated, in his Houſe." The firſt, and third, of theſe four Miſtakes, are not in the *Holland Edition*.

(34) Corn. Nepos, c. 5.

(35) See Cicero's Epiſt. to Atticus, l. 5. Epiſt. 11.

(36) Cap. 16.

(37) We find the Names of ſome of theſe Domeſtics of Atticus, in the Epiſtles Cicero wrote to him.

(38) This Word means both Perſons tranſcribing, and making up of Books, or binding them, according to the manner of thoſe Times.

(39) Corn. Nepos, c. 13.

(40) In Camp. Catal. nica.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Cicero, Epiſt. 1. lib. 2. ad Atticum.

(32) In the 2.16 Tome of the Bibliotheque Universelle, p. 73. See alſo the Journal des Sçavans for Febr. 12, 1691.

(33) Of Dec. 1685. Art. 4. p. 1405.

[I] He is fallen, in our Times, into the Hands of a very ſevere Cenſor.] It is the Abbot of St Real. See the Book entitled *Ceſarism, ou Entretiens divers*. It was printed at the Hague, from the Paris Edition in 1685. It is divided into four Days, the third of which contains a very ſevere Cenſure on *Pomponius Atticus*, and his Panegyriſt *Cornelius Nepos*. I have been informed, that the Author of This Work perſiſted in the ſame Sentiments, and that it appears by the Remarks he has added to the Tranſlation of the two firſt Books of *Cicero's Letters to Atticus*. That Tranſlation is mentioned in a Book very well known (32), and I have always wondered, that the Booksellers of *Amſterdam* did not counterfeit it; for I don't queſtion but much may be learned by reading This Work.

[K] But he has not been left undefended againſt the Rigour of theſe Cenſures.] In the Year of 1686, there appeared a little Book in *Holland*, entitled, *Le retour des pieces choiſies, ou bigarrures curieuſes*, which, amongſt other Things, contains an Apology for *Pomponius Atticus* againſt the Attacks of *Ceſarism*. The Author of the Apology conceals his Name; but it is no Secret, that it was the late Mr *Reinſant*, his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Cabinet-keeper of Medals. The News from the Republic of Letters (33) enlarged on this Piece of Mr *Reinſant's*, in ſuch a manner as was not pleaſing to the Abbot of St Real.

[L] We have ſomething to correct in Mr Moreri's Dictionary.] I. It is falſe, that *Cicero* married *Atticus's* Siſter. It was *Cicero's* Brother, who married her. II. He ought not to have mentioned

ATTILA, King of the *Huns*, ſurnamed the Scourge of God, lived in the Vth Century. He may be reckoned among the greateſt Conquerors, ſince there were but few Provinces in *Europe*, which did not feel the Weight of his victorious Arms. He would not grant the Emperor *Theodoſius* a Peace, on any other Condition, than of becoming his Tributary [A]. The Battle, he loſt in *Champagne* (a), in the Year

[A] He would not grant the Emperor *Theodoſius* a Peace, on any other Condition, than of becoming his Tributary.] According to the *rodonoutado Maxim*, That we ought to give Things an honourable Name, what the Emperor was obliged to pay, every Year,

to *Attila*, was not called a Tribute, but a Penſion. Theſe are the Words of a modern Author. "He forced the Emperor *Theodoſius*, the younger, ſhamfully to beg a Peace of him; neither could he obtain it, without buying it, by paying him down Six thou-

451, did not weaken him to such a degree, but that he soon found himself in a Condition to proceed to ravage *Italy*; and, if the Prayers of Pope *Leo* had not stopped him, he would infallibly have taken the City of *Rome*. We must not believe what is reported of the Apparition of an old Man standing with a naked Sword in his Hand by *St Leo's* side, and threatening *Attila*. This King of the *Huns* was of a small Stature (b); but That did not hinder his striking a Terror into the most courageous, by his lofty Carriage and fierce Countenance. He knew very well how to join Craft with Force [B]. Superstition was one part of his Politics [C]. He was an artful, subtle, Dissembler, wise in Council, and daring in Execution, cruel to his Enemies, but merciful enough to those, who submitted to him in the Posture of Supplicants. He is also said to have made it a Point of Honour, to keep his Faith inviolably with those, whom he had once received into his Protection (c). He would not suffer extravagant Flatterers (d). The most common Opinion about the Manner of his Death is, that he was suffocated, by a Bleeding at the Nose, on his Wedding Night [D]. We shall relate in another Place (e), how greatly he was courted

(b) Maimbourg Hist. de l'Arianisme, Tom. 3. pag. 5. ex Jorandae, cap. 25. & à Paulo Diacono in Miscell. lib. 15.

(c) Maimb. ubi supra. See Remark [E].

(d) See the Article MARULUS of Cœlabria.

(e) See the Article HONORIA.

* Six Hundred Seventy eight Thousand Crowns.

† One Hundred thirteen Thousand Crowns

(1) Maimbourg Hist. de l'Arianisme, Tom. 3. pag. 4. ex Paulo Diacono in Miscell. lib. 15.

(a) Maimb. Histoire de St Leon, lib. 3. pag. 220. He cites Sulpicius.

(3) Corde-moi, Hist. de France, Tom. 1. pag. 116. ex Jorandae. See also Maimb. Hist. de l'Arianisme, Tom. 3. pag. 9.

(4) Jorandae de reb. Goth.

(c) Maimb. Hist. de l'Arianisme, Tom. 3. pag. 6.

(6) See Remarks [A] and [B] of the Hist. d'ARISTANDER, and also the AGRIPPA Remark [P] num. 1. at the end.

(7) Callimachus Expositio, in Attila.

"and Pound Weight of Gold", and obliging himself to pay him One thousand more every Year †: So that the Emperor of the East, whatever Recourse he had to the specious Title of Pension, to save his Honour, became Tributary to the *Huns* (1). The same Author relates, that "Attila, having seen a Picture, in the Palace of *Milan*, which represented an Emperor on his Throne, with the *Scythians*, in Chains, at his Feet, ordered it to be taken away, and another put in its Place, wherein he himself was drawn, sitting on a Throne, surrounded with Emperors, laden with Bags of Gold and Silver, which they emptied at his Feet, in a very submissive Posture; in ending to shew thereby, that, as he had obliged *Theodosius* to pay him Tribute seven or eight Years before, he would force the Emperor *Valentinian* to do the same, to save his Life, and the miserable Remains of his Empire (2)."

[B] He knew very well how to join Craft with Force. This appears by the Intrigue, which he managed in his Expedition against the *Gauls*. He endeavoured to divide the *Romans*, commanded by *Attilus*, from the *Vigobis*, under their King *Theodoric*. For this Purpose he sent Word to the Emperor *Valentinian*, that he had no Thoughts of committing any Acts of Hostility against the Subjects of the Empire, that he only intended to chastise the *Franks*, and the *Vigobis*, whereof the former had been so audacious as to invade the Territories of the Empire, and the latter were only Slaves to *Valentinian*. At the same time he let *Theodoric* understand, that he had made the King of the *Vandals* believe, that he came into *Gaul* against the *Vigobis*: but, that it was only a Pretence to deceive the Emperor; that his true Design was to divide the Empire, between the *Huns*, and the *Vigobis*, and that he would fall upon *Italy*, if *Theodoric* would attack the *Gauls* (3). *Valentinian* and *Theodoric* easily discovered this Snare, and jointly repulsed This crafty Conqueror. "Homo subtilis, antequam bella gereret, arte pugnabat, cetera epistolas blandimentis opplevertat, rudens fidem adhibere mendacio (4). — An artful Man, before he engaged in a War, he fought with the Weapons of Policy, he filled his Letters with Compliments, the better to cover his Dissimulation."

[C] Superstition was one Part of his Politics. He found means to possess the Minds of his Soldiers with a superstitious Belief, that he had something in him divine, on which his good Fortune depended; for, whether he believed it himself, or rather only pretended so, he made them believe, he had found the Scymitar of *Mars*, who was worshipped by That People, and that the Fates had promised the Empire of the World to Him, who should be possessed of That fatal Sword (5). This is one of the most prevailing Stratagems, that a General of an Army can make use of, to manage, and move, his Soldiers, by the Springs of a mysterious Superstition, which fills them either with Resolution, or Fear, according as the Case requires; with Resolution, when there is occasion for Fighting, and with Fear, when they are inclinable to Mutiny. It is very well for a Soldier to be persuaded, that his General has a Guardian Angel, who delivers him out of all Danger (6). *Attila* was superstitious himself: "Religionis persuasionibusque de Diis à sua gente susceptis utique ad superstitionem additus (7). —

Additus much to Religion, and a Belief in all the Notions of his Country, concerning the Gods, even to a Degree of Superstition;" for, a little before the Battle of *Cbalons*, "he consulted his Diviners, who told him, that, in truth, they could discover nothing advantageous to the *Huns*, from all their Observations; but that the Enemy's General would be killed in the Battle. This was enough to deceive *Attila*; he imagined, the Death of *Attilus* was certain, and that, the Obstacle being thus removed, his Way would be open to the Conquest of the Empire. He did not value the Loss of his Soldiers, being fully persuaded, he should always have a sufficient Number left, provided he survived That Great Commander (8)." But he was deceived, for *Attilus* was not so much as wounded in the Battle."

[D] He was suffocated, by a Bleeding at the Nose, on his Wedding-Night. It is reported, that, after Pope *Leo's* Prayers had prevailed with him to spare the rest of *Italy*, he returned into *Pannonia*, laden with the Spoil, and that, though he had a great Number of Concubines, yet he would take one more, who was the Daughter of the King of the *Bastrians*. She was a perfect Beauty; and he loved her so passionately, that he would honour her with all the Ceremonies of Marriage, and give her the first Rank among his Wives. He kept his Wedding with great Solemnity; but he drank so much, and afterwards heated himself so excessively, in the Embraces of his new Wife, that, being at last fallen asleep, he was taken with a Bleeding at the Nose, which suffocated him. "Idlico puella ei fuit præ ceteris gratissima, Bastrianorum regis filia mira pulchritudine & incomparabili venustate, cuius amore succensus eam primariæ uxoris loco habere con-suevit. Comparatis pro regis dignitate nuptiis, per omnem intemperantiæ licentiam in conjugal convivio sibi indulgit, Baccho ac Venere corpus ita ea nocte consecit, ut, inter dormiendum supino corpore, profluvio sanguinis è naribus continuo suffocatus interierit (9). — A Virgin, named *Idlico*, charmed him above all the rest, Daughter of the King of the *Bastrians*, and an incomparable Beauty, with whom he was so passionately in Love, that he determined to give her the first Place among his Wives. The Nuptials being solemnized suitably to the Royal Dignity, he gave himself up to all possible Intemperances at his Wedding Feast, and so inflamed his Body, that Night, with the Excesses both of Bacchus and Venus, that, as he lay sleeping on his Back, a Bleeding at the Nose suddenly suffocated him." This Story would All be probable enough, if they had not added, that *Attila* was then One hundred and twenty four Years of Age. It is hard to believe, that, at such an Age, a Man should be capable of so great Excesses with the Fair Sex. A *Friesland* Historian has alleged this Fact, in favour of the Histories of his own Nation, which make their Kings very long lived. He does not borrow it from *Boethius*, but from *Michael Rithius*. "His adde testimonium Michaelis Rithii, qui libro de regibus Hungariæ primo scribit, Attiliam Italianicæ præda optimique spoliis onustam in Pannoniam se recepisse, uxoremque superduxisse regis Bastrianorum nomine Milzoth, est plures alias haberet in matrimonio, eumque cum nuptiales epulas apparatusse celebrasset, liberius solito crapulatum

(8) Corde-moi, p. 220. ex Jorandae.

(9) Boethius, Hist. Hungar. Decad. 1. lib. 7. pag. 75.

by the Sister of *Valentinian III.* His Life was written, in the XVth Century, by an *Italian Refugee in Poland*, named *Callimachus Experiens*. Others have wrote it since [E].

It is said, he was ambitious of abolishing the *Roman Language*, and establishing his own in its stead [F].

"in cubiculum se recepisse, erumpenteque à naribus
" sanguine in os dormientis ext. actum esse, anno
" ætatis suæ 124, regni sui 44. Si tantam ætatem
" in hoc libidinoso tauro Scythico credimus, cur non
" & eandem Fratri accidere potuisset censuamus (10)?

" — To these we may add the Testimony of Michael Rithius, who, in his first Book of the Kings of Hungary, says, that Attila, laden with the Spoils and Wealth of Italy, retired into Pannonia, and married a Wife, named Milnoth, of the Family of the King of the Bactrians, though he had already a great many others; and that, celebrating his Nuptial Entertainment, with the greatest Solemnity, he drank so much harder than usual, that, after he got to bed, a Bleeding at the Nose seized him, as he slept, and suffocated him, in the One hundred and twenty fourth Year of his Age, and the Forty fourth of his Reign. If this lustful Scythian Bull could attain to so great an Age, why might not the same Thing happen in our Country of Friesland? Lastly, some have related, that Attila did not die in this Manner; but that his new Wife, who did not love him, finding him drunk, and fast asleep, like another *Holophernes*, stabbed him with a Knife (11).

[E] Others have wrote it since. Nicholas Olabus, Archbishop of Strigoniom, wrote the Life of Attila, much more fully than *Callimachus Experiens*. He composed it, while he was Counsellor to Mary of Austria, Queen of Hungary, Governors of the Netherlands. You read, in it, the Speech, which Attila made to his Army, a little before the Battle of Châlons. That Speech is formed on all the common Places, as appears by the marginal Notes. *Sambucus* has inserted This Work of Olabus, and That of *Callimachus Experiens*, in his Edition of *Bonfinius*. The Sieur *Ottobroch* (12), who published a Book on the Origin of the Hungarians, makes ample mention of Attila, chiefly taken from the Relation of *Prisius*, who had accompanied the Ambassadors sent by Theodosius to This King of the Huns, in the Year 448. He draws divers Observations from That Relation,

to shew, that Attila was a very honourable Person; He does not forget the Reproaches, which That Prince caused to be made to the Emperor Theodosius, on the Eunuch *Chrysaphius's* endeavouring to engage *Edecom*, Attila's Envoy at the Court of Theodosius, to murder his Master. This Envoy pretended to undertake it for a great Sum of Money, which was promised him; and afterwards discovered all to Attila. The Money was brought, and the Plot proved; the King of the Huns complained of it to Theodosius, in a grand Manner, and with an Air suitable enough to the Character given him, of Baseness to his Suppliers, and Steadiness to his Word. "Supplicibus propè ad molliorem faciliis, & qui in fidem semel receptos in perniciem uique suam tueretur (13). — Easy, (13) Callimachus Experiens, almost to a Degree of Weakness, to his Suppliers, and a Protector of those, whose Cause he had once undertaken, even to his own Prejudice."

[F] It is said, he was ambitious of abolishing the Roman Language, and establishing his own in its stead. I have met with this, in a Piece of *Alecyonius*, where *John de Medicis*, who was Pope Leo X, is introduced speaking these Words. "In Bibliotheca nostra asservatur Liber incerti auctoris Græcè scriptus de reb. à Gotis in Italiâ gestis; in eo memini me legere Attilam regem post partem victoriam tam studiosum fuisse Gothicæ linguæ propagandæ, ut edicto sanxerit ne quis linguâ Latinâ loqueretur, Magistrosque insuper à sua provinciâ accivisse, qui Italos Gothicam linguam docerent (14). — In our Library is preserved a Book, of an uncertain Author, written in Greek, concerning the Adventures of the Goths in Italy, in which I remember to have read, that King Attila, after his Conquest, was so set upon propagating the Gothic Tongue, that he prohibited the speaking Latin, by an Edit, and sent for Masters from his own Country to teach the Italians this new Language." In the Article of the Emperor CLAUDIUS (15), you will find some Collections, concerning the Zeal of several Princes, for the Language of their Country.

ATTILIUS, a Latin Poet, lived, according to all appearances, in the Beginning of the VIIth Century of Rome. *Volcatius Sedigitus* has given him the fifth Place among the Ten Comic Poets. Yet he was but a mean Author; his Style was as hard as Iron (a), not only according to *Cicero's* Taste, but even according to *Licinius's*, who had nothing near so delicate an Ear as *Cicero*. The Translation of *Sophocles's Electra* by Attilius was good for nothing; and yet *Cicero* judged it worth the Reading (b). *Suetonius* observes, that some Passages were taken out of it to be sung at *Julius Cæsar's* Funeral, because they were applicable to the Murderers of That Emperor (c). *Casaubon* and *Torrentius* have in vain altered That Passage of *Suetonius* [A]. They have only given an Example of the Confusion, which Criticism may sometimes occasion.

[A] *Casaubon* and *Torrentius* have in vain altered That Passage of *Suetonius*. *Casaubon*, having found, *Ex Electra Attilii alia ad similem sententiam*, in all the Copies of *Suetonius*, was, nevertheless, of Opinion, that This Attilii ought to be changed for Attili. "Sic emendavimus, says he, corruptam omnium librorum lectionem Attilii. — We have thus corrected the corrupt reading of Attilii in all the Books." *Torrentius* is not satisfied with putting out Attilius, in favour of Attili; he puts out *Electra* also, upon Pretence, that *Suetonius* has mentioned but one Piece of Attilius, intituled, *Armorum judicium*, like That of *Pacuvius*, which he had but just quoted. The Reason *Torrentius* gives for his Emendation, is, that the Manuscripts vary extremely, as to the Name of This Poet, but that the greatest Number of them have *Acicius*, or *Attius*. Thus we see the Critics do not agree on the Readings of the Manuscripts, which is a Matter of Fact. *Casaubon* confesses, he found Attilius every where. *Torrentius* says, on the contrary, that he met with Attilius but seldom. *Peter Crinitus* complained, that the Grammarians had put *Acicius*, instead of Attilius, in That Passage of *Suetonius* (1). But let us come to something of more Substance. Though *Casaubon* has not given us his Reason for changing the Text, we

need not doubt but it was the same with That of *Torrentius*. Now *Torrentius's* Reason is this: He did not remember to have read any thing concerning the *Electra* of Attilius, nor concerning a Poet, whose Name was Attilius. It is not so surprizing, that a learned Man should suffer himself to be hurried away to the Denial of a Fact, upon so weak a Principle as This, as that two such excellent Critics should be ignorant, that *Cicero* mentions the *Electra* of Attilius; that he treats Attilius as a very harsh Poet; that *Volcatius Sedigitus* speaks handsomely of him, in *Avulus Gellius*; and that *Varro* quotes him in his fifth and sixth Books of the *Latin Tongue* (2). I say nothing of *Crinitus*, nor of *Gregory Gyradius*, who have remembered him in the Lives of the Latin Poets, by such Tokens, that the latter has falsely charged *Cicero* with calling him a Tragic Poet (3). I shall not meddle with the Complaints, which have been made against those, who alter the Reading of Manuscripts, according to the Model of their own Understandings. This would be entering upon That Subject very unseasonably, considering the great Services, which *Casaubon* has done to the Republic of Learning, by his vast and judicious Erudition. *Torrentius's* Merit is not of so high a Stamp; but it has its Value, which I would not in the least depreiate.

(10) Bernardi. Furmerius Annal. Plurificor. lib. 3. cap. 9. pag. 243.

(11) Maimb. Hist. de l'Arianisme, Tom. 3. pag. 35. ann. 453, ex Calliodoro.

(12) He is a Protestant Divine, an Hungarian Refugee. His Book, entitled Origines Hungaricæ, was printed at Frankfort, in 8vo, in 1693.

(a) See Remark [I] of the Article ACCIUS, at the beginning.

(1) P. Crin. de Poet. Lat. c. 14.

(13) Callimachus Experiens.

(14) Petrus Alecyonius, in Medicis Legato postestore, fol. h. iij, vers. 60.

(15) Remark [A].

(b) See the same Remark.

(c) Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. 94.

(2) See Ref. n. f. u. s. Var. Lect. lib. 3. cap. 3. p. 379. apud Sueton. Grævi, in Cæsare, cap. 94.

(3) Vossius, de Poet. Lat. pag. 7.

(a) For the
14th of
March
1695, page
115, & 164
of the Hol-
land Edition.

AUBERI (N.) Author of an History of Cardinal *de Richelieu* [A], and of Cardinal *Mazarin*; see the *Journal des Sçavans* (a). If some particular Reason does not hinder me, I shall always make use of such a Reference as This, when the Book to be referred to is easily to be met with, and only contains the Life of a Person in a very compendious manner.

[A] **AUBERI**, Author of an History of Cardinal *de Richelieu*. It was printed at Paris, in Folio, in the Year 1660, with two other Volumes, containing Letters, Instructions, and Memoirs. Anthony Bertier, Bookseller of Paris, who printed them, had collected the Pieces contained in the two latter, with great Care; but he represented to the Queen Mother, That he durst not publish them, without her Majesty's particular Authority and Pro-

tection, because there were several Persons in favour again at Court, whose past Conduct not having been regular, and appearing very much to their Disadvantage, in those Memoirs, would certainly occasion him a great deal of Trouble. Go on, said the Queen to him, finish your Work without Fear, and make Vice so much ashamed, that nothing but Virtue may show its Face in France (1).

(1) LaCaille,
History of
Printing, p.
235, 236.

AUBERTIN (EDMUND) in Latin *Edmundus Albertinus*, Minister of the Church of Paris in the XVIIth Century, was a very learned Man. He was born, at Châlons on Marne, in the Year 1595. He was received into the Ministry at the Synod of Charenton, in the Year 1618, and appointed to the Church of Chartres, from whence he was transferred to Paris in the Year 1631 (a). He wrote, properly speaking, only one Book [A], but acquired more Reputation by That one, than other Learned Men have done by printing an hundred Volumes. The Subject of this Work is the Controversy of the Eucharist. It appeared in the Year 1633, under the Title of the *Eucharist of the ancient Church*. The Agents of the Clergy of France complained of Mr *Aubertin* before the King's Council [B], and obtained a Warrant to take him into Custody, for having styled himself Pastor of the Reformed Church of Paris. This Process was dropt; the Time was not yet come to push these sort of Matters too far (b). Whether the merit of the Piece, without the assistance of This Accident, made it sell so well, or that People concluded it must be excellently well done, because the Clergy chose to attack it by way of the Secular Arm; it is certain, the Author had reason to be contented with the Success of his Book [C].

This

(a) Preface
of his Book
de Eucharis-
tia, written
by David
Blondel.

(b) I have
heard, that,
after this,
for some Ex-
pression he u-
sed in the
Pulpit, the
Court suspen-
ded him from
preaching for
two or three
Years.

(1) This Book
was printed
in the Year
1626; the
Title of it is,
Conformity
of the Relief
of the
Church
with That of
St *Augustin*,
on the Sa-
crament of the
Eucha-
rist; it con-
tains above
500 Pages
in 8vo.

(2) David.
Blondellus,
in Pref. li-
bri Alberti-
ni de Eucha-
ristia.

[A] He wrote, properly speaking, only one Book. For the Essay, which he published on St *Augustin*, to show, that the Sentiments of That Father, concerning the Eucharist, were not conformable to Those of the Church of Rome, but to Those of the Protestants (1), ought only to be looked upon as a small Specimen of the Book, which he published in Folio, in the Year 1633. I say this after the learned Blondel. "Augustinus quem oborto collo in partes trahere conabatur Perronius abducenti fortiter extorsit, vindicatumque in Dei castra feliciter reduxit. Hoc in signi virtutis Specimine dato, & tirocinio, ut sic dicam, posito, de patrum universorum causa afferenda serio cogitans, Antiquæ Ecclesiæ Eucharistiam nobis accuratius studio representavit (2). — He rescued St *Augustin* out of the Hands of Perron, who had forced him into his Service, entirely against his Meaning, and brought him back again to his Post, in the true Cause of God. Having given this glorious Specimen of his Zeal, and, as it were, his first Essay on the Subject he was considering, the Vindication of the Fathers, he has since more fully described the Eucharist of the ancient Church." I never saw the Observations he wrote, out of respect to the Abbot of Marolles, on a Book of Mr de la Millietiere, who pressed him for an Answer to some difficult Questions; but I have been told, it is a Book of Two hundred and Twenty fix Pages, which was printed in the Year 1648, concerning the Controversy of the Eucharist. The Abbot of Marolles mentions it in the List of the Presents he had received from Authors.

[B] The Agents of the Clergy of France complained of him before the King's Council. They represented, in their Petition, that Mr *Edmund Aubertin*, Minister of the pretended Reformed Religion at Charenton, had caused a Book to be printed, where-in he took upon himself the Title of Pastor of the Reformed Church of Paris, and addressed his Preface to the Faithful of the Reformed Church of the said City of Paris; and that, in the Approbation of This Book, the other Ministers of Charenton filed themselves Pastors of the Churches of the Isle of France, Champagne, and Country of Chartres; and, in their Subscriptions, wrote themselves Maitreizat, and Dre-

lincourt, Pastors of the Reformed Churches of Paris, and Daillic (3). Minister of the Holy Gospel of the said Church. The same Agents complained, that, in the Title of the Book, the Cardinals Bellarmine and Du Perron, were called Adversaries of the Church. The King ordered, that Aubertin should be seized, and imprisoned in the Bishop's Fort, if he could be taken; and, if not, that he should be summoned by the public Crier, with a short three Days Warning, that his Effects should be seized, and inventoried, according to the Decree, in order to proceed to his Trial; and that the said Maitreizat, Drelincourt, and Daillic, should be summoned to appear in Person to be heard, and interrogated, on the Facts mentioned in the Petition. His Majesty commanded the Ministers, and others professing the pretended Reformed Religion, to use the Titles given them by the Edicts, and no others, forbidding them to call the Catholics Adversaries of the Church (4). This Arrest was given in the King's Privy Council, the fourteenth of July, 1633 (5). The Author of the History of the Edict of Nantes informs us (6), that this Affair, which made much Noise to little Purpose, was ended almost as soon as it was begun, and produced, for that time, only some verbal Prohibitions (7). He adds, That the Book was the greater in request for it, and that the Success encouraged the Author to revise and enlarge it, and to treat the Subject completely in a large Latin Volume, which did not appear 'till after his Death, and the unjustified Catholic Doctors never durst consult it Paragraph by Paragraph.

[C] He had reason to be contented with the Success of his Book. We have just now shewn the Judgment passed upon it by the Author of the History of the Edict of Nantes. He only followed That of Mr Daillic, the Son, whose Words are these: "The Name of Mr *Aubertin* is immortal, here below, and will live for ever in That great and incomparable Work of 'The Eucharist', which remains, to this Day, superior to all the Attacks of Those of the other Communion; not one of whom has dared to oppose him fairly, or undertake him Face to Face, if we may so say. Even They, who pass among them for the Pillars and Heads of the Party, could only give him some indirect Blows, according to the Rules of this

(3) They have
mistaken the
true Names
of Maitreizat
and Daillic.

(4) See Re-
mark [B] of
the Article
BOCHART
(MATTH)
towards the
end.

(5) It is in
the Collection
of the Arrests
obtained for
the Affairs
of the Clergy
during the
Agency and
the Pursuit of
the Sieurs,
the Abbot de
Paimpont,
and the Prior
de Moutiers.

(6) Tome 2,
pag. 534.

(7) This
ought not to
be understood
of the Prohi-
bitions con-
tained in the
Arrest of the
14th of Ju-
ly, 1633.

"new

This obliged him to revise, enlarge, and complete, it, with so much Application, that he seems to have made it his whole Business and Study. He composed his new Book in *Latin*, but had not the Satisfaction to see it published. After his Death, it was printed at *Deventer*, by the care of *David Blondel* (c). When this Book began to be forgot, there arose a Quarrel between *Messieurs de Port-Royal*, and *Mr Claudé*, which made known the Name of *Aubertin*, and the Character of his Work [D], to a great many Persons, who had never heard of it before, or remembered it no longer. *Mr Claudé* had a thousand occasions to mention the Merit of this Book [E]. *Mr Aubertin* died at *Paris*, the fifth of *April* 1652, aged Fifty seven Years. He was exposed, in his Agonies, to the Insults of the Curate of *St Sulpice* [F], and, in spite of his drowiness, which was one of the principal Symptoms of his Distemper, he had his Mind free enough to declare, when That Missionary questioned him, that he died in a full Belief of the Truths he had always professed. He had had much Access to the Duke de *Verneuil*, who was at that time Abbot of *St Germain des Prez*. That Prince would often have him at his Table: He found him very entertaining, of an Universal Conversation, well skilled in the Culture of Fruit-Trees, and Flowers, in Music, &c. One of *Mr Aubertin's* Sons was Minister of *Amiens*.

(c) In the Year 1654. It is a Folio, with near 1000 Pages in two Columns.

(8) Life of Mr Daillé, pag. 28.

WHAT Judgment the Port Royal makes of Aubertin.

(9) He means the Supposition of Blondel, that Transubstantiation was never thought of till a long time after Berenger.

(10) In the Preface of the Perpetuity defended.

(11) Perpetuity defended, lib. 1, cap. 3, p. 5.

PLAN of Mr Aubertin's Book.

"new Art, which they have invented, and which the Despair of their Cause has made them put in practice, under the specious Name of a Method of Prescription (8)." *Mr Daillé* means here the Divines of *Port Royal*, who, in their Book of *The Perpetuity of the Faith*, instead of opposing *Mr Aubertin's* whole Work, have only combated his History of *The Innovation of Faith*: Neither have they done this, by opposing Facts to Facts, but Arguments only. See the second Chapter of the first Book of *Mr Claudé's* great Answer, wherein he shews, that the Author of *The Perpetuity of the Faith* attacked *Mr Aubertin's* Book in an oblique and indirect manner.

[D] A Quarrel between *Messieurs de Port Royal*, and *Mr Claudé*, made known the Name of *Aubertin*, and the Character of his Work [The Author of *The Perpetuity of the Faith*, out of this great Work of our Minister, attempts only to confute the History of the Innovation. This gave occasion enough to produce on the Stage the Name and Work of *Aubertin*. See here a Passage in *The Perpetuity of Faith*. "*Aubertin* also, perceiving, that there was no way to maintain a Notion so evidently ridiculous (9), thought it necessary to alter The Plan. Observe, then, in what View we ought to consider, whatever this Minister, who unhappily spent his Life in searching, among the Writings of the Ancients, for all possible Helps towards obscuring the Truth, has found most plausible to prove to great a Degeneracy from the ancient Faith, which he is obliged to make out, that he may not himself pass for an Innovator." *Mr Arnauld* has treated him much more unhandlome, though he confesses (10), that it is greatly to be wished, that some ingenious Person would undertake to confute the Books of the new Ministers, and, amongst others, That of *Aubertin*, and Those of *Mr Daillé*. He maintains, "That *Aubertin's* Work is very contemptible; that This Minister was a Man of low Parts; a mean Critic, without any loveliness of Style, or Judgment; who had read much, because That required only Eyes and Leisure, but who had read without Penetration, or Understanding; who does not distinguish between good and bad Reasons; who exclaims every Moment on the weakest Proofs; who has corrupted common Sense, by the Habit of repeating always the same Absurdities, and who, far from having obtained a fair Victory over the School of Rome, has only discovered the Weakness of the Calvinists (11)."

[E] *Mr Claudé* had a thousand Occasions to mention the Merit of This Book.] In favour of Those, who, without any other Trouble, than That of reading this Article, desire to know *Mr Aubertin's* Plan, I shall copy these Words of *Mr Claudé*. "*Mr Aubertin's* whole Book is a Body of Controversy on the Subject of the Eucharist, which is divided into three Parts. In the first, he considers it from the Holy Scriptures, and from Human Reasoning. He produces his Passages, and his Arguments, he confutes the Answers, which are made to them; he relates the Passages and Arguments of Those of the Communion of Rome, and answers these, and almost every Thing else, which has hitherto been said

considerable in This Controversy. In the second, he examines the Belief of the Church, for the first six Centuries, by an exact Discussion of all the Passages on both sides; and he makes it appear, that Transubstantiation, and the Real Presence, were unknown Doctrines in all That time. In the third, he gives the History of the Introduction of Those Doctrines (12)." *Mr Claudé* had already said, in his first Answer, that *Mr Aubertin*, after having examined to the Bottom all the Questions concerning the Eucharist, "By the Holy Scriptures, and by Reasoning, and having obtained a fair Victory over all the Subtilties of the School of Rome, examines very particularly all the Passages of the Fathers, which have hitherto been produced on this Subject by both sides; thus discovering, to all the World, the alteration the Church of Rome has made, by perpetually comparing the ancient and new Doctrines: To which he adds the History of the Rise and Progress of Transubstantiation, and the Real Presence (13)."

[F] He was exposed, in his Agonies, to the Insults of the Curate of *St Sulpice*.] At nine o' Clock in the Evening, he came to the sick Man's Door with the Bailiff of *St Germain's*. The Mob, to the Number of Forty, followed him with Arms. He knocked at the Door, and pretended to be the Physician, in order to gain Admission. As soon as the Door was opened, the whole Troop rushed violently into the House, affirming, That the sick Person desired to make his Abjuration before a Priest; but that he was hindered, which was the Reason of their coming to deliver his Conscience from such Slavery. The eldest Son of the agonizing Minister defended the Stairs, as well as he could, but, at last, to hinder the Mob from breaking the open Chamber Door, it was agreed, to let the Curate and Bailiff, only, come into the sick Person's Chamber. The Cries and Shoutings of their Guard, recovered *Mr Aubertin* a little out of his Lethargic State, so that he declared, very distinctly, his Perseverance in the Reformed Religion. The Curate and Bailiff went out, and had much ado to make the Mob retire; who, in a little Time after, returned again, crying out, That the Curate and Bailiff had been forced out of the House; and would have broke and plundered it, if two Persons of Note had not inter-treated them to desist. "*Vicini non latuit ex tremâ hæc calamitas, quæ pii viri spiritibus adhuc spoliis ejusvis illudere parati injuriæ exponebat. Lamentabili ista occasione infeliciter usus præfidi sed tumultuosi zeli vir Joannes Jacobus Ollerius, Basilicæ S. Sulpicii Curatus, & Sodalitatis quæ de propaganda fide dicitur primipulus, &c. (14).*"

— The whole Neighbourhood were witnesses of this extreme Violence, which exposed to the insults of his Enemies the yet breathing Remains of the pious Man. He who unhappily made use of this melancholy Occasion, was John James Ollerius, a Man of too hot and tumultuous a Zeal, Curate of the Church of *St Sulpice*, and Chief of the Society de propaganda Fide, &c. Can any one think of this, without remembering That pathetic Exploitation of *Lucretius*?

(12) Mr Claudé's Answer to Mr Arnauld's Book, lib. 2, chap. 2, pag. 25.

(13) Claudé's Answer to the second Treatise, chap. 1.

(14) David Blondellus, Prefat. Libri Albertini de Eucharistia.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum ?

What can escape Religion's hot-brained Zeal ?

Trifidus haud illo monstrum nec fœvior ulla
Pestis & ira Deum Stygia sese extulit undis (15).

*Monsters more fierce offended Heaven ne'er sent,
From Hell's Abyss, for human Punishment.*

DRYDEN

It will not suffer Men even to die quietly. After having tormented them all their Life-time, it lays Snares for them, even in the Height of a Distemper, which robs them of the use of their Reason. It takes advantage of those Moments, when the Soul is as sick as the Body, and where

Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguaque mensque (16):

Reason grows weak, delirious Thought and Speech.

(16) Lucret.
l. 3. v. 454

AUBIGNÉ (d')

(1) Mercure Galant, Jan-
lant, Jan-
1705, pag.
233, & seq.

(2) Henry
IV.

I have read, in the *Mercure Galant*, for the Month of January 1705 (1), That *John d'Aubigné* was Favourite and Chancellor to Jane d'Albret, Queen of Navarre, and Mother of Henry IV, and in great Favour with That Prince; that he died at Geneva, after having left his Prince, on his renouncing his Religion; that he was then in the Posts of Admiral of Brittany, Governour of Oleron, and Maillezais, and Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the King; that we have now remaining of his, an History of France, much commended, both by his Contemporaries, and Successors, for its Impartiality; that it is esteemed a Master-Piece in History; and that some Authors set as great a Value on it, as on *The Celebrated History of Thuanus*; that, according to the Remark of Otto, he let drop his Pen, when he came to the Death of That great Prince (2), and could proceed no farther; that This History is in two Volumes in Folio; that it was revised, and carefully

corrected, by himself, and printed on very fine Paper, and with a beautiful Letter, at Maillezais, where he was Governour; that his Son Constant, Vice-Roy of the American Islands, whither he went in 1643, was Father to Madam Maintenon, and the Count d'Aubigné lately deceased, Knight of the King's Orders, and Governour of Berry (3). In the *Mercure Galant* for the Month of February 1705 (4), the Christian Name of d'Aubigné is corrected, from *John* to *Agrippa*. His universal History is also said to be in three Volumes, the last being very scarce, and printed at London. His Life is said to be written by himself with great Exactness, and a Manuscript of it to be at Paris, of his own Hand writing, a very curious Piece. The Marquis de Tigny, Brother to the Bishop of Noyon, is Head of the eldest Branch of the Family of Aubigné. He is Father to the Count d'Aubigné, to whom the King has given the Royal Regiment (5).

(3) He only left a Daughter, who is married to the Duke of Noailles.

(4) *Mercure Galant*, Febr. 1705, pag. 207.

(5) Ibid. Jan. 1705, p. 232, 233.

(a) Sammarthanus, E-log. lib. 2.

(b) Reliquis, præter ea quæ commemoravi Poëmata, filiarum aliquot libris, qui lucem expectare poterant ab ejus Hærede, &c. He left, besides those I have mentioned of, some Poems called Sylvæ, in several Books; which we might have expected to have seen published by his Heir, &c. Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. 2.

AUDEBERT (GERMAIN), President in the Election, or Court, of *Affessors* of Subsidies in Orleans, was a Man of much Merit, and a good Latin Poet, in the XVIIth Century. He was *Alicius's* Disciple at *Bolonia* for some Years, and returned from Italy so well pleased with the Country, and the People he there conversed with, that he employed his whole skill in Poetry in the Description of *Rome*, of *Venice*, and *Naples* (a). These three Poems have been inserted in the first Volume of the *Delicia Poëtarum Gallorum of France*. We shall see, below, in what manner the *Venicians* rewarded his Description of their City. He composed other Poems, which would very probably have been published, if his Son, who was Counsellor in the Parliament of *Britany*, had survived him long enough (b). *Scævola Sammarthanus* has composed the Elogium of our *Audebert* with his usual Eloquence, He gives him the most essential Qualities of a good Man. Mr *Moreri* has faithfully reported the substance of This Elogy. I question not but he was ignorant of the advantageous Consequences, which the *Protestants* have drawn from That Chapter of *Scævola Sammarthanus*, to justify one of their most famous Ministers from an horrid Accusation. We can never sufficiently deplore Mens Malice or Ignorance, when we remember, that *Theodorus Beza* was accused of an abominable Crime, on so frivolous a ground as his Epigram, *de sua in Candidam & Audebertum benevolentia*. Mr *Maimbourg* renewed This Accusation in his History of *Calvinism*. He is very fully refuted by an examination of the Piece it self, without forgetting to strengthen the Apology from the great Merit of *Audebert* (c). *Theodorus Beza* had already made use of This Argument [A]. Mr *Graverol*, the Minister, had a design of publishing the Epitaphs of This illustrious Magistrate, in a Latin Dissertation, which he published about That time (d); but received them too late. He has communicated them to me, and this is a very convenient opportunity to publish them [B]. The History of our *Audebert* may be seen there, such

(c) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformed, Part 1, pag. 141, & seq.

(d) De Juvénillibus Theod. Beze Poëmatis, Amst. 1683, in 8vo.

[A] His great Merit was made use of in Justification of Beza — who had already made use of This Argument.] It is in his second Apology against *Claude de Saintes*. He says, that, when he composed the Epigram, *Audebert* was then Advocate in the Parliament of Paris. This is his Latin; "Quid-
" quum eo usque proverbis ut meum cum honestissi-
" mo viro, & jam tum in Senatu Parisiensi Advoca-
" to, quem vocant, nunc vero in civitate Aureli-
" ensi magnâ cum dignitate versanti, amicitiam &
" familiaritatem summam ad nefarium & execrandum
" illud scelus transferas, quod à nobis ne nominari
" quidem sine horrore potest, à vobis autem in vestris
" illis gurgustiolis, ut omnes norunt, pro ludo &
" joco ducitur, quis te ipsum vir honestus non ex-
" cretur (1)? — What, when you are transported
" to such a Pitch, as even to confute my most intimate
" Friendship and Familiarity, with a Man of the high-
" est Honour, at that time Advocate, as the Title is,
" in the Parliament of Paris, and now in great Dig-
" nity at Orleans, into so wicked and abominable a
" Crime, as I cannot so much as mention without
" Horror, though it serves you in your Cells for

" Jest and Sport, must you not be detested by all
" good Men?"

[B] This is a very convenient Opportunity to publish the Epitaphs of Audebert.] Not to let it slip therefore, I shall insert here, word for word, what the Person above mentioned has wrote, and sent me.

" I beg your favourable Acceptance of the true
" Copy I send you, of the Epitaphs of *Germain Au-
" debert*, and of his Son. If I had received them
" at the time they were promised me, I would have
" added them to the small Latin Apology of *Theo-
" dorus Beza*, which a special Occasion obliged me
" to publish. Such an authentic Piece alone seems
" to me capable of putting an end to the abominable
" Calumny, which has hitherto been charged on the
" Memory of That excellent and religious Man,
" whatever evasion may be invented to elude it's
" Force, and you will do a signal Piece of Service
" to Truth, by presenting the Public with This new
" Vindication of him.

" Here lies *Messire Germain Audebert*, Native of
" This City of Orleans, Prince of the Poets of his
" Time, who, for his Virtue only, was ennobled
" with

(1) Beza O-
p. 100,
Tom. 1, pag.
100.

such as an Historical Dictionary ought to give it. The *Sieur Konig* has split this Author into Two [C]. *Sammarthanus* is not the only Person, who has wrote This great Man's Elogy [D].

"with all his Posterity, by the Most Christian King of France and Poland, Henry III. and made a Knight. And, to crown his Honours, his Majesty gave him two Golden Flowers-de-luces, to be born on a Chief in his Coat of Arms, for their additional Ornament. He was also made a Knight by our Holy Father Pope Gregory XIII. and by the Doge and Republic of Venice; the latter also sent him into France, by their Ambassador, the Order of St Mark. And, notwithstanding all these great Honours, he continued still to act as an Assessor in That Jurisdiction for the space of fifty Years; so great a Lover was he of his Country. In consideration of which, his said Majesty, having created and appointed a President, and a Lieutenant, in each Court of Subsidies in France, he exempted the said Messire Germain Audebert, and would have him prebide and precede both the one and the other. He wrote three Books of the City of Venice, one of Rome, one of Naples, and two of Sylva: He died in the Year 1598, the Twenty fourth of December, aged about eighty Years.

"And, under the same Marble, lies Messire Nicholas Audebert, one of the King's Counsellors in his Court of Parliament of Britany, Son of the said Messire Germain Audebert, a great Imitator of his Father's Virtues, who died five Days after his Father, in the Forty second Year of his Age. May their Souls rest among the Blessed.

Audebertorum, Germani Patris, & Nicolai filii Tumulus.

Audebertorum si quis depingere laudes
Cogitat, ille sibi nihilo plus explicet, ac si
Insane sapiens solum illustrare laboret.
Parcendum verbis igitur, vanoque labori.
Sit dixisse satis, situs hic jacit Audebertus,
Et pater, & gnatus patris cito fata secutus.
Nominat hæc quisquis sincerâ nomina linguâ
Virtutum & laudum gazas simul eruit omnes:
Quas qui nescierit communis luminis expers
Credatur survis semper vixisse sub antris.

The Tomb of the Audeberts, Germain the Father, and Nicholas the Son.

To gild with Verse the Audeberts Renown,
You might illuminate the Sun at soon.
Words are but lost on such transcendent Fame,
Tis all summ'd up in one great Word, their Name.
Who this repeat, their Virtues amply praise:
Ignorance of This Ignorance itself betrays.
The Audeberts lie here, Father and Son,
Scarce parted in their Deaths, and in their Tomb but One.

"These three Epitaphs are found written in Letters of Gold, on a Black Marble, affixed to the Wall of the Gallery, in the Church-yard of the Church of the Holy Cross of Orleans, about sixty Paces in the Gallery, as you enter on the Left-Hand. They have been copied word for word from the Original, by a Person to be depended on."

Here ends the Copy of Mr Graverol's Letter. We may conclude, from what is said of the Office of Audebert, in the first of these Epitaphs, that Mr Jurieu is mistaken, when he says, that Audebert died,

after having gone through all the great Offices of the long Robe (2). Sammarthanus might have saved him from this Slip; for he expressly observes, that Audebert was so modest, that he contented himself with an Office very much below his Merit. "Nec fisci quidquam, says he (3), de solitâ modestiâ detraxit, contentus ea quam apud suos jamdudum exercebat vectigalium indictionumque præfecturâ, humiliter fortasse illâ & obscurâ, si hominis dignitatem respicias, sed quam eo tantum animo susceperat, ne nullam Reipublicæ partem attigisse, sibi quæ vixisset diceretur. — Nor did he abate any thing of his usual Modesty; for he contented himself to continue the Office, he had a long Time before enjoyed, of President in the Court of Assizes of Taxes and Subsidies; mean, indeed, and obscure with regard to his Dignity, but which he chose to discharge, that he might not be said to throw up all concern for the Public Service, and to live for himself only."

[C] Konig has split this Author into Two.] He gives us one Germanus Audebertus, and one Aurelius Audebertus. For the first he refers us to the Hundred and ninety first Page of Sammarthanus's Elogies; and he says of the second, that he composed three Poems in the Year 1603. *Scriptis Venetias, Romam, Partbenopen, carmine, An. 1603.* — On Venice, Rome, and Naples. This Date is a new Mistake; since Audebert died in the Year 1598. It is true, Those three Poems were printed at Hanau in 1603; but This was not the first Edition. We may see, by this, that it is not so easy to compose a Dictionary of Authors, as some may think. They, who are ignorant of the Chronology of Editions, and the Difference of Christian Names, or Those of the Country, are very liable to Mistakes. Germanus is Audebert's Christian Name, and Aurelius is his Name from his Country. What is most to be admired is, that Mr Konig refers us to an Author, whom he had not seen himself: For, if he had taken the Pains to cast his Eye on the place of Sammarthanus, which he quotes, he would there have seen, that it was Germanus Audebertus, who composed the three Poems on Venice, Rome, and Naples: *Venetias, & Romam, & Partbenopen — ea carminis majestate descripsit* — He described the Cities of Venice, Rome, and Naples, — in such beautiful Poetry. — When we send a Reader to consult an Author, it is but reasonable to set the Example, and consult him first ourselves.

[D] Sammarthanus is not the only Person, who has wrote Audebert's Elogy.] An Advocate of the Council, who called himself in Latin *Radolphus Botereus*, has praised Audebert magnificently, in his History of France (4). He does not forget the Honours, which the Pope, and the Republic of Venice, paid him; but, whereas the Epitaph ascribes the Honour Audebert, received from the Court of Rome, to Gregory XIII. He attributes it to Gregory XIV. He mentions the Place, where the Ambassador of Venice conferred on him the Knighthood of St Mark, and before what concourse of People. "Gregorius XIV, ac Veneti illum civitatis jure & equestris ordinis dignitate donarunt: effusus Veneti, qui per Oratorem suum in suburbano Tybure Gentiliaco, assidente spectaculo & convivio longa corona hominum literatissimorum, Audebertum torque aureo Divi Marci insigniverunt. — Gregory XIV, and the Venetians, presented him respectfully with the Privileges of their City, and the Order of Knighthood. But the Venetians more remarkably, who, by their Ambassador at Gentilly near Paris, at a public Feast, and before a large Assembly of learned Men, invested Audebert with the golden Collar of the Order of St Mark."

(2) Jurieu's Apology for the Reformed, Part 1, pag. 145.

(3) Sammarthan in Elégies.

(4) Botereus, lib. 5, pag. 467, & seq. ad Ann. 1598.

AUDIGUIER (N. d') Author of several Books [A], much read, when first published, but now not taken notice of, flourished in the beginning of the Reign of Lewis

[A] Author of several Books.] He published *The true and ancient Usage of Duels*, which was printed at Paris, by Peter Billain, in 1617. It is a Book of Five hundred thirty two Pages, in 8vo, and de-
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servés a Place in Libraries. He published also some French Poetry, *The Amours of Lylander and Calista*, Those of *Aristander*, and *Cleonicé, Flavia, Minerva*, &c. These were Romances, which had a great run

(a) It is the Title of a Romance, the Author of which calls himself Molliere.

(b) Sorel's Remarks on the Berger Extravagant, (Extravagant) Shepherds, Book 23, pag. 413, Edit. of Rouen, by Osmont, in 1646, in a Fols 3vo.

(c) Ibid. pag. 486.

(d) See the Christian Spectator of Balzac, Discours 17, pag. 263.

(1) Note, that Sorel has criticised the two first, in his Remarks on the Berger Extravagant, chiefly in the 13th Book of the Remarks.

(2) Sorel, Bibl. Franç. pag. 261.

(a) They were the Sons of Albert the Wise, Duke of Bavaria.

(1) Voûlus de Hist. Lat. pag. 635.

(2) These two Names do not seem to answer each other. Therefore, perhaps, in one of them some Error of the Press.

(3) Zieglerus in Vita Joannis Aventini.

(4) Bullart, Académie des Sciences, Tom. 1. p. 147.

Lewis XIII. The Sieur Sorel, having said, that the Author of *Polyena* (a) might one Day produce something better, unless he had AUDIGUIER's ill Fortune, adds, that they both of them fell by the Hands of Those they took to be their Friends (b). "I believe, says he, elsewhere (c), Audiguier was a Man of Wit; but he was more of the Soldier, than the Scholar, as appears in all the Dedications of his Books, where he is almost always speaking in a military way: They say also, that, to express his negligent Air in writing, he one Day said, by way of Bravado (d), that he made his Pen with his Sword. Some say he received this Repartee, that then it was no wonder he wrote so ill; but This is too satirical. Undoubtedly This Boast has a great deal of Beauty, and deserves a Place amongst the French Apophthegms." D'Audiguier had a Nephew, who passed for the Author of the Translation of *Siratonis*, an Italian Romance; but it was believed, that Malleville was the real Author, and had made him a Present of it, as being his particular Friend (e). There was one d'AUDIGUIER, an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, who published some Pleadings (f). I do not know, whether he was the same with the Nephew, who was Malleville's Friend; but I am certain, he lived in the XVIIth Century (g); and I believe This Nephew was the Author called Audiguier, junior, and who published, among other Works, *Eromené*. From a Passage, cited below, I am induced to believe, that our d'Audiguier was killed in the Year 1630 [B].

(e) Peliffon, Histoire de l'Académie Franç. pag. 292.

(f) Mallet, Mémoires, p. 41.

(g) Mallet, Dénombrement des Auteurs, pag. 40.

run (1). He translated into French the Spanish Novels of Michael Cervantes. Sorel, in a Work published a long time after his Berger Extravagant, passes this Judgment on our Author. "I do not think, says he, that we ought absolutely to despise the Sieur d'Audiguier, Author of the Adventures of Lyfander and Calista. Though he had not much Learning, he wrote in very sprightly and clear Style for That Time, as we see in several Romances, and some Letters, and Triflections, which he was the Author of. His first Work, which he called the Soldier's Philosophy, was a little too much upon the Galconade; but he improved himself so much by translating Cervantes's Novels, and a Book of Rodriguez, of Christian Perfection, that we may allow him to be one of our best Translators. His last Work, called The Amours of Aristander and Cleonice, was none of the worst of his Time (2)."

[B] From a Passage — I am induced to believe, our d'Audiguier was killed in the Year 1630. [This Passage is taken from one of Balzac's Letters, dated the twentieth of August 1630. D'Audiguier is not named in it, there being nothing but Asterisks, instead of the Person's Name; but, however, I

make no doubt but it was The Author, whose Article I have here given. I take his Character to be very justly drawn in the following Words (3). "Yet it is better to be innocently merry in the Hotel de Venice, than to lose one's Life in the Temple Morfesi, as poor * * did. I lament him, on account of his Misfortunes, and manner of Death, and am sorry he had not time to think of his Salvation, or to ask Pardon for his Sins. But to imagine, that one of the great Lights of France is extinguished, or that we have lost one of our most considerable Men, I knew him too well to conceive so high an Opinion of him. He was truly a Man of Spirit, and had some Flights of Fancy, that would have passed off agreeably enough, if they had not been printed. But he is not to be mentioned among our Modern Authors, or in a Collection of the Poetry of these Times. However, he set no Value at all on his Courage, and other military Virtues, but piqued himself entirely on his Abilities in speaking and writing. He had so great a Conceit of his Merit this way, that, for my endeavouring, one Day, to cure him of this troublesome Symptom, he never forgave me to the Day of his Death."

(3) Balzac's Letters, Book 8, Lett. 42. p. 38, 388, Tom. 1. of Balzac's Works, Edit. of Paris by Joly, 1665, in 2 Vols 8vo.

AVENTINE (JOHN), famous for his *Annals of Bavaria*, flourished in the XVIth Century [A]. He was of mean Birth, the Son of an Inn-keeper of *Abenpurg* in *Bavaria* [B]. He studied first at *Ingolstadt*, and afterwards in the University of *Paris*, under *Faber Stapulensis* and under *Josse Clifton*. Being returned into *Germany*, in the Year 1503, he stayed some time at *Vienna*, where he taught, in his Chamber, Eloquence and Poetry. He went from thence into *Poland*, in the Year 1507, where he publicly taught the Greek Grammar at *Cracow*: He returned into *Germany*, and passed some time at *Ratisbon*, from whence he went to *Ingolstadt*, in the Year 1509, where he explained some Books of *Cicero*. As he was esteemed a very ingenious Man, he was sent for to *Munich*, in the Year 1512, to be Preceptor to Prince *Lewis* and Prince *Ernest* (a). He travelled with the latter of these two Princes (b). After this, he undertook to compose the *Annals of Bavaria* [C], and

(b) See the History of Bavaria, of the Sieur le Blanc, Tom. 3, pag. 414, 415.

[A] He flourished in the XVIth Century. He was born in the Year 1466, and died in 1534. Whence *Vossius* very justly infers, that *Gnebrard* is mistaken, in making this Historian flourish in the Year 1366 (1). Father *Gaultier* followed *Gnebrard*'s Fault. In the Epitome of *Gesner's Bibliotheca*, the Death of *Aventine* is falsely placed in the Year 1529.

[B] He was of mean Birth, the Son of an Inn-keeper of *Abenpurg* in *Bavaria*. *Jerom Zieglerus* says, That this Man's Name was *John Thurmair*, and that from thence it comes, that *Leonard of Eck*, in an Epigram, gives the Name of *Thurmairus* (2) to *John Aventine* (3). He adds, That the Name of the Annalist of *Bavaria* was *Aventinus*, because the ancient Name of *Abenpurg* was *Aventinium*. The Emperor *Antoninus*, continues he, calls it in his Itinerary *Abusina*. Mr *Bullart* did not well understand This: The City of *Abenpurg*, says he (4), is sufficiently celebrated in the Roman History, but principally by the Emperor *Antoninus*, who, in his Itinerary, calls it

Aventinium. This Author would find it very difficult to prove, that This City was sufficiently famous in the Roman History. The learned *Lambecius* believed it would be found to have had no other Name than That of *Abusina*, which is given it in the Itinerary of *Antoninus*; and for this reason blames the Author of the Annals, for not having called himself *Abusinensis*. *Patria ejus fuit Abusina, unde salvò, cum se nominare debuisset Abusinensem, cognomine ulius est Aventini* (5). But would That Name have sounded as agreeably as That of one of the Hills of *Rome*?

[C] He undertook to compose the *Annals of Bavaria*. He had a Pension for it, and began it a little before the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*. The Work consists of seven Books, and extends to the Year 1533. *Vossius* observes all these Things: "Annales Bojorum libris 7 reliquit — Terminatur ejus historia anno 1533. Extremis Maximiliani temporibus jam cœperat historiam suam scribere auspiciis & liberalitate fructus Guljelmi & Ludovici, Bavarie ducum,

(c) Lambec. Biblioth. Cæs. lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 41, in Not. Margin. n. 2, apud Magistrum Eponymol. pag. 91.

was encouraged to it by the Assurances, the Dukes of That Name gave him, of bearing all his Charges. He omitted nothing that might answer the Expectation of his Masters; he consulted the Records of *Germany* as carefully as possible, and applied himself wholly to That Work. He did not lose his labour; for he acquired by it a great Reputation. In the Year 1529, he received an Affront, which troubled him all the rest of his Life. He was taken out of his Sister's House, at *Abensperg*, by Force, and imprisoned. No One ever knew the true Reason of This Violence, which would have been carried yet farther, if the Duke of *Bavaria* had not taken this learned Person under his Protection. The invincible Melancholy, which possessed *Aventine* ever after This Affront, was so far from making him resolve to continue the single Life he had lead to the Sixty fourth Year of his Age, that it rather, perhaps, put him upon Thoughts of Marriage. This new Inclination was not so strong, but it gave him Time to consult the Holy Scriptures, and his Friends, what was best for him to do. He met with nothing but Counsels full of Uncertainty [D]; and therefore found it necessary to resolve this Question for himself, which he accordingly did in favour of Marriage [E]. There remained nothing more to do, but to seek out a Match, which he was so imprudent as to leave to a crafty old Woman, who deceived him basely [F]; for she brought him a Woman of the Country of *Suabia*, who had three great Imperfections; for she was poor, ugly, and peevish; which gave him an opportunity of making many Experiments [G]. After his marriage, he hired a House

at

(6) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 655.

" ducum, qui patri suo Alberto successerunt anno 1508 (6). — He left the *Annals* of the *Bavarians* in seven Books — His History ends at the Year 1533. He began it about the latter End of the Reign of Maximilian, under the Auspices, and Generosity, of William and Lewis, Dukes of *Bavaria*, who succeeded their Father Albert in 1508." These *Annals* did not appear before the Year 1554. They were published by *Jerom Zieglerus*, Professor of Poetry in the University of *Ingolstadt*: But, as he consulates himself in the Preface, he left out the Invectives relating to the Clergy, and several Stories not at all material to the History of *Bavaria*. " Multa sine dubio emendasset (*Aventinus*), pleraque forsitan mutasset etiam, si per fata licuisset — Invectivas quoddam contra Ecclesiasticas personas, item fabulosas narrationes nihil quidquam ad historiam facientes non fraude ledi judicio omisimus (7). — Many Things, without doubt, *Aventine* himself would have corrected, and many, perhaps, entirely changed, had Fate given him Leave — Some Reflexions upon Ecclesiastical Persons, and also fabulous Relations, not at all material to the History, I have taken the Liberty, on mature Deliberation, without the least ill design, to omit." The Precaution of *Zieglerus*, and his Sincerity in owning the Mutilations, did not tally together; for this Confession excited the Curiosity of the Protestants, and put them upon searching for what had been suppressed; and they sought so diligently for a Manuscript of These undismembered *Annals*, that at last they found it. It was published at *Bajl*, in the Year 1580, by the Care of *Nicolas Cifnerus*. The Title of This Edition is *Johannis Aventini annalium Bojorum libri vii. ex authenticis manuscriptis codicibus recogniti, restituti, aucti diligentia Nicolai Cifneri*. *Cifnerus* could not forbear shewing his Anger at the Edition of *Cifnerus*. See what he says: *Aventine* is an Author not to be credited in these Ecclesiastical Matters, having no other aim in his *Annals*, than to dishonour the Clergy; and he is particularly exceptionable in the History of Gregory VII. — The Incontinency of his Pen, in these Matters, was the Cause that *Zieglerus*, who first published him, retrenched many of his lying Narratives, and Invectives against the Clergy, in that Impression; but the Protestants, who turn their Ears from the Truth, to listen to Fables, not being able to bear This Correction, have published These *Annals* with all their Filth (8).

(7) Zieglerus in Pref. Cifnerus, in his Preface, that if *Aventine* had lived, he would not have altered what *Zieglerus* pretends he would have altered.

(8) Coëteteau's Answer to the Mystery of Iniquity of the State du Fleiss, pag. 63.

[L] On the Subject of his Marriage, he met with nothing but Counsels full of Uncertainty. This is what *Mr Bullart* relates concerning the Answers he received from Books. " Socrates left him in Suspence, by his Advice formerly given to a young Man, under the same Irresolution. Marry, or not marry, you will be sure to repent either of the one or the other. He would have needed no other Council, if he had taken That of *Diogenes*, who told young Persons, that it was too soon to marry; and old ones, that it was too late. *Euripides* loathed his Inclination, by remarking, That a Wife is a great Comfort to her Husband, in Sickness and Adversity, but discouraged him with several other

Sentences, he has elsewhere pronounced, against That Sex (9)." This is a meer Romance, and only begging an Opportunity to shew a little Common-place Reading; for the Life of *Aventine* says expressly, that he examined only some Passages of Scripture, for and against Matrimony, with two of his Friends; *Sapius multos locos ex sacris literis suadentes & dissuadentes matrimonium protulit*.

(9) Bullart, Acad. mic. des Sciences, pag. 148.

[E] He concluded for Marriage. Let us hear the same *Mr Bullart* once more. " *Aventine*, being tired with consulting both the Dead and the Living, and hoping to find a Wife to his Wishes, cried out on a sudden; I am old, and have need of a Companion to assist and take care of me in the Infirmary of my Age." So says *Zieglerus*; *Senectutem suam omnino considerans, tandem prorumpens in hæc verba dixit, " senex sum, mihi ministrari opus est."* His Conclusion was according to the Rule of Logic, *Conclusio sequitur debiliorem partem*. — The Conclusion follows: the weaker Part. On one side, his Books and his Friends advised him to deliberate all his Life-time; on the other, his Infirmary counselled him to marry. By his Conclusion he took the weaker Side. But, had he not two Children in few Years, and This in spite of the Ugliness, and Brawls, of his Devil of a Wife, which could be no Provocatives That way? He was wrong, then, to say, he wanted a Wife for the Infirmary of his Age: He had much more need of one for the Remains of his Youth.

[F] Who deceived him basely. His Historian has not done him Justice here; for see how he expresses himself: " Duxit Suevam, morosam mulierem, illepidam, & omnino pauperem, deceptus ab antiqua quadam, quæ ei illam ut famulum saltem adduxerat. — He married a Suabian, ill natured, disagreeable, and poor, a certain old Woman having deceived him, by bringing her to him, at least, for a Servant." The old Woman did not bring him this Suabian for a Wife, but only for a Servant. Wherein, then, did the deceive him? *Zieglerus* ought to have told us; for, if we take his Account right, the old Woman is very excusable, and the old Man not to blame. It is very likely, that, being resolved to marry, and having lost too much Time already, considering his Age, he took the first Female that came to hand, which was his own Servant; and so became a fit Subject to increase the List of the Colletts, and of all such as have married their Servants (10).

(10) See the Menagiana, pag. 27, and the Remark [E. of the Article] BRISEIS.

[G] His Wife gave him an Opportunity of making many Experiments. " Having surmounted all Obstacles, and decided all Doubts, by his Marriage, he had nothing more to do, but to meditate on his new State of Life, and to consider which was the easier Task, to bear with the Expence of a Wife that is poor, or with the Pride of one that is rich; to be secure in an ugly one, that is a Temptation to no body, or to have the Trouble of guarding a handsome one, that is a Temptation to every Body. As his Wife was, at least, as bad as *Socrates's Xantippe*, That great Philosopher's Example might also give him Consolation

" tion

at *Ratisbon*, and afterwards was called to *Ingolstadt*, in 1533, to be Preceptor to the Son of one of the Duke of *Bavaria's* Counsellors (c). He was desirous of bringing his Wife thither, and for that purpose made a Journey to *Ratisbon* in the *Christmas* Holidays, where he arrived very ill of a Distemper, which had seized him on the Road by the way, of which he died the Ninth of *January* 1534, aged Sixty eight Years. He left but one Daughter, who was not above two Months old (d). He was buried there in the Church of *St Hemeran*, where his Epitaph gives him the Encomium of a good Catholic (e). But the Jesuits have discovered, by their Inquiries, that, under the Mask, he was a good *Lutheran* [H]. It is by This, that Those of the Church of *Rome* endeavour to weaken the force of his Evidence against the Conduct of the Popes, and the bad Lives of the Priests; for the *Protestants* have quoted *Aventine's* Annals

(c) Leonhardus ab Eck.

(d) He had buried a Son.

(e) Taken from his Life, written by Jerom Zieglerus. It is prefixed to his Annals.

(11) Bulhart, Acad. des Sciences, pag. 148.

(12) Conringius, de Rebuspubl. a. p. Magnum, Eponymol. Critic. pag. 90.

(13) Rara est alicuius concordia fortunae, Atque pudicitiae. . . . So seldom Chastity and Chastity agree. Juv. Sat. 10. ver. 207. Lis est cum forma magna pudicitia. . . . Beauty and Modesty are still at strife. Ovid. Ep. 16. v. 238.

(14) Fastus inest pulchris, inquit, turpe laborum formae. . . . Beauty is attended by its Handmaid, Pride. Ovid. Fast. lib. 1. v. 419.

(15) Ita ille solent quæ viros laudare vixi sibi potulant dote trete feroce. . . . The Hughtings of large Dowries demands not too great a Subjection from the Husband. Plaut. in Menech. Act. 3. Sc. 2, ver. 16. See the Electra of Philip Pareus, at the Word Conjugium.

(16) Magna Periculo custoditur quod multis placet. . . . It is very dangerous keeping what pleases every Body. Publus Synta.

"tion (11)." Certainly This learned German was extremely disappointed; he thought to get into a safe Harbour, and to shelter himself from a thousand Inconveniences, but exposed himself to a continual Storm, even tho' his Wife had been rich and handsome; but he had nothing for her Portion, but Ugliness and a quarrelsome Disposition. "Aventinus vir doctus, magni judicii integritatisque, sed fortuna admodum tenui, quam corruptit ulterius ducta uxore rixosa & malorum morum, ut cum duobus malis pauperate & uxore mala ipsi fuerit conficiendum (12). — "Aventine was a learned Man, of great Judgment and Integrity, but little Fortune, which was made yet less by a quarrelsome, cross-grained Wife; so that he had two great Evils to contend with, Poverty, and a scolding Wife."

We shall, perhaps, do him Justice, if we suppose, that he did not marry this Wife without having seriously considered all Inconveniences. She could not deceive him as to her Ugliness, so long as he had Eyes. She was brought to him as a Servant, so that he could not think her rich. These two Defects, therefore, he could be no Stranger to, her want of Beauty and Fortune. Nor ought this Knowledge to condemn him for Imprudence; for it might promise to exempt him from a thousand Inconveniences. As he had read much, he knew the general Maxims of the Ancients, on the Discord between Beauty and Chastity (13), and on the Pride, which attends Beauties (14), but perfectly possesses Fortunes (15). These Maxims are taught in the College, and there are a thousand occasions to apply them every Day; which makes them remain strongly imprinted in the Memory, and This increases the Fear of experiencing the Truth of them, when once we come to run the hazard of them. It is very probable, then, that *Aventine* considered, that by marrying a handsome young Wife, he should expose his Forehead to a shameful, and very uneasy Disgrace. Without doubt he knew, that Beauty did not exclude a very sincere Resolution of Chastity; but, on the other Side, he imagined, that it makes it very difficult to execute This Resolution. The Couplings, which are almost unavoidable in such a Case, are of wonderful Force, to conquer the strongest of these Resolutions. When he considered his Age, he could not but be still more alarmed: His Sixty fourth Year added to his Fears; and, perhaps, he might reflect with himself; *If these things happen where the Wood is yet green, what can be hoped for, where it is quite dry? A young Man is not exempt from This Misfortune, and how should I avoid it, who am old?* And yet, as natural as it is to fear these real Evils, in the Case of an old Husband, who has a handsome young Wife; it is much easier to avoid These, than imaginary ones. I mean, that such a Husband has more reason to fear the Torments of his own Jealousy, than the Disloyalty of his Wife. It happens oftener, that a Man is jealous of his Wife, without a Cause, than that she is dishonest, without his suspecting it. There is, then, some likelihood, that *Aventine* was more distrustful of himself, than of a handsome Wife, and that he argued with himself thus: *I grant he may be really chaste; but am I sure I shall not be so weak as to suspect her, when I perceive how agreeable she is to my Friends and Neighbours, and Thy to her* (16). Let my Jealousy be as ill grounded as one would wish, it's Stings and its Torment will still be the same. The safest Way is to run no Hazard, but marry This Servant, whose Homeliness will make me easy; for

The Nymph may be chaste, that never was try'd.

If she should be ill inclined, where could she find Gallants? Besides, as she is poor, I shall have no reason to fear she will be imperious: This will preserve my Authority, and secure me from Noise and Contradiction. Do not I know what the ancient Poets have said (17)? If we suppose he considered the Matter thus, we shall find him more unfortunate, than imprudent: For, in short, the Reasons, which determined his Choice, are specious and plausible; but we must, at the same time, suppose, that the third Defect was not known to him, and that his Servant had the Wit to hide her peevish, muttering, morose, scolding Humour. She took care not to discover it; for the quickly perceived, that her Master was resolved to marry at any rate, and, without doubt, it was not long before he gave her some Intimations, that he would not look for a Wife out of his own House. As it is wrong to judge by the Event, let us not condemn him for Imprudence, because his Marriage was unhappy. The wisest are caught in it *Cato* was deceived by his own Arguments, in a like Case (18). In a Word, two things must be known, before we can say, that *Aventine* was imprudent: I. That he did not weigh the Reasons before mentioned, on both sides. II. That, by marrying a young, rich, and beautiful Wife, he would not have met with so many Vexations, as by marrying his Servant. These are the two Sources of the rash Judgments; Persons are condemned, without knowing either the secret Motives, which, upon due Deliberation, determined them, or what would have happened if they had made a contrary Choice.

[H] *The Jesuits have discovered, that, under the Mask, he was a good Lutheran.* I say under the *Merry of his* Mask, for, as he was buried in a Catholic Church, with the usual Ceremonies, and that the Character of *Veræ Religionis amator*,—A Lover of the true Religion, is inserted in his Epitaph, we cannot suppose, that he had ever declared openly for the Protestants, no not *PORCIUS* at the Point of Death, in That decisive Moment, which takes away all Pretences for Dissembling. It is true, also, that the Style of his History is altogether *Roman Catholic*, if Those Places be excepted, where he speaks so freely against the Tyranny of the Popes, and the Immorality of the Clergy (19). It ought not to be thought strange, then, that *Mr Du Pleffis* objects him to Those of the Church of *Rome*, as an Evidence, who was of their own Religion. *Mr Du Pleffis* was ignorant of the secret Memoirs, which Father Gretzer had published. See here a Passage of That Jesuit: "Addit Pleffius Invektive Aventinianæ hanc clausulam; hæc quidem licet professio Romanus, plura forte, si licuisset, dicturus. Professione Romanus, hoc est Catholicus, non fuit Aventinus, sed hæreticus; cujus criminis ut alia probamenta desunt, id tamen satis superque liquerit ex Epistola Melancthonis ad Aventinum quam ex ipso Autographo recitavi, lib. 2. contra Calvinianum replicatorem, cap. 19. (20) — Pleffis, to *Aventine's* Invektive, subjects This Clause; He has said thus much, notwithstanding he was of the *Romish* Persuasion, and probably would have said much more, if he durst. *Aventine* was not of the *Romish*, i. e. Catholic, Persuasion, but an Heretic; this Crime might be proved upon him, if there were no other Evidence of it, from an Epistle of Melancthon to *Aventine*, which I have given from the Original itself, lib. 2, against the Calvinistic Author of the Reply, chap. 19." *Coiffeteau* did not know This Circumstance; nevertheless he positively asserts, that *Aventine* was an Heretic: He says (21), "As for *Du Pleffis*

(17) One of them has said, Sponsum sine dote non habere loquendi libertatem. — A Wife, without a Portion, has not the Liberty of Speech.

And Plautus says, in *Aulus*. *As*. 3. Sc. 5, ver. 60. Quæ indotata est ea in potestate est viri, Doteque maculant de malo & damno viros. . . .

She that has no Portion is at the Mercy of her Husband; but he, that marries a Fortune, must be at the Mercy of his Wife.

(18) See Remark [I], of the Article had ever declared openly for the Protestants, no not *PORCIUS* (MARCUUS).

(19) See Rivetus, in his Answer to Coiffeteau's *Replique* of *Du Pleffis*. Tom. 2, pag. 167.

(20) *Græter*, in *Examen* mine *Mytelii* Pleffiani, cap. 45, pag. 354.

(21) *Græter*, in *Examen* mine *Mytelii* Pleffiani, cap. 45, pag. 354.

casta est quam nemo rogavit :

Annals a thousand times, to shew the Disorders of the Church. The other Writings of this Author have very few of them been printed [I]. Mr Moreri has succeeded very indifferently in this Article [K].

"*Pleſſis* making *Aventine* of the *Romiſh* Profeſſion, "we will never agree to it: His Language diſcovers "him, and throughout his Annals he ſhews how his "Paſſion tranſports him againſt the Holy See. There- "fore, to cut him ſhort, all that they object a- "gainſt us, from him, is not worth a Cheſnut Leaf, "and I judge him no more worthy of an Answer, "than the Impoſitor *Benno*, by whoſe Memoirs he "wrote the Life of That Pontiff (22)." *Aventine* has been treated as a *Lutheran* Author, in the Liſt of prohibited Books; *Fromondus*, however, does not believe him to have been an Heretic, but only one, who, like *Eraſmus*, ſpeaks too freely againſt the Irregularities of the Monks. "Liberrimæ enim linguæ (hæreticæ "dicere non auſim, neque puto) & plane *Eraſmicæ* "in Monachorum & Eccleſiaſticorum vita fuit *A- ventinus*. Plus etiam nimio favens *Schiſmaticis*, & parum integra fide res *Rom. Pontificum* "prodiſſe perhibetur, ideoque meruit in claſſe au- "ctorum cauſe legendorum ab Indice expurgatorio "recenſeri (23). ----- *Aventine* was a very free "Declaimer, (a Heretic I dare not ſay, nor do I think he was,) and, like *Eraſmus*, ſaluted the *Vices* "of the Monks and Clergy. He is alſo ſaid to have "ſhewn too much Favour to the *Schiſmatics*, and to "have betrayed the Cauſe of the Popes, through "want of Zeal, and therefore deſerved a Place in the "Index Expurgatorio, among the Authors, who "are to be read with Caution." Men of the greateſt Memory often forget what others remember commonly enough. I am going to give an Example of it. *Conringius* had forgot, that They, who publiſhed *Aventine's* Annals at *Ingolſtadt*, had retrenched what did not appear agreeable to the Character of a good Catholic (24). He ſays (25), "Libri ejus poſt mortem demum ab iſtis pontificiis *Ingolſtadii* ſunt editi, ut hinc appareat primos ſaltem editores non im- "probaſſe quæ ibi reperiuntur. ----- After his "Death, his Books were, at laſt, publiſhed at *Ingolſtadt*, by the Popiſh Party, whoſe ſeeks, that the "firſt Editors, at leaſt, found nothing there, but "what they approved of." He confeſſes, that *Aventine* held a Correſpondence, by Letters, with ſeveral Proteſtants, and with *Melancthon* by Name, and that he inclined to their Side, which did not hinder him from dying in the *Romiſh* Communion. "Vixit ſuperiori ſæculo quando maxima illa ſacrorum mutatio fieret, & multa pontificiæ religionis dogmata impropavit. Per literas familiaritatem coluit cum Proteſtantium nonnullis, & cum Philippo quoque *Melancthone*: Reperire tamen non potui reliquæ cum penitus Eccleſiam Romanam ut in Proteſtantes videatur propenſior: Vixit enim & mortuus eſt in illa Eccleſia, ſepultuſque *Reginoburgi* in Monafterio *S. Emerani* ceremoniis pontificiæ Eccleſiæ uſitatis (26). ----- He lived in the laſt Century, when That great Revolution happened in Religion, and diſapproved of many of the Papal Doctrines. He correſponded, by Letters, with ſeveral of the Proteſtants, and particularly with *Philip Melancthon*. Yet I could never find, that he had abſolutely renounced the *Romiſh Church*, how much ſooner he might ſeem more inclining towards the Proteſtants: For he lived, and died, in That Church, and was buried at *Ratiſbon*, in the Monaftery of *St Himeran*, with the uſual *Romiſh Rites and Ceremonies*." I obſerve, that *Aventine's* Fate may juſtly be compared with That of *Father Paul*.

[I] The other Writings of this Author have very few of them been printed. *Voffius* obſerves, that *Aventine* informs his Readers, in the Two hundred and thirty ſixth Page of his Annals (which is the Three hundred and forty fourth in the Edition of 1580) that he had publiſhed the Hiſtory of *Oſtingen*, a City of *Suabia*; publicatæ à ſe hiſtoriæ *Utinenſium* meminit (27). *Geſner* has not mentioned This Hiſtory. He ſpeaks only of a Grammar, publiſhed by *Aventine*, in the Year 1519, and of a Book concerning the manner of counting on the Fingers, publiſhed at *Ratiſbon*, in the Year 1532; to which the Author

had ſubjoined the Summary of a great Work, which only required the Aſſiſtance of a *Mæcenæ* for its Publication. This is the Title of the Book, printed in 1532. *Numerandi per digitos manuſque (quin etiam loquendi) veterum conſuetudinis Abacus, ſive Explicatio ex Bedæ cum piſturis & imaginibus, unâ cum capitibus rerum quibus illuſtrabitur Germania ab Aventino, modo contingat benignus Mæcenæ*. *Geſner* gives an exact Account of This great Work of *Aventine*; whereby it appears, that the ſame Author had formed a very fine and large Plan, to illuſtrate the Antiquities of *Germany*. The general view alone of the Subjects, which he undertook, is ſufficient to create Aſtoniſhment. See the Letter, which he wrote to *Vadianus*, in 1530 (28). He intended very ſoon to have publiſhed ſuch another *Chronicle*, as That of *Eufebius*; an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory from the beginning of the World to his own Time; ſome ancient *Grammarians*, a Greek and Latin Dictionary, Annotations on *Claudian* (29), &c. But it is not known what is become of Theſe Works. To comprehend how he could be able to go through with ſo many Writings, we muſt know, that he began to ſtudy by break of Day, and oftentimes returned again a little after Supper, and continued 'till Midnight (30). As he broke the Ice for Thoſe, who have treated of the Antiquities of *Bavaria* (31), it is no wonder, they have diſcovered Faults in his Annals (32). He would have found more in theiſ, if they had lead him the way, as he has done them. *Lambecius* has corrected him in many Things (33).

[K] Mr Moreri has ſucceeded very indifferently in this Article. I. He is excuſable for placing *Aventine* under the Letter I, in his firſt Edition; but a Repetition of the ſame Fault is unpardonable. He could not be ignorant of the general Complaint of his having ranked his illuſtrious Perſons according to their *Chriſtian* Names. Why, then, was not the Occaſion of This Complaint avoided in the following Editions? II. *Aventine* was born in the Year 1466, and not in the Year 1460. III. Having once committed This Miſtake, as *Aventine* died in the Year 1534, he ought not to have given him Sixty eight Years of Age. He ſhould have committed one Miſtake more, and made him live Seventy four Years; becauſe, for want of adding this ſecond Miſtake to the firſt, he has left an intolerable Blunder, in reckoning but Sixty eight Years from the Year 1460 to the Year 1534. IV. It is not true, that *Nicholas Geſner* publiſhed *Aventine's* Annals. He ought to have ſaid *Nicholas Cifer* (34). V. To ſay, that *Nicholas Cifer* publiſhed theſe Annals, with Additions, is very improper; for This ſeems to imply, that he had added, to them, ſomething of his own. But This he has not done. His Performance was only This: He publiſhed Theſe Annals after a Manuſcript of *Aventine*, Paſſages, which had not been caltrated; ſo that his Edition is more ample, than That of *Zieglerus*, becauſe it contains all Thoſe, which *Zieglerus* had ſuppreſſed. The Words of *Voffius*, which *Moreri* has ſumbled at, would not have deceived an attentive Reader: They intimate clearly enough, that *Cifer* only reſtored to *Aventine*, what had been taken from him. *Annales Boiorum* libris vii. reliquit: quos ex authenticis Codd. reſtituit & auxit *Nicholaus Cifer* (35). *Voffius* was a little to blame in not mentioning the caltrated Edition: had he done That, what I have now quoted would have been much clearer. VI. A Prielt, as *Moreri* was, acts but a ſtrange Part, when he calls *Nicholas Cifer's* Additions conſiderable; ſince Thoſe Additions conſiſt only of Invectives againſt the Popes, and the *Romiſh* Clergy. VII. The other Pieces, which *Aventine* left, are not Thoſe, which Cardinal *Baronius* did not eſteem very *Orthodox*. It was againſt the Annals of *Bavaria*, That Cardinal was ſo much incenſed. VIII. He ought not to have quoted *Baronius* T. IX. Anni A. C. 772 (36); for This looks as if *Baronius* had written, at leaſt, nine Volumes upon this one Year 772.

(28) It is the 496 of the Century publiſhed by Göttdat.

(29) See *Geſner*, Biblioth. fol. 386.

(30) *Zieglerus* in ejus Vita.

(31) *Conringius*, apud *Magir. Eponymolog.* Crit. p. 904.

(32) *Brunerus*, in his Annals of *Bavaria*, criticet him off. See *Zeller de Hiſtor. p. 134*.

(33) *Latribec. Commen. Biblioth. Cæſ. lib. 2, cap. 7, 2. See Magir. Eponymolog. page 91.*

(34) In the *Holland Edition*, it is *Nicholas Geſner*.

(35) *Voffius* de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 655.

(36) *Voffius*, the only Author that *Moreri* has quoted concerning *Aventine*, might alſo be a preferred from this Miſtake, ſubſtitutet it a very place, ex T. IX. ad Annv 772.

(22) *Gregory VII.*

(23) *Libert. Fromondus*, in libro de Orbe Terræ immob. pag. 24, 25.

(24) See Remark [C].

(25) *Conringius* apud *Magirum*, Eponymol. Critic. p. 90.

(26) Id. ib.

(27) *Voffius* de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 655.

(a) See all his Names, in Remark [C].

(b) It is falsely said in the Lindenius Renouatus, that Corduba is a City of Arabia.

(1) Nandæ's Apology for great Men accused of Magic, chap. 24, p. 354. He quotes Ægidius, Quodlibet 9. See also Petri Pettii Medici Parisiensis Observationes Miscellaneæ pag. 191.

(2) Reinesius Ep. 15. ad Hofmann. pag. 32.

(3) Hotting. Biblioth. Theol. pag. 279.

(4) Bartoloci. Biblioth. Rabbinica, Tom. 1. pag. 13. He quotes Cacerius in Chronolog. Compendio.

(5) Ludovicus Vives, de Cui a corruptar. Arrium, lib. 5. pag. 167.

AVERROËS (a), one of the most subtle Philosophers that appeared among the Arabians, was of Corduba (b), and flourished in the Twelfth Century [A]. He had an extraordinary esteem for Aristotle, and commented upon his Works so very learnedly, that he was called The Commentator by way of Excellency. It has been thought wonderful, that, without knowing any Thing of Greek, he could penetrate so well into the Sense of the Original; and it is believed, not without reason, that, if he had known That Language, he would have perfectly understood Aristotle's Thoughts. *Qui Græcè nefcius feliciter adeo mentem Aristotelis perspexit, quid non fecisset si Linguam scisset Græcam* (c)? This some learned Men say; but others affirm, that he has interpreted Aristotle very indifferently [B], not only for want of Learning, but also of Capacity. He was Professor in the University of Morocco [C], and became very skillful in Physic; but he understood the Theory of it better than the Practice [D]. He is looked upon as the Inventor

(c) Vossius de Philosophorum sectis, pag. 90. See Keckerman's Words in the Remark [F].

[A] He flourished in the XIIIth Century.] I see no other Proof of it than this; that his two Sons were seen, by Ægidius, at the Court of Frederic Barbarossa (1). "Ætatem ex eo colligimus quod Ægidius Romanus in nono Quodlibeto refert se duos ejus filios vidisse in aula Frederici Barbarossæ. Is vero regere cœpit Anno 1130. et imperavit Annos xxxvii. — The Age he lived in may be gathered from hence, that Ægidius, in his ninth Quodlibet, affirms he saw two of his Sons at the Court of Frederic Barbarossa: Who began his Reign in the Year 1152, and reigned thirty seven Years. These are Vossius's Words in the One hundred fourteenth Page of his Book de Philosophia, chap. 14. See also the seventeenth Chapter of his Treatise de Philosophorum sectis, page 91, where he proves, by the Evidence of the Conciliator, and of This Ægidius, that Averroës flourished in the Year 1150, he refers us to the Quodlibets of Ægidius, lib. 2. Quæstione de unitate intellectus. Reinesius observes, that the Death of Averroës is placed in the Five hundred ninety fifth Year of the Hegira, which is the Eleven hundred ninety eighth of the Christian Era (2) I with Mr König, who refers us to Reinesius, had not placed This Death in the Year 1225. He ought to have referred us to Hottinger, and to have rectified him; for That learned Swiss, having said, after John Leo, that Averroës died in the Six hundred and third Year of the Hegira, makes That Year answer to our Year 1225 (3). This is a great Mistake; it answers, Part of it, to our Year 1206, the other Part to our Year 1207. The Bibliotheca Rabbinica of Bartoloci says, that Averroës flourished from the Year 1131, to the Year 1216, which was That of his Death; that his Commentaries on Aristotle's Philosophy were finished at Seville, in the Year 1187, and that Those on his Metaphysics were written in the Year 1192 (4).

[B] Some of the Learned affirm, that he has interpreted Aristotle very indifferently — for want of Learning.] This was the Opinion of Ludovicus Vives. "Nomen est commentatoris nactus, sibi se (5), homo qui in Aristotele enarrando nihil minus explicat, quam eum ipsum quem suscepit declarandum. Sed nec potuisset explicare etiam si divinus fuisset ingenio, quum esset humano, & quidem intra mediocritatem. Nam quid tandem adiebat, quo in Aristotele enarrando posset esse probe instructus? Non cognitionem veteris memoriz, non scientiam placitorum præcipuæ disciplinæ, & intelligentiam sectarum, quibus Aristoteles passim scatur. Itaque videas eum pessime philosophos omnes antiquos citare, ut qui nullum unquam legerit, ignarus Græcitatæ ac Latinitatis, pro Polo Ptholomæum ponit, pro Prothgora Pythagoram, pro Cratyllo Democritum, libros Platonis titulis ridiculis inscribit: & ita de iis loquitur, ut vel cæco perspicuum sit literam eum in illis legisse nullam. At quàm confidenter audet pronuntiare hoc aut illud ab eis dici, & quod impudentius est, non dici: Quum solos videret Alexandrum, Themistium, & Nicolaum Damascenum: Et hos, ut apparet, verfos in Arabicum perverissimè ac corruptissimè. Citat enim eos nonnunquam, & contradicit, & cum eis rixatur, ut nec ipse quidem, qui scripsit intelligat. Aristotelem verò quomodo legit, non in sua origine purum & integrum, non in lacunam Latinam derivatum, non enim potuit linguarum expert, sed de Latino in Arabicum translatum. — He has gained the Name of Commentator, tho'

he is very far from explaining his Author Aristotle, or deserving That Title. This would have been too great a Task, for one of an extraordinary Genius, much more for him, who had but a moderate one, nay, to say the Truth, a mean one. For what Quæstions had he for undertaking a Commentary on Aristotle? He had no Knowledge of Antiquity, nor of it's several Doctrines, and Sects, with which Aristotle every where abounds. So that you find him cite all the old Philosophers in such a wretched Manner, as proves he never could have read one of them. Through his Ignorance of Greek and Latin, he puts Ptholomæus for Polus, Pythagoras for Prothgoras, Democritus for Cratylus, and miscalls the Titles of Plato's Books very ridiculously; and speaks of them so, that even a blind Man may see he had never read a Letter of them. But what a prodigious Degree of Assurance is it, for him to pronounce, that such a Thing is said by them, or, what is still more shocking, that such a thing is not said by them: when he had seen only Alexander, Themistius, and Nicolas Damascenus: and these only in blundering Arabic Translations. For he sometimes cites them, and contradicts them, and raises such Controversies with them, as he himself does not at all understand. But how does he read Aristotle? not pure and entire in the Original, nor even in his first Debasement in a Latin Translation, for he understood neither of these Languages, but degenerated again out of Latin into Arabic." He afterwards proves the Inability of this Interpreter of Aristotle, by an Example (6). See Cælius Rhodiginus, who, in general, says almost the same thing (7). We must not trust to Father Rapin, who makes him say This of Averroës (8). For That Jesuit did not always quote from the Original. However, what he is going to say is by no means contemptible: "As Averroës understood nothing of Aristotle, but by an unfaithful Translation, he fell himself into such terrible Misconstructions of his Sense, that Bagolin, a Philosopher of Perona, Zimara, and Mantinus, undertook, in vain, to correct him (9)."

[C] He was Professor in the University of Morocco.] It was under the third King of the Race of the Almohades, after the Expulsion of the Almoravides. Read this Passage of Reinesius: "Quem Averroëm appellat vulgo scholæ, ejus nomen intergrum est Abual-Walid Mohammed, ebn Achmed, ebn Mohammed, ebn Roshd: Docuitque in Academia Marocana auspiciis Jacobi, tertii ex Almohadis, post ejectos Almoravides, regis (10). — The true Name of Him, who is called, in the Schools, Averroës, was Abual-Walid Mohammed, ebn Achmed, ebn Mohammed, ebn Roshd: And he taught in the University of Morocco, under the Reign of James III, of the Almohades, after the Expulsion of the Almoravides."

[D] He became very skillful in Physic; but he understood the Theory of it better than the Practice.] His principal Work in Physic is That, which is called Colliget. He there treats of This Science in general; and it cannot be amiss to give here a Piece of the Preface: "Ex præcepto nobilis Domini Audelach Avloait, qui pro consilio suorum Philosophorum Amvolait & Avenchalit injunxit mihi ut conscriberem opus, quod Arabico sermone totam Medicinæ Scientiam contineret, ad approbandum judicandum sententias veterum, collegi hoc opus Colliget, id est, Universale, sic inscriptum propter ordinem doctrinæ observandum, qui paulatim ab universis libris

(6) That is, by a Translation of a Passage out of Aristotle's Metaphysics.

(7) Cælius Rhodiginus Antiqu. Lect. lib. 3. c. 2, pag. 110.

(8) Rapin's Reflexions on Philosophy, a. 150. pag. 330. 34. Holl. Edition.

(9) Id. Ibid.

(10) Reinesius Ep. 15. ad Hofmann. pag. 32.

Inventor of an Opinion both very absurd, and very contrary to *Christian Orthodoxy* [E], but which, nevertheless, made such a formidable Progress among several

(11) Pref. Averroës apud Gesnerum, in Biblioth. fol. 101.

(12) Symphorianus Campejus apud Gesner, ibid. fol. 100. See Cælius Rhodiginus, lib. 3, cap. 12, pag. 1684. and Scaliger against Cardan, Exerc. 63, n. 5.

(13) Pet. Petrus, Different. de Homeris Nepenthe. pag. 89.

(14) See the same Petri Petri Miscell. Observat. lib. 3, cap. 18.

(15) Id. ib. lib. 2, cap. 7. pag. 99, 300.

(16) Vossius de Philosophia, cap. 14, p. 114.

(17) Tz. Dignity in not properly Latinized.

(18) Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, p. 94.

(19) Symph. Campejus, de claria Medicis.

"ad particularia procedit. In hoc enim libro universales regulas inchoavi, & deinceps favente Deo alium librum de his quæ particularia sunt instituiam, &c. (11) — At the Command of my noble Lord Audelach Sempke, who, by the Advice of his Physicians, Avofait and Avenchalit, obliged me to undertake a Work, in the Arabic Language, which should comprehend the whole Science of Physic, that I might judge and approve of the Opinions of the Ancients, I have composed this Work Colligat, that is, Universal: So entitled, on account of the Order to be observed in Teaching, which proceeds by degrees from Universals to Particulars. For in this Book I have given such Rules as are Universal; and hereafter, if Providence permits, I shall write one concerning Particulars, &c." To make it plain, that he valued himself for his great Skill in Physic, it will be sufficient to observe, that he was a Rival of the great Avicenna, and so great an Enemy to him, that he avoids naming him in his Writings: *Avicenna Medici amulus & inimicissimus fuit, ut eum nominare in suis Libris crearetur* (12): his Affectation was undoubtedly the Reason, why, in consulting a Doctrine maintained by Avicenna, he attacked it only as the Sentiment of Galen. I speak of the Doctrine, which asserts, that the Animal Spirits, which cause Joy are bright, and Thole, which cause Melancholy, black. Mr. Petit has taken notice of this Affectation of Averroës. "Nunc quibus mentis pertrationibus Averroës hanc Avicennæ opinionem impugnet, videmus: quamquam eo loco directe Avicennam non petit, sed Galenum, spontaneum melancholicorum metum ab humoris, qui in eis abundat, nigredine repentem; verum quæ ibi Galeno objicit, pari impetu in memoratam Avicennæ opinionem redeunt (13). — Let us see now what Arguments Averroës brings against this Opinion of Avicenna; though he does not there directly attack Avicenna, but Galen, who ascribes the spontaneous Timoroufness of melancholy Persons to a black Humour abounding in them, but what he there objects against Galen falls with equal force on this Opinion of Avicenna." Averroës, either on purpose, or through forgetfulness, has behaved in a quite contrary Manner, with regard to Avicenna; for he names him as the Author of a Remark, which he might have read in Philoponus (14). This is only by the by. Now, that he was more learned in the Theory, than the Practice, he himself confesses, as Mr. Petit observes. "Averroës fatetur de se ultro in septimo eorum librorum, quos Colligat vulgus appellat, cap. 6. Ego, inquit, non Rudui ei Scientiæ (Medicinæ) ut videar mihi in ea esse sufficiens: Et alibi negat se in eorum numero esse qui ægris remedia adhibent (15). — Averroës makes this Confession of himself, in the seventh of those Books, commonly called Colligat, cap. 6. I have not, says he, studied This Science (of Physic) in order to make myself perfect in it: And, elsewhere, he denies himself to be in the Number of those, who administer to the sick." This Passage of Mr. Petit is much more exact, than these Words of Possius. "Averroës Cordubensis, cognomento Commentator, medicus non tam practicus, quam theoreticus. Fuit medicus Memorolini regis (16). — Averroës of Corduba, surnamed the Commentator, a Physician, not so much in Practice, as in Theory. He was Physician to King Memorolini." The last Words weaken, instead of confirming, the former; for, to be a Prince's Physician, requires great Practice. I say nothing of Memorolini (17), which was not a proper Name, but a Name of Dignity, and consequently not fit to be joined with the Word regis. Mercklinus was not aware of This, when he said, *Videtur Medicus fuisse regis Miramolinus* (18). — He seems to have been Physician to King Miramolinus. Symphorian Campejus was the Original of This Error; he had said, that Averroës lived at Corduba, in the Time of King Miramalinus, tempore Miramalinus regis apud Cordubam (19). Observe, that the Physicians of Paris, great Favourers of Phlebotomy, would not easily agree, that Averroës was not

much skilled in the Practice of Physic; for it is said, that his Example contributed much to extirpate an Error, which they disapproved. Read these Words of Stephen Pasquier. "How many Ages have we practised Physic, with the Notion, that Children ought not to be bled, 'till fourteen Years of Age, and that bleeding of them before That Time was not a Cure, but certain Death? A Heresy, which we should have lived in to this Day, if it had not been for Averroës, the Arabian, who ventured to make the first Experiment of it on a Son of his own, about fix or seven Years of Age, whom he cured of a Pleurisie (20)." [E] He is looked upon as the Inventor of an Opinion, both very absurd, and very contrary to Christian Orthodoxy.] I think it would be more proper to say, that he has cleared and explained it, and, by maintaining it with more application than ever, has given a kind of new Life to it; for the same Pomponatius, who affirms, in his fourth Chapter, that it is a Monster forged by Averroës; *Pigmentum & Monstrum ab Averroës confictum* (21); has also said, in the third Chapter, that Themistius and Averroës taught the same thing. "Averroës itaque & ut existimo ante eum Themistius concordare possent animam intellectivam realiter distingui ab anima corruptibili, verum ipsam esse unum numero in omnibus hominibus, mortalem vero multiplicatam (22). — Averroës therefore, and, I think, before him Themistius, maintained an intellectual Soul really distinct from the corruptible Soul, that the former was only One in all Mankind, but the Mortal One as numerous as the Individuals." The Jesuits of Coimbra go higher; for they will have it, that Theophrastus understood the Doctrine of his Master Aristotle in this Sense. "Occurrit alia sententia existimantium in disciplina Aristotelis ponendam esse unam duntaxat animam intellectivam, five unum intellectum qui omnibus hominibus afflatur, ut folia lumen univerfitali. Sic enim Aristotelem interpretati sunt ejus discipulus & Scholæ successores Theophrastus, Themistius, Simplicius, Averroës, alique non pauci, etsi non omnes eodem modo de hujusmodi intellectu locuti fuerint (23). — There occurs another Opinion of Those, who, according to the Doctrine of Aristotle, maintained only an intellectual Soul, or one Intellect, which serves all Mankind, as the Light of the Sun does the Universe. For so has Aristotle been interpreted by his Scholars, and Successors in his School, Theophrastus, by Themistius, Simplicius, Averroës, and others, tho' they have not all expressed themselves alike, concerning this Intellect." They add, that several Moderns have owned, that, according to Aristotle's Hypothesis, the Understanding of all Men is one and the same Substance. "Hoc quidem Argumentum permovet etiam ad prædictam Intellectus unitatem in Aristotelis doctrinâ afferendam non paucos & recentioribus peripateticis in quibus sunt Thom. Anglicus, Achillinus, Odo Jandunus, Mirandulanus, Zimara, Vicomercatus, & quidam alii (24). — This very Argument induced many of the modern Peripatetics to assert this Unity of the Intellect, according to the Doctrine of Aristotle, amongst whom are Thomas Anglicus, Achillinus, Odo Jandunus, Mirandulanus, Zimara, Vicomercatus, and others." But that some among These Moderns will have it to be, in all Men, as an assistant Form, others as a constituent Form. The latter is the Opinion of Mirandulanus (25), and of Achillinus (26). But observe here a Mistake like This of Pomponatius. The Jesuits of Coimbra elsewhere ascribe the Invention of the Unity of the Intellect of all Men to Averroës. This will appear the more surprising, when the Words are seen, which preceded Thole, where they affirm it. "Secunda (sententia) fuit Avicennæ 9. Metaph. cap. quarto, & in lib. Natur. part. 5. Avicenna in epistola de lumine, & Græci ejusdem Marini cujus mentionem facit hoc loco Philoponus, agentium intellectum agentem esse substantiam quandam separatam, quam Avicenna Choclozæam nuncupabat. Idem placuit Averro in libello de beatitudine animæ, cap. 5. & in epitome Metaph. tractatu 4. qui errori errorem subnectens, aliorum vestigia secutus, unum,

(20) Pasquier, in the second Volume of his Letters, Book 19, pag. 548.

(21) Pomponatius de Immort. Animæ, c. 4, pag. 9.

(22) Id. ib. c. 3, p. 7.

(23) Conimbricenses in 2. lib. de Anima, cap. 1. Quest. 7. Art. 1. pag. 59.

(24) Ibid.

(25) Mirandulanus, de Eversione singularis certaminis, lib. 32, c. 1. & lib. 31, p. 2, & 6.

(26) Achillinus lib. de Intelligentiis.

several Italian Philosophers, that it became necessary to condemn it by the Pope's

(27) Conimbricenses in lib. 3, de Anima, cap. 5. Quest. 1. Art. 1. pag. 226.

(28) Commentator ipse Comm. 10, l. 3, de Anim. ponit ipsam esse ultimam Intelligentiam.

Pompon. de Immortalitate Anim. c. 7, 4. pag. 11.

(29) Calius Rhodigin. Antiq. Lect. lib. 3, c. 2, pag. 109.

(30) Conimb. in lib. 2, de Anima, cap. 1. Quest. 7. Art. 2. pag. 60.

(31) Pomponatius de Immortal. Anim. c. 4. pag. 7.

(32) E. lib. 1. c. 5.

"unum omnium hominum fixit communem intellectum, ut alibi retulimus (27). ----- The second [Opinion] was That of Avicenna, in his Metaphysics, lib. 9. chap. 4. and in his Book de Natur. Part 5. of Avempace, in his Epistle de Lumine, and of Marinus, a certain Greek, mentioned here by Philoponus; who held, that the acting Intellect is a certain separate Substance, which Avicenna calls Chalcodæa. Averroës is of the same Sentiment, in his Book de Beatitudine Animæ, chap. 5. and in Epitome Metaphys. Tractat. 4. who, adding Error to Error, in imitation of others, has pretended, that there is but one Intellect, in common to all Men, as we have elsewhere related." That is to say, That the Unity of the Intellect is a Fiction; yet Averroës has added to the Errors of others; yet nevertheless it is plain, this Fiction does not at all differ from the Doctrine they attribute to Avicenna, &c. We must remember, that, according to Averroës, the Intellect of Men is the lowest Degree of Intelligences, and occupies the lowest Place of the Universe (28). "Esse mentium infimum omnium, & unicam. Nam sicuti cœlestes globi singuli singulas habere mentes videntur, ita & orbis hic inferior unum, ut ipse vult, habet, quæ non hujus hominis sit, vel illius: Sed humanæ speciei mens sit, & dicatur, ut speciei unicæ unicuique sit intellectus in hoc orbe inferiori, ut plerique intelligent, ubique totus compingi (29). — It is One only, and That the lowest of Intelligences. For, as each of the celestial Orbs seems to have it's particular Intellect, so has this inferior Globe it's Intellect, which he will have to be One, and not appropriated to This, or That Man; but to be the Intellect of the whole human Species, that there may be to One Species One Intellect, in this lower Orb, as most understand it, that the whole is contained every where." Be this as it will, these Jesuits, in confuting this pretended Unity of the Intellect of all Men, attack This Philosopher only; so much do they, at least, esteem him the chief Defender of This Chimera. They observe, that Scotus had said, that Averroës became worthy to be excommunicated by human Race; and that others say, that his Doctrine is such a dreadful Monster, that the Forests of Arabia never produced a greater. "Hæc Commentatoris seu commentoris potius de unitate intellectus sententia adeo stulta est, ut merito Scotus in 4. d. 43. q. 2. dixerit dignum esse Averroem qui ob has ineptias ex hominum communione averruncetur. Alii vero hoc ejus figmentum monstrum vocarint quo nulum majus Arabum sylvæ genuerint. Certe hoc unum lat esse debuisse ad eos coarguendos qui filium Rois tanti faciunt, ut ejus animam Aristotelis animam esse dicant (30)." The last part of this Passage informs us, that, among other Elogies, That of having Aristotle's Soul was given to This Arabian. The Jesuits of Coimbra will have it, that, to confute this, it is sufficient to consider only the Doctrine of the Unity of the Intellect. But This Observation is false; for, as several of the Moderns have owned, This Doctrine is only an Enlargement and Explication of Aristotle's Principles. I could prove this by many Remarks, but shall content myself with this, that, according to the Hypothesis of our Philosopher, the Multiplication of Individuals can have no other Foundation, than Matter; from whence it follows, that the Intellect is but One, since Aristotle makes it separate and distinct from Matter. Videntur Aristotelem simpliciter probare intellectum possibilem esse immixtum & immaterialem (31). This is the Observation of Pomponatius. "Quod vero unicuique sit intellectus in omnibus hominibus five possibilis ponatur, patere potest ex eo quoniam apud Peripateticos est celebrata propositio, multiplicatio nem individuum in eadem specie non posse esse nisi per materiam quantam, ut dicitur 7 & 12 Metaph. & 2 de Anima (32). — But that the Intellect in all Men is but One, or may be supposed so, appears from hence, that the Peripatetics have a celebrated Maxim, that the Multiplication of Individuals can be only by Matter and Quantity, as is said in 7 and 12. Metaph. & 2. de Anima." But how much sorer This Opinion of Averroës may be grounded on Aristotle, yet it is impious and absurd

at the bottom. It is impious, because it leads to a Belief, that the Soul, which is properly the Form of Man, dies with the Body (33), it is absurd, because nothing can be more senseless, than to maintain, that two Men, who are directed by their respective intellectual Operations to kill each other, have the same Soul? What can be imagined more chimerical, than that two Philosophers, one of whom affirms, and the other denies, the same Thesis, at the same time, are but One only Being, as to the Intellect? We will examine what an Adversary of Pomponatius, advanced against This Extravagancy.

First, He confutes it, as it supposes, that the Intellect is not in Man, and afterwards, as it supposes that all Men have but one and the same Intellect. On the first Point, he enquires why an Intellect, which ought to unite it's Operation to That of the Man, in the most intimate Manner possible, should think it a Dishonour to unite itself with the Organs, to compose with them one Individual (34)? You will easily apprehend the intimate Union there mentioned, if you take notice, that, according to the Averroës, the Soul of Man is not capable of Understanding without the help of This assisting Intellect. This Intellect then must supply, by it's Operation, what the Soul of Man wants; and consequently our intellectual Acts depend on two Principles, whereof one is only passive and defective, the other is active and perfect. These two Principles therefore concur and terminate in the same effect; and consequently the Action of the Intellect of the Averroës unites it self, in a most intimate manner, with the Soul, which understands. But this difficulty is not great; for the Union objected is not more intimate, than That of the Operation of God, with the Operation of the Creature, according to the Doctrine of Co-operation; and yet it does not follow from hence, that these two Causes must be personally united. The Author pretends to obviate this Answer, by saying, That the Operation of the Intellect of the Averroës is immanent and particular, which cannot be said of the Co-operation of God (35); but this may easily be answered; so that his Disputation is not so victorious as to the first Point, as it is with regard to the second; for observe how he prefixes Averroës: That Intellect, of which you speak, is either God, or a Creature. If it is God, I ask this Question, Does he act within or without himself? If without himself? what a Monster would not an Operation of the Understanding be, which is placed without the Intellect, and in another Person (36). This proves too much; for from hence it must be inferred, that the Divine Intellect cannot produce an Act of Intelligence in the Soul of Man, without producing the same in itself. Now This is false and absurd. The other Branch of the Question reduces the Averroës to the last Extremity. If God forms in himself the Acts of Intelligence, which are in Man, how many Errors must he entertain? Sed neque intra Deum contineri potest (intellectio) quod im-
"menfos in eum errores toties inveheret, quoties opinione suâ falleretur homines; neque enim prorsus ulla valeret excusatio, quin prima ac summa veritas à se ipsa monstruose deficeret, si assignanda ipsi essent, si in sinu ejus & complexu reponenda quæcunque esse possint falsa hominum judicia (37). — Neither can it [the Intellect] be contained within God, since it must produce in him such prodigious Errors, as often as Men are deceived in their Opinions; nor can any Salvo be found sufficient to explain, how the supremum Verbum can avoid degenerating from itself in a monstrous Manner, if it must be charged with, and made to entertain, all those false judgments, to which Men are liable." If they answer, that this Intellect is created, the Author replies, that a Creature does not seem sufficient to regulate so effectually all human Souls at the same time (38). Besides that the contrariety of Opinions, which reign among Men, cannot lodge together in one single Understanding. Quomodo in unam & eandem intelligentiam simul cadet contrarietas illa opinionum & sententiarum, quam toties in hominibus experimur, cum unus ait, alter negat de eodem idem? Quæ eadem quæstio impedire potest advertarium in ref-

(33) See Remarks [H] towards the End.

(34) Antonius Sironius de Immortalitate Animæ adversus Pomponatium & Affectus, p. 368.

(35) Id. ib. pag. 369.

(36) Quid hoc potest intellectio ut extra intellectum consistat & quidem toto ab ea disjuncta supposito? Id. ib. d. pag. 370.

(37) Id. ib.

(38) Id. ib. p. 371, 372.

Pope's Authority [F]. This Opinion is, That there is an Intelligence, which, without

"ponfione jamjam explofa de intellectu divino. —
"How can That Contrariety of Opinions, and Notions,
"which we fo often observe among Men, concerning
"one and the same Subject, ever juftify in one, and
"the same, Intellect? Which very Objection fhews
"also the Abfurdity of That long exploded Notion of
"the Divinity of This Intellect." This laft Obje-
"ction has the same force againft Thofe, who affirm,
"that This Intellect is God. Thus is alfo Spinozifm

(39) See the
Article SPI-
NOZA.
Remark [N]
n. III.

(40) Anton.
Sirmondus
de Immort.
Anim. pag.
372.

(41) Id. ib.

(42) Ibid.
Pag. 373.

(43) That of
The Truth
of the Chri-
tian Religi-
on, chap. 15.

(44) Malle-
branche's
Inquiry after
Truth, Book
7, chap. 1,
& feq. of
Part 2.

(45) Confil-
m. in lib. 5.
de Anima,
cap. 1,
Quæft. 1,
Artic. 1.
pag. 226.

invincibly confuted (39). It is remarkable, that the Au-
thor owns all the strength of his Objection to con-
fist in his having proved, that the Operation of
the Intellect of the *Averroïfs* on the Souls of
Men is inherent (40). But I think, there is no
Reason for them to allow, that he has proved This
Point. As to what remains, he declares, that he
should have nothing to fay againft *Averroë's* Sentim-
ent, if That Philosopher had only fpoke of the
Operation of the Divine Intellect, confidered as
the first Cause. "Reftat ergo, ut fua iftud fom-
nium integrum Averroëi fonnii loco & mendacii
"haberi finat, aut certe interpretetur ipfe de aétione
"intellectus divini, qua parte non intellectus qui-
dem præcife, fed eft prima caufa, in omnes
"caufarum fecundarum, adeoque inferiorum intel-
"ligentiarum effectus ex virtute fua influens aliquid
"(41). — An ita poffit accipi, non difputo, illud
"contentus ostendiffe, quod nifi quid fimile fonet
"ejus doctrina, inanis ac fulta fit, fi quid autem
"fimile, ne pilum quidem nobis adveniantem ha-
"beat (42). — It remains therefore, that *Aver-
roës* muft either give up this whole Chimerical No-
"tion of his for a Dream, and a Fiction, or interpret
"it of the Act of the Divine Intellect, not as it is
"the Intellect, but the first Cause operating on all
"second Causes, and confequently in fome Degree in-
"fluencing by it's Agency the Effects of inferior In-
"tellects. — Whether or no it can be fo explained,
"I fhall not undertake to difpute, being content
"with having fhewn, that, unlike his Doctrine he
"conftituted after fome fuch manner as this, it is
"empty and abfurd, but, if it be fo conftrued, I have
"nothing to object againft it." He tells us, That he
has not meddled with the Objections, which *Thomas
Aquinas* started againft the Hypothefis of This *Arabi-
an*. You may find it perfectly confuted in a Work
of Mr Du Pleffis Mornay (43).

It is furprizing, that fuch great Genius's, as *Ari-
ftotle* and *Averroës*, fhould invent fo many Chimera's
concerning the Intellectual Faculty; and yet I will
venture to fay, that the Superiority of their Parts was
the very Cause of it. It was by their great Penetra-
tion, that they difcovered fuch Difficulties, as obli-
ged them to leave the common Road, and defpife
many other ways, where they did not meet with
what they fought. The moft certain Knowledge they
had of the Nature of the Soul, was, that it
is capable of thinking fucceffively of a thoufand things;
but, how it reduced this Capacity into Action, they
could not comprehend: The Operation of Objects, their
Species, their Images in the Brain, as much refined as
you pleafe, nothing of all this feems fufficient to give
the Soul an actual Intelligence. See with what Force
Father *Mallebranche* confutes all that has been faid of
the Manner of our knowing things (44). He could
find no other Expedient, than to affert, that we
fee them in God, and that the Ideas are not produced
in our Souls. Some ancient Philofophers have faid,
that God is the general Intelligence of all Spirits;
that is to fay, that he diffufes Knowledge on them,
as the Sun does Light on Bodies. Read thefe Words
of the Jefuits of *Coimbra*: "Prima fententia fuit
"Alexandri libro fecundo de Anima, cap. 20. & 21.
"exiftimantis intellectum agentem effe intellectum
"universalem omnium conditorem, hoc eft Deum;
"quod etiam Platonis dogma libro fefto de repub-
"lica fuiffe creditur, qui intellectum agentem no-
"ftros animos cælis irradiantem comparavit foli,
"ut ex Themiftio hoc in lib. refert divus Thomas
"1 part. quæft. 79. articulo quarto. In eundem er-
"rorem lapfus fuif Prifcianus Lydus afferens, intel-
"lectum agentem non effe partem anime, fed men-
"tem primam atque divinam, vel Ideam boni (45).
"— The first was the Opinion of Alexander, in
"his fecond Book de Anima, cap. 20, 21, who held
"the acting Intellect to be the univerfal Intellect,

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"the Creator of all things, i. e. God; which is al-
"fo eftemed to be the Doctrine of Plato, in his feventh
"Book de Republica, where the acting Intellect, ir-
"radiating our Minds, is compared to the Sun, as
"St Thomas relates from Themiftius, in this Book,
"Part 1, Quæft. 79, Art. 4. Prifcianus Lydus is
"fallen into the fame Error, in afferting, that the
"acting Intellect is not part of the Soul, but the fu-
"pream and divine Mind itfelf, or Idea of Good." When a Subject is very obfcure, it is no wonder,
that the greateft Philofophers fpeak of it a little out
of the way, and on Suppofitions not eafily to be
apprehended. Now there cannot be a more diffi-
cult Subject, than This of the Formation of Thought.
It is, perhaps, more fo, than That of the Original
of the Soul. This is going a great way; for it is
a very wife Reflexion *Bartholin* makes on a Story re-
ported of St *Anfelm*. This Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
finding himfelf near Death, at the Age of Seventy
fix Years, is faid to have begged a fhort Refpite, that
he might finifh a very obfcure Inquiry, he had be-
gun, into the Original of the Soul (46). If he had
obtained Seventy fix Years more, fays *Bartholin*, I
doubt he could fcarce have made an end of fo obfcure
a Queftion. Valde dubito, fi vel totidem annos quot
vixerat illi addidiffet Deus vitæ arbitrat, ad finem
quæftionis dubie unquam potuiffet pervenire (47). Ob-
ferve, that moft of the *Cartefians*; teach, that, as
there is none but God, who can give Motion to the
Body, fo there is none but God, who can modify
the Spirits. They except Thofe Actions of the Soul,
which are criminal. But, as to all what we call Sen-
fation, Imagination, Paffion, Memory, and Idea, They
pretend, that God is the efficient and immediate
Cause of thefe, and that the Action of Objects, or
the Motion of our Animal Spirits, is only the oc-
cafional Cause. This Opinion is but an Extenfion
of That attributed to a famous Interpreter of *Ari-
ftotle*, and which Mr Du Pleffis Mornay confutes by
fpecious Reafons, but fuch as our *Cartefians* would
not embarafs themfelves with. Let us fee fomething
of what he advances: "As to the Opinion of A-
"lexander (*Aphrodisienfis*) who maintains, that there
"is an univerfal acting Intellect, which impreffes
"the poffible Intellect, i. e. every one's Capa-
"city, and reduces it into Action, moft of the
"Reafons produced above, againft *Averroës*, will
"hold, alfo, againft him. But, becaufe, by this
"acting Intellect, he feems to mean God himfelf,
"there is this yet farther to be objected, That God,
"who is all Good and all Wife, would not imprint
"on our Understandings the Follies and Vices we
"find in it, neither would he leave it in fo much
"Ignorance and Obfcurity, as we feel in it, but
"conquer in all Men That Contagion, which This
"Body brings with it; and, though he fhould not in-
"fpire or influence fo many things to the one,
"as to the other, according to the feveral Capa-
"cities of This *rafa Tabula*, This blank Paper, yet
"he never would produce in any fuch a World of falfe
"Images, as every Man may perceive within him-
"felf. Farther, This Influence muft either be con-
"tinual, or interrupted. If continual, we fhould
"underftand all that our Imagination could repre-
"fent to us without Trouble or Application: If in-
"terrupted, we could not, of ourfelves, under-
"ftand any thing whatfoever, nor will when we
"would. Now, on the contrary, we find it diffi-
"cult to apprehend fome things, and are forced to
"overcome the Ignorance of our Underftanding,
"as it were, Step by Step; and there are others,
"which we can apprehend as foon as they offer
"themfelves, and whenever we pleafe (48)."

[F] Which made fuch a formidable Progreff —
that it became neceffary to condemn it, by the Pope's
Authority. I have reported, in another Place (49),
the Words of one of the Bulls of Pope *Leo X*, which
was approved in the *Lateran* Council. I fhall
add here, that *Raimond Lully* made great Influence
to Pope *Clement V*, to condemn *Averroës's* Com-
mentaries on *Aristotle*; and that he endeavoured to
engage *Philip the Fair*, King of *France*, to do the
fame. He represented Thefe Books as full of pernicious
Errors, and fuch as will lead young Perfons,
by Degrees, to Impiety: He prayed, petitioned,
and wrote a Book on this Subject, but found both

(46) See the
Article AN-
SELMUS,
Remark [A]

(47) Tho.
Bartholinus;
Differtat. 6.
de legendis
Libris, pag.
564.

(48) Du
Pleffis Mor-
nay, Of the
Truth of the
Christian
Religion,
chap. 15,
pag. 208.

(49) In the
Article SPI-
NOZA. Re-
mark [D] at
the End.

without multiplying it self, animates all the Individuals, of Human Species, so far as they exercise the Functions of the reasonable Soul. There is scarce any Book, of *Averroës*, which discovers better Sentiments, than That, which is intitled *Destructionum Destructionum contra Algazelem* [G]. Very disadvantageous Reports have been spread of This Philosopher's Religion [H]; for he is said, not only

(50) Theoph. Raynaudus, Erem. de malis ac bonis Libris. n. 340, pag. 200, he quotes

Charles Bouille, in the Life of Raymondus Lullius.

(51) Id. ib.

(52) Lud. Vivez, de Causis corrupt. Artium, lib. 5, pag. 167.

(53) Clavigny de Sainthe Honorine, of the Use of Suspected Books, pag. 48, 49.

(54) I find nothing more of it in Paul Jorjous, Elog. Viror. bellic. castr. virtute illustr. lib. 4, pag. 334, than that Bajazet II, Peripatetic Averroës opinionibus oblectabatur; — was much delighted with the Opinions of Averroës, the Peripatetic.

(55) Cardanus de Subtilitate, lib. 9, pag. 682.

the Pope, and the King of France, deaf to all his Solicitations (50). At present, there is no Occasion to desire this, or to pray, that, at least, this Philosopher may be prohibited from passing for an Oracle; for his Authority is now void, and no Body wastes time in reading him; but some Centuries have been much infatuated with his Doctrine. Read what follows. "Congruenter & exauditu facilius fuisse petitio, pro qua nunc, (quæ Dei benignitas est,) non est satagendum. Nimirum ne Averroës oraculi loco esset in Scholis: Quod cum superiore sæculo, & paucis anterioribus, invaluisse, præsertim in Italia, ut Canus, lib. 10, de locis, cap. 5, notavit; occasio fuit magnorum in oris illis errorum, & inutilis diligentie, qua aliqui non minus in pervoluendo Averroës collocabant operæ, quam in sacris literis ponant, qui iis maxime delectantur: Nec fidei minus Averroës tribuerant, quam optimi quique fideles Canonici scriptoribus: Quod indignissimum fuisse, nemo non videt. Nunc Averroës in scholis depontatus evasit (51). — It had been a proper Petition, and much easier to have been obtained, though now, thank God, we have no occasion for it, That Averroës should not pass in the Schools for an Oracle: for his being so esteemed in the former Age, and some few preceding ones, especially in Italy, as Canus in lib. 10, de Locis, cap. 5, has observed; occasioned, in those Parts, great Errors, and an useless Industry, some having taken as much Pains in turning over Averroës, as the greatest Divines ever bestowed on the Holy Scriptures themselves: Nor have the Canonical Writers met with greater Faith from the most zealous, than Averroës has from his Followers: which all must agree to have been a high Indignity. But now Averroës is quite exploded the Schools." Ludovicus Vivez complained very much of the Authority, which This Arabian Professor had obtained. "Quem Philosophi de nostrâ Scholâ, qui post eum scribere, ita sunt amplexati, ut penè autoritate Aristoteli adæquarint, nec solum qui longo post intervallo vixerunt, sed qui illius quoque ætate: Quod factum est & ignorantia meliorum, & admiratione mercimonii linguæ & sensus peregrini: Ut gratiam ei conciliaret apud primos novitas, apud posteros vetustas (52). — Who is so bigbly esteemed by the Philosophers of our Schools, who have wrote after him, that his Authority has been almost made equal to That of Aristotle, not only by Those, who have lived long after him, but even by Those of his own Time; which has happened through Ignorance of better Writings, and out of a Humour of admiring such as are foreign, both in Language and Sentiments. So that he came into Favour with the former Ages for his Novelty, and with the latter for his Antiquity." He observes here a remarkable piece of good Fortune: Some lucky Genius's please at first for their Novelty, and at last for their Antiquity. Let the Reader examine, if he pleases, this reasoning of a Modern. "We need not wonder to see, that Men have had so much esteem for Averroës, since Cardanus's Father, who dealt in Magic, assures us, that the Devils themselves have admired his Doctrine, and that Bajazet diverted himself with it, in his greatest Pains of the Gout; which is as great a Proof of it's Merit, as it's being admired by the Intelligentes (53)." If what relates to Bajazet is of no better Credit than the rest, I question it much (54). In respect to Cardanus's Father, it ought to have been said, that one of the Spirits, which appeared to him, professed himself to be an Averroësist, and not that Averroës was admired by the Intelligentes; and it ought to have been added, that Cardanus himself insinuates, that This Story of his Father was fabulous. "Ille verò palam Averroësistam se professus fuit. Hæc seu historica seu fabula sit ita se habuit. Quod fabula videretur satis Argumento esse debet quod, &c. (55). — He openly professed himself an Averroësist. This is a true Relation of

"this Story or Fable. But that it is a Fable, sufficiently appears from hence, that, &c."

[G] No Book of Averroës discovers better Sentiments, than his Destructiones Destructionum contra Algazelem. Or rather, Destructionum Destructionum. The Arabic Title is, *Habapalah Alatabalah* (56). In This Piece, Averroës confutes the Metaphysical Opinions, which Algazel had maintained against the Philosophers. Most of These Opinions of Algazel are very pernicious; for Example, he denied, what the Philosophers held, that the World is the Work of God, that God is an Agent, that he is a One, Simple, and Incorporal, Being, and that there cannot be two uncreated Natures (57). Since Averroës takes the part of the Philosophers in all these Propositions, it cannot be denied, but that he labours in favour of Orthodoxy. In Father Rapin's Opinion, it is one of his best Pieces (58). But, on the other side, can This good Cause receive any great Service from such a Defender, who denies the Possibility of the Creation, and maintains, that all spiritual Beings are eternal, and that God does not know particular things, nor extend his Providence over the Individuals of this World (59)?

[H] Very disadvantageous Reports have been spread of This Philosopher's Religion. You will find, in Moreri's Dictionary, that, according to His Opinion, Christianity was an impossible Religion; that Judaism was a Religion of Children, and that Mahometism was a Religion of Swines; and that he afterwards cried out, *Moriatur anima mea morte Philosophorum*; that is, *Let my Soul die the Death of the Philosophers*. Behold, how he has imitated Balaam, who said, *Let me die the Death of the Righteous, and let my last End be like his* (60). Mr Moreri does not exactly relate his Opinion concerning Christianity; Averroës called it, says he, an impossible Religion, because of the Mystery of the Eucharist. It is certain, that This Philosopher did not speak so obligingly of it, when he reflected on the Practice of the Communion of Rome. Read these Words of Mr Daillé, which he addressed to Father Adam: "The wife Men of the World have not excused you this strange Belief, any more than the Jews; witness the Words of the Philosopher Averroës, which Cardinal Du Perron relates, on the Credit of Sarga, one of the Fathers of your Society; that he said 'no Sect worse, or weaker, than That of the Christians, who, themselves, eat, and break to pieces, the God, whom they adore' (61)." Before I go any farther, I shall make two Remarks against This learned Minister. I. That Cardinal Du Perron is not, properly, the Person, who relates these Words on the Credit of one of Father Adam's Fraternity; he only relates them, as cited by Mr Du Pleſſis; for it is This latter, who alleges, on This Subject, what the Jesuit Sarga observes concerning the Sentiment of This Arabian Philosopher (62). II. That, instead of Sarga, he should have said Sarga. We shall here relate a Passage of another Minister: "If we should receive the holy Sacrament kneeling, — — — we should be a Scandal, and a Stumbling-block to the Weak: But we should give the Infidels occasion to blaspheme the sacred Name of God, and to have an Abhorrence for Christianity. For we cannot forget the sad Example of the Pagan Philosopher †, who, having seen the Sacrament eaten, which had before been adored, said, *That he had never seen a more foolish, or more ridiculous Sect, than That of the Christians, who adore That, which they eat*; and for that reason this unhappy Man cried out, *Let my Soul be with Those of the Philosophers, since the Christians adore what they eat* (63)." The same Minister alleges, elsewhere, a Passage of Cicero, very agreeable to This Sentiment of Averroës (64). "Ecquem tam amentem esse putas, qui illud quo vescatur, Deum credat esse (65). — And who do you think is so senseless, as to believe, that what he eats, is God?" Cicero spoke thus, on account of giving the Name of Ceres to Corn, and

(56) See Reinherm, Epist. 15, ad Holm. pag. 33.

(57) See Gesner's Bibliotheca, fol. 100 verso.

(58) Rapin's Revisions on Philosophy, n. 30, pag. 303.

(59) See Wolfen's Bibliotheca Selecta, lib. 12, cap. 36.

(60) Numm. xxiii, 10.

* Du Perron, de l'Eucharist. lib. 3, cap. 29, p. 973.

(61) Daillé's Reply to Father Adam, and to Calixtus, Part I, chap. 16, pag. 116.

(62) Du Pleſſis's Treatise of the Sacrament, pag. 1106.

† Averroës.

(63) Drelincourt, Dial. 9, against the Missionaries on the Service of the Reformed Churches, p. 305, 306.

(64) Id. Dial. 6, p. 236.

(65) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 3, cap. 16, pag. 413.

That

only to have despised the *Jewish*, and the *Christian*, but also the *Mahometan*, Religion, which was what he outwardly professed. Several Authors have taken the Pains

That of *Bacchus*, to Wine: "Cum fruges Cererem, vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato (66). — When we call

(66) Id. ib.

"Corn Ceres, and Wine Bacchus, we use them only as customary Expressions." Father *Lescaupier* confesses, that This illustrious Pagan is very rational, when he argues in This manner, in regard to *Ceres*,

(67) *Lescaupier* in Cic. de Nat. Deor. pag. 622.

and *Bacchus*: "But, adds he (67), it is an extraordinary Wisdom, under Christianity, to eat what we believe to be God, and we look upon Those as guilty of a most senseless and stupid Infidelity, who do not take the Words of *Jesus Christ*, This is my Body, literally, and who, by way of Ridicule, object to us these Words of *Cicero*. Amen-

(68) Id. ib.

tissimæ ac solidissimæ infidelitatis damnamus hæreticos homines, qui Christi Domini, hoc est ipsius veritatis, planissima disertissimaque verba, &c. (68). — Illud Academicum sublatum cachinnis procaciter usurpant, Academicorum, non Fidelium nepotes: Eque-

(69) Id. ib.

quem tam amentem esse putas qui illud, quo vestatur, Deum credat esse? At cum Apolocho Catholici respondemus: Nos fulti propter Christum; utinam vos sitis prudentes in Christo (69). — They, who reproach us with This Academic Fear, are the Defendants of the Academics, and not of the Faithful. Who, think you, can be so mad, as to take That, which he eats, to be God? We Catholics answer, with the Apostle, We are Fools for Christ's sake, would to God ye were wise in Christ. It is not our Business to examine here into the Merits of these Reflexions; we are only considering the Sentiments of *Averroës*. I observe, that *Possius* has only spoken in general of this Philosopher's Contempt of the Christian Religion; he has not considered it in particular, as arising from Transubstantiation. "Quam parum viderit tantus Philosophus in verâ & unicâ salutis viâ, arguit illud quod diceret, malle se animam suam esse cum

(70) *Vossius* de Philosoph. Sectis, cap. 17, pag. 91.

Philosophis, quam cum Christianis (70). — How little so great a Philosopher understood of the true and only Means of Salvation, is evident from his saying, That he had rather his Soul were with the Philosophers, than with the Christians." Some say, that *Averroës* was born a Christian, but that he first turned Jew, and afterwards Mahometan. De *Christianis Judæis, de Judæo factis est Mahometanus* (71). Others say, that he wrote against the three great Legislators, *Moses*, *JESUS CHRIST*, and *Mahomet*; and that he supplied the Materials of the Book de tribus Impostoribus — of the three Impostors (72).

(71) *Anton. Simonius*, de Immortal. Animæ, pag. 29.

Others observe, That he never believed there were any Devils (73); and that therefore Cardan does violence to his Doctrine, when he introduces an Evil Spirit, who calls himself one of his Disciples and Followers (74). Nothing can be pronounced with greater Warmth, than This Sentence, or With, of *Erasmus*: Utinam prodisset ingens illud opus adversus Averroën impium, καὶ τῆς κατάρατος (75). — Would to God, That great Work were once published against the impious, and thrice accursed, *Averroës*. He wrote this to one, who had informed him, that his great Book against *Averroës* was printed. "Alterum magnum opus sectum in libros sex & quadraginta ex Peripateticâ disciplinâ consecimus adversus Averroë, quod etiam excusum est (76). — The other great Work, containing Forty six Books, on the Doctrine of the Peripatetics, we have composed against *Averroës*; and it is now printed." How comes it, then, that *Erasmus* wishes for the Publication of it? Is it not a Sign, that, in answering his Friends, he had not always their Letters before him, and so forgot some Particulars in them? Be it as it will, his Wish puts me in mind of one of *Petrarch's* Letters, wherein he exhorts a learned Divine to confute *Averroës*, That mad Dog, who barks so furiously against *JESUS CHRIST*. *Petrarch* adds, that he had made some Collections for such a Work: but, that he neither had the Leisure, nor Knowledge, which was required for it. He calls the Silence of so many great Men, on this Occasion, impious; and desires that the Work, which he exhorts his Friend to compose, may be dedicated to himself, though he should happen to be in his Grave. "Extremum quæso, ut cum primum perveneris, quod suspiras, quod citò

(72) *Erasmus*, Epist. 20, lib. 10, pag. 532.

fore confido, contra ætatem illum rabidum Averroë, qui, furore canis insando, contra Dominum suum CHRISTUM, contraque Catholicam Fident latrat, collectis undique blasphemis ejus, quod æ scis, jam cœperamus, sed me ingens semper, & nunc solito major occupatio, nec minor temporis, quam scientiæ, retrahit inopia, totis ingeni viribus ac nervis incumbens, rem à multis magnis viris impie neglectam, opusculum unum scribas, & mihi illud inscribas, seu tunc vivus ero, seu interitum abiero (77). — My last Request is, that, as soon as you are settled to your work, which I hope you will be very shortly, you will undertake, with your whole Strength, what has hitherto been so impiously neglected by so many great Men, a Work against That mad Dog Averroës, who, transported with an impious Rage, barks against his Lord CHRIST, and against the Catholic Faith, wherein the World may see a full Collection of all his Blasphemies, which, you know, I had begun myself, but have been prevented by a continual Interruption of Business, now greater than ever, and by want of Leisure, as well as of Ability. Which Work I beg you will dedicate to me, whether living or dead, at the Time of its Publication." Let us also quote Mr du Plessis; "Aristotle is said by many to have had but little Religion, and his Interpreter, *Averroës*, none at all — (78). We all know how particularly *Averroës* presses the Eternity of the World, and an Universal Intellect, which can never be consistent with Piety (79)."

(73) *Ambrósio Leo*, Epist. ad E. rasm. This Letter is the 28th of the 10th Book, among those of Erasmus, &c. 531.

To finish This Picture of *Averroës's* Irreligion, we must not forget the Touches, which may be given it, from his Hypothesis concerning the Soul of Man. It is certain, he did not admit of any Rewards, or Punishments, after this Life; for, to speak properly, he taught the Mortality of the Human Soul. I am sensible, he acknowledged, that the Understanding was of an eternal Nature, and never died: But then, in this Respect, he did not consider it as a Substance appropriated to every Man; and, consequently, tho' he confessed, that the first Cause of the Intellectual Operations of *Peter* and *Paul* subsisted after their Death, yet, nevertheless, he believed, that all that had particularly belonged to *Peter* and *Paul*, as well to the Body, as the Soul, ceased to live, when they died. So that he denied Heaven and Hell. *Vossius*, who very well understood This Doctrine, ought not to have charged it absolutely on *Mirandulanus*, since That Author does not adopt it as true in itself, but only as a lawful Interpretation of *Aristotle's* Words (80). Durst any one have declared, in Print, for an impious Opinion, which must expose him to the Fires of the Inquisition? The Passage of *Vossius*, which I am going to quote, will serve to shew, that the most learned Writers do not always distinguish as they ought to do. Sometimes they impute to a Philosopher, not what he absolutely believes, but what he says must be believed, in consequence of the Opinions of *Aristotle*, or of some other Founder of a Sect. "Bis: nam jubet considerare hominis intellectum (*Averroës*), ut est intellectus, & ut est forma, quam obtinet, dum nobis unitur. Priori modo ait cum à morte nostrâ superesse, quippe æternum: nec dare homini essentiam, sed uni illi per operationem suam phantasmatum interventu. Hanc sententiam etiam sequitur Antonius *Mirandulanus* evers. singul. certam. lib. xxxii. sect. 1. & lib. seq. sect. ii. & vi. Similitere Cardanus; quem propterea reprehendit, ac refellit Cæsar Scaliger. Exercit. cccvi (81), sect. 30. Et sanè æ sententia Scripturis è diametro averfat; ut quæ suam cuique animam, sua etiam à morte præmia, & pœnas adsignent (82). — He (*Averroës*) considers the Intellect of Man in two Lights, as it is the Intellect itself, and as it is the Form, which is produced by its Union with us. In the first respect, he says, it survives us, being eternal; nor does it make the Essence of a Man, but is only united to him in its Operation, by the Intervention of Ideas. This Opinion is also followed by Antonius *Mirandulanus*, evers. singul. certam. lib. 32. sect. 1. & lib. 33. sect. 2. & 6. And also by Cardan, who is animadverted on, and confuted by Cæsar Scaliger Exerc.

(77) *Franc. Petrarcha*, Epistolâ ultimâ Libri sine titulo, pag. 656.

(78) *Du Pless. Morali*, of the Truth of the Christian Religion, cap. 23, fol. 238, verso.

(79) *Id. ib.* fol. 239.

(80) *Sre, a-bove, Remark* [E], Citat. (23), what I have quoted from the *Œuvres* of Cœsar.

(81) *It should be cccvii.*

(82) *Vossius* de Origine & Progressu Idololatriæ, lib. 3, cap. 42, p. 952.

Pains to translate his Works into *Latin* [I]. I was in hopes, that, before This Article went to the Press, I should have had the Pleasure of consulting the Volume, where Don *Nicholas Antonio* has spoken so very amply of *Averroës*; but find myself disappointed of it, and confined to the Abstracts only of the Journalist of *Paris*. You are going to see what I take from thence. "*Averroës*, of *Corduba*, was instructed, by his Father, in the Knowledge of the Law, and in the Religion of his Country. He was excessive fat, tho' he allowed himself but one Meal a day; He passed all his nights in the study of Philosophy; and, when he found himself tired, diverted himself with reading some Book of Poetry, or History; He was never seen to play, or seek any other Amusement. The Errors he was accused of gave occasion for a Sentence, which deprived him of his Estate, and obliged him to recant. After his Condemnation, he took a Voyage to *Fez*, and returned afterwards to *Corduba*, where he continued, till, at the earnest request of the People, he was recalled to *Morocco*, where he passed the remainder of his Life, and died in "1206 (d)." The Journalists of *Leipsic* intimate, That Don *Nicholas Antonio*, in this part of his Work, made great use of a Book of *John Leo*, published by *Hottinger* (e). So that, as to This I can go to the Fountain Head as well as He. I find, therefore, in this Work, that the People of *Corduba* raised *Averroës* to two high Offices, which his Father and Grandfather had enjoyed [K]: They were Those of Chief Justice, and

(d) Journal of the Learned of the 28th of July, 1697, pag. 475. Edit. of Holland.

(e) Acta Erudit. Lips. 1697, pag. 305.

"Exerc. 306. sect. 30. And indeed this Opinion is directly opposite to the Scriptures, which assign to every one his own respective Soul, and his own respective Rewards and Punishments after Death."

[I] Several Authors have taken the Pains to translate his Works into Latin. Here is a Passage of *Huetius*, which will inform us of the Names of some of These Translators, and at the same time of a Mistake of *Scaliger*. "Vix ulos *Averroës* Arabicos codices in Europa reperiri posse putabat *Scaliger*, solamque conversionem ab *Armegando Blasio*, *Jacobo Mantino*, *Johanne Francisco Burana*, *Abrahamo de Balmis*, *Vitale Nisso*, *Calo Calonymo*, *Johanne Bruyerino Campegio*, *Paulo Israelita*, aliisque adornatam in lucem venisse. Ego tamen his versavi manibus Arabicum *Averroës* librum, ex oriente huc olim à *Postellio* devesctum; quod miror *Scaligerum* fugisse, *Postellum* olim amicitia, & literaria consuetudine conjunctum. Eo libro continentur in *Logicam*, *Rhetoricam*, & *Poeticam* commentaria; quæ ad *Jacobi Mantini*, & *Abrahami de Balmis* interpretationem à me expensa, fidem eorum & artem aperte mihi comprobant (83). ----- *Scaliger* believed, that there was scarce such a Thing as an Arabic Copy of *Averroës*, to be met with in all Europe, and that we had nothing more than the Translations of him, by *Armegandus Blasius*, *Jacobus Mantinus*, *Johannes Franciscus Burana*, *Abrahamus de Balmis*, *Vitalis Nissus*, *Calus Calonymus*, *Johannes Bruyerinus Campegius*, *Paulus Israelita*, and others. But I myself have seen an Arabic *Averroës*, which was formerly brought thither, out of the East, by *Postellus*; and which one would wonder that *Scaliger* should never hear of, who was his intimate Friend and Correspondent in Learning. In this Book are contained the Commentaries on *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetry*; which, upon my Examination of it, along with the Translations of *Jacobus Mantinus*, and *Abrahamus de Balmis*, has convinced me both of their Fidelity and Ability."

(83) *Huetius*, de *Clariss. Interpretibus*, p. 185.

(84) See the *Bibliotheca Rabinica* of *Father Bartolucci*, Tom. 1, pag. 33, & seq.

(85) *Postellus*, *Biblioth. Select.* lib. 12, cap. 16, pag. 43. Tom. 2.

(86) *Id. lib.*

Note, that certain Rabbins have translated some of *Averroës*'s Works into *Hebrew* (84). It is proper to observe here, what we meet with in *Poestlin*. That *Jesuit* affirms, That They, who were so fond of This *Arabian* Philosopher, could only read him in pitiful Translations, before the Edition, which *John Baptista Bagolin* got printed at *Venice*, by the *Junta*'s in the Year 1552 (85). That Edition, continues he, cannot be worth much; for, as to one part of *Averroës*'s Works, *Bagolin* made use of a Translation of a Jew, named *Jacobus Mantinus*; and, as for the other part, the preceding Translations were made use of, and even Those, which *Niphus* and *Zimara* had never corrected in their Labours on *Averroës*. The Translator *Mantinus* followed the Steps of *Abraham de Balmis*, who had succeeded very indifferently. So that we cannot promise ourselves, that a Translator who had such bad Guides, has rightly expressed the Original: And, as *Bagolin* did not understand any thing of *Arabic*, he could be no judge of Those Translations (86). I am going to copy a long Pa-

ssage of *Keckerman*, where he wishes, that God would raise up a Translator, who might deliver the Works of *Averroës* from the gross and obscure Barbarity of former Interpretations. Then would appear the great Services, which This *Arabian* has done to Philosophy. "Quid & quantum *Univerſæ Philoſophiæ Averroës* ille profuerit, tum clarum perſpectumque haberemus, ſi quem nobis Deus virum excitaret, qui *Latinam* ejus verſionem ab iſta, qua ſcætet undique, moleſta barbarie liberaret, & ſtylo *Latino* ſaltem mediocri & intelligibili in gratiam *Philoſophiæ* ſtudioſorum venteret. Ad quam rem illa, quæ nuper *Avicennam Arabicum* nitidiſſimis typis dedit clariffima *Typographia Medicea* plurimum adjumenti adferret, ſi lingua *Arabica Averroës* ederet, atque ita occaſionem viris ejus linguæ peritis faciliorem præberet barbaræ verſionis emendandæ, & ad intelligentiam traducendæ: alias certum eſt, *Averroës* à multis neglectum iri, à quibus legeretur diligenter, niſi tam multis locis non intelligeretur. In poſterioribus Anal. apparet ſingulare operam præſtitiffe & immortalitate digniſſimam; Et Epitome *Logicæ*, quam ſcriptiſt, laudatiſſima eſt ob varias cauſas, ut & *Logica* ejus quæſita. Nemo tam interpretum veterum videri poteſt proximus *Ariſtotelis* menti atque hic *Arabs* (87). — How much all Philosophy is indebted to *Averroës*, can then only be known, when God ſhall raiſe up a Genius, who will free our Latin Translations of him from the unintelligible Barbariſms every where to be met with, and render him in That Language, in a Style, at leaſt tolerable, and intelligible, for the Uſe of Students in Philoſophy. To this purpoſe, the late beautiful *Medicean Edition* would greatly contribute, if *Averroës* were alſo printed in Arabic, which would give an eaſy Opportunity to the Learned, in That Language, to correct That barbarous Translation, and make it intelligible: otherwiſe it is certain, *Averroës* will be neglected by many, who would read him very diligently, if he was not unintelligible in ſo many Places. In the latter Part of the Anal. it appears, he has performed an excellent Work, and ſuch as deſerves to be immortal: His Epitome of *Logic* is much admired, and his *Logic* greatly ſought after. None of the ancient Interpreters ſeem to hit the Senſe of *Ariſtotele* ſo happily as this *Arabian*. I doubt there are not many Perſons at this time of Day, who would make ſuch a Wiſh, or ground ſuch fair Hopes on a complete Translation of *Averroës*'s Works, or give him ſuch great Commendations.

[K] The People of *Corduba* raised *Averroës* to two high Offices, which his Father and Grandfather had enjoyed. His Grandfather was one of the moſt famous Lawyers of his Time; he paſſed for a ſecond *Malich*, who was One of the four greateſt Caſuiſts of the *Mahometan* Religion; and was moreover a learned Divine. It was He, whom the People of *Corduba*, ſhaking off the Yoke of their Prince, and deſiring to have the King of

(87) *K. Keckermanus* in *Præconitio Logica*, Tract. 2, cap. 2, n. 32, pag. 103.

(88) *Huetius*, *Biblioth. oth. Theol.* lib. 2, cap. 3, pag. 274.

Morocco

and of Chief Priest. He was very capable of discharging them, by his great Knowledge in the Law, and in Theology. After the Study of These two Sciences, he applied himself to Natural Philosophy; Physic, Astrology, and Mathematics. Whilst he held the Offices before mentioned, the King of Morocco sent Deputies to him, to offer him That of Judge of Morocco, and of all Mauritania, and on condition that he should continue all the Posts he was possessed of in Spain. This Proposition pleasing him, he went to Morocco; but, having settled Judges there as his Substitutes, he returned to Corduba. Wonders are related of his Patience, Liberality, and Mildness [L]. He referred all Criminal Causes to his Lieutenant, and never gave his Opinion in them. So many good Qualities did not hinder him from having many Enemies, who thwarted him extremely, and accused him of Heresy; which brought upon him many troublesome and grievous Consequences [M]: however, he was honourably delivered

Morocco their Master, deputed to That Monarch to negotiate That great Affair. He obtained, of him, all the Favours he asked, in behalf of Those Mutineers, and returned to them, laden with Presents, and Compliments, having been created Chief Priest, and Chief Judge of the Kingdom of Corduba. He died, after having enjoyed These Dignities a very long time, and left a Son, who was a Lawyer, and was preferred to the same Posts, by the Votes of the Inhabitants of Corduba. This Election being confirmed by the King of Morocco, our Lawyer found himself invested with a high Character. We find, that the Authority of his Offices extended over all Andalusia, and the Kingdom of Valencia. His Life was long, and pleasant. After his Death, his Offices were conferred on his Son Averroës, by the Votes of the People (89). It is remarkable, that, at the Request of several great Persons, who implored his Clemency in favour of Ibnu Saigh, a famous Physician, who was detained in Prison for the Crime of Heresy, he set him at Liberty; during which Proceeding, Ibnu Giulgiul said, *The Father of Averroës does not know, that he has a Son, who will be a greater Heretic than This* (90). And he was not deceived in it.

[L] Wonders are related of his Patience, Liberality, and Mildness. There were several Persons, among the Nobility and Learned Men at Corduba, who hated, and opposed, him. As he was one Day reading a Lecture, in the Auditory of the Civil Law, a Servant of one of his Enemies came and whispered something in his Ear, which made him change Colour; but he answered only *Yes, Yes*. The next Day the same Servant returned to the Auditory, asked his Pardon, and confessed, before all the Students, that he had abused Averroës grossly by whispering in his Ear: He answered, *God bless you, for declaring, that I am provided with Patience*. He gave him afterwards a certain Sum of Money, with this Advice, *Do not That to others, which you have done to me*. Though he was rich, both by his Marriage, and by his Offices, yet he was always in debt, because he was very liberal to learned Men, who were necessitous, whether they loved, or hated, him. One Day, as his Friends reproved him for distributing his Wealth amongst his Enemies, he said to them, "Unhappy Men, as you are, you do not know, that to do good to one's Relations, and Friends, is not an Act of Liberality; a Man is inclined to That by the Dictates of Nature: to be liberal, is to communicate our Substance to our Enemies; and, since my Riches have not been acquired, either by my Ancestors, or myself, by Merchandize, or Art, or Arms, but by the Profession of Virtue, is it not reasonable, that I should dispose of them in Acts of Virtue? I find, that I have not misplaced them, for they have converted my Enemies into Friends (91)." Add to this, what I have said concerning his Sobriety, his Vigilancy, his Application to Study, &c (92). He would not consent, that his youngest Son should be advanced to the Honours, which were offered him at the Court of Morocco: and he was so far from rejoicing at the Respect, which was shewed to That young Man, the Design of which was to please the Father, that he was troubled at it in good earnest (93). What pity is it, that so many Virtues, and so many good Qualities, were not accompanied with Orthodoxy, but on the contrary attended with the most enormous Errors! The Writings of his Adversaries pretend not to defame him of any Thing, but his Heresy, and the Panegyrics of his Admirers are founded only on his Virtue and Learning, &c. "Hic à mul-

tis laudatus, à nonnullis vero aliis vituperio affectus est
" --- Adversarius ejus scriptis epistolam, quâ vituperabatur Averroës, eum de hæresi infamando, & alius
" scriptis aliam laudando eum de nobilitate, justitia
" & doctrina: quæ quidem epistolæ sunt longissimæ (94). — He was commended by many, and
" condemned by others. — One of his Enemies wrote
" a severe Letter against Averroës, defaming him on
" account of Heresy; and another Person wrote one in
" Commendation of him for his Honour, Justice, and
" Learning: These Letters are very long. (94) Ibid.

[M] His Enemies accused him of Heresy; which brought upon him many --- grievous Consequences. Several of the Nobles and Doctors of Corduba, and particularly the Physician Ibnu Zaar, envied him, and resolved to prosecute him for Heresy. They procured some young Persons to desire of him a Lecture in Philosophy; he agreed to it, and, in That Lecture, discovered to them his Philosophical Belief. Inter legendum autem suam Philosophicalem fidem detexerunt (95). They caused an Information of it to be drawn up by a Notary, and accused him for an Heretic; which Information, being signed by an hundred Witnesses, was sent to Mansor, King of Morocco. That Prince, upon sight of it, became incensed against Averroës, and said aloud; *It is evident This Man is not of our Religion: Hunc nostræ legis non esse patet*. He caused all his Effects to be confiscated, and condemned him to keep within the Jews Quarters. Averroës obeyed: but, going sometimes to the Mosque to say his Prayers, and being one Day chased from thence by the Children with Stones, he retired from Corduba to Fez, where he kept himself concealed. But, in a few Days, he was discovered, and imprisoned; and they sent to Mansor, to know what should be done with him. That Prince assembled several Doctors of Divinity, and Civil Law, and enquired of them what Punishment such a Man deserved? Most of them answered, That, as an Heretic, he deserved Death; but some represented, that it was not proper to execute This Punishment on a Person, who was chiefly known from his Character of a Civilian, and a Divine; Because, said they, *the World will not understand it to be the Condemnation of an Heretic, but of a Civilian and a Divine: And the Consequence will be, I. That the Infidels will not embrace our Faith, to the Discouragement of our Religion. II. Complaints will be made, that the African Doctors seek opportunity to take away one another's Lives. It would be better to make him retract before the Gate of the great Mosque, where he shall be asked, if he repents: Our Advice is, that, if he repents, your Majesty should pardon him; for there is no Man on Earth that is without a Fault*. Mansor was pleased with this Counsel, and gave Orders to the Governor of Fez to put it in Execution. Accordingly, our Philosopher was conducted, on a Friday, to the Gate of the Mosque, at the Hour of Prayer, and placed bareheaded on the highest Step, where all Those, who entered into the Mosque, spit in his Face. Prayer being ended, the Doctors, with the Notaries, and the Judge, with his Assistants, came, and asked this miserable Wretch, if he repented of his Heresy: he answered in the Affirmative; whereupon he was sent back, and continued at Fez, where he read Lectures in the Civil Law. Mansor, having permitted him, some time after, to return to Corduba, he accordingly went thither, where he lived miserably, being deprived of his Estate and Books. In the mean time, the Judge, who had succeeded him, acquitted himself so ill in his Office, and Justice, in general, was so badly administered in That Country,

(89) Taken from a Book, De Viris quibusdam illustribus apud Arabes, translated into Latin by Joh. Leo A. Brucanus, and published by Hottinger, Biblioth. Theolog. cap. 3. pag. 272.

(90) Ibid. pag. 269.

(91) Hottinger, Biblioth. Theolog. lib. 2. c. 3. p. 273, 274.

(92) Above, in the Text of this Article, at the Passage out of the Journal des Savans, Citations (d).

(93) Apud Hottinger, Biblioth. Theolog. pag. 274, 275.

(f) Taken from a Book, De Viris illustribus apud Arabes, translated by Joh. Leo Africanus, and published by Hottinger, in chap. 3. of the 2d Book of his Biblioth. Theol.

delivered from them before he died. His Answer to a young Gentleman, who desired him to bestow his Daughter on him, is curious enough [N]. A very remarkable Story is told concerning the effect of an Imprecation he pronounced against his youngest Son [O]. He composed a great many Amorous Poems; which, when he grew old, he threw into the Fire (f) [P]. I cannot tell from whence Du Verdier *Vau-Privas* borrowed these Words: *Averroës was broke by a Wheel placed on his Breast.* You

(106) Ibid. pag. 276, & seq.

(97) Ibid. pag. 279.

(98) Ibid.

(99) Ibid. pag. 278.

(100) Ibid. pag. 275.

(101) Comparationem ejus vidi, fratrem scilicet ejus. Ibid.

(102) Timeo te eam non cognovisse ob impetum tuum. Ibid. f. 8. 276.

(103) Ibid.

(104) Juvenis quidam ex nobilissimis civitatibus. H. d. f. 8. 275.

that the People groaned under it. *Manfor*, being willing to redress This Grievance, assembled his Council, where he proposed to re-establish *Averroës*; and, most of the Council being of the same Opinion, he sent him an Order to come immediately to *Morocco*, to take upon him again his Station of chief Magistrate. *Averroës* departed forthwith, with all his Family, and passed the rest of his Days at *Morocco* (96), where he was buried without the *Carriers Gate* (97), and where his Tomb and Epitaph were to be seen a very long Time after (98).

We ought not to forget his Answer to Those, who asked him about the State of his Soul during This Persecution. That State, said he, both pleased, and displeased me: I was pleased with being discharged from the troublesome Functions of Judicature, but I was displeased at being oppressed by false Witnesses. He added, I have never wished to be restored to my Office, nor have I accepted it again without my Innocence being first cleared (99).

[N] His Answer to a young Gentleman, who desired him to bestow his Daughter on him, is curious enough.] "Give me her, says this Gallant, and I will give you her weight in Gold. O domine Judex, da mihi in uxorem filiam tuam, Et quanti eam ponderaveris itidem aurum tibi tradam (100). Can you tell, answered *Averroës*, whether my Daughter be handsome, or homely? do you know whether you shall like her? The other replied, I have seen her "Copy, I mean her Brother (101). I am afraid," said *Averroës*, your too great Heat is hurrying you "into a blind Bargain (102). The young Man went away ashamed, and never had the Courage to make a second Attack. That Daughter was afterwards married by her Father to a Relation of the King of *Morocco* (103). When I said, that *Averroës*'s Answer was curious, I had an Eye to two things; in the first place to the Circumstances, and in the next to the Obscurity of the Translator. I suspect the Passage to be wrong rendered. He was not well acquainted with the Latin Tongue: for, in all probability, there was some better Turn in the Arabic words, than what he has given us in the Translation; and therefore the Learned, who are curious, will like to have the Examination of this little Fact proposed to them. It is something very extraordinary to meet with a Gallant, who will barter his Gold, weight for weight, against a Maid he never saw. The Price must rise very high, even in *Spain*, where People are much leaner, than in many other Countries. *Averroës* would have done well to have asked the Gallant this Question; *Do you know whether my Daughter be small, or lusty?* This had been a very material Consideration; because, in the second Case, the Price must be higher, and yet the Value lower. According to our Customs, nothing would be more wonderful, than a Gallant, who had never seen the Daughter of the chief Magistrate of the place, where he lived: but, amongst the *Mahometans*, nothing is more common: they do not permit their Daughters to shew themselves at the Windows and Doors of their Houses, nor to run about from one House to another, and receive Visits every Day. And yet it is certainly remarkable, that this noble *Corduban* (104) should know no better, than by Conjecture, whether *Averroës*'s Daughter was handsome. These are some of the Circumstances, to which I had an Eye.

[O] A very remarkable Story is told, concerning the Effect of an Imprecation he pronounced against his youngest Son.] The following Quotation, which composes this Remark, loses most of it's Beauties in a Translation. It is observable from it, that *Averroës* wished rather to see the Death of his Son, than his disobedience, and that, thereupon, he uttered an Imprecation, which That young Man outlived but ten Months. This long Latin Passage is not taken from *Hottinger*; for I find it more correct in another

Author. "De Verroës carminum efficacia, hanc "historiam historicus Arabs refert: Quadam die eo "exillente cum amicis quibusdam, colloquentibusque, "ingressus est filius ejus cum aliquibus sociis juveni- "bus, quos cum animadvertisset Averroës, protulit "duo carmina, hujus sensus: Rapuerunt pulchritu- "dines tuæ capreolo pulchritudinem suam, donec "miratus est omnis pulcher in te: Tibi est pectus "ejus, & oculi ejus, & stupor ejus; Verum cras "cornua tua patri tuo erunt. Post quæ dixit, Sit "maledicta peregrinatio: quando eram juvenis, se- "quando patrem meum puniebam: Nunc autem Ali- "nex filium meum punire non possum. At deum "deprecor, ut priusquam videam aliquid contra vo- "luntatem meam, cum mori faciat. Sicque prius- "quam transiret menses decem filius ejus mortuus "est, & major solus remansit, qui judex opinionis & "sectæ effectus est (105). — Of the Power of "Averroës's Poetry, an Arabic Historian relates this "Story. One Day, as he was conversing with cer- "tain Friends, his Son came in with some of his wild "Companions, which Averroës taking notice of, spoke "two Verses to This Effect. Thy own Beauties could "not content Thee, thou hast stript the wild Goat "of his Beauties, and They, who are as beautiful as "thyself, admire thee. Thou hast got his wanton "Heart, his lecherous Eyes, and his senseless Head, "but to-morrow thou shalt find thy Father will have "his pushing Horns. After which he said, cursed be "all Extravagancies: When I was young, I sometimes "punished my Father: Now I am old, I cannot punish "my Son. But I beg of God to deprive him rather of "Life, than suffer him to be disobedient. Accordingly, "within ten Months, his Son died, and the eldest "only remained, who became a Defender of his Opini- "on and Sect." Bartholin, who furnishes me with this Passage, unreasonably imputes the great Effect, we are speaking of, to the Philosopher's Verses, which ought only to be imputed to the Imprecation pronounced by *Averroës* in Prose. Compilers have collected many Examples of the Effects of such Imprecations (106).

[P] When he grew old, he threw his amorous Verses into the Fire.] His Speech, which accompanied This Act, is full of wise Reflexions: A Man, says he, will always be judged by his Words; and, if I have spoken ill, I will not discover my Folly: If my Verses pleased any One, He would take me for a wise Man, and I do not acknowledge that I am so. You see here a good Character. *Averroës*, having committed a Fault, was willing to repair it; and equally declined both the Approbation, which he thought he did not deserve, and the Censure he feared he might deserve. His Love Verses would have met with a numerous Set of Admirers, who would have blessed his Memory, and even adored it. *Ovid* and *Catullus* are Examples of this. But he desired none of their Praises. Others would have thought it very indecent, that such a great Person, such an excellent Lawyer and Philosopher, should have wrote Love Verses. But he has prevented their Censure, by taking Care, that no One should read what he had composed on such a Subject. All his other Poetical Works are lost, except a very small Piece, wherein he declares, that, when he was young, he was disobedient to his Reason; but, when he was old, he followed it: Upon which he forms this With: Would to God I had been born old, and that from my Youth I had been in the State of Perfection. This seems to me to be the true Sense of these Words of John Leo (107). De suis quidem Carminibus tantum duo reperiuntur ad verbum significantibus: "Inbe- "diens enim sui voluntati mea juvenis, ac, quando "tempus cum caliditate senectutis agitavit me, tum "parvi voluntati mee. Utinam natus fuisset senex, "et in juventute abjulus (108). What With could be more becoming a Philosopher?

Let us now relate what *Averroës* did, in regard to the amorous Verses of another Writer. There was

(105) Tho. Bartholinus, de Medicis Poetis, pag. 105, 106.

(106) See Camerarius, in his Historical Meditations, Tom. 3, Book 5, chap. 6. and Tom. 3, Book 2, chap. 150, 16.

(107) Hottinger. Bibl. Theol. pag. 278.

(108) In Juventute abjulus. Per Translator put in instead of ab, and so it might be translated Exempt from Youth.

You will find them in a Chapter, which he entitles, *Of several Learned Men, Ancient and Modern, who have died miserably* (g). I was surprized to find so very little Notice taken of this famous Philosopher, in the Oriental Library of Mr d'Herbelot [2]. There was reason to believe, that a Man, of such a vast Knowledge in Arabic Learning, would have produced a thousand fine Things concerning the Doctrines and Fortune of *Averroës*; but, instead of this, we meet with a Brevity, which is amazing, and so far from instructing us in what we want to know, that it rather confounds what we knew before.

(g) It is the
author of the
2d Book of
his *Diversion*
Leçons.

was, at Corduba, a Philosopher, Physician, and Astrologer, whose Name was *Abraham Ibnu Sabal*, who, by the Caprice of his ill Fortune, fell in Love, and fell to writing Verses, without considering the Doctoral Dignity. *Postea ob disgratiam suam fortunæ amore captus, & dignitate doctorum postpositâ cepit edere carmina* (109). The *Jews*, his Brethren in Religion, advised him not to publish Those wanton Verses. He returned them a prophane Answer in Poetry. Whereupon they applied to the Authority of the Magistrate; and, as *Averroës* was the chief Judge of the Country, they addressed themselves to him. They represented to him, that This *Abraham* had corrupted the whole City with his Poetry, particularly the Youth of both Sexes, and that nothing else was sung at Nuptial Entertainments. *Averroës* was angry with Our Poet, and forbade him to proceed in such Compositions, under such Penalties as the Case should require, or the Judge think proper. Being told, that This Prohibition did not put a stop to the *Jew's* Vein of Poetry, and desiring to know the Truth of it, he sent a Person, he could trust, to the Poet's House, who returned with this Report: *I found no Body at his House, but your eldest Son, writing out some of his Poems*. He added, *There is not in all Corduba a Man, Woman, or Child, who has not learned some of the Verses of Abraham Ibnu Sabal*. Upon this, *Averroës* proceeded no farther: Can one single Hand, said he, stop a thousand Mouths? Observing one Day at a Bookellers, that the *Alcoran* was sold but for a Ducat, and that the Poems of This *Jew* went off at one word for ten Pistols (110), he cried out, *This City will soon be destroyed, for I have seen the People's Contempt for holy things, and their fondness for such as are dishonest and forbidden*.

"*Tunc dixit Averroës, omnibus adstantibus, Scitote, hanc Civitatem mox ruituram, quoniam vidi populum, quæ ad fidem pertinent, vilissimæ: atque prohibita, atque inhonesta grata extitisse, majoris- que fecisse. Et sicut dixerat successit: Non adhuc elapsis quinquaginta annis Christianicæ oppugnantur Cordubam, & multas alias civitates* (111). — And as he said, so it happened; for, in less than fifty Years, the Christians took This, and several other Cities." From hence it may be gathered, that some Vices prevail in all Countries, Religions, and Ages. The *Mohometans* of Spain acted the same part, in the XIIIth Century, which a great many Christians of Paris have done in the XVIIth. If they are to buy Mr Godeau's *Psalms*, they will cheapen a long time, and never bargain, unless at a very low Price; but, for the *Satirical Parnassus*, they will never make one Word, but give whatever Price the Seller shall ask. Let us also observe, that we find Examples of good Actions in each Country, Age, and Religion. If Christians, in these latter Ages, have burnt their prophane Poems, their Love and wanton Verses (112), *Averroës* did the like, under the Profession of *Mohometism*: I say, under the Profession; for it is suspected, that inwardly he was of no Religion at all (113). His Prediction of the Miseries of Corduba does not prove the contrary; for it is natural enough to believe, that so great a Degree of Degeneracy, and Corruption of Taste, as to occasion a Contempt of what is esteemed Holy, and a Fondness of what is thought dishonest, must necessarily throw a City into very great Disorders.

[2] I was surprized to find so very little Notice taken of This famous Philosopher, in the Oriental Library of Mr d'Herbelot. First, It is surprising, that, in this Work, the Author has not placed Our Arabian Philosopher under the Name, which has been given him by all western Nations, I mean That of *Averroës*. I grant, that This is not the true Name, but One very much corrupted by Confusion of Dialects: But have we not sufficient Reason to continue This Name in our Dictionaries, since he was

scarce ever called by any other in This western Part of the World. If it be thought more proper to give This Philosopher's Article under the Arabic Name, in it's true Orthography, Notice, at least, should be given of it, under the Word *Averroës*; and, consequently, d'Herbelot, by not doing so, is guilty of a very material Omission. In the Body of his Work, we find neither *Averroës*, nor *Aben Roës*, nor *Aben Rois*. We are obliged, therefore, to have recourse to the Index, which is not very agreeable. But what is to be found there? *Averroës* (114), with a Reference to Pages 303, 719, 815? At Page 303, we find only, that *Averroës* was one of those Philosophers, who believed, that the World was Eternal. At Page 815, we find only, that *Mohammed Al-Gazeli* believed, that *Averroës's* Principles were very contrary to Those of the *Muhammadans*. But, at Page 719, we find the Article of our Philosopher, under the Word *ROSCHD*. That Article does not contain twenty Lines; the latter half of which is this: "*Averroës* was the first, who translated *Aristotle* out of Greek into Arabic, before the *Jews* made their Translation; and, for a long time, we had no other Text of *Aristotle*, than That of This great Philosopher's Arabic Translation, who, afterwards, added to it very ample Commentaries, which St Thomas, and the other Schoolmen, made use of, before the Greek Originals of *Aristotle*, and of his Commentators, were known to us (115)." I find here many things, to which I can give no Credit; for I observe it to be the Opinion of learned Men, that *Averroës* was far from being Master of the Greek Tongue (116). I know, farther, that the Caliphs *Almanzor*, *Abdalla*, and *Almamoon*, who preceded *Averroës* some Centuries, caused a great many Greek Books to be translated into Arabic (117). This, therefore, makes it improbable, that *Averroës* was the first Translator of *Aristotle* into Arabic, even though we should suppose him sufficiently skilled in Greek. *Alpharabius*, who flourished in the Xth Century, found *Aristotle's* *Physics* in *Mesopotamia* (118). He is also generally esteemed the Translator of *Aristotle's* *Analytics*, according to Mr d'Herbelot (119). *Rigord* says, That a Council, held at Paris, in the Year 1209, condemned some of *Aristotle's* Books to be burnt, which were explained in the Colleges, and had been lately brought from *Constantinople*, and translated out of Greek into Latin. "Delati de novo à Constantinopoli & à Græco in Latinum translati (120)." This does not agree with Mr d'Herbelot, because it proves, that, about the Time, that *Averroës* died, they made use, at Paris, of a Translation of *Aristotle* from the Greek. It is certain, that, before the middle of the XIIIth Century, *Aristotle's* Philosophy was taught in the University of Paris. See the Complaints of St Bernard, related by Mr de Launois (121). This same Passage of *Rigord* shews, that the Greek Books of *Aristotle* were in France, in the time of *Averroës*. Lastly, I wish somebody would name me any Translators of *Aristotle*, and *Averroës's* Arabic Commentary, who lived between *Averroës* and *Thomas Aquinas*. All the Latin Translators of This Arabic Philosopher, that are come to my Knowledge, are later than That Angelical Doctor. I would not be understood to reject what I have read in some Authors, that the Emperor *Frederic II*, who flourished before the Time of St Thomas, and after *Averroës*, caused the Books of This Arabian to be translated into Latin. This may be inferred from these Words of *Cuspinian*: "Libros multos ex Græco & ex Arabico Latinos ferri curavit, inter quos & Aristotelis volumina fuerunt & multa Medicorum (122)." — "He procured many Books to be translated out of Greek and Arabic, into Latin, among which were *Aristotle's* Works, and many others, in *Physic*;" and from This Passage of *Wolfgang Hungerius*, in his Notes on *Cuspinian* (123). "Curavit quoque eas ferri translationes operum Aristotelis, & scriptorum Medicinæ

(114) It is an Error of the Press.

(115) D'Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. pag. 719, col. 1.

(116) See, above, pag. 383, Citations (5) and (9).

(117) See *Favotus Rapi'n's* Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, p. 403, 404. See also Mr d'Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. p. 546.

(118) Rapi'n's Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, pag. 404.

(119) Herbelot's Biblioth. Orient. pag. 337.

(120) *Rigordus* in *Philosophi Augusti* apud *Launoium* de variâ Aristot. Fortuna, cap. 1, pag. 6.

(121) *Launois*, ibid. cap. 3, pag. 24, & seq.

(122) *Cuspinian* in *Fred. II*. init. p. 419.

(123) *Hungerius*. Annotation. in *Cuspinian*. pag. 150.

(109) Hotting. Biblioth. Theol. pag. 283.

(110) Prædictus emptor nihil respondens, sed manus crumenæ imponens decem aureos numeravit & perfolvit, & librum accepit, & in pace recessit. — The Buyer said nothing, but put his Hand in his Pocket, and took out ten Pistols, and went away contented. Ib. p. 290.

(111) Ibid.

(112) Pic. *Mirandulani* did it; see the End of the Remark [D] of the Article. *ADONIS*. Petrarch had a Mind to do so: See Mr Baillet's Judgment on the Poets, Tom. 3, pag. 24. He reported that he had wrote such Poems. See his third Letter of the eighth Book of his Familiar Letters, pag. 278.

(113) See the Remarks [H] and [M].

- "Medicinæ ex lingua Græca & Arabica, qui in hunc usque diem in scholis lætæ sunt, atque etiam leguntur; & Bononiam easdem misit, ut Academicæ offerrentur, quod ejus ex Epistolis apparet. — He caused those Translations to be made of the Works of Aristotle, and other Writings in Physic, out of the Greek and Arabic Languages, which have been read ever since in the Schools, and are in use at this Time; and sent them to Bononia, as a Present to That University, as appears from his Letters." See also the Chronicle of Carion (124), where he says expressly, that This Emperor caused to be translated the *Almagest* of Ptolemy, and several Works of Aristotle, Galen, Avicenna, &c. (125); you will find the same Names in the *Theatre of Mathias* (126), under the Quotation of the seventh Book of *Aventine's Annals*, and of the Chronicle of Ca-
- (124) Pag. 480.
(125) Perceer in Chronic. Carion, lib. 5, pag. 684.
(126) Pag. 956.

rios. I do not know how it happens, that *Averroës* is not named; however, I take him to have been one, amongst the Authors, translated, by the Care of This Emperor. But, as I said before, I should be very glad to know the Names of the Persons employed in these Translations. One thing is worth remarking, in Mr *Herbelot's Bibliothèque*, which is, that the *Mahometans* look upon the Doctrine of Those who, admitting a First Mover, maintain also, that the World is eternal, as mere Atheism (127). This Doctrine is ascribed to the most famous Philosophers, who have flourished among the *Arabians*, to our *Averroës*, to *Avicenna*, and to *Alpharabius* (128). The Christians generally pass the same Judgment upon This Doctrine, which, certainly, can never be supported, without treating the Holy Scripture as a Fable.

- (127) *Herbelot. Bibl. Orient. pag. 337, col. 2.*
(128) *Id. ib. & pag. 303, col. 1.*

AUGE (DANIEL d'), in Latin *Augentius*, was born at *Villeneuve-l'Archevêque*, in the Diocese of *Sens* in *Champagne* (a). He lived in the XVth Century, and was esteemed for his Learning and Writings [A]. He was appointed, in the Year 1574 (b), to the Office of his Majesty's Greek Professor in the University of *Paris*, which was vacant by the Death of *Lewis le Roi* (c). He had been Tutor to the Son of That *Francis Olivier*, who was Chancellor of *France*. This appears from the Epistle Dedicatory of a Book to *Antony Olivier*, Bishop of *Lombes*, and Uncle to his Pupil (d). It is dated at *Paris*, the First of *March* 1555. I am not certain as to the Time of his Death; I only know, that *Francis Parent*, his Successor in the Greek Professorship, entered upon That Office in the Year 1595 (e).

- (d) It is the Poem of *Sannazarius*, intitled, *De Morie Christi* Lamentatio. *Dan. d'Auge* printed it at *Paris*, with his Notes, in the Year 1557, in 4to.

- (e) *Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, p. 566.*

[A] He was esteemed for his Writings. They are *A Consolatory Oration on the Death of Messire Francis Olivier*, Chancellor of *France*, printed at *Paris* in 1560; *Two Dialogues of Poetic Invention, of the true Knowledge of the Art of Oratory, and of the Filiation of Fable*, printed at *Paris*, in 1560; *A Discourse on the Arrêt of the Parliament of Dole* in *Burgundy*, concerning a Man accused and convicted of being a *Were-wolf* † (1); *The Institution of a Christian Prince*, translated from the Greek of *Synechus*, Bishop of *Cyrene*, with an Oration on true Nobility, translated from the Greek of *Philo Judæus*, printed at *Paris*, in 1555; *Four Homilies of St Macarius*, the Egyptian, printed at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Lyons*, in 1559; *An Epistle to the Noble and Virtuous Youth*, *Anthony Thelin*, Son of the Noble *William Thelin* (2), Author of the Book intitled, *Divine Essays, wherein is shown the true Patrimony and Inheritance, which Fathers ought to leave their Children*. This Epistle is printed at the beginning of the *Divine Essays*, at *Paris*, in 1565. He revised and corrected them. He published also *A Translation, into French, of the most beautiful Sentences, and Forms of Expression, in Cicero's Familiar Epistles*, printed at *Paris*, in 1556 (3). This is all I find in *la Croix du Maine*, and in *du Verdier*. I do not meet with any mention of the Notes on the Poem of *Sannazarius*, which I have spoken of, in the Body of this Article.

Of all the Works of *Daniel d'Auge*, I esteem most curious the Discourse on the Arrêt, which condemns the *Were-Wolf*. *Bodin* says, This Arrêt was passed by the Parliament of *Dole*, the eighteenth of *January*, 1583, against *Giles Garnier* of *Lyons*, and was printed at *Orleans*, at *Paris*, and at *Sens*. He relates the principal Circumstances. "Namely, That the said *Garnier*, on *St Michael's Day*, in the Shape of a *Wolf*, did seize upon a young Girl of ten or twelve Years old, near the Wood of *Serre*, in a Vineyard of *Cbâtenoy*, about a quarter of a League from *Dole*, and there killed, and tore her, as well with his Hands, resembling Paws, as with his Teeth, and eat the Flesh of her Thighs and Arms, and carried some to his Wife: That, in the same Form, a Month after this, he took another Girl, and killed her, and would have eaten her, if he had not been prevented by three Persons, as he himself confessed: That, sixteen Days after, he strangled a young Child of ten Years of Age, in a Vineyard of *Gredifans*, and eat the Flesh of the Thighs, Legs, and Belly: And that, in the Shape of a Man, and not of a *Wolf*, he killed another little Boy, of the Age of twelve or thirteen Years, in the Wood of the Village of *Prouyse*, with a Design to have eaten him, if he had not been hindered, according to his own free Confession. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and the Arrêt was executed (4)."

- (4) *Bodin, Demonomanie des Sorciers, Book 2, cap. 6, pag. 208, 209. Edit. of Lyons, 1598, 8vo.*

ST AUGUSTIN, one of the most illustrious Fathers of the Church, was born at *Tagaste* in *Africa*, the Thirtieth of *November*, 354. His Father, whose Name was *Patricius*, was but a mean Citizen of That Place; his Mother was named *Monica*, and remarkable for her Virtue. Their Son had no Relish for Learning [A]. However, his Father put him to it against his Inclination, resolving to advance him in this way, and sent him to study *Classical Learning* at *Madaura*. At the Age of Sixteen, he took him from thence, and sent him to study *Rhetoric* at *Carthage*. *St Augustin* went thither towards the end of the Year 371 (a). He made a great Progress in the Sciences,

- (a) *Du Pin's History of Ecclesiastical Authors, Tom 3, pag. 138.*

[A] He had no relish for Learning. By the Picture *St Augustin* himself has drawn of his Youth, it appears, that he was what we call a *Rake*: He shunned the School as the Plague; he loved nothing but Gaming and public Shows; he stole all he could from his Father; he invented a thousand Lies to avoid the Rod, which they were obliged to make use of, to punish his Licentiousness (1). *Furtiva etiam faciebam de cellario parentum & de mensa, vel gulâ imperitante, vel ut haberem quod darem pueris ludam suum mihi, quo pariter utique delectabantur, tamen vendentibus* — *Fallendo innumerabilibus mendaciis & pædagogum & magistrorum & parentum, amore ludendi, studio speiendi nugatoria, & imitandi ludicra inquietudine*. This confutes what *Leo Allatius* affirms; "That *St Au-*

gustin, at twelve Years of Age, had read and understood all *Aristotle's* Books, relating to Logic and Theory, of himself, without the Assistance of any Master; and that, at the same Age, he had composed some excellent Writings, to discover and confute the Errors of several Authors (2)." The Writer, who took upon him the Name of *Christianus Liberius*, has said the same thing (3). Mr *Baillet* confutes them both very solidly, by *St Augustin's* Confessions, and discovers the Cause of their Mistake. "Let us believe, says he (4), that They, who gave the first Occasion for This Mistake, read *Twelve* instead of *Twenty*, in the Place, where *St Augustin* speaks of it. This Saint acknowledges, that he was near Twenty Years of Age, when a Treatise

- (1) In *Ap'l. Urbanis*, p. 126. apud *Baillet of Famous Children*, p. 59.
(2) *Christ. Liberius*, de scrib. & leg. libris, pag. 178, apud *Baillet*, *ibid.*
(3) *Baillet*, *ibid.* pag. 60.
(4) *Baillet*, *ibid.* pag. 61.

- WORTHEN *St Augustin* was learned, and an Author, from his Youth?

- Confess. of lib. 4. c. 16.

Sciences, but gave himself up to Debauchery with Women [B]. He had a mind to read the Holy Scriptures; but the Simplicity of the Style disgusted him: he was yet too great an Admirer of the Pagan Eloquence, to have a Taste for the Bible. He had, in general, a great Desire to discover Truth; and, being in hopes of finding it in the Sect of the *Manicheans*, he engaged in it, and maintained most of it's Doctrines with much Fervency. Having lived some time in *Cartbage*, he returned to *Tagaste*, where he taught Rhetoric with so much Applause, that his Mother was congratulated upon having so admirable a Son. This did not hinder the holy Woman from being extremely afflicted on account of her Son's Heresy, and Debauchery. He returned to *Cartbage* in the Year 380; where he taught Rhetoric with a great deal of Reputation. It was at this time he fixed his Incontinency, which had been rambling after various Objects: He took a Concubine, to whom he kept very constant, and had, by her, a Son, whom he named *Adeodatus*, the Gift of God, and who had very good Parts [C]. He became a little wavering in his Sect, because he could meet with no satisfactory Answer to the Difficulties he had to propose [D]: however,

"of *Aristotle* fell into his Hands, called *The Ten Categories*, which he had often heard mentioned, at *Cartbage*, with great Applause. . . . He read it alone, and understood it perfectly well: so that afterwards conferring about it with Those, who said, they had learned it with much Pains from excellent Masters, who had not only explained it to them in Words, but also by Figures, drawn on the Sand, he found he had comprehended it as well by himself. He says also, that, at the same Age, he read, and understood, without any Help, all Books of the Liberal Arts, which he could meet with. He says the same thing of the Mathematics, and particularly of Geometry, Music, and Arithmetic.

[B] He gave himself up to Debauchery with Women.]

He began very early; for, at sixteen Years of Age, he followed the Dictates of That unruly Passion: "Ubi eram, (says he), & quam longè exulabam à deliciis domus tuæ, anno illo sexto decimo ætatis carnis meæ, cum acceptis in me sceptrum, & totas manus ei dedi venæzæ libidinis, licentiosæ per dedecus humanum, illicitæ autem per leges tuas (5)? — Where was I, and how long was I banished from the Delights of thy House, in That sixteenth Year of my Flesh, when I submitted to it's Empire, and gave myself up entirely to all it's violent Lusts, which disgrace our Natures, and are sinful by thy Laws?" He spent That Year in Idleness, because his Father not being then able to provide for his Expences at *Cartbage*, was by degrees making up a Sum sufficient to send him thither. The Joy of This good Father was remarkable, upon discovering, as he was bathing with his Son, an uncommon Forwardness of Nature (6). He could not forbear acquainting his Wife with the News; and had the Pleasure of fancying himself already a Grandfather, upon seeing his Son would so soon be fit to make him one. — Quinimo ubi me ille pater in balneis vidit pubescentem, & inquieta indutum adolescentia, quasi jam ex hoc in nepotes gessit, gaudens matri indicavit (7). St *Augustin's* Mother, instead of being pleased, was very uneasy at it; she feared the ill Effects of it, and therefore made him very serious Remonstrances to abstain from the Sex, and particularly from Adultery: "Secreto memini ut monuerit cum sollicitudine ingenti ne fornicar, maximeque ne adulterarem cujusquam uxorem. Qui mihi moribus muliebres videbantur, quibus obtemperare e-rubescerem (8). — I shall never forget how earnestly she cautioned me against Fornication, and particularly against Adultery; which I looked upon as such womanish Advice, that I was ashamed to follow it." But he took no notice of these good Exhortations; for he contracted such a strong Habit of Incontinence, that, even after he had renounced *Manicheism*, and prepared himself for Baptism, he took a new Concubine in the Room of *Adeodatus's* Mother, till the Wife, he was to marry, should attain to a fit Age (9), for which he was to wait near two Years (10). It is remarkable, that, in the Dispute between St *Augustin* and *Alypius*, on Marriage and Celibacy, *Alypius*, instead of persuading St *Augustin* to live single, suffered himself to be persuaded to marry. *Alypius* had led a very chaste Life; tho', in the beginning of his Youth, he just stolen a Taste of those forbidden Pleasures, but recovered This Slip betimes. He dissuaded St *Augustin* from Matri-

mony, as an Obstacle to the Design they had formed to live together in the Study of Wisdom. "Prohibebat me sane *Alypius* ab uxore ducenda, causans nullo modo nos posse securo otio simul in amore sapientiz vivere, sicut jamdiu desideraveramus, si id fecissem (11)." St *Augustin* confessed to him ingenuously, that it would be impossible for him to contain himself, and alledged to him the Example of some married Sages, who had been faithful to God and their Friends. He added, that there was a great Difference between Those transient Pleasures, which *Alypius* had tasted, and since forgot, and Those, which he (*Augustin*) had made habitual to him, which would also become more engaging under the fair Cover of Marriage. *Alypius* was so touched with this Dis-

courte, that he resolved to be married himself; That I may know, said he, by Experience, what St *Augustin* has found more charming than Life itself. "Cum me ille miraretur, quem non parvi penderet, ita hærerè visco illius voluptatis, ut me affirmarem quotiescunque inde inter nos quaereremus, cœlibem vitam nullo modo posse degere, atque ita me defenderem, cum illum mirantem viderem, ut dicerem multum interesse inter illud quod ipse raptim & furtim expertus esset, quod pœne jam nec meminisset quidem, atque ideo nulla molestia facile contemneret, & delectationes consuetudinis meæ, ad quas si accessisset honestum nomen Matrimonii, non cum mirari oportere cur ego illam vitam nequirem sperare. Cœperat & ipse desiderare conjugium nequaquam victus libidine talis voluptatis, sed curiositatis. Dicebat enim scire se cupere, quidnam esset illud sine quo vita mea, quæ illi sic placebat, non mihi vita, fed pœna videretur (12)." However, neither of them did ever

marry, but yet lived very chastly. [C] He took a Concubine, . . . and had by her a Son, whom he named *Adeodatus*, The Gift of God, who had very good Parts.] Without doubt my Reader will be pleased to find something here, concerning This Bastard; and therefore I shall inform him of what I have met with in Mr *Baillet*. "*Adeodatus* was but fifteen Years of Age, when his Father was baptized; but he was then so forward, and had made so uncommon a Progress in Knowledge, that he excelled many Persons of ripest Years, and several even of Those, who had got a Character in the World for their Gravity and Learning. About the same time St *Augustin* composed a Book, by way of Dialogue, intitled, *Of the Master: Adeodatus* and himself, are the two Personages of This Dialogue; and he takes God to witness, that all, he makes his Son say in That Work, is entirely his own, though he was then but sixteen Years of Age. St *Augustin* adds, That he had seen yet more wonderful Things in This Child, than what we have related. Lastly, in spite of his own great Firmness of Soul, he owns, he was astonished at the Prophecy of his Son's Parts. *Adeodatus* received the Sacrament of Baptism, together with his Father, and died soon after (13)."

[D] He could meet with no satisfactory Answer to the Difficulties he had to propose.] St *Augustin* had a penetrating Wit; he was a Rhetorician by Profession, and understood Logic. It is easy for a subtle and eloquent Disputant to form Doubts, and make Replies. It must not then be wondered at, that he embarrassed the *Manichean* Doctors; any

(5) Confess. lib. 2. cap. 2.

(6) It was against Decency, among the Pagans stem clothes, that a Son and a Father should bathe in the same Place. See Cicero de Offic. lib. 1. cap. 35. Val. Max. lib. 2. cap. 1. n. 7. Plutarch. in Catone major. p. 348.

(7) August. Confess. l. 2. cap. 3.

(8) Ibidem.

(9) Ibid. lib. 6. cap. 15.

(10) Ibid. cap. 13.

(11) Ibid. cap. 12.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Baillet, des Enfans celebres, pag. 61. ex Aug. Confess. lib. 9. cap. 6.

however, he did not forsake their Opinions, but waited for better Explications. His good Mother *Monica* went to him at *Carthage*, to endeavour to draw him from his Heresy and Luxury; nor did she despair, tho' she found, that her Remonstrances were, then, to no Purpose. He wanted a new Theatre, for displaying his Learning, and resolved to go to *Rome*; and, that he might not be diverted from this design, he embarked without communicating it either to his Mother, or to his near Relation *Romanian*, who had maintained him at School (b). He taught Rhetoric at *Rome*, with as much Applause, as at *Carthage*: so that *Symmachus*, Prefect of That City, understanding, that they wanted, at *Milan*, an able Professor in Rhetoric, appointed him to That Employ, in the Year 383. *St Augustin* was very much esteemed at *Milan*; he made a Visit to *St Ambrose*, and was kindly received by him. He went to his Sermons, not so much out of a Principle of Piety, as That of a Critical Curiosity. He wanted to know if That Prelate's Eloquence deserved the Reputation it had obtained. It pleased God to make this the Means of his Conversion: *St Ambrose's* Sermons made such an Impression upon him, that *St Augustin* became a Catholic in the Year 384. His Mother, who was come to him to *Milan*, advised him to marry, that he might effectually forsake his former Irregularities. He consented to the Proposal, and sent his Concubine back into *Africa*; but, as the Wife, designed for him, was so very young, that he was to wait two Years before he could marry her, not being able to resist his Natural Inclinations so long, he relapsed to his usual Incontinence. At length, the reading of *St Paul's* Epistles, the Sollicitations and Tears of his Mother, and the good Discourses of some Friends, procured for him the finishing stroke of Grace; he felt himself a good Christian, ready to forsake all for the Gospel; he left off teaching Rhetoric, and was baptized, by *St Ambrose*, on *Easter-Eve* in the Year 387. The following Year, he returned into *Africa*, having lost his Mother at *Osia*, where they were both to have embarked (c). He was ordained Priest in the Year 391, by *Valerius* Bishop of *Hippo*; Four Years after, he became Coadjutor to That Prelate, and did very considerable Services to the Church by his Pen and his Piety, until his Death, which happened the Twenty eighth of *August* 430 (d). The particulars of his Episcopal Life and Writings would be superfluous here; They may be found in *Moreri's Dictionary*, and in *Mr du Pin's Bibliothecque*; and if Those Gentlemen had not too lightly passed over *St Augustin's* irregular Life, I might wholly have dispensed with this Article: But, for the better Instruction of the Public, it is proper to discover both the Good, and the Bad, of Great Men. The Approbation, which Councils and Popes have given *St Augustin* on the Doctrine of Grace, adds greatly to his Glory; for, without That, the *Molinists*, in these latter Times, would have highly advanced their Banner against him, and pulled down his Authority. We have shewn elsewhere (e), that all their Politics could scarce keep them in decorum, and prevent their attacking him indirectly. It is certain, that the Engagement, which the Church of *Rome* is under, to respect *St Augustin's* System, casts her into a Perplexity, which is very ridiculous [E]. The *Arminians*, not having the same Measures to keep, deal very sincerely with This holy Father of the Church

(b) His Father died about the Year 372.

(c) Taken from the Ecclesiastical History of John le Cueur, Tom. 3. ad Ann. 388. pag. 484, & seq. Edit. in 12mo.

(d) Du Pin, Biblioth. des Aut. Eccl. Tom. 3. p. 158.

(e) Above, in the Remarks [C] [D] and [E] of the Article A D A M (JOHN) the Jesuit: where you will see the various Judgments passed upon *St Augustin*. See also Etat de la Faculté de Théologie de Louvain, in 1708 pag. 207.

more than that he puzzled several Catholic Doctors, and that the weak Answers, which they returned to his Objections, confirmed him in his Heresies. He confessed, that, to his cost, he had gained a thousand Victories in these Engagements: so true is it, that every Orthodox Person ought not to engage himself in Disputes; and that, unless he has to do with an Heretic of his own Strength, he can do nothing, humanly speaking, but harden his Adversary. "Quædam noxia victoria penè mihi semper in disputationibus proveniebat, differenti cum Christianis im- peritis; quo successu creberimmo gliscibat adolescentis animolitas, & impetu suo in pervicaciæ magnum malum imprudenter vergebatur (14). — In disputing with unlearned Christians, I had almost always the ill Fortune to get the better of them; which frequent Success still added fresh Fuel to the Heat of my Youth, and hurried me headlong into That greatest of Mischiefs, Obstinacy."

[E] The Engagement of the Church of *Rome* to *St Augustin's* System casts her into a Perplexity, which is very ridiculous.] It is manifest to all Men, who examine Things without Prejudice, and with sufficient Abilities, that *St Augustin's* Doctrine, and That of *Jansenius*, Bishop of *Ypres*, are one and the same; so that we cannot, without Indignation, behold the Court of *Rome* boasting to have condemned *Jansenius*, and yet preserved *St Augustin* in all his Glory. These are two Things altogether inconsistent. More than This, The Council of *Trent*, in condemning *Calvin's* Doctrine of Free Will, did necessarily condemn That of *St Augustin*: For no *Calvinist* ever denied, or can deny, the Concurrence of the human Will, and the Liberty of the Soul, in the Sense which

St Augustin has given to the Words Concurrence, Co-operation, and Liberty. There is not a *Calvinist*, but acknowledges Free Will, and it's Use in Conversion, if That Word be understood according to *St Augustin's* Ideas. Those, condemned by the Council of *Trent*, do not reject Free Will, but as it signifies a Liberty of Indifference. The *Thomists* reject it also under That Notion, and yet pass for very good Catholics. See another Comical Scene! The Physical Predetermination of the *Thomists*, the Necessity of *St Augustin*, That of the *Jansenists*, and That of *Calvin*, are all one and the same thing at the Bottom; and yet the *Thomists* disown the *Jansenists*, and both of them think it a Calumny to accuse them of teaching the same Doctrine with *Calvin*. If one might be suffered to judge of another's Thoughts, here would be great Room for saying, that Doctors are, in this Case, great Comedians, and are only acting a Part, and that They cannot but be sensible, that the Council of *Trent* either condemned a meer Chimera, which never entered into the Thoughts of the *Calvinists*, or else, that it condemned, at the same time, both *St Augustin*, and the Physical Predetermination. So that, when they boast of having *St Augustin's* Faith, and never to have varied in the Doctrine (15), it is only meant to preserve a Decorum, and to save the System from Destruction, which a sincere Confession of the Truth must necessarily occasion. It is a great Happiness for some Persons, that the People never trouble themselves to demand of them any Account of their Doctrine, and that they have not a sufficient Capacity for it. They would, otherwise, oftener mutiny against Doctors, than against Tax gatherers. They would

(14) Augustin, de duabus Anim.

(15) M. Bagnage shews plainly, that in the Council of *Trent*, and elsewhere, the Church of *Rome* decided against *St Augustin*, and against other Calvinists. See his History of the Religion of the Reformed Churches, Tom. 2. pag. 452, & seq.

Church [F]. A Learned French Critic may make use of terms as respectful as he pleases, yet he cannot hinder us from discovering, that he heartily despises St Augustin's Commentaries on the Scripture [G]. If Mr Claude, who condemned This Father's

WHETHER Ecclesiastical Doctors have any reason to stand in fear of the Capacities of the People.

would say to them: *If you do not know that you deceive us, you deserve to be sent to the Plough for your Stupidity; and, if you do know it, you deserve to be shut up within four Walls, with Bread and Water, for your Wickedness.* But there is nothing of this to fear; the People are content to be led on in the usual Road; and, if they were inclinable to enquire a little farther, they would not be able to discuss such Points; Their Business does not permit them to acquire a sufficient Capacity.

[F] *The Arminians ----- deal very sincerely with This holy Father of the Church.* They might have perplexed the World, as well as the Jesuits; but they thought it much better to give up St Augustin wholly to their Adversaries, and to acknowledge him for as great a Predestinarian (it is a Term much used among them) as Calvin. Without doubt the Jesuits would have done the same, if they durst have condemned a Doctor, whom the Popes and Councils had approved.

[G] *A learned French Critic ----- heartily despises St Augustin's Commentaries on the Scriptures.*

I mean Mr Simon: See his *Critical History of the Old Testament* (16), wherein the chief Encomium he gives This Father is, that he knew his own Insufficiency. "He has very well observed, says

(16) Book 3, chap. 9.

(17) Ibid. P. 397, 398.

"he (17), the Qualifications necessary to make a good Interpreter of the Scripture; and, as he was a modest Man, he freely confessed, that he himself wanted most of them; therefore we ought not to wonder, if sometimes we find but little Exactness in his Commentaries on the Scriptures. — He soon acknowledged, that the Undertaking, to answer the Manicheans, was above his Strength. *In Scripturis exponendis tyrocinium meum sub tanta farsine mole succubuit* *."

* Lib. 1, Retract. cap. 15.

I confess, that Mr Simon does not quote *Peter Castellani*, without blaming him. But, as he wrote in France, was it not necessary to use all This Caution? "I cannot approve, says he (18), of the Heat of *Peter Castellani*, Grand

(18) Hist. Critique du vieux Test. P. 399.

Almoner of France, who accuses St Augustin with too much Liberty, in reproaching him with having *been only in a Dream*, when he explained the Holy Scripture." They, who wrote against him, knew very well how to object to him the little Agreement there is between the Esteem he would seem to have for St Augustin's Writings, and the Judgment he really makes of them; and they have taken This Occasion to draw a very disadvantageous Picture of This Father. "No other Idea, say they (19), can be formed of the Blessed St Augustin, than That of a De-

(19) See the Book entitled The Sentiments of some Divines of Holland, on the Critical History of the Old Testament, pag. 317, & seq. and the Defence of whole Sentiments, pag. 348, & seq.

claimer, who says all that comes in his Head, whether to the Purpose, or not, provided it agrees with a certain Platonic System, which he had formed of the Christian Religion; of One, who loses himself every Moment in the Clouds, and suffers himself to be carried away by cold Allegories, which he delivers for Oracles; in short, of One, who had none of Those Qualifications, which an Interpreter of the Holy Scriptures ought to have." Of all this they give some very strong Examples. Mr Simon, in his Reply, has not much troubled himself to defend St Augustin. It is easy to see, he had not this at Heart: He pays some Regard to Decency, but much more to his Desire of confuting his Adversary (20). It may be observed, in several Places of his Writings, to be his Opinion, that, since St Augustin makes no Difficulty to forsake the Greek Fathers on the Subject of Grace, there is no Reason to follow him, in Preference to Those Greek Fathers. This Pretence would answer very well, if there was but room to urge it: But, since St Augustin's Doctrine, on Grace, has been approved of by the Church, it must follow, that all Doctrine, opposite to That, is to be rejected; and therefore whatever may be found in St Chrysostom, which favours Molinism, is a particular Tenet, and at least implicitly branded by the authentic Approbation given to St Augustin. This is the Perplexity I mentioned above, which exposes the Church of Rome to a sort of Ridicule. I shall relate Castellani's Words; they are remarkable, and his Life is not a very common Book in this Country: "Ut divum Augustinum contra

(20) See the Answer to the 160. Sentiments, pag. 232, & seq. and the Answer to the Defence, p. 193, & seq.

hæreticos de hominis Christiani Justificatione disputando, proxime ad divi Pauli sententiam accessisse fatebatur, ita linguarum ignorantia somniasse frequenter atque etiam delirasse sacra explicando asseverabat: cumque bonarum artium magis non ignorans quam peritus dici posset, non satis idoneum esse judicebat cui de artibus differenti legendo tempus transmitteretur qui minime otio abundaret. Eam quoque stili Augustiniani infestam sinuositatem esse, & sermonis omni elegantia vacui impuritate addebat, ut ab homine liberaliter in literis educato citra fastidium legi vix posset (21). — As he confessed, that St Augustin, in his Disputation against the Heretics, concerning Christian Justification, comes the nearest of any to the Sense of St Paul; so he affirmed, that by his Ignorance in Languages he has been often in a Dream, or even out of his Head, in his Interpretation of the Scriptures; and that, as he may rather be said not to have been a Stranger to Arts, than a Master of them, it is but lost Time to those, who have not a great deal to spare, to listen to him, in his discoursing on these Subjects. Farther, that St Augustin's Style is so rough and tedious, and not only void of all Elegance, but even very incorrect, that it must nauseate a Reader of a learned Education."

(21) Petr. Galland. in Vita Castellani, pag. 44, 45.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have

seen the Explication, which Mr Simon has given, to stop the Complaints of the *Jansenists*. My Intention, says he (22), was not to diminish, in the least, the Authority of St Augustin, whom I have always acknowledged to be the most able Divine of the Western Churches, and to have deserved the great Elogies, which so many Popes have given him — I agree, that the Church assures us, that Those, who have taught Theology with Art and Method, have taken St Augustin for their Master and Guide. These are the Words of the Roman Breviary; but they do not mean, that Those Masters of Theology, who followed St Augustin in the manner of treating This Science, are obliged never to depart from the Opinions of That learned Bishop; nor that Those same Opinions are Articles of Faith, nor lastly, that the other Fathers are to be forsaken, when they do not entirely agree with him. The Church teaches us, in the same Lessons of the Breviary, speaking of St John Chrysostom *, That all the World admires his Way of interpreting the sacred Books, according to the Letter, and judge him worthy of what was believed of him, viz. that St Paul, whom he particularly honoured, dictated several things to him. I always had the highest Veneration for These two great Men, who are to this Day the Admiration of the Eastern and Western Churches; but, in explaining certain Passages of the Scripture, about which St Augustin and St Chrysostom differ, I thought I might follow St Chrysostom's Interpretation, whenever it seemed the most literal. This Difference, which no way affects our Fundamentals, does not binder them from agreeing together in the essential Points of our Belief. Speaking of St Augustin, in my History of the Commentators, I might indeed have been more cautious in my Expressions; and I have even mentioned some Things, said of him by Cardinal Sadolet, which seem too severe. But I never designed to oppose the Doctrine of This holy Doctor, who confuted so powerfully the Heresies of his Time. He adds, That he proposed Cardinal Gaspar Contarini for his Guide, who judged, that there was a certain Medium to be observed between Those, who, under pretence of being Enemies to the Lutherans, came too near the Heresy of Pelagius; and Those, who, having some Tincture of St Augustin's Writings, instead of imitating his Modesty and his Charity, preached very puzzling Doctrines to the People, which they did not understand themselves, nor could any way explain but by running into Paradoxes. "I believed, continues he, that I could not do better, than to imitate That great Cardinal, in my Answer to some Divines of Holland, who had objected against me, that the Tradition of the Church was not constant and certain; by producing, for an Example, the Doctrines of Grace, and of Predestination, in which the Church

(22) Simon's Preface to the New Observations on the Text and Versions of the New Testament, printed at Paris, 1695, in 4^{to}.

* Interpretandi rationem & intentionem sententiarum factorum librorum explicationem omnes adhibuerant, quinque existimant cui Paulus Apostolus quem ille mirifice coluit scribenti & predicanti multo dictasse videatur. Brev. Rom.

ther's Approbation of Penal Laws in Matters of Conscience, had lived but three or four Years longer, he would have exposed himself to a severe Censure [H].

A Phy-

* Church had followed and authorized St. *Augustin's* Explanation, notwithstanding he differed, they say, "from all the other Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, who went before him. I observed to them, that This difference was only in some Points, which had never been determined as Articles of Faith, and in some Passages of Scripture, which might very well admit of different Interpretations; and therefore that the Church ought not to be accused of "Inconstancy in Tradition." This needs very little Examination to discover it to be a Mask or Colour, which can only deceive very ignorant Persons: For, pray tell me, whence come the most material Controversies? Is it not from a Difference in explaining some Passages of Scripture? Why then do you make use of the Idea of This difference, to shew us, that St. *Chrysostom* and St. *Augustin* differ in nothing essential? Is it only an accident, and nothing material to the Doctrine of Grace, to know in what the Power of a Sinner consists, and what is the Essence of his Liberty? Is it not rather a fundamental Part of This Doctrine? If then these two Fathers are directly opposite in their Explication of the Nature of Free-will, it is certain, their Difference is in Essentials, and the Church cannot adopt the Hypothesis of the one, without rejecting That of the other. Otherwise it must be said, that she embraces a Truth without condemning the opposite Error; for, in short, though it were possible, that both of them may be mistaken, yet it is impossible, that both their Opinions should be true: Therefore, either They, who follow St. *Chrysostom's* Explication, or They, who follow St. *Augustin's* Doctrine, must be in an Error. Here, again, we may observe the great Perplexity of the Church of *Rome*. She is forced to approve both those who hold that Grace does all, and those who hold that Grace does nothing, in obtaining our Assent; some of her Doctors, on the one side, teach, That we form this Assent ourselves, with full Liberty to refuse it: on the other, That Grace produces this Assent, without leaving us the least Liberty to refuse it. The one, or the other, teaches an Error, which does not turn upon a Trifle, but on a Point of very great Consequence. And yet the Church of *Rome*, with her pretended Infallibility, lets this whole Matter pass without Censure. If she condemns *Janfensism*, she is obliged to declare, at the same time, that she does not condemn St. *Augustin* (23); this is to undo, with one hand, what is done with the other. Observe, by the way, these words of Mr. *Simon*: *The Difference — was only in some Things, which have not been determined as Articles of Faith*. This is to say, that, provided an Error affects only some Points, which have not yet been determined as Articles of Faith, the Person, who propagates it, may still be an Orthodox, and a very good Christian; I say, observe this Privilege of an erroneous Conscience. Observe also, that, though it were lawful to dissent from St. *Augustin's* Opinion, before the Doctrines of Grace were determined in the Time of That Father; it does not follow, that, after those Determinations, the Writers of the XVIIth Century are at liberty to return to St. *Chrysostom's* Opinion; for here is a substantial Remark of a Divine, whom Mr. *Simon* can by no means suspect: "In the Disputes concerning Grace, Election, and Predestination, less Regard is to be paid to the ancient Fathers, who lived before the *Pelagian* Heresy, than to those, who came after: And much less to the *Greeks*, than to the *Latins*, notwithstanding that these came after That Heresy — But, among the *Latins*, whose Authority, we have already observed, is to be preferred to That of the other Fathers, Divines agree, that St. *Augustin* is he, on whom we ought most to rely: For not only all the Fathers, and all the Doctors, who came after him, but the Popes themselves, and the Councils of other Bishops, have held his Doctrine, concerning Grace, for certain and Catholic: and they have ALL BELIEVED it a sufficient Proof of the Truth of an Opinion, that This Saint had taught it (24)."

[H] If Mr. *Claude* — had lived three or four Years, he would have exposed himself to a severe Censure.] I have two things to shew; the one, that

Mr. *Claude* blamed St. *Augustin* for approving the Penal Laws against Heretics; the other, that, if he had lived three or four Years longer, he would have been censured for censuring St. *Augustin*.

I. To prove the First, I need only recite some Expressions of Mr. *Claude*, in a Letter, which was made public. He confesses, That St. *Augustin* had an admirable Understanding, a happy and fruitful Imagination, discovering, almost on every occasion, great Piety, Justice, and Charity: But he adds, *There is one thing, which tarnishes his Memory extremely, viz. that, after having expressed Sentiments of Mildness and Charity, in regard to Proceedings against Heretics, his Disputes with the Donatists so very much inflamed him, that he became quite another Man, and turned Advocate for Persecution* (25).

II. The Acts of the Synod of the Walloon Churches of the United Provinces, held at *Amsterdam* in the Month of *August*, 1690, demonstrate, beyond controversy, the second thing I am to prove; for This is one of the Propositions, which That Assembly condemned, *The Magistrate has no right, by Virtue of his Authority, to suppress Idolatry, and hinder the Progress of Heresy*. I say, This Proposition is one of Those, which the Synod solemnly and unanimously declares false, scandalous, pernicious, and equally destructive of Morality and Religion. The Synod proscribes, prohibits, and condemns them as such, forbidding all Persons, Ecclesiastic and Secular, under the severest Censures, to utter them either in Pulpits, or in private Conversations — And most expressly commanding all Consistories, within their Jurisdiction, to redouble their Pastoral Care and Vigilance, in proportion to the Danger, which threatens their Flocks, to suppress, without Distinction, or Complaisance, all who shall be found guilty, by refusing private Persons the Holy Sacrament, and by suspending the Ministers from their Offices till the next Synod, calling in two Pastors of the Neighbouring Churches to join in That Sentence (26). Some may object, that if Mr. *Claude* had been living, at the Time of holding this Synod (27), perhaps They would not have condemned This Proposition. I can say nothing at all to this: but, be it as it will, there is no denying, but that his Opinion has been anathematized. For it is evident, that St. *Augustin* only maintains, that Magistrates ought to suppress Heretics, by making them liable to certain Penalties. Now the Synod of *Amsterdam* establishes This so strongly, that it puts the contrary Proposition in the number of pernicious Errors, for which it orders the Laitie to be excommunicated, and the Clergy suspended. Therefore it has approved the same Doctrine, which Mr. *Claude* condemned in St. *Augustin*: and the Opinion of Mr. *Claude* lies under the Anathema of This Synod.

If Mr. *Claude* was surprised, that St. *Augustin* should be such a Turncoat in his Opinion, others wonder yet more, that the French Refugee Ministers (28) appear to be so too. For, whereas St. *Augustin* changed his Opinion, upon observing the good Success of the Emperor's Laws, in suppressing a Schism; these Refugee Ministers have changed their Opinion, while the Ruin of their Churches, by the Authority of the Sovereign, was quite fresh in their Memory, and the Wound still bleeding. If they had been asked, while the Edicts of Persecution were pouring on their Party, what they thought of the Conduct of a Prince, who inflicted Penalties on Those of his Subjects, who desired only the Liberty of serving God according to their Consciences, they would have answered, that it is unjust; and yet, as soon as they are come into another Country, they have pronounced their Anathema against Those, who condemn the use of Penal Laws, in order to suppress Errors. This should serve for an Example of the Instability of human Things; and may furnish matter for much moral Reflexion.

He, who was the Promoter of These Synodical Decisions, had been a Deister in Opinion; but it was, in some Measure, by a special Privilege, and by a prophetic Dispensation, from which others could draw no Consequence. His Politics of the Clergy, his *Persecution*, &c. had highly condemned the use of Penal Laws in Matters of Religion. He had amply discussed This Point, in his Answer to the History

(25) See the Letter written from Switzerland, printed at Dort, 1690, pag. 20.

(26) See what has been published of the Acts of this Synod in the Tableau du Socinianisme, pag. 565.

(27) He was dead in the Month of January, 1687.

(28) There was a much greater Number of them in the Synod, than of the Walloon Ministers, and they acted in concert with the French Ministers, who fled into England. See the Acts of this Synod, concerning this Fact, in the 8th Letter of the Tableau du Socinianisme, pag. 559, & seq. The Author of This Tableau affirms, p. 558, That the Resolutions and Determinations of That Synod were unanimous.

(23) See the Answer of a Jesuit to Mr. *Leydecker*. It is mentioned in The History of the Works of the Learned, 1697, pag. 231.

(24) Petav. Dogmat. Theolog. Tom. 1. lib. 9, c. 6, cited by Mr. *Arnauld*. Difficulties proposed to Mr. *Steuert*, part 9, pag. 200.

A Physician of Paris has published a very singular Remark; he pretends, that This great Saint could bear a great deal of Drink, and would sometimes make free with it, but without getting drunk. We shall produce his Reasons, as well as Those of a Journalist, who confutes him [I]. I shall not say much of the Editions

of *Calceinism*; at least, he had given to understand, that he was desirous of confuting effectually the Advocates for Penal Laws. It is true, he had pulled down with one hand, what he endeavoured to build with the other; and fell into an unfortunate Contradiction, which exposed him to terrible Mortifications from several Writings, which were published against him; but, in short, all this was not sufficient to shew, that he had expressly declared on both sides of the Question. It was only in consequence of the Revelations, which he thought he had received from above, about the approaching Ruin of Popery: I say, it was only in consequence of these, that he exerted himself against Thole, who did not believe it lawful to extirpate Sectaries by the Authority of the Secular Power. He imagined These Persons had picked a personal Quarrel with him, and were conspiring against his Explication of the *Apocalypse* (29). The Clergy of France have made great use of St *Augustin's* Reasons, to justify the Conduct of the Court towards the Reformed. All that St *Augustin* published on this Subject has been ordered to be printed by itself, translated into elegant French. A Protestant has published a Confutation of it, in the third Part of the *Philosophical Commentary* on these Words, COMPEL THEM TO COME IN. See (30) the Reflexions, which have been made on the Prejudice, done to the good Cause, by the Authority of This Saint. It has been wondered at, that Mr *Poiret* should endeavour to excuse him. See the *History of the Works of the Learned*, for the Month of May, 1692, pag. 358; and for the Month of August of the same Year, pag. 552.

[I] A Physician — pretends, that This Saint could bear a great deal of Drink — but without getting drunk. We shall produce his Reasons, as well as those of a Journalist, who confutes him.] The Physician, I am speaking of, is Mr *Petit*. The Chapter, where he treats of this, is entitled, “Videri B. Augustinum non invalidum potorem fuisse (31). — That St *Augustin* seems to have been a hard Drinker.” He immediately lays down, for the Foundation of his Assertion, these Words of *Augustin*: “Ebrietas longe est à me: miseraberis, ne appropinquet mihi. Crapula autem nonnunquam surrepit servo tuo; miseraberis, ut longe fiat à me (32). — Drunkenness is far from me; thou wilt have Mercy on me, Lord, that it may not come near me. The Crapula surprises thy Servant sometimes; thou wilt pity him, that it may go far from him.” This seems to be a sort of Contradiction; for, the *Crapula* being the Effect of Drunkenness, how can any one confess, without contradicting himself, that he never drinks to the Degree of Drunkenness, and yet that he is sometimes overcome by the *Crapula*? Mr *Petit* shews, by the Authority of *Aristotle*, that the *Crapula* is the last Stage of Drunkenness, that it is the Head-ach, which remains, when sleep has dissipated the Vapours of the Wine, and when a Man, who has been drunk, recovers his Understanding, and is no longer under the Alienation of Mind, which deprived him of his Senses. He confirms this by a Passage of *Pliny*, and by some Verses of the Poet *Alexis*; and This is his Method of clearing up this seeming Contradiction. He supposes, that This great Saint had a very strong Head, and was able to drink a great deal of Wine, without losing the Use of his Reason, but not without being incommoded by it next Day. Quod est esset cerebri ac mentis firmitate ad pisset in eadem vini quantitate, quæ multis ad insomniam redigeret, rationis usum conservare (33). Upon this Foot, a Man may justly say, that he is never drunk, though, on some Occasions, he finds himself punished with the *Crapula*, for having drank too much; and he ought to acknowledge this to be an Imperfection, which stands in need of the Mercy of his heavenly Father. “Sic nobis dubitatio illa vanescit, vindictæque Augustinus à turpitudine eorum, qui rationem suam vino non obruere non dubitant: non tamen à culpâ omnino, ipso iudice, qui tantum vini hauriret, inde ut crapulam aliquando incurreret, nec posset

“fili inter pocula temperare, quin nimio potu interdum valetudini suæ incommodaret. Quæ de re ibi misericordiam Dei implorat (34). — Thou wilt make this Difficulty easy, and vindicate St *Augustin* from the Imputation of Thole, who make no Scruple to intoxicate their Servants with Wine; nor yet leave him entirely innocent, because of his drinking, by his own Confession, so much as to cause a Crapula, and not having that Guard upon himself in his Cups, to prevent drinking more than his Health would bear. On which account he implies the Mercy of God.” Mr *Petit* excuses St *Augustin*, from the Nature of the Climate, where he lived, and from the Custom of the Africans, and proposes this Objection to himself. It is probable, that this great Man's Practice was agreeable to the Advice he gave to others: Now he recommended the living on Herbs and Bacon, and drinking two or three Glasses of Wine, without Water. Præcel tres vine meracæ potiones propter diligentiam validitatis sumptæ cum abstulit & largo laudantur (35). The Answer is, That it is probable St *Augustin* did not so strictly practise This Rule, but that he might sometimes transgress it among his Friends, and those whom he invited to his Episcopal Table. Velim & mihi illud concedit, non minus probabile: non ita hunc regulæ illi additum existit, ut non cum vini modum nunquam inter amicos, & mensæ episcopalis bespites, bibendo excederet (36). For, otherwise, it must be concluded, that he lived only on Herbs and Bacon, which cannot be supposed, without monkish Suppidity. Quod putare cullatæ est dementia (37).

Let us see what Mr *Cassan* has answered to this strange Paradox of Mr *Petit*: For he calls this Assertion (38). He is for reading “the whole Chapter of the Confessions, from whence the Passage is taken (39).” We shall find, “That St *Augustin* there represents his own Disposition, with regard to eating and drinking, and declares, that he had learned of God not to seek after Aliments, any other wise than as after Medicines, and to use both alike.” He says, “that, according to this Principle, he is always upon his guard against Pleasure, when he satisfies the Cravings of Nature; that he is in a continual War with himself, by Fastings, and Abstinence; that he frequently reduces his Body into Subjection, and continually hears the Voice of God crying to him; Ne graevetur corda vestra in crapula & ebrietate (40). — Let not your Hearts be overcharged with Drunkenness and Debauch.” Mr *Cassan* asks, “Whether a Bishop, who lived in This manner, can be suspected to have drank sometimes to excess?” He assures us, “no Distinction is to be made here; that St *Augustin* never drank more than Necessity required; and that, therefore, when he said, Crapula autem nonnunquam obrepit servo tuo, he takes the Word Crapula in another Sense (41). Besides That of *Aristotle*, wherein it signifies the Heat and Pain caused by Wine, taken to excess, it is capable of two more, at least; according to one of which, it is taken for an Excess of eating; and, according to the other, for the Pleasure itself of eating and drinking. St *Augustin* did not use it in the first Sense; for he was as far from eating, as from drinking, to excess. So, then, he could only understand it in the second Sense, and confess, that, though he endeavoured to be continually on his Guard against the Temptation of Pleasure, which places itself, as it were, in Ambuscade, at the Entrance of the Aliments, necessary to allay Hunger and Thirst, and to maintain Health; yet he sometimes suffered himself to be surprized by it. This Surprise happens to the most perfect, to Those, who mortify their Bodies, and nourish them only with Fastings and Abstinence.” Mr *Cassan* confirms this, by producing several Testimonies of *Puffendorf*, concerning St *Augustin's* Sobriety. I think he would have done well to have given good Authority for the two Significations of the Word *Crapula*, which he has added to That, so well proved by Mr *Petit*.

Editions of St *Augustin's* Works [K]. Several of his Treatises have been translated into French.

It belongs to my Readers to decide this Dispute: I content my self with giving them the Arguments on both Sides. I shall only add, that I have consulted several Dictionaries, without being able to find there the least Appearance of the Signification, in which Mr *Coufin* will have the Word *Crapula* used in this Place. I have even met with some Physicians, who maintain, that Drunkenness and *Crapula* signify the same thing; and that *They, who pretend to make any Difference between them, raise idle Contentions about Words.* *Qui differentiam inter Crapulam & Ebrietatem figunt λογικαχρησται.* *Fœt. pag. 353. Diff. num. 475 (42).* It is certain, that, in *Cicero*, the Phrases *Crapulam dormire, Crapulam exbalare*, mean the same thing as the French Words *cruer son vin* (43), i. e. to sleep one's self sober. *Plautus* uses, in the same Sense, *Crapulam amovere* (44), *Crapulam dormire* (45), *Crapulam dormire* (46). It is also well known, that, at this present time, the French Word *Crapula* is more odious than That of *Iereste, Drunkenness*; for it signifies the highest Degree of Drunkenness. It is, as *Furetiere* observes, a shameful and continual Debauch with Wine, or other intoxicating Liquors. *Crapuler*, adds he, means, to drink without ceasing, to be continually, and filthily, drunk. The Dictionary of the French Academy confirms these Interpretations. But there is no consequence to be drawn from one Age to another, as to the Sense of Words. Use makes it vary prodigiously. There was certainly a Distinction between Drunkenness and *Crapula*, both in *Aristotle's*, and St *Augustin's* Time. This appears clearer from The Passage of the Father of the Church, than from That of the Philosopher. The Question is, to know wherein this Difference consisted, in the Time of St *Augustin*. Without doubt, if Mr *Petit* had replied to Mr *Coufin* (47), he would have shewn a great deal of Learning, and I believe would not have forgot, that Authors, who, like *Aristotle*, treat a Subject dogmatically, confine themselves very strictly to Genus and Species, and observe the Propriety of Terms, designed to signify the Distinction of each Species, or the different Degrees of one and the same Quality; but Poets and Orators soon lay aside This Exactness: they either introduce, themselves, a greater Liberty of Words, or else conform to That established by public Custom, which uses, indifferently, on a thousand Occasions, Those Expressions which the Doctors so nicely distinguish.

[K] I shall not say much of the Editions of St *Augustin's* Works.] We meet with a List of them in Mr *du Pin* (48), which is neither so large, nor so exact, as That published by the Journalists of *Leipsic* (49). But, since it is very easy to consult Those Authors, it would be superfluous to copy them here. I shall only say, that the best Edition of This Father's Works is That printed at *Paris*, by the Care of the *Benedictine* Monks of *St Maur*. It is divided into ten Volumes in Folio, as some others are; but there is a new Order, or Disposition, in each Tome. The Ist, and IId, were published in the Year 1679, the IId, in 1680, the IVth, in 1681, the Vth, in 1683, the VIth, and VIIth, in 1685, the VIIIth, and IXth, in 1688, and the Xth, in 1693. This last Volume contains the Writings of St *Augustin* against the *Pelagians*.

There came out, *A Letter from the Abbot D** to the R. R. F. F. Benedictines of the Congregation of St Maur, on the last Tome of their Edition of St Augustin* (50). The Author of This Letter pretends, that their Design was to favour *Janenism*, and that the Proofs he gives of it are very convincing. I have heard, that This Letter perplexes the *Benedictines* so much the more, because it has made some Bishops call them to an Account for their Conduct, and threaten to forbid the Reading of That Edition of St *Augustin* in their Dioceses.

These learned Fathers have given an Explanation of this Matter, and cleared themselves to the Public from this Aspersions. See the Letter of a Divine to one of his Friends, on the Libel, entitled, *A Letter of the Abbot *** &c.* It was printed the Twenty second of February, 1699, and contains Eighty eight Pages in 12mo; but it did not determine the Dispute. There came out a Memorial of a

Doctor of Divinity, addressed to My Lords, the Prelates of France, on the Answer of a Benedictine Divine to the Letter from a German Abbot (51), and the Author of This Memorial maintains, That all the Accusation of the *Benedictines* is just, and that the Answer of Those Fathers is insufficient. He takes notice (52), that they sent from *Rouen to Paris* a second Answer to the German Abbot, and that Father de *St Martine* was very ready to father it. The *Benedictines* replied; but could not silence their Adversaries. Some other Writings were published pro and con; but I cannot give the Particulars, because I have met with but few of them: I have seen a little Book, called, *The Conduct of the Benedictines on the attacking of their Edition of St Augustin*. It contains Seventy nine Pages in 12mo, and was printed in the Year 1699. Among other things, we are told there, I. That, before they had published any thing in their own Defence, a Writing was addressed to them from an unknown Person — who took care to disperse it all over Paris, before he sent them any Copy (53). II. That the Title of this Piece was, *A Letter from a Commendatory Abbot, to the Reverend Fathers, the Benedictines of the Congregation of St Maur*. III. That, as the Letter, which the German Abbot wrote against these Fathers, was called, *The German Benedictine*, they called This, *The Little Benedictine*; and all the World owned, that the younger was not inferior to the elder. IV. That the Author, from the beginning to the end, only personated, and spoke the Language of the Janenists, in order to be the better understood by the B.B. (54). V. That *The Little Benedictine* exasperated, and stirred up the Party; who, from that Moment, resolved to defend the new *Augustin*, and that the Abbot *Du Guet* went to the Abbey to offer his Pen to the Congregation of *St Maur* (55). VI. That *The Little Benedictine* had not long made it's Appearance, before another smaller, and more agreeable one, came out, on a sudden (56), entitled, *The Letter of a Benedictine, not reformed, to the Reverend Fathers, the Benedictines of the Congregation of St Maur*, and came from the same Hand as the *Little Benedictine*. VII. That the *Benedictines* were deliberating, when a fourth *Benedictine* appeared, which was so serious, as to make one believe, that it was really produced in a Cloister. It's Title was, *A Letter of a reformed Benedictine of St Dennis, in answer to the German Abbot, the Commendatory Abbot, and the Benedictine not Reformed* (57). VIII. That the first Answer of the *Benedictines* came from *St Dennis*, and was attributed, by all the World, to Father *Lamy*: It is entitled, *A Letter from a Divine to one of his Friends, on the Libel, called, A Letter from the Abbot *** to the Reverend F. F. the Benedictines, &c.* (58). IX. That there appeared another Answer, unexpected, which Father *St Martine* bragged he had written in less than two Days; the Title of it is, *Reflections on the Letter from a German Abbot* (59). X. That it is universally agreed, that the best thing, which has been wrote on the Affair of This Edition, is That, entitled, *A Memorial of a Doctor of Divinity, addressed to my Lords, the Prelates of France, on the Answer of a Divine among the Benedictines, to a Letter from the German Abbot* (60). XI. That a Man, more learned, than polite, handed about a Manuscript against Father *St Martine*, and called it, *St Martine a bad Divine, and a good Janenist* (61); That the Manuscript of This learned Man was followed by another Manuscript of some melancholly Author of very bad Taste, entitled, *Antimony, by way of Preservative against the Calumnies of Father St Martine* (62); and that This last Manuscript was succeeded by another attributed to a Jesuit; it is called, *Vindicia Petavii* (63). XII. That, in the Book entitled, *A Solution of divers Problems*, and ascribed to Mr *du Guet*, the *Janenists* undertake the Defence of the *Benedictines* with an high Hand (64). XIII. That there appeared a third Answer of the *Benedictines* (65), called *Vindicia Editionis S. Augustini a P. P. B. B. adornata*; which preceded most of these Writings I have been naming, and that it is little more than a Translation of Father *Lamy's* Answer, and is published under a borrowed Name, &c. (66).

(51) Printed in 1699; it contains 128 Pages in 12mo.

(52) Page 121.

(53) Conduite des Benedictins, page 24.

(54) Page 25.

(55) Page 28.

(56) Page 29.

(57) Page 31.

(58) Page 35.

(59) Page 40.

(60) Page 44.

(61) Page 47.

(62) Page 50.

(63) Page 51.

(64) Page 67.

(65) This, without doubt, is the same which was mentioned, page 64, in quoting the Words taken from a Manuscript Letter of Mr Simon to Father Marcial: A Benedictine, named Dom Bernard de Montfaucon, — has published a very sharp Answer to the German Abbot, printed by the Licence of the Master of the Sacred Palace.

(66) Conduite des Benedictins, page 68.

(42) Jacob. Pancratius Bruno in Lexico Medico, pag. 385.

(43) See the 2 Philip. of Cicero, fol. 247, D, and the 8th epig. of Verres fol. 53, B.

(44) *Plaut.* in *Pseud.* Act. 1. Sc. 1. v. 35.

(45) Id. in *Moffell.* Act. 5. Sc. 2. v. 1.

(46) Id. in *Rud. Act. 2.* Sc. 7. v. 28.

(47) He could not; he was dead before his Nephew was published.

(48) See his New Bibliotheca of Ecclesiastical Authors, Tom. 3, pag. 287. Edit. of Holland.

(49) In the M. sub. of Jan. 183, pag. 2.

(50) Printed in 1699; it contains 72 Pages in 12mo.

SOME Circumstances of the Quarrel between the Benedictines and Jesuits, on account of the Edition of St *Augustin's* Works.

I have also seen a Piece attributed to *Lamy*; 'Tis a *Complaint of the Apologist for the Benedictines, to the Prelates of France, on the Defamatory Libels, which are dispersed against That Religious Society, and their Edition of St Augustin; together with a Summons to the Authors of These Libels to appear before the Archbishop of Paris; and on account of the Process, which was entered against the Benedictines, on their Edition of St Augustin.* All this contains Eighty eight Pages in 8vo. The Author, having demanded of the Prelates the Punishment of their Adversaries, takes notice that *The Difficulty — is to find out these unquiet and seditious Spirits, who have attacked the Benedictines* (67). It is not so great as may be imagined, adds he; *it is true, they take care not to set their Names to their Libels: But the R. F. F. the Jesuits take so much pains to claim the Merit of them, and discover themselves by other means, in so many places of these seditious Writings, that they cannot possibly be mistaken, unless People take a Pleasure in deceiving themselves.* He, then, proposes his Conjectures, and, after some general Considerations, he gives something more particular and decisive (68).

(67) *Plainte de l'Apologiste des Benedictins, pag. 10.*

(68) *Pag. 12.*

"And now, says he, as to the Letter of the German Abbot, if these Fathers had not discovered themselves by their Air, Voice, Accent, Principles, and Doctrine, yet it is a Fact, which no Body, at this time of day, contests, or denies, that Father *Langlois*, a Jesuit of the College of *Lewis le Grand*, is the Author of it: and certainly That good Father could not expect, that the World should be ignorant of it, since the Book was sold publicly enough, even in the College. As for the other Libels, such as the Letter of the *Commandatory Abbot*, and That of the *Monk not Reformed*, besides our knowing, that they made Presents of them every where, and raised Trophies in them to their pretended Victories; how many times have they, there, taken the Pleasure to characterize, name, and declare themselves to be our Adversaries. It is proper, *my Lord*, to let you see in what Shapes and Colours they shew themselves: I shall use their own Words; *Consider*, says one in these Letters, *what the Jesuits do: They, whom you may suspect to be your Adversaries. Take them for your Model in this Matter. They answer every thing.*" After having made a Collection of a great many more Characters, he goes on thus: "I think, from all these Descriptions, it cannot be doubted, but that they are Jesuits: But it will be said, they are only a small number of particular Persons. I grant it: We know they must be only some particular Persons; for a whole Society was never yet known to have, all of them, a Hand in the Writing of one and the same Letter. But is there not some reason to attribute These Writings to a whole Body, when That Body generally speaks and talks of them with Pleasure and Approbation? Nay, when they boast of, and distribute them by way of Presents, and in a triumphing Manner, as all the World knows the Jesuits have often done in respect to These Letters. In a word, *my Lord*, how scandalous soever the Writings of any particular Persons of a Society may be, there is ground to attribute them to the whole Society, when the Superiors take no care to suppress them; or, if That be not in their Power, when they do not shew by some public Act, that they disapprove them; or when they do not make a Reparation to the Parties offended, as notorious and public as the Injuries and Calumnies have been. It is by this Rule, that the scandalous Piece called, *The Comedy of the Monks*, has been always looked upon

"as a Work of the Society of the Jesuits; in which almost all the Religious are treated with an Indignity and Derision, which would hardly be pardoned in the most furious Heretics. It has been, I say, justly attributed to the whole Body, altho' composed and acted by their young Scholars; because it doth not appear, that the Superiors ever made any Satisfaction for it, or any just Amends (69)." After this he shews, that it belongs to the Archbishop of *Paris* to determine this Difference (70); and he summons his Adversaries to appear personally at That Tribunal, and to prove their several Accusations, on pain, if they fail in any of them, of being condemned as Slanderers, and their Libels judged Defamatory. But, not to give them an opportunity of abusing This Citation, as too loose and uncertain for want of a Time prefixed, and yet not to be too pressing upon them, we give them two Months from the Day that our Citation shall be published at *Paris* (71). Lastly, he shews, what the State of the Question is; and afterwards, in the drawing up of the Process, he refutes several Things published against the *Benedictines*.

(69) *Pag. 21.*

(70) *Pag. 23.*

(71) *Pag. 24.*

I dare say, that the Archbishop of *Paris*, and even a National Council, would be puzzled in the Determination of such a Cause as This is; for, besides the Questions of *Jansenism* being full of Equivocations, Two powerful, and very learned Communities, who have each their Friends and Enemies, can cut out work enough, and start Incidents to Eternity. The best Expedient, when such Disputes are on foot, is to have recourse to the Secular Power, as to a God in a Machine, who may come, and cut the Knot. This is what has happened in This Dispute. The King ordered the Chancellor to write a Letter to the Archbishop of *Paris*, to put a Stop to This Controversy, and to forbid the Parties to publish any Thing farther about it (72). But, be this as it will, it must be said of the *Benedictines*, that they took the most reasonable Method of all, as well to shew their own Integrity, as to stop the Course of the Libels. They demanded a regular Proceeding, where their Accusers should be obliged to declare their Names, and to prove their Accusations according to Law. Without this no good issue can be expected; for, even in the worst Causes, They, who have the liberty to plead only at the Tribunal of the Public, by anonymous Pamphlets, find it always in their Power to be haughty, insulting, and clamorous, whilst there are Writers and Printers. A Private Man, whether he be in the right, or the wrong, is soon silenced, if his Pieces do not sell; he cannot go on with them, without being at the charge of the Press, which is beyond his Abilities. But this Inconveniency can never affect such rich and powerful Communities, as Those of the *Benedictines*, and Jesuits.

(72) *Historical Letters for January 1700, pag. 99.*

They are going to print This Edition at *Amsterdam*, in a smaller Character, which will be sold much cheaper than That of *Paris* (73). There was a design to print with it the Critical Notes of a learned Man, who conceals himself under the Name of *Joannes Phereponus* (74); but I understand since, that the design is altered, and that Those Critical Notes will be printed separately, with the Commentary of *Ludovicus Vives* on the Work of *Civitate Dei*, &c. There was some reason to fear, that the Roman Catholics would be displeased with it; and therefore they will be left at full Liberty to buy, or leave These suspected Notes. They will be in a separate Volume, and all *St Augustin's* Work, exactly conformable to the Edition of *Paris*, will be sold either with or without them.

(73) See Mr Bernart, *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, for March, 1699, pag. 358.*

(74) *Id. ib.*

AULNOI (MARIA CATHERINA LE JUMEL DE BERNEVILLE Countess d') so famed for her Writings [A], was the Wife of *Francis de la Motte*, Count d'Aulnoi. She died his Widow in the Month of *January* 1705. Her Mother, whose second Husband was the Marquis de *Gadagne*, died at *Madrid*, where she enjoyed a considerable Pension, which King *Charles II.* had given her, for the great Service she had done That Nation, while she was at *Rome*. *Philip V.* continued this Pension. The Countess d'Aulnoi left four Daughters (a).

(a) *Mercurius Galant, Jan. 1705, pag. 244, & seq.*

[A] She is famed for her Writings: The first she published, is entitled *A Journey into Spain*. She went thither with the Queen of *Spain*, the first Wife of *Charles II.* Her other Works are, *Memoirs of the Court of Spain*, which has had three Editions in *France*, and one in *Holland*; *Memoirs of the Court*

of *England*; *Hippolito, Earl of Douglas*; *The History of John de Bourbon, Prince de Cambray*; *The Earl of Warwick*. There are so many little Romances, which have been universally read. She has also published several *Tales of the Fairies*, and a Paraphrase on the *Miserere* (1).

(1) *Mercurius Galant, Jan. 1705, pag. 247, & seq.*

(a) The Emperor Claudius, writing to him, calls him only Valerius Aurelianus. Vopiscus in Aurel. cap. 17.

AURELIANUS (LUCIUS DOMITIUS) (a), Emperor of Rome in the III^d Century, was one of the greatest Warriours of Antiquity. It is not certain where he was born [A]; but it is agreed, that his Extraction was very mean, and that his Mother, who made it her Business to forget Events, was a Priestess of the Sun (b). He was of a good Stature, handsome, robust, and of a very lively Genius (c). He loved Action, Wine, and good Cheer (d); but not Women (e): He observed Discipline exactly, and caused others to observe it with the utmost Severity [B]. One Thing was observed in him: he continued poor amidst the very great number of Offices (f).

(b) Id. ibid. cap. 14.

(c) Id. cap. 46.

(d) Id. c. 4.

(e) Id. c. 6.

[A] It is not certain where he was born. Vopiscus, having related three Opinions (1), adds, That it usually happens, that the native Place of Persons, meanly born, is uncertain. He gives this reason for it; Because they generally tell a lie on that occasion, and adopt some Place of greater Note, which they pretend to be That of their Birth, in order to recommend themselves to Posterity, in a brighter Light, by the Splendor of the Place of their Nativity. Evenit quidem ut de eorum virorum gentiliis solo nesciatur qui humiliori loco nati, plerique solum gentile confingunt, ut dent posteritati de locorum splendore fulgorem (2). I believe there is another Cause, which contributes yet more to it; I mean the number of the Places, which contend for the Honour of producing famous Persons. They take the Advantage of the uncertainty of the Fact, and, hoping never to be effectually disproved, They vainly, and without any grounds, report, that They are born in such and such a Place. From hence came the Disputes about Homer's Country. I grant, with Vopiscus, that our principal Inquiry into the Characters of great Princes, is not to know where they were born, but how they have governed: Nec tamen magnorum principum virtutibus summa sciendi est, ubi quisque sit gentis, sed qualis in republ. fuerit. Nevertheless, as we are naturally very inquisitive to know the time and place of the Birth of Great Men, I think an Historian is obliged to make all possible inquiry to satisfy his Readers in This Point; and that they have a right to complain of the Negligence of a great number of Writers, who have been wanting in this Particular (3).

(1) Id. ib.

(3) See Remark [A] of the Article ROTTERDAM.

[B] He observed Discipline exactly, and caused others to observe it, with the utmost Severity. We may add, that he had the good Fortune to see, that This Severity did not make the Soldiers mutinous, but only fearful of neglecting their Duty. Without doubt it was good Fortune; for sometimes Generals have as much reason to fear the Consequences of too great a Severity, as those of too great Lenity. Aurelian found it very right, to punish rigorously, and without remission. "Militious ita timori fuit, ut sub eo posteaquam semel cum ingenti severitate castris peccata corripit, nemo peccaverit. Solus denique omnium militum, qui adulterium cum hospitii uxore commiserat, ita punivit, ut duarum arborum capita inflecteret, & ad pedes militis deligaret, eademque subito dimitteret, ut scissus ille utrinque penderet. Quæ res ingentem timorem omnibus fecit (4). — He was so much feared by the Soldiers, that, whosoever of them once felt the great Severity of his Corrections, for breach of Orders, never offended again. He was, in short, the only Commander, who ever punished so terribly the Crime of Adultery, committed, by a Soldier, with the Wife of the Person, upon whom he was quartered: The Tops of two Trees were bent down to each other by Violence, and, being fastened to the Feet of the Criminal, were let go again, and so tore him in halves. This struck them all with very great Terror." You see, by this Quotation, he used the same sort of Punishment in the Case of a Soldier's committing Adultery with the Wife of his Host, that Alexander inflicted on the Traitor Bessus, who killed King Darius. Nothing can be finer, than Aurelian's Orders, concerning the Soldiers Duty. St John Baptist could not have laid them under a greater Number of Restrictions, had he been ever so particular (5). Aurelian would not suffer them to touch any Fruit, nor to take of the People any Salt, Wood, or Oil, nor to transgress the Rules of Chastity. Would not one think, that he had a Design to introduce the Monastic Discipline into the Army? "Hujus epistola militaris est ad vicarium suum data hujusmodi: Si

(4) Vopisc. in Aurel. cap. 7. pag. 434.

(5) Luke iii. 14.

"vis tribunus esse, imò si vis vivere, manus militum contine. Nemo pullum alienum rapiat, ovem nemo contingat, Uvam nullus auferat, segetem nemo deterat: oleum, sal, lignum, nemo exigit: annona sua contentus sit. De præda hostis, non de lacrymis provincialium, habeat: arma terga sint: ferramenta famiata — alter alteri quasi servus obsequatur: à medicis gratis curentur; auripicebus nihil dent: in hospitibus caste agant; qui litem fecerit, vapulet (6). — He wrote thus to his Lieutenant. If you would continue your command, or even your Life, keep strict Discipline among the Soldiers. Let not one of them steal a Chicken, touch an Egg, pluck a Grape, or damage the standing Corn; or make any Exactions of Oil, Salt, or Wood, but make every man content himself with his Allowance. Reward them by the Spoil of our Enemies, but not by the Tears of our Friends and Subjects: Let their Arms be clean; their Swords and Spears sharp; — let them serve one another; let the Physicians attend the sick and wounded, gratis; let the Priests take nothing of them for their Sacrifices; let them live chastely in their Quarters; and let Him, who breeds Quarrels, run the Gauntlet." He was so rigid, that the Emperor Valerian, who had a singular Esteem for him, durst not put his Son under his Direction, for fear That young Prince, who was inclined to be wild, should too far experience the Austerity of such a Master: For which reason, he chose for him a more gentle Governor. Read the Answer he gave to the Consul Antoninus Gallus, who would have That Office conferred on Aurelian:

"Culpas me familiaribus literis quod Posthumio filium meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiserim: quum utique & tenerior & puer credendus fuerit & exercitus: nec tu id diutius judicabis, si bene scieris quantæ sit Aurelianus severitas. Nimis est, multus est, gravis est, & ad nolam jam non facit tempora. Tellor autem omnes deos, me etiam timuisse nequid etiam erga filium meum severius, siquid ille fecisset, ut eist natura pronus ad ludicra, sævius cogitaret. Hæc epistola inquit quantæ fuerit severitatis, ut illum Valerianus etiam timuisse se dicat (7). — You blame me, in your Letters, for chusing to put my Son Gallienus under Posthumus, rather than under Aurelian; when the Youth, as well as the Army, requires his Severity of Discipline; but you would be no longer of This Opinion, if you knew but Aurelian's extreme Rigour. His Punishments are too frequent, too great, and heavy, and no way proportioned to the Usage of these Times. And I call the Gods to witness, I am afraid he should execute some dreadful Sentence, even upon my Son, if he should misbehave, as he is naturally idle. This Epistle shews he was so extremely severe, that Valerian himself was even afraid of him." We must not forget Aurelian's Strictness to his Domestics. "He caused those, who had neglected their Duty, to be whipped in his Presence; and he delivered up several of his own Servants to public Justice, to have them punished for their Faults. He caused one of his Maid Servants to be put to Death, for committing Adultery with one of his Lacqueys. — Servos & ministros peccantes coram se cædi jubebat, ut plerique dicunt, causa tenendam severitatis: ut illi, studio crudelitatis. Ancillam suam, quæ adulterium cum servo suo fecerat, capite punivit. Multos servos à familia propria, qui peccaverant, legibus audiendos judiciis publicis dedit (8). — Most ascribe all this to his strict Method of Discipline; but some, to the natural Cruelty of his Temper. Valerian was in the right to say, that such a Man was too severe for the Age he lived in. Ad nolam jam non facit Tempora!

(6) Vopisc. in Aurel. cap. 7. pag. 434.

(7) Id. ib. cap. 8. pag. 434.

(8) Id. ib. cap. 4. pag. 585.

Offices, which were conferred upon him [C]. He had so strong an Inclination to draw his Sword, that the Soldiers gave him the Surname of *Sword in hand*, to distinguish him from a Captain of the same Name [D]. He made such a Slaughter in Combats, that he killed Forty eight *Sarmatians* in one day; and the number *Thousand* was made use of to count the mortal Blows, which he had given the Enemy (f). This became the Subject of Songs and Ballads (g); he received from these the same Honours, as the first King of the *Jews* (h), and deserved it much better: For it was not pretended, that *Saul* killed, with his own hand, the Thousand Enemies, whose Slaughter was ascribed to him in the Songs; but This was literally understood of *Aurelian*. He was adopted by *Ulpian Crinitus*, one of the greatest Men of those Times (i): The Emperor *Valerian*, who managed That Affair (k), made him Lieutenant to the same *Crinitus* (l), who was General of the Frontiers of *Illyricum* and *Thracia* (m), and appointed him Consul in the Year 258. These Rewards, and some others, were rendered yet infinitely more agreeable, by the Encomiums and particular Marks of Esteem, with which the Emperor conferred them [E].

We

(f) Vopisc. ibid. cap. 6.

(g) Id. ib. & cap. 7.

(h) 1 Sam. x. viii. 7.

(i) Vopisc. in Aurel. cap. 14.

(l) Id. ib. cap. 15.

(m) Ibid. cap. 10.

(n) Ib. cap. 12.

(a) Id. ib. cap. 8, pag. 439. *pora* (g) ! He was only fit for the Sect of the Montanists. The Christians of the succeeding Ages would have found him too rigorous; and how many Casuists, at this Day, would say of his Morals, as they do of Those of the Fathers, that they are too strict, and that This bitter and rough Physic does not agree with our Sick ? What military Men, or even grave Citizens, think it worth while to punish the Familiarities of their Men and Maids ? The general Punishment, for their Faults of this Nature, is to turn them away. Nay, sometimes Masters are so kind, as to marry them to each other. Observe, that History mentions but one of *Aurelian's* Servants, who was punished for her Lasciviousness. It is a sign, that such Transgressions were very rare in his Family, which is a Matter of wonder, considering what we see every Day, and that a General, or an Emperor, must necessarily have a great many Slaves of both Sexes.

[C] He continued poor, amidst the very great Number of Offices, which were conferred upon him (10).] The Emperor, his Master, testified This Virtue, when he charged the Public with the Expence, which the Consul, he promised *Aurelian*, would require.

" Consulatum cum eodem Ulpio Crinito in annum sequentem à die undecimo Calend. Juniarum, in locum Gallieni & Valeriani, sperare conuenit sumptu publico. Levanda est enim paupertas eorum hominum, qui diu reipublicæ viventes, pauperes sunt, & nullorum magis (11). — You may expect the Consulship, together with Ulpian Crinitus, for the next Year, from the XI of the Cal. of June, in the Room of Gallienus and Valerianus, and that your Expences shall be born by the Public. For no sort of Poor deserve That Regard so much, as Those, who have long served the Public, and yet are poor."

(11) Id. ib. cap. 445.

(12) Ibid. cap. 12.

(13) Ibid. cap. 15.

The Historian, who furnishes this Passage, produces the Letter, which the Emperor wrote to the Prefect of Rome, to signify to him his Pleasure, as to what should be given to the new Consul. " Aureliano, cui consulatut detulimus ob PAUPERIATEM, qua ille magnus est ceteris major, dabis ad editionem Circensium aureos Antonianos trecentos, &c. (12). — To Aurelian, whom we have made Consul on account of his POVERTY, which makes That great Man still greater, you are to present Three hundred pieces of Gold, of Antoninus's Coin, for his Expence in exhibiting the Circensian Shows." Some have said, that " the Poverty of Aurelian obliged Valerian to order Ulpian Crinitus to adopt him. — Memini me in quodam libro Græco legisse — Mandatum esse Crinito à Valeriano, ut Aurelianum adoptaretur, idcirco præcipue quod pauper esset (13). " It is remarkable, that, when he was Emperor, he used a great deal of Moderation in doing good to his Friends: Perhaps, from his long Habit of contemning Wealth, and the Opinion he had, that moderate Riches were sufficient for a great Man: Perhaps, also, because he would not irritate the People by excessive Profusions; for Subjects are not pleased to see their Prince bestow his Treasures and Favours on his Friends, in an extravagant manner. *Vopiscus* tells us, That " this Emperor chose to observe a Medium, which should take away the Inconveniences of Poverty, without substituting Those of Envy. — Amicos suos honeste ditavit & modice, ut miserias paupertatis effugerent, & divitiarum invidiam pav-

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" trimonii moderatione vitarent (14). " He adds, (14) Ibid. That " he would not suffer any Person to wear Silk Cloaths, of which he gave them an Example, and subjected his own Wife to This Law; for, when she desired, at least, one Silk Suit, he answered her, God forbid, that Thread should cost as much as Gold. For, at that time, a Pound of Silk was worth a Pound of Gold. — Vestem holiericam neque ipse in vestitio suo habuit, neque alteri utendam dedit. Et quum ab eo uxor sua peteret, ut unico pallio blatto serico uteretur, ille respondit, Absti ut auro fila pensetur: libra enim auri tante libra serici fuit (15). " See Mr de Tillemont, who has observed the little Agreement between This Fact, and certain things reported by the same Historian, or others, concerning This Emperor's Luxury (16). But we must not forget, that the Cloaths of his Domestics were no richer, after his Advancement to the Throne, than before (17); and that he granted the Senators the Liberty of wearing the same Habit with himself (18).

[D] The Soldiers gave him the Surname of *Sword in Hand*, to distinguish him from a Captain of the same Name.] What a proper Distinction is This to flatter the Pride of a brave Warriour ? I shall relate the Words of *Vopiscus*: " Gladii exercendi cupidus. Nam quum essent in exercitu duo Aureliani tribuni, hic, & alius qui cum Valeriano captus est, huic signum exercitus apposerat manus ad ferrum, ut si forte quaereretur quis Aurelianus aliquid vel fecisset vel gessisset, suggereretur, Aurelianus manus ad ferrum, atque cognosceretur (19). — Remarkably fond of drawing his Sword. For there being in the Army two Tribunes, both named Aurelian, this, and another, who was taken Prisoner with Valerian, the Soldiers called him *Sword in Hand*, by way of Distinction; so that, when it was asked, which Aurelian had done any thing, the Answerer, which meant him was, Aurelian *Sword in Hand*."

[E] The Emperor conferred them with Encomiums, and particular Marks of Esteem.] I am going to relate them; for they contain the considerable Services, which *Aurelian* had done to the Empire. " Valerianus Augustus Ceionio Albino præfecto urbi. Vellemus quidem singulis quibusque devotissimis Reipublice viris multo majora deferre compendia, quam eorum dignitas postulat, maxime ubi honorem vita commendat. Debet enim quid præter dignitatem pretium esse meritum. Sed facit rigor publicus, ut accipere de provincialium oblationibus ultra ordinis sui gradum nemo plus possit. Aurelianum fortissimum virum ad inspicienda & ordinanda castra omnia destinavimus: cui tantum à nobis atque ab omni Republica, communi totius exercitus confessione, debetur, ut digna illi vix aliqua vel nimis magna sunt munera. Quid enim in illo non clarum? quid non Corvinis & Scipionibus conferendum? Ille Liberator Illyrici, ille Galliarum Restitutor, ille dux magni totius exempli. Et tamen nihil præterea possum addere tanto viro ad munus gratiam quam patitur sobria & bene gerenda Respublice. Quare sinceritas tua, mi parens charissime, supradicto viro efficiat, quandiu Romæ fuerit, panes militares mundos sedecim, &c. (20). — Valerianus Cæsar, to Ceionius Albinus, Prefect of the City. It is our Desire to distinguish those, who

(14) Ibid. cap. 45. pag. 537.

(15) Id. ib. cap. 540.

(16) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3. p. 1074, 1075.

(17) Vopisc. in Aurel. cap. 1.

(18) Ibid. cap. 49.

(19) Id. ib. cap. 6, pag. 426.

(20) Id. ib. cap. 9, p. 440.

" ubi

(n) Ibid.
cap. 17.

(o) Zosimus,
lib. i. p. 654,
655.

(p) They
were the
neighbours
to Rhetia,
and to Italy.

(q) Vopisc.
in Aurel.
cap. 21.

(r) Taken
out of Mr de
Tillemont's
Hist. des
Emper.
Tom. 7. pag.
1030, & seq.
He quotes
Dexippus
directly. See
also his Notes.

We do not find, that *Aurelian* made any Figure under the Emperor *Gallienus*; but, under *Claudius*, he held the principal Posts, and commanded the Army with so much Glory, that, after the Death of That Emperor, all the Legions concurred to set him on the Throne (n). This happened in the Year 270. A little while after, he came to *Rome*, and, after establishing his Authority, he marched towards *Pannonia*, where the *Goths* had made an Irruption (o). He gave them Battle, and obliged them to repass the *Danube*, and to desire a Peace. After this, being informed, that the *Marcomani*, the *Jutungi* (p), and some other Nations, had resolved to carry the War into *Italy*, he marched against them, and overthrew them in a general Engagement, near the *Danube*. He killed many of them, as they repassed That River, and hindered the rest from returning into their Country, by shutting them up in the *Roman* Dominions. The want of Provisions, and many other Inconveniencies, which obliged them to desire a Peace of him, did not inspire them with such a Submission, as he expected. Their Deputies assumed so high an Air, that he dismissed them very haughtily; for, imagining he had cut off the Retreat of their Army, he concluded they could not escape him. But he was mistaken: The Enemy disengaged themselves, and, marching before him, entered into *Italy*, where they made great Ravages round about *Milan*. He could not follow them with Speed enough; for his Army was heavier than theirs. They defeated him by Surprise near *Placentia* (q), and, if they had understood the Military Art, as well as he, they might have ruined the Empire after such a Victory; but, as they knew not how to make use of their Advantage, and did not march close, he defeated them in several Rencontres, and reduced them to nothing (r). During This War, the Books of the *Sibyls* were consulted at *Rome*: I shall mention some Circumstances of it, which shew the Religion of *Aurelian*, and the Irreligion of his Flatterers [F]. It is likely he pursued the Enemy as far as *Germany*, where he was obliged to stop some time to repulse the *Vandals*, who had passed the *Danube*. He defeated them, and forced them to beg a Peace, which he was very willing to grant them (s). He returned to *Rome* full of Repentment, for the Seditions, which had been raised there, and punished them with extreme Cruelty (t). This was his predominant Vice; and it was for the sake of this, that many have refused to rank

(s) Tillemont, ibid.

(t) See Remark [H].

"who have deserved well of the Commonwealth, with greater Rewards, than are suitable to their Rank, especially where their whole Life will justify their Distinction. For, besides what is due to their Station, there is also something due to their extraordinary Merit. But the public Exactness requires, that none should receive, out of the Revenues of the Provinces, any more than is allotted to the Degree of his Dignity. We have appointed That brave Man, Aurelian, to inspect and direct our Incampments, to whom both we, and the Commonwealth, are so greatly indebted, that no Rewards can be thought too great, or even worthy, of him. What has he not performed! What could the *Corvini* and *Scipio's* have done more! He is the Protector of *Illyricum*, the Restorer of the *Gallia's*, a General, great in every Action. And yet we can assign to so extraordinary a Man no other public Reward, than the frugal and regular Administration of the Commonwealth allows. Be it your Care, therefore, my beloved Cousin, to furnish him, during his stay at *Rome*, with sixteen fine military Leaves, &c." *Valerian* wrote thus to the Prefect of *Rome*; and here follows part of his Letter to *Aurelian*: "Ego de te tantum, Deo favente, spero quantum de *Traiano*, si viveret, posset sperare *Reipub*. Neque enim minor est (21), in cujus locum fidemque te legi. Consultatum cum eodem *Ulpio Crinito* in annum sequentem tunc die undecimo Calend. Juniarum, in locum *Gallieni* & *Valeriani*, sperare te conveni sumptu publico. — I hope for as great things from you, under the Favour of Heaven, as the Commonwealth might have expected from *Trajan*, had he lived. Nor is He an unfit Match for you, to whom, both in Office and Friendship, I have designed you for a Partner. You may expect, therefore, the Consulship, together with *Ulpius Crinitus*, for the next Year, from the XI of the Cal. of June, and your Charges shall be born by the Public." Here is also the Speech, which *Valerian* made to him, in the Presence of the Army, and the Court: "Gratias tibi agi, *Aureliane*, Resp. quod cum Gothorum potestate liberasti. Abundamus per te præda, abundamus gloria, & his omnibus quibus Romana felicitas crevit. Cape igitur tibi pro rebus gestis tuis coronas murales quatuor, coronas vallares quinque, coronas navales duas, coronas civicas duas, hastas puras decem, vexilla bicolora quatuor, tu-

"nicas duales rufas quatuor, pallia proconsularia duo, togam prætextatam, tunicam palmatam, togam pictam, subarmalem profundum, sellam eboratam. Nam te consullem hodie designo, scripturus ad senatum, ut tibi deputet scipionem, de potest etiam fasces. Hæc enim imperator non solum dare, sed & senatu, quando fit consul, accipere (22). — The Commonwealth returns you thanks, Aurelian, for freeing her from the Injults of the Goths. By your Victories we abound in Spoil, we abound in Glory, and in every thing else, which can contribute to the Prosperity of *Rome*. Accept, therefore, for your great Services, four Mural Crowns, five Rampire Crowns, two Naval Crowns, two Civic Crowns, ten possib'd Spears, four Standards of two Colours, four military Buff Suits, two Proconsular Cloaks, and the Robe of State, the Robe embroidered with Palms, the rich Triumphant Robe, a Suit to wear under Armour, and the Ivory Chair. For I this Day appoint you Consul, and will write to the Senate to send you the Staff and Fasces, the Insignia of your Office; which are never given by the Emperor, but always by the Senate, to the new Magistrate."

(22) Idem Vopiscus, cap. 13, p. 449; 450

The first, of these three Passages of *Vopiscus*, contains one thing well worth Observation, and which does not at all agree with our common Notions of the Disorders of the Empire. We fancy, that, after the Soldiers took upon them to create, and kill, their Emperors, there was nothing but Oppression, and Tyranny, in the *Roman* Provinces. This was not always true; we see here, that *Valerian* managed the public Expences, in Ease to the Provinces, with more Precaution, than is this Day used in Christian Kingdoms.

[F] Some Circumstances, which shew the Religion of *Aurelian*, and the Irreligion of his Flatterers: The Consecration was very great in *Rome*, upon hearing, that the *Marcomani* were entered into *Italy*, and made great Ravages there (23). Some Seditions followed upon it, which made *Ulpius Syllanus*, Chief of the Senate, propose to consult the Books of the *Sibyls*; but some Senators opposed it, alledging, that, under so brave a Prince as *Aurelian*, there was no occasion to inform themselves of the Will of the Gods. This Difference of Opinions causing the Consultation of those Writings to be deferred, it became necessary for *Aurelian* to interpose. He wrote, therefore,

(23) Idem, cap. 18.

(21) Cæcilius will have it read as, that is to say, that *Valerian* believed, that *Aurelian* equalled *Crinitus*. This seems to be a mistake.

him among good Princes; and, according to the Saying of *Dioclesian*, he was much sicker to command an Army, than to be an Emperor [G]. However, we must take notice, that his sanguinary Disposition did not hinder him from being beloved by the People: His Liberality, and the care he took to maintain Plenty, and to punish Misdemeanors, caused his Cruelty to be forgot [H]. Having punished the Seditious,

and

therefore, to the Senators, that "be wondered they should hesitate about a Matter of That Nature, just as if they were deliberating in a Christian Church, and not in the Temple of all the Gods. . . . Mirror vos, patres sancti, tamdiu de aperiendis Sibyllinis dubitasse libris, perinde quasi in Christianorum Ecclesia, non in templo doorum omnium, tractaretis (24)." He pressed it very earnestly; he promised to defray the necessary Expences, and for that purpose sent orders to his Treasurer; "for,"

(24) Idem, cap. 20, pag. 463.

"added he, it is no Disgrace to conquer by the Divine Assistance: it was thus our Ancestors began and ended several of their Wars. Neque enim indecorum est diis iuvantibus vincere: sic apud majores nostros multa finita sunt bella, sic cepta (25)." So that *Syllenus* had reason to say to *Aurelian's* Flatterers, that This great Man both honoured and trusted in the Gods, and that their Assistance never disgraced brave Men. "Meministi P. C. me in hoc ordine saepe dixisse jam tum, quum primum nuntiatum est Marcomannos erupisse, consulenda Sibyllae decreta, utendam Apollinis beneficia, inservientium deorum immortalium preceptis: recusasse vero quosdam, & cum ingenti calumnia recusasse, quum adulando dicerent, tantam principis esse virtutem, ut opus non sit deos consuli, proinde quasi & ipse vir magnus non deos colat, non de diis immortalibus speret. Quid plura? audivimus literas quibus, rogavit opem deorum, quæ nunquam cuiquam turpis est ut vir fortissimus adjuvetur (26)."

(25) Idem, cap. 20, pag. 464.

"Venerable Fathers, You have often heard me, in this Place, on the first News of the Invasion of the Marcomans, give my Opinion for consulting the Sibylline Oracles, for making use of Those Favours of Apollo, and for attending to the Will of the immortal Gods. This some Persons opposed, and with great Abuse opposed; insisting, with their Flattery, that such was the Virtue of our Prince, as made all Application to the Gods unnecessary. As if this great Prince himself did not worship, and trust in, the immortal Gods. Why should I say more? you have heard his own Letters, wherein he desires their Assistance, which the bravest of Men need never be ashamed of." After receiving *Aurelian's* Letter, there was no farther delay; the Senate caused the Books of the *Sibyls* to be consulted, which occasioned a long Train of Devotions (27). Observe, by the way, how much the Maxim of *Alexis* is echoed by some Persons (28). We have Flatterers here, who imagine we never need have recourse to the Assistance of Heaven, but when we distrust the Valour and Prudence of the Princes of this World. I shall add here two Proofs, that *Aurelian* was not of this Opinion: "Credo adjutores Rom. Kemp. Deos qui nunquam nostris conatibus defuerunt (29)."

(26) Idem, cap. 19, pag. 459, 460.

(27) Idem, cap. 20.

(28) See Remark [E] of the Article AJAX the Son of Telamon.

(29) Vopiscus, cap. 16.

"I trust the Commonwealth will be assisted by the Gods, who have never once failed to prosper our Arms." This he wrote, when he found himself perplexed by the long Resistance of *Zenobia*. He acknowledged, in another Letter, that his Victories were a Present from the Gods. "Unde apparet nullam mihi à Diis immortalibus datam sine difficultate victoriam (30). — From whence it appears, that the Gods have given me no Victory, without Trouble." It is true, he added, that these Presents were always attended with a thousand Difficulties. It is the Fate of all things: it is not Virtue alone, which must be acquired by the Sweat of our Brows: it holds equally true of all other good things. Sic diis placitum. — Such is the Will of Heaven.

(30) Idem, cap. 38.

Τὸ δ' ἀπολλὺς ἰδὼν τὰ θεῶν ἀποδείξας ἰδὼν

Ἀδριανῶς, μωροῦς δὲ καὶ ὀπίθ' ὄϊμο· ἵν' αὖτις,

καὶ τρυφῶς τὸ πᾶν ἔσται (31).

(31) Hesiod. Opera & Dies, ver. 237.

Closely the Gods their favorite Virtue keep,

Nor make her known to Men on Terms too cheap.

Long is the Passage to her blest Abode;
Strait and discouraging at first the Road.
Bar'd are all Passes, all Access denied,
To those, who take not Labour for their Guide.

In this sense, there are no Free Gifts; and we must confess, that this Will of Heaven is founded in Goodness; for our Joy in acquiring any good Thing is heightened by the Pains it cost us.

[G] His Cruelty hindered many from ranking him among good Princes; and, according to the Saying of *Dioclesian*, he was much sicker to command an Army, than to be an Emperor.] *Vopiscus* will inform us of these Particulars: "Et Aurelianus quidem, sicut be

(32) multi neque inter bonos, neque inter malos, principes ponunt, idcirco quod ei clementia, imperatorum dos prima, defuerit. Verconius Herennianus praefectus praetorio Dioclesiani, teste Asclepiodoto, saepe dicebat, Dioclesianum frequenter dixisse, quum Maximianus asperitatem reprehenderet, Aurelianus magis ducem esse debuisse quam principem. Nam ejus nimia ferocitas eidem displicebat. — There are many, who will

not allow Aurelian to be ranked either among good or bad Princes. They deny him the first, for his Want of Clemency, That principal Jewel in a Crown. Verconius Herennianus, Commander of

the Guard to *Dioclesian*, as *Asclepiodotus* relates, often affirmed it to be a frequent Saying of *Dioclesian*, when he reproved Maximian for his Rough-

ness, that Aurelian was cut out for a General, but not for a Prince. For he did not like his too great Austerity." These words of *Dioclesian* were the words of a good Judge; for he used to say,

That there is nothing more difficult, than to reign well (33), and he perfectly understood the Reasons of This Difficulty. You will find them in *Vopiscus*

(34); an Author, who observes, that, in so great a number of Roman Emperors, there were reckoned but very few good ones (35); and who commends the Jest of a Buffoon, That all the good Princes may be painted on a Ring. "Vides quæso quam pauci sint

principes boni, ut bene dictum sit a quodam mico scurra Claudii, hujus temporibus, In mi-

annulo bonos principes posse perficere atque depingi (36)."

[H] His Liberality, and the Care he took to maintain Plenty — caused his Cruelty to be forgot.]

The manner, in which he punished the Seditious, which were raised in Rome, during his Absence, too much exceeded the bounds of a just and necessary Severity, that it tarnished his Reputation, and rendered him very odious: "Magnum illud, & quod jam

fuerat, & quod non frustra speratum est, infamiae tristioris ictu contaminavit imperium. Timeri cepit princeps optimus, non amari, quum alii dicerent, perferendum talem principem, non optandum; alii bonum quidem medicum, sed mala ratione curantem (37). — He stained the Glory of

This great Reign, both what it had already gained, and was still like to gain, by one sad Blot of Cruelty. This excellent Prince began to be dreaded, instead of beloved; and some said, such a Governor

was not to be endured, much less desired; others, that he was a good Physician, but practised too rough a Method of Cure." The People did not long continue This Hatred: they were soon mollified by the Distributions of Bread, Flesh (38), and Oil (39), and such other Kindnesses, which they enjoyed under His Government. They were still such, as in the time of *Juvenal*, and formed no other desires, beyond Those of Bread, and public Shows: Nothing could be more gay, than They were, provided they had their Bellies full.

— Jam pridem ex quo suffragia nulli Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam qui dabat otus Imperium, sales, legiones, omnia, nunc se

had their Bellies full.

— Jam pridem ex quo suffragia nulli Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam qui dabat otus Imperium, sales, legiones, omnia, nunc se

had their Bellies full.

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— Jam pridem ex quo suffragia nulli Vendimus, effugit curas. Nam qui dabat otus Imperium, sales, legiones, omnia, nunc se

had their Bellies full.

Continet,

(u) Vopific. cap. 22.

(x) In 272.

(y) In Remark [E] of the Article APOLLONIUS of Tyana.

(z) Vopific. in Aurel. cap. 26.

(aa) See in Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1055, the List of the Nations that first him Projects. See also below, Citat. (61).

(bb) Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1056.

(cc) See Remark [L].

(dd) Vopific. in Aurel. cap. 32.

and composed all Disorders at Rome (u), he undertook an Expedition into the East against Zenobia (x). He presently ended This War by taking That brave Princess. I say, he ended it presently, though he found, by the way, many Enemies to give Battle to, and many strong Places to reduce. We have seen, elsewhere (y), what hindred him from ruining Tyana. He exposed himself so much, when he besieged Zenobia, in the City of Palmyra, that he received a Wound from an Arrow (z). He defeated the Persians, who came to the Assistance of the Besieged; and acquired such a Reputation by the Conquest of all Zenobia's Dominions, as cannot be expressed (aa). In his return towards the West, he understood, that the Palmyrenians had revolted. This News made him return into Syria, and he was got to Antioch, before they heard he was coming (bb). He punished Palmyra with an excessive Cruelty; for he put all to the Sword (cc). He was yet at Carræ in Mesopotamia, when he was informed of the Revolt of the Egyptians: He marched against them with his usual Success and Expedition; he defeated their Leader, took, and put him to Death, and so subdued Egypt in a very little time (dd). His desire of re-uniting the Gauls, Spain, and Britain, which had been usurped by Tetricus, made him return into the West. He gained a Victory near Cbalons on the Marne, which decided the matter; the rather, because Tetricus surrendered himself during the Battle (ee). He returned to Rome, and triumphed over Zenobia and Tetricus with an extraordinary Pomp (ff). He repassed into Gaul, and, being informed, that the Barbarians were entered into the Country of the Vindelici (gg), he marched thither immediately, and dislodged them. From thence he passed into Illyricum; and, judging, that there was no possibility of preserving Dacia, which Trajan had made a Province of, beyond the Danube, and which had been lost under Gallienus, he withdrew from thence the Troops and the Inhabitants, and settled the latter in part of Masia and Dardania, which he converted into a new Province (hh). He had a fine Army in Thracia, which he designed to lead, after the Winter, against the Persians, when he was killed by one of his Generals (ii). This happened in the Month of January, 275. We know the great Actions of his Life only in general; but, if we knew the Particulars of them from such exact Descriptions as are now used in relating Battles, and Conquests, we should admire him beyond expression,

(ee) Tillemont. Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1058, 1059.

(ff) See the Description of it in Vopiscus, c. 33 & seq.

(gg) It is really the Country, which is now called Bavarria and Suebia.

(hh) Which was at's called Dacia, or New Dacia. See the Proof of this in Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3. pag. 1067.

(ii) Vopiscus in Aurel. cap. 35.

Continet, atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
Panem, & Circenses (40).

(40) Juven. Sat. 10. ver. 77.

*Now, free from Care, Those Slaves the People live,
No longer plagued with Votes to sell, or give.
That mighty People, whom the World obey'd,
Whose Voices, Consuls, Armies, Emperors made;
Now Liberty's no more, are sunk so low,
Their whole Ambition asks but Bread and Show.*

It was by these Means, This Emperor made himself beloved by the Multitude. Read the Letter, which he wrote to the Overseer of the Provisions: "Aurelianus Augustus Flavio Arabiano prefæcto annonæ. Inter cætera, quibus diis faventibus Romanam Rempub. juvimus, nihil mihi est magnificentius quam quod additamento unciæ omne annonarum urbaricum genus juvi: quod ut esset perpetuum, & navicularius Niliascos apud Ægyptum novos, & Romæ amnicos posui. Tiberinas extruxi ripas: vadum alvei tumentis effodi, diis & perennitati vota constitui, altam Cererem consecravi. Nunc tuum est officium, Arabiane jucundissime, elaborare, ne meæ dispositiones in irritum veniant. Neque enim populo Rom. saturo quicquam potest esse lætius (41). — Aurelianus Cæsar to Flavio Arabiano, Prefect of the Provisions. Among the Services, which by the Favour of the Gods I have done to the Commonwealth, I esteem none greater than That of making an Addition of one twelfth Part more to all the City Provisions. Which that I might perpetuate, I have built proper Vessels in Egypt, for navigating in the Nile, and at Rome, for the Tyber. This I have also new embanked; and deepened the Shallows of the swelling Channel. I have performed all holy Rites to the Gods, to Eternity, and to All Bountiful Ceres. It is now your part, most agreeable Arabianus, to put my Designs in Execution. Nor can any Thing give me so much pleasure, as to see the Roman People supplied with Plenty." He had a design to settle a perpetual Distribution of Wine, and had taken measures for it (42). It is said, that the Commander of his Guards dissuaded him from the execution, by saying, that, if Wine was given to the People, they must also have Geese, and Fowls. Si & vinum populo Romano daretur, superest ut & pullos & anseres demus (43). Such Large-

(41) Vopific. cap. 47. pag. 56, 57.

(42) Idem, cap. 43.

(43) Id. ib. pag. 58.

ses, as These are sufficient to cause the spilling of some Persons Blood to be forgot. Though Aurelian had caused his Sister's Son, or Daughter, or both, to be put to Death, for frivolous Reasons (44); though he had rashly inflicted capital Punishments (45); all this was not able to make him lose the Affection of a People, whom he fed so plentifully, and clothed so handsomely (46). Besides, his Severity put a Stop to several Disorders, which were very odious to the People. He extirpated all Informers, Extortioners, public Bloodsuckers, and such sort of Vermin. "Quicquid sane scelerum fuerit, quicquid male conscientie, vel artium funestum, quicquid denique scelerum, Aurelianus totopentus orbe purgavit (47). — Item quadruplatores ac delatores ingenti severitate persequutus est: tabulas publicas ad privatorum securitatem exuri in foro Trajano semel iussit. Amnestia etiam sub eo delictorum publicorum decreta est de exemplo Atheniensium: cujus rei etiam Tullius in Philippicis meminit. Fures provinciales reperundarum ac peculatus reos ultra militarem modum est persequutus, ut eos ingentibus suppliciis cruciatibusque puniret (48). — Whatever Crimes, whatever Iniquities, or pernicious Arts, whatever Factions appeared, all these Aurelian totally extirpated. — He also punished all Informers, and Sharers of Confessions, with exceeding Severity: and once burnt all the public Accounts in Trajan's Market-Place, for the Security of Those concerned in them. He decreed also a general Indemnity for all Offences against the State, after the Example of the Athenians: which is mentioned by Cicero in his Philippics. The Robbers of the Provinces, who were guilty of Extortion, Bribery, or Embezzling the Public Money, he treated with more than military Rigour, and made them undergo the most cruel Tortures and Punishments." He enlarged the Circumference of Rome, and restored the ancient Bounds of the Empire (49). By this show of Grandeur the People suffer themselves to be deceived. He applied himself to reform Abuses: he limited the Number of Eunuchs, because they were risen to too high a Price (50). He prohibited the keeping any Concubines, who were of a free Condition (51). To conclude, it was a Pleasure to the Roman People to see This Emperor make himself feared by the Senate: Perhaps That Assembly was grown a little too haughty; but, be it as it will, I imagine it was thought proper, that the Senators should

(44) Idem, cap. 36, & 39.

(45) See the Causes of Julian, under Mr. Spanheim's Notes pag. 107.

(46) Vopific. cap. 48.

(47) Idem, cap. 47.

(48) Idem, c. 39. pag. 522, 523.

(49) Idem, cap. 39.

(50) Idem, cap. 49.

(51) Id. ib.

expression, and think the Complaint of *Junius Tiberianus* extremely just [I]: For, in short, *Aurelian* carried the War from *East* to *West*, with the same ease as we do now from *Alsatia* into *Flanders*. He was much lamented, and had most magnificent Monuments erected in Honour to him. They deified him [K], and built him a Temple. It is remarkable,

should be taught how to behave, by such a Master, as School-Boys under the Correction of a Pedagogue. *Populus autem Romanus cum amavit, Senatus & timuit* (52). *Senatus mortem ejus graviter tulit, gravius tamen Populus Romanus, qui vulgo dicebat Aurelianum pedagogum esse Senatorum* (53).

[I] *The Complaint of Junius Tiberianus was extremely just.* What, said he, shall a *Thersites*, a *Sinon*, and other Monsters of Anquity, be known to us, and to our Posterity; and shall they not know *Aurelian*, a most illustrious Prince, and a most severe Emperor, who restored the whole World to the Roman Name? Heaven grant this Madness may never happen. Hereupon he engaged *Flavius Vopiscus* to undertake That Emperor's History, and promised him all the Memoirs the Library of *Trajan* could furnish. I shall relate That Historian's own Words: "Quæsitivæ ut (*Junius Tiberianus*) quæ vitam *Aureliani* in literas retulisset. Cui ego quum respondissem, neminem à me Latinorum, Græcorum aliquos læditatos, dolorem gemitus sui vir sanctus per hæc verba profudit: Ergo *Thersitem*, *Sinonem*, cæteraque illa prodigia vetustatis, & nos bene scimus, & posteri frequentabunt: divum *Aurelianum*, clarissimum principem, severissimum imperatorem, per quem totus Romano nomini orbis est restitutus, posteri nescient? Deus avertat bonæ ameniam. Et tamen, si bene novi, ephemeridas istius viri scriptas habemus, etiam bella cæteræ historico digesta, quæ velim accipias, & per ordinem scribas, additis quæ ad vitam pertinent. Quæ omnia ex libris *linteis*, in quibus ipse quotidiana sua scribi præceperat, pro tua sedulitate condices. Curabo autem ut tibi ex *Ulpia* bibliotheca & libris *linteis* proferantur. Tu velim *Aurelianum* ita ut est, quatenus potes, in literas mittas (54).

— He (*Junius Tiberianus*) asked me who had wrote the Life of *Aurelian*. I answered, I had read it in some Writings of the Greeks, but not in any of Latins, on which That excellent Man expressed his Concern in this pathetic Complaint: What, shall a *Thersites*, a *Sinon*, and such other Prodigious of Antiquity be known to us, and our Posterity; and shall they not know the Divine *Aurelian*, the most celebrated Prince, the strictest Emperor, who restored the whole World to the Roman Name? May Heaven avert such Madness. And yet, if I am not mistaken, we have the Journals of This great Man in Writing, and also his Wars, digested in historical Method, which I would have you take, and copy in order, and insert in their proper Place, whatever relates to his Life. You will find the Particulars by a careful perusal of this Journal, which is wrote in Books made of Lint, and contains the Minutes of each Day's Transaction, set down by his own Command. I will take care they shall be sent you out of the *Ulpian* Library. Do you write such a History of *Aurelian*, as may describe him to the Life, as near as you are able." Observe, that *Vopiscus* spoke thus about thirty Years after the Death of *Aurelian*; I say, observe This as a Proof either of the Ignorance, or Negligence, of the Latins of those Times. None of them had yet published any thing of the great Actions of This Prince, the Restorer of the Empire, *Orbis restitutor*, as he is called on a Medal. He did not expect This Digression, when he took care to have a daily Register kept of the Series of his Exploits (55).

[K] *He was much lamented.* — They deified him.] Those very Men, who put him to Death, erected a magnificent Tomb for him, and consecrated a Temple to him (56); for they discovered, that they had been brought into That Conspiracy, by a horrid Piece of Villany. We shall show what That was. *Aurelian* had threatened his Secretary *Mnesibæus*; who, giving himself over for lost, as he well knew the Threats of This Prince would be put in Execution (57), resolved to be beforehand with him, and made several Persons believe, that *Aurelian* designed putting Them to Death. He shewed them a List,

wherein he had put himself, and exhorted them to save their Lives. They were all Persons, who had either incurred *Aurelian's* Displeasure, or had Reason to believe, that, by the Importance of their Services, they stood very well in his Favour, and had nothing to fear (58). All those Persons plotted against his Life, and put it in Execution. But having afterwards discovered the Secretary's Fraud, they were the most zealous to honour *Aurelian*. *Mnesibæus* was exposed to the wild Beasts, and care was taken to preserve the Memory of That Punishment on This Emperor's Tomb (59). The Soldiers would not confer the Empire on any of those, who were concerned in his Death, but applied to the Senate for a new Prince, and for the Deification of *Aurelian* (60). The Senate would not take upon them to create an Emperor, but as for the divine Honours which the Army desired for *Aurelian*, they were decreed without any delay. *Tacitus* (61), who first gave his Opinion in the Senate, made a very fine Speech, which the Reader will be glad to find here, since it contains a just Abstract of *Aurelian's* most splendid Actions, and is embellished with some curious Sentiments.

Rectè atque ordine consulissent dii immortales. P. C. si boni ferro inviolabiles extitissent, ut longiorem ducerent vitam: neque contra eos aliqua esset potestas iis qui necesse infandas tristissima mente concipiunt. Viveret enim princeps noster *Aurelianus*, quo neque utilior fuit quiquam. Respirare certe post infelicitatem *Valeriani*, post Gallieni mala, imperante Claudio cæperat nostra Respublica: at eadem reddita fuerat *Aureliano* toto penitus orbe vincente. Ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam liberavit: ille *Vindelici* jugum Barbaricæ servitutis amovit. Illo vivente *Illyricum* restitutum est, reddita Romanis legibus Thraciæ. Ille (prophudor) Orientem fœmineo pressum jugo in nostra jura restituit: ille Persas insulantes adhuc *Valeriani* necce, fudit, fugavit, oppressit. Illum *Saraceni*, *Blemyes*, *Axomitæ*, *Bactriani*, *Seres*, *Hiberi*, *Albani*, *Armenii*, populi etiam *Indorum*, veluti præsentem penè venerati sunt Deum. Illius donis quæ à Barbaris gentibus meruit, reſertum est Capitolium: quindecim millia librarum auri ex ejus liberalitate unum tenet templum, omnia in urbe fana ejus micant donis. Quare P. C. vel deos ipsos jure convenio, qui talem principem interire passi sunt, nisi forte secum eum esse maluerunt. Derno igitur divinos honores: id quod vos omnes existimo esse facturos. Nam de imperatore deligendo ad eundem exercitum censeo esse referendum. Et enim in tali genere sententiæ nisi fiat quod dicitur, & electi periculum erit, & eligentis invidia. Probata est sententia *Taciti* (62). — Venerable Fathers: It would have been happy for Mankind, if the immortal Gods had been pleased to make all good Men invulnerable, and longer lived; that no vile Attempts of the Wicked, to destroy them, might have their Effect. Then had our Prince *Aurelian* been still living, than whom there never was a greater. After the Misfortunes of *Valerian*, and the Mismanagements of *Gallienus*, it is true, our Commonwealth began to take Breath under the Emperor *Claudius*; but it was *Aurelian*, who restored her, by conquering the whole World. It was he, that recovered the Gallia's: It was he, that freed Italy: It was he, who shook off the Barbarian Yoke from the *Vindelici*. To his Life we owe the Restitution of *Illyricum*, and the Thracia's to the Roman Empire. To his Life we owe the Recovery of the East from the Oppression (O shameful!) of a Woman. By his Arms the Persians, triumphing for the Death of *Valerian*, were routed, subdued, and enslaved. The Terror of his Arms have made him almost adored as a present Deity, by the *Saracens*, the *Ethiopians*, the *Axomites*, the *Bactrians*, the *Seres*, the *Heberi*, the *Albani*, the *Armenians*, and *Indians*. He has filled the Capitol with the Presents made him by the Barbarians; He has given to one Temple 15000 Pounds of Gold, and all the rest have shared of his Liberality. We justly, there-

(58) *Mixtis* iis quibus *Aurelianus* vere irascatur cum iis de quibus nihil asperum cogitabat. --- *Joining those* that *Aurelian* was really angry at, with others to whom he intended no harm. Id. ib.

(59) *Idem*, cap. 37.

(60) *Idem*, cap. 41.

(61) He was elected Emperor some Months after.

(62) *Idem*, cap. 41, pag. 526, 527.

(52) *Vopisc.* cap. ult.

(53) *Idem*, cap. 37.

(54) *Idem*, cap. 1, pag. 416.

(55) This appears from *Vopiscus's* Words just now mentioned.

(56) *Idem*, cap. 37.

(57) Quicquid *Aurelianus* neque frustra minari solere, neque si minaretur ignoscere. --- *Who knew that Aurelian never used to threaten without effect, nor to pardon after he had threatened.* Id. cap. 36.

remarkable, that there was no Deity for which he shewed more Zeal, than for the Sun [L]. He left but an only Daughter, whose Grandson was yet living in the Time of Dioclesian (kk). He was a Senator much revered for his Virtue, and had been Proconsul of Cilicia. We must regard as fabulous; what *Abulpharagius* says, that *Aurelian upon making Peace with Sapor, King of Persia, gave him his Daughter in Marriage* (ll). It is also pretended, that he sent him some Greek Physicians, who taught the Persians Hippocrates's Physic (mm). Note, he never employed any Physicians in his Sickness, and scarce ever made use of any other Remedy than Abstinence (nn). To conclude, it was a Happiness for the Christians, that such a bloody Prince did not undertake Their Extirpation. I confess one of the Persecutions of the Church is placed under his Reign; but some Historians never once mention it, and those who do agree it was short (oo). Before I make an end of this Article, I must take notice of a Distinction which *Vopiscus* has made, and which very few Persons are capable of making [M]: Such, says he (pp), was the End of Aurelian, a Prince more necessary than good. What we find in *Angeloni*, concerning some pieces of Marble found in the time of Pope Urban VIII, upon levelling the place where Aurelian had built a Temple, on Mount *Quirinal* (qq), gives a very great Idea of the Magnificence of That Edifice.

(kk) Vopisc. in Aurel. cap. 42, pag. 528.

(ll) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3, pag. 1182.

(mm) Abulphar. apud Tillemont. ib.

(nn) Vopisc. cap. 50.

(oo) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. Tom. 3, pag. 1085, & seq.

(pp) Hic finis Aureliano fuit principis magis necessario quam bono. Vopisc. c. 37.

(qq) Franciscus Angeloni, Historiæ Augusti de Giulio Cesare infans a Constantino il Magna, illustrata con la verità delle antiche Medaglie, p. 332.

"fore, O Venerable Fathers, may expostulate with the Gods themselves, for suffering the Murder of Aurelian, unless it was their Pleasure to receive him amongst them. I therefore decree to him all divine Honours: in which I hope to meet with your unanimous Concurrence. But as to the Election of an Emperor, I think we ought to refer That to the Army. For should we undertake it, and our Nomination not be complied with, the Elected would be in Danger, and the Electors in Disgrace. The Opinion of Tacitus was approved." The same Tacitus being elected Emperor some Months after (63), began his Reign by ordering four Statues to be erected to Aurelian, one of Gold in the Capitol, and three of Silver in other Places; and that every Body should have the Picture of That great Prince. The three Silver Statues were dedicated, but not That of the Capitol. "In eadem oratione Aureliano statum auream ponendam in Capitolio decrevit: item statum argenteam in Curia, item in templo Solis, item in foro divi Trajani. Sed aurea non est posita: dedicatæ autem sunt solæ argenteæ. In eadem oratione cavuit, ut si quis argento publice privativique æs miscuisset, si quis auro argentum, si quis æri plumbum, capital esset cum bonorum proscriptio. — Addidit ut Aureliano omnes pictum haberent (64). — In the same Speech he decreed to Aurelian a golden Statue, to be erected in the Capitol; also a Silver one in the Court, another in the Temple of the Sun, and a third in the Market of Trajan. Only the Silver Statues were dedicated: that of Gold was never erected. He, in the same Speech, decreed, that whoever should, either publicly, or privately, adulterate Silver with Copper, or Gold with Silver, or Copper with Lead, should suffer Death, and Forfeiture of Estate. — He added, that all should be obliged to have the Picture of Aurelian."

[L] There was no Deity for which he shewed more Zeal than for the Sun. It seems to me that his first Education was the Cause of That Worship; for it is likely, that his Mother, who was Priestess of the Sun, inspired him from his Youth with a particular Devotion for That Deity (65). However it be, we find, that when he thanked *Valerian*, on his appointing him Consul, he made use of these Words: *Dii faciant & Deus certus Sol ut & Senatus de me sic judicet* (66). — May the Gods, and that undoubted Deity the Sun, grant, that the Senate conceive the same Opinion of me. A learned Man pretends (67), that he spoke thus in a Letter (68), as if the other Gods were doubtful, and the Sun only certain. It is pretended, that, in the Battle which he won against *Zenobia's* Forces, near *Emesa*, he was assisted by a Deity, who encouraged the Soldiers, and made the Infantry support the Cavalry, which was ready to fly (69). As soon as he entered victorious into *Emesa*, he went to the Temple of the Sun: *Statim ad templum Heliogabali tetendit, quasi communis officio vota soluturus*, and found there the same Figure

of the Deity, who had favoured him in the Battle. Wherefore he founded some Temples in That Place (70), and afterwards built the Temple of the Sun in Rome (71). He also caused the Temple of the same God to be rebuilt in *Palmyra*. Here are the Orders, which he dispatched for That Purpose: I shall relate them, because they discover to us both This Prince's Cruelty, and his Devotion for the Sun. "Aurelianus Augustus Ceionio Bassio. Non oportet ulterius progressi militum gladios. Jam satis Palmyrenorum caesum atque concitum est. Mulieribus non peperimus, infantes occidimus, senes jugulavimus, rusticos interemimus: cui terras, cui urbem deinceps relinquemus? Parcendum est iis qui remanserunt. Credimus enim tam paucos tam multorum supplicii esse correctos. Templum sane Solis, quod apud Palmyram aquilifer legionis certæ cum vexilliferis & draconario & cornicinis atque liticinis diriperunt, ad eam formam volo quæ fuit, reddi. Habes trecentas auri libras & Zenobia capulis: habes argenti mille octingenta pondo. De Palmyrenorum bonis habes gemmas regias. Ex his omnibus fac cohonestari templum: mihi & diis immortalibus gratissimum feceris. Ego ad senatum scribam, petens ut mittat pontificem qui dedict templum (72). — Aurelianus Cæsar to Ceionius Bassus. It is time to sheath our Sword. The Palmyrenes have sufficiently felt it's Edge. We have spared neither Women nor Children, we have put both the Aged and the Husbandman to the Sword. To whom, then, shall we leave the Lands, to whom the City? We must spare the rest. The few, who remain, will, undoubtedly, remember the Punishment of so many. The Temple of the Sun, at Palmyra, which the Standard Bearer of the third Legion, with his Ensigns, and Colours, and Trumpets, and Pipes, demolished: I will have rebuilt after the same Model. You have, of Zenobia's Treasure, Three hundred Pounds of Gold, and Eighteen hundred Pounds of Silver, You have, of the Palmyrenes Effects, the Crown of Jewels. With all these, erect a Temple: and you will perform a Work, not only most grateful to me, but also to the immortal Gods. I will write to the Senate, to send a Chief Priest to consecrate it."

[M] Vopiscus has made a Distinction concerning Aurelian, — — — — — which few Persons are capable of making. The Faults of Aurelian were serviceable, the State stood in need of them, but, in Vopiscus's Opinion, it does not follow from thence that he was a good Emperor. This is the Language of a Man who is careful not to confound things. A great Number of Persons are ignorant of this Distinction. They look on That as a truly, and absolutely, good and just Reign, which has prevented, or removed, some great Evil; and if once they fancy that a Government is unjust, they look on it as truly, and absolutely, bad, without regarding the necessary Advantages the Public receives from it.

(70) Hic templum fundavit donariis ingentibus positum. Id. ibid.

(71) Id. ib. cap. 35.

(72) Id. ib. cap. 31, pag. 439.

(65) Id. in Aureliano, cap. 4.

(66) Id. ib. cap. 14.

(67) Spennheimius's Note on the Cæsar of Julian, pag. 109.

(68) Vopiscus says, he spoke these Words.

(69) Id. ib. cap. 25.

AUREOLUS (PETER) a Franciscan Friar, and since Archbishop of Aix, was one of the most subtil and famous Divines of his Time. He flourished about the end of the XIIIth Century, and the beginning of the XIVth. He was born at Verberie

(a) Labbe, Differt. de Script. Eccl. Tom. 2. pag. 183.

(b) Placed, as he says, before the Commentaries of Oriol, on the Master of the Sentences, printed at Rome in the Year 1595.

(1) Labbe, Differt. de Script. Eccl. Tom. 2. pag. 184.

(a) Id. ib.

(3) Theoph. Raynaudus, Erotem, de malis ac bonis Libris, n. 430, pag. 230.

(4) Id. not in the lead mean time with attempt necessary Reformation.

Verberie on the *Oise*, and his Name was *Oriol* (a); but as he is only known by the Latin Name which he gives himself, I place him here, without imitating *Moreri*, who refers us from *Aureole* to *Oriol*. That Reference would be more pardonable, if we found in his Article of *Oriol*, all that might be reasonably expected from an Historian, who cites the Life of that illustrious Archbishop of *Aix* (b); but this he falls falls very short of. Nor can I supply his defect, for I do not believe, the Work, which contains the Life of *Aureolus*, is any where to be met with in all the United Provinces. What I can say is only this; *Aureolus* was Professor of Divinity in the University of *Paris* (c): they appropriated to him the Title of *Doctor sacundus* (d). He was Provincial of *Aquitain*, when he was made Archbishop of *Aix* (e), and did not live long after he was raised to that high Dignity [A]. It has been said that he that he was promoted to the Rank of a Cardinal. He had a very penetrating Understanding, but was too fond of distinguishing himself by new Opinions [B]. It is pretended, that he maintained the Impossibility of the Creation [C]. The Dominicans had a formidable Adversary in him, and caused him to be refuted with much Spirit, by

(c) Labbe, ubi supra, pag. 184.

(d) Id. ib.

(e) Bellarm. de Script. Eccl. pag. 365.

[A] He did not live long after he was raised to the Dignity of Archbishop of *Aix*. The Archbishopric of *Aix* was conferred on him in the Year 1321; and we find that *James de Concos de Cabrairez*, a Dominican, was installed in the same Archbishopric the tenth of July, 1322 (1). It must follow, then, that the Twenty seventh of April, which was the Day of *Aureolus's* Death (2) belongs, at farthest, to the Year 1322. Behold the Negligence of Those Times: They were contented to note the Day, in which an Archbishop died, and never troubled themselves about the Date of the Year.

[B] He was too fond of distinguishing himself by new Opinions. This is a very dangerous Character; a Rock much to be feared: we scarce ever find, that those, who have Wit and Learning enough to raise strong Objections against the common Opinions, have Judgment enough to stop at a proper Time, and to discern what is not worth the Trouble of a Reformation. Here is a Passage, where those sort of Persons are well represented, and our *Aureolus*, in particular, by Name. "Ex hac classe, insignia ingenia duo, Durandus, & Aureolus minus bene audiunt, quod ingenii, quibus valebant plurimum, indulserint in perisque; & novas cudere, ac comminisci opiniones, communem tramitem sine causa deferendo non dubitavit. Et quae haud dubie argumentum judicii minus exquisiti, nec satis maturi, vel emundi, ferri facile, & absque urgenti ratione, extra viam: ita ut quamvis res de qua agitur, ad scholasticas merè pertineat, nec inde dispendium ullum doctrinae fidei, vel sanæ, ac puris moribus sit timendum, tamen consultissimum sit, quando manifesta ratio non urget, ab anteriorum placitis non discedere (3). ----- Of this Class two great Scholars, Durandus and Aureolus, base suffered most in their Characters, for using their extraordinary Talents so freely, on all Occasions, and leaving the common Road, for no other Reason, than only to invent, and start, new Opinions. And it is certainly a Sign of a weak Judgment, not sufficiently improved and corrected, to be easily, and without just cause, led out of the Way: So that even when the Question is only about scholastic Niceties, and can do no possible Damage, either to our Faith, or our Morals, yet the wisest Method is, not to leave the old Maxims, unless upon very satisfactory Grounds." And yet, it must be confessed, that these Innovators (4), and confounding Wits, are sometimes necessary; for what considerable Progress could be made without them? Should we not fall asleep, under Pretence, that every thing has been found out already, and that we must acquiesce in the Opinions of our Fathers, as in their Lands, and their Son? The Disputes, and the Confusions, which are raised by bold, ambitious, and rash Men, are never altogether evil: They may be, in themselves, as great an Evil as you please; but they are highly useful in respect to the Sciences, and the Improvement of the Mind. This may be said even of Civil Wars. A very honest Man affirms it of the Civil Wars, which ravaged France in XVIth Century. He says, they refined either the Genius or the Language of some; they cleared the Judgment of others; they served either for a Bath to wash; or a Curry-Comb to scrape off their Dirt. Here are his Words; both the Thoughts, and Expressions, deserve citing in this Place. "Ut sæpe res adversæ in-

perfectis bonis locum faciunt, ita in hac publica, & omnium maxima calamitate res auctor dari potest, quibusdam ingenium evasisse limatius, acumen perspicacius, judicium resecutius, os mundius, scripta purgatiora, proflus ut agnosceret liceat, ærumnarum procellas, quibus æstuavimus his esse balneæ quæ sordes eluerunt, aliis strigilem quæ squamam detestit, quibusdam uredinem, quæ absumpsit quicquid luxurians & inutile. Denique si quis vere æstimet, nunc demum intelligimus, eam, quæ Republicæ tempestas fuit, privatim, & pauculis esse cotem qua acuitur, & faculam qua accenditur quicquid in singulis est optimum (5). ----- As Misfortunes often occasion unexpected Benefits, so this public and heaviest of Calamities, may have been the Cause of polishing the Wit, clearing the Understanding, pruning the Judgment, refining the Language, or purifying the Style, of some Persons; so that the Storms of Affliction, whose fury we have felt, must be owned to have served, as Baths to wash away Spots, Curry-Combs to scrape off Dirt, or Blasts to consume what was useless and luxuriant. And to judge of it rightly, we may now, at last, perceive, that the public Misery has proved a private Happiness, and either sharpened, as a Whetstone, or kindled as a Torch, all manner of Excellencies in particular Persons." In truth, the Public might very well be without such Curry-Combs, Files, or Whetstones, as some may please to call them. Doubtless it is better to want those Advantages, than to pay so great a Price for them. It is better to continue sick, than to be cured by a Remedy so terribly dear. However it be, our Doctor here was resolved to follow no Body's Opinion in his Commentary on the Master of Sentences; and on the other side no Body followed him: All took a Pleasure in opposing him; some compared him to *Ysmael*: Quem (Petrus Aureolum) Antoninus ait: ita scripsisse in librum sententiarum, ut quia manus ejus contra omnes qui jam amea scriperant, etiam manus omnium contra eum fuerint (6).

[C] It is pretended, that he maintained the Impossibility of the Creation. The Knowledge I have of this Matter is very small, for I can only assure you, that *Theophilus Raynaudus*, after having rejected some Reasons of *Averroës* as very weak, adds, that the Arguments, on which Aureolus so ill employed his Learning, to shew the Creation to be impossible, amount to the same thing. "Eodem recidit argumenta quibus Aureolus apud Capreolum in 2. d. 1. q. 2. in argumentis contra quartam, parum feliciter ingenium exercuit, ut probaret creationem esse impossibilem. (7). ----- These Arguments are in Capreolus, 2. d. 1. q. 2. in his Arguments against the fourth." Observe particularly, that he had never read *Aureolus*, nor knew any thing of his Doctrine, but as he found it represented in his Adversary *Capreolus*. This puts me under a new Necessity of groping here in the Dark: But yet I believe I shall not be mistaken in the Conjecture I am going to make. I suppose that *Aureolus* did not directly, and absolutely, affirm, that the Creation was impossible, for that would have been broaching an Opinion very repugnant to the *Romish* Faith. He maintained only, that, for such and such Reasons, he should have held it impossible, that a Being could be made out of nothing, if Faith did not teach him, that the Words, which the Scripture uses concerning the first Formation of the World, must be understood to signify

(5) Carolus Pachelius, de optimo genere Elocutionis, pag. 124.

* Anton. tit. 24, c. 3, §. 2.

(6) Spondan. ad Annum, 1337, n. 10, pag. 460.

(7) Theoph. Raynaud. in Theol. Naturali, Diff. 8. n. 334, pag. 1039.

by one of their best Pens [D]. I shall say something concerning his Writings [E]. You will find the Time of his Death in the Remark [A].

signify a Creation, properly so called. Having once covered himself with this Shield, he might safely exert the whole Strength of his Genius, to prove the Impossibility of the Creation; he only ventured upon a Philosophical Dispute, in which he did not fear that he should want Cavils and Subtilties. I make no question but they, who read this, and have a Copy of *Capreolus* in their Studies, will be so curious as to consult him, to know whether this great Antagonist of *Aureolus*, faithfully lays down the whole State of the Question. There are a great many, who, on such an Occasion, would say, they are consulting a Doctor, who maintains the Impossibility of the Creation, and would exaggerate the pernicious Consequences of that Doctrine, without ever intimating, that the same Doctor preserves the Orthodox Opinion, and submits the most subtil Arguments which the Light of Nature affords him, to the Authority of Tradition. I know, that, in another Case, *Aureolus* behaved himself in the very same manner, as, I suppose he has done with respect to the Creation; which makes my Conjecture more probable. He said, that *nothing but the Authority of the Saints could make him believe, that Transubstantiation is a true Change of the whole Bread, into the whole Body of our Lord*. I have read this in a Book of Dr *Allix*. *Petrus Aureolus Romana Ecclesia Cardinalis hoc profectur*; propter solas auctoritates Sanctorum teneo, quod Transubstantiation est verus transitus & conversio totius panis in totum corpus Domini. in 4. dist. 11. q. 1. a. 2. (8).

[D] The Dominicans caused him to be refuted — by one of their best Pens.] It was by the same *Capreolus*, whom I have just before mentioned. Consult his Commentary on the *Master of the Sentences*. "He there attacks briskly, and levels his whole Force against the Commentary of *Aureolus*, on the same *Master*. — Quæ (Commentaria Aureoli) in suis in eadem sententiis Commentariis sæpius excussit, exagitantque Joannes Capreolus (9)." He insinuates, that the false Interpretations which *Aureolus* made, and which served him for Principles to draw odious Consequences from, had not always their only Foundation in the Obscurity of his Understanding, but were in some measure owing also to his Passions. I have this only from Father *Baron*, who expresses himself thus: "Memini me Capreolum nescio quo ex quæstionibus in primum sentent. loco legere, soluto quodam argumento Aureoli, quo ad grande aliquod impium, & absurdum ex falsa interpretatione non sive sententiæ rem dederat, hæc modestè adjunxisse Capreolum: ex nostrâ responsione patet hanc objectionem Aureoli profectam esse ex perverso intellectu, quidquid sit de affectu (10). — I remember Capreolus, somewhere in his Questions on the first Book of the Sentences, after refusing an Argument of *Aureolus*, which by a false Interpretation of our Opinion, had established something monstrously impious and absurd, thus modestly adds: "From our Solution it appears, that the Objection of *Aureolus*, proceeds from a depraved Understanding, whatever might be his Disposition." Note, That *Constantius Surianus*, a Franciscan, and a Cardinal, wrote a Book, wherein he pretends to reconcile *Aureolus's* Opinions, with those of *Capreolus* (11). He endeavoured to shew the same Agreement between the Doctrines of *Thomas Aquinas*, and those of *Scotus* (12). Just in the same manner some have pretended to discover a good Understanding between *Plato* and *Aristotle*. This is either trifling with Readers, or ridiculing, without designing it, those whom they endeavour to reconcile. Such a Peace is dishonourable to both Parties, and the Mediators might fear some severe Expostulations, is they, who first began the Quarrel, should return again into the World. They would be apt to say, What, do you pretend that we only dispute about Words, and that we agree in the same Doctrines, without perceiving it; our Passion so strongly prepossessing us, that we

understand not what we are saying? This is a Satire all over, we will have no Peace on such ignominious Conditions. Away with your Projects of Re-union; we had rather continue the War, than see it ended at the Expense of our Learning and Understandings. Observe, that there are some Influences, where the hottest Controversies are only the Effects of a Misunderstanding; but I do not think we can judge so of *Thomism* and *Scotism*, nor consequently of the Difference between the *Scotist Aureolus*, and the *Thomist Capreolus*.

[E] I shall say something concerning his Writings.]

Those who have spoke of them, observe so little Exactness, that they neither distinguish between those Writings, which are yet remaining, and those which are lost; nor between those which have been printed, and those which never were. Father *Labbe* (13), who complains of this Neglect, too common among Bibliographers, promised to repair it amply; but he died without publishing his large Work, of which the Dissertation, I have quoted, was but a Specimen (14). He observes, that the *Breviarium Bibliorum of Aureolus, five Epitome universæ sacræ scripturæ juxta literalem sensum*, was printed at Venice, in the Year 1571, and at Paris in the Year 1585 (15), by the care of *Stephen Nouellet*, Doctor in Divinity, of the Faculty of Paris; and that the Commentaries on the four Books of Sentences, were printed at Rome in, in folio, the Year 1595, and dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, by Cardinal *Constantius Surianus* (16). He rejects what Father *Maracci* reports in his *Bibliotheca Mariana*, that the Treatise of *Aureolus* de Conceptione immaculata B Virginis, was printed at Toulouse in the Year 1314: he says, perhaps that Writing was composed in that Year, or printed in the Year 1514.

Let us make some small Remarks on all this. I. The Catalogue of the Oxford Library mentions the *Epitome totius S. Scripturæ*, printed at Strasburg in the Year 1514. Father *Labbe* did not know of that Edition: nor *Gesner* neither. *Gesner's* Epitome, published in the Year 1583, does not take notice of any of *Aureolus's* Books which had been printed: but observe, that our *Peter Aureolus* is there very falsely distinguished from *Petrus de Verberia, dictus Aureoli*. II. It is not true that the Commentaries on the four Books of Sentences, were printed at Rome, in the Year 1595. *Bellarmin* affirms, that he saw only the Commentary on the first of those four Books, and that it was printed at Rome, in the Year 1596 (17). The Catalogue of the Oxford Library, and that of the Archbishop of Reims, place in that Year, the Edition of *Aureolus's* Commentary on the first Book of Sentences, and they place in the Year 1605, the Edition of the Commentary on the three following Books, with the *Quodlibeta*. All this makes two Volumes in Folio, printed at Rome, the first in 1596, in the Vatican; the last by *Zanzetti*, in the Year 1605. I wonder that *Bellarmin* had no knowledge of the printing of the last Volume. This is something stranger, than to see in *Moreri*, that we have several Editions of the Commentaries of *Aureolus*, on the *Master of the Sentences*; but that this of Rome of 1595, is the most correct. Where could he shew those several Editions? Would he have dated That of Rome as he did, if he had known what I have laid above? III. I must needs say Father *Labbe* has been too favourable to Father *Maracci*, who could believe that there were Books printed in the Year 1314. Does not all the World know that Printing was not used in Europe, till about the Middle of the XVth Century? What then was the Jesuit *Oldoini* dreaming on, when he boasted of having seen the Treatise of *Aureolus*, de Conceptione Virginis Mariæ, printed at Toulouse in the Year 1314? Dr *Conceptione Virginis Mariæ* Librum, qui habetur M. S. Tolosæ in Collegio Fuxenfi, & excusum vidimus Tolosæ anno 1314 (18).

(13) Labbe, ubi supra.

(14) See the Preface of his Dissertation de Scripturæ Ecclesiasticæ.

(15) Oldoini, in Athen. Roman. pag. 532. makes it 1581.

(16) Ibid. pag. 533. says the same thing.

(17) Bellarm. de Scripturæ Ecclesiæ. pag. 365.

(18) Oldoini, Athen. Roman. pag. 533.

(8) Pet. Allix, Prefat. Historica de Dogmate Transubstantiationis, pag. 66.

(9) Labbe, ubi supra, pag. 184.

(10) Vincentius Baronius, Apolog. lib. 1. §. 2. p. 240.

(11) Oldoini Athen. Roman. p. 176.

(12) Id. ib.

AURIEGE, or rather ARIEGE [A], a River in France, has it's Source in

[A] ARIEGE.] It is so called in the Countries through which it passes. In the old Maps it is called *Aregia*, and *Arcia* in a Manuscript Martyrology of

the Monastery of *Moissac*. There is in that Manuscript the Passion of St *Antonin*, who was married at *Pamies*, and it is affirmed there, that the Bark wherein

(a) It is a Lordship that was erected into a Marquisate, for the late Mr Duffon, elder Brother of Monf. de Bonrepux, Ambassador of France to the Court of Denmark, and afterwards in Holland.

in the Mountains which limit the County of Foix towards Roussillon. It passes by Tarascon, Foix, Pamis, Barilles, Bonac (a), Savardun, Sainte-Gabelle, and Haute-Rive, and falls into the Garonne at Portet, a long League above Toulouse, after having received the Waters of the River Lers, on the Right, and Those of the Arget, and of the Leze on the Left [B]. The Ariege is rapid and full of Fish, and also very good to drink; but it is only navigable from Haute-Rive. Du Bartas praises it much [C]. See also the Passage of Bertrand Helias, related by Papyrius Maffo (b).

(A) Papyrius Maffo de Flum. Gall. pag. 412.

wherein his Body was laid, passed through That River into the Garonne. "Per fluvium qui Areia dicitur, ad Garonnam usque perveniens fluvium navicula

"(in qua corpus Antonini mart. à Gentilibus necati) inde alium qui Tarnis dicitur inveniens fluvium,

"inde retrogrado cursu per Tarnin intravit in Avarionis alevum (1). — The Boat (in which was the Body of Antoninus, the Martyr, murdered by the Gentiles) coming along the River Areia, as far as to the Garonne, and there finding another River, called

"Tarnis, returned in a retrograde Course along the Tarnis, into the Channel of the Avario." Hadrian

Valesius, from whom I have this, has censured Those who call it Auriège, and treated Papyrius Maffo very ill for naming it Aurigera. "Fluvius est vulgo di-

"ctus Ariege, quibuldam corruptè l'Aurige; à Maffo (2) p'lici ejus fluvii nominis ignaro Aurigera

"novo ac ridiculo nomine nuncupatus (3). — The River is commonly called Ariege, by some corruptly

"the Auriège; by Maffo, who was intirely ignorant of the ancient Name of This River, it is ridiculously called Aurigera." Mr Baudrand believes that the

true Latin Name of that River is *Albarici* (4). I wish he had quoted some good Author. Sanjon calls it *Laurieque* in a Map which he published in the

Year 1675 (5). But most of the proper Names in it are so disfigured, that we ought to suppose them to be faults of the Engraver. Mr Moreri has very pleasantly imagined that the *Auriège* and *Laurieque*

are the two Names by which it is called. He forgets the true one? and does not dream, that the two Names he mentions, are but one and same; one of them expressed without the Article, the other with the Article. His mistake is just the same as if he had

said, that the River running by Paris, is called *Seine* and *Lafaine*. I know many Authors make a jest of a Writer who takes them up for Errors of this Nature, and pretend to be above those Trifles: But

they are vain Pretenders, who want a fair Mask to cover either their Ignorance, or their Idleness, or their ill Taste, or their Incorrectness. If a City or River were only mentioned occasionally in a Piece of Wit, the faults which those Gentlemen call Trifles

would be excusable. But the Case is very different, when those Faults concern the chief Subject of the Book. That which is only an insignificant Nicety

in the Writings of a Divine, will sometimes be a capital Fault in a Geographer, or in the Author of a Dictionary. I remember Papyrius Maffo has called it *la Riege*. See afterwards the Remark [A] of the

Article GARONNE.

[B] After having received on the Right, the Waters of the Lers, it receives those of the Arget, and the Leze, on the Left.] Moreri deserves a small Censure

here: He says, that the *Auriège*, having received the Lers, the Arget, and the Leze, falls into the Garonne. This signifies plainly, that the Mouth of the

Lers is above the Mouth of the Arget, and that the entrance of the Leze, is between the two others.

Nothing can be more false. The Arget comes into the Ariege, near Foix, and there is eight or nine Leagues distance between Foix and Sainte-Gabelle,

which is very near the Mouth of the Lers. "Lertius vero in Aurigeram labitur prope Templum

"S. Gauvillæ (6). — The Lers falls into the Auriège, near the Church of St Gabille." The Leze has it's

Entrance three or four Leagues below That of the Lers. Coulon might have taught Moreri the Order

of those Entrances. Note, he observes, that the Auriège is called by the Latins, Aurigera (7); and the

Larger, Argentigera (8); and that the One produces

Gold, the Other Silver (9). Perhaps he had taken these Remarks from Olbagarai, who wrote as follows: And what shall we not say of the Lers, with his

Flux and Reflux (10)? Of the Auriège, and of the Arget, Rivers with Gold and Silver Banks? Does not this witness the hidden Treasures in the Bowels

of Those Mountains (11)? [C] Du Bartas praises it much.] See here the third Sonnet of his Nine Pyrenean Muses, presented to the King of Navarre (12).

Fleuve d'or & de flot & de nom & de fable,
Riche en grains, en paille, en fruits, en vins,
en bois,

Auriège au vifte cours clair ornement de Foix,
Qui rend par ton tribut Garonne navigable,

Fille de si grand Mont, qui cache, espouvantable,
Son front dedans le Ciel, qui chenu tous les Mois,

Depuis le bord du Su jusqu'au bord Ecossois,
Ne void autre plus grand à sa grandeur semblable;

Clair flot, je te seroy par un discours facond
Plus riche que Paëtol, plus que le Nil second:

Plus loin que l'Océan on orroit tes eaux bruire:
Fier, on t'égalerait aux fleuves les plus Grands:

On te verroit au Ciel comme le Po reluire,
Si je voyoy tes bords repurgés de brigans (13).

Auriège, thou noble River, known to Fame
For thy bright Waves, and for thy Golden Name.

Thy Borders every Scene of Plenty show,
Who pours her Horn, where'er thy Waters flow.

Foix to thy rapid Course owes all it's Pride;
And deep Garonne it's navigable Tide.

A mighty Mountain is thy awful Sire,
Whose towering Head does to the Skies aspire;

Hoary with Loads of everlasting Snows,
Nor, e'en from Pole to Pole, an Equal knows.

Would the Mule assist the darling Thème,
In loftiest Notes, I'd sing thy Crystal Stream.

With her just Praise, thy mantling Waves should
smile,

Rich as Paëtolus, fruitful as the Nile.
Far as loud Ocean can be heard to roar,

Should ev'ry Murmur echo from thy Shore.
Thy curling Surge should proudest Floods out-vy;

And like the Po resplendent reach the Sky.
Could I thy Banks from ambush'd Rogues release,

And make the Traveller taste thy Stream in Peace.

See also the seventh Sonnet, you will find this in the beginning of it:

François, arreste toy, ne passe la campagne,
Que nature mura de Rochers d'un colicé,

Que l'Auriège entresfond d'un cours précipité:
Campagne qui n'a point en beauté de compagne

(14).

Stay, great Navarre, nor leave these burning Plains,
Where far above all Rival, Beauty reigns.

Rocks, Nature's Walls, the distant Prospects close;
And all around the daffy Auriège flows.

(c) Note, that Bertrand Helias, Historiæ Comitum Fuscensium, lib. 1. relates some curious Circumstances concerning this Gold.

Papyr. Maffo, Delect. Flum. Gall. pag. 412.

(10) See concerning this admirable Phenomenon, the 3d day of the 18 Week of Du Bartas, pag. 283.

(11) Peter Olbagarai, Preface of the History of Foix, Bearn, and Navarre.

(12) Du Bartas, in the Appendix of the first Week, page 934.

(13) Since Du Bartas's Time, this has been remedied.

(14) Du Bartas, ibid. pag. 936.

(1) Hadrian. Valesius in Notitia Gallie, pag. 26.

(2) Papyr. Maffo in Descript. Flumin. Gallie, pag. 470. Edit. 1685.

(3) Vales. Notit. Gall. pag. 26.

(4) See his Geography, pag. 33, 88, and 128.

(5) That of the Pyrenean Mountains.

(6) Papyr. Maffo, Descript. Flum. Gall. p. 470.

(7) Coulon, Rivers of France, Tome 1. pag. 483.

(8) He had twice said the Arget, which is the true Orthography.

AURISPA (JOHN), a Native of Noto in Sicily (a), was one of the most Learned Men of the XVth Century. He understood the Greek and Latin Languages; he was a good Orator, and wrote very well, for those Times, both in Prose and Verse. It is said that he was honoured with the Poetical Crown in Italy. He was Secretary to Pope Nicolas V, who gave him great Proofs of his Esteem, by

(a) The Name of this Town in Latin is Noto.

(b) Taken from the *Elogia Nicolaurum* qui litteris floruerunt, composed by the *Jeuit* Hierome Rugula, pag. 147, & seq.

presenting him with two rich Abbies [A]. He entertained a long Correspondence, by Letters, with *Philippus*, and his Name is celebrated by *Laurentius Valla*, *Antonius Panormita*, and several other famous Authors. He retired to *Ferrara*, and lived there to a great Age, honoured with the Esteem of the Lords of that Country [B], which proved very advantageous to him; for he did not only subsist, but also grow rich by their Liberality (b). What he composed is at present very hard to be met with [C].

(1) It is at Messina.

(2) It is at Lentinum in Sicily.

(3) Taken out of *Jerome Rugula*, pag. 148, 149 *Elogiorum Nicolaurum*.

(4) Lilius Gregor. Gryllid. de Poet. nor. Tempor. Dial. i. p. 651. See also in *Gefner* in *Bibl. tol.* 356, ver. 30.

[A] Nicholas V. — presented him with two rich Abbies.] He gave him That of *St Philip de Grandi* (1), the Thirty first of May, 1449, and that of *St Marie de la Roccade* (2), in the Year 1451. *Auripisa* had a Law Suit for this last Benefice, with one who had it beflowed upon him by *Alphonfus*, King of *Naples*. See *Reccbus Pirrus*, in the Two hundred and twenty fifth Page of his Account of the Church of *Syracusa* (3).

[B] He retired to *Ferrara*, and lived there to a great Age, honoured with the Esteem of the Lords of that Country.] I prove all this from a Passage of *Gyraldus*. "*Johannes Auripisa Siculus, says* be (4), ora-
"tor in aliquo poetarum ordine reponi potest, quippe
"qui Græcæ & Latine probe doctus esset, carmina
"tamen ejus quæ ipse legi nescio quid Sicularum
"gerrarum habere videntur: fuit enim eo tempore
"quo nondum exquisitæ literæ in lucem redierant.
"Vixit autem *Ferrariæ* ad summam senectutem, in
"pretio habitus à nostris principibus, qui & cum lo-
"cupletum reddiderunt: ab hoc ferunt *Cittarellum*
"familiam originem duxisse. — *John Auripisa* of
"Sicily, the Orator, deserves some sort of Place among
"the Poets, being very learned in Greek and Latin,

"though his Poems, which I have read, contain I
"know not what old Wives Tales: for he wrote in
"the obscurer Ages of Learning. He lived at *Ferrara*,
"to a great old Age, esteemed by our principal Fa-
"milies, who made him rich: the Family of *Citta-*
"rella is said to owe it's Rise to him."

[C] What he composed, is at present very hard to be met with.] There are the Books ascribed to him: *A Translation of Archimedes*; the *Translation of Hierocles's Commentary on the Golden Verses of Pythagoras*; and that of a *Consolatory Treatise of Philiclus to Cicero*. *Gefner's* Epitome mentions these three Pieces, without saying whether they were ever printed. It is certain, that *Auripisa's Hierocles* was printed at *Basil*, by *Henry Peter*, in 8vo, in the Year 1543 (5). *Gefner* cites part of the Preface, by which it appears, that it was wrote when the Author was already eighty Years of Age (6). In the Library of *Gabriel Nauclé*, there was a Manuscript, entitled, *Comparatio de præsentia Hannibalis Carthaginensis, Alexandri Magni & Scipionis Majoris Romani apud inferos, ex Græco in Latinum conversa ab Auripisa Oratore ad Baptistam Senatorii & Equæbris Ordinis Civem Romanum* (7).

(5) See *Gefner*. *Biblioth. fol. 231*, verso.

(6) Id. ib.

(7) Labbe, nova *Biblioth. MSS. Librorum*, pag. 231, Edit. 1653.

(a) See the *Enl. de Dedicat. of* *Parthenon* de *Anatolius* de *Antiquibus*, by *Janus Cornarius*, *Medicus Zuicavien-*
sis, dated the 1st of April, 1536.

(b) That, mentioned in the preceding Citation.

AUROGALLUS (MATTHEW) a Learned Man of the XVth Century, and Professor of three Languages in the University of *Wittenberg* (a); was born in *Bobemia*. He had made a curious Collection of the best Books of Antiquity, and was not contented to esteem them, as many others do, who endeavour to procure themselves a Name by their numerous Libraries, but loved also to read them. I have seen an Epistle Dedicatory (b), wherein he is exhorted to publish the Physician *Aëtius*, Nineteen Books of Natural History composed by an unknown Author, the Hymns of *Callimachus*, the Orations of the Ten *Athenian* Orators, and several other Greek Manuscripts, brought from the *Levant* to *Bobemia* by the Baron *Bobuslas* of *Hafsenfeyn*, which came to his hands *cognationis & studiorum hereditario jure, as next Heir both in Kindred and Learning*. It seems to be inferred, from Those Latin words, that he was related to That Baron. There are some Books of his remaining [A]. He died in the Year 1543 (c), and had been a great Assistant to *Lutber* in the Translation of the Bible.

[A] Some of his Books are remaining.] I do not know whether there any more besides *Compendium Hebrææ Chaldaæque Grammaticæ*, printed at *Wittenberg*, in 8vo, in the Year 1525, and at *Basil*, in the Year 1539; and *De Hebræi Urbium, Regionum, Populo-*

rum, Fluminum, Montium, & aliorum locorum Nominibus Liber, & veteri instrumento confusus, printed at *Wittenberg*, in the Year 1526, and at *Basil*, in 1539, in 8vo (1). That second Edition was enlarged by the Author.

(c) *Micrellius*, *Syneg.* *Hist.* *König* is mistaken in putting 1533; and quoting *Micrellius*.

(1) *Epit. Biblioth. Gefneri*.

(a) *Aufon.* in *Præfat.* ad *Syagrium*.

[A] He was the Son of a famous Physician.] Whole Name was *Julius Aufonius*. He was a Native of *Bazas*, and settled at *Bourdeaux* (1). His Wife's Name was *Emilia Aonia*, and was the Daughter of *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, who fled into *Aquitain*, after a Proscription, which had deprived him of all the Estate he had in his Country (2). This *Arborius*, having fixed himself in the City, called *Aque Tarbellarum* (3), married a virtuous Woman, of little or no Fortune, whose Name was *Emilia Corintbia Maurara*. From this Marriage proceeded one Son, and three Daughters. The Son was the same *Emilius Magnus Arborius*, who taught Rhetoric at *Toulouse*, and who took such a very particular Care of the Education of our Poet (4). One of the Daughters was married to *Julius Aufonius*, and brought him four Children, of which the Poet *Aufonius* was the second. You will find all this, and what follows, in his *Parentalia*, or in his *Epic典 in Patrem*. This *Julius Aufonius* was a Man of very great Merit: and, if he was like the Picture which his Son has left of him, he was a Remnant of the Golden Age. There was the greatest Uniformity imaginable in his Conduct.

He offered, gratis, the Assistance of his Art, to all who desired it: He studied to keep up the good Opinion others had of him; but never judged favourably of himself.

Judicium de me studi præstare bonorum;
Ipse mihi nunquam, judice me, placui (5).
It is from others I must seek Applause,
For my own Judgment always damns my Cause.

He had an Aversion for Law-Suits; he neither increased his Estate, nor diminished it: he never was either Witness, or Informer, against any Person's Life (6), he was neither envious nor ambitious; he thought Swearing and Lying were both alike; he never was concerned in any Conspiracy, Plot, or Cabal; he religiously observed the sacred Laws of Friendship; he made Happiness to consist not in possessing what one would have, but in not wishing for what Fortune did not give:

(a) *Aufon.* in *Epic典*. pag. 298.

(6) *Inficere* me nullus sed neque teste perit. *Id. ibid.*

(b) See the
Poms of
Aufonius,
entitled Pa-
rentalia.

(c) Aufon.
in Pref. ad
Syagrium.

Family interested themselves in it (b), either because his Parts were very promising, or because the Scheme of his Nativity had prognosticated, that he should attain to great Honours [B]. He made a surprizing Progress in Learning, and at the Age of Thirty Years was appointed to teach Grammar, in *Bourdeaux* (c). Some time after he was promoted there to the Office of Professor of Rhetoric (d). He acquired so great a Reputation in This Employ, that he was invited to the Imperial Court to be Preceptor to *Gratian*, Son of the Emperor *Valentinian*. He made himself very agreeable both to his Pupil and his Pupil's Father, and received from them such Rewards and Dignities, as made him a very eminent Example of *Juvenal's* Maxim, *That when Fortune pleases, a Rhetorician may become a Consul* (e). He was, in effect, raised to the Consulship by

(d) Id. in
Professor. n.
24. p. 187.

(e) Si fortuna
violet fies
de flic ore
Consul. Ju-
ven. S. l. 7.
ver. 197.

(7) Id. *ibid.* Felicem scivi, non qui, quod vellet, haberet:
Sed qui per fatum non data non cuperet (7).

*Happy is he, who can his Wish restrain,
Not he, who can that anxious Wish obtain.*

He did not endeavour to discover other Mens Secrets; he did not invent false Reports against his Neighbour's Reputation; but if he knew some prejudicial Truths, he concealed them.

Non occurrator, non garrulus, obvia cernens,
Valvis & velo condita non adii.

(8) Id. *ibid.* Famam, quæ posset vitam lacerare bonorum,
Non finxi: & veram si scierim, tacui (8).

*I shunn'd, with Caution, the officious Tale;
Saw what was bare, but ne'er withdrew a Veil.
I never forg'd, to urge another's Fate,
False Facts; nor did I those I knew relate.*

He never thought, that not committing a Fault was a Matter of Merit; he preferred Morality before the Laws; that is, if I mistake not, he did a good Action, because it was good, and not because it was conformable to the Laws.

(9) Id. *ibid.* Deliquisse nihil nunquam laudem esse putavi,
Atque bonos mores legibus antetuli (9).

*In want of Fault, I never Merit saw;
Nor Virtue, in Obedience to the Law.*

(10) Id. *ibid.* He kept his Marriage Vow exactly, during the Forty
five Years he was married (10); and if he had the
Pleasure to see what he wished come to pass, it
was not by too great an Indulgence of Fate, but
because he set such strict Bounds to his Wishes.

Non quia fatorum nimia indulgentia: sed quod
Tam moderata illi vota fuere viro (11).

(11) Id. in
Parental.
cap. 1, pag.
110.

*Nor did he this to Heav'n's Indulgence owe;
But to his limiting his Wish so low.*

He was compared to the ancient Sages of Greece; and imitated them in the most difficult Point, which was to practise what they taught; he endeavoured much more to lead the Life of a wise Man, than to discourse like one:

Quem sua contendit septem sapientibus ætas;
Quorum doctrinam moribus excoluit:

(12) Id. *ibid.* Viveret ut potius, quam diceret artephorum,
Quamquam & facundo, non rudis ingenio (12).

*To rival Greece in Wisdom's School he sought,
More wisely acting what her Sages taught;
Supremely wise, he chose not to excel
So much in speaking, as in living well.*

And yet he was eloquent in Greek, though not in Latin;

Sermone impromptus Latio: verum Atticæ linguæ
Sufficit culti vocibus eloqui (13).

(13) Id. in
Epiced. pag.
298.

*He studied with Success the Arts to speak,
Tho' not in Latin, yet in nobler Greek.*

We need not wonder, then, if, after his Death, he was honoured with this Elogy, *He imitated no Body, and is imitated by no Body.*

Inde & persunctæ manet hæc reverentia vitæ,
Ætas nostra illi quod dedit hunc titulum:
Ut nullum Aufonium, quem festeretur, habebat:
Sic nullum, qui se nunc imitetur, habet (14).

(14) Id. in
Parental.
cap. 1, pag.
110.

*So good a Life met with a due Regard;
This great Encomium was it's just Reward.
As he cou'd find no Copy to pursue,
So he found none could copy what he drew.*

He was honoured with some illustrious Offices, without having the Trouble to exercise them; and died at ninety Years of Age, without being sensible of any Decay. He walked without a Staff, and found no sort of Defect.

Curia me duplex, & uterque senatus habebat
Muneris exortem, nomine participem (15).

(15) Id. in
Epiced. pag.
298.

*Both Courts, both Senates, my Relation claim,
Excuse my Presence, but invol my Name.*

Ipse nec affectans, nec detractor honorum,
Pæfectus magni nuncupor Illyrici (16).

(16) Id. *ibid.*
pag. 302.

*I neither sought for, nor despi'd, a Name,
So Prefect of Illyricum became.*

Nonaginta annos baculo sine, corpore toto
Exegi, cunctis integer officiis (17).

(17) *Ibid.*
pag. 303.

*Ninety Years Load without a Staff I bear,
My Body alive, and my Senses clear.*

He composed some Works of Physic in Latin, which *Vindicianus* (18), and *Marcellus* (19), have honourably mentioned. *Scaliger* affirms, that he was the Emperor *Valentinian's* Physician, before his Son was chosen *Gratian's* Preceptor (20): but I have found no Proof it in *Aufonius*.

(18) See
Scaliger, in
Vita Aufo-
ni.

[B] The Scheme of his Nativity had prognosticated, that he should attain to great Honours. *Cæcilius Argicius Arborius*, his Grandfather, by the Mother's side, understood Astrology, and had calculated This Nativity; he kept it private, but his Daughter discovered it. *Aufonius* informs us of these Particulars himself.

(19) Mar-
cell. in Epist.
prefat. lib.
de Medica.
& cap. 2.
ejusd. libri.

(20) Scalig.
in Vita Au-
fon.

Tu cæli numeros, & conscia sidera fati
Callebas, studium dissimulante agens.

Non ignota tibi nostræ quoque formula vitæ:
Signatis quam tu condideras tabulis;
Prodit non unquam. Sed matris cura retextit
Sedula, quam timidi cura tegebat avi (21).

(21) Aufon.
in Parental.
cap. 9. pag.
117.

*Thy Art from conscious Stars our Lives can date,
And in Heav'n's Aspects read the Book of Fate.
There all my future Fortunes dist thou trace,
And in thy Schemes the pleasing Secret place.
But what the Grandfire with such Care conceal'd,
The curious Mother's prying Eye reveal'd.*

He adds, that *Arboreus*, meeting, from time to time, with the Frowns of adverse Fortune, and lamenting his

Son,

(f) *And not in the Year 382, as Vincentus affirms, in his Notes on Ausonius's Thanks.*

(g) *See Remark [F].*

(b) *Aufonius in Parental, cap. 9.*

(j) *Albertus Petrus Rubenius, Disser. de Vita Fl. Malli Theodorici, pag. 81.*

the Emperor *Gratian*, in the Year 379 (f), after having gone through other very considerable Offices; for, besides the Dignity of *Quæstor*, with which he was honoured in the Life of the Emperor *Valentinian*, he was created *Prefect* of the *Prætorium* in *Italy*, and in *Gaul*, after the Death of That Prince (g). The Thanks which he gave to the Emperor *Gratian*, for his Promotion to the Consulship, is an excellent Performance. The time of his Death is not certainly known; but it is beyond question, that he was living in the Year 388, and even in the Year 392, and that he lived to a great Age [C]. He had married a Wife of a good Family who died young (b). He had some Children by her, and did not marry any more. He was much esteemed by the Emperor *Theodosius*, and some believe That Monarch conferred on him the Dignity of a *Patriarch* (i). They found this on a Letter, which appears, in most Editions, at the beginning of *Ausonius's* Works. Nothing can be more obliging than That Letter: Some Critics judge it to be supposititious; but they cannot deny that This Emperor very much esteemed *Ausonius's* Poems, and exhorted him to publish them; for this appears by a Preface which is incontestably That Poet's own. There is an extreme inequality in his Works, either because his Muse was a little too inconstant; or because some Pieces have been inserted in his Poems, which he had but rough drawn, or because some particular Reasons obliged him to permit the Publication of some Verses, which he had not time to polish. Generally speaking, there is something harsh in his Manner, and in his Style; but it was rather the Defect of the Age, than of his Genius. They who are good Judges of Poetry can easily see, that if he had lived in *Augustus's* time, his Verses would have equalled the best of that time, so much Delicacy and Wit appears in most of his Writings. Though the general Opinion makes him a Christian, yet some learned Persons believe he was not one [D]. If they ground their Objection either on some lascivious

Verses

Son, who died at thirty Years of Age, comforted himself, under his Afflictions, with the Expectation of those Dignities, which the Stars had promised to his Grandchild.

Dicebas sed te solatia longa fovere;

Quod mea præcipuus fata maneret honos.

Et modo conciliis animarum mixte piorum

Fata tui certè nota nepotis habes.

Sentis quod quæstor, quod te præfectus, & idem

Consul, honorifico munere commemoro (22).

(22) *Id. ib. pag. 118.*

Pleased with the Honours Fate for me design'd,

No longer thy own Griefs distract thy Mind.

E'en now thou smil'st among the Dead, to see

This full Accomplishment of Fate's Decree:

To see me thus adore thy pious Shade,

A Quæstor, Prefect, and a Consul made.

Observe, that he supposes his Grandfather's Soul, even in the Abode of the Blessed, was sensible of the Accomplishment of the Horoscope, and of the particular Dignities which our Poet had obtained at the Emperor's Court. He is less Orthodox in another Place; for he there questions, whether any thing of us remains after our Death.

(23) *Id. in Prosefortibus, cap. 1, in fine, pag. 248.*

Et nunc, sive aliquid post fata extrema superfit,

Vivis adhuc, ævi quod perit meminis;

Sive nihil superest, nec habent longa otia sensus,

Tu tibi vixisti: nos tua fama juvat (23).

(24) *Id. in Clavis Urbibus, cap. 75, pag. 237.*

And now if after Death there ought remains,

In thy best Shade sweetest Remembrance reigns.

Or if the Grave no farther Prospect give,

Yet thy past Life, will make thy Fame still live.

(25) *And not in the Year 391, as Vincentus affirms on this Place of Ausonius. He is more exact in the Life of Ausonius, he there says it is the Year 388.*

I cannot tell whether those, who say he was a Pagan, have ever quoted this Passage, as a Proof of their Opinion.

[C] It is beyond question, that he was living in the Year 392, and that he lived to a great Age. He speaks (24) of the Punishment of the Tyrant *Maximus*, whom *Theodosius* cut off, in the Year 388 (25). *Baronius* proves, that *Paulinus* dedicated himself to a Monastic Life in his Retirement at *Nola* in the Year 394 (26). It was but few Years after the devout Life he had led in *Spain*, and which *Ausonius* had blamed. This makes us judge, that our Poet was living in the Year 392. Whence it follows, that he lived to a great Age, for he was already old when he was made Consul in the Year 379 (27). Add to this, that there was but very

(26) *Baron. ad Ann. 394, n. 72, pag. 884.*

(27) *Aufon. actione, pag. 709.*

little difference between his Father's Age, and his own (28); but he survived his Father, who died at Ninety Years of Age.

(28) *Aufon. Epist. 1.*

[D] Some learned Persons believe he was no Christian.] *Vossius* is of That Number. He says (22),

"Poëta fuit gentilis, quemadmodum ex Paulino

"liquet: ut quæ Christum celebrant perperam illi

"sint tributa. — He was a Heathen Poet, as ap-

"pears from *Paulinus*: So that Those Poems, which

"celebrate Christ, are falsely ascribed to him." Fa-

"ther *Briet* affirms the same thing, he only gives

"*Vossius's* Expressions another turn. "Ex *Paulino*

"certum est eum Ethnicum fuisse, quare opera Chri-

"stiana huic adjudicari solita, sine dubio alterius

"sunt (30). — It is certain from *Paulinus*, that

"he was an Ethnic, and therefore those Christian

"Compositions usually ascribed to him, must, undoubt-

"edly, to be of another Hand." *Borrichius* goes

"further, for he affirms, that *Ausonius* often incurred

"*Paulinus's* Censure, because of his Paganism. "Re-

"ligione Ethnicus, Equæ à *Paulino* amico, sed Chri-

"stianis Sacris dedito identidem objurgatus (31). —

"*Paulinus* discipulus *Ausonii* quem colebat ut præ-

"ceptorem, sed ut averium à Christiana religione

"subinde increpabat, quemadmodum ex opere ip-

"sius liquidum est (32). — In Religion a Heathen,

"and on That Account reproached by *Paulinus*, who

"was his Friend, but had been converted to the

"Christian Faith. — *Paulinus*, a Scholar of *Au-*

"*sonius*, whom he much honoured as his Master, but

"now and then blamed for his Aversion to Chri-

"stianity, as is evident from his Works." All this

"shews, that even great Authors do not always take

"the trouble of going to the Fountain Head, but

"sometimes stop at the first Testimony they meet with.

Those, who consult *St Paulinus's* Works, find no-

"thing there to persuade them, that *Ausonius* profes-

"sed Paganism; and since *Paulinus* no where uses

"any pressing Exhortation to him to be baptized,

"they conclude, he had already professed the Gospel.

They conclude yet it more certainly from those ex-

"press Words they meet with there,

Non reor hoc Sancto sic duplici Parenti (33).

Mentis ut errorum credat, sic vivere Christo (34).

(33) *76. n. is Ausonius.*

I hope my holy Tutor now will find

The Christian Faith, no Error of the Mind.

(34) *Paulinus in Epistola de fide ad Ausonium in fine.*

So that the Reading of *St Paulinus's* Works proves the very Reverse of what *Vossius* and some others have affirmed; it demonstrates *Ausonius's* Christianity, as *Lilius Gyradius* acknowledges. "Christianus qui

"dem *Ausonius* fuit, at ex ejus Verbis, & item

"*Paulini* ejus discipuli facile colligimus (35). —

"*Ausonius* was indeed a Christian, as appears from

(35) *Gyradius Hist. Poët. Dial. 10, pag. 514.*

Verſes that he compoſed [E], or on the manner in which he condemned the Solitude of *Paulinus*, or on the intimate Friendſhip he preferred with the Pagan *Symmachus*, they

"his Verſes, and alſo from his Scholar *Paulinus*." It is therefore without Foundation that ſome would take from This Poet, what appears in Praise of JESUS CHRIST in his Collection of Verſes. Nay, tho' we ſhould take from him the *Carmen Paſchale*, and the excellent Piece, which begins with

Omnipotens ſolo mentis mihi cognite culta,

as ſome Critics would take from him the *Oratio Paſchalis*, verſibus *Rophalicis*, yet there would be enough left in his Works to confute Thoſe, who affirm he was a Pagan. Now ſee of what Conſequence it is to apply to ſome among the Moderns, rather than others, when one is not willing to be at the Pains to run to the Fountain. If *Voffius* had addreſſed himſelf to *Baronius*, he would have avoided the Fault he has committed, and ſo would They who copied it. He could never have believed, after reading *Baronius*, that St *Paulinus* gives the laſt Proof of the pretended Paganism of our Poet *Auſonius*; for That learned Cardinal relates the reſpectful Answer of St *Paulinus*, and makes it appear, that *Auſonius*'s Thoughts, on That Friend's Retreat, does not differ from Thoſe, which worldly Chriſtians form, daily, when they ſee a young Man of Quality renounce all the Enjoyments of the World, to dedicate himſelf to a Monastic Life (36). It is pretended, that *Auſonius* thought ſome Miſanthropic Humour, or Malady like That of *Bellerophon*, made *Paulinus* retire from the World, and renounce the Muſes (37).

*Triftis, egens, deſerta colat: tacituſque pererret
Alpini convexa jugi: ceu dicitur olim
Mentis inops, cœtus hominum, & veſtigia vitans,
Avia perluſtraſſe vagus loca Bellerophontes* (38).

*Deſerts, or Alpine Hills, ſhall be his Haunt,
His dire Attendants, Silence, Grief, and Want:
There, like Bellerophon, diſturb'd in Mind,
Far ſhall be ſpy all Footſteps of Mankind.*

Thousands and Thousands of Chriſtians might have made the ſame Judgment; it muſt therefore be but an impertinent Proof of Paganism. Without doubt *Arnicaeus*, and the French Author, whom he quotes, were Chriſtians, and yet they judged, like *Auſonius*, of the love of Solitude; they diſcovered, clearly enough, that they imputed the Retirement of the Founders of Monks, to a melancholy Humour. "Medici inter ſigna morbi melancholici reſerunt, ſi quis querat ſolitudoinem, aut ſi quem triſtitiæ agat moror, torvæ ſeverum fronte, vel à lætis ſociorum cœtibus arecat; & Gallicus quidam non inconcinuus ſcriptori, ejus ordinis fuiſſe cenſet Francicum, Dominicum, alioſque Eremitas, aut Anachoretas, qui contra naturæ præſcriptum politiciſ ſocietatis bene ſubtraxerunt, in eremos, inſtar Endymionum, ſeſe abdidant, & quo melancholica ingenia maximè afficiebantur, novum vitæ genus, affectatæ religionis pallio veſtitum, conſiderunt (39). ----- The

"*Physicians eſteem it a Sign of a Melancholy Diſorder, to ſeek Solitude, or to be given up to Grief; to have a ſtern, ſhy, Countenance, or to ſpy good Fellowſhip; and a judicious French Writer is of Opinion, that This Claſs will take in Francicum, Dominicum, and other Hermits, or Anchores, who, againſt the Law of Nature, have withdrawn themſelves from human Societies, and bid themſelves in Wilderneſſes, like Endymion, and afterwards covered, under the Cloak of Religion, that new Kind of Life which They affected only out of a melancholy Diſpoſition.*" *Baronius* has not forgot to obſerve, that *Auſonius* was educated by two Nuns, who were his Aunts (40). This is a Proof that he was of a Chriſtian Family. Now, Chriſtianity being upon the Throne in thoſe Times, and Paganism expoſed to Diſgrace and Perſecution, it ſeldom happened that a Chriſtian turned Pagan. Since, then, *Auſonius* was educated from his Infancy in Chriſtianity, we ought to believe he profreſſed it all the Days of his Life; for nothing is more abſurd than the Thought of *Gjelinius*, who ſays, That *Claudian* and *Auſonius*, being prevailed upon by the Authority and Eloquence of *Symmachus*, abjured the Chriſtian Faith, and plunged themſelves again into Idolatry (41). He pretends to prove this by the

Teſtimony of St *Auguſtin*, and by the great Friendſhip *Symmachus* expreſſed in his Letters to them. The Jeſuit who confutes this, ſhews, that St *Auguſtin*, without mentioning *Auſonius*, ſaid only, that *Claudian* had been addiſſed to Paganism (42); this is not affirming he had ever once been a Chriſtian. And as for what concerns *Auſonius*, he is juſtified as well by the Silence of the Emperor *Gratian*, and of St *Paulinus*, as by their Kindneſſes. We might add, that the Reaſon, borrowed from the Friendſhip of *Symmachus*, is the weakieſt in the World: they were not united by the Conformity of Religion, but by the love they both of them had for Learning.

It cannot be denied, but that Mr *Baillet* embraces the Opinion of thoſe who pretend, that *Auſonius* was a Pagan, I ſay it cannot be denied, when we conſider his Words. "Theſe are Defects, which he ought to have made up by ſome good Qualities, and by Maxims and Sentiments drawn from Morality, as the beſt Poets of Antiquity took care to do before him. But, as he lived among Chriſtians, he was afraid, perhaps, that he might be miſtaken for one of them, if his Opinions, in Morals, had been found agreeable to theirs (43)." It is certain, that the beſt Maxims of Morality are found in *Auſonius*'s Works, and particularly the Aſophthegms of the ancient Sages of Greece. What can be a finer Piece of Morality, than his Deſcription of *Vir bonus* (44)?

[E] He compoſed ſome laſcivious Verſes.] *Scaliger*, the Father, found ſome of *Auſonius*'s Epigrams ſo filthy, that he thought Fire only was able to purify them. "Nonnulla (epigrammata) adeo fœda atque deteſtanda ut neque ſcriptore neque audire digna, non in ſpongiam incumbere merita ſint, ſed ſolis flammis expiari poſſe videantur (45). ----- Some (Epigrams) are ſo deteſtably obſcene, that they deſerve neither Writer nor Reader, and, inſtead of the Sponge, they ſeem to me to be riſt no other Purification than That of the Flames." I wonder he ſays nothing againſt the Obſcenities of the *Cento nuptialis*, which have principally excited the Indignation of ſeveral other Authors. Here is a fine Paſſage of Mr *Baillet*: "It were, at leaſt, to be wiſhed, that ſome body had expunged the abominable *Cento*, that wicked Piece of Patchwork, which he made up of ſeveral half Verſes of *Virgil*, on Subjects purely amorous. It is with much Juſtice, that the University of Paris complained, forty Years ago, of the Malice of This Poet, in making *Virgil* ſpeak in ſo very lewd a manner; who of all the Poets of Antiquity was moſt celebrated for his Chaſtity." And Father

Briet, a Jeſuit, has carried his Zeal yet further, when he repreſents this Action of *Auſonius* to be as an Outrage highly penal; declaring it to be as great a Piece of impudent Affluance, as of ſcandalous Obſcenity, to make ſuch a Miſapplication; and that there was ſomething rather diabolical than human in That pernicious Art of perverting Things, and changing good into bad, to lay Snares for the Innocence and Integrity of Youth (46). And becauſe many Perſons will be glad to read Father *Briet*'s own Words, I am going to copy them: *Centones ejus Virgiliani non tantum impuriſſimi ſunt, ſed & impudentiſſimi, quibus caſtiſſimos verſus, libidineſe affixit materiæ, opere, quod plus dæmonem, quàm hominem ſaperet, adoleſcentium pudicitia inſidiantem.* *Auſonius* wrote That Piece at the Inſtance of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who had compoſed ſuch another. He excuſes him himſelf on That Order, and obſerves, that a Prince cannot expreſs any ſort of Command more abſolute, than That of a Requeſt. He found himſelf much perplexed; for, in writing a wicked Poem, he expoſed himſelf to the Accuſation of groſſly ſacrificing his Reputation to Flattery; and by writing a better Poem than That of the Emperor, he was like to be condemned for his Inſolence, in having the Affluance to be more witty than his Maſter. He affirms, I. That he obſerved ſuch a Medium, that, without pretending to outdo *Valentinian*, he wrote a Poem not inferior to his. II. That he had the Advantage of pleaſing him, and not having conquered him, he did not incur the Diſgrace, which a Victory might have drawn upon him.

(42) Theoph. Raynaud. ibid.

(43) *Baillet's Judgment on the Poets*, Tom. 2, pag. 470.

(44) *Poige*, 529.

(45) *J. Caſar. Scaliger. Poet. lib. 6, cap. 5, pag. 761.*

* *The Uni-verſity's Answer to the Apology of Father Nicauſſin*, p. 338.

† *Philipp. Briet, de Poetis Lat. lib. 4, p. 50.*

(46) *Baillet, ubi ſupra*, p. 470, 471.

(36) *Baron. ad ann. 394, n. 24.*

(37) *I expreſs myſelf thus, becauſe ſto Paulinus gave this Senſe to Auſonius's Words; there is reaſon to believe it is not the true one, but that they rather ſignify an Imprecation againſt him who addreſſed Paulinus not to anſwer Auſonius's Letters.*

(38) *Auſon. Epith. 25, p. 697, 698.*

(39) *Arnicaeus, Reflection. polit. pag. 9.*

(40) *Byron. ubi ſupra, ad Ann. 394, n. 85. See Remar. K* p. 7.

(41) *Victor Gjelinius, in Scholia ad ſecundum librum Prudentii contra Symmachum, apud Theoph. Raynaud. Hæſioth. §. 2. Serie 1, cap. 14, pag. 564.*

(47) In Epist.
ad Solom.
Pantherum.

they are grossly mistaken. These are, however, the most specious Reasons which have been alledged. *Ritterhusius* looked upon That Friendship as a great Prodigy (*k*).
Scaliger's

(47) Aufon.
in Prefat.
Cent. Nup-
tial. p. 500,
501.

This is the Language of a cunning Courtier. But to do This Poet all the Justice, which the Delicacy of his Wit and Pen here deserves, we must hear his own Words. "Piget Virgiliani carminis dignitatem tam joculari dehoneffasse materia; sed quid facerem? jussum erat, quodque est POTENTISSIMUM IMPERANDI GENUS, rogabat qui jubere poterat, S. imperator Valentinianus, vir meo judicio eruditus: qui nuptias quondam ejusmodi ludo descriperat, aptis equidem versibus & compositione festiva. Experimenti deinde volens, quantum nostra contentione præcelleret, simile nos de eodem concinnare præcepit. Quam scrupulosum hoc mihi fuerit, intellige. Neque anteferri volebam, neque posthaberi: quum aliorum quoque judicio detegenda esset adulatio incepta, si cederem: infolentia, si ut æmulus eminerem. Suscepi igitur similis recusanti: feliciterque & obnoxio gratiam tenui, nec victor offendi (47)."

(48) Amm.
Marcell. lib.
30, cap. 9.

----- I am ashamed to have disgraced the Dignity of Virgil's Poetry on so jocular a Subject: But what could I do? I was commanded to do it, and, which is the most absolute Sort of Command, I was desired to do it, by him who could have commanded it, even by his Sacred Imperial Majesty Valentinian, a Prince, in my Judgment, truly learned: who had, himself, treated a Nuptial Subject after the same ludicrous Manner, in very apt and witty Poetry. Desiring therefore to try, how far he should excel, in this our Trial of Skill, he commanded me to undertake the Work. You will readily imagine I had a very nice Task. I was neither willing to excel, nor be excelled: if I fell short, it would look, in the Judgment of others, like Flattery: if I out-did, it would seem Insolence. I undertook it, therefore, with an Appearance of Unwillingness: and, by a happy Course, I kept in Favour as an Equal, and offended not as a Superior." If it were true, that the *Cento nuptialis* of the Emperor Valentinian was not inferior to that of *Ausonius*, it must be said, that This Monarch was not unskilled in Poetry; and besides, as he was grave, and of exemplary Chastity, it may serve much for *Ausonius's* Justification. "Omni pudicitie cultu domi castus, & foris, nullo contagio conscientie violatus obsecrare, nihil incestum: hancque ob causam tanquam retinaculis petulantiam frænarat Aulæ regalis (48)."

(49) Aufon.
in Prefat.
Cent. Nup-
tial. p. 500,
501.

----- He (Valentinian) had himself treated a Nuptial Subject after the same ludicrous Manner, in very apt and witty Poetry." We may be well assured that the Emperor's Verses were no less amorous than Those of the Emperor Gallienus (50).

(50) See the
Article
ARODON,
near the End.

It must be acknowledged then, that *Ausonius* deserves some excuse, because he wrote his Nuptial *Cento* by way of Imitation, and at the request of his Master, one of the most grave and chaste Emperors that ever was, and besides, a great Follower of the most pure Christian Doctrine (51). So that if he had not allowed of a Toleration (52), it would have been said of him, that he wanted no Talent, which becomes the most Orthodox Monarchs. I only remark this to shew, that Those who place *Ausonius* among the Pagan Poets, under pretence that he wrote such a lascivious Piece of Poetry as that *Cento Nuptialis*, do not give Things a thorough Examination. Without doubt he is to blame; I do not pretend to excuse him. I only say, that this Fact is not a Proof of Paganism, nor sufficient to give any just Suspensions, that he was not a very Orthodox Christian. I prove this from the Circumstances of it. I mean, from the Emperor's Character, who

(51) See Mr.
Fle-biet in
the Life of
Theodosius,
pag. 52.

(52) Amm.
Marcell. lib.
30, cap. 19,
& ibi Valen-
tius.

commanded him to compose such a Writing, and approved it. How many Christian Poets are there, whose Works are more lascivious than this *Cento Nuptialis*? Many of them must be degraded from the Name of Christians, if we follow the Maxim of *Gyraldus*, "Christianus quidem Aufonius fuit — sed petulantior tamen & lascivior quam ut inter Christianos numerari dignus sit (53). — Aufonius was indeed a Christian, but so loose and lascivious, that he deserves not to be named among Christians." Without going so far as Italy, is there not an *Epithalamium* in the Works of a Poet at the Hague, which, for Obscenity, does not yield to the *Cento* of *Ausonius* (54). I address this principally to *Ritterhusius*, who looked upon the Conduct of *Ausonius*, as monstrous; I mean, that a Poet, who was a Christian, both in Practice and Profession, should write lasciviously: "Illud imprimis apud me monstri instar habet, hominem Christianum, & ut appareat, non nomine tantum; sed & pectore & moribus, adeo sæpe lasciva atque improba scribere potuisse, ut nisi nomen Aufonii esset adscriptum, Bibliotarium poetam te legere putes (55). — To me it appears particularly monstrous, that one, who is a Christian, and that, as it seems, not in Name only, but also in Morals and Disposition, could write such wicked and lascivious Verses, that if the Title did not shew them to be *Ausonius's*, you would think you was reading Martial." He is not satisfied with the Excuse the Author made on the Purity of his Life,

(53) Cynild.
Hist. Poet.
Dial. 10, p.
514.

(54) See Ba-
fium 20, five
Epithalamium
of John Secun-
dus, p. 103.

(55) Conrad.
Ritterhus.
Epist. ad So-
lom. Pan-
therum.

Lasciva est nobis pagina, Vita proba est.

My Book is wanton, but my Life is chaste.

I relate this Excuse at length, in another Article (56). Let us observe, that *Ausonius* was so sensible that he should be blamed, that he endeavours to justify himself at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end, of That small Poem. We have seen what he said at the beginning, we shall see in another Place (57), what he said at the end: It remains only to observe, what he said in the middle. Know then, that after having described the Wedding-Feast, the Procession of the Bride and Bridegroom, the Wedding Presents, the Complements of the Company; and having modestly enough represented the first Discourse of the married Couple, he stops there, and advertises his Readers, that what he had to say more, not being covered with a Veil, it was their part to decline going any farther. "Hæcenus callis auriibus audiendum mysterium nuptiale, ambitu loquendi, & circumitione velavi. Verum quoniam & sceleratos amat celebritas nuptialis, verborumque petulantiam notus veteri instituto ludus admittit, cætera quoque cubiculi & lectuli aperta prodentur, ab eodem auctore collecta: ut bis erubescamus, qui & Virgilium faciamus impudentem. Vos, si placet, hic jam legendi modum ponite, cætera curiosi relinquite (58). — Thus far I have veiled the Nuptial Mystery with many Words, and long Descriptions, for an Entertainment to modest Ears. But, because the matrimonial Solemnity requires some smutty Mirth, and Custom has authorized these loose Descriptions, the remaining Secrets of the Chamber and Bed, will be given you by the same Author; who must blasp again and again, for imposing upon Virgil's Words so impudent a Meaning. You that please may stop here; and leave the rest to those who are more curious." He has reason to say, that what he calls *Imminutio* (59), will be described in very obscene Terms. *Moreri* has been the most indulgent of all Men; There are some Pieces, says he, which *Ausonius* composed in his Youth, wherein he complies too much with the Liberty of the Age he lived in. This Censure is not rigid enough, and supposes a Falsity; for certainly *Ausonius* was not young when he composed the Nuptial *Cento*. I do not speak of the Verses which he made on a handsome Slave, whose Name was *Biffula*, and who had been adjudged to him for his Share of the Plunder, after a great Victory obtained in Germany, in the

(56) See R-
mark [D] of
the Article
VAYER.

(57) Ibid.

(58) Aufon.
in Cent.
Nupt. pag.
513, 514.

(59) That is,
The Deterio-
ration.

Scaliger's Mistakes [F], and the principal Editions of *Aufonius* [G], will be the Subject of

Year 368; for we do not know to what Degree of Licentiousness he carried Them; They are lost, and we may only conjecture, that They were very free, since he requires Readers who had drunk hard.

admoneo, ante bibas.

Jejunis nil scribo : meum post pocula si quis Legerit, hic sapiet (60).

*He who would relish our lascivious Page,
Must first with flowing Cups his Taste engage.*

This does not agree at all with what remains of this Poem; there is nothing obscene either in the Words or Thoughts; we must conclude therefore, that the greatest Part of it is lost. A certain Commentator, without thinking of this, has proved the same thing by another Argument. He Remarks, That this Poem is too short at present, to suppose it ever could have had so large a Preface as we now find prefixed to it (61): and consequently it must have been much longer, when the Author finished it, than we now have it. However, *Aufonius*, who was then past the Heat of Youth, described, in all likelihood, the Charms of his Slave with a pretty deal of Freedom: She appeared so agreeable to him from the first Moment, that he presently let her at Liberty (62).

[F] These are Scaliger's Mistakes. I. He believed, *Aufonius* was raised to the Office of Prefect of the *Prætorium*, in the Emperor *Valentinian's* Life (63). This is not true, *Aufonius* declares that he owed this Office solely to the Emperor *Gratian*. "Tot gradus nomine Comitibus propter tua incrementa concessi, ex tuo merito, te ac patre principibus, quæstura communis, et tui tantum Præfectura beneficii (64). — So many Honours heaped upon me, as being your Præceptor, on account of your own Proficiencies, and great Merit, by both Emperors, your Father and yourself, the Quæstorship your joint Gift, but the Præfectship your own Jingle Favour." II. Scaliger believed, without Reason, that there was a Mistake in the *Theodosian Code*, where mention is made of *Auxonius*, Prefect of the *Prætorium* (65). He would have it read *Aufonius*, and not *Auxonius*. He would not have required such a Correction, if he had observed, that the Person, concerned in that place of *Theodosius's* Code, died about the Year 371, and that *Aufonius* enjoyed the Consulship in the Year 379, and lived yet many Years after. III. He would have all the Laws addressed to *Antonius*, Prefect of the *Prætorium*, to be corrected, and that *Aufonius* should be read in those Places, and not *Antonius*. This is wrong, for it is certain, that *Aufonius* was honoured with the Office of Prefect of the *Prætorium* of *Italy*, in the Year 376, five Months after the Death of the Emperor *Valentinian*, and that his Son *Hesperius* was given him by his Colleague (66). We know, also, that *Antonius* was made Prefect of the *Prætorium* of *Gaul*, about the same time. Things remained in the same State the following Year; *Aufonius* and his Son, discharged the Prefectship of *Italy*, and *Antonius*, that of *Gaul*; but, in the Year 378, *Antonius* was Prefect of the *Prætorium* in *Italy*, and *Aufonius* and his Son, were Prefects in *Gaul*, and so continued 'till the Year 380. You will find the Proofs of all this, in the Author quoted in the Margin (67).

IV. Scaliger believed, that *Aufonius* spoke of himself in these two Verses:

Aut Italum populos, Aquilonigenasque Britannos
Præfecturarum titulo tenere secundo (68).

*Lations, and farthest Britains too obey
Th' appointed Prefect's delegated Sway.*

It is a Mistake: The Poem, wherein these two Verses are; was composed in the Life-time of the Emperor *Valentinian* (69). Now *Aufonius* was not Prefect of the *Prætorium*, 'till after the Death of that Prince (70). V. There is no crediting what Scaliger affirms, that *Aufonius*, after his Consulship, enjoyed the Office of Proconsul of *Asia*, and that of Vicar of the Diocese of *Africa* (71). We find, indeed, one *Auxonius*, that was Vicar of the Diocese of *Asia*, in the Year 365; and another *Auxonius*, that was Pro-

consul of *Asia*, in the Year 381 (72). But this is nothing to Scaliger's Opinion. VI. He mistakes the Uncle for the Grandfather, in these Words. "Hoc tanto viro nascitur Burdigalæ Decius Magnus Aufonius nomine avi materni, cognomine patris (73). — Off so great a Man was Decius Magnus Aufonius born at Bourdeaux, taking his Name from his Grandfather, by the Mother, his Surname from his Father." *Aufonius's* Grandfather, by the Mother, was called *Cætilius Argiculus Arborius*; he left a Son, whose Name was *Æmilius Magnus Arborius*. So that Scaliger's Mistake is plain. VII. He says, that *Hilaria*, and *Julia Cataphronia*, who had made a Vow of Virginity, were *Aufonius's* Aunts, by the Mother (74). This is only true with regard to *Æmilia Hilaria*, for the Nun *Julia Cataphronia*, was his Aunt by the Father (75).

[G] — and the principal Editions of *Aufonius*.] *Geffner*, and his Abbreviators, affirm, That *Aldus* is the first who published this Poet. They do not say in what Year, but, if they mean the Edition of *Venice*, in 1517, they may easily be confuted; for besides, that *Aldus* was not then living, Mr *Van Beughem* affirms, that *Aufonius* was printed at *Milan*, in 1490 (76), and, since that, at *Venice*, in the Year 1496, with a Preface, by *George Merula* (77). The Edition of *Basil*, 1523, by *Valentine Curio*, is sufficiently known: That of *Lewis Mureus*, printed at *Lyons*, by *John de Tournes*, in the Year 1557, is preferable to all the former. The Bibliographers mention it, but I do not see that they take any notice of That which *Ducheri* published; in praise of which, *Nicolas Bourbon* made four Verses, which may be seen on the reverse of the Title of the Edition of *Lyons*, by *Sebastian Gryppius*, 1549. I say nothing of *Plantin's* Edition, 1568, with the Notes of *Theodorus Pulman*. That of *Joseph Scaliger*, at *Lyons*, by *Anthony Gryppius*, in 1575, with a very learned Commentary, under the Title of *Aufoniane lectiones*, eclipsed all the former. Every Body knows, that *Elias Vinetus* is one of the Commentators who has bestowed most Pains on our Poet's Works. He was Teacher of Classica Learning at *Bourdeaux*, and being pressed, by several Persons of that City, to publish an Edition of their famous Countryman, he endeavoured to oblige them, but found no Manuscript of *Aufonius*, in the Libraries of *Bourdeaux*, so that all he could do, was to compare the Editions together. He restored and corrected several Passages, and while he was preparing his Commentaries, to give the Reasons of his Criticisms, he caused *Aufonius's* Works to be printed, as he had corrected them. His Friend, *James Goupil*, had the Care of this Edition, which is that of *Paris*, 1551. Some Years after *Vinetus* recovered a Manuscript, found near *Lyons*, and which gave him much Light; and as that left him but little Excuse to those who pressed him to print his Notes, he published the Poem de *Clariss Urbibus* at *Poitiers*, together with his Commentary, in the Year 1565. He sent a Compleat Copy of *Aufonius's* Works to *Anthony Gryppius*, who had desired it of him, and engaged to print it immediately; but that Edition not appearing, he was persuaded to make use of the Press, which was set up, in the mean Time, at *Bourdeaux*. He therefore gave another Copy to *Simon Millanges*, who began to print it at *Bourdeaux*, in the Month of *February* 1575, and finished it by the beginning of Summer, in the same Year. At the same time came out the Edition of *Gryppius*; but, for want of Paper, *Millanges* could not print off *Vinetus's* Commentary. It was not printed 'till four Years after *Millanges's* Edition of *Aufonius's* Works (78). Therefore, to speak properly, it ought not to be said, that the best Edition of *Aufonius*, is that of *Bourdeaux*, with the Commentaries of *Elias Vinetus*, in the Year 1575. *Præ reliquis verò laudanda luculentæ Aufonii Editio, cum commentariis viri docti Eliæ Vinesi vulgata, Burdigalæ A. 1575; & post ejus obitum A. 1590, 4. (79).* For, as I have said before, those Commentaries did not appear 'till 1580. *Moreri* has been exact in this Point; he is only mistaken, in saying *Vinetus* was of *Saintes*; the Word *Santo* signifies nothing here but *Saintongeais*, one of the Country of *Saintonge*. The Library of the Archbishop of *Reims* (80), mentions an *Aufonius*, printed by

(72) Rubenius, in vitæ Mallii Theodori, p. 244.

(73) Scalig. in vitæ Aufon.

(74) Id. ib.

(75) Aufon. in Paren. n. 26, p. 142.

(76) Beughem in Iconabulis Typographiæ, apud Joh. Albert. Fabricium Biblioth. Lat. pag. 177.

(77) There is a Copy of this Edition in the Catalogue of Thuanus's Library; it is in Folio, and perhaps of Aldus.

(78) Taken from the Preface of Elias Vinetus.

(79) Joh. Albert. Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. p. 477.

(80) In the 394th Page.

(60) Aufon. in Biffula, pag. 346.

(61) See the Aufonius of Tolius, pag. 342.

(62) Aufon. in Biffula, pag. 341.

(63) Scalig. Aufon. in Læctio. lib. 1. cap. 2. & lib. 2. c. 17. apud Alb. Pet. Rubenium, in Vitæ Mallii Theodori, pag. 16.

(64) Aufon. in Grat. A. citione, pag. 702, 703.

(65) Lege II. de Patrocinis Viror. See Valef. in Amm. Marcell. lib. 29, c. 1. pag. 549.

(66) Aufon. in Grat. A. c. p. 305.

(67) Albertus Petrus Rubenius in Vita Mallii Theodori, pag. 17, & seq.

(68) Aufon. in Mofella, ver. 407, pag. 419.

(69) This is plain from Viri. 450.

(70) See Rubenius, in Vita Mallii Theodori, pag. 23.

(71) Scalig. in Vita Aufon.

of two Remarks below; and I shall not forget to observe the Mistake of *Trihemius*, who pretended that *Aufonius* was Bishop of *Bordeaux* [H].

by *Millanges*, at *Bordeaux*, with the Commentaries of *Elias Vinetus*, in the Year 1575. I imagine that this Mistake proceeds from applying the Date 1575, to all the Pieces bound together, which only suits with *Aufonius's* Works, at the beginning of the Volume. *Borrichius* is in the Wrong to say, I. That the Edition of *Vinetus*, is one of the best. II. That *Vinetus* has commented upon *Aufonius's* Poem de *Urbibus* (81). Does not this look as if he had wrote no Commentaries on the other Poems of *Aufonius*? The best Edition of this Poet, is that of *Amsterdam* 1671; but I have elsewhere observed (82), that the Tide falsely promises, that they have there inserted all the entire Notes of *Mariangelus Accursius*.

I shall give a Supplement to all this, in the Article MARTELLIUS (HUGOLIN), at the End of the Remark [A]. Not having Father *Lacarry's* Book (83), I am forced to content myself with what I find of it in the *Journal des Sçavans*. "The double Prefect-ship of *Aufonius*, which gave *Scaliger* so much "Trouble, is here clearly explained. We find that, in the Year 378, *Aufonius* was Prefect of the *Prætorium*, in the *Gauls*, and in *Italy*, with his Son *Heperius*; but he was not Prefect in *Italy*, any longer than 'till about the Month of *July*, at which time one *Antonius* was appointed Prefect of the *Prætorium* in *Italy*, as he is said to have been in the Code. So that the Prefectship of *Aufonius* and *Heperius*, in *Italy*, was interrupted by *Antonius*; but he enjoyed it again, together with his Son, in 379, and continued, with him, that in the *Gauls*, without any interruption, during the Years

"378, and 379 (84)." This Hypothesis, and Chronology, are not agreeable to the Sentiment of *Rube-nius*, before related. If I had Father *Lacarry's* Book, I might, perhaps, be able to determine which of them has explained this Matter with greatest Accuracy.

[H] *Trihemius* pretended that *Aufonius* was Bishop of *Bordeaux*.] *Trihemius* affirms, That this Bishop was very learned in the Scriptures, and as remarkable for his Piety as his Learning, and that he flourished under *Maximus*, in the Year 310, and did some handsome Things, with *St Martin*, *St Ambrose*, and *St Jerom*, in the Synod, which That Prince caused to be held at *Triers*. What a heap of Fables are here! *Vinetus* observes, that some Persons will have it, that *Aufonius* was canonized. He says also, that the Inhabitants of *Angoulême* honoured one *Aufonius*, amongst their chief Saints, who was, as they say, their first Bishop, and he does not think it impossible, but that the Poet *Aufonius*, upon being elected Bishop by the Inhabitants of *Angoulême*, might have accepted that Dignity (85). A Manuscript Chronicle of *Angoulême*, says, that *Aufonius*, a Disciple of *St Martial*, and Bishop of *Angoulême*, suffered Martyrdom, when the *Vandals* ravaged *Gaul* (86). *Alteferra* confutes this, by observing, that a Disciple of *St Martial* could not be living in the beginning of the IVth Century, when the Irruption of the *Vandals* (87) happened. However it be, our *Aufonius* is represented in very various Lights. Some say that he was not so much as a Christian; and others, that he is in the Catalogue of the canoniz'd Saints.

(84) *Journal des Sçavans*, 12 Aug. 1675, pag. 225, *Edr. of Holl.*

(85) *Elias Vinetus*, in *vitâ Auson.*

(86) *Alteferra*, rerum Aquitanicar. lib. 5, cap. 8. pag. 339.

(87) *Id. ib.*

AUSTRIA (Don JOHN of), Natural Son of the Emperor *Charles V*, was born, at *Ratisbon*, the Twenty fourth of *February* 1545. A Gentlewoman of *Ratisbon*, whose Name was *Barbara BLOMBERG* (a), was willing to pass for his Mother [A], to save the real Mother the Scandal she must necessarily have undergone in being

[A] *Barbara Blomberg* was willing to pass for his Mother.] *Famianus Strada* says, that Cardinal de la *Cueva* revealed this Secret to him (1). That Cardinal had learned it from the Infanta *Clara Eugenia*, to whom *Philip II*, who concealed nothing from her, had discovered it. This Prince always pretended to the World, that *Barbara Blomberg* was the Mother of *Don John*. "Eodemque loco habitam à Philippo "Rege scænz pariter inserviente (2). — And was "treated as such by King *Philip*, who likewise kept "up the Pretence." The Sacrifice which that Lady was willing to make of her own Reputation, to that of a great Princess, is nothing near so great as may be imagined: It is thought a Scandal to pass for a private Gentleman's Mistress; but how many Ladies glory to be Mistresses of Kings and Emperors? I have said that this Sacrifice was made in favour of a great Princess: *Strada* informs me of it. "Joannem Au- "striacum non ex *Barbara Blomberg* uti creditum "ad eam diem, sed ex longe illustriori ac Plane "Principæ femina procreatum: cujus ut famæ par- "ceretur prætentam fuisse aliam à *Carolo Cæsare*. — "John of Austria was not born of *Barbara Blomberg*, "as was then believed, but of a much more illustrious "Lady, and even a Princess, to save whose Reputation, "That other was only pretended by *Charles the Empe- "ror*." The same Historian remarks, that *Don John* was twice deceived, as to his Mother, and never in- formed of the Truth. He first believed himself to be the Son of *Magdalen Ulla*, and afterwards of *Barbara Blomberg*. How happy and vigilant soever he was to discover the most secret Intrigues of the Enemy, he could never unravel this domestic Mystery. "Ha- "bet profecto unde minus sibi de sua sagacitate pla- "ceat humanum ingenium, quando tantus princeps, "atque intima quæque vel in hoste rimari solitus, "domi suæ, suorumque ignarus adeo vixerit obierit- "que, ut bis in matre deceptus, fœdè alienam co- "luerit, nunquam suam (3). — It is indeed enough "to make the human Understanding less proud of it's "Sagacity, to see that so great a Prince, who could "penetrate into the closest Secrets of the Enemy, should "yet live and die so ignorant of his own Birth, and "of what so nearly concerned him, that he was twice "mistaken in his Mother, and could never discover

"where to pay his Duty right." I wonder that Fa- ther *Strada* says nothing of a third Person, who passed for *Don John's* Mother. The Author of a learned Differtation, printed in 1688 (4), speaks with great Praise of *Catharine de Cordonna*, born at *Naples* in the Year 1559. She went into *Spain*, with her Cousin the Princess of *Salerno*, in the Year 1559, and, by her Virtue and Piety, acquired the esteem of *Philip II*, in such manner, that he commanded *Rui Gomez*, Prince of *Evoli*, Governour of *Don Carlos*, and *Don John*, to take care of This Lady. *Rui Gomez* took her home to his House, and, upon observing her admirable Prudence, desired her to undertake the Government of his Family, and to assist him in the Education of the two Princes. She acquitted herself of that Trust with all the care imaginable, and *Don John* always honoured her as his Mother. The Author of the Differtation makes a Remark on that word: Before we go any farther, says he (5), we ought to clear that Saint from an abominable Calumny, by which some abusing that word, would insinuate as if she was the true Mother of John of Austria. *Strada* of *Rosberg* seems to have given occasion to that supposition, by describing that Prince's Mother, in his Genealogy of the House of Austria, only by the Name of *Catharine*. But the chaste and mortified Life which *Catharine de Cordonna* always led from her Infancy, could not leave Room for such a Suspicion. He adds several other Reasons to justify *Catharine de Cordonna*, and ends the Remark with these Words: It was another more illustrious Person (who was the Mother of John of Austria) and whom our Saint (6) had also known, as the Historian of her Life observes; but who, for weighty Considerations, was never discovered. Let us add to all this a Passage of Mr *Varillas*. The secret of the Birth of John of Austria, says he (7), was never rightly discovered, and whether the too high quality of his true Mother required all these Precautions; or that more care was taken to avoid the Scandal, than the Sin; it is certain that Charles only discovered to Quichada who John of Austria was; and that he ordered him to let him pass for his own Son, till his Imperial Majesty, in resigning his Dominions to Philip II, informed him that he was his natural Brother. This Moderation of Mr *Varillas* is more to be com- mended,

(4) Differtation on the Hemina, or Print, of Wine, and the Pound of Bread, pre- scribed by St Benedict.

(5) Page 186.

(6) That is, *Katherin de Cordonna*. Her History is in the General History of the barefooted Carmelites, Part 1, Book 5. See Differtation on the Hemina, pag. 182.

(7) *Varillas* History of Francis I. Book 13, pag. 389.

(81) *Aufonii Editio electior est Jof. Scaligeri & Eliae Vineti. Borrich. de Poët. Lat. pag. 73.*

(82) *Ab-ve, Citat. (6.) of the Art. ACCURSIUS (MARI- ANGELUS).*

(83) *Institu- ta, Historia Galliarum sub Præfe- ctis Prætorii Galliarum.*

(a) See her Article.

(1) *Strada, de Bello Belg. Decad. 1. lib. 10. pag. 626.*

(2) *Id. ib.*

(3) *Id. ib. pag. 627.*

being publickly known to be so. The Child was carried into *Spain*, before he was a Year old [B]; the Emperor charged *Lewis Quixada* with this Commission, whom he had several times experienced to be very well qualified for keeping a Secret (b). He ordered him to let the Child be brought up by his Wife *Magdalen Ulloa*, without giving any body room to suspect who was the Father. *Quixada* served his Master in This, with all the Fidelity imaginable, for he did not only keep the Secret inviolable, but had also an extraordinary Care of *Don John's* Education. *Charles*, upon his Death Bed, discovered, to his Son *Philip*, that he was the Father of the young Lord whom *Quixada* educated at *Villagarfia*, and charged him to acknowledge him for the future as his Brother, and to treat him in that Quality. *Philip* did not perform this Order till two Years after [C], but then he did it in a very genteel Manner. He caused *Don John* to be educated with *Don Carlos*, and *Alexander Farnefe*. Those three Princes were almost of an Age, but *Don John* was much the finest, both in Person and Parts. *Philip* was displeased at the aversion he found in him to an Ecclesiastical Character, for which his Father had designed him. And much less at a Frolick of That young Lord, in taking a Journey to *Barcelona*, without the King's leave, accompanied with a great number of young Gentlemen, to go to the War of *Malta*. But the Letters he received from the King, before he embarked, put a stop to that Voyage. He so readily obeyed the Order, he had received to return, that he, in some measure, appeased *Philip's* anger by so immediate a Compliance; and he entirely recovered his Favour, by making the first Discovery to him of *Don Carlos's* Machinations. There was but very little Friendship between Those two young Princes [D]. A little while after, *Don John* was sent to the Kingdom of *Granada* against the *Moors*, and signalized himself in that War. He was declared *Generalissimo* of the League against the *Turks*, and, in that Post, gained the famous Battle of *Lepanto*, in the Year 1571. After which he took the City of *Tunis*, and That of *Bijeria*, and returned triumphant into *Italy*, attended by *Amidas*, King of *Tunis*, whom he had made Prisoner. He had left a Garrison in *Tunis* against *Philip's* Order, and there was already a Rumour of conferring upon him the Title of King of *Tunis*, by the Interposition of the Pope. The King of *Spain* was not at all pleased with these continual Successes; the Idea which he formed to himself of that young Prince's Ambition made him uneasy (c). He sent him to command in the *Netherlands*; but ordered him to pacify those Provinces: He had not a Mind to have him there at the head of an Army. Being thus prejudiced against him, he easily believed all Reports which could give him room to suspect his Brother's Conduct; and some say, that, to increase the Misunderstanding, means were used to inform him, that *Don John* was going to be married to Queen *Elizabeth* (d). To cut the Matter short, I shall just observe, that

(b) Quem expertus erat arcinorum celantissimum. Strada, d.c. 1, lib. 10, pag. 612.

(c) Quod Philippo susceptionem intendit elatum victoriarum cursu juvenem non diu latum privatam fortunam & regna nunc rogare aliquando invasurum. . . . Philip began to suspect, that so young a Conqueror would be too much elated with his Victories, to be long satisfied with a private Condition, and that his next Step would be to importune him for some Kingdom. Id. ib. pag. 617.

(d) See Remark [F].

Escovedo,

mended, than the Liberty taken in the second Edition of the *Menagiana*, in declaring plainly, that *Don John of Austria* was born of his Father's own Sister. What gave occasion to this, was an excellent Saying of *Charles V.* It seems upon cancelling an unjust Privilege, which he had granted, He said, *I had rather deface my Hand-Writing, than my Conscience*. Upon which we find, in the second Edition of the *Menagiana*, pag. 422, the following Gloſs. *What a tender Conscience is here, for one who was so great a Cheat all his Life, and, if scandal may be believed, did not scruple to lie with his own Sister, while Barbara Blomberg served as a Screen to this incestuous Commerce, by passing for the Mother of Don John of Austria.*

[B] The Child was carried into Spain before he was a Year old.] *Brantome* tells another Story, which I will relate in the Remarks of the Article *BLOMBERG*; and which ought not to be believed to the Prejudice of *Strada*.

[C] *Charles V.* discovered, to *Philip II.* that *Don John* was his Brother, and charged him to acknowledge him as such — which he obeyed not — till two Years after.] The Application of an Historian to the principal Matters, makes him sometimes not discover a Slip in Calculation. Here *Strada* affirms, that *Don John* was born the Twenty fourth of February 1545; that his Father died the Twenty first of September 1558; that *Philip* acknowledged *Don John* two Years after the Death of his Father; that he caused him to be educated with his Son *Don Carlos*; and that These two Princes had not yet attained to their fifteenth Year, *annum quantum decimum nondum supergressi*. If *Strada* had reckoned right, he would have made it above fifteen Years. It cannot be pretended that the Year 1547, was That of the Birth. I confess that *Mr Moreri* vouches it, but it cannot be the Opinion of *Strada*, since, by placing the Death of *Don John* on the first of October 1578, he makes him Thirty three Years of Age. So then there is no fault

of the Press in the number 1545. The Author of the Dissertation on the *Hemina* (8) places the Birth of that *Bastard* on the fourteenth of February 1545, and his Death about the first of October 1578, in the Army near *Namur*; and censures the Genealogy of the House of *Austria*, which makes him die at *Bruges* in the Twenty fifth Year of his Age. He also censures *Father Strada*, for having placed the Death of *Don John* in the Month of December; but we read, in express words, in *Strada*, *Kalendis Octobris* (9). *Mr Varillas* is not to be credited, when he says, That *Philip II.* let eleven Years pass, before he performed his Father's Orders, and that *John of Austria* was already twenty Years of Age, when his Catholic Majesty bestowed himself to acknowledge him for his Brother (10). According to this Calculation he would have been twenty four Years old. Let us remember that he was sent *Generalissimo* to the Kingdom of *Granada*, in the Year 1569 (11). According to *Mr Varillas*, therefore, *Philip II.* must have begun, by that important Office, to acknowledge him for the Natural Son of *Charles V.* This would be judging very wrongly of that Prince, to impute to him such a precipitate Conduct.

[D] He made the first discovery of *Don Carlos's* Machinations: there was but little Friendship between Those two young Princes.] I shall relate one particular that is mentioned in *Brantome*. It is said that *Don Carlos* "having discovered something of moment to *Don John*, he revealed it to the King of *Spain*, who always loved him the better for it, though he rewarded him but very indifferently afterwards; and *Don Carlos* hated him so much for it, that they generally quarrelled, so that once he called him *Bastard*, and Son of a Whore; to which he returned this Answer, *Si yo lo soy; mas yo tengo padre mejor que vos: Yes I am so, but I have a better Father than you; and they were like to have come to blows about it* (12).

(8) Pag. 187.

(9) Strada, Decad. 1, lib. 10, pag. 611.

(10) Varillas's History of Francis I. Book 13, pag. 389.

(11) Moreri's *Jeux* 1570.

(12) Brantome's Lives of Foreign Captains, Tom. 2, pag. 117, 118.

(c) Majoribus in dies pressus angustis ac defectibus, uti palam querebatur à Rege, traditusque hostium ludibrio, ingens animi spique principis --- ex more contulit. --- Being reduced to greater Straits every Day, and, as he continued openly, betrayed by the King, and sacrificed to the Sport of the Enemy, that great and promising Prince, --- died of Grief.

Strada, dec. 1, lib. 10, pag. 619.

(13) Additions to the Memoirs of Catharine, Tom. 2, pag. 389.

(14) Seneca, Epist. 3.

(15) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. 1, lib. 10, pag. 612.

Escovedo, Don John's Secretary, having been sent to *Madrid*, by his Master, to sollicite the Succours which were a long time expected, was killed there [E]. Don John, upon this, found himself to be in Disgrace; and his vexation, to see himself sacrificed to the Contempt of the Enemies, for want of Supplies to make head against them [F], threw him into a Diftemper, of which he died the first of October 1578 (e). It was even believed that he was poisoned [G]. He did indeed recommend his supposed Mother, and his supposed uterin Brother, as also his Domesticks to King Philip, but durst not mention to him his two Natural Daughters (f) [H].

His Elogy may be seen, among those of several other Warriors, in a Book composed by *Primo Damascino*, and printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1680, under the Title of *La Spada d' Orione stellata nel Cielo di Marte*. But if you are desirous to see the Particulars of the Complaints made against his Conduct, with many of his intercepted Letters, you need only read the *Summary Discourse of the just Causes and Reasons, which obliged the States General of the Netherlands, to provide for their Defence against Don John of Austria*. It is a very curious Manifesto printed at *Antwerp*, by *William Sylvius* the King's Printer, in the Year 1577. See also the Manifesto published by Prince *John Casimir*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, in the Year following, to justify his Expedition.

[E] *Escovedo*, Don John's Secretary, being sent to *Madrid* — was killed there.] Mr *le Laboureur* says, that he had read some Memoirs written by Mr *Peiref*, which make *Escovedo* die after his Master; and that Mr *du Vair*, who had been told that Particular, in a familiar Conversation with Antonio Perez, related it to Mr *de Peiref* (13). This deserves to be examined. Perhaps I shall compose an Article for *Escovedo*, wherein I shall treat of this more amply, and we shall see whether it was before or after Don John's Death, that the Designs, which he and the Duke of *Guise* had formed, were known at the Court of Spain. Philip II was not so much in the wrong as was imagined; and Don John would have been able, in a little time, to have cut him out more work than the *Dutch*. He was no truer, in respect to his Sovereign, than the Duke of *Guise*. But it must be owned, that the jealous Humour of Philip, and his mysterious Politics, was the chief Cause of inspiring his Family with those rebellious Thoughts. "Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, & aliis jus peccandi suspicando fecerunt (14). — Many Persons have put others upon cheating them, by their fearfulness of being cheated, and have occasioned, by their Suspicions, the very Thing they suspected."

[F] He saw himself sacrificed to the Contempt of his Enemies, for want of Supplies to make head against them.] Thus the King of Spain, as great a Politician as he was, chose rather to lose the *Netherlands*, than not to satisfy the jealousies, and other hidden Passions, which disquieted his Soul. It is to this that the *Dutch* are as much, or more, indebted for their Liberty, than to their good and wise Conduct. There are few great Affairs but what owe their Success as much, at least, to the Misconduct of one of the Parties, as to the Prudence of the other. There was no great difficulty to draw Philip II into the Snare, as soon as his jealousies were discovered. *Strada* fancies, that the Prince of *Orange* wrote about Don John's Marriage, with the Queen of *England*, to one of his Friends at *Paris*, and the promise which the Bridegroom made of Liberty of Conscience to the Protestants, on purpose to increase King Philip's Suspicions: he thought that his News would not fail to be known by the Spanish Ambassador. "Quin ad hanc quoque suspicionem Regi confirmandam haud sanè dubitaverim apseville Orangium, scriptis ad amicum litteris in Galliam, quibus Joan. Austriaci, atque Anglæ Reginæ conjugium significabat: addebatque, pro sua in eam rem operâ, spem sibi ab Austriaco, factam liberæ per Belgium Religiosis. Id, quod à Varga, Hispano apud Gallum oratore in arcana quoque intento, sollicitè admonitum ferunt Philippum Regem (15). — I make no doubt, but the Prince of *Orange* had an Eye to the confirming this Suspicion of the King's, in the Letters he wrote to a Friend in France, intimating a Marriage between John of Austria, and the Queen of *England*: and adding, that John had promised her, so far as in him lay, a Liberty of Conscience through the whole United Provinces. This Varga, the Spanish Ambassador in France, sobo was always on the Watch for Secrets, is said to have met with, and to have sent a particular Account of it to King Philip."

[G] It was believed — that he was poisoned.] You will find here both Accounts, of *Strada* and *Brantome*. *Ex Mæore contabit*, says *Strada* (16): "An vero ad hoc quod satis extingui potuit, venenum aliud cujusquam dolo subjeclum fuerit (namque in defuncti corpore extitisse non obscura veneni vestigia affirmant qui viderunt) equidem nihil ipse statuerim. He died of Grief: But whether, to dispatch him more effectually, any Poison was given him, (for those who saw the Body, affirm there were very evident Signs of Poison), I will not take upon me to determine. That poor Prince, says *Brantome* (17), did not long enjoy that great Glory and Praise, for he, who had so often sought Death in the hard Field of Mars, died in a soft Bed, as if he had been a Favourite of Venus, and not a Son of Mars. It was said that he died of a contagious Diftemper, which the Marchioness of *Avic*, with whom he was in love, had given him, but this is not generally said, not even in Spain: for it is thought that he was poisoned with perfumed Muskins."

[H] He durst not recommend to Philip II, his two Natural Daughters.] Don John, the handsomest Prince of his Time, was also very Gallant and Complaisant. Judge whether he was not a lucky Man. He got a Daughter at *Madrid*, and another at *Naples*. She at *Madrid* was called *Anne*, and her Mother was a Person of the first Quality, and a perfect Beauty. "Ex Mariâ Mendozia splendidissimi generis formæque elegantissimæ puellâ (18). — Of Mary Mendoza, "a young Lady of a most noble Family, and incomparable Beauty." The same Lady who had brought up Don John (19), brought up this Bastard-Child likewise privately till she was seven Years of Age, and then put her into a Nunnery. Philip II took her from thence, and sent her to *Burgos*, where she became perpetual Superior of the *Benedictine* Nuns. Don John's other Daughter's Name was *Joan*: her Mother was a Lady of *Sorrento*, whose Name was *Diana Pbalanga*, and after she was brought up to seven Years of Age, by her Father's Sister, the Duchess of *Parma*, she was put into the Nunnery of *St Clara* at *Naples*, where, having lived twenty Years, she was afterwards married to the Prince of *Butero*. Those two Daughters of Don John died almost in the same Day, in the Month of February 1630. He had caused them to be brought up so privately, that he did not doubt but that the King was ignorant of the whole Secret: nor had he trusted it to his great Friend the Prince of *Parma*, who did not know any Thing of those Bastard Children, but, from the Duchess his Mother, a little before the Death of Don John. *Eas Regi incomptas crederat: quippe occultè adeo cauteque educatas, ut Alexander ipse secretorum ejus planè omnium participi filiarum alteram ignoraret: alteram non ab Austriaco sed à Margaritâ matre haud pridem noisset* (20). The Author of That Prince's Life, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1690, will have it, that Don John discovered his Amours with the Fair Mendoza, and the Birth of his Daughter *Anne*, to his dear Nephew Prince Alexander Farnese, because, both living at the same time, in the Spanish Court, they observed each other very narrowly, and because they were too good Friends to hide any Thing

(f) Taken from Strada, in the 10th Book of the 1st Decad.

(16) Id. ib. pag. 619.

(17) Brantome's Lives of foreign Captains, pag. 140.

(18) Strada, Dec. 1, lib. 10, p. 624.

(19) Catharine Ulla, the Wife of Don Lewis Quixada.

(20) Strada, Dec. 1, lib. 10, p. 624.

Expedition. He got it printed, at *Newstadt*, in *Higb-Dutch* and *Latin*. There was another *Don Joba* of AUSTRIA [I], in the XVIIth Century, who made a considerable Figure in the World. He was the Son of *Philip IV*, by a Comedian [K].

Shing from each other. But, says he, being well persuaded, that the declaring of a Crime is a Crime, he had made a Secret of his Amours with Diana to him (21). This is giving *Strada* the He without Grounds, or Proof, and it is assigning a Reason for that Prince's Silence, which proves too much.

[I] There was another *Don John* of AUSTRIA, in the XVIth Century. He was the Natural Son of *King Philip IV*, of Spain, and was born in the Year 1629 (22). He was legitimated in the Year 1642, and no body paid the Complement of Congratulation upon it to *Philip IV*, with so much forwardness as *James Pamphila*, the Pope's Nuncio (23). The King's Love for that Child was the most tender imaginable. In the Year 1642 he declared him *Generalissimo*, both by Sea and Land, in the War against *Portugal*, and, some Years after, he sent him into *Italy*, against the Rebels of *Naples* (24). The last Expedition having proved very fortunate, inclined that King to give the same *Don John* a Commission to reduce the revolted *Catalans* to their Duty. After this he sent him to command in the *Netherlands*. That Post did not contribute greatly to *Don John's* Glory; that which he acquired by raising the Siege of *Valenciennes*, vanished away by the ill Success which attended him in other Places; and especially by the loss of the Battle of the *Dunes*, which was soon followed by the loss of *Dunkirk*. He was no less unfortunate, in the War of *Portugal*, after the Peace of the *Pyrenes*; for the Army, which he commanded, was entirely defeated; and he fell into Disgrace, and received Orders, from the King his Father, to retire to *Confuegra* (25). He had no share in the Government after the Death of That Prince; the whole Administration was in the Hands of the Queen-Mother, and the Jesuit *Nibbard*. They would have removed him, under the specious pretence of sending him into the *Netherlands* to oppose the Arms of *France*; but he discovered their Cunning, and would not go thither, pretending to be sick. The Court, being offended with That Conduct, made him retire to *Confuegra* (26). He did not forget himself in That Retreat, but managed so well the Discontents of those, who were incensed at the great Favour shewn to Father *Nibbard*, that, at last, This Jesuit was forced to withdraw. He went from Spain to Rome, and from That Time *Don John's* Affairs went better, 'till at last he was recalled to Court (27), and had the chief Direction of the Government. He died the seventeenth of September, 1679, after Twenty three Days Sickness (28). Some said he had been poisoned. "Vi fono persone, che afficurano che fosse un colpo ufcito dalla mano della Reg. Mad. e del Cardinal Nitardi, coll' assenso" za de' suoi partigiani (29). — There are some

"who affirm, that the Blow came from the Hands of

"the Queen Mother, and Cardinal Nitardi, by the Affiance of their Party." Others have said, that he was too much troubled at the King's Marriage, with the Daughter of the Duke of Orleans, that it was the Cause of his Death; and yet, according to the common Opinion, he was the chief Promoter of That Marriage (30). I remember to have read, in some Gazette, of the Year 1678, that the Marquis of *Agrepit*, being suspected of having wrote a Comedy against *Don John*, was banished to *Oran*.

[K] Son of *Philip IV*, by a Comedian. All the World knows, that *Philip IV* was very much addicted to the Love of Women. He discovered that Inclination very early, and he had a Governor, who was so far from holding him up, in such a slippery way, that he contributed to his Fall. It was the Count *d'Olivarez*; who was also subject to That Passion himself, and for That Reason, as was for the better securing to himself the Administration of Affairs, encouraged the lewd Temper of his young Prince: he was in hopes, that, under the Reign of of his Pupil, he should have the greatest Offices of the State, and he forelaw, that if the Monarch should lead a voluptuous and effeminate Life, he could exercise them with much more Authority: And besides, that his own Debaucheries would have a much freer Course under a Master whom he should only imitate. This Management of his had the desired Success. *Philip IV* ascended the Throne at sixteen Years of Age, in the Year 1621, and left the Care of the Kingdom to the Count-Duke, *d'Olivarez*, who neglected no means of continuing the Indolence of That Monarch. He invented new Diversions, and brought to *Madrid* the most compleat Company of Comedians that could be formed in Spain. They acted before the King in the Year 1627. There was an Actress among them, whose Name was *Caterina*, that pleased him very much. She was not very handsome, but extremely genteel and engaging, and had a charming Voice. The King no longer saw her on the Stage, but he fell in Love with her, and ordered her to be brought to his Chamber: He said he had only a Mind to hear her speak nearer him. As soon as the Count-Duke received this News, he managed the Meeting, and caused the Actress to be introduced at Night into his Majesty's Chamber. She did not return from thence 'till the next Day, and then left the Prince so much in love with her, that he declared her his Favourite. She was but sixteen Years of Age. After that they met frequently, he proved with Child, and was delivered of our *Don John*. But, after her lying-in, she broke off That Commerce (31), and shut herself up in a Nunnery, and took the Habit of a Nun, with the Benediction of the Pope's Nuncio (32).

AUTON (JOHN d') a Gentleman of *Sainsonge* (a), Abbot of *Angle* (b), of the Order of *St Augustin*, lived under the Reign of *Lewis XII*. He was kept in waiting at Court, on purpose to write the private History of That Prince (c). This Work he actually performed, and it was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1615, in 4to, by *Theodore Godfry*. It extends only from the Year 1506, to 1508 (d). We find there some Verses which the Author had dedicated to his Sovereign (e).

AZOTUS, a City of *Palestine* near the Sea, one of the five *Satrapies* of the *Philistines* (a). There they kept the Chief of their Idols, called *Dagon*, which fell down and broke before the Ark which they had taken from the *Jews*, and placed in the Temple of that Idol (b). It does not appear, that the *Jews* subdued this Place before the Reign of *Uzziah* King of *Juda* (c) [A]. It was taken from them by

Tartan,

[A] It does not appear, that the *Jews* subdued this Place before the Reign of *Uzziah*. Look as long as you please, in the eleventh and fifteenth Chapters of *Isaiah*, to which *Moreri* refers, you will not find, that *Isaiah* conquered the City of *Azotus*. Nor is it truer, that Those of the Tribe of *Judah*, conquered it in the Time of the *Judges*: The Author, who affirms it, and quotes the first Chapter of the Book of *Judges* (1), has no grounds for it. That

which deceived either *Moreri*, or the Author whom he followed, is, that, in the fifteenth Chapter of *Isaiah*, This City seems to be in the Dividend of the Tribe of *Judah*. But he ought to have remembered, that they reckoned, in those Dividends, both what was already conquered, and what was, afterwards, to be conquered. It appears plainly, from the third Chapter of *Judges*, that the five Governments of the *Philistines*, and consequently this of *Azotus*, were

(21) Vie de Don Juan d'Austria, pag. 146.

(22) Vita di Don Giovanni d'Austria, pag. 4. Edit. di Genova, 1786.

(23) Ibid. pag. 7.

(24) Ibid. pag. 37.

(25) Ibid. pag. 284.

(26) Ibid. pag. 288.

(27) Toward the end of the Year 1676.

(28) Vita di Don Giovanni d'Austria, pag. 628.

(29) Ibid. pag. 629.

(a) Baudier, Hist. du Cardinal d'Amboise, pag. 44. (b) Du Chesne, Biblioth. des Hist. de Franç. p. 65.

(c) Joshua xiii. 3. where the Translation calls it Asdod.

(1) Christoph. Heideemannus, in Palestina, pag. 9.

(30) See the Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, for July, 1686, pag. 827.

(31) Non volle poi la Calderona accoppiarsi più col Rè. — Calderona, after this, would be no longer concerned with the King. Vita di Don Giovanni d'Austria, pag. 5.

(32) John Baptist Pamphilo, who was afterwards of Pope Innocent X. This is taken from the Life of Don Giovanni d'Austria, pag. 2, & seq.

(c) Baudier, Hist. du Cardinal d'Amboise, pag. 44. (d) Du Chesne, Biblioth. des Hist. de Franç. pag. 65. (e) Sirey, Bibl. Franç. pag. 329.

(b) 1 Sam. 7.

(c) 2 Chron. xxvii. 6.

- (d) *Isaiab* tells us (d), who fived in that time. Some time after it was besieged by *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt*, and it was one of the longest Sieges ever heard of: for they lay before this Place Twenty nine Years, before they could take it (e). It was ruined, in all probability, by the *Egyptians*, since the Prophet *Jeremiab* mentions it only as the remainder of a City (f). It was considerable in the Wars of the *Maccabees*; and the taking of it was not the least of *Jonathan's* Exploits. The Enemies he had defeated retired thither, and shut themselves up in the Temple of *Dagon*. He ordered it to be set on Fire, so that they perished in the same Flames which consumed the Temple and City (g). We read, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that when *St Philip* had baptized the Eunuch of Queen *Candace*, he was caught away by the Spirit of the Lord, and was found at *Azotus* (B). Prophane Authors have mentioned this Place as the chief Trading City of the *Arabians* (b); and it's Inhabitants must necessarily have made a considerable Figure, since *Strabo* has placed them in the List of the four Nations which were intermixed with the *Calosyrians*, and the *Phoenicians*, the two principal People, according to him, which possessed *Syria* (i). *Stephanus Byzantinus* pretends, that the Founder of *Azotus* was one of those Fugitives who came from the *Red-Sea* into *Palestine*, and that he gave the Name of his Wife to the City which he built; which name signified a She-Goat. Mr *Bochart* has rejected all this (k). *St Jerom* says, That, in his time, *Azotus* was still a considerable Town [C].

- were not conquered by *Joshua*. God himself, when he represented that This Conqueror was too old to finish That War, places these same five Governments among the Countries, that remained to be conquered (2). This discovers another Mistake of *Moreri*: *Joshua*, says he, subdued it first to the Hebrews, towards the Two thousand five hundred and eighty sixth Year of the World, and it was afterwards one of the five Satrapies of the *Philistines*. Was it not to before *Joshua's* Time, by the Testimony of God himself? [B] Was found at *Azotus* (3). *Moreri* pretends, it was in This City, that *St Philip* was taken away. If he had read the eighth Chapter of the *Acts*, which he quotes, he would not have ventured to have said so.

[C] *St Jerom* says, that, in his Time, *Azotus* was still a considerable Town (4). These are his Words, *Usque hodie infigne oppidum Palestine*. A considerable Town in *Palestine* to this Day. Mr *Bau-*
drand will have it, that having been anciently an Episcopal City, under the Archbishopric of *Caesarea*, it became afterwards a mere *Municipium* in *St Jerom's* Time. *Olim Episcopalis sub Archiepiscopo Caesariensi, postea municipium tempore S. Hieronymi* (5). He must excuse my saying, that this Change was certainly the very Reverse. For what could have ruined the Bishopric of *Azotus*, between the Time it's of Erection and the Age of *St Jerom*?

(4) Hieronymus de Locis Historicis.

(5) Bau-
drand Lexicon
Geograph.



B.



ABELOT, Chaplain to the Duke of Montpensier, distinguished himself so much by his Cruelty, during the Civil Wars of France, under Charles IX, that he has acquired a very considerable place in History. It ought not, therefore, to be thought strange, that I should bestow on him this Article. He was a Franciscan Friar, who left the Monastery to follow "the Army, out of his implacable Hatred

"to the Calvinists (a). He had so little Regard to his Character and Profession, that instead of saving the Lives of those whom the Fortune of War reduced to the Mercy of Montpensier, that he earnestly solicited him to put them to death; and could not endure that any of them should be pardoned [A]. This Thirst after the Blood of the Calvinists, which the two first Wars could not allay, grew more raging in the third, when the Prince's (b) Soldiers being informed, that Babelot had imprudently shut himself up in Champigni (c), gave such a furious Assault to that place that they took it (d). The pleasure of finding themselves Masters of the Person whom they looked upon as their Executioner, made them more human to the Inhabitants of Champigni. Those they pardoned, and discharged all their Revenge on Babelot. They hanged him on an extraordinary high Gibbet (e) [B]; and if they gave him time to prepare himself for Death, it was only to have leisure to reproach him for his Cruelty. The Vengeance which the Duke of Montpensier, who loved him, took for his Execution on the Calvinists, when Chance, or Weakness, put any of them into his Hands, caused for some Weeks an unfair War (f) between the two Parties. The Soldiers of Brissac cut the Throats of the Garrison of Mirebeau, though they had capitulated in due Form; and d'Andelot treated that of St Florent in the same manner." Here was a Man altogether destined for the Destruction of the Huguenots, since, even after his very Death, he occasioned the Slaughter of many of them. Brantome believed him

guilty

[A] He earnestly solicited the Death of the Calvinists, and could not endure that any of them should be pardoned.] Brantome deserves to be heard.

"When they brought him, (says he (1), speaking of the Duke of Montpensier) any Prisoners, if it was a Man, he only said to him, at first sight, My Friend, you are a Huguenot, I recommend you to Monsieur Babelot. This Monsieur Babelot was a learned Franciscan Friar, who governed him very him very peaceably, and never stirred from him; to whom the Prisoner was no sooner brought, but, after a short Examination, he was immediately condemned to death, and executed."

[B] He was hanged on an extraordinary high Gibbet.] This puts me in Mind of what Galba did to a Man, who endeavoured to save himself from Death, by pleading his Right of a Roman Citizen; he caused him to be fastened to a Cross, very well whitened, and much higher than the rest: This was to honour the Quality of the Criminal, and give him a little Comfort; but all this might rather look like Mockery. "Tutorem quod pupillum cui substitutus hæres erat veneno necasset cruce affecit, implorantique leges & civem Romanum se testificant, quasi solatio & honore alioque poenam levaturus, mutari, multoque præter cæteras aliore & dealbata statui crucem iussit (2). — A Guardian, who had who had poisoned his Ward, whose Heir he was, being condemned to be crucified, and pleading the Privileges of a Citizen of Rome, to alleviate and make his Punishment more honourable, he ordered him a Cross painted white, and much bigger than the rest." I do not know what were the Motives to Those, who made choice of a more exalted Gibbet for the Monk Babelot; perhaps they designed only to excite a greater Attention to the Fantasticalness of the Characters of That Man, without any Allusion, or Regard to the Practice of Antiquity. See Justin (3) concerning Maleus, a General disgraced by the Carthaginians, qui filium cum ornatu suo, in altissimam crucem in conspectu urbis suffigi iussit; — who commanded his Son to be hanged, in his finest Dress, on an exceeding high Cross, in the full View of the City; and Silius Italicus (4), concerning Regulus:

----- Vidi cum robore pendens
Italiam cruce sublimis spectaret ab altis.

High from th' exalted Cross he saw, unmoved,
His Country, he so faithfully had loved.

Haman, in the Book of Esther, had prepared, for Mordecai, a Gibbet fifty Cubits high. Sometimes the excessive Height of the Gibbet, has been intended to expose the Sufferer to the View of a greater Multitude of People. See the Remark [C] of the Article OTHO III. I shall observe, by the way, that Those, who compare This Cross of Galba to That which Verres ordered for Gavins (5), are not exact; for all that was remarkable in the latter was, that it was not erected in the Place where the Inhabitants of Messina used to crucify Malefactors, but on That Side, which looked towards Italy. It was thus Verres chose to insult over the Sufferer, who declared himself a Roman Citizen; He shall look, said he, from the Top of his Cross, towards Italy, and towards his House. "Quid attinuit cum Martini more atque instituto suo crucem fixissent post urbem in via Pompeja, te jubere in ea parte hære quæ ad fretum spectaret, & hoc addere quod negare nullo modo potes, quod omnibus audientibus dixisti palam, te idcirco illum locum deligere, ut ille qui se civem Romanum esse diceret, ex cruce Italiam cernere ac domum suam prospicere posset. ----- What did it avail, when the Custom of the Messinians was to crucify their Malefactors behind their City, in the Pompeian Way, for you to command the Cross to be erected on That Side next the Sea, and to add, what you cannot possibly deny, what you declared openly before all the People, that you therefore chose That Place, that he, who called himself a Citizen of Rome, might, from his Cross, behold Italy, and cast a Look towards his House." It is this last Circumstance which Cicero has chiefly insisted upon (6); though Lactantius, who had no occasion for That Particular in the Subject he was treating on, makes him only consider the Indignity of That Punishment in general (7).

(c) A Town in Poitou, which belonged to the Duke of Montpensier.

(d) In 1568.

(e) It is a great chance, if his Fraternity have not placed him in the number of their Martyrs.

(f) That is, They gave no more Quarter.

(a) I only mean to be the Words of Varillas, History of Charles IX. Tom. 2, page 147.

(b) He means the Prince of Condé, Chief of the Protestants.

(1) Brant. Memoires, Tom. 3, p. 281.

(2) Suet. in Galba, c. 9.

(3) Justin, lib. 18, cap. 7.

(4) Silius Italicus, l. 2, vers. 343.

(5) Torren-tius has done it; see his Comment. in Sueton. Galb. c. 9.

TORRENTIUS has mistaken the Meaning of a Passage in Cicero.

(6) Cicero, in Verr. 7.

(7) Lact. Institut. Divin. lib. 4, c. 18.

Guilty of another sort of Crime, that is, of inspiring his Master with the Brutality of caufing Women to be ravished [C].

[C] Brantome believes him guilty ----- of advising the Brutality of caufing Women to be ravished.] The Duke of Montpensier used to recommend his Prisoners to his Guidon, *Viro bene vasato et bene nutrito*, --- A Man extremely well hung and provided. Brantome describes this very freely, and adds as follows: "This is the Punishment of Those poor *Huguenot* Ladies, invented by Monsieur de Montpensier, which I am apt to believe might be taken, by Monsieur Babelot, from *Nicephorus* (8), where he says, that the Emperor *Theodosius* took away, and abolished, a Custom, long used in Rome, that is, if any Woman was taken in Adultery, the Romans did not punish her by preventing the Repetition of her Crime, but by the greatest Provocations of her Lust; for they shut the Criminal

" up in a narrow Lodge, and then suffered her " impudently to take her Fill of Letchery with every Body that came, the most nasty and filthy. The " Manner was for those lewd and whoring Fellows " to be furnished with certain little Bells, all the " Time they were in company with the Lady, " which, by their tinkling, and ringing, might " not only discover what they were doing, to Those " who were passing by, or listening, but also signify, that This Punishment was accompanied with " Shame and Ignominy. What Ignominy! which " they cared much for! Truly this was a very abominable Custom which That wise Emperor abolished, as the Historian *Nicephorus* relates: in whom " possibly Monsieur Babelot found it, and caused it " to be copied by this brave Guidon (9)."

(8) He had better have quoted Socrates, l. 5. cap. 18.

(9) Brant. Memoires, Tom. 3. p. 232, 233.

B A B Y L A S, one of the most celebrated Martyrs of the ancient Church, was made Bishop of Antioch in the III^d Century, under the Emperor Gordian (a). He governed his Church as a good and holy Prelate ought to do, and after having worthily discharged his Function about Thirteen Years, he obtained the Crown of Martyrdom towards the Year 251, during the Persecution of Decius. Some say, he was actually put to Death for the Christian Faith (b); and others say that he died in Prison (c). All agree, he desired to be buried with his Chains (d). It is pretended, that his Relics filled one of Apollo's Oracles. St Chrysostom has more than once displayed all his Eloquence to celebrate the Memory of St Babylas: It is pity he was not sufficiently informed of the Facts which he advanced. He supposes that this Martyr was put to Death for denying a Criminal Emperor an Entrance into the Church [A]; and he speaks of that Emperor's Crime like one who had but little consulted History [B]. Neither did he so much as know what was said of That Prince's

(a) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 29.

(b) Chrysost. Tom. 1. p. 641, 669.

(c) Martyrolog. Romanum ad diem 24 Jan. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 39.

(d) Chrysost. Tom. 1. pag. 669. & Martyrolog. Romanum ad diem 24 Jan.

[A] St Chrysostom ----- supposes that this Martyr was put to Death, for denying a criminal Emperor an Entrance into the Church.] It is certain, that Babylas died in the Reign of the Emperor Decius; and therefore, if St Chrysostom's Account were true, it must have been Decius that was excluded from entering into the Church; but it does not appear, that Decius was ever at Antioch in the whole Time of his Reign. Baronius advances, without proof, that Decius went into Syria, in the Year 253, to make War against the Persians, and that it was then that Babylas would not suffer his Church to be prophaned by the Presence of such an Emperor (1). This neither agrees with Chronology nor History, nor with the Prudence of the Bishop of Antioch. The best Chronologists place the Death of Decius in the Year 251 (2). No good Historian says that Decius was in the East, to make War with the Persians. It is true, the Acts of St Laurence (3) affirm, that This Emperor went to make War against the Persians, and that he took from them the Country of Babylon, Assyria, all Persia, Hircania, and even Baetiana, and that he died at Rome, being possessed with a Devil a little after the Martyrdom of St Laurence (4); but those Acts are without Authority, and full of Faults (5). Father Naris does not scruple to say, that all That War of Persia is a mere Fable (6). With regard to the Prudence of St Babylas, we may say, that it would not have suffered him to resist a Pagan Emperor. It was not agreeable to the Conduct of the Church, for St Babylas to attempt binding him from coming into it, if he had come thither, as a Pagan, to commit some Violence; for the Church had not, nor exercised, any Power over any, but those that were of the Number of her Children, and she patiently suffered the Insults of Persecutors. Thus speaks the Author of the Life of Tertullian, and of Origen (7). M de Tillemont confirms that Remark. Upon those Occasions, says he (8), the Church defended herself only with Prayers, and with a peaceable and humble Patience, with which she suffered the Insults of Persecutors. We find, in a Sermon, ascribed to St Chrysostom, that St Roman of Antioch opposed a Pagan Governor from entering into the Church; but it is a very extraordinary Thing, and the Fact is by no means certain. He observes also, that all the Terms, which St Chrysostom makes use of, shew, that the Prince, whom St Babylas opposed, was a Christian. So that it cannot be true, that this holy Man refused Decius, and yet he died under the

Empire of Decius: St Chrysostom, therefore, must be allowed to have fallen into a Mistake, in saying, That St Babylas suffered Death for having denied the Entrance of his Church to an Emperor.

[B] — and he speaks of that Emperor's Crime, like one who had but little consulted History.] He relates, that a certain People being in War with This Emperor, desired to make an end of it, and to confirm the Peace by all the strongest and most inviolable Ties that were known among Men; that the Agreement was made and confirmed by Oath on both sides; that those People being willing to shew their Enemies that they acted sincerely, persuaded their King to give his own Son as an Hostage to the Prince with whom they had concluded the Peace; that what followed made it appear, that instead of being deposited, as they intended, in the Hands of a Friend, he was put into the Mouth of a Lion; since that Prince, having no regard either to the Youth of the Son of his Allie, or to the inviolable Sanctity of the Oath which he had taken, or to that all-seeing Eye of the Divine Justice for the punishing of Crimes — with his own Hand, cut the Throat of him whom he ought to have protected as a sacred Depositum, and as the indissoluble Tie of the Alliance (9). This, says St Chrysostom, was the Crime of That Prince, whom St Babylas treated in the following manner. " That " great Prelate, on this occasion, perfectly imitated the " Zeal of Elias, and of St Job; for he did not consider, that he was then to resist not only a Prince, or a common King, but him that was Master of a " great Part of the Earth, who had a very powerful " Army, and whom all things seemed to conspire to " make dreadful to him. He was not dazzled with " all this outward Splendor — but that very Splendor serving only to represent to him, in the same " Moment, the Supreme Majesty of that King whose " Minister he was — he slept boldly to that Criminal Prince, in the midst of his Guards, Rapt him " with his Hand against his Breast, represented his " Crime to him, and forbade him, in the Name of " God, from entering into the Assembly of the Faithful (10). " It is needless to observe, that St Chrysostom uses the most lively and pathetic Figures of his Rhetoric, in the Relation of these Facts (11); one may easily think so, that knows (and who is ignorant of it?) he was a great Preacher, and spoke to a People full of Respect and Zeal for the Name of St Babylas (12). But is he not to be pitied for having employed

(1) Baron. Annal. ad Ann. 253. n. 128.

(2) Calvinus, Petavius, Pag. 1, &c.

(3) See Tillemont, Tom. 3. p. 60.

(4) This Saint did not die till the Year 258. Tillem. ib.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Noris, de Epoch. Syro-Maced. p. 203. cited by Tillemont, ib.

(7) Printed at Paris, in 1675, see there, pag. 642.

(8) Tillemont, Tom. 3. pag. 821.

(9) Chrysost. Tom. 1. Orat. 48. p. 547. a. (10) Id. (11) Id. (12) Id.

(9) See the Lives of Tertullian and Origen, pag. 632.

(10) Ibid. pag. 636.

(11) Erasmus advises the reading this Homily in the College, as a more perfect Pattern for the Scholars than Lyfian, Libanius, &c. See the Letter which he wrote to the Head of a College of Louvain; it is the 24th of the 28th Book, pag. 1705.

(12) To be the People of Antioch. St Babylas had been Bishop of that City, employed

Prince's Submission to the severe Discipline of St *Babylas* [C]. We may point out the general Grounds of some of his Mistakes [D]. All this will be treated of in the Remarks,

employed so many Ornaments, and so powerfully exerted his Imagination and Lungs, on such Falsties? For what can be more chimerical, than to suppose People, who were Enemies to the *Romans*, should persuade their King to deliver his Son for an Hostage into the Hands of their Emperor? If any People did this, without doubt they were the *Perfians*. But it is very certain they did nothing like it, during the Episcopacy of St *Babylas*. I question very much whether any *Roman* Emperor ever killed, with his own Hand, a young Prince, delivered to him as an Hostage, after the Conclusion a Peace: But it is absolutely false, that one of the Emperors, under whom St *Babylas* enjoyed the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, was ever guilty of so barbarous a Perfidy. I do not question, in the least, but that St *Chrysostom* erred very innocently; because he did not only affirm those Errors in the Pulpit, but also in a Piece he wrote against the Gentiles (13). If he could promise himself that his Auditors would forgive him for insisting upon a false and pious Tradition, he could not have expected the same Favour from the Enemies of the Christian Name. He therefore believed himself, that what he asserted was true.

[C] St *Chrysostom* did not know what was said of that Prince's Submission to the severe Discipline of St *Babylas*.] St *Chrysostom* has supposed, that St *Babylas* had to do with a Monarch, who punished with Death the holy Resistance that was made against his entering into the Church. The Falsity of this Fact has been sufficiently detected, by shewing that St *Babylas* died in the Reign of *Decius*, and that *Decius* had not met with any Resistance at the Door of the Church of *Antioch*. Here is another Proof of the same Falstiy. The Predecessor of *Decius* was *Philip*: And it was to him that St *Babylas* is thought to have refused the Entrance of his Church, nor considering him as an Emperor, but as a Christian, who ought to submit to the Rules of Discipline and Penance. Now it is pretended, that This Emperor submitted to Those Laws, and that he behaved himself towards the Prelate of *Antioch*, much in the same manner as *Theodosius* has since done towards St *Ambrose* at *Milan*. *Eusebius* relates, That the Emperor *Philip* was desirous to assist at the public Prayers on *Easter-Eve*; but that the Bishop would not suffer him to come into the Church, before he had obliged him to confess his Sins, and place himself among the Penitents; which the Emperor performed with all the Marks of a sincere Piety, and Fear of God (14). *Eusebius* relates this only on a meer Hear-say, and neither names the Place of this great Event, nor the Prelate, who had the Honour of it. It is very strange that such things should have been so confidently known. We even find some very learned Men, who will not allow the Emperor *Philip* to have been a Christian. But however it be, we must not separate the Courage of *Babylas*, and the Submission of *Philip*, as St *Chrysostom* has done: they must either be both received, or both rejected. There are some Historians that speak of it with greater exactness than *Eusebius*. The Chronicle of *Alexandria* observes, that the Emperor was condemned to do Penance, as well as the Emperor her Husband: It adds, that St *Babylas* made use of this Severity, because *Philip* had killed the Emperor *Gordian's* Son (15). Note, that *Erasmus*, deceived by St *Chrysostom*, remarks the great Difference, as to the Success, between the Courage of St *Babylas*, and that St *Ambrose*. "Babylæ, says be (16), parum feliciter cessit quod Imperatorem impie cædæ funestum templo prohibuit; imo feliciter cessit ipsi qui præfatis auctoritatem suâ morte confirmavit. At Ambrosio cessit felicius, qui summa constantia suam tuens auctoritatem, ipsum etiam Cæsarem Christo lucrî fecit. — *Babylas* had but "ill Fortune in denying his Church to an Emperor, "polluted with Blood, or rather had good Fortune in "confirming his Episcopal Authority by his Death. "But Ambrose had better Fortune, in not only maintaining his Authority, with the greatest firmness, but also bringing over the Emperor to Christ." And in another place: "Ambrosius Episcopus Mediolanensis ausus est Theodosium Cæsarem, ob crudelem ac præcipitatum in Theodosianenses sententiam,

"à templi limine secludere, postque sævas objuraciones, post indicatam satisfactionem in pœnitentium classem relegare — Tentavit idem Babylas Antiochenus Episcopus adversus regem innocens homicidio pollutum, & interfectus est (17). — Am-brose, Bishop of Milan, had the Courage to shut the Church Door against the Emperor Theodosius, for his cruel, and bloody, Sentence against the People of Theſſalonica, and after severely reproaching him, and enjoining him a suitable Atonement, to place him among the rest of the Penitents — Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, attempted the same Thing against an Emperor guilty of Murder, but lost his Life by it."

[D] We may point out the general Grounds of some of his Mistakes.] We have just now seen that it was said, St *Babylas* grounded his Conduct on *Philip's* perfidious Murder. The Emperor *Gordian*, under whom he was Prefect of the *Prætorium*, had intrusted him with his Son: after *Gordian* was dead, *Philip* designing to reign in his stead, killed the young Prince committed to his Care. St *Babylas* knowing him guilty of such an execrable Murder, would not admit him into the Church: *Decius* revenged the Affront put upon *Philip*; and put *Babylas* to Death for it. This we find in the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, as it had been related by *Leontius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, in the Year 348. He did not perfectly understand *Philip's* Conduct, but came much nearer the Truth than St *Chrysostom*. The Emperor *Gordian*, under whom *Philip* was Prefect of the *Prætorium*, had no Child to trust with any Body, for he had none at all. So that *Leontius* must quite mistake the matter, in saying that *Philip* killed the Son, in order to succeed That deſeated Emperor. The Truth of the Fact is this: *Philip*, taking the Advantage of the Emperor *Gordian's* Youth, caballed in such manner that he caused himself to be declared his Colleague and Guardian. The Factions were revived, that of *Gordian* was worsted: *Philip* caused him to be deposed, and afterwards to be killed (18). The Misrepresentations of this Fact increased in time. *Leontius* said, that *Philip* killed the Son of his Emperor, the same Son of whom That Emperor had committed to his Care. This is already one step out of the way; and a direct departing from the Truth. St *Chrysostom* affirms, that *Philip* killed the Son of a Prince, with whom he had concluded a Treaty of Peace, the same Son this Prince had deposited, as a Pledge of his Friendship, and of his sincere Desire, to live in perfect Harmony with him. This is a second false Step; and is going a great way towards the Mistake of *Leontius*. This last Author says, that *Decius* caused *Babylas* to be put to Death, to punish his Insolence towards *Philip*. Those who knew the Aversion that *Decius* had for *Philip*, such an Aversion as was believed to have been the Cause of *Decius's* persecuting the Christians, found this Assertion of *Leontius* to be very absurd. They corrected it, therefore, by supposing, that *Philip* himself caused St *Babylas* to be put to Death (19); thus have they corrected one Fault with another, and unhappily deceived St *Chrysostom*. They have disappointed him of some Reflexions, which he might have had an Opportunity of setting off with the Ornaments of his Eloquence, to repel the Insults of the Pagans, and display the Glory of the Evangelical Ministry. The Humiliation of an Emperor, at the word of a Bishop, would have supplied St *Chrysostom* with some fine Thoughts; it is pity he did not know it. See how he glories in the Resistance of St *Babylas*: "Whereas, says be (20), the Priests of the false Deities are more Slaves to the Emperors, than to their Gods, and attend their Worship only for fear of those Princes, to whom the Devils are also indebted for the Honour and Adoration paid them by Men; on the contrary, this great Bishop of *Antioch*, has demonstrated, by punishing the Emperor himself, in a manner very sensible to a reasonable Man, and as much as he was permitted to do, according to the Extent of the Power of the Church, that the Priests of the Religion of Jesus Christ, are Slaves to no Body on Earth; and that they ought to be so jealous of that holy Ex-

(17) Idem, Epist. 60. lib. 25, pag. 1303.

(18) Cyprianus in the Life of Gordian.

(19) See Tilleront, Tom. 3. p. 822.

(20) Contra Gentiles, de S. Babyl. O. per. Tom. 1. p. 664, 665, cited in the Lives of Tertullian and Origen, pag. 633.

(13) St Chrysost. Homily on St Babylas, pag. 641, vol. 1. allô contra Gentil. and on St Babylas, pag. 647, 655, &c. cited in the Life of Tertullian and Origen, pag. 633.

(14) Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 6, c. 34.

(15) Chron. Alexandr. pag. 630, cited by Tillermont, Tom. 3. pag. 822.

(16) Erasmus, Epist. 3. lib. 28. pag. 2386.

Remarks, as also the Request which it is pretended, *Apollo* made to the Emperor *Julian*, concerning the Relics of *St Babylas* [E]. This Martyr has the Honour of having obtained three great Victories over the Pagan Emperors, two in his Lifetime, and the third after his Death (e). The First is, the Advantage he gained over *Pbilip*, by obliging him to keep without the Church in the Condition of a Penitent: The Second is, That he had over the Persecutor *Decius*, when he chose to prepare himself to suffer any thing for the Faith, rather than to do any thing unbecoming his Episcopal Function: The Third is, That which his Ashes obtained, over the Oracle of *Apollo* near *Antioch* (f). Mr *Chevreau* has not been very exact in speaking of the Martyrdom of *St Babylas* [F]. We shall examine This more particularly below.

(e) See the Lives of Tertullian and of Origen, p. 757.

(f) See Remark [E].

"altation, which God has allotted them, as the true Characteristic of their Dignity, that they must be ready to lavish holily their Lives, rather than to suffer any Diminution of it. This very Example, adds he, by confounding the Pride of the Pagans, increased the Piety of the Faithful, who learnt, from the Conduct of their Pastor, to fear God more than Man; and wholly stop the Mouths of those who durst, with an extreme Assurance, maintain, that there was no true Courage among the Christians, but that every thing among them was false and counterfeit, and only covered with fair Appearances."

[E] It is pretended, that *Apollo* made a Request to the Emperor *Julian* — concerning the Relics of *St Babylas*. [There was, near *Antioch*, a Temple and an Oracle of *Apollo*, in a Place called *Daphne*. Here Superstition and Debauchery strove which should outdo each other. It was the Rendezvous of Lovers, and their Mistresses: others went thither to pay their Devotions; and, in all probability, many pursued both those Ends, at one and the same Time. *Galus*, the Brother of *Julian* the Apostate, was no sooner declared *Cæsar*, but, to put a stop to this double Disorder, he built a Church in the place, and ordered the Tomb of *Babylas* to be brought thither. It is said, that, upon this, *Apollo* returned no more Answers. The Tomb of this Martyr was the Cause of it, and not the Interruption of the Sacrifices: For, upon receiving the Sacrifices, in the Reign of *Julian*, the Oracle still continued silent; and when *Julian* went himself to consult it, he was told, that the dead Bodies, which incumbered that Place, shut the Mouth of the Oracle. The Emperor applied this only to *St Babylas*'s Tomb, and therefore ordered it to be taken away. The Christians of *Antioch* brought it into the City. There was a Procession of Persons of all Ages, and both Sexes, who sung a Song of Triumph all the way (21), repeating, for the Chorus of their Song, the Confusion of those who adore Idols, from *Psalms* XCVII. Ἐξήρχον δὲ τῶν ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ τῶν ἀειδόντων, καὶ συνεπῆχεν τὸ πλῆθος ἐν συμφωνίᾳ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ῥῆσιν ἐπῄθον ἡσυχάζοντες πάντες οἱ περὶκονῆτες τοὺς ἄλλους οἱ ἑκαστὸν αὐτοῖς τὰς εἰδώλους (22). Those who were skillful in singing, presided in the Song, and the People answered, in Chorus, and repeated this Verse, "Confounded are all

(21) It was about 40 Stadia, that is 5000 Paces.

(22) Sozomen Hist. Eccles. lib. 5. cap. 20.

"they who worship graven Images, and glory in "Idols." We might conclude, *a fortiori*, from this History, that the Birth of *Jesus Christ* imposed Silence on all the Oracles of Paganism; if we did not otherwise find, from the Confession of *Sozomen*, that this Oracle of *Apollo* gave Answers till the Empire of *Constantius*, in whose Time *Galus* obtained the Dignity of *Cæsar*. The Objection seems yet stronger against Those who do not acknowledge any diabolical Operation, in the Oracles of the Pagans. But see what Mr *Van Dale* answers: He supposes, that the Priests of *Apollo*, being unwilling to be so nearly observed by the Christians, who came thronging to *Babylas*'s Tomb, invented an Answer which might oblige the Emperor to take away the Tomb of That Martyr. Those Priests feared nothing so much as the Eyes of the incredulous, and concluded, they should never be able to hide their cunning Practices from People who would be so curious to discover them, as the Christians. Perhaps, also, the blind Superstition of these Priests persuaded them, that it would be a very religious Act, to get removed, from the Neighbourhood of their Temple, a Tomb of a Christian Martyr, so much revered by the Enemies of their Gods. "Christiani, quibus repleta erat Antiochia, alique e-

"judem religionis aliunde advenientes, visitabant quotidie sepulchra Martyrum, atque inprimis quidem *Babylæ*. Sub quo prætextu dum loca illa ita frequentarent, cum subreperent etiam huic Oraculo oculis emissit omnia perlustrarent, ut sic detegerent imposturas ac præstigias ibi exercitas, neque id ferrent ea tempora, ut vi expellere eos inde possent Antifites: illi sub prætextu à mortuis purgandi locum Dis sacratum, cum *Babyla* alique, Christianos inde removere nitentur. Nihil enim magis aut citius detegere valebat Antifistum ejusmodi imposturas, quam continuus concursus publicæ Panegyres, ob ludos aut festa publica ibi celebranda: si quarumcunque sectarum Philosophis, eorumve sequacibus ad illa pateret accessus (23). — The Christians, with whom *Antioch* abounded, and those of the same Religion, coming thither, from other Places, daily visited the Tomb of the Martyrs, and, above all, That of *St Babylas*. By which means, as they had an Opportunity of observing the Oracle, and of prying into every Thing which passed, in order to detect the Frauds and Impostures there carried on, the Priests not having Power enough, in those Times, to drive them from thence by Force, endeavoured to get them removed, with *Babylas*, and others, under the Pretence of clearing, from the Pollution of dead Bodies, a Place, which was consecrated to their Gods. For the Jugglings of the Priests were like to be as readily, and as fully, detected by these continual Assemblies, and public Commemorations, on account of celebrating there Rejoicings and Festival Solemnities; as if they were laid open to the strictest Examination of all the several Sects of Philosophers."

(23) Van Dale, de Oraculis, p. 442. See the Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres for March 1684, pag. 15, 16.

[F] Mr *Chevreau* has not been very exact in speaking of the Martyrdom of *St Babylas*. See what he says of it: "*Babylas*, Bishop of *Antioch*, suffered Martyrdom, with his three Children, for not permitting *Numerian* to see the Ceremonies of the Christians, adding, That a Man polluted with Blood, and with the Sacrifices of Idols, could not enter into the Church; or, as *Suidas* says, That he would not suffer the Wolf to enter into the Steel-fold of the Lord (24)." I. *Babylas* had no Children; He should therefore have said, that three Brothers of his, who were yet Children, or very young, suffered Martyrdom with him (25). II. There is above thirty Years between the Death of *Babylas*, and the Reign of *Numerian*. III. The ancient Writers do not ascribe to That Martyr Mr *Chevreau*'s Expressions. We must confess, that the Undertaking of a General History is very difficult Matter. Mr *Chevreau* was a learned Man; he knew the Defects of those who went before him in That Design; he took a long time for his Work; and yet — As he is yet alive (26), and, notwithstanding his Age, enjoys a perfect Health of Body and Mind; therefore I do not doubt but he will publish a new Edition, yet more curious than the preceding (27).

(24) *Chevreau*'s Hist. of the World, lib. 4. cap. 4, pag. 400, of Vol. 2. Edit. of Holland, 1687.

(25) Lives of Tertullian and Origen, pag. 753.

(26) This was wrote in 1694.

(27) He has actually published a new Edition of the Hague, in the Year 1698, with several Additions and Corrections, but has altered nothing in this Passage concerning *Babylas*.

I hoped that Mr *Chevreau* could not have taken amiss those little Critical Notes we have just now seen; and, as I had all the Esteem for him, which is due to his great Merit, I would have suppressed them, if I had thought they would have made him uneasy: But I thought that he was above being concerned at so trifling a Matter. I fancied he would have applied to himself what I said in my first Preface, and he was certainly one of those Authors, who need not have been alarmed at little Losses (28). I was therefore surprized, at his unexpected Repentment, and heartily troubled for having made him so. There are some Persons of great Note, who can be my Witnesses, that when I wished him a yet longer Life than he had already enjoyed (29), I did it, not only

(28) See the Specimen of this Dictionary, towards the End of the sixth Paragraph.

(29) He died Febr. 15, 1701, aged 87 Years and some Months. I See the Journal of Trevoux for March and Apr. 1701, pag. 241. Dutch Edition.

only in regard to his being the Ornament of his Age, but also out of the Desire I had, that he might find, in this second Edition, the greatness of my Respect for him, and the Explanation of a thing, which had been expressed in an ambiguous manner. I am apt to think, that this Ambiguity was the chief Cause of his Discontent; he thought, that the pointed Line, and yet - - - had some Poison in it. 'Tis a Gap, which his own Imagination filled with disobliging Ideas; and I was desirous, he should know, that, according to my sincere meaning, That *Hiatus* was left only as a general Representation of the Impossibility of avoiding Faults, in a Work containing abundance of minute and particular things, even though an Author be ever so learned.

But, to come to the Point, Mr *Chevreau* himself acknowledges the Solidity of my first Remark; since he confesses (30), that it had been better to have put three Brothers, who were as yet Children, to take away all Equivocation, and that he ought to have explained himself more clearly, than several Authors, who expressed it so before him. As for the Expressions, which I said the ancient Authors did not ascribe to St *Babylas*, Mr *Chevreau* quotes *Georgius Syncellus*, and *Paulus Diaconus* (31); but can these Authors be called ancient, with respect to the time of the Martyr we now treat of? Did not they live towards the end of the VIIIth Century? Lastly, he quotes several Writers, most of them modern, who have said, that *Babylas* was slain by *Numerian*, and repeats these Words of Mr *Tillemont* (32): *We must confess, that the History of St Babylas is embarrassed with many Difficulties, beyond our Capacity to surmount.* I agree, that all this may serve to excuse Those, who are not exact in their account of the Martyrdom of St *Babylas*; but it will always be allowable to remark, where Care is not taken to chuse such Expressions, as are the most exact we can meet with.

I am very well satisfied, that Mr *Chevreau* has found Faults in my Book. Any one, who has not the fourth part of his Learning, may find a great many in it. If he had given some Examples of what he has said, in general, concerning those *essential Faults against our Language*, and concerning those *mean, burlesque, obscure, and perplexed Expressions* (33), I should think myself obliged either to dispute the Point, or submit to the Accutation; and I should very willingly do the latter, if I could be made sensible of the least Reason for it imaginable: But, since he has pointed out nothing, I may be allowed to take That part of his Book for general and loose Reflexions (34). He charges me, particularly, with a kind of Contradiction, about a Man, who had been, as he says, my *Idol a long time* (35). I am sure he would have omitted this, if he had seen how I have justified myself on that Point, in my *Reflexions on a Paper, entitled, The Judgment of the Publick, &c.* And, as for using Words, which, he says, *nice Ears cannot endure* (36), the Reader may see, in an Explication, at the end of this Book, what I have to answer to That: I should be glad to deserve all that he says, by way of retorting, to the Period, which ends with *and yet - - -* (37). And I should think myself very happy, if I could be excused, for this Reason, that it is impossible, or next to impossible, to avoid committing a great many Faults, in such a Work as this. I do not believe I should ever have engaged in this Dictionary, if I had foreseen, that all my Care to avoid Mistakes could not have secured me from making a great many, and very gross ones too.

To conclude, I must desire my Readers to consult the learned Work of Mr *de Larroque* (38), printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1688, under the Title of *Matthæi Larroquani Aversariorum Sacrorum Libris*. See the 79th, and following Pages.

BABYLON. *Moreri*, and his Continuators, have collected so many things concerning this City, that, to make this Article of any reasonable length, I should be obliged to repeat most of their Observations: So that, to spare the Public the distaste of finding the same things in different Dictionaries, I shall confine myself here to a Fact, which they have not touched upon. I do not examine whether what they relate be exact as it ought to be. The Inhabitants of *Babylon* pretended, that their City was very ancient; they counted Four hundred seventy three Thousand Years from the first Observations of their Astrologers to the coming of *Alexander*, as *Diodorus Siculus* informs us (a). Others, keeping to a round number, say, that the *Babylonians* boasted of having preserved, in their Archives, the Observations, which their Astrologers had made on Nativities, for the space of Four hundred and seventy Thousand Years [A]. From hence we ought to correct a Passage of *Pliny* [B], which some Authors make use

[A] *The Babylonians boasted of having preserved Observations, made by their Astrologers, — for the space of Four hundred and seventy thousand Years.* We shall only quote two Passages out of *Cicero*. "Condemnamus etiam Babylonios, et eos qui e Caucasu cœli signa servantes, numeris & motibus stellarum cursus persequuntur. Condemnemos, inquam, hos aut stultitiam, aut vanitatem, aut imprudentiam, qui ccccclxxx. millia annorum, ut ipsi dicunt, monumentis comprehensa continent (1). — *We must also despise the Babylonians, and others, who have made Observations of the Stars, from Mount Caucasus, and attempted to trace their Number and Motion: We must despise them, I say, either for their Ignorance, their Vanity, or their Inconsiderateness, in affirming, that their Records take in Four hundred and seventy Thousand Years.*" Let us see how he laughs at this in another Place. "Quod aiunt ccccclxxx. millia annorum in periclitandis experindique pueris quicunque essent nati, Babylonios poluisse fallunt. Si enim esset scitatum, non esset defuturum. Neminem autem habemus autorem qui aut fieri dicat, aut factum sciat (2). — *It must be a wretched Mistake, to say, that the Babylonians employed Four hundred and seventy Thousand Years, in calculating the Nativities of all the Children, who happened then to be born. If this were true, they would certainly have continued the same Trade to this Day. But we have no good Author, who either affirms their practising it at present, or knows any thing of their having done so for that Space of Time past.*"

[B] *From these Astronomical Observations of the Babylonians we ought to correct a Passage of Pliny.* These are his Words; "Epigenes apud Babylonios 720 annorum observationes syderum cœlilibus late-ritiis inscriptas docet, gravis auctor imprimis: qui minimum, Berosus & Critodemus, 480 annorum. Ex quo apparet æternus litterarum usus (3). — *Epigenes, an Author of great weight, tells us, that the Babylonians had Observations of the Stars, for Seven hundred and twenty Years, recorded on Bricks: Berosus and Critodemus, who make the least of it, say Four hundred and eighty Years.*" He had said, a little before, that he believed the *Assyrian* Letters had been perpetual, or that the *Assyrians* had always made use of Writing, *Litteras semper arbitrator Assyrios fuisse* (4). We ought, therefore, to look upon the Testimonies, he borrows from *Epigenes* and *Berosus*, concerning the Astronomical Observations, recorded by the *Babylonians*, as Proofs of his Opinions; for the Conclusion, he draws from those Testimonies, is the same with the Opinion he had laid down a little before: "Ex quo apparet, *this is his Conclusion*, æternus litterarum usus. — *From whence it appears, that the Use of Letters has been perpetual.*" Now there is nothing so absurd as his Reasoning, if he is supposed to speak according to the present Readings of the Manuscripts and Editions of his Books. *Epigenes*, a credible Author, affirms, that the Observations of the *Babylonian* Astrologers comprehend Seven hundred and twenty Years. Those, who give them the least Extent, as *Berosus* and *Critodemus*, assign them Four hundred and eighty

(30) *Cherreaus*, Part. 2. pag. 321. Dutch Edition.

(31) *Ibid.* pag. 321.

(32) *Ibid.* p. 329, 330.

(33) *Ibid.* pag. 320.

(34) Compare this with the end of the Remark [C] of the Article ROY.

(35) *Cherreaus*, Part. 2. pag. 320.

(36) *Ibid.*

(37) *Ibid.* p. 330, 331.

(38) *Daniel Larroquanus Matthæi filius.*

(v) *Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1. cap. 29.*

(a) *Id. lib. 2. cap. 46.*

(a) *Lib. 11. pag. 118. Edit. Rhodomanii.*

(3) *Plin. lib. 7. c. 56.*

(4) *Mr Perizonius believes it ought to be read Assyris. See his Dissertation Philologica de Originibus Babyloniciæ. They are some Theores which were maintained in the Month of April, 1654.*

(b) Mr Perizonius: See Remark (B) Criticisms (8) and (9).

(c) In Lib. 2. de Calo, Com. 45, P. 123.

(d) M. rha-
min in Ciro-
nic. p. 107.
Eup. 16. 6,
in 40.

(e) Berofus,
Chaldeo-
rum Lib. 2.
and Joseph.
Lib. 1. contra
Apion. pag.
104.

use of improperly, either to confute the antiquity of *Babylon*, or for other Purposes. This a learned Professor of *Leyden* has lately observed (b), and I wonder it has not been taken notice of sooner. *Aristotle* knew, without doubt, that the *Babylonians* boasted of having a Series of Astronomical Observations, comprehending a prodigious number of Centuries. He was desirous to inform himself of the Truth of This by means of *Callisthenes*, who was in *Alexander's* Retinue, but found a great mistake in the Account; for it is pretended, that *Callisthenes* assured him, that the Astronomical Observations, he had seen in *Babylon*, comprehended no more than 1903 Years. *Simplicius* reports This, and borrows it from *Porphry* (c). If *Callisthenes* has computed right, it must be agreed, that, after the Deluge, Men made very great haste to become Astrologers; for, according to the *Hebrew Bible*, there is but Two thousand Years to be found from the Flood to the Death of *Alexander*. There is reason to question what *Simplicius* reports; and it is remarkable, that all the ancient Authors, who have ascribed the building of *Babylon* to *Semiramis*, have no other Authority, than That of *Ctesias*, whose Histories abounded in Fables (d). And, therefore, we see, that *Berosus* very much blames the *Greek Writers* for affirming, that *Semiramis* built *Babylon*, and adorned it with most beautiful Structures (e). The Supplement to *Moreri* quotes *Quintus Curtius*, in relation to the Immodesty of the *Babylonian Women*. It may be added, that This Lewdness was very ancient. *Jeremiab's* Letter, inserted in the Book of

eighty Years. Therefore the use of Letters has been perpetual, and I have reason to believe, that it has always been practised in *Affrya*. It is thus *Pliny* argues, in his Natural History, as we now have it: It is thus, I say, he argues, after having observed, that *Cadmus* brought the Use of Letters into *Europe*, and that the Invention of them, in *Egypt*, was said to have happened fifteen Years before the Reign of *Phoroneus*. A Fool, a drunken Man, or a Dotard, could scarce have been Author of such a Heap of Contradictions. It must, therefore, necessarily be supposed, that this Passage is not in it's original State: And it is greatly to be wondered, that a Thousand learned Critics should have examined these Words, without perceiving such an inconsistent piece of Logic in them, as might make them suspect, that the Passage was corrupted. *Scaliger*, *Vossius*, Sir *John Marbham*, and Mr *Dodwell*, have so little mistrusted it, that they have taken it for the Foundation of the Conclusions, which they would draw concerning the Age of *Berosus* (5), or against the Antiquity of *Babylon* (6), or for other Purposes (7). Father *Hardouin* has corrected part of this Passage; but it must not rectify *Pliny's* Reasoning; for, if this had been his principal Motive, he would have corrected all: It is Mr *Perizonius* (8), who has fully discovered the whole Matter, and proved the Corruption of the Text (9). He has demonstrated, that the Number of a *Thousand* must be added as well to the Account of *Epigenes*, as to That of *Berosus*; and then *Pliny's* Argument would stand thus; that, according to the Testimony of *Epigenes*, the Observations of the *Babylonian* Astrologers comprehended Seven hundred and twenty Thousand Years; and, according to the Testimony of those, who, like *Berosus* and *Critodemus*, give them the least extent, Four hundred and eighty Thousand Years. And *Pliny* is certainly in the right, upon the Supposition he makes, that these Testimonies are authentic, to conclude, that the beginning of the *Affryan* Letters is impossible to be traced. Now, when a thing is so ancient, that the Original of it is beyond finding out, we may, without any scruple, affirm it, as *Pliny* has done, to have been perpetual. But would any one venture to call it so, when the Proofs given of it's Antiquity leave it much later than several Things, whose Beginnings are known? This must have been *Pliny's* Case, had he wrote what we find in his Work at this Time. Consider well what he has said concerning *Cadmus* and *Phoroneus*.

Father *Hardouin's* Correction deserves a distinct Explanation. He mends *Pliny's* Text thus: "E diverso Epigenes apud Babylonios ccccclxx annorum "M. observationes siderum cœtilibus laterculis inscriptas docet — qui minimum, Berosus & Critodemus, cccxc annorum. — On the contrary, Epigenes tells us, that, amongst the Babylonians, there were celestial Observations for Four hundred and seventy Thousand Years, inscribed on Bricks. — Berosus and Critodemus, who make the least of it, say Four hundred and ninety Years." On one side, he puts Four hundred and seventy Thousand, instead of Seven hundred and twenty; and, on the other,

Four hundred and ninety, instead of Four hundred and eighty. He builds on Manuscripts, as to the last Correction, and on the Authority of *Cicero*, as to the first (10). It is true, he says, by the way, that the Passage itself, in *Pliny*, seems to require the first Correction. "Certè annorum millia locus ille postulare videtur, non annos (11). — Certainly "This Place requires the reading Thousands of Years, "instead of Years." This looks as if he was sensible, how bad a Reasoner *Pliny* is made by the common Reading. But, if a Thousand be added to the Four hundred and eighty of the common Reading, we fall into another Difficulty; for, then, *Berosus* allows Four hundred and eighty Thousand Years to the Observations of the *Babylonian* Astrologers; and yet we know, that, when he mentions the great Care of the *Babylonians*, in preserving the Memory of several natural and historical Matters, he speaks but of a Hundred and fifty Thousand Years. Βηροσός ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν Βαβυλωνιακῶν φησὶ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν φιλιππεὺς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀναστρέφας δὲ πολλὸν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φυλάσσεσθαι μὲτὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπὸ ἐτῶν πεντήκοντα ἑκατὼν ἑκατομμύριον ἔτη. — Berosus, in his first Book concerning the *Babylonians*, says, he himself was born in the Time of *Alexander*, the Son of *Philip*; and that there were Inscriptions, preserved, with great Care, at *Babylon*, comprehending above a Hundred and fifty Thousand Years: And that these Inscriptions contained Accounts of the Heavens, and of the Sea, of the Originals of Things, of Kings, and their Transactions. It must be confessed, that this Passage equally proves these two things: The one, That the Number Four hundred and eighty, or Four hundred and ninety, ought to be struck out of *Pliny's* Text; The other, That Four hundred and eighty Thousand must not be put in the room of it, but rather a Hundred and fifty Thousand. And yet it might admit of some Cavil: It may be objected, that *Berosus*, being better informed of the Fact, found Four hundred and eighty Thousand Years, and inserted That Calculation in a Book, which *Pliny* followed. It might also be objected, that the Numbers, in the Passage quoted by *Eusebius*, have been corrupted. However it be, I should chuse to retain the Correction of Father *Hardouin*, only with the Alteration, as to *Berosus* and *Critodemus*, of an Hundred and fifty Thousand, instead of Four Hundred and ninety.

I shall observe, by the way, that *Vossius* has not been careful enough, in relating what concerns *Berosus*, in the Passage of *Pliny*, which is the Subject of this Remark. He pretends, that *Pliny* says, *Berosus* wrote the History of what had passed during the Space of Four hundred and eighty Years. I quote *Vossius's* own Words. "Plinius, Lib. vi, Hist. "Nat. Cap. lv, (He should have said Lib. vii, Cap. "lvi.) refert Berosum tradere memoriam quadringentorum annorum & octoginta (13). — *Pliny* reports, that *Berosus* has given a History of Four

(10) That is to say, on the basis Passages in the Treatise of Divination, quoted above, num. (1), and (2).

(11) Hardouin. in Plin. Tom. 2, pag. 134-157.

(12) Berosus, apud Alexandrum Polyhistor. citatum ab Euseb. in Chronico, pag. 5, 6. Edit. Scalig. 1658.

(13) Vossius de Histor. Grec. p. 86.

(-) Scaliger, ad Græcæ Eusebii, pag. 407. Vossius de Hist. Græcæ. apud Perizonium, in Origin. Babylon.

(6) Marbham, Secul. 17, pag. 4-4. Edit. Amstel. apud eundem.

(-) See Dodwell. Obervat. Cyprian. in Append. P. 37, 37.

(8) Formerly Professor at Francker. He is now Professor of Greek, History, and Epigenes, at Leyden, from the 1st Year 1693.

(9) See his De Antiquitat. Lib. 1. de Originibus Babylon.

of *Baruch*, touches something of it, but in an obscure manner, and wants a Commentary, taken out of *Herodotus* [C].

"hundred and eighty Years." Compare them with the Passage of *Pliny*, and you will find how wide they are from the Truth. Whom shall we trust?

[C] *Jeremiah's Letter, concerning the Immediacy of the Babylonian Women, wants a Commentary, taken out of Herodotus.* This is *Jeremiah's* Text:

"The Women also, with Cords about them, sitting in the Ways - - - but if any of them, drawn by some that passeth by, lie with him, she reproacheth her Fellow, that she was not thought as worthy as herself, nor her Cord broken (14)."

To understand this right, we must have recourse to *Herodotus*, who informs us, That there was a Law at *Babylon*, which obliged all the Women of the Country to seat themselves near the Temple of *Venus*, and there to wait for an Opportunity of lying with a Stranger (15). They were all forced to go through this Ceremony once in their Lives. The rich sat in their Coaches, and had a great number of Domestic to attend them: The others had only an Inclosure of Cords; that is, they formed certain Ranks, which were separated from each other with Cords (16), but in such a Manner, that there was Liberty to go in and out, that Strangers might pass freely in the Intervals, and make choice of her, who best suited their Taste. When they had made their Choice, they cast Money into her Lap, and led her aside, in order to enjoy her. They put up a Prayer for her to the Goddess of the Temple (17). These Women were not suffered to refuse any Stranger, nor the Money given them, how small soever was the Sum. They were obliged to follow the first Stranger, who threw them Money. Observe, that these Sums were appointed for Religious Uses. *Γίνας γὰρ ἱερὰν τέρτο δὲ ἀργύρεον* (18). *This Money is held sacred.*

After the Performance of the Act, they might return to their Houses; the Devotion, or Expiation, which the Goddess required, was accomplished.

Who can sufficiently bewail the monstrous Alliance, preferred by Paganism, between the Worship of the Gods, and the most filthy Passions? It might justly have been called *The easy Devotion*, if the Comedy had contained more Acts and more Scenes, and if there had not been a disadvantageous Mixture for the ugly; for three or four Years Patience was an hard Penance for one single Rencontre. *Martin del Rio* retracteth what he had said, on the Words I have quoted from the Book of *Baruch*. He thought they were to be understood of certain Ligatures practised to make themselves loved. See his *Magical Disquisitions* (21).

*Tam gratum mihi, quam ferunt puellæ
Perpici aureolum fuisse malum,
Quod zonam solvit diu ligatam* (20).

*Dear as the Golden Apple, in the Race,
Which check'd the flying Atalanta's Pace.
Nor sought she Gold, but seiz'd the specious Bait,
With Joy to end her tedious Virgin State.*

(14) The Book of Baruch in the Apocrypha, chap. 6.
(15) Herod. lib. 1, c. 199.
(16) I am forced to paraphrase a little, to make Herodotus the better understood, who has not been particular enough in his Explanation.
(17) This was Venus: the Babylonians called her Mylitta. Herod. lib. 1, cap. 199.
(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid.
(20) Catul. Epigr. 2.

(21) Lib. 3, Part 1, Quest. 3, pag. 13.

BACHOVIVS (REINIER) was born at *Cologne*, in the Year 1544. You may find his Life, among those of the Civilians of *Germany*, in *Melchior Adam*. I shall not repeat what *Moreri* has taken from him: I will only give an account of the Persecutions, which *Bachovivus* suffered, at *Leipsic*, for his *Calvinism*. At first he was only suspected, and they were satisfied with keeping him out of all public Employments; but, the Times altering, he obtained the Office of a Senator, and afterwards, in the Year 1585, That of an *Echevin*, and, in three Years more, That of Consul. The Elector, *Christian I*, dying in the Year 1591, *Bachovivus* was urged to profess *Lutheranism*; and, because he would not, they compelled him to relinquish his Offices. He would not hearken to the advice given him to retire, though the danger of a Prison was represented to him; he thought his Flight would give his Enemies a Handle to pronounce, that he esteemed himself guilty: But, in the Year 1593, he was obliged to give way to popular Commotions, and leave *Leipsic*. He went first to *Serveste*, and, the Year after, into the *Palatinate*, having lost almost all his Effects. He met with a kind Protector in the Person of the Elector *Palatine*, and enjoyed several profitable and honourable Offices at *Heidelberg* till his Death, which happened the Twenty seventh of February 1614 (a). He published a Book, which discovered more of the Divine, than of the Civilian [A]. He left, among other Children, *Reinier* or *Reinhard BACHOVIVS*, whom he saw promoted, from the Professorship of Politics, to That of Civil Law, in the University of *Heidelberg*. This Son obtained a great Name among the Civilians of the XVIIth Century [B]. He was particularly remarkable

[A] He published a Book, which discovered more of the Divine, than of the Civilian. It was a sort of a Commentary on the famous *Heidelberg Catechism*. *Melchior Adam* speaks thus of it: "Propaganda evangelicæ studio edidit *Catechesin* Palatinæ, testimoniis Sacræ Scripturæ ac sententiis patrum, qui primis quingentis à Christo nato annis in Ecclesia Dei clauerunt, exornatam & illustratam, cum epitome vitæ eorumdem patrum, & methodica narratione de Conciliis, quorum Canones in illo Catechetico libello citantur (1). — Out of a sincere Desire for the Propagation of Evangelical Truth, he published the Catechism of the Palatinate, adorned, and illustrated, with the Testimonies of sacred Scripture, and Opinions of the Fathers, who were famous in the Church, for the first five Centuries after CHRIST, with an Epitome of the Lives of those Fathers, and a Methodical Account of

the Councils, whose Canons are cited in That Catechism."

[B] Reinier or Reinhard Bachovivus — obtained a great Name among the Civilians. Conringius calls him, *Disciplina juridicæ æternum decus* (2). — The perpetual Ornament of the Civil Law. *Vinnius* says he is, *subtilissimus Jurisconsultus, non tam suæ sententiæ adstrictor, quam destructor alienæ* (3). — The most able Civilian, not so much in advancing Opinions of his own, as in overthrowing those of others. Another says, *Eo in his, quæ ad solidam nostri juris interpretationem faciunt, acutiorem cix tradit prior ætas* (4). — The former Age scarce produced a greater Interpreter of the Civil Law. Lastly, the Compliments of accuratissimus, subtilissimus, acutissimus, inexorabilis Censor (5). — The most accurate, most able, judicious, most severe Censor, are commonly given to him. The Elogy, *Vinnius* gives him,

(1) Ibid.

(2) Catul. Epigr. 2.

(3) Lib. 3, Part 1, Quest. 3, pag. 13.

(4) Taken from Melchior Adam, in the History of Civilians.

(5) Conringius, de autoritate juris publici, in Germaniâ apud Magistrum Eponym. p. 99. (3) Vinnius, cap. 11, de Pact. n. 9. apud Magistrum Eponym. p. 99. (4) Hahn. in Deic. Obiter. ad Wesenbeck. apud eundem. (5) Schurz, apud eundem.

(14) The Book of Baruch in the Apocrypha, chap. 6.

(15) Herod. lib. 1, c. 199.

(16) I am forced to paraphrase a little, to make Herodotus the better understood, who has not been particular enough in his Explanation.

(17) This was Venus: the Babylonians called her Mylitta. Herod. lib. 1, cap. 199.

(18) Ibid.

(1) Melch. Adam in vitis Juric. p. 472, 473.

(b) See Remark [B].

(c) His Name was Tabor, and he was esteemed a great Civilian.

remarkable for his skill in confuting, with great Subtlety, whatsoever he undertook to oppose (b). He was wavering on the Point of Religion; for he said, in confidence, to a Lutheran Professor (c), that, if he might be permitted to read private Lectures of the Civil Law at *Strasbourg*, he would leave his Professorship of *Heidelberg*, and remove to *Strasbourg*. He declared, that he detested the Doctrine of absolute Predestination, and that he believed the Corporeal Presence of JESUS CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Lord's-Supper, tho' he knew not the manner of it. The Person, to whom he discovered this Inclination, communicated it to the Magistrates of *Strasbourg*, who ordered him to be assured he should be welcome. *Bachovius* removed to that City, with his Library; but, not finding a maintenance there (d), he returned to *Heidelberg*, where his Friend found him under great Vexation and Sickness, in the Year 1629 (e).

(d) Vitæ præditiis de-stitutis religionem omisit. --- Being disappointed of a Livelihood he quitted that Religion. Prædictus in Mausoleo Taboris.

(e) Taken from Prædictus in Mausoleo Taboris.

agrees but with too many Persons: There are too many Writers, and Men of great Reasoning, who have had Success in proving their own Doctrine, but yet can entirely demolish That of others. Men, who engage in Disputes, are commonly stronger in the Offensive, than in the Defensive. See what an

Electors of *Cologne* said concerning the Quarrel between the *Cordeliers* and *Jacobins*. Father *Paul* relates it. See the fourth Book of his History of the Council of *Trent*, Page 309 of Mr *Amelot de la Houffaye's* Translation.

BACON (ROGER) An English *Franciscan*, lived in the XIIIth Century. He was a great Astrologer, Chymist, and Mathematician. It was this, undoubtedly, which occasioned him to be suspected of Magic. There runs a Tradition among the *English*, that This Fryar made a Brazen Head, which answered all his Questions [A]. *Selden* rejects this as a childish Fable [B], and observes, that no Historian has mentioned it, and that *Bale*, who had defamed *Roger Bacon*, recanted, and honourably repaired That Injury. *Francis Picus* says, That he read, in one of *Bacon's* Books, "That a Man might become a Prophet, and fore-tell things to come by means of the Looking-glass, *Almucbezi*, composed according to the Rules of Perspective; provided he used it under a good Constellation, and first brought his Body into an even and temperate State by Chymistry (a)." This is agreeable to what *John Picus Mirandulanus* has maintained, That *Bacon* only busied himself with Natural Magic (b). This Fryar sent several Instruments, of his own Invention, to Pope *Clement IV* (c). Several of his Books have been published: *Specula Mathematica & perspective*, *Speculum Alchemiæ*, *De mirabili Potestate Artis & Naturæ*, *Epistolæ cum Notis*, &c. In all probability, he did not perform any Thing by compact with the Devil; but has only ascribed to Things a surprizing Efficacy, which they could not naturally have. Consequently, there is reason to say, that his Writings contain a great deal of Superstition [C]. He was very much infatuated with Judicial Astrology.

(a) *Francis Picus*, lib. 2. de Prædicatione, cap. 1. & lib. 7. cap. 7. cited by Naudé, Apology for Great Men, pag. 490.

(b) *Joh. Picus* in Prædict. Apolog. cited by Naudé, ibid.

(c) Naudé, ibid. p. 493.

[A] He is said to have made a brazen Head, which answered all his Questions. *Mater* remarks, That *Roger Bacon* is commonly introduced upon the Stage, in Comedies, as a great Magician, and that "the common Report is, that he, and his Fellow-Monk, *Thomas Bungey*, wrought seven Years to forge This Head, to know, from it, if there might not be some means to inclose all England with a thick Wall and Rampart? Upon which it gave them an Answer, which however they could not rightly understand, because, not expecting to receive it so speedily, they were taken up in other things, than listening to the Oracle (1)." These are popular Stories, which do not deserve to be confuted. The like are told of *Albertus Magnus* (2).

[B] *Selden* rejects this as a childish Fable. [These are his own Words: "Istiusmodi caput ex ære conflatum ab eruditissimo Rogero Bachone est in ore nostratis vulgi, sed non sine injuria in illius Mathesein, quam summam & à dæmonum præstigiis puram monstrant fallis illius opera quot nos legisse contigit, & quidquid adversus eum uti magum seu vexoçuaviv J. Balæus inscitia dicam, an in optimas artes malitia, editione centuriarum prima satis incogitantes effutierat, id bene monuit omne non modo retractavit, verum in ea quæ tali & tanto viro digna sunt postrema recognitione etiam prodigenter commutavit. Nec quod hanc vulgi famam adduxit, habent Annales nostri (3)."]

(1) *Mater*, Symbol. aureæ. Menfis, lib. 10. pag. 453, cited by Naudé, Apology for great Men, pag. 491.

(2) See, above, Remark [F], n. 2, of the Article ALBERTUS (MAGNUS).

(3) *Selden* de Diis Syris Syntagma, 1. cap. 2, pag. 38.

"gician, or Necromancer, he has, on better Advice, in his last Edition, not only retracted, but also wisely substituted, in its Place, what becomes the Character of so great a Man. Nor is there any Authority in our History for That common Report." *John Dee*, an English Philosopher and Mathematician, wrote an Apology for *Roger Bacon*. He mentions it in the Epistle dedicatory of his *Propædæmata Apboristica de præstantioribus quibusdam naturæ virtutibus*. See Naudé, in the Four hundred eighty eighth Page of his Apology for great Men.

[C] His Writings contain a great deal of Superstition. *Martin del Rio*, who, of all Men in the World, in these Matters, is least prodigal of his Absolution to Persons suspected, clears *Roger Bacon* of Magic, and is contented to make him only a superstitious Author. "Alchindus, says he (4), *Rogerus Baconus*, & *Geber* Arabs, multis scaten superstitionis; ideo vetitæ lectionis etiam hos putarim. --- Alchindus, *Roger Bacon*, and *Geber*, the Arabian, abound in Superstition, and therefore, in my Opinion, ought not to be read." *John Wierus* is not so favourable; for he puts *Roger Bacon*, *Petrus Aponeusis*, *Anselmus Parmensis*, *Cicchus Aculus*, and some others, in the same Class; whereas *Martin del Rio* treats the three last, I have named, as true Magicians, and puts *Bacon* only in the number of the Superstitious. "Ab hoc numero removeo, ut demoniacos magos, Picatricem Hispanum, Anselmum Parmensem, Cicchum Eculanum, Petrum de Abono, & Corn. Agrippam, & Paracelsum --- mines partim atheos, partim hereticos (5). --- I exclude from this Number, as diabolical Magicians, Picatrix the Spaniard, Anselmus Parmensis, Cicchus Eculanus, Petrus de Abono, Cornelius Agrippa, and Paracelsus, --- Men partly Atheists, and partly Heretics." As for the rest, *Wierus* agrees perfectly with him; that is, he took *Petrus Aponeusis*, *Anselmus Parmensis*, &c. for Practisers of infernal

(4) *Disquisit. Magicæ*, lib. 1, cap. 3, pag. 22.

(5) Ibid.

Astrology [D]. — The Letter, which he wrote to Pope *Clement IV*, and which is now in the Library of *Lambeth*, together with great Encomiums on the Holy Scriptures, mentions a very odd Project; for he there exhorts That Pope to confirm, by Apostolical Authority, and to recommend to the whole Church, the Method he had found out to teach every Body *Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Arabic*, in a very few Days. He pretended, that the Laity ought not only to read the Scripture, but also to understand the Originals [E]; and he averred, that his *Universal Grammar* was earnestly wished for, and had been confirmed by several Prophecies.

infernal Magic. "Superiorum magorum nugamen-
"ta itidem insulse sequuti sunt Apion Grammati-
"cus, Julianus Apostata, Robertus Anglicus apud
"Helvetios misere mortuus, Rogerius Bacon, Petrus
"Aponensis Conciliator dictus, Albertus Teutonicus,
"Arnoldus de Villanova, Anselmus Parmensis, Pi-
"catrix Hispanus, vel author libri ad Alfonso sub
"Picatrix nomine, Cicchus Afculus Florentinus, &
"plerique alii obscurioris nominis scriptores, deplorati
"certe ingenii homines. Qui quum se magiam tra-
"dere pollicentur, non nisi aut deliramenta quedam
"nulla ratione subnixta, aut superstitiones piis omni-
"bus indignas congesserunt (6). — — — The Tricks of
"former Magicians are foolishly followed by Apion
"the Grammarian, Julian the Apostate, Robertus An-
"glicus, who died miserably in Switzerland, Roger
"Bacon, Petrus Aponensis, called the Reconciler, Al-
"bertus Teutonicus, Arnoldus de Villà Novâ, Ansel-
"mus Parmensis, Picatrix the Spaniard, or the Au-
"thor of the Book under his Name to King Alphonsus,
"Cicchus Afculus the Florentine, and several other
"Writers of obscure Names, Men of desperate Minds :
"Who, instead of the Magic they pretend to be Ma-
"sters of, have only beaped together either some idle
"Dreams, without any Foundation of Reason, or Su-
"perstitions unworthy the Attention of all pious Per-
"sons."

[D] He was very much infatuated with Judicial
Astrology. John Picus maintains, that the Book, en-
titled *Speculum Astrologie*, which treats of the Law-
ful and Unlawful Authors, who wrote upon Astro-
logy, is a Work of Roger Bacon (7). That Book
was condemned by Gerfon (8), and by Agrippa, as
exceedingly superstitious (9). Francis Picus (10), and
many others, have condemned it, because the Author
maintains in it, with submission to better Judgments,
that the Books of Magic ought to be carefully pre-
served, because the Time draws near, that, for cer-
tain Causes not there specified, they must necessarily be
perused, and made use of on some Occasions. Naudé
adds, That Roger Bacon was so much addicted to
Judicial Astrology, that Henry de Haffia, Gulielmus
Parisensis, Nicolas Oresmius — — — were obliged to
inveigh sharply against his Writings and all the Vanities
of Astrologers (11).

[E] He pretended, that the Laity were not only
allowed to read the Scriptures, but also to understand
the Originals. As I have not read his Letter, I
cannot say whether he relies upon this Argument :
That a private Person, who understands neither the
Greek nor Hebrew Language, is obliged to depend
on the Fidelity and Capacity of Translators: Which,
it may be said, is but a weak Foundation, and not
to be trusted, to build our Salvation on. However
it be, his Pretension is sufficiently extravagant, and
contains Impossibilities. This is the Judgment of

the Author, who mentions this Letter. "Inter Scrip-
"tores 13 seculi, qui a Whartono pro Scripturis &
"sacris vernaculis adducuntur, comparet Rogerus
"Bacon, cujus epistolam de laudibus S. Scripturæ
"ad Clementem IV. bibliotheca Lambethana tenet.
"Osservat autem, Autorem illum portentosa quædam
"& impossibilia in prolixâ illa epistola comminisci.
"Non enim tantum necessarium esse docet, ut omnes
"Christiani sacram Scripturam tanquam fidei suæ
"fontem & regulam perfecte sciunt, sed etiam fontes
"Hebraicos & Græcos ab omnibus consulendos as-
"serit. Et quamvis incredibile videatur, ut singuli
"Christiani linguarum istarum notitiam sibi compa-
"rare possint, id tamen Baconus factu perquam fa-
"cile esse persuadere suis Lectoribus cupit, im-
"primis cum se Grammaticam, quandam universalem
"invenisse gloriatur, cujus ope intra paucissimos dies
"quilibet linguam Hebraicam, Græcam, Latinam,
"& Arabicam, addicere queat; & ut omnes, quod
"legunt, etiam intelligant, se opus quoddam ma-
"nuduclorium seu præliminare ad promovendam S.
"Scripturæ intelligentiam editurum spondet, enixe
"Pontificem orans, ut artificium suum, summis
"omnium votis expetitur, & frequentibus vati-
"ciniis confirmatum, Apostolica autoritate confir-
"met & universæ ecclesiæ commendet, unde in-
"numera in ecclesiâ beneficia redundatura mini-
"me dubitat (12). — — — Among the Writers of the
"XIIIth Century, who are produced, by Wharton,
"in favour of translating the Scriptures, and Di-
"vine Services, into our own Language, Roger Bacon
"is cited, whose Epistle, to Clement IV, on the Prais-
"es of Sacred Scripture, is now in the Lambeth Li-
"brary. But he observes, that this Author, in that
"long Epistle, has projected something very monstrous
"and impracticable. For he holds it to be necessary
"for all Christians, not only to understand perfectly
"the Sacred Scripture, as the Fountain and Rule
"of their Faith, but also to be able to consult the
"Hebrew and Greek Originals. And, though it
"may seem incredible, that every Christian should be
"able to attain the Knowledge of those Languages,
"yet Bacon would persuade his Readers, that it may
"very easily be done, especially since he pretends to
"have invented an universal Grammar, by the help of
"which any one may, in a very few Days, make him-
"self Master of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Ara-
"bic; and, that all, who read, may understand, he
"promises to publish an Introductory Work, to make
"the Sacred Scripture more easily understood, earnest-
"ly desiring the Pope, that this Invention of his,
"so very much wished for by all, and confirmed by
"several Prophecies, might be established by his Apo-
"stolical Authority, and recommended to the whole
"Church, to which he is sure it will bring innu-
"merable Advantages."

(12) Acta E-
ruditi. Lipt.
mensis Junii
1691, pag.
279. In the
Abstract of the
Book of the
Archbishop
Usher, de Historiâ
Controver-
sæ de
Scripturis &
Sacris Ver-
naculis.

BACON (FRANCIS), Lord High Chancellor of *England* under King *James I*, was one of the greatest Men of his Age, and one of those, who best understood the Imperfections in the Philosophy of that Time. He studied hard to find out a Remedy for them, and formed very fine Plans for their Reformation [A]. The Public received his Works very favourably. A compleat Edition was made of them at *Francfort* in Folio, in the Year 1665. The *Journal of the Learned* did not mention it without bestowing great Encomiums upon this illustrious Chancellor (a). The Treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, which was reprinted at *Paris* in the Year 1624, is one of This Author's best Productions [B]. His *Moral and Political Works*, translated into

French

[A] He formed very fine Plans for their Reformation. See what Mr *Baillet* has said of them, in the first Volume of the Life of Mr *Des Cartes* (1), and what *Gassendus* has said in particular of Bacon's Logic (2).

[B] The Treatise *De Augmentis Scientiarum* — is one of This Author's best Productions. See here what *Cosart* said of it to Voiture: I have lately read

the Books, which Chancellor Bacon wrote about the Advancement of Sciences, in which I found a great many admirable Things (3). He afterwards gives Instances of some of those Things, and by his Choice shews his good Taste; for indeed they are all fine and great Thoughts. I have been informed, that Bacon's Works were principally made use of by *Cosart*, and that he took from thence the Ground, or Basis, of his Col-
lections;

(a) In the
Journal of
March 8,
1666. Note,
that an Edition
of them
was promised
in 6 Volumes
in 12mo, in
1684. See
Nouvelles de
la Repub.
des Lettres,
for June,
1684, in the
Catalogue of
new Books,
n. 5.

(3) Conver-
sations of
Voiture and
Cosart, pag.
173. Edit.
of Paris,
1654.

(b) See, in Sir Tho. Pope-Blount pag. 635, the Judgment made of them by Contrarius, Boecle- rus, &c. there you see the Judgment of other Au- thors, to the Honour of Lord Bacon.

French by Baudouin, sold so well, that they had a Run of several Editions. *His Life of Henry VII, King of England*, is very much esteemed (b). By labouring so hard for the Republic of Learning, Bacon neglected his Domestic Affairs, in such a manner, and plunged himself into so many Expences, that he died very poor. We shall produce two Authorities on this Subject [C]. His Death is placed on the Ninth of April 1626. He lived Sixty six Years.

lections; that is, having found some Thought in Bacon, which pleased him, he wrote it down, and, when he met with any thing, that related to it, in other Books, he added it to that Leaf; after which he needed no other Index, or Common-Place.

[C] We shall produce two Authorities for Bacon's Poverty. The first I am indebted to the Bibliothéque Universelle; for the second, to the Sorberiana. The Bibliothéque Universelle informs me, that James Howell says, in a Letter (4) dated the Sixteenth of January 1625 (5). — "That Chancellor Bacon died so poor, that he scarce left enough to bury him; which made Howell say, That, though he had a great Genius for Learning, he had no great Judgment of Things. However, he imputes this Chancellor's Poverty either to his Contempt of Riches, or excessive Liberality. Howell says, That, a little before his Death, he wrote a mournful Letter to the King, wherein he implored his Assistance, 'For fear he should be reduced in his old Age to Beggary, and be obliged to study only how to live, instead of living, according to his Wishes, only in order to study. Expressions, which seem as low to our Author, as those of another Letter, which he had

wrote before to the Prince of Wales, were prophane. He told That Prince, That he hoped, as the Father had been his Creator, the Son would be his Redeemer (6)."

Let us see, now, what Sorbieri says: "Bacon's Natural History, at Paris 1631, translated, or rather epitomized, by Peter Amboise Esq; *Sieur de la Madeleine*. The Translator has added an Account of That Chancellor's Life, and, at the end, a Translation of his *New Atlantis*. Those few excellent Remarks, I have seen, make me with greatly for an intire and faithful Translation. Mr Boswell tells me, he had a particular Intimacy with this extraordinary Man, who left him in his Will all his Papers, which was the only one, which was executed out of a vast Number of Legacies, which he gave by way of Pleafantry. He bequeathed Four hundred thousand Livres to an imaginary College, which he had given the Plan of, in his *New Atlantis* (7)." This Account does not seem to say, that Bacon died poor; it rather insinuates, that he died not a little whimsical (8): But, if you consider it closer, you will find there is a Sign of Indigence in it.

(6) Biblioth. Universelle, Tom. 15. pag. 45.

(7) Sorberiana, pag. 41. Edit. of Holland.

(8) See what the *Sieur du Maurier* says concerning the *last Will* of *Cervantes*. *Memoirs of Holland*, p. 430.

(4) The 8th of Sept. 4. 97. Vol. I.

(5) There must be an Error in this Date; for Chancellor Bacon did not die, till Apr. 9. 1626.

(a) Rocolet, True History of Calvinism, pag. 166.

BACOUÉ (LEO), born at *Casteljaloux* in the lower *Guienne*, forsook his Family Religion, which was That of the Reformed, and became a *Franciscan*. He attained afterward to the Prelacy, and was made Bishop of *Glandeve*. My Author observes, That Father *Leo Bacoue* is the only converted *Huguenot*, who was promoted to Episcopacy under the Reign of *Lewis XIV* (a). This Fryar published a *Latin Poem on the Education of a Prince*, about the time that the *Dauphin* was to have Preceptors. He re-printed it at *Paris* in the Year 1685. The *Journal des Sçavans* mentions it, the following Year (b).

(b) January 21st, pag. 23.

(c) Moreri was wrong to call it a *Howe's*. The Author, whom he quotes, makes use of the Word *Municipium*. Geiner gives the Surname of *Gandensis*.

BADIUS (JODOCUS), surnamed *Alcensius*, because he was born in the Borough (a) of *Afsebe* near *Brussels*, was in much Esteem for the great number of Books, which he printed and commented. He was born in the Year 1462. He performed his first Studies at *Ghent*; he continued them in *Italy*, and made a great progress in the Greek Language at *Ferrara*, under *Baptista Guarini*. He settled at *Lyons*, and taught the Latin and Greek Tongues there as well in public as in private. Afterwards he removed to *Paris*, and set up a Printing-House there, which gained him great Reputation [A]. From thence came forth several Classic Authors, with his Explications and Notes [B]. He bestowed the same Pains on some Modern Authors, as *Petrarch*, *Politian*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Baptista Mantuanus*, &c. He published also some Books of his own both in Prose and in Verse (b) [C]; and it is agreed, by good Judges, that, if his Domestic Cares had not obliged him to write as much, or more, for Gain, than for Glory, he would have succeeded much better than he did [D]. Erasmus

(b) Ex Valerii Andreae Biblioth. Belg. pag. 588, 589.

[A] He set up a Printing-House, at *Paris*, which gained him great Reputation. Father du Moulinet informs us, That *Jodocus Badius* was the first, who brought into France the round Characters; and that, before him, all the French Printers made use of the Gothic Characters. About the Year 1500, he came from Italy into France, as well to teach Greek in *Paris*, as to set up a very fine Printing-House there, which he called *Prelum Alcensianum*, *Alcensius's* Press (1). Father du Moulinet forgets, that *Badius* stopt a very considerable Time at *Lyons*, before he came to *Paris*. See the Remark [H]. As for the rest, Mr Chevallier has proved, against That Father, That Printing in France did not begin with Gothic Letters*, and that Roman Letters were used there, before *Badius's* Time (2); And farther, that tho' a great Number of His Editions were printed in a good Letter — He printed several also in Gothic (3).

* Gabriel Naudé, in the seventh Chapter of his Addition to the History of *Lewis XI*, pag. 317, and 318, of the Edition of 1630, pretends, that it was The Workmen, who, less desirous of Honour than Profit, introduced the Gothic Character; but I know not how he understands This; since many of the old Editions, which we have in square Letters, are

no less charged with Abbreviations, than the Gothic, which succeeded them. REM. CRIT.]

[B] He printed a great many Classic Authors, with his Explications and Notes. Valerius Andreas gives a List of them, wherein we find *Horace*, *Perseus*, *Terence*, *Juvenius*, *Theocritus*, *Sallust*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Quintilian*, *Aulus Gellius*, and several Treatises of *Cicero*. "Commentarii vero, sive famillares enarrationes, circumferuntur, in Horatium Flaccum, &c (4). — There are also banded about Commentaries, or familiar Explications, on *Horace*, &c." The List of *Swerius* is still larger, and mentions *Ovid*, and *Seneca's* Tragedies (5).

[C] He published some Books of his own, both in Prose, and in Verse. Valerius Andreas mentions these following: *Psalterium B. Mariae*, *Epigrammatum liber*, *Navicula stultorum mulierum*, *De Grammatica*, *De conscribendis Epistolis*, *Vita Thomae à Kempis*.

[D] If his domestic Cares had not interrupted him, — he would have succeeded much better than he did. Erasmus speaks very freely of this; "Nec in felicitate omnino cessit conatus Badio; adeit illi facillitas non indocta, felicitas tamen cessurus, nisi curae domesticæ, reique parandæ studium, interciperent orium

(1) Journal des Sçavans, of Jan. 31, 1684, p. 38.

(2) Chevallier. Origin of Printing at Paris, p. 54.

(3) Ibid. p. 138.

(4) Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 589.

(5) Swertius in Athen. Belg.

happened to compare him, in some things, to *Budæus*; and it can scarce be credited, what a Clamour was raised at *Paris* against That Comparison [E]. Those, who place *Badius's* Death in the Year 1526, are mistaken [F]. He was incumbered with a very great Family, and it is said, in his Epitaph, That, in all probability, the Number of his Children would have equalled That of his Books, had he made as early a beginning in the one, as he did in the other [G]; but that he had been much longer an Author, than a married Man. I would not warrant This to be exactly true [H].

His

(6) Erasmus, in Ciceroniano, pag. 73.

(6) The 28th of the 22d Book, pag. 1172, 1173.

(8) Brixius, in Epistolâ ad Erasmus inter Epistolas Erasmi, 27. lib. 22, pag. 1166.

(9) Ibid. p. 1168.

(10) Erasmus, Epist. 23. lib. 22, pag. 1172.

(11) Ibid. Epist. 72, lib. 20, pag. 1030.

"otium illud Musis amicum, hujus laudis candidato necessarium (6). — Nor was *Badius's* Attempt unsuccessful; his Manner is easy, and not unlearned: But he would have succeeded much better, if his domestic Cares, and Endeavour for a Maintenance, had not interrupted that Quiet, which the Muses require in one, who writes for Fame." He passes the same Judgment in one of his Letters (7). "Alius liberum erit de *Badio* iudicare quod volunt; ego semper illum habui in eorum numero, quorum nec eruditionem, nec ingenium, nec eloquentiam possis contemnere: tametsi non dissimulo illum longe majorem fuisse futurum, si fortuna benignior otium ac tranquillitatem studiorum suppeditasset. — Others may judge as they please of *Badius*; for my own part, I have always esteemed him in the number of those, whose Learning, Understanding, and Eloquence, are by no means contemptible: though I cannot deny but these would have appeared to much greater Advantage, if an easier Fortune had allowed his Studies a greater Tranquillity." *Brixius*, after having given a very mean Idea of *Badius*, says, he studied much more for Gain, than to become Eloquent. "Scio *Badium* non esse prorsus *d'usor*. Verum qualis qualis est talem se certe hominibus nostris hactenus probavit, ut quoties de doctis sermo inter doctos incidit de *Badio* plane *id'is* λέγῃ. Illi, quod non inficiaris, quæstus tantum non eloquentia scopus est (8). — I know *Badius* is not altogether unlearned. But, let him be what he will, the Appearance he has hitherto made in the learned World is such, that, whenever Men of Learning speak of others of their own Class, not a Syllable is mentioned of *Badius*. It cannot be denied but that his Aim was Gain, and not Eloquence."

[E] Erasmus compared him — with *Budæus*; and it can scarce be expressed, what a Clamour was raised, at *Paris*, against That Comparison.] *Brixius*, who was Erasmus's Friend, wrote to him a Letter on This Subject, part of which I have quoted. He told him plainly, That the learned Men of *Paris* were very angry to find, that he had, in some measure, preferred *Badius* to *Budæus*. "Quo major indignatio nostrorum omnium animos subit, quod hæc in opinione, iusta de causâ quum sint, existimant illum ab te non tantum *Badio* collatum, sed & postpositum. — Ea una commissura adeo nostris omnibus invidiosa est, ut multorum tibi benevolentium animos à tui studio abalienarit, ob id quod existimant *Budæum* cum *Badio* commissum perinde esse ac si quis *Achillem* cum *Thersite* committeret (9). — All our People have conceived so much the greater Indignation against you, to find one, for whom they have so just a Value, not only compared, but even postponed, by you, to *Badius*. — This one Comparison has so disgusted every Body here, that it has drawn off a great many of your Well-Wishers from the Respect they had for you, who look upon your comparing *Budæus* with *Badius* to be just like matching *Achilles* with *Thersites*." Erasmus justified himself, and made it appear, that he had very evidently given *Budæus* the Superiority. He wondered they had not perceived it in *France*; or, if they had, how they came to make such an out-cry, and compose so many satirical Verses. *Demiror isthic esse doctos, quibæ non vident, & vident, magis etiam demiror esse qui confiterentur, qui maledictis Versibus rem dignam existimant* (10). This Affair became so much talked of, that it reached the Ears of *Francis I.* "Si verus est rumor, sic fremunt amici *Budæi*, quasi in cineres patris ac matris illius imminerim. Clamant ô Cœlum! ô terra! *Budæum* cum *Badio*? Clamant me invidere gloriæ *Budæi*, meque multis epigrammatis dilacerant. — Causa delata est & ad Regis cognitionem. Volenti cognoscere diffidii causam, dictum est *Budæum* me taxasse in loco quodam, eo me offensum quævisse vindictam, eumque cum *Badio* contulisse (11). — If Report

speaks true, the Friends of *Budæus* are as much incensed, as if I had offered the greatest Indignity to the Albes of their Father and Mother. They cry out to Heaven and to Earth, What! *Budæus* with *Badius*! They charge me with envying *Budæus's* Glory, and lash me with their many stinging Epigrams. — The Matter is brought even to the Knowledge of the King. To whom, on Inquiry into the Cause of this Disgention, they pretend, that *Budæus* has somewhere censured me, which has provoked me to take this Revenge, by comparing him with *Badius*." If Erasmus designed to honour *Badius* by That Comparison, he was very much mistaken; for this poor Man was wounded to the Heart, every time Complaints were made of the Injustice done to *Budæus*. It had been better for *Badius*, if Erasmus had not thought of him. The offence was removed in the second Edition.

[F] Those, who place his Death in the Year 1526, are mistaken.] *Swerius* was content to say, that he found *Badius* had lived to the Year 1526 (12). This indeed leaves it doubtful, whether or no he lived beyond that Year; but he does not pretend to affirm, that he did not live beyond it. *Komig*, instead of expressing himself thus cautiously, affirms, that *Badius* died in the Year 1526. And others have said it after him. But let us consider a little *Brixius's* Letter, which I have quoted; it was written in the Year 1528, and mentions *Badius* as living. *Valerius Andreas* says nothing at all concerning his Death. *Moreri* places it about the Year 1529, or 1530. But he is mistaken; for it is very well known, that Erasmus rejoiced, in a Letter of the Month of September 1530, (13), that the current Report about the Death of *Badius* was not true: And we have an Edition of the Epistles of *Longolius*, published by *Badius* in the Year 1533. *Gesner* observes, in his *Bibliotheca*, printed in the Year 1545, that *Badius* had been dead about ten Years. He was not dead, when the Book of *Alphonsus à Castro*, against Heresies, was printed at *Paris*; for *Badius* was one of those, who printed it in the Year 1534 (14). The Title Page of *Peter Lombard*, in Epistolas Pauli, has these words; *pro hæredibus Jodoci Badii 1535, Mensis Decembris* (15). So that he was not living in the Month of December 1535.

[G] The Number of his Children would have equalled those of his Books, had he made as early a Beginning in the one, as he did in the other.] This Thought was the Subject of the following Epitaph, composed for him.

Hic, liberorum plurimorum qui parens,
Parens librorum plurimorum qui fuit,
Situs Jodocus Badius est Ascensius.
Plures fuerunt liberis tamen libri,
Quod jam senescens cepit illos gignere,
Ætate florens cepit hos quod edere (16).

Here lies Jodocus Badius Ascensius,
Father of many Children,
Author of many Books:
His Books were more numerous than his Children,
Because he commenced Author very early,
Father very late.

This is not the Epitaph, now to be seen on the Tomb of *Jodocus Badius*, in the Charnel-House of the Collegiate Church of St *Benedict* at *Paris* (17), where he was buried (18). If we may rely upon the Truth of these Lines, he followed the Maxim of most of the Learned, and married late. See the Book entitled *Valefiana* (19).

[H] He had been much longer an Author, than a married Man. — I would not warrant this to be exactly true.] The *Sieur de la Caille* is the Cause of this

(12) Swertius in Athen. Belgic. pag. 490.

(13) Letter 22d of Book 25th, pag. 1373.

(14) See la Caille, Hist. of Printing, pag. 74.

(15) Chevile, Origin of Printing at Paris, p. 128.

(16) Swertius in Athen. Belgic. pag. 490, relates this Epitaph, as made by a Friend of *Badius*. He should have said by his Grandson. See the following Review, msc.

(17) You may read it in la Caille's History of Printing, pag. 75.

(18) Rocoles, True History of Calvinism, pag. 213.

(19) Pag. 5. Edit. Amst.

His Son *Conradus BADIUS* was born at *Paris*, and settled at *Geneva*. He became a very good Protestant, and demonstrated it in the *Koran of the Cordeliers*. He translated the first Book of it, and compiled the second, and adorned both with Marginal Notes, which are very severe. He was both a Printer and an Author, and made some Attempts in French Poetry. He wrote something of this kind against *Nostradamus* (c). Three of his Daughters were married to famous Printers [I]. I was a long time at a Loss to know, what a certain Modern Author means, by seeming to charge *Henry Stephens* with having censured *Jodocus Badius* [K]. I have nothing to say concerning one *Conradus BADIUS*, who died, with all his Family, of the Plague at *Orleans*, where he was Minister, in the Year 1562 (d), and was a Friend of *Theodorus Beza* from his Youth (e).

Mr *Chevillier*, who collected several Elogies on *Jodocus Badius*, asserts, that he had been Professor of Belles Lettres in the University of *Paris*, and afterwards in the City of *Lyons*, where he read the Poets in Public (f).

There is certainly a Mistake in the Title of One of the Books, which *Valerius Andreas* ascribes to him [L].

this Doubt: he says, That *Badius*, at his Return from *Italy*, taught several Gentlemen in *Lyons*, and composed, and printed, a great many good Books, at the House of John Trechsel, Printer at *Lyons*, whose Daughter, Theliff Trechsel, he married ----- (20). It was to him, continues this Author, that the learned Robert Gaguin, the twentieth General of the Order of the Trinitarians, who knew his Merit and Capacity for Correcting of the Press, wrote to print his Works, as appears by the Letter of That General to him, prefixed to his Epistles in Quarto, in the Year 1498. This obliged *Badius* to go to *Paris* about the Year 1499, or 1500, after the Death of his Father-in-law, both to teach the Greek Tongue there, and to restore the Art of Printing, which began to decline. It appears from this Passage, that *Badius* was a married Man in 1500. He was then but Thirty eight Years of Age; therefore it cannot be said, that he deferred his Marriage till he was old; *jam senescens cepit illos gignere*: And yet his Grandson, *Henry Stephens*, affirms it: for *Henry Stephens* is the Author of That Latin Epitaph, and of a Greek Epitaph, which turns on the same Thought. "Jodoco Badio elegantissimis hinc Epitaphis parentavit ex filia nepos Henricus" *Stephanus*, quæ propter elegantiam non potui non adscribere (21). ----- *Henry Stephens* his Grandson, by his Daughter, paid his Duty to *Jodocus Badius* in these elegant Epitaphs, which, for their Beauty, I could not forbear transcribing." The Epitaphs may be seen in *Henry Stephens* Book, *de Artis Typographicae Querimonia*. Mr *Almeloveen* has published both of them, with another of the same Author in *Latin*, in his curious Dissertation *De Vitis Stephanorum*.

[I] Three Daughters of J. Badius were married to famous Printers: Catherine Badius, a Daughter of *Jodocus*, was married to Michael Vascosan (22). Perrette Badius, another Daughter of *Jodocus*, was the Wife of Robert Stephens (23). Jane Badius, the other Sister, married John de Roigny (24), who made use of the Mark of his Father-in-law, and yet the Prelum Ascensianum on his Editions for above Twenty five Years (25). Perrette understood *Latin*, which she learnt, either by her Father's teaching her, as Mr *Almeloveen* believes (26), or by hearing People speak it in her Husband's House. Each of these Opinions is probable: Those who are of the latter, may take it from this, that a Sister of H. Stephens, Daughter of Perrette Badius, learned *Latin* without the Assistance of a Grammar, and only by Use. For Robert Stephens's House was always full of People, who spoke nothing but *Latin*; so that the very Maid-Servants acquired That Language. See the Epistle Dedicatory of *Henry Stephens*, prefixed to *Aulus Gellius*, where you will find these words, directed to his Son: "Avise tuæ eorum quæ Latine dicebantur (nisi rarius aliquod vocabulum intersciceretur) haud difficilior erat intellectus, quàm si dicta sermone Gallico fuissent. Quid de superflua sorore mea, amita autem tua, nomine Katharina, dicam? Illa quoque eorum quæ Latine dicuntur loquere non desiderat: multa vero & ipsa eodem loqui sermone potest; & quidem ita (licet nonnumquam impingat) ut ab omnibus intelligatur. Unde illi hæc Latine lingue cognitio? Artem certe Grammaticam haud magistrum habuit, nec alius illi hac in re quàm us prævit. --- Your Grandmother understood as readily what was spoke in *Latin*, except now and then some uncommon Ex-

pressions, as she did her own Mother-Tongue. Your Aunt Katharine also, the only Sister I have now living, never needed an Interpreter for that Language. She even spoke it pretty well herself, and, though not without some Slips, yet so as to be easily understood. Nor was she taught this by Grammar, but only by use." He explains what he means by this use, viz. that the Printers and Correctors of Robert Stephens spoke nothing but *Latin*.

[K] I was a long time at a Loss to know what a certain modern Author means, by seeming to charge *Henry Stephens* with having censured *Jodocus Badius*. This perplexity was occasioned for want of understanding a Period of the *Sieur de la Caille*; which, I think, I have, at last, apprehended. That Period runs thus: "Here is his Epitaph, inserted by *Henry Stephens* in his Book *de Artis Typographicae Querimonia*, printed by the same Stephens in 1569, wherein are several Complaints addressed to the laid *Badius*, both in Greek and *Latin* (27)." At first I thought it meant, that *Henry Stephens* had reproached *Badius* very much, both in Greek and *Latin*, for having spoiled the Trade: But, considering that he was his Grandson, and finding nothing against *Badius* in the *Querimonia Artis Typographicae*, which Mr *Almeloveen* has published, I could not tell what to think. Mr *Almeloveen* having assured me, that he had cut nothing off from the *Querimonia*, occasioned my reading the whole Period over again; upon which I now apprehend, that these words, both in Greek and *Latin*, most probably relate, not to Complaints, but to Epitaphs. At last I have had an Opportunity of consulting the very Work of *Henry Stephens* (28). I found in it, I. A Preface in Prose, against the Ignorance of Printers. II. A Poem, wherein Printing is introduced, complaining of it's decay. III. The Epitaphs, both in Greek and *Latin*, and some in *Latin* only, of some learned Printers. But I could nowhere meet with any Complaints, either against *Badius*, or addressed to him; so that this Passage of the *Sieur de la Caille* is a Riddle to me, if it is not a mistake. It is not to be wondered, that dead Languages, which admit of such a Variety of Transpositions, should be so obscure to us; when our own will not a little puzzle us, by altering the usual Order of the Words.

[L] There is certainly a Mistake in the Title of One of the Books, which *Valerius Andreas* ascribes to him. He makes him Author of a Work, entitled, *Navicula fulturarum Mulierum* (29), but notes neither the Place, nor Time, of the Impression: he is satisfied, in regard to this, with copying the Catalogue of *Swerius*. I have been informed (30), that *Badius* published, in 1513, a Book, entitled, *Navis fultiferae Collectanea ab Jodoco Badio Ascensio vario carminum genere, non sine eorumdem familiarium explanatione, confata*. It is probable, that the Book, which *Valerius Andreas* mentions, is the same with This; or, at most, that it differs only as a Part from the Whole. I am opinion, likewise, that the Work, published by *Badius*, in 1513, is taken from That, which is entitled, *Navis Narragenia*, written by *Sebastian Brandt* (31). Native of *Strasbourg*, Professor of Law, and a good Poet for those times, viz. the End of the XVth Century. See, in *Gesner's Bibliotheca* (32), what the *Navis Narragenia*, or *Navis fulturarum*, is.

(c) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 237.

(d) Beza, History of Churches, lib. 6, pag. 149.

(20) History of Printing, pag. 72, 73.

(21) Almeloveen de Vitis Stephanorum, pag. 28.

(22) La Caille, History of Printing, pag. 102.

(23) Ibid. pag. 96.

(24) Ibid. pag. 105.

(25) Chevillier, History of Printing, p. 138.

(26) Almeloveen, ubi supra.

(e) Ant. Fayus in Vita Theod. Beza, p. 45.

(f) Chevillier, Original of Printing at Paris, pag. 137.

(27) La Caille, History of Printing, pag. 74.

(28) Mr Almeloveen, who lends his Book, so obligingly, sent me the *Arts Typographicae Querimonia*.

(29) See Remark [C].

(30) By Mr de la Cotte, a Dutch Antiquary.

(31) Or Titivoltus.

(32) Gesner's Biblioth. fol. 593.

BADUEL (CLAUDIUS) in *Latin* *Baduellus*, lived in the XVIth Century. He was of the Reformed Religion, as appears from his *Latin* Translation of some *Sermons of John Calvin*, which he published at *Geneva*; as also from the *Acts of the Martyrs*, which he printed in *Latin*, at the same Place, in the Year 1556 (a). I am very certain, he taught the *Belles Lettres*, in the College of *Nîmes*; for we find, among his printed Works, *Oratio ad instituendum Gymnasium Nemaufense de Studiis Literarum*; and another Piece, intituled, *de Collegio & Universitate Nemaufensi*. He wrote well in *Latin*, and was a good Orator, a good Father, and a good Christian. These two last Qualifications appeared very plainly in his *Epistola parænetica ad Paulum filium de vero Patrimonio & Hæreditate, quam Christiani Parentes suis Liberis debent relinquere*. I refer you, for the Titles of his other Books, to the *Epitome of Gesner's Bibliotheca*: But I shall say something of a Discourse he published on the *Marriage of Men of Learning* [A]: and I shall shew, that the *Epitomizers of Gesner* have been guilty of some Omissions; for they take no Notice of *Baduel's* having composed, in *Latin*, a *Funeral Oration* on the Lady de *St Veran* (b). The Catalogue of the *Oxford Library* ascribes to him some *Notes on the Apocrypha*, printed at *London*, in the Year 1660.

(a) Frisli Epitome Bibl. Geineri, p. 150.

(b) She was Daughter of the first President of the Parliament of Toulouse. This Funeral Oration, translated into French, by Charles Rozel, was printed at Lyons, in 1546. See the Biblioth. of du Verdier.

[A] I shall say something of a Discourse he published on the *Marriage of Men of Learning*. This is the Title of it: *De Ratione Vitæ studiose ac literatæ in Matrimonio collocandæ & degendæ*. It was printed at *Lyons*, by *Sebastian Gryphius*, in 1544, in 4to, and at *Leipsic* in 1577, and 1581 (1). This last Edition contains One hundred forty three Pages, in 8vo. A Professor at *Leipsic*, whose Name was *Gregory Bresman*, has added a Preface, very much in Commendation of the Author, and his Book. It is certainly a very judicious Performance, and full of excellent Morality. *Baduel* dedicated it to *Mr de Maffencal* (2), first President of the Parliament of *Toulouse*. He sets off, in it, the Excellency of Matrimony, and shews the Disorders which usually attend a single State; and refutes those, who object, that Matrimony is inconvenient to Men of Learning, by interrupting their Studies, and not allowing them the Liberty of applying wholly to their Books. He tells us (3), he had made choice of this State himself, and gives some Advice to those, inclined to follow his Example, for the chusing a proper Wife, very earnestly exhorting to join the Pleasures of an agreeable Marriage with the Profession of Letters. He says, that *William Bigot*, a Person well skilled in *Physic* and *Philosophy*, had promised a Treatise to prove Matrimony necessary; that is, according to the Sentiment of *Baduel*, in order to a perfect Enjoyment of Health. "*Gulielmus Bigotius, qui se (4), qui in Medicis ac Physicis diligenter versatur, summam harum rerum habet scientiam, aliquando promissit se de conjunctione Matrimonii ususque ejus necessario scripturum. Necessarium (opinor) intelligit, sine quo homo non potest valere. Itaque eam partem Naturæ, conjugium ad bonam Corporis constitutionem appetentis, nos ei explicandam relinquemus: in quo valde prudenter faciet, si eam commoditatem ex legitima uteris conjunctione, ejusque moderatâ consuetudine, petendam esse doceat: & ea incommoda ostendat quæ ex liberis illis ac dissolutis scortationibus humanis corporibus multa & magna afferuntur. . . . Therefore this Part of Nature, says he, which requires Matrimony, in order to a beautiful Constitution, I shall leave him to explain: In which he will do very prudently, if he demonstrates this Advantage to arise from a lawful and moderate Use of Copulation: and at the same time describes the many, and great, Disorders, the Body must be subject to, from a licentious and dissolute Course of Venery."* To give a just Idea of this Work, I shall borrow the Words of a Professor of *Leipsic*, who procured a second Edition of it. He remarks, that nothing is more necessary in the Conduct of Life, than to consult the Rules of Prudence; but that there are few Persons, who think of doing this, even in the Question concerning Matrimony, which is the most difficult of all to determine with Judgment (5). The Impatience of Youth hurries us into it, without listening to any Advice, but That of Passion or Interest, &c. and yet the false Steps, which are made in it, are entirely irreparable. "*Plerique vigentis A-*

venustate allecti, plures dotis magnitudine inefcaci, neque pauci splendore generis fascinati, his autoribus & consularibus agunt omnia. . . . Quos, meo quidem judicio, fatius erat, cum animis suis considerantes illud Publii Syri, deliberandum est aut, quod statuendum est semel; & hoc item alterum, Deliberare utilia, Mora est tutissima; diu secum multumque deliberare, atque ad naturæ suæ rationemque vitæ institutum consilium conferre omne, præsertim cum in deligendo matrimonio, si quid erroris acciderit (accidit autem sæpissimè) non quod aliis in rebus facere in promptu est, cum quis fortè se errasse intelligit rationem & consiliorum mutationem instituire cuicumque sit integrum: sed aut stultitiæ penam luere, aut negligentiae culpam præstare oporteat sempiternam. . . . Most Persons, in the Prime of their Youth, and before they are at Years of Discretion, pushed on by a juvenile Heat, and the blind Passion of Love, hurry into Matrimony, before they can make any Judgment of That State of Life. Many are captivated with the Charms of Beauty, more with those of Fortune, and some with the Splendor of a Family, and are led by no other Views but these. . . . Who, in my Opinion, would do much better, by considering That Saying of Publius Syrus: We ought long to deliberate on what we can determine but once; and That other, To deliberate on Questions of Importance, is the most safe Delay; to deliberate again, and again, and consult their own Tempers, and the Nature of That State, in the most particular Manner; because, if we commit any Mistake in marrying (which is too often the Case), we cannot remedy it, as we do those in other Matters, by changing our Methods and Counsels; but must fix down by what we have done, and either do Penance for our Folly, or continue our Fault of Carelessness, as long as we live." It being therefore so necessary, and at the same time so unusual, to enter, with Prudence, into This State, it was thought of signal Service to the Public, to reprint *Baduel's* Book, which contains the best Instructions in the World, and particularly advises to apply, by earnest Prayer, to the Holy Ghost, for Assistance. The Author of the Preface holds it necessary to begin with this, when we deliberate on a Point so nice and hazardous. "*Qui hanc vitæ conjugalis viam ingressi sunt, operam ante omnia dabunt, ut Deum sibi consiliarium, atque in rei tam arduæ consultatione, atque affectione moderatorem, piâ ac religiosâ nominis divini imploratione asistant. . . . de quâ unus & trini Dei, in coëundo conjugio ardentem invocationem diligenter facienti, præter complura alia prudentiæ & circumspèctionis & cautionis in hoc vitæ genere constituendum, præcepta sedulò tenenda, piè, sapienter, & eruditè admodum in hoc quem tibi, Lector benevole, de alieno largientes offerimus, Libello differunt. . . . They, who enter upon This Way of conjugal Life, should first of all endeavour, by Devotion and Prayer, to prevail with God to be their Counsellor and Conductor in so difficult an Affair. . . . Concerning which earnest Application to the triune God, besides several other Rules of Prudence and Circumspection to be constantly observed in this State of Life, the Book, which I present the Reader with, at another's Expence, does piously, prudently, and learnedly*

(1) It was this made Mr. König, falsely believe, that Baduel composed it in 1581. See his Biblioth. Vetus & Nova.

(2) Ad Joh. Maffencalum.

(3) De Ratione Vitæ studiose in Matrim. collocandæ. pag. 3.

(4) Ibid. p. 47. 48.

(5) In deliberatione de contrahendo Matrimonio, que est una omnium difficillima. Greg. Bresmanus Pref. ad Lector.

(6) Gregor. Bresmanus, Prefatione ad Lector.

(7) *Inferior Lieutenant in the Seneschallship of Provence, in the Jurisdiction of Arles. See the Biblioth. de la Croix du Maine, pag. 134. and that of du Verdier, pag. 532.*

"*learnedly treat.*" This Work of *Baduel* has been translated into *French*, by *Guy de la Gard* (?); but, if he has not succeeded better in his Translation of the Book, than he has in That of the Title, it can-

not be very valuable. He intitles his Version, *A very useful Discourse of the Dignity of Matrimony, and the virtuous Conversation of Men of Learning.* It was printed at *Paris*, in 1548, in 8vo.

BAGNI (**JOHN-FRANCIS**) lived in the XVIIth Century. He was raised to the Dignity of a Cardinal by Pope *Urban VIII*, in the Year 1629, on the Recommendation of *France* (a). Mr *Moreri* speaks of him very largely, but not without committing Mistakes, which it will be proper to take Notice of [A]. This Cardinal went through more Employments than Mr *Moreri* mentions, as will appear in our Remarks. One thing has been said of him, in the *Sorberiana*, which is false on several Accounts [B]. He had a Brother, who was called the Marquis of

(a) *Manuscript of the Cardinal Richelieu, at the beginning of the Year 1630.*

(1) *Baillet's Life of Des Cartes, Tom. I. p. 119.*

[A] Mr *Moreri* speaks of him — and commits Mistakes, which it will be proper to take notice of.] He says, I. That Cardinal *Bagni* was of the House of the Counts *de Guidi*. This is pretending, that the Name of his Family was of *Guidi*: But he should not have separated the Name of *Guidi* from That of *Bagni* or *à Balneo*. *Naudé* never divides them. II. That he was born the fourth of *October*, 1573. This does not agree with an Author, whose exactness is infinitely more to be depended on, than That of *Moreri* (1). This Author places the Death of Cardinal *Bagni* on the Twenty fourth of *July*, 1641, and makes him Seventy six Years old. So that, consequently, he was born in the Year 1565. III. That *Clement VIII* sent *Bagni* into *France*, to congratulate *Henry IV*, on his Marriage with *Mary de Medicis*. This is not true. Mr *Moreri* did not understand *Thomasin*, whom he quoted. He might read, in this Author, that Cardinal *Aldrobrandini*, Legate of *Clement VIII*, in *France*, as well on the Account of the Marriage of *Henry IV*, as of the Peace with *Savoy*, had *John-Francis Bagni* in his Retinue. And here is the whole Amount of this pretended Deputation. IV. *Moreri* multiplies *Bagni's* Nunciatures beyond the Truth: He will have it, that he was twice sent Nuncio into *France*, once under *Gregory XV*, and once under *Urban VIII*; and farther, that *Gregory XV* sent him Nuncio into *Flanders*. *Thomasin* does not go so far, but is satisfied with saying, that *Bagni* was sent to *Paris* by *Gregory XV*, in the Quality of Nuncio-Extraordinary; and that he went from *Paris* into *Flanders* to act there as Ordinary Nuncio. *Gassendus* does not go so far as *Thomasin*; he says, that *Bagni*, going as Nuncio to *Brussels*, passed through *Paris*, and saw there, *incognito*, all that was to be seen. *Transitit sub id tempus* (that is, in the Month of *July*, 1621). "Parisius memoratus supra Vicelegatus à Balneo, Pontificis Nuncius destinatus in Flandriam, qui cum vellet singularia quæque in urbe spectare, sed tamen quasi incognitus, commodum profecto convulvit Peirescius, qui ipsum variè deduceret ad eruditos, ad Musæa, ad opera omnia rariora (2). — About the same time, the Vice-legat *Bagni*, beforementioned, passed through *Paris*, to go to *Flanders*, being appointed Nuncio there by the Pope, who desiring to see, *incognito*, every Thing remarkable in that City, *Peirese* was luckily so well recovered, that he introduced him successively to all the learned Men, and showed him the Libraries, and every Thing that was curious." I know very well, that he was Nuncio in *France*; but it was at another time. The same *Gassendus*, speaking of the illustrious Men, with whom *Peirese* was become acquainted, in the Year 1614, says This of our *John-Francis Bagni*. "Unus fuit Joannes-Franciscus Vi-dius à Balneo, Patracensis Archiepiscopus, & per ea tempora Avenionensis Vicelegatus. Singularis enim deinceps necessitudo intercessit, seu donec ille Avenione degit, seu cum est versatus perillustres Nuncios tam apud principes Belgarum, quam apud Regem Christianissimum, seu postquam factus est Cardinalis rarè ac spectatè virtutis (3). — One was *John-Francis Guidi Bagni*, Archbishop of *Patras*, and then Vice-legat at *Avignon*. There was a particular Intimacy between them, not only during his Residence at *Avignon*, but also while he was Nuncio-Extraordinary both to the States of *Holland*, and to the most Christian King, and after he was made Cardinal for his great and singular Virtue." It is most certain, that *Bagni* was twice Nuncio; for *Naudé*, who was a long time his Domestic, and Library-Keeper, speaks thus to him in the Dedication of his *Coups d'Etat*: "My Lord, since

"you are now at *Rome*, enjoying the Honours due to your Deserts, and That Quiet, which you have so merited by so happy a Conduct in your public Employments, while you have been seven times Governor, once Vice-legat, and twice Nuncio, I did not think, &c." He was sent Nuncio to *Brussels* by *Gregory XV*, and into *France* by *Urban VIII*. *Thomasin* and *Moreri* are both in fault; they could not give a right Account of one of the clearest matters in the World. It was during his being Nuncio in *France*, that *Bagni* was raised to the Cardinalship. *Gassendus* says, that, in the Spring of the Year 1631, he passed through *Provence*, in his Return to *Rome*, and that he went to see his old Friend Mr *du Peirese*. "Vere novo Cardinalis à Balneo, utraque sua Legatione functus, & accepto Parisiis purpurato pileo, Romam rediit (4). — In the beginning of the Spring, Cardinal *Bagni*, having discharged both his Nunciatures, and received the red Cap at Paris, returned to *Rome*." He brought the learned *Gabriel Naudé* along with him. He continued in his Station of Nuncio at *Paris*, for above a Year after his Advancement to the Cardinalship, and was particularly concerned in reconciling the Differences between the Queen-Mother and Cardinal *Richelieu* (5). A Manuscript Memoir of Mr *Baudrand* says, I. That he was not made a Cardinal at the Recommendation of *France*, though we are told so in the History of the Ministry of Cardinal *Richelieu*; but merely by the Pope, as Nuncio of the Holy See, which is a Favour frequently conferred on those, who are Nuncios in *France*, and *Spain*, and at the Imperial Court. II. That there is a Mistake in those words of *Gassendus*, which I have quoted (6); accepto Parisiis purpurato Pileo Romam rediit. "The Pope doth not send the Red Hat to the Cardinals, which he makes, but they are obliged to come and receive it at *Rome*; for the Pope sends only the Calot by a Courier, and afterwards the Red Cap by one of his Chamberlains. So that Cardinal *Richelieu* and Cardinal *Mazarin* never had the Red Hat, because they never went to *Rome* after their Promotion. For above One hundred and twenty Years past, the Pope has never sent the Red Hat to any but the Cardinal Infant, into *Spain*, which was a particular Favour in respect to his Brother the King of *Spain*." All this is very curious: but yet Mr *Baudrand* should not have censured *Gassendus's* words, since they do not signify, that the Cardinal received the Red Hat; but only that he received the Red Cap. *Gassendus* says *Pileo*, not *Galero*. It is said, that *Paul V* departed from the Custom, introduced by *Sixtus V*: and That, in favour of the Duke of *Lerma*, to whom he ordered the Cardinal's Hat and Ring to be given, at *Madrid*, in 1618; this Duke being seventy Years old (7). See the eleventh Chapter of the fifth Book of *Pallavicini's History of the Council of Trent*.

[B] One Thing has been said of him, in the *Sorberiana*, which is false on several Accounts.] It is pretended, that, at the sight of the Thirty seven Volumes of the Councils, printed at the *Louvre*, he cried out, I wonder there should be still any Heretics in *France*. What Christian from beneficence can be any thing but a Catholic? *Sorbiere* admires this Thought: "Optime Cardinalis Banius, in Galliâ Nuncius, says he, dum 37 Vol. Concil. cerneret typis regis impressa, aiebat: Miror unde jam in Galliâ hæretici fiant, quis enim hypotheseum Christianorum servans potest non esse Catholicus (8)? It is false, That this Cardinal ever saw Those Thirty seven Volumes: He died in the Year 1641, and That Edition of the Councils came out in the Year 1644. But, if he had said, what is ascribed to him, he must have very much betrayed

(4) *Ibid. l. 4. ad ann. 1631.*

(5) See the History of Cardinal *Richelieu*, by *Aubrey*, Vol. I. pag. 264, 279. Edit. of *Holl* 12mo.

(6) *Above, Citation (4).*

(7) *Mercurius Galant, for Apr. 1706, pag. 109.*

WHETHER the Councils in 37 Volumes are able to convert Heretics.

(8) *Sorberiana, pag. 12. Edit. of Holland.*

(2) *Gassendus in Vita Peireskii, lib. 3. ad Ann. 1621, pag. 289.*

(3) *Ibid. pag. 281.*

of BAGNI [C], and was General of the Pope's Troops in the *Valtelline*, in the Year 1624.

betrayed his Judgment. For nothing can be so improper for the Conversion of Heretics as a Work of many Volumes, as Thirty seven Volumes of the Councils. Of Ten thousand Protestants, there will scarce be found two, who can read a Page in That Edition of the *Louvre*, and among those, who understand *Latin*, the greatest part have neither the Inclination, nor the Patience, to undertake so vast a reading. The Inconvenience would not be remedied by Translations into the Vulgar Tongue; for who, among the Ignorant, would not lose themselves in such a Sea as This? Without the Grace of God, and the Power of Education, the reading of the Councils would make an hundred Times more Infidels than Christians. There is no History, which affords more matter of Scandal, nor a more shocking Scene of Passions, Intrigues, Factions, Cabals, and Frauds, than This of the Councils (9). Those, who published the *Menagiana*, forgot a good Jest, which I have heard several times, in the *Mercuriales* of Mr *Menage*. A witty Man is quoted there, who when he heard say, "Such a one was condemned in such a Council, cried, It was a sign he did not know how to cabal so well as his Adversaries, or had not the same support from the secular Arm." Can Those, who know the Religion of *Sorbiere*, be well edified by his *Optime*?

(9) See Remark [B] of the Article NESTORUS.

(a) He is more known by this Latin Name, than by that of de Bay, which was his true Name.

(b) It is the Name of the Founder.

(c) I correct Valerius Andreas thus, for his number, cix. lxxv, is a most absurd Fault of the Printer.

(d) Ex Valer. Andreæ Biblioth. pag. 670.

BAIUS (a) (MICHAEL), Professor of Divinity at *Louvain*, was born at *Melin* in the Territory of *Aeth*, in the Year 1513. He distinguished himself so much by his great Progress, and prudent Conduct, during his Studies at *Louvain*, that, from the Station of a Scholar, he was promoted to That of Principal of the College of *Standonck* (b). Having been three Years in That Office, he applied himself to teach Philosophy; and, after six Years spent in Those Lectures, he obtained the Place of Principal of the Pope's College in the Year 1549 (c). In the same Year he was made *Licentiate* in Divinity. Two Years after he took his Doctor's Degree, and was appointed *Regius* Professor of Scripture. In 1563, he was one of the Divines sent by the King of Spain from *Louvain* to *Trent* [A]. He was admired in That Council. He obtained the Deanry of *St Peter* at *Louvain*, in the Year 1575. At the end of Three Years he was promoted to the Dignity of Conservator of the Privileges of the University (d). His Epitaph imports, that he was Chancellor of the same University, and Inquisitor-General in the *Netherlands*. He was a very learned Man, and no less eminent for his Morality, Piety, and Modesty, than for his Parts and Learning (e). He had read over *St Augustin's* Works nine times (f): He composed several Works in Divinity [B], which discovered That Reading (g), and which contained, as was pretended, a great number of Propositions, condemned by Pope *Pius V* [C]. He wrote also some Books of Controversy against Those of the Protestant

[C] He had a Brother, called the Marquis of Bagui. Mr *Baillet* assures us, that This Marquis was the Brother of Cardinal *John-Francis Bagui*, and that, having quitted the Sword, he advanced himself, in Ecclesiastical Dignities, even to That of the Cardinalship, to which he was promoted in the Year 1657 (10). He had been *Nuncio* in France all the time of the Pontificate of *Innocent X*, and the two first Years of *Alexander VII*. — He died at *Rome*, the twenty third of August, 1663, aged eighty Years (11). Mr *Baillet* thinks it likely, that Mr *Des Cartes* went to see him in the *Valtelline*: He grounds his Conjecture on This Marquis's being addicted to the Study of Natural Philosophy (12). The Truth is, *Des Cartes* was not only well known to Cardinal *John-Francis Bagui*, but also much respected by him (13). The *French Mercury* says, "That the Marquis de Bagui, to whom his Holiness had given the Command of his Forces in the *Valtelline*, was known to be a Partisan of Spain, descended from the Family of the *Colonna's*, altogether *Spaniards*, chief of the *Gibelins* in *Romagna*, and who had always been a Pensionary of Spain, having, as such, accompanied the Conitable *Colonna*, in his Journey into Spain, four Years ago (14)."

(10) *Baillet's* Life of *Des Cartes*, Tom. 3, pag. 161.

(11) *Id. ib.* p. 119, 120.

(12) *Ibid.* pag. 119. See also pag. 161.

(13) *Ibid.* pag. 253, 254, 300, 301, 302.

(14) *Mercurius Francicus*, Tom. 10, p. 179, ad Ann. 1624, quoting the *Venetian Gazette*.

(e) See Remark [H].

(f) *Swerter*. Athenæ Belg. Valer. Andreas.

(g) See Remark [E].

[A] The King of Spain sent him from *Louvain* to *Trent*. See, in Cardinal *Palavicini*, all the Springs, which retarded or advanced the Deputation of *Michael Baius* (1). The Writer of *Commendation's* Life has past over this slightly, and with too much Flattery (2); but the Author of the History of the Council unravels all *Commendation's* Intrigues very clearly, and gives him only what belongs to him. This *Nuncio*, being at *Brussels*, in the Year 1561, took notice of the Differences, which had happened at *Louvain*, on account of some particular Notions of *Baius* and *Hefels*, concerning the Doctrine of Free-will, That of Good-works, and some others. These two Doctors had kept Silence a long time, in condescension to those who had given them that Advice; but hearing that, at the Solicitation of the *Franciscans*, the *Serbonne* had condemned eighteen Propositions, and being exhorted by their Disciples to defend their Cause, they prepared themselves accordingly. *Commendation* put a Stop to This Paper-War, not by his fine Discourses, as *Gratiani* affirms, but by writing such Letters to the Pope, as occasioned him to give order to Cardinal de *Granvelle* to enjoin them Silence (3).

[B] He composed several Works in Divinity. He published some of them, the Titles whereof are these, as I find them in *Valerius Andreas*: *De Meritis Operum libri II. De prima hominis Justitia & Virtutibus impiorum libri II. De sacramentis in genere contra Calvinum. De forma Baptismi*. All these Treatises were printed together at *Louvain* in the Year 1565. The next Year these following were printed there; *De Libero Hominis Arbitrio liber I.*

De Charitate, Justitia, & Justificatione, libri III. De Sacrificio libri I. De Peccato Originis libri I. De Indulgentiis libri I. De Oratione pro defunctis libri I.

[C] Which contained, as was pretended, a great Number of Propositions condemned by *Pius V*. I say, as was pretended; for the Fact is not yet settled, and I find *Michael Baius* is very far from granting, that he taught what was imputed to him. "However," says he (4), among those Propositions (5), there were some very different from our Sentiments; others which we never maintained, nor meddled with, in any Sense, but all, or, at least, most, of them, were turned, and expressed, in such a malicious Manner, that the very Form of them alone might make them appear suspicious, especially in the Opinion of those, who had not purposely studied these sorts of Questions." This is the old Game of the *ODIUM THEOLOGICUM*: That Passion, which occasioned a Proverb long ago, finds Heresies where-ever it pleases; it frames such artificial Extracts, and so proper to exasperate the People, that it transforms, into pernicious Heresies, That, which, when considered with it's Principles, Restrictions, and Applications, is not so much as heterodox. This Passion is contagious: A Physician, who affects to set up for an Informer, from a Motive of Zeal only, finds himself all on a sudden possessed with the Sacerdotal Spirit; he produces unfair Extracts; he divides what he should join, and joins what he ought to divide, and gives the Propositions such a turn, as is proper to make them appear most shocking

(4) In his Letter to Cardinal *St. monetta* cited by *Gery*, Apology for the Centures, p. 42.

A METHOD of extracting Propositions out of a Book that one would have censured.

(5) He speaks of those which the *Franciscans* showed to Cardinal *Granvelle*, and which were afterwards sent to *Rome*. See the Apology for the Centures, pag. 42, 43.

(1) *Palavic. Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 15. c. 7.*

(2) *Anthony Maria Gratiani, Life of Cardinal Commendation, re-consulted by McFlecher, pag. 153.*

(3) *Palavic. Hist. Concil. Trident. lib. 15. c. 7.*

stant Religion [D]. He paid such a Respect to the Pope's Censure [E], that, tho' he did not believe, he had taught any Heterodox Doctrines, yet he would not suffer the Books to be reprinted, which were pretended to contain the censured Propositions (b). *Valerius Andreas* has committed several Mistakes in speaking of That Censure [F]. We are promised a New Edition of the Works of *Michael Baius*. It will contain several Pieces never yet printed. The Editor will illustrate it with many Theological and Historical Notes. He has compared the Editions of This Author's Works with the Manuscripts to be met with in the best Libraries. There was a Report, that *Michael Baius*, to be revenged on the Jesuits, who, he believed, had promoted the Censure of his Doctrine, employed all his Credit in *Louvain* to cause the Doctrines of *Leonard Lessius* to be censured there (i). It ought not to be forgot, that the Bull of *Pius V* was very tender of his Honour [G]. His last Will was a

Proof

(b) Val. Andreas, in Biblioth. pag. 671.

(i) See the Apology for the Censures passed on the two Universities, published by Mr. Gery in 1688.

ing to the Conferences of the Judges. The Physician *Francis Blondel* will soon afford us an Example. This is not the only Injustice observed in Persons possessed with This Passion: Their double Weights and Measures give us another Instance of their Wickedness. Desire their Censure against their Inquisitors; shew them, ever so plainly, the Justice of your Cause; they will either turn a deaf Ear to it, or pay you with Nonsense. It is Then, that their Charity suffers all, and excuses all.

[D] He wrote some Books of Controversy against those of the Protestant Religion. The same *Valerius Andreas* supplies us with the following Titles; *Responsio ad Questiones Phil. Marini de Ecclesia Christi, & Sacramento Altaris*, at *Louvain*, 1579. *Apologia pro Responsione contra Objectiones ejusdem de veritate Corporis Christi in Eucharistia*, at *Louvain*, 1581. *Epistola de Statu Inferioris Germaniae unionis cum iis qui se desertores Romanæ Ecclesiæ vocant, & de Juramento quod eorum jussu à Clero & Monachis exigitur*, at *Louvain*, and at *Cologne*, 1579. He wrote also a Letter de juramento jussu Ducis *Alenconii Antwerpæ in prætori concepto & comprobato*.

[E] He paid a great Respect to the Pope's Censure. To comment rightly on this Text, I will make use of the Words of the *Sieur Gery*, Bachelor in Divinity. "This pious and learned Doctor, says he,

"speaking of *Baius* (6), at the Time of his greatest Reputation, saw, all of a sudden, a Bull appear against Seventy six Propositions, which the Solicitors of That Censure imputed all to him, tho' some of them were none of his, others were turned in a malicious Manner to make them obnoxious, and some others, which the Bull itself acknowledged, might be maintained in a Catholic Sense. They were not satisfied with sending to *Louvain*, in the usual Form, in 1570; but a second Publication was made of it nine or ten Years after; and they affected to have it done by a Jesuit, in 1580: whom the Society had without doubt solicited, to make a Shew of their Credit. What did *Baius* do; and what did the Faculty? Nothing else but humbly submit, and, for Peace sake, and the Edification of the Faithful, suppress all the Justifications, Explanations, and Representations, which they might have made." However, it must not be supposed,

that *Baius* wrote nothing in his Justification: His Letter to Cardinal *Simonetta* (7) proves the contrary; for he shews there, that Dr *John Hessel*, and himself, had put into Cardinal *Granvelle's* Hands their Answer to certain Propositions, which he had communicated to them. The *Scots* forged these Propositions, to cry down Those two Doctors, and presented them to some dignified Persons, without either naming *Hessel*, or *Baius*. If I was to be asked the Reason of their desiring to cry down these two Professors, I should answer, that it was because they had introduced a Method of Study, which had the Appearance of an unpleasant Novelty. "After the Explication of the Master of the Sentences, they were for reducing the Study of Divinity to the Holy Scriptures, and to the Writings of the ancient Fathers (8)," and principally to those of *St Augustine*. This "was not pleasing to Persons possessed with quite different Notions, and particularly to those, who, not being willing to trouble themselves with much Study, think it better to follow the Opinions already received by the Majority, than to be at the Pains of establishing new ones, on the solid Foundations of Scripture: And these Persons imagined, it was with design to point at, and reflect upon, them,

"whenever, in Lectures or Disputes, any Sentiment was advanced different from theirs, or any thing taught contrary to the Maxims they had long received from certain Authors." *Baius* was not satisfied with writing This Letter (9), but sent an Apology for his Opinions to the Pope, in the Year 1569.

[F] *Valerius Andreas* has committed several Mistakes, in speaking of the Censure, of *Pius V*, of *Baius* (10). I. He reports it for a Certainty, that the Bull of *Pius V*, against the Seventy six Propositions, was confirmed by *Gregory XIII*. In the New Edition of *Baius*, this will be shewn to be false (11). II. He asserts, that most of Those Seventy six Propositions were extracted out of *Baius's* Books. The contrary will be proved in the New Edition. III. He contents himself with saying, that the Bull of *Pius V* was published at *Louvain*, the seventeenth and nineteenth of April, 1570. But, besides that, he should have said the sixteenth of November; he is guilty of some Omissions. He does not say, that the Bull was published either by the Pope's or Cardinal *Granvelle's* Order, but by the Order of the Duke d'Alba, and by That of the Synod of *Meublen*. This was irregular, since the Pope had commissioned Cardinal *Granvelle* to notify the Bull to the Divines of *Louvain*, in such manner as he should judge most convenient.

However, *Valerius Andreas* should have expressed who Those were, who gave order for the Publication of the Bull. He ought also to have observed, that, on the Days he mentions, I mean the seventeenth and nineteenth of April, *Michael Baius* declared his Opinion, in publick, upon the condemned Propositions. His Recantation was extorted from him by wicked Practices. The new Edition will treat of all these things. IV. He says, that some credible Persons told the Pope, that some Divines of *Louvain* were writing an Apology for the condemned Propositions. It will be shewn, by the Testimony of *Toletus*, that they were false Informers, who reported these things to the Pope. V. He asserts, that *Gregory XIII*. condemned the same Propositions anew. This will be made appear to be false. VI. He places the Death of *Baius* on the sixteenth of December; whereas it happened on the sixteenth of September (12). I do not repeat, what I have already observed, concerning the wrong Chronology of his Printers (13). I ought not to add his making the Year 1551, the first of *Baius's* Regius Professorship of Divinity: He is not mistaken; but the Epitaph of *Baius* was not grounded upon This Date, since it mentions That Professorship to have continued forty Years, two Years more than the Calculation of *Valerius Andreas* requires. These Bulls against *Michael Baius* may have been multiplied, by some Persons, beyond the Truth, by making no Difference between condemning a Doctrine, and publishing another Person's Condemnation of That Doctrine. In this Sense, indeed, it may be truly said, that *Gregory XIII* condemned the Seventy six Propositions; for he not only inserted, in a Bull of his own, the Constitution of *Pius V*, declaring, that he found it in the Pope's Register, and that an entire Obedience ought to be paid to it; but he commanded also, that his Bull should be solemnly published at *Louvain*, by the Jesuit *Toletus*, in the Year 1580. *M. rillon*, great Vicar of *Meublen*, notified That of *Pius V* to the Divines of *Louvain*, in 1567: And, in the Year 1570, he notified it to them again, with a little more Formality.

[G] The Bull of *Pius V* was very tender of his Honour. The Letter of *Baius*, which has been quoted (14), adds, "that, after many long Solicitations,

(9) It is quoted in the Bibliothèque Universelle, Tom. 14, pag. 198, as being printed at the end of *Baius's* Apology at *Roan*, 1666.

(10) *Valerius Andreas*, in *Fatis Academicis Studii Lovaniensis*.

(11) What I say here, and in the Body of the Article, concerning the new Edition of *Baius*, is taken out of a Memoir, which fell into my hands, and which comes from good Authority.

(12) He has done it in the Bibliothèque Belgica.

(13) In the Citation (c).

(6) *Gery's* Historical Apology for the two Censures of *Louvain* and of *Dowry*, pag. 26, Edit. of *Cologne*, 1688.

(7) The *Sieur Gery*, p. 40, produces part of it, which he translates from the Latin, which is printed in the Fests of the University of *Louvain*, p. 336.

(8) *Gery*, Apology for the Censures, pag. 40, 41.

(14) Above, Citation (7).

(8) Swert. in
Athenis
Belg. pag.
565.

(l) Id. ib.

(m) You will
find it in
Swertius ubi
supra.

Proof of his great Charity [H], for he left all his Estate to the Poor (k). He founded a College at *Louvain*, and dedicated it to St *Augustin* (l). He died the Sixteenth of September 1589, aged Seventy seven Years, and was buried in the Pope's College, of which he had been a long time Principal. His Nephew *James BAIUS*, Doctor of Divinity, caused a Monument to be built for him with a fine Inscription (m). This Nephew followed his Uncle's steps. He was made Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1586 (n). He was often deputed for the Affairs of the University of *Louvain*, and executed his Commissions with great Prudence and Ability (o). He was Dean of St *Peter's* in the same City, and *Regius* Professor of the Catechism (p). He published some Treatises [I]. He gave all his Estate to the Founding

(n) Valer.
Andr. Bibl.
Belg. pag.
401.

(o) Swert.
ib. p. 355.

(p) Valer.
Andr. ibid.

(15) Palavic.
cin. Hiflor.
Conc. Tri-
dent. lib. 15.
cap. 7.
Septu-
aginta novem
Baii Positio-
nes.

(16) Gery,
Apology for
the Cen-
sures, p. 43.

(17) Ibid.
pag. 44.

(18) Palavic.
cin. Hiflor.
Conc. Tri-
dent. lib. 15.
cap. 7. n. 12.

(19) In Re-
mark [E] of
the Article
ANGLUS
(THOMAS).

A BULL of
the Pope,
wherein the
placing of
the Words
caused an
Obscurity,
which was
increased by
the Omission
of a Com-
ma.

(20) St A-
mour's
Journal,
Part. 2. p. 64.
cited in the
Biblioth.
Universelle,
Tom. 14.
pag. 201.
See also the
Difficulties
propounded to
Mr Steyaert,
Part. IX.
pag. 180.
and the new
Edition of
Baius's
Works, Part.
II. pag. 235.
& seq.

"which began from the Pontificate of Pius IV, they obtained, at last, a Bull of Pius V, dated the first of October, 1567, which condemns Seventy fix (15) Propositions (16)." It is true, he who brought the Bull, by Commission from Cardinal *Granvelle*, declared publicly, in the Assembly of the Faculty of Divinity at *Louvain*, that the first sixty of those Propositions were taken out of the Writings of *Baius* (17); but, in short, the Bull did not name him; and besides, the Condemnation was expressed very tenderly, since it allowed, that some of those Propositions were capable of a favourable Constrution. Cardinal *Palavicini* informs us, that, in order to treat *Baius* with the greater Tenderness, Pope *Pius V* was contented with causing his Bull to be privately notified to the University of *Louvain*, by the Bishop of *Mechlin*; but that *Gregory XIII*, finding the Evil was not remedied, judged it necessary to make a solemn Publication of it, and deputed his Preacher, the Jesuit *Francis Toletus*, for that Purpose, who did not oblige *Baius* to a public Recantation, or put him to any Disgrace. "Hic studuit Baium removere à pravis illis opinionibus, cohortatus, ut sedis Apostolicæ judicio acquiesceret: & perpaucis colloquiis id obtinuit, privata illius retractatione contentus: atque hoc pacto Baius non solum illæsus perstitit, sed ipsius etiam nominis verba Diplomati perperere; quin per illud ejus errores manum tam mitem experti sunt, ut vix viderentur errores, cum aliquæ ex proscriptis positionibus, nullis certis in hac exceptione adnotatis, dicerentur posse sustineri in aliqua minus propria significatione (18).—He endeavoured to bring off Baius from his erroneous Opinions, advising him to acquiesce in the Judgment of the Holy See: This he accomplished after a few Conferences, and was content with his private Recantation: And, by this means, Baius not only continued free from Trouble, but escaped being so much as mentioned in the Pope's Bull. Nay, his Errors were, in That, so very tenderly handled, that they scarce seemed to be Errors; since some of the Condemned Propositions, without particularly excepting any of them, are therein declared to be capable of being maintained in a less obvious Sense." We have observed, in another place (19), the Inconvenience of censuring a heap of Propositions, in such a general and loose manner, that the respective, in the Conclusion, cannot enable us to make any Distinctions. The Bull of Pope *Pius V* had this Inconvenience; and, besides, left the Reader uncertain, on another account; for, without particularizing any thing, it affirmed, that, among the condemned Propositions, there were some, which might be maintained, in some certain Sense. This was the least that the Bull permitted, and there could be no question, but it permits this; but it might be pretended, that it permitted much more. The placing of the Words produced this perplexing Obscurity; a Comma was omitted: This Omission made the Words capable of two very different Construtions; and That was the occasion of much Contest. See the *Latin* I am going to quote, and admire the Turns and Chances of Controversies. "Quas quidem sententias stricto coram nobis examine ponderatas, quamquam nonnullæ aliquo pacto sustineri possint in rigore & proprio verborum sensu ab auctoribus intento hereticas, erroneas, suspectas, temerarias, scandalosas, & in pias aures offensionem immitentes, respectivè & presentium auctoritate damnamus (20).—Which Propositions, after having passed our strict Examination, although some of them may in some sort be defended in the literal and proper Sense of the Words, and in which the Authors intend them to be understood, we condemn them respectively, by the Authority of

"these presents, as heretical, erroneous, obnoxious, profligate, infamous, and offensive to pious Ears." That, which the Pagans called the Sport and Caprice of Fortune, is not excluded from this Sanctuary: the pretended infallible Oracle of *Rome* does not remedy the Mischief. After having taken a great deal of trouble to concert all the Syllables of his Answer, he may see, that his Transcriber, or Secretary, by forgetting one Comma, shall be the Cause of the Damnation of an infinite Number of Persons. Nay, farther, the Comma will do nothing there, whether you place it after *possint*, or not; the Equivocation still remains. There is no Rule, either in Writing, or Printing, by which a Comma after *possint* must necessarily confine what follows to the Word *damnamus*. The most correct Books, which furnish numberless Instances, where Commas placed, as this might be, after *possint*, do not at all hinder; but what follows, from such a Comma to the next succeeding one, may relate to the Word *possint*, or any Word so situated.

[H] His last Will was a Proof of his great Charity.] The Apologist for the Censures of *Louvain*, and *Donay*, sets this Virtue of *Michael Baius* against the pretended Miracles of *Leffius*. "It is a great Miracle, says he (21), to see so much Humility, accompanied with such great Parts and Learning, that even *Toletus* could not forbear giving him the following Character, which is preserved in *Louvain* by Tradition: *Michaele Baii nibil doctius, nihil humilius, — Nothing can be more learned, or more humble, than Michael Baius*. It is a great Miracle, to see so much Submission and Patience, as appeared in his Conduct, in regard to the Pope's Bull. It is a great Miracle, to see a holy Priest, whose many Studies and Occupations have not abated his Piety; and who melts into Tears at the Altar, from a lively Sense of the Sanctity of our Myteries. Lastly, it is a great Miracle, to see so much Charity for the Poor, extending so far, as to desire no other Heirs, and which, for their sakes, stifles all Sentiments of Nepotism, how just soever they might be, in him. This will make *Baius* always dear to Posterity; whereas a Reputation, supported only by an artificial Pretence to Miracles and Wonders, without Foundation, will soon be lost, and vanish away in Smoke." Cardinal *Palavicini* reports, that *Commen-dan*, giving an account, to the Cardinal of *Mantua*, of the State, in which he found the University of *Louvain*, in the Year 1561, observes to him, that *Michael Baius*, and *John Hesselius*, had taught some Novelties on Free-will, and that they were two Persons very remarkable for their Learning, and good Lives (22); that *Ruard Tapper* had taken Umbrage at their Union, and thought they valued their Learning too much, though they were otherways very modest and virtuous; "But, adds he, every one places his Pride in the Art he professes, and bears other things very easily. *Comperimus sibi esse Ruardam in Theologicis disciplinis præclarum, dum is, in illa Academia docens, in his duobus adbus ætate juvenituli observaret insaufam conjunctionem ingenti & audacie, solum esse dicere se non nisi schisma ab illis expectare, & Theologicam lauream diu ipsis distulisse: eos profecto videri scientiæ suæ nimis amantes, quamvis aliqui probos & modestos: & hæc ille verba sapienter usurpavit, digna quæ à nobis repetantur; sed ejusque iuper bis in ea arte quam profectur fuit est, cætera facile suffert (23)."*

[I] James Baius published some Treatises.] A Panegyric on the Arrival of the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta of Spain: *Catechismus, sive Institutio-*

(21) Gery,
Apology for
the Censures,
pag. 37, 38.

(22) Erant
ambo & sci-
entia & ex-
emplo vite
conspicui.
Palavic.
Hiflor. Conc.
Trident. lib.
15. cap. 7.
n. 7.

(23) Id. ib.
n. 9.

(9) Id. ibid.
Swertius
fory: October
9.

ding of a College [K], and died the fifth of October, 1614 (9). — The new Edition of the Works of Baius, which I mentioned as a thing to come, has appeared since the first Impression of this Dictionary [L], and been condemned at

(24) Ex Val-
ler. Andrea
Bibl. Belg.
pag. 401.

num Christianæ Religionis libri IV, and De Venerabili Eucharistiæ Sacramento & Sacrificio Missæ, libri III. (24).

[K] He gave all his Estate to the founding of a College. Swertius asserts, I. That James Baius left the Administration of his Estate to his Nephew Giles Baius, Doctor and Profetor of Divinity, and that he charged him to apply it intirely to the founding of a College, for young Persons of his Country. II. That Giles Baius, in obedience to his Uncle's Will, caused a very fine College to be built, which is justly called BALANUM. III. That this College had been built but few Years; he takes notice in what place. *Objectus patris desiderio, augustissimum* (Collegium) ab hinc paucis annis extruxit e regione Pædagogii Falconis & BALANUM meritis indigetatur (25). But Aubertus Miræus, who could not be ignorant of what Swertius had wrote upon it, affirms only, that he had read somewhere, that James Baius had designed the Foundation of a College, for the Reception of young Students in Divinity. *De altero Collegio Sacrarum Literarum studijs adolescentibus pariter alendis præ præsentemque cogitasse scriptum invenimus* (26). Thus Writers deliver themselves, when they can only praise a Man for the good Intentions, which an Author, whom they have read, ascribes to him: For, when they know They have been actually executed, they expressly mention it. Aubertus Miræus, therefore, knew nothing of the building of the Collegium Balanum. Now this Ignorance of so notorious a Fact is something prodigious, in such a Man, as This, who so well knew his own Country, the Spanish Netherlands.

(27) Swert.
Ath. Belg.
pag. 355.
T. 1. p. 2.
quis credidit
in 1623.

(26) Aub.
Miræus de
Scriptoribus
Sæculi
XVI. pag.
134.

[L] A new Edition of the Works of Baius — has appeared since the first Edition of this Dictionary. This is the Title of it: *Michælis Baii celeberrimi in Lovaniensi Academiâ Theologi Opera: cum Bullis Pontificis, & aliis ipsius causam spectantibus, jam primum ab Romanæ Ecclesiæ ab convictis Protestantibus, simul ac Arminianorum, cæterorumque hujusce temporis Pelagianorum impetibus vindicandam, collecta, expurgata, & plurimis quæ hactenus delituerant opusculis aucta: Jussu A. P. Theologi. Coloniz Agrippinzæ, sumptibus Balthasar ab Egmont & sociorum, M.DC.XCVI.* It is a pretty large Quarto, divided into two Parts. The first contains, besides those Writings of his, which were already printed, six or seven Pieces of Baius, which had never been published. The second consists almost intirely of such, as now make their first Appearance, and relate to the Censure of some of Baius's Propositions. One of these is a Chronological Narrative of the Proceedings in that Cause, and was wrote by him, who had the Care of This Edition. This Narrative informs us, among other things, that Michael Baius was induced to form his Method of teaching Divinity, on the Scripture, and on the Fathers, and chiefly on St Augustin, for two Reasons (27). The first was, because the Protestants of the Netherlands boasted to have the Scripture, and the ancient Fathers, on their Side. The second, because many Catholic Writers (28), deserting the Hypothesis of St Augustin, came extremely near That of the Pelagians. Ruard Tapper, and Tiletan, Profetors of Divinity at Louvain, disapproved this new Method of Baius, as soon as they heard of it, after their return from the Council, in the Year 1552: And it is affirmed, that Ruard cried out one Day, *What Devil brought this Doctrine into our School, in our Absence?* This was the beginning of a furious Storm against Baius: the Franciscans, especially, fell foul upon him. The respective Guardians of Nivelles, and of Leids, sent eighteen Articles to the Faculty of Divinity at Paris, in the Year 1560, and desired their Judgment upon them. That University condemned them all, some, to the Number of three, as false and contrary to the Scripture; and the rest as heretical. Baius made Remarks on This Censure, and had a Mind to communicate them to some Doctor at Paris; but he gave over That Design, when he saw it impossible for him to obtain a Copy of this Decree of the Sorbonne (29). He communicated them to the Provincial of the Franciscans. He shews plainly, that the Sorbonne had censured, as Heretical, what

was visibly contained in St Augustin. The Year following, a List was presented, to Cardinal Granvelle, of the Propositions extracted from the Writings of Baius, as was pretended; and yet some of those Propositions were contrary to his Opinions; others he had never disputed for, or against; and most of them were drawn up so artificially, that the very turn of the Expressions might make them suspected either of Falsity or Heresy (30). The Cardinal communicated them to Michael Baius, who returned an Answer not now to be found. The same Cardinal received Orders to impose Silence on the Parties; and by This means the Quarrel was composed: But it was renewed in the Year 1564; for Tiletan endeavoured to obtain the Censures of the Universities of Spain against Baius's Writings (31), and he sent Extracts of them to Pius IV, that they might be condemned. Other Extracts were added to These, and sent to Pius V, who issued a Bull, the first of October, 1567, wherein he condemned Seventy six Propositions. This Bull was neither published, nor fixed up, but was only read to Baius, and to the particular Faculty of Divinity at Louvain, the Twentieth ninth of December, 1567, by Maximilian Morillon, Vicar-General of the Archbishop of Mechlen (32). This Vicar-General being required to give a Copy of This Bull, he refused it. He declared, that he had Orders to prohibit all the printed Books, out of which most of the Seventy six Propositions were said to have been extracted. The Dean of the Faculty represented, That, for great Reasons, it was very necessary, that the Books of Baius should not be prohibited; neither were they. This Doctor wrote to the Pope, the eighth of January 1569, and sent him an Apology, wherein he made it appear, that he had not taught those Seventy six Propositions, and that most of them, if understood in a certain Sense, were true, and the very Doctrines of St Augustin. The Answer, which the Pope returned him, the third of May, the same Year, contained an Exhortation to submit to the Censure. Baius was extremely surprized, when That Letter of Pius V was delivered to him, to see himself treated like a Rebel, who had incurred the Punishment of Excommunication and of Irregularity. He requested Morillon to be absolved from This Sentence, but could not obtain it, without abjuring the Articles, which the Bull had condemned. *Summo pre miratus est Baius se cum agere si suas vindicias & apologiam scribendo Pontifici, in eum fuisset rebellis, ac Excommunicationis & Irregularitatis censuras incurrisset: à quibus cum peteret absolvi, Morillonus absolutiois beneficium ei impetiri noluit, nisi prius Articulos per Bullam confixos ejureret* (33). From that time every Body was suffered to inveigh against This Doctor, as if he had really taught those Seventy six Articles; they exclaimed against him in their Sermons, and in their Lectures: He bore this Opposition very patiently; but, in the Year 1570, he was advised, by three Bishops (34), to vindicate himself. He explained himself, therefore, on these Matters, in his Auditory of Divinity, and declared, that, among those Seventy six Propositions, there were some, which deserved to be condemned, but which he had never maintained: that others were maliciously drawn up, which he did not admit of, in the bad Construction that might be put upon them, though otherwise they were very capable of a sound Interpretation. *Cæpit in Sibus Theologorum quid circa hujusmodi Articulos sentirent, cum multa humilitate ac modestia, aperire: declarans nonnullos ipsorum esse falsos ac jure confixos, sed à se nunquam traditos: alios esse arte ac dolo confixos, qui pravam sensum pati possunt, quem nunquam tenuit, licet & in sano intelligi quoque facile possent* (35). In the Month of June of the same Year, 1570, the Bishops of the Netherlands held a Council at Mechlen, wherein, at the Instance of the Duke d'Alba, they engaged to cause the Bull of Pope Pius V to be solemnly published at Louvain, and to be signed by all the Profetors of Divinity. The Commision for it was given to Morillon, who performed it the sixteenth of November, the same Year. However, he could

(30) Id. ib.
pag. 194.

(31) The
Censures of
the Universities
of Salamanca
and Alcalá were
not passed till
after the
Death of Tiletan, Idem,
pag. 195.

(32) Ibid.
pag. 197.

(33) Ibid.
pag. 199.

(34) Martin
Richtovius
Bishop of Li-
pres, Francis
Sonnus Bi-
shop of Bois-
le-duc, and
Cornelius
Jansenius
Bishop of
Ghent.

(35) Oper.
Baii, part. 2.
pag. 200.

(29) Bail O-
per. part. 2.
pag. 197.

at Rome by the Congregation of the Index. It contains many instructive Particulars, and several things, which would carry the makers of Reflexions a great way. The Remark, which I shall give, concerning This Edition will make a good Supplement to this Article. The Editor was very ill treated by Father Dez, a Jesuit, in a Work compos'd on purpose to defend the Church of Rome against the injuries he had done it (r).

(r) Quibus
emendatior
rat Bani
nunc editor.

not obtain the signing of the Formulary, which required the Approbation of the Censure of the Seventy six Propositions. The Faculty of Divinity of Louvain imagined this to be some Snare laid for them, and, though they were assured, by a Letter, from the Bishop of Boisleduc, and the Bishop of Ghent, that there was no Design to surprize them, it does not appear, that ever they agreed to That Signing: But, the following Year, a Decree was made, importing, that the Seventy six Propositions should be held for condemned, and that all the Members of the Faculty should abstain from teaching them, and that all the Books, wherein they should be maintained, should be taken away from the Students in Divinity (36). It is to be observed, that Morillon did not deliver any Copy of the Bull, which he thus solemnly notified. This gave occasion to some to maintain, that it was not authentic, or, that, having been surreptitiously obtained, it would be revoked. Others maintained the contrary with great Heat. Pope Gregory XIII, being solicited by the Spanish Ambassador, in his Master's Name, and by Father Toletus, in the Name of some Divines of Louvain, to apply a speedy Remedy to These Disputes, formed a Constitution the Twenty eighth of January, 1579, wherein he inserted the Bull of Pius V, without approving, or confirming, the same, and without condemning the Seventy six Propositions anew; he was contented to say, that he had found it among the Records of his Predecessor, and to order, that Credit should be given to it. He sent the same Father Toletus to Louvain, in the Year 1580. This Jesuit there solemnly notified the Constitution of Gregory XIII, and asked Baius, whether he condemned the Seventy six Articles, or not. Baius answered, *I condemn them according to the Intention of the Bull* (37). All the Doctors, Licentiates, Bachelors, &c. declared, that they submitted to That Bull. Toletus informed Baius, in some Conversation, which he had with him, that he was accused of teaching his Disciples, privately, the Doctrines, which Pius V had condemned. Baius denied it, and desired to undergo all manner of Punishments, if That Accusation could be legally proved. But, no Steps being made towards it, Toletus promised to give a good Testimony of him at the Court of Rome, and declared it was false, that the reading of Baius's Writings was forbidden. He propos'd to him the signing of a Formulary, which was very hard; but, however, Baius did it to procure some ease to himself. He was obliged to own, under his Hand, that he had taught many of the Seventy six condemned Articles, and that they were condemned in the Sense, in which he had taken them. "Ei præscripsit (Toletus) quandam Confessionis formulam, in qua fateri debuit multos ex damnatis 76 Articulis à se esse traditos, ac eo sensu proscriptos quo eos docuisset; cui formulæ optimus hic Doctor, undique latebitus ac calumnias obrutus, ut tandem pace aliquid quærueretur, subscripsit die vigesima quarta Martii hujus anni 1580 (38)." He wrote a Letter to the Pope, wherein he declared the Calumnies spread against him, for the Space of twelve Years concerning those Articles, and desired a Copy of the Bull of Pius V. This was granted him, in June, 1580. Father Horantius wrote a Piece against him, the same Year. He complained of two things; one was, that Baius had answered Philip de Marini too civilly (39). Conquerens 1. quod ejus epistola Marini scriptæ nimis benigne fuisset (40). The other, that Baius had affirmed, according to the Doctrine of St Augustin, that the Scripture only is to be consulted, in order to judge of the Church. 2. Quod Baius Augustinum secutus dixisset judicium de Ecclesia esse ex sola Scriptura petendum (41). Baius justified himself, in a Letter, which he prefixed to his Apology against Philip de Marini, in the Year 1581. He was disturbed again in the Year 1585; for his Enemies accused him to the Pope's Nuncio, and required, that he should be examined on certain Articles,

which they had drawn up against him (42). It is not known, whether he underwent This Examination.

The Author of this Chronological Narrative takes a prodigious deal of Pains to prove to us, that Mr Leidecker, and some other Ministers are in the wrong to conclude, from That Bull of Pius V, that the Church of Rome has condemned the Doctrine of St Augustin, and favoured the new Pelagians (43). It seems to me, that he shews clearly enough the Invalidity of That Bull, the Dishonesty of those, who made the Extracts, the Negligence of That Pope, and the Precipitation, wherewith he condemned those Propositions, before he had examined the Works, from whence it was pretended, that they had been taken, &c. This Negligence appeared also from the Rules of Grammar not being observed in That Bull (44). It may be alledged, that Urban VIII, in his Bull against the Book of Janjenius, published in the Year 1642, confirmed the Bull of Pius V and That of Gregory XIII. But the Author answers, that Urban VIII, did not confirm those two Bulls, but upon the Supposition of Facts, which were false, and that therefore his Confirmation was void. "Quandquidem ergo Urbanus eas non confirmaverit, nisi supponendo quæ falsa sunt; ex ista confirmatione nullum robur accedit istis suorum Predecessorum Constitutionibus: quod enim in sua origine vitiosum ac nullius roboris est, rati-habitione non fit validum, vel, ut jura loquuntur, Quod initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis convalescere: nec firmatur tractu temporis, quod jure ab initio non subsistit (45)."

— Since therefore Urban did not confirm them, but upon Suppositions, which were false; such a Confirmation could add no Authority to the Constitution of his Predecessors: For what is originally void, and of no Force, can never be made good by subsequent Ratification; or, as the Law says, What is void from the Beginning, can never become valid by any Course of Time; nor does long Usage confirm any thing, which did not legally subsist from the first." This Pope being deceived by Francis Albiizzi, Assessor of the Holy Office, and Penitentiary of the Jesuits, imagined, that the Bull of Pius V had been attended with all due Formality, and had been confirmed by That of Gregory XIII. These were two false Suppositions; for Pius V did not cause his Bull to be fixed up, or to be solemnly published, at Rome: And, as for Pope Gregory, he was satisfied with saying, that he found it among the Records of his Predecessor. Urban VIII, therefore, was made to affirm a Falsity, by inserting, in his Bull, that the Articles, condemned by Pius V, had been condemned anew by Gregory XIII: and, to conceal the Knowledge of This Imposture from the People, care was taken to leave the Constitution of Gregory XIII out of the Bull of Urban VIII, tho' the Bull of Pius V was inserted in it. "Ani-madvertendum est quod Urbanus VIII in Bulla superius memorata enunçaverit quidem à Gregorio XIII confirmatam fuisse Pii V Constitutionem, articuloque in ea confixos denou fuisse damnatos. Verum hæc Urbani VIII Bulla aperit falsi ea saltem in parte convinctur, sicut & ab Joanne Sinibio Lovanienfis Academiæ delegato Romæ convicta est, ex ipsomet Gregorii XIII Diplomate, in quo nihil de ista confirmatione, aut de iterata hujusmodi articulorum dispositione habetur. Ne autem id innotesceret, AlbiZZius, Jesuitarum Rendiarius, qui Bullam Urbani VIII conscripsit, in ea quidem Pii V Bullam integram inseruit, sed non Gregorii XIII Constitutionem, ex qua singulis patuisset ejus mendacium, & quam falso in Bulla Urbani dicitur Pii V Bulla à Gregorio XIII confirmata, proscriptique in ea articuli iterum à Gregorio XIII prohibiti: cum Gregorius XIII duntaxat testificetur tenorem Bullæ, quam inserit, esse planè conformem tenori Bullæ, quam in Pii V regitro invenit; & illi tenori eam fidem adhibenda, dam,

(42) Id. ib.
pag. 209.

(43) Id. ib.
pag 210, &
seq.

(44) Ibid.
pag. 235.

* ff. de Reg.
Jur. & o.
Dcret. eod.
Tit.

(45) Ibid.
p. 239. 40.

(36) Ibid.
p. 202, 203.

(37) Divino
secundum
intentionem
bullæ, & fi-
cut bulla cor-
damnat ib.
pag. 206.

(38) Id. ib.
p. 207.

(39) A quo
animo Pius
non potuit
quod Baius
humaniori
Stilo fuis ad
Marinixium
scripsisset e-
pistolam. Id.
ib. pag. 208.

(40) Compre-
hendit Mar-
tinum cum
French Mi-
nistry, auto
complained
publicly, in
the Year
1608, of Mr
Jacoblet's
Letter to
the Pre-
dict of France.

(41) Id. ib.

(46) Ibid.
p. 242.

"dam, quæ ipſius Bullæ protographo debetur (46).
 "— It is to be obſerved, That Urban VIII, in
 "his Bull before-mentioned, declared, that the Con-
 "ſtitution of Pius V had been confirmed by Gregory
 "VIII; and that the Articles, therein condemned,
 "had been condemned anew. But This Bull of Urban
 "VIII aſſerts a Faſſity, at leaſt in this Reſpect,
 "as was proved by John Sinnenius, Deputy for the
 "Univerſity of Louvain, at Rome, and from the Bull
 "itſelf of Gregory XIII, wherein not a Syllable of
 "That Confirmation, or of a ſecond Condemnation of
 "Thoſe Articles, is to be found. But, that this might
 "not appear, Albizzi, Penſionary of the Jeſuits,
 "who drew up the Bull of Urban VIII, inſerted in
 "it indeed the Bull of Pius V, but not the Con-
 "ſtitution of Gregory XIII, which would have di-
 "covered his whole Fraud, by ſhewing how falſely
 "he had made the Bull of Urban declare, that the
 "Bull of Pius V was confirmed, and that the pro-
 "hibited Articles were again prohibited by This Con-
 "ſtitution of Gregory XIII; when This Pope only
 "teſtifies therein, that the Tenor of the Bull, which
 "he inſerts, is exactly conformable to the Tenor of
 "the Bull, which he had found in the Register of

"Pius V; and that the ſame Obedience ought to be
 "paid to it, which was due to the Original." All
 "this is much more proper to ſhew the Artifices uſed
 "in the Condemnation of Books, than to confute
 "Mr Leidecker; for, in ſhort, for one Roman Catholic,
 "who believes Baius to be innocent, there are above
 "a thouſand, who believe him juſtly condemned; and
 "therefore the Church of Rome may, with much like-
 "lihood, be accuſed of holding This Doct's Opinions
 "for Heretical, which are moſt agreeable to St Auguſtin's
 "Doctrinè. This ought to make the Fate of ſome Men
 "pitied. Though Paſſion, Irregularity, and Injuſtice,
 "appear manifeſtly in the Proceedings uſed againſt
 "them; yet, in the Opinion of the Majority, they
 "will be ſuppoſed guilty. A Judgment againſt their
 "Doctrinè is ſufficient to ſecure the Prejudices of the
 "Public. The Adverſary will enjoy the Fruit of his
 "Frauds and Intrigues; he will conſtantly engage the
 "Folly of the People on his Side, who generally pre-
 "ſume in favour of Tribunals.

A great Work of Baius is promiſed (47), if this
 "new Edition goes off well. This will be his Com-
 "mentary on the Muſter of the Sentences, and his Ex-
 "plication of David's Pſalms.

(47) In
Præfat.

BALBUS. This Name makes ſuch a Figure in the Ancient Roman Hiſtory, that it is ſtrange the Hiſtorical Dictionaries ſhould pay ſo little Regard to it [A]. If I endeavour to repair their Fault, it is chiefly in reſpect to **Lucius Cornelius BALBUS**, who was Conſul in the Year of Rome 714, and who had a Nephew, whom I ſhall mention either in the Text, or in the Remarks, as occaſion offers. This Conſul was born at Cadix. He ſignalized himſelf by his great Courage in the Wars, which the Romans carried on in Spain againſt **Sertorius**, and againſt the **Luſitanians**; inſomuch, that **Pompey**, being very well ſatisfied with his great Services, declared him a Roman Citizen. **Lucius Gellius** and **Cn. Cornelius**, who were Conſuls a little time after, made a Law, that all thoſe, whom **Pompey**, with the Conſent of the Council of War, had made Citizens of Rome, ſhould be actually ſo eſteemed. By this means **Balbus** entered into full Poſſeſſion of his Freedom of Rome (a). He took upon him the Prænomen of **Lucius** from one of thoſe two Conſuls, and the Name of **Cornelius** from the other [B]. He was ſo much eſteemed in Rome, that he had the Friendſhip of the greateſt Men of the State, as of **Pompey**, **Cræſſus**, **Cæſar**, and **Cicero**, and was adopted by **Theophanes** (b), who was very particularly beloved and regarded by **Pompey**.

(a) See Ci-
cero in Ora-
tione pro
Cornelio
Balbo, &
ibi Manu-
cium & Nico-
laum Abra-
mum.(b) Cicero
ib. & Epit.
7. ad Attic.
lib. 7.

[A] The Hiſtorical Dictionaries have paid but little Regard to this Name. They are prodigiouſly barren on the Word **Balbus**. **Charles Stephens** remarks, that it was the Surname of the **Attilii**, and that the firſt of This Family, who was called **Balbus**, was ſo called, becauſe he ſtammered; and that afterwards his Poſterity preferred This Surname. It is very likely, that This Appellation had the ſame beginning, in ſeveral Families, as it is certainly on the ſame Account, that, in all Countries, ſo many Perſons are named **White**, &c. And ſince there has been an Emperor of the Eaſt (1), and another of the Weſt (2), who had both of them the Surname of **Balbus**, or **Stammerer**, from That Defect in their Speech: Why ſhould it ſeem ſtrange, that, in the time of the Roman Common-wealth, a like Defect introduced This Surname into ſeveral illuſtrious Families? It is not, therefore, for This, that **Charles Stephens** deſerves to be criticized, but becauſe he miſtook the **Attilii** for the **Atcii**, or **Atii**, and becauſe he expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner, as if the **Attilii** had no other Surname but This: whereas they have had, among them, thoſe of **Regulus**, **Seranus**, **Calpurnius**. Nay, there was one **C. Attilius Balbus**, Conſul in the Year of Rome 508, and 518, which is, perhaps, the cauſe of **Charles Stephens**'s Error. Mr **Lloyd** ought to have been ſatisfied with correcting This Article; but he thought it fitter wholly to ſuppreſs it; in Imitation of Thoſe Chirurgeons, who, inſtead of curing the Wound, cut off the whole Limb: Or, as Diſputants ſerve an Objection, when they find themſelves upon pretty much the ſame Terms with **Alexander**, in reſpect to the Gordian Knot. Mr **Hufman** neither cured, nor cut off, but retained the Article as he found it in **Charles Stephens**.

The ORI-
GINAL of
the Surname
Balbus.
Whether
Ck. Stephens
has rightly
applied it to
the **Attilii**.(1) Michael
II. of That
Name, who
was Empe-
ror of Con-
ſtantinople,
from the Year
810 to 826.(2) Lewis
III. of That
Name, who
was alſo
King of
France, and
who died in
879.WHAT
Name thoſe
who obtain-
ed the Free-
dom of
Rome, gave
themſelves.[B] He took upon him, in reſpect to . . . the
two Conſuls, the Prænomen of **Lucius**, and the Name
of **Cornelius**. It was the Cuſtom of Rome, that
Thoſe, who obtained their Freedom, took upon them
the Name of him, who procured them That Ho-
nour. It was for This Reaſon, that the Hiſtorian

Theophanes, and his Poſterity, bore the Name of
Pompey. I may be asked, Why then did not **Cornelius Balbus** alſo take the Name of **Pompey**? My
Answer is, becauſe he choſe rather to ground his Right
on a Law, than on the Kindneſs of That General.
The Law, I ſpeak of, is That made by the Conſuls
L. Gellius, and **Cn. Cornelius**, with the Conſent of
the Senate, in the Year of Rome 682. It imported,
that all Thoſe, on whom **Pompey** had conferred the
Freedom of Rome, with the Approbation of the Council
of War, ſhould be reputed Citizens of Rome.
"Nacitur, Judices, cauſa **Cornelii** ex cæ lege quam
"L. Gellius, Cn. Cornelius, ex Senatus ſententia tu-
"lerunt; quæ lege videmus ſatis eſſe ſanctum, uti
"cives Romani ſint ii, quos Cn. Pompeius de con-
"ſili ſententia ſingillatim civitate donaverit (3). —
"The Cauſe of **Cornelius**, Judges, is founded on
"That Law, which L. Gellius, and Cn. Cornelius,
"by Decree of the Senate, enacted; which we ſee
"has ſolemnly confirmed Thoſe, as Citizens of Rome,
"to whom **Pompey**, with Conſent of his Council,
"had reſpectively given That Privilege." **Balbus**,
looking upon Thoſe two Conſuls as the true Authors
of the Honour he enjoyed, took the Prænomen **Lucius**
from the one, and the Name **Cornelius** from the other.
This is much more likely, than what **Manutius** ſays,
That, though **Balbus** had been made a Roman Citizen
by **Pompey**, yet he was nevertheleſs obliged for That
Freedom to **Cornelius Lentulus**, ſubje Prænomen, and
Name, he took, according to Cuſtom (4). He con-
jectures alſo, that This **L. Cornelius Lentulus** is the
ſame, who was Conſul, the firſt Year of the Civil War,
that is, in the ſeven hundred and fourth Year of Rome.
To conclude, we learn from hence, that Cardinal
Baronius made too long an Enumeration of
Titus's Favours to **Jſepphus**, when he notes particularly,
that, beſides the Right of a Citizen, he alſo conferred
on him the Name of the Family of **Flavia** (5). For,
in the firſt place, it was **Vopæſian**, and not **Titus**,
who made him a Citizen (6), and, after that, the Name
Flavius was given him of courſe.

(3) Cicero
Orat. pro
Balbo.(4) Manut.
in Argu-
mentis Orat.
pro Cornelio
Balbo. See
alſo the Note
on the next
Page: Cicero's
Epistles to At-
ticius, pag. 3.
Edit. Gronov.
Where there
ſeems to be
an Error of
the Preſs.(5) Baron.
ad ann. 36.
n. 12.(6) Joſeph.
in Vita juſt.

[C] Capitulinus

Pompey. It is on account of this Adoption, that *Capitolinus* names him *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes* [C], when he says, that the Emperor *Balbinus* affirmed, that he was defended from him (c). The Prosperity of *Balbus* raised him up Enemies, who commenced a Law-Suit against him about his Freedom: *Crassus*, *Pompey*, and *Cicero*, pleaded his Cause (d), and gained it. He found himself much perplexed during the War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; for he had great Obligations to both. It appears, that he gave the preference to *Cæsar*, but in such a manner, that he endeavoured to bring Matters to a Reconciliation (e). *Velleius Paterculus* remarks it as a great Temerity, that *Balbus* was so bold, as to go to *Pompey's* Camp, to gain over the Consul *Lentulus*, who was considering at what Price he should sell himself (f). It was by this means, adds he, that *Balbus*, tho' a Spaniard, opened his way to the Triumph, the Pontificate, and the Consulship. *Pliny*, indeed, observes, that *Balbus* was made Consul, and that he was the first Foreigner, who obtained That Dignity (g); but, as for the Honour of a Triumph, he says it was another *Cornelius Balbus*, a Nephew of This, who obtained it, with the Roman Freedom, the first of all Foreigners (b). We shall see wherein *Paterculus's* Fault consists. These two *Cornelius Balbi* were so rich, that the Uncle, at his Death, left Twenty five *Drachmas* to each Roman Citizen (i), and the Nephew caused a new City (k) to be built at *Cadiz* (l). The Uncle wrote a History of *Julius Cæsar*, in the form of a Journal (m). It was, undoubtedly, he, who contracted to very strict a Friendship with *Pomponius Atticus* [E]. Some have confounded *Cornelius Balbus* with *Cornelius Gallus* [F]. We shall shew, that *Vellius* was

[C] *Capitolinus* names him *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes*. I give you this Author's words:

"Familia vetustissima, ut ipse (*Balbinus*) dicebat, à Balbo Cornelio Theophane originem ducens, qui per Cn. Pompejum civitatem meruerat, quum esset suæ patriæ nobilissimus, idemque historiæ

(7) Capitol. in Balbino. pag. 147.

(8) Casaub. in hunc locum Capitol.

(9) Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 147.

(10) Tillemont's History of the Emperors, Tom. 3. p. 489.

(11) Strabo, lib. 13. pag. 425.

(12) Cicero pro Cornel. Balbo, non procul init.

"scriptor (7). — Of a very ancient Family, as he (*Balbinus*) himself affirmed, derived from *Balbus Cornelius Theophanes*, who was made a Citizen of Rome by Cn. Pompey, being of a noble Rank in his own Country, and also an Historian." *Casaubon* imagines, that This is to be understood of the Historian *Theophanes*, born at *Myslene*, in the Island of *Lesbos* (8). *Vossius* (9), Mr de *Tillemont* (10), and several others, are of the same Opinion. I believe they are mistaken, and it is better to understand here the adopted Son, than the Father. *Cornelius Balbus* was the Son of *Theophanes* by Adoption: The three Titles, which *Capitolinus* made use of, belong to him, and the last only belongs to *Theophanes*. If I am told, that *Balbus* was not of noblest Rank in his own Country, I answer, No more was *Theophanes* in *Myslene*. It is true, *Strabo* affirms, that *Theophanes* had a share in the public Offices, and that he became the most Illustrious of all the *Greeks* (11). But This does not help us to confirm the words of *Capitolinus*: *Strabo* does not ascribe to him Antiquity of Family, or Nobleness of Blood, which raised him above all the other *Myslenians*; and This is the Point in question, in *Capitolinus*. So that the Objection signifies nothing, since it would prove too much: And it is enough for me, that *Balbus's* Enemies did not deny, but that he was of a very honourable Family. *Hunc in eâ civitate, in quâ sit natus, honestissimo loco natum esse concedis* (12). It is likely, they would not acknowledge all he ascribed to himself hereupon. There is another Objection to be feared. *Balbus* was Consul, and *Theophanes* was not: Whence comes it, then, that *Capitolinus*, who remarked his Quality of Historian, forgot That of Consul, much more proper, than the other, to set off the Nobility of *Balbinus*? I answer, that *Capitolinus* is not a Man, from whom much Accuracy, and Judgment, is to be expected. The worst, which may come of it, would be to say, that he applied *Balbinus's* Pretensions wrong, and that he thought, that *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, from whom That Emperor said he was descended, was the same *Theophanes*, of the Island of *Lesbos*, whose chief Glory was That of having been an Historian. I would not absolutely reject this Conjecture; Men of better parts, than *Capitolinus*, might have taken the one for the other in that place; but I rather choose to say, that he knew *Balbus*, of *Cadiz*, was Author of an History.

[D] I shall mention wherein *Paterculus's* Fault consists. These are his words; "Tum *Balbus Cornelius* excedente humanam fidem temeritate ingresses, castra hostium sæpiusque cum *Lentulo* colloctus, Confule dubitante quanti se venderet, illis incrementis fecit viam quibus non *Hispanienfis* natus, sed *Hispanus*, in triumphum & Pontificatum affur-

geret, fieretque ex privato Consul (13). — *Cornelius Balbus*, by an incredible Rashness, entering into the Enemies Camp, to gain the Consul *Lentulus*, whose particular Friend he was, treated several times with him, who was, for some time, considering what Price to ask for his Treachery. By this means, *Balbus* cleared the way to those Pretensions, whereby, though he was not only born in Spain, as several Romans and Italians were, but also of Natural Spaniards (14), yet he obtained, in Rome, the Honour of a Triumph, and the Pontificate; and, from a private Person, became a last a Consul." I shall say nothing of This Action of *Balbus*, which *Cicero* has greatly celebrated in the places I quote (15). I will only dwell a little on *Paterculus*. Either he says nothing to the purpose, or he affirms, that *Balbus* was raised to the Consulship, as well as to the Honour of a Triumph, and to the Dignity of Pontiff; and it would be in vain to deny This under pretence, that he did not say, & Consulatum, as this seems to be the most natural Expression, to signify, that *Balbus* was made Consul: I shall not take upon me to prescribe Forms to one, who spoke so politely, as That Author did; he had his Reasons for altering the turn of his Phrase, when he came to mention the Consulship. But he was mistaken in the Thing, and confounded the Uncle's Honours with Those of the Nephew. That *Balbus*, who negotiated with *Lentulus*, in the beginning of the Civil War, is the Nephew, as appears by *Cicero's* Letters, which I have quoted. It was *Balbus* the Nephew, who triumphed over the *Garamantes*, the first Stranger honoured with a Triumph, as we learn from *Pliny* (16); but it was *Balbus* the Uncle, who was the first Stranger honoured with the Consulship, as the same *Pliny* informs us (17). These two *Balbus's* were distinguished, at Rome, by the Title of Major, given to the Uncle, and That of Minor, to the Nephew. I wonder, that *Salmasius*, who distinguished the Honours of both very well, did not take notice of this Fault of *Paterculus* (18).

[E] He contracted a very strict Friendship with *Pomponius Atticus*. This cannot be denied, when we consider, that *Atticus*, having resolved to end his Life by starving himself, sent for his Son-in-law, and *L. Cornelius Balbus*, and *Sextus Peducaus*, to declare to them his final Resolution (19). I think, I have read, in one of *Cicero's* Letters, that *Balbus* was one of those, who were often entertained at *Atticus's* Table (20). Which would prove, that he delighted in hearing good things read (21).

[F] Some have confounded *Cornelius Balbus* with *Cornelius Gallus*. It is in relation to a Fact, which is far from honouring his Memory. They make him die in the Act of Venery (22). Without doubt, the first Occasion of this Mistake, was an Error of the Press. *Cornelius Gallus* had been put in the List of those, who died in that Condition, on the Authority of *Pliny* (23); and the Printer using a B, for a G, caused several to mistake the one for the other. I find this Error in several Editions of

(b) Id. lib. 5. cap. 5.

(7) Dio, lib. 48.

(8) Strabo, lib. 3. p. 116.

(9) He was born there, as well as his Uncle.

(10) *Sidonius Apollinarius*, lib. 9. Epist. 14.

(11) *Paterculus*, lib. 2. c. 51.

(12) This Explication of the words, which *Paterculus* makes between *Hispanus* and *Hispanienfis* (it, however, his Text admits of it) seems as good as That of *Lipsius*, who, by *Hispanienfis*, understood an Inhabitant of Spain; and by *Hispanus*, a natural Spaniard.

(13) *Epist.* 32, of Book 10, of *Familiaris*; and the Comment in *Epist.* 9, of Book 8, to *Atticus*.

(14) *Plin.* lib. 5. c. 5.

(15) Id. lib. 7. cap. 43.

(16) *Salmasius* in *Solin.* c. 9.

(17) *Corn. Nepos* in *Vita Attici*, cap. 31.

(18) I could not find the place; but I think I have read it in *Cicero's* Letters to *Atticus*.

(19) See, above, the Remark [F] of *Atticus's* Table.

(20) *Plinius* in *Historia Naturali*, lib. 10, cap. 16, ex *Trajanus*, lib. 10, cap. 15, n. 27.

(21) Lib. 7, cap. 53.

was in the wrong to censure Savaro [G]; that Lloyd and Hofman deserve some Censure [H]; that Paulus Manutius is not entirely excusable [I]; that Glandorpius multiplies Persons of this Name unnecessarily [K]; that the distinction of the greater and

of Tiraquellus's Commentary on the Matrimonial Laws.

[G] Vossius was in the wrong to censure Savaro.] Whilst he was taking notice of a Fault, which he believed he had found in Savaro's Commentary on Sidonius Apollinaris, he himself was mistaken (24). Savaro had affirmed, that Balbus, to whom Sidonius Apollinaris ascribes the Journal of Julius Cæsar's Life (25), is the same with Balbus Cornelius Theopbanes, of whom Julius Capitolinus says, in the Life of Balbinus, That he had obtained the Roman Freedom by Pompey's Favour, and that, moreover, he was the most Noble of his Fellow-Citizens, and an Historian. Vossius refutes this Pretension of Savaro, I. Because Balbus, Author of the Journal, was an intimate Friend of Julius Cæsar, as appears by Suetonius (26), and by Aulus Gellius (27); whereas Theopbanes was an intimate Friend of Pompey, which was made a Crime of to his Posterity, as Tacitus observes, in the sixth Book of his Annals. II. Because Theopbanes was a Lesbian, and wrote in Greek, and Balbus lived at Rome, and wrote in Latin.

If I had a mind to be over-critical, I might object to these Reasons, I. that the same Balbus, who was one of Cæsar's intimate Friends, was also one of Pompey's Friends; and to far honoured with his Confidence, that Pompey's other Friends were jealous of him (28). It is true, that the Conjunction, which was then between Pompey and Cæsar, having permitted Balbus to cultivate the Friendship of the latter, without failing in what he owed the former, it was at last found, that Cæsar's Favours were superior to Those of Pompey: Nevertheless, Balbus obtained leave of Cæsar not to follow him against Pompey, and retired to Rome during the Civil War (29). It is true, also, that he was Cæsar's Agent there, and that, by endeavouring to bring Matters to an Agreement, he did not appear altogether free from Partiality. But, after all, it is not sufficient, in order to make a just Opposition between Balbus and Theopbanes, to say, on the one side, as Suetonius does, that Balbus was an intimate Friend of Julius Cæsar, and, with Aulus Gellius, that Balbus was one of Cæsar's Agents at Rome, during his Absence; and to say on the other side with Tacitus, that Theopbanes had been one of Pompey's intimate Friends and that Tiberius imputed it as a Crime to Theopbanes's Posterity: For, considering That Emperor's capricious Humour, he was like enough to persecute a Family, under pretence, that it had obtained the Freedom of Rome by Pompey's Favour. Now This would be true in a literal Sense, as to Theopbanes, though he should be confounded with Cornelius Balbus; since it is not only certain, that Pompey conferred that Freedom upon him, but also that he pleaded for him, when they brought it into question, and loaded him with Favours. So that Vossius's first Reason is not good. II. I might say, in the second place, that the Theopbanes, whom Vossius means, lived at Rome, as well as Balbus; and since there have been Romans, who have wrote Histories in Greek, it does not follow, that Balbus is not Theopbanes, because Theopbanes wrote in Greek. Nay, how do we know, whether the Balbus in question be not the Cornelius Balbus, whose eighteenth Book, of the *Ἱστορίαι*, Macrobius has quoted (30)? Simler does not doubt it (31).

But, without trifling on Disputes, which may be charged with too ferulous a Preciseness, here is the jugulum causæ, and the decisive Point, in three words. Vossius imagined, that Savaro confounded Cornelius Balbus, with Theopbanes, born in the Island of Lesbos, and Author of an History of Mithridates's War. But he has not done this. He has only confounded him with the Theopbanes, mentioned by Capitolinus, and who differs very much from Him of Lesbos, though he has This in common with him, that He also received his Freedom of Rome from Pompey. Now there is nothing more reasonable, than to take the Theopbanes of Capitolinus, for the Cornelius Balbus of Suetonius, and for the Balbus of Sidonius Apollinaris; for it is certain, that the same Cornelius Balbus, born at Cadiz, and honoured with the Freedom of Rome, by Pompey, was, by the Recom-

mendation of the same Pompey, adopted by Theopbanes of Lesbos (32): after which, according to Custom, he named himself Lucius Cornelius Balbus Theopbanes, as Paulus Manutius, and Corradus, have observed; the former in his Argument of Cicero's Oration for the same Balbus; and the latter in his Notes on Cicero's Epistles to Atticus: And both of them have taken this Balbus for the Historian Cornelius Balbus Theopbanes, mentioned by Capitolinus. So that, if there had been any Fault to be found with This, Vossius should have censured Those learned Italians, rather than Savaro, who came a long time after them.

[H] Lloyd and Hofman deserve some Censure.] I say nothing of Charles Stephens; he has been a little too dry on our Cornelius Balbus; but what he mentions of him is not ill chosen. Lloyd has cut off some Words from it, which were not superfluous, viz. That we still have Cicero's Oration for This Balbus; for they are two very different Facts, the one that Cicero pleaded such a Cause, and the other, that we still have his Plea; and it is in the latter Case, that the Readers are mostly interested. Mr Hofman lengthens the Article (33), to inform us, that there was another Cornelius Balbus, of Lesbos, firmamed Theopbanes, that is, to teach us a Fallacy. Lucius Cornelius Balbus Theopbanes is no way different from Him, who was of Cadiz, and who is the Subject of this Article.

[I] Paulus Manutius is not entirely excusable.] I have already touched upon some of his Mistakes; here are yet two more. The one is in his Argument of Cicero's Oration for Cornelius Balbus, and in the Notes on That Passage of the Oration, where mention is made of the Adoption of This Balbus. He there says, most fallily, that Theopbanes was one of Pompey's Freed Men (34): for it was not his Liberty, but his Freedom of Rome, which Pompey gave Theopbanes. "Quid Magnus hic noster, says Cicero, qui cum virtute fortunam adæquavit: nonne Theopbanem Mitylenæum scriptorem rerum suarum in concione militum civitate donavit (35)?—What did our Pompey do, who loves to join Fortune and Virtue to: gether: did he not, in an Assembly of the Soldiers, present Theopbanes of Mitylene, the Writer of his History, with the Freedom of the City?" The other Mistake of Manutius is in referring us, among other Authorities, to the seventh Book of Pliny, chap. 43 (36), concerning the Triumph of Cornelius Balbus the Younger, Nephew to him we are speaking of; for Pliny, in that place, speaks only of the Uncle's Consulship. One may easily be mistaken in such Cases as these. Father Hardouin, on the same Place of Pliny, refers us to a Passage of Paterculus (37), where he only speaks of Balbus the Nephew.

[K] Glandorpius multiplies Persons of this Name unnecessarily.] He ought not to have produced three Consuls called L. Cornelius Balbus. It is to multiply Beings without necessity. He says, the first is Balbus the Elder, whose Consulship he places in the Year of Rome 713. The second is Balbus the Younger, for whose Consulship he says nothing particular, contenting himself to set down the Words of Paterculus. The third is one L. Cornelius Balbus, who, he says, was made Consul for some Days, towards the end of the Year, by Augustus, and had such a vast Estate as to be able to bequeath Twenty five Drachma's to each Citizen of Rome (38). The Truth of it is, These three Consuls make but one; for Balbus, the Uncle, is the same with Him whose Consulship was of so short a Continuance. Do but consult Dion Cassius. To ascertain this Consulship, Father Hardouin says wittily, That Balbus was Consul under the Consulship of Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and of C. Asinius Pollio, in the Year of Rome 714. Consul hic fuit, quoniam ita necesse est dicere, Cn. Domitio Calvinio secundum, C. Asinio Pollio Cæss. Anno Urbis DCCXIV (39). To conclude, if Glandorpius had known any thing of the Passage of Pliny (40), where Balbus the Elder is called Paternal Uncle, Patruus, of Balbus the Younger, he would not have defended to the Quotation of such a bad Authority as That of Volaterranus, to inform us, that

(24) De Hist. Græc. lib. 1, c. 23, pag. 148.

(25) Sidonius Apoll. Epist. 14, lib. 9.

(26) Suetonius in Cæsar. c. 81, misquod by Vossius, cap. 71, and by Moreri, cap. 74.

(27) A. Gellius, lib. 17, cap. 9, ubi be says, that Julius Cæsar and Balbus wrote to each other in Cyphers.

(28) Cicero ad Attic. lib. 9, Epist. 13.

(29) Epist. Balbi ad Ciceron. lib. 9, ad Attic. p. 36, Edit. Grævii.

(30) Macrobius Saturnal. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(31) Simler in Epist. Bibl. Gelfner.

(32) Et adoptio Theopbanis agitata est. Cicero pro Balbo. Placet igitur etiam me expulsum & agrum Campanum perisile, & adoptatum patri etiam a plebeio, Galienum a Mityleneo. Id. Epist. 7, ad Attic. lib. 7.

(33) In Vol. 1. of his Continuation, he has made great Additions, concerning Cornelius Balbus.

(34) He repeats it in his Notes on Epist. 11, to Atticus, l. 5.

(35) Orat. pro Archia: Valerius Maximus says as much, lib. 8, c. 14.

(36) In Argument. Orat. Cicero pro Balbo, ubi, in- stead of quoting the 43d chap. of the 7th Book of Pliny, the 37th is quoted; and, instead of the 24th of Suetonius, the 42d is quoted. This Edition of Manutius is of Cologne, 1582, in 8vo.

(37) Lib. 2, cap. 51.

(38) Glandorpius. Onomastic. Roman. pag. 277.

(39) Hardouin in Plin. lib. 7, cap. 43, pag. 64.

(40) Lib. 5, cap. 5, pag. 54.

and leffer Consulship is chimerical [L]; and that *Moreri* committed several Faults [M], though his Article of *Balbus* is very short and dry.

I shall say but little of some other *Balbus's*, mentioned by ancient Authors. *Lucius Lucilius BALBUS*, Disciple of *Mucius Scaevola*, and Preceptor of the famous *Servius Sulpitius*, was an excellent Lawyer. He flourished about the Year of Rome 670. *Cicero* says, that *Sulpitius* exceeded his Master [N], who, by the Addition of a mature Judgment to his Learning, was something slow, whereas his Disciple was quick and expeditious. *Balbus's* Writings are lost, to which perhaps his Disciple *Sulpitius* did not a little contribute, by inserting most of them in his own (n). We must not, as *Glandorp* has done, confound this *Balbus* with *Quintus Lucilius BALBUS* the Stoic Philosopher, one of *Cicero's* Interlocutors in the Books of *Natura Deorum* (o). *Publius Octavius BALBUS* was Cotemporary with *Cicero*, who praises him for his Knowledge in the Civil Law, for his Wit, and Probity, and for many other good Qualities (p). *Cicero* gives as good a Character of *Lucius Octavius BALBUS*, who lived at the same time (q). It is likely, that one of these two was the *Octavius Balbus*, of whom *Valerius Maximus* reports, that, having saved himself, through a Back-door, from the Cruelty of the Triumvirs, and hearing, that they were killing his Son in his House, he returned back again, and caused himself to be put to Death (r). *Appian* reports the Matter somewhat differently (s).

one of those *Balbus's* was the Son of the other's Brother.

[L] *The Distinction of the greater, and leffer, Consulship is chimerical.* Observe, a little, to what Extravagancy of Thought Men are subject. There are some, who, from these Words *Pliny*, *Fuit et Balbus Cornelius Major Consul*, have fallen into the Chimeria of two Degrees of Consulship, and pretended, that *Balbus* was made Great Consul, or First Consul (41). It was easy to see, that *Major*, in this Passage, does not relate to *Consul*, but to the Name. *Cornelius Balbus, the Elder, was Consul.*

[M] *And that Moreri committed several Faults.* I. It is only with an it is said, that he reports, that *Cornelius Balbus composed a Journal, or Ephemeris, of what happened daily to Cæsar*. If he had known, that *Sidonius Apollinaris* mentioned that Journal, as a Book, which was extant, and also commended it (42), he must have rejected, That it is said. Some will have it, that *Symmachus* spoke of This same Book, when he wrote to his Friend: "Si impar est desiderio tuo Livius, fume Ephemeridem C. Cæsar's decerptam Bibliotheculæ meæ ut tibi muneri mitteretur. Hæc te origines, situs, pugnæ, & quidquid fuit in moribus aut legibus Galliarum docebit (43). ----- If *Livy* does not fully satisfy your Desire of having the History of ancient Gaul, you need only take Cæsar's Ephemerides, which I made you a Present of out of my own small Library. This will explain to you the Origin, Situation, Battles, Customs, and Laws of the Gauls." But others pretend, that *Symmachus* means only the Memoirs Cæsar had wrote himself, and which we still have under the Title of Commentaries on the Wars of Gaul (44). It is, nevertheless, true, that he wrote other Memoirs, under the Title of Ephemeris, as we learn from *Servius*. Why might not *Symmachus* speak of the latter? II. The Advice he gives, to take care not to confound This Author with one of the same Name, surnamed Theophanes, who was of Lesbos, as *Savaro*, and others have done, contains two Faults. We have shewn the first, in justifying *Savaro* from the Censure of *Vossius*. The second consists, in supposing, that there was an Historian, born in the Island of Lesbos, whose Name was *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*; than which nothing can be more false. The Historian *Theophanes*, born at Mitylene, in the Island of Lesbos, was indeed Cn. Pompeius Theophanes, because Pompey had conferred

the Freedom of Rome upon him; but he never added the Name of *Balbus*, or *Balbus Cornelius*, to That of his Family; and there is reason to be surprized, that *Vossius* should make such a Slip, as to say, that the Historian *Cornelius Balbus Theophanes*, mentioned by *Julius Capitolinus*, was *Theophanes the Lesbian*, who wrote the War of *Mithridates* (45). III. But again, Why must we take care not to do as *Savaro* did? It is because *Cornelius Balbus dwelt at Rome*, and because *Theophanes was of Lesbos*. Are not these two Attributes incompatible in the same Subject, and can a better Proof be required, for a personal Distinction? See how Errors grow: *Moreri*, desirg to abbreviate *Vossius's* Proof, made it incomparably worse, than it was. IV. He goes on thus: I think he is the first, whom *Cicero defended against an Accusation, for taking, unjustly, the Title of a Roman Citizen*. Besides, that the Expression is so far from being clear (46), that one would think, by it, that the Cause of the Person in question was the first that *Cicero* pleaded of That kind, which is neither what *Moreri* intended to say, nor what ought to be said; there is This Fault in these Words, that they ought not to have mentioned this Fact as uncertain; when there was nothing more easy, than to be fully convinced of it, by reading the Arguments of *Paulus Manutius*, of Father *Abram*, &c. on *Cicero's* Oration, pro L. Cornelio Balbo.

[N] *Cicero says, that Sulpitius exceeded his Master.* *Cicero's* Thought will be better comprehended from his own Words, than from mine. Read, therefore, what follows. "Cum dicendi causâ duobus peritissimis operam dedisset (*Servius*) L. Lucilio Balbo, C. Aquilio Gallo, Galli hominis acuti & exercitatus promptam in agendo & in respondendo celeritatem subtilitate diligentique superavit: Balbi docti & eruditi hominis in utraque re consideratam tatem vicit, expediendis consiciendisque rebus. Sic & habet quod uterque eorum habuit, & explevit quod utrique defuit (47). — As he (*Servius*) had learned to plead under two excellent Masters, L. Lucilius Balbus, and C. Aquilius Gallus, he excelled his ingenious and experienced Master Gallus's great readiness in speaking and replying, by his Subtlety and Diligence; and his learned and judicious Master Balbus's deliberate Consideration of every thing, by his Expedition and Dispatch. So that he both had, what each of them had, and made up, what each of them wanted."

BALBUS, BALBI, or BALBO (JOHN) a Dominican Monk, flourished in the XIIIth Century. He understood Greek, a rare thing in those Days, and much more Latin, than all his Fellow Monks together. He was as much esteemed for his good Life, as for his Knowledge, and some have treated him as a Saint [A]. It was for this reason his Image was placed in St Thomas's Church at Pavia. The Title of his Works may be seen in *Moreri*, who, instead of referring us to *Vossius's* Book on the

[A] *Some have treated him as a Saint.* This appears from the following Passage. "Non vi hà man- cato chi lo riponga nel numero de' Beati, e come tale si vede dipinto nel Tempio di S. Tomaso di Pavia, in luogo eminente vicino al soffitto (1). —

There have not been wanting those, who have placed him in the Number of Saints, and he may be seen painted, as such, in the Church of St Thomas, at Pavia, in a high Place near the Ceiling."

[B] *Let*

(n) Pomponius, lib. 2, de Origine juris.

(o) Glandorp. Onomastic. pag. 552. In pag. 63, Glandorp takes, for one and the same Person, him who is made Interlocutor in the Nature of the Gods, him who is praised in the Oration for Cluentius, and him who is praised in the Oration against Verres.

(41) See Salmafius, Exercit. Plin. pag. 383.

(42) Quis Opera Suetonii, quis Juvenalis, Martialis Historiam, quivise aut exireum BALBI EPHEMERIDEM FANNO ADARCUA VERIT? — Who can come up to the Style of the Works of Suetonius, the Histories of Juvenius and Martial, or the excellent Ephemeris of Balbus? Sidon. Apollinar. Epist. 14, lib. 9.

(43) Symmach. Epist. 18, lib. 4.

(44) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 64, where he ascribes to Suetonius what belongs to Symmachus.

(p) Cicero, Orat. pro Cluentio, fol. 114, C.

(q) Idem in Verrem O. rat. 7, fol. 40, B.

(r) Valer. Maxim. lib. 5, cap. 7.

(s) Appianus, de Bello Civilis, lib. 4, pag. 601.

(45) See, in Remark [C], Calaubon and others who committed the same Fault.

(46) The Faults of this kind in Moreri's Style are numberless.

(47) Cicero, in Bruto, cap. 42.

(1) Alfonso Fernandez apud Michælem Justinianum in libro degli Scrittori Liguri, pag. 312.

the *Latin* Historians, would have done well to remark, that *John Balbus* is far better known by the Name of *Joannes de Janua*, or *Joannes Januensis*, than by any other. We shall observe why he went by This Name, and examine whether he be the same with *Jacobus de Voragine* [B]. We shall make but One Remark for all This, and for what may follow from it.

[B] Let us see why he went by This Name, and — whether he be the same with *Jacobus de Voragine*.] *John Balbus*, a noble *Genoese*, was called *Januensis*, or *de Janua*, because he was of *Genoa*. He says himself, in his *Catholicus*, at the Word *Janua*, that he was of a City called *Janua*, which City is no other, than *Genoa*: From *Luiprandus*'s Time it was rather called *Janua*, than *Genoa*; either to insinuate more clearly, that *Janus* was the Founder of it, or in regard to the Reason, mentioned by *John de Janua*, namely, that this City is the Gate of *Provence*, *Lombardy*, and *Tuscan*. He informs us, in the same Place, that he was called *Frater Johannes Januensis de Balbis*, and that he had wrote some other Books. At the end of the *Catholicus*, he says, that, after several Years of great Labour, he finished it on the Day of the Nones of *March*, which is the seventh Day of *March*, 1286.

Mr *Oudin*, formerly a Monk of the Order of the *Præmonstratenses*, and at present associated with the Protestant Church, to the great Satisfaction of the Party, which has great Reason to think itself happy, in gaining so great a Man, and expects many fine Pieces from his Pen; I say, Mr *Oudin* pretends, that *Jacobus de Voragine*, Author of the *Golden Legend*, and *Joannes de Janua*, Author of the *Catholicus*, are only one and the same Person (2). His Reason for it is, that all agree they both lived at the same time, were both *Dominicans*, both of *Genoa*, and therefore both called *Januensis*. So that it was an easy thing, for those, who saw the Name of *Januensis*, at the beginning of several Manuscripts, preceded by the Letter *J*, being the initial one of the Christian Names *Joannes*, and *Jacobus*, to ascribe them sometimes to *Jacobus Januensis*, and sometimes to *Joannes Januensis*; which must make two Authors of one.

But I must beg leave to tell him, that his Conjecture receives a severe Blow from the Enumeration, which the Author of the *Catholicus* has given of his Works, at the Word *Janua*; for, though there might have been a great Distance of Time, from his ending the Article *Janua*, to his finishing the *Catholicus*, yet it is not at all likely, that, if he had wrote any Books, during that time, he would have omitted adding them to the rest in That Article, upon closing That Dictionary. And therefore it may be supposed, that the Catalogue, which he gives under the Word *Janua*, is of the Year 1286, in which he put the last Hand to the *Catholicus*. Now it is certain, that *Jacobus de Voragine* published an Italian Translation of the Bible in the Year 1270. What likelihood is there, that, sixteen Years afterwards, upon mentioning the Books he had given the Public, he should forget one of so new an Undertaking, and, in all respects, so remarkable, as the Translation of the Scriptures into the Vulgar Tongue? It is not at all probable, therefore, that *Jacobus de Voragine* should be the Author of the *Catholicus*. However, we shall not determine this Point, but wait for the Information of the Learned, and particularly of Mr *Oudin*. Dr *Cave* also chuses to suspend his Judgment of it (3).

This is what I said, in the Specimen of my Dictionary, but now I can speak, in a more positive manner, against Father *Oudin*'s Conjecture: I have, for my Foundation, several good Reasons, from a very able Hand (4). Here is the Extract of a Memoir, which came from *Dijon*. "I believe, it may be clearly decided, that *Joannes de Genoa* ought by no means to be confounded with *Jacobus de Voragine*. The first, who is the Author of the Dictionary, entitled *Catholicus*, was never cited by the Name of *Jacobus*. The second, who is Author of the *Golden Legend*, was never cited by the Name of *Joannes*. The first is always called *Joannes de Janua*, or *Januensis*, because he was, undoubtedly, of *Genoa*, of the Family of the *Balbi*. The second, whose Family is unknown, is generally called *Jacobus de Voragine*, very rarely *Jacobus Januensis*, and then we either understand *Archiepiscopus*, or else suppose, that he was called so, by reason of the small Distance between the Borough of *Liguria*, called

Voragine, the Place of his Birth, and *Genoa*. The first was only a *Dominican* Monk. The second was raised to the Archbishopric of *Genoa*. All Authors, and the *Dominicans*, among others, have constantly distinguished the Names, the Country, and the Works, of These two Writers. This is carefully observed, by *Leandro Alberti*, in his Description della riviera de *Genova di Ponente*. James *Bracelli*, a *Genoese*, who wrote in the Year 1431, and is Author of a little Book, *De claris Genuensibus*, makes no mention, there, of *Jacobus de Voragine*, because he was not of *Genoa*; but he speaks, in it, with Praise of *Joannes Balbus*, the Author of the *Catholicus*, to whom he would not have failed to have given the Stile of Archbishop of *Genoa*, if he had enjoyed it, as he must have done, according to the Opinion of Those, who confound him with *Jacobus de Voragine*."

Simler is so far from confounding two Authors in one, that, on the contrary, he has made three of one; for he speaks of *Joannes de Janua*, of *Joannes Januensis*, and of *Joannes Balbus*, as of three different Authors (5). He is farther mistaken, in writing *Baldus for Balbus*, a Fault, which *Quenstedt* followed, in his Treatise of the Country of Illustrious Men (6). *Martinius* also gives into This Fault of Multiplication. It is in the Catalogue of the Dictionaries he consulted to make his own; at the beginning of his *Lexicon Philologicum*, printed at *Bremen*, in 1623, and afterward at *Frankfort*, in 1655, and reprinted at *Ulrecht*, in the Year 1697. He mentions the *Catholicus*, which was finished the Day of the Nones of *March* 1286, and quotes the very Words, at the end of the Dictionary of *Joannes de Janua*. Immediately after, he names a *Summa quæ vocatur Catholicus*, published by Brother *John de Janua*, and printed at *Venice*, in 1487. It is plain, that they are only two different Editions of one and the same Book, and that the first ought no less to be ascribed to *John de Janua*, than the second. *Martinius* would not have failed doing it, had he known what is in the Article *Janua*, in the *Catholicus*, finished in 1286.

I find it is not yet rightly agreed, who was the Author of the Dictionary, first entitled *Catholicus*. Mr *du Cange* ascribes it to our *John de Janua*, and says, that neither *Papias* nor *Ugutio*, who had made some Compilations before, used This Title (7): But *Borrichius*, who wrote afterwards, and had seen Mr *du Cange*'s Preface, undertakes to maintain, nevertheless, that *Papias* is the Author of the *Catholicus*, and that he finished That Work, in the Year 1286 (8). He had found it affirmed in That Preface, that *Papias* did not flourish in the Year 1200, as *Tribemius* will have it, but in 1053, as the Chronicle of *Albericus* justifies; and yet he lays it down, as a certain Fact, that *Papias* finished his Dictionary, in 1286. He ought either to have refuted Mr *du Cange*, or, at least, to have observed, that he was mistaken. This Proceeding, and Silence, serve only to puzzle the Reader. However, it is a strong Presumption against *Borrichius*, to see, that he places the Conclusion of *Papias*'s Dictionary exactly in the same Year, 1286, that *Joannes de Janua* finished his *Catholicus*. The above-quoted Memorial assures me, that *Papias* did not write the *Catholicus*, which was finished in 1286, and that *John Balbi* is the first, who made use of the Word *Catholicus* for the Title of a Dictionary.

It was a long time ago, that *Bartbius*, without having consulted the Manuscript Chronicle of *Albericus*, judged, that *Papias* was more ancient, than he was supposed to be. *Platina* delivers it for certain, that he lived in the Time of Pope *Innocent III*; that is, in the beginning of the XIIth Century, which agrees with *Tribemius*. *Borrichius* places him at the end of the XIIth Century. But *Bartbius*, in the third Chapter of the third Book of his *Adversaria*, placed him under the Reign of *Henry II* (9), because This Author carries the List, which he gives, under the Word *Ætas*, of all the Princes of the past Age, no further than *Henry*, whom he calls *minorum*, which he would not have done, if there had already

WHETHER
*Joannes de
Janua*, and
*Jacobus de
Voragine*, are
one and the
same Au-
thor.

(2) *Oudin*,
Supplement
de Script.
Ecclesiæ. pag.
501.

(3) *Cave*,
de Script.
Ecclesiæ. p. 8.
73.

(4) From the
learned Dr de la Mon-
noie.

MULTI-
PLICATI-
ON of *Jo-
annes de Ja-
nuas* into
several Au-
thors.

(5) Epitome
Biblioth.
Grecinæ.

(6) Pag.
307.

OF the
Book, en-
titled *Cat-
holicus*.

(7) *Du
Cange*, *Præ-
fat. Glossæ.
Lat.*

(8) *Borrich.*
Append.
de Lexicis
Grecis & Lat.
at the end of
his *Analec-
ta ad Cogit.
de Ling. Lat.*
1652.

THE Age
of *Papias*,
according to
Bartbius.

THE Ne-
gligence of
the Conti-
nuators of
Compilati-
ons.

(9) He did
not live a Year
1244; that
Bartbius's
Reason seems
to trace in
mistake.

already been more than two Emperors of the Name of *Henry*. It is true, that *Bartolus* raises a Suspicion, which, generally speaking, is justified by the prodigious Neglect of Those, who continue, or enlarge, Compilations. This is, that; perhaps, *Papias* left the Article *Etas* just as he found it in some old Dictionary, without continuing the Catalogue down to his own Time. Thus we find, in the Chronicle

of the Abbot of *Ursperg*, in one Place, that the Author was at *Rome*, in the Year 1102 (10); in another, that he was very young, *in minori etate*, in the Year 1198, and in another, that he was made an Abbot, in the Year 1215. If the Continuator had cleared up the Matter, with respect to his Additions, we should not have met with so much Confusion.

(10) See Vossius de Hist. Lat. lib. 2. cap. 57. and Bellarm. de Script. Eccl. p. 335. falsely accused by Zeiller, de Histor. pag. 155. of having believed the Number 1102 to be falsified.

BALDUS, a famous Civilian in the XIVth Century, was the Son of *Francis Ubaldus* [A], a Physician of *Perugia*. He studied under *Bartolus*, and, being but fifteen Years of Age, he proposed such a puzzling Objection to him, that he required time to consider of it; and the Answer to it was not given till the next Day. So that those, who say, *Baldus* began his Studies very late, are grossly deceived [B]. A little after his promotion to the Degree of Doctor, he maintained some Theses, which *Bartolus* opposed for five Hours together, without being able to obtain the Victory. He often pleaded Causes against *Bartolus*, and there arose such an Emulation between them, as soon degenerated into Hatred. This cannot be doubted, when we see, that *Baldus* made it his endeavour to eclipse the Reputation of his Master. What has been said, that, upon consulting the *Pandects* of *Pisa*, on occasion of a Dispute which they had, concerning the reading of a Law, *Baldus* was convicted of several Falsifications, and that he was punished for them in an ignominious manner, ought to pass only for a Fable [C]. He taught at *Perugia*, and Cardinal de *Beaufort* was his Scholar there, who was afterwards Pope *Gregory XI*. He was called to *Padua* about the Year 1378; but left That University, when *Galeazzo Visconti*, desirous to re-establish That of *Pavia*, drew thither, by the power of his Money, the ablest Professors

[A] He was the Son of *Francis Ubaldus*.] Observe, then, that *Baldus* is the Christian Name of This Civilian, and *Ubaldus* his Surname. *Moreri* calls him, besides, *Peter*; which is confounding the elder Brother with the younger. *Petrus Ubaldus* was the third Son of the Physician *Franciscus Ubaldus*, and was a good Civilian. And so was his Brother *Angelus Ubaldus*. See *Panciroli*, in the seventieth, and following Chapters, of the second Book *De claris Legum Interpretibus*.

[B] Those, who say, *Baldus* began his Studies very late, are grossly deceived.] It is reported, that he was forty Years of Age, when he began to study the Civil Law, and that *Bartolus* having said to him, *tarde venisti Balde*. — You come late *Baldus*. *Baldus* answered him, *citius recedam*. — I shall return the sooner (1). *La Motte le Vayer* has lengthened *Bartolus*'s Speech, and makes him say, *You come late, Baldus, you will be an Advocate in the other World. Sero venis Balde, eris advocatus in alio seculo*. I do not believe, that, if *Bartolus* said this, he intended any Allusion to *Cato*'s Jest. That Censor, to deride *Socrate*'s School, said, *That the Scholars grew old in it, that they might exercise their Eloquence in Hell, at the Bar of Minos* (2). This Story, about *Baldus*, has no Foundation. *Panciroli* proves, that, at the Age of fifteen Years, he started a very puzzling Objection to the famous *Bartolus*; that, at the Age of seventeen Years, he read public Lectures: and that, four Years after, he wrote a Book *de Pactis*, and another *de Constituto* (3). These are the words of that Writer: "Opinionem Bartoli adeo argute contraxit, ut ille argumenti acuminem perterritus respondere non poterit, commendatque juvenem tempus ad solvendum petiit, & sequenti mane respondit. Deinde 17 annuum ingressus solenni interpretatione difficillimam legem publice Baldus explicuit, unde fabulosum est quod vulgo fertur, Baldum quadragenarium ad legum studia accessisse (4). — He objected so ingeniously to the Opinion of *Bartolus*, that he was surprized with the Force of the Argument, and could not solve it, but, commending his young Opponent, desired some time to answer his Objection, which he accordingly did the next Day. Afterwards, upon entering into his seventeenth Year, Baldus explained a very difficult Law in a solemn Lecture, whence That common Report must be fabulous, that Baldus was Forty Years old, when he first began his Studies on the Civil Law." The Civilian *Zafius* reports the same Story on the Credit of *Paul Citadin*; but *Tiraquellus* rejects it as a Fable (5). "Adducere, says he (6), quod de Baldo vulgo dicitur — nisi scirem hæc esse commentitia & prorsus fabulosa, ut ex iis conflat quæ supra diximus. — I should mention what is commonly reported of Baldus, — if I did not know it to be only an Invention, and a Fable, as

"appears from what I have already said." Mr *Baillet* observes, that *la Motte le Vayer*, and *Father Bartoli*, seem to have adopted This Opinion, as of a Fact well attested, — and not a Story made at random. He refers to President *Tiraquellus*, and to the eighth Chapter of the *Elogies of Paulus Jovius* (7). He cites *la Motte le Vayer*, Letter 32, pag. 420, and *Bartoli*, Car. Hom. lit. pag. 248. I never read, that *Tiraquellus* was President. *Paulus Jovius* observes, that *Baldus*'s Parts were not only forward, but lasting: "Præcoci ingenio pene puer, non ad optimam modo frugem, sed rarissimo etiam naturæ dono ad longam senectutem pervenit (8). — A Youth of almost too early a Wit, and which yet not only produced excellent Fruit, but also, by an uncommon Gift of Nature, continued even to a good old Age."

[C] What is said — — — — — that he was convicted of several Falsifications, and punished for them — — — — — ought to pass only for a Fable.*] Some say, the Disgrace, which he received, obliged him to exile himself, and to say, as *Scipio Africanus* did, that his ungrateful Country should not supply him with a Grave: *Publicè traditum patria excessisse ferunt, Et abeuntem Scipionis Africani verba protulisse, ingrata patria ne ossa quidem mea habeat, ac in voluntario exilio senem defunctum fuisse* (9). Others say, that he was condemned to be marked with a hot Iron on the Forehead, and that *Bartolus* protected him. *Jafon* had heard of it; but he was very much in the wrong to immortalize This *Hear-say* in his Works. Such Reports should never be so far honoured, but in these two Cases; the one, when they are extremely probable; and the other, when they are to be branded with a Note of Reprobation; that is, refuted and hissed at. In this latter case, it is very useful to mention such Traditions, because nothing is more proper to make one suspect the Reports of Fame, than to shew the foolish and ridiculous Credulity of foregoing Ages. To prove demonstratively, that *Jafon*'s *Hear-say* is a Fable, there needs no other reason than this. *Jafon* knew it only by *Hear-say*; if the thing had been true, he would have read it in an hundred Places. *Baldus* lived a very long time with great Honour: He wrote Books; he consulted whom he thought fit; he had some formidable Opponents and Adversaries. We may be perfectly assured, that, if he could have been reproached with an Infamy, it would have been done in more than one Book. It is there, that *Jafon*, and all the World, would have learned This Disgrace. It is the Misfortune of learned Men, who make themselves eminent, and write much, that, sooner or later, they will be publicly reproached with the least Faults of their Youth. If other Authors become their Enemies, they must expect satirical Romances, rather than the Discretion of an Adversary. Thus *Panciroli* should have apologized for *Baldus*; he should have

(7) Baillet's Famous Children; pag. 420.

(8) To 76 Years of Age.

* One Falsification related to the Law Creditor, the first of the Digest de distractione Pignorum; in which, they say, he was proved to have suppressed an n. Baldus defended Falsitas, not by denying the Fact, but by alleging, in his Favour, the Law Ad Restit. 318 of the Digest de Pænis, which qualifies the Rigour of the Law, where the Offender is, otherwise, of great Merit. R. x. m. c. x. i. r.

(9) Panciroli. ibid. p. 201.

IN WHAT manner an Author ought to report a Hear-say.

(1) Panciroli. de claris Legum Interpret. l. 2. cap. 70. pag. 201.

(2) Plot. in Catone, p. 350.

(3) Panciroli. ubi supra, p. 203.

(4) Ibid. p. 200, 201.

(5) Zafius, apud Tiraquell. de Jur. Primi. gen. Pref. n. 206.

(6) Tiraquell. ibid.

fors he could meet with. A quick Repartee, which Baldus made, the first time he appeared in the College of Pavia, caused him to be admired [D]. He had a formidable Colleague there, whose Name was *Philip Cassolus*. This was a Man of an excellent Memory, and great Parts; but the good Opinion he had of his own sufficiency having put him upon giving a Challenge, he was overcome, and his Glory sacrificed to That of Baldus [E]. The Death of Philip did not free his Competitor from trouble; for there was such a warm Emulation between the Professor, who succeeded him, and Baldus, that they introduced the shameful and pernicious Custom of bribing Auditors by Supplications. Baldus raised a great Fortune [F]. He composed a great many Books, and there is no probability of his having studied but two Hours in a Day [G]. He must not be produced as an Instance of an Author without Faults; had he only had That of contradicting himself, he would fall very short of Perfection; but he had a great many others [H]. The Excuses he made for his Contradictions deserve to be considered [I]. He died the Twenty eighth of

expressly, and openly, made use of this Observation, and not have only said; "Quæ omnia falsa esse & "alii potius evenisse non dubito, cum nulla de hoc "certa extet auctoritas, & cum Ticini decessisse con- "flet (10). All which I conclude to be false, and ra- "ther to have happened to some other Person, since we "find no good Authority for it, and are certain, that "he died at Pavia."

[D] A quick Repartee, which Baldus made - - - - - caused him to be admired. He was of a small size, so that, as soon as he appeared in the Auditory, they cried out, *Minuit præsentia famam*, - - - His Presence lessens his Fame. He answered, without altering his Countenance, *Augebit cætera virtus*, - - - Virtue will enlarge every Thing else. Pancirollus adds, *Quo dicto omnibus sui admirationem injectit* (11). — Which Reply made him much admired by all.

[E] The Glory of Cassolus was sacrificed to That of Baldus. Cassolus had engaged himself to answer, upon the Spot, all Questions proposed to him concerning last Wills. The Day and Hour were appointed to make good this Challenge. The Assembly was numerous: Baldus stood up, and proposed a Question, which Cassolus could not answer. Baldus was obliged to shew the Law in Question. Judge whether the Challenger was mortified. "Philippus, qui, ut "memoria cæteris antecellebat, ita superbo titulo "Doctorum Doctor vocabatur, ingenio fretus, se ex "omnibus ultimarum voluntatum questionibus ex "tempore responsum professus est. Statuta ad "dicendum die, cum in magnâ expectatione esset, "surgens Baldus interrogavit, Ubi in jure cautum "reperiretur, parem non esse ejus, qui non vult, "ei, qui non potest, conditionem. Ad primam in- "terrogationem hæsitante Philippo, cum Baldus de "proposita questione legem ostendisset, magnam "gloriam retulit (12). — Philip, who, as he ex- "celled all others in Memory, so also was called by "the proud Title of Doctor of Doctors, depending "upon his Abilities, undertook to satisfy extempore "all Questions concerning last Wills. The Day ap- "pointed being come, and great Expectation raised, "Baldus, standing up, asked, Where it was, that the "Civil Law had provided, that the Case of him, who "would not, should be esteemed quite different from "That of him who could not. Philip being puzzled "at the first proposing the Question, Baldus produced "the Law required, and gained great Glory."

[F] Baldus raised a great Fortune. The Opinions he gave only on the Point of Substitution, brought him in above Fifteen thousand Crowns: "De jure "respondendo immensam pecuniam coëgit, qui ex "solis substitutionum speciebus plus quindecim millia "aureorum lucratus fuisse traditur. Aliunde præ- "terea ex innumeris aliarum successio-nis crimi- "numque causis & contractibus peramplas opes "accumulavit (13). — He got a prodigious Sum "of Money by his Practice in Law, so that one only "Article of Substitutions is said to have procured him "Fifteen thousand Crowns. Besides innumerable "Causes of other Successions, and criminal ones, and "Contracts, by which he heaped up immense Riches." He had several Lands, and lived in a pleasant Country-House near Pavia, from whence he came on his Mule to the Auditory. Pancirollus adds (14), *Domus vestustate vitiatâ abduc bodie pro re memoranda ostentatur*. - - - The Ruins of the House are still shewn as a Curiosity.

[G] There is no probability of his having studied but two Hours in a Day. Pancirollus, confuting this, re-

lates, among other Things, that Baldus, going a Journey, which hindered him from spending so much of his Time in reading, as he was used to do, said, *At every Step of my Horse's Foot, I lose a Law out of my Head*. — *Quot gradus equus ambulabat, tot leges sibi excidere querebatur* (15). It is a Sign he had acquired, and still retained his Knowledge, by much reading.

[H] But he has a great many Faults. He advances a thousand Things singular, and contrary to the Opinion of other Civilians, and without quoting any Law: they are only his own Fancies: He quotes Laws nothing at all to the Purpose: he treats of many things quite out of their Order: he is too barren on the essential Part, and too prolix on the useless: He answers Questions no Body ever asked: and answers nothing to what every Body asks: He confounds himself by his own Subtilties, and gives himself too much liberty: The Vivacity of his Wit is the Cause of the want of Uniformity in his Opinions. "Cum "parum sibi constans sæpenumero contrarius reperia- "tur, id tamen non levitate, sed ingenii subtilitate "evenisse Paulus Castrensis autumat (16). — His "Inconsistencies, and very often downright Contra- "dictions, Paulus Castrensis thinks to be owing not "to the Levity, but Subtilty, of his Parts." Those, who have a quick Imagination, have commonly but a short Memory; and this is the Reason why they do not remember, when they consider a Question in one view, that formerly they maintained it in another sense. They contradict themselves without knowing it. Add to this, that a subtle Wit easily invents Arguments to prove and disprove the same things. But it is a great Defect not to be capable of suspending the Effects of This Subtilty, till the Mind is perfectly settled.

[I] The Excuses he made for his Contradictions deserve to be considered. He said, that our Under- standing alters, and that he therefore argues one Day after one manner, and another Day after another. I believe he referred to himself, in *petto*, the Privilege, which he attributed to Legislators. The Bishop of Pavia asked, one Day, why the Laws were so changeable: Baldus answered him, that the same things become either lawful, or unlawful, according to the Times. In time of War some things are permitted, which are forbid in time of Peace: Therefore Justice enjoins all things, which become proper to the Times; such a Conduct is proportioned to the present Circumstances, therefore it is just. Those, who make Laws, imitate Physicians, who permit, order, and forbid, the same things, according to Times and Seasons; these are what they observe. *Ipse quoque se excusat, quod Intellectus, qui ratiocinatur, non semper sit idem, sed varius; & Episcopo Ticinensi sæpè interroganti, cur toties Leges mutarentur, respondit, flagrante bello permittitur, quod pacis tempore non licet, id ita justum esse, quod cuique suo tempore expedit, exemplo enim medicorum tempora à legum lateribus dicebat observari* (17). This was Baldus's Answer; and This is either implicitly, or explicitly, the Principle, on which Authors argue, who confute themselves, when they are to dispute against two sorts of Enemies. This Proposition is true and good, this Day, while I dispute against Pelagius; in a Year's Time it shall not be so, if I am to dispute against Calvin. See what has been said, above, concerning the Contradictions of Advocates, and the Apology Cicero makes for them (18). I remember to have read, that certain Controversitists, not being able to deny, but that the Church commands certain things, which

(10) Panci-
roll. ibid.
pag. 222.

(11) Ibid.
pag. 203.

(12) Id. ib.

(13) Ibid.
pag. 204.

(14) Pag.
203.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ibid.
pag. 203.

(17) Ibid.

(18) In the
Remarks [B]
and [C] of
the Article
ANTONY
(MARC) the
Orator.

of April 1400 [K]. His Death was something Tragical: He had a little Dog, which he loved very much, and plaid with, and kissed very often. In one of these Careffes he was bit by the Lip, and the Dog, being mad at that time, communicated a subtle Poison to the Body of Baldus, which had no effect for a long time; but at last it produced the *Hydrophobia*, or Dread of Liquids, and caufed an incurable Distemper (a). Baldus lived Seventy fix Years (b), and left two Sons, who proved good Civilians (c). Zenobius, the Eldest, was Bilhop of Tiferno (d).

(a) Taken from Pancirollus de claris Leg. Interp. l. 2. c. 70, pag. 201, & seq.

(b) P. Jovius, Elog. cap. 8, pag. 27.

(c) Pancirollus. ibid. p. 203.

(d) Ibid.

which do not seem agreeable either to Scripture, or to the Primitive Church, have maintained, that they were nevertheless just and true, because the Holy Spirit, who guides the Church, inspires her in every Age with such Interpretations, as are most proper for the good of Souls. "Scripturas esse ad tempus adaptatas & variè intellectas, ita ut uno tempore secundum currentem universalem ritum exponerentur, mutato ritu iterum sententia mutaretur (19). Non est mirum si praxis Ecclesie uno tempore interpretatur Scripturam uno modo, alio tempore alio; nam intellectus currit cum praxi (20). — That the Scriptures are adapted to the Times, and to be variously understood, so that they shall be explained at one time, according to the Universal Usage then prevailing: if this Usage comes to alter,

"so must the Interpretation. — It is no wonder if the Practice of the Church interprets the Scripture at one time in one way, at another time in another; for the Understanding goes along with the Practice." I love this plain dealing.

[K] He died the Twenty eighth of April, 1400.] His Epitaph confirms it; so that Bellarmin is deceived in placing the Death of Baldus in the Year 1400 (21). Trithemius, who placed it in the Year 1423, asserted a Fallshood; but Mr Moreri, who said, that, according to Trithemius, the Death of Baldus ought to be placed in the Year 1423, was not in the wrong. The Dutch Edition of his Dictionary ought not to have made the Correction of 1403, instead of 1423.

(19) Nicolaus Cusanus, Epist. 2. ad Bohemos.

(20) Idem, Epist. 7.

(21) Bellarm. Script. Eccles. pag. 33a.

BALDUS (JAMES), one of the best Latin Poets Germany produced in the XVIIth Century, was born at Ensfeldheim, in 1603. He turned Jesuit in the Year 1624. He taught Rhetoric and Literature for six Years; he was a Preacher many Years, and preached also at the Court of the Elector of Bavaria, and acquired an extraordinary Reputation by his Poems. There were none, even among the Protestants themselves, but praised them in a singular manner [A]. One of his last Works was his *Urania victrix, seu Animæ Christianæ Certamina adversus illecebras quinque sensuum corporis sui*. Pope Alexander VII was so pleased with it, that he sent his Medal in Gold to the Author. Father Baldus consecrated it to the Blessed Virgin [B]. Some Senators of Nuremberg disputed which of them should have his Pen [C], and it is said, that He, to whose share it fell, kept it in a Silver Case. This Poet died at Neubourg the Ninth of August, 1668. His Poetry is of a miscellaneous kind; and consists of Panegyrics, Treatises of Morality, Pieces for the Stage [D], Pieces of Devotion, *Sylvas*, *Odes*, &c (a).

[A] Even the Protestants ——— praised his Poems in a singular Manner. Father Southwell expresses himself upon this, in these terms: "Ipsi Aca- tholici etiam adeo placerunt, ut publico typo cum Horatium Germanum nominare non dubitarent. — The Non-Catholics were so pleased with them, that they did not scruple to name him, in print, the German Horace." If I am not mistaken, this is grounded on a Letter of Barleus. Father Baldus, having seen the Verses Barleus had wrote in Praise of the Duke of Bavaria, wrote a very obliging Letter to him, and sent him a Volume of his Poems. Barleus returned him Thanks for it, with great Complements, and said to him, among other things: "Resistit nobis lyram neglectam diu & intermissam, ut jam merito vocari possis lyricorum scriptor, aut potius Bojorum fidicen lyrae, ut ad Horatii verba alludam (1). — You have restored the Lyre a long time neglected and unstrung, so that you may now be justly called a Lyric Writer, or rather Master of the Bavarian Lyre, that I may allude to the Words of Horace." This Letter was written the first of March, 1644. The Jesuit was then Rector of the College of Munich (2).

[B] He consecrated a Medal of Alexander VII to the Blessed Virgin.] This is what Southwell says of it. "Hanc verò Jacobus Deiparæ Virginis anathema appendit, ut palam faceret cui Palladi ipse

"suos labores consecraret (3). — This Medal, James consecrated to the Virgin Mother of Christ, that it might shew who was his Minerva, and Patroness of all his Labours."

[C] Some Senators of Nuremberg disputed which of them should have his Pen. "I do not know, says Mr Baillet (4), whether he, who preserved it in a fine silver Case, made on purpose for it, did not commit a Sacrilege; because it seems to me, that Father Baldus had consecrated it to the Holy Virgin, and that his Intention was, that it should be hung up on one of her Images, or over one of her Altars, as Lipsius had formerly done in a like Fit of Devotion."

[D] His Poetry ——— consists of Pieces for the Stage.] There is one of them, which bears this Title: *Poësis Osca, five Drama Georgicum de Belli malis & Pacis bonis carmine antiquo, Attellano, Osco, Casco* (5). How rustic soever this Piece, and the Osque and Casque Gibberish, in which it was composed, may seem, yet I do not question, but that it cost the Author both more Time and Wit, than a grave Piece in good Latin. We must be cautious therefore of believing, that it was printed at Munich, in the Year 1617, as Father Southwell asserts. James Baldus was not capable of executing such an Undertaking at the Age of fourteen Years.

(1) See the 467th Letter of Barleus, pag. 911. See also the 487th, written to the same Baldus.

(2) See the Table of Barleus's Letters.

(3) Sotuel, Biblioth. Soc. Jef. pag. 356.

(4) Judgment on the Poets, Tom. 5. n. 1507, pag. 45.

(5) Compare this with the Dialogue of Mariangelus Accursius which I have mentioned in the Remark [F] of his Article.

(a) His Great Grand-Father left the Name of Cantagallina, an illustrious Family of Perugia, from which he was descended, and took this Name. Scharlonein. See below, Citation (c).

BALDUS (a) (BERNARDIN), Abbot of Guastalla, born at Urbino in the Year 1553, was one of the most learned Men of his time. He made such great Progress under his first Tutors, that he found himself able to translate the *Phænomena* of Aratus into Italian Verse, while he was yet but a young Scholar. His Father, perceiving by these early Trials, that he had a very promising Son, sent him to Padua in the Year 1573 [A]. Bernardin studied Homer there under Emanuel Margunius (b), and

[A] His Father, perceiving his Capacity, by these early Trials ——— sent him to Padua.] Correct, by this, a Fault of Nicus Erythraeus. I am sure he had no Intention to lessen the Fame of our Baldus in any

thing, and yet he did lessen it very much; but it was done inadvertently, and for want of observing the order of Time. He has said, that after the Lectures of Margunius (1), Baldus thought himself sufficiently

(b) He was of Candia, and Professor of the Greek Tongue at Padua.

(1) Not Margunius, as it is in Erythraeus.

(c) De Tormen's R. I. lica & eorum inventibus.

(d) Libros ex de Auli eruditissimos, methodo analytica conscripti. Scharlencius. See the following Citation.

and, by himself, almost all the other Greek Poets, and understood them very well. He composed a Book at *Padua* concerning *Machines of War* (c), which made his Name fly beyond the *Alps*, and increased his desire of understanding *French* and *High Dutch*; for he thought it was a piece of good Manners to learn the Language of those, whose Affection he had acquired. He became Master of those two Languages with a great deal of Ease. He was forced to leave *Padua* on account of the Plague, and, being returned to *Urbino*, he applied himself for five Years to *Frederic Commandino*, an excellent Professor of Mathematics, and learned of him all the parts of That Science. He was extremely sorry for the Death of That learned Man; and, having applied himself to write his Life, this drew him into a design to write those of all the *Mathematicians*. He laboured twelve Years about it. The *Commentaries*, which he published in 1582, on *Aristotle's* Mechanics, discovered his Capacity in that sort of Knowledge. To unbend his Mind in those difficult Studies, he wrote a Poem in his Mother-Tongue concerning the *Art of Navigation*. *Ferdinand de Gonzague*, Prince of *Mossetta*, and Lord of *Guaftalla*, being a great Lover of Mathematics, would have our *Baldus* near him. In That Court he began to write on *Vitruvius*, and composed the Book, *De verborum Vitruvianorum significazione*. A Fit of Sickness having hindered him from taking a Voyage into *Spain* with his Master, he employed the leisure Time, the absence of *Ferdinand de Gonzague* gave him, in writing a very Methodical *Treatise of the Court* (d), and several other Works [B]. He was made Abbot of *Guaftalla* in 1586, without ever once asking it; and, from that time, he applied himself wholly to the Study of the Canon-Law, the Fathers, and Councils, and the Oriental Languages, without excepting the *Arabic* [C]. Having composed five Books, *De nova Gnomonice*, in the Year 1595, he translated, in the following Year, the *Chaldee Paraphrase on the Pentateuch*, and enlarged it with Commentaries; after which he translated the Book of *Job*, and the *Lamentations of Jeremiab*, from the *Hebrew*, and added *Notes* to them. He spent some spare Hours in explaining a Plate, which is at *Eugubio* [D], on which there are some old *Tuscan* Inscriptions. He began

sufficiently able to translate some Greek Poems into his Mother-Tongue: "Apud quem tantum profecit, ut eo duce & cererum quodammodo lucente obfus-
"rissima Græcorum quorundam poetarum loca pene-
"traverit ----- Quamobrem eâ est incensus animi
"alacritate atque fiducia, ut ausus sit poemata Græca
"in nostrum sermonem convertere (2). — Under
"whom he made such Proficiency, that, by his Instra-
"ction, and, as it were, shewing a Light, he was able
"to understand the most difficult Passages of certain
"Greek Poets — This gave him so much Spirit
"and Courage, as to attempt the Translation of some
"Greek Poems into our Language." He had trans-
lated a Poem of *Aratus* before he went to *Padua*.

[B] He wrote several other Works.] This Remark shall only contain the Titles of some of our *Baldus's* Writings; I mean those, which have not been mentioned in the Text of this Article, whether the Author composed them during his Master's Voyage, or at any other time. I say, then, that he translated *Heronem de Automatis & Balistis*; the *Parasymenon* of *Quintus Calaber*, and the Poem of *Museus*; and wrote a Book of Mathematical Paradoxes; another, of *Scamillis imparibus Vitruvii*; another, of *Firmamento & Aquis*; another on the Description of the Temple by *Ezekiel*; another, *De Historiæ scribendæ Legibus*; another, of the Antiquities of *Guaftalla*; the Life of *Frederic*, and that of *Gui Ubaldus*, Dukes of *Urbino*; *Oeconomia Tropologica* in *S. Matthæum*; several Latin and Italian Poems, among which That, intitled *Deipnobe*, is an Imitation of the *Cassandra* of *Lycophron*. The following Remarks will give the Title of some of his other Books. I shall observe here, that *Nicetus Erythraeus* has reason to say, that the Description of the Temple is a very difficult Matter, but he was in the wrong to take *Jeremiab* for *Ezekiel*. "Jerofo-
"lymitani templi — descriptionem, says he (3),
"per Hieremiam literis consignatam & traditam, rem
"involutam & multis difficultatibus obfessam, evoluit,
"illustravit, atque hominum intelligentiæ aperuit. —
"The Description of the Temple of Jerusalem, left us,
"in writing, by Jeremiah, a Subject obscured and at-
"tended with many Difficulties, he cleared and illu-
"strated, and made universally intelligible."

[C] He applied to the Study of the Oriental Languages, without excepting the Arabic.] He studied it at *Rome*, with *John Baptist Raimondi*, and also the Slavonian Tongue, with so much Application, that he was almost a Stranger to all manner of News. *Romæ dum viveret fere nescivit quid gereretur in aulis: Arabicæ enim linguæ cum Jo. Baptista Raimondil diligentissime studuit, & arcana industria Slavonicæ,*

quam perfectè callabat (4). He translated the *Geographical Garden* of an anonymous Author out of *Arabic*, and composed a *Dictionary* of that Language. He believed, that this unknown Author lived towards the end of the Xth Century. If *Marc Velsius* had lived, he would have caused the Translation of that Geographical Work, and the other Writings of *Baldus*, to be printed (5).

[D] He took pains in the explaining of a Plate, which is at *Eugubio*] *Scboeckius*, having but a confused Notion of this Work of *Bernardin Baldus*, ascribed another to him, which is none of his. "Elerquilinio Anniano Bernardinus Baldus nuper collegit Antiquitates Etruscas anno 1637. Florentiæ evulgando volumin typis perquam elegantibus cujus hæc inscriptio; Etruscarum antiquitatum fragmenta quibus urbis Romæ aliarumque gentium primordia, mores & res gestæ indicantur, à Curtio Inghiramioreperta Scornelli prope Valterram anno salutis M.D.C.LXXXVII. Etrusci vero CCCCXCCCXCV (6). — *Bernardin Baldus lately collected the Antiquities of Tuscany, out of some Rubbish at Annum, in the Year 1637, and published a Volume at Florence, in a very neat Character, with this Title; Some Fragments of the Antiquities of Tuscany, shewing the Origin of the City of Rome, and of other States, together with their Customs and Transactions, found by Curtius Inghiramius, at Scornelli, near Valterra, in the Year of Christ, 1637, of Tuscany, 3495." How could a Man, who knew that Baldus died in the Year 1617, commit such a Mistake? What is the more surprizing, is, that the same *Scboeckius*, after speaking in this Manner, at the Sixty seventh Page, speaks, as he ought to do, in the Two hundred and seventeenth Page. "Simili ratione egit Bernardinus Baldus, vir cæteroquin longè doctissimus, annis abhinc ferme quinquaginta evulgando suam quasi divinationem in tabulam Æneam Eugubinam linguâ Etruscâ veteri perscriptam, simul abutendo operâ Marci Velsirii viri cæteroquin judiciosissimi (7). — Such was also the Conduct of Bernardin Baldus, otherwise extremely learned, who, about fifty Years ago, upon publishing his Conjecture upon a Copper-Plate, engraved in the old Tuscan Language, at the same time reflected upon the Work of Marcus Velsius, a Man otherwise very judicious." Why then did he not correct his Mistake? Perhaps he had forgot it, as it happens but too often to those, who are fond of writing much. They can hardly maintain that Character, without copying, in haste, whatsoever they find in all manner of Books. See what *Scharlencius**

(4) Fabricius Scharlencius in ejus vita.

(5) Id. ib.

(6) Schoeckius de Fabula Hamelendi, p. 67.

(7) Ibid. p. 217.

(2) Nic. Erythr. Pinac. l. pag. 4.

(3) Id. ib.

began a very great Work in the Year 1603, I mean *A Description of the World*. His Plan was no less Historical than Geographical, and extended to the least Boroughs of which the Modern Writers have said any thing. He finished the whole Work, as to the Matter [E], but put only part of it in Order. He died the Twelfth of October 1617, after having laboured under a great Rheum for forty Days (e) [F]. He was extremely laborious [G], without Ambition, or Vain-glory, always ready to excuse other Mens Faults, which he grounded on a very good Reason [H]; very devout, not only for a Mathematician, but also for a Churchman [I].

(e) Taken from a Letter of Fabricius Scharloncinus ad illustriſſimum & reverendiſſimum dominum Lælium Rurinum, Episcopum Balneoregensem, ex-Nunquium Apulicum ad Poloniam regem. See also Niclaus Erythraeus, Pinacoth. I. pag. 4. and the Funeral Orat. on of Baldus, by Marc Ant. Virgilius, not printed in 1607, as Mr. Tiesher says, Bibl. p. 220, but in 1617.

nus says concerning this Work of Baldus. "Tribulam Etruscum Eugubinum interpretatus fuit: in ea autem divinatione, ut aiebat, subcivitas unius mensis horas consumpsit. — He explained a Tuscan Plate of Eugubio; and spent, in those Conjectures, as he said himself, the spare Hours of one Month." Our Baldus is mentioned in the new Edition of the *Eponymologium of Magirus*, only to let us know, that he published a Book, in the Year 1637, the very same that *Schoonckius* ascribes to him. Is not this an admirable Choice?

[E] He finished the Description of the World, as to the Matter. These are the Words of his Historian. "Totum opus ad umbilicum perduxit: non digestit tamen universum, quatuor, aut, ni fallor, quinque tantum totum fuerunt ordine alphabetico dispositi: superesset septem aut octo disponendi, quantum ex chartarum & falciculorum mole conieci licet. — He brought the whole Work to Perfection; but had not adjusted, I think, above four or five Volumes of it in alphabetical Order; there might be about seven or eight more to be digested, as near as one could guess from the Quantity and Heaps of Papers." I do not believe, the List, Fabricius Scharloncinus has given of our Baldus's Works, is imperfect; but, according to the ill Custom of most of those, who give such sort of Lists, he does not distinguish the Books, which have been printed, from those, which have not (8). I have not transcribed the whole List.

[F] He died — after having laboured under a great Rheum for forty Days. I thought I might thus translate Scharloncinus's Words: *Postquam dies 40 vehementi Diffinitione vexatus fuisset. Vassus* understood a Catarrh, by Diffinition, and he is not in the wrong to pretend, that these two Words are synonymous. That of Rheum seemed to me the most proper; because a Catarrh seldom continues so long as forty Days. Moreri, by a great Mistake, confutes this an Apoplexy of forty Days.

[G] He was extremely laborious. He would rise at Midnight to study, and read while he was eating. "In studiis sic assiduus fuit ut sæpe & legeret & comederet. S. Augustini de civitate Dei ter inter prandium evoluit; statim à noctis meridie dum ei vires firmiores essent ad lucubrandum surgebat (9). — He was so earnest in his Studies, that he often both eat and read. He thrice went thro' St Augustin's Book de Civitate Dei, during the Times of his dining: So long as his Confection beld good, he rose at Midnight to his Studies." He reckoned an Euclid, translated into Arabic, one of his Books of Recreation. *A prandio Euclidem Arabicè editum, vel Libellum aliquem Germanicum, aut*

Gallicum in manus sumebat (10). After Dinner he used to take into his hand an Arabic Euclid, or some high Dutch or French Book. Happy are those, who can take so much Pains, without impairing their Health.

Felices quibus ista licent, miramur & illos, Et nostri miseremur.

Happy are they whose Studies never tire; Our selves we pity, while we them admire.

[H] He was always ready to excuse the Faults of others, which he grounded on a very good Reason. If we knew the Infides, said he, of those, we take for the best of Men, we should find not one, but who deserves Correction. *Facile parcendum esse dicebat iis maxime qui in re levi impegissent, quoniam si quos censemus optimos, nudos conspiceremus, nullum eorum non judicaretur multis dignum verberibus* (11): This may seem too far stretched: Perhaps it were better to keep to Cardinal Mazarin's Maxim. He said, That the greatest Men were like Beasts for Sacrifice, which, though ever so nicely chosen, had always something bad, when their Entrails were examined (12). I remember, on this Occasion, a Passage of Father Rapin, which I thought very judicious the first time I read it. It is a Thought he makes use of, by way of Apology, for Cicero. There are, says he (13), certain things at the bottom of the Souls of the greatest Men, which, if they could be perceived, would shew them to be as weak as others — and often times the Reputation of those, we so much admire, does not proceed so much from their Art in displaying their good Qualities, as from that of hiding their bad ones, and not suffering themselves to be seen into.

[I] He was very devout, not only for a Mathematician, but also for a Churchman. He fasted twice a Week; he communicated every Holy-Day (14), and was very charitable to the poor. His Mother said, that, when he was but a Year old, he did not only look upon the Altars and Images with Joy, but also with Veneration (15). With Joy, I do not question; for it is usual for Children to leap at the Sight of Guildings, Ornaments, and Images: but, as for Veneration, That is another thing; they have at most but mechanical Motions, just as they are used. Our Baldus did well fortified with all the Sacraments of the Church, and in the Arms of Friars. *Spiritum Deo reddidit Sacramentis Ecclesiæ omnibus rite manibus* (16). *Quemadmodum sanctissime vixerat, ita etiam sanctissime in complexu cullatorum patrum extremum vitæ spiritum edidit* (17).

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Id. ib.

(12) See the Preface of Mr. Chanut's Memoirs.

(13) In the Comparison of Demosthenes with Cicero.

(14) Thus I transfer to diebus festis omnibus sacrum faciebatur: Which Words, perhaps, mean only, that he officiated every Holy-Day: but it cannot be denied, that what I say is contained in the Latin Words of Scharloncinus.

(15) Scharloncinus. ibid.

(16) Id. ib.

(17) Nic. Erythraeus Pinacoth. I. pag. 7.

(8) See, above, the beginning of Remark [E] of the Article AUREOLUS.

(9) Scharloncinus in Vita Baldi.

(a) See The History of the French Academy, pag. 230, 238.

BALESDENS (JOHN), Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, and in the Council, was born at Paris. He was admitted into the French Academy about the Year 1647, in the room of Malleville; and, if he had not given up his Pretensions to Mr Corneille [A], he had succeeded Mainard, who died before Malleville. The Chancellor Seguier was his Mæcenas (a). He published several Works, of which he was not the Author [B]. I think he lived till towards the Year 1676 (b). I have not found

[A] He gave up his Pretensions to Mr Corneille. I see what the Historian of the Academy says of it. "Mr Corneille was afterwards received in the place of Mr Mainard. Mr Balesdens had also been proposed, and, as he had the Honour to belong to the Chancellor, the Academy had That respect for it's Protector, as to depute five of it's Members to him, to know whether both Persons propoſed were equally agreeable to him. The Chancellor assured them he would leave the Society entirely at their Liberty; but, when they began to deliberate on their Choice, the Abbot of Cerisy presented them with a Letter from Mr de Balesdens, full of a great many

"Compliments to them, and to Mr Corneille, to whom he desired they might give the Preference, protesting that he paid him this Honour, as his due, on all Accounts. The Letter was read, and commended by the Assembly: and he (1) was afterwards received into the first Vacancy, which was That of Mr de Malleville; but I do not find on what Day; for, since that Time, the long and frequent Indispositions of the Secretary of the Academy have left great Vacancies in the Registers (2)."

[B] He published several Works, of which he was not the Author. Mr Pellisson gives this List of all that

(b) The State of France, in 1686, places Balesdens in the List of the dead Academiſts, before the Conſort and des Marrets: Conſort died in September, 1675.

(1) Mr Balesdens.

(2) Pellisson Hist. de l'Acad. Franç. pag. 220, 230. Edit. 1676, in 12mo.

found his Name in the *Petition of the Dictionaries*; and yet it ought to be there, according to the *Menagiana* [C]. He had lived in the College of *Harcour* [D].

(3) Ibid.
pag. 38.

that *Balsdens* published (3). "He translated the Book entitled, *The Penitent Sinner's Looking glass*; and, among other Manuscripts, which he had collected, he gave the following to the Public: *Caritativum Logicæ, seu Logica memorativa, vel Poëtica, R. Patris Thomæ Murnori, cum notis & conjecturis. Rudimenta cognitionis Dei & sui, Petri Seguerii Præfidi insulati. Elegia clarorum virorum Joannis Papirii Massonis, in two Volumes. Gregorii Turonensis opera pia, cum Vitis Patrum jui temporis, in two Volumes. The Arts of the Conveyance of Dauphiné, made to the Crown of France. A Treatise of Brandy, by Mr John Bronaut, the King's Physician. He published, also, *Æolop's Fables, corrected by himself, in French, for the King's Instruction, with Maxims Political and Moral.*" Mr de Marolles says, That *Balsdens* gave him "several Letters in a figurative Style, without mentioning a very great Number of others, of which he proposed to make several Volumes, there was such a prodigious Number of them (4)."*

(4) In his Catalogue of those, who had made him Presents of their Books.

(5) Menagiana, pag. 190, of the first Edition of Holland.

[C] His Name ought to have been in the *Petition of the Dictionaries, according to the Menagiana*. In Effect, these Words are found there: *the first Sample of my Poetry, says Mr Menage, was the Petition of the Dictionaries. I was looking for Rhimes to finish it. Mr du Puy sent me Claquentin to Rhime to Ballesdens* (5). Mr Menage had the best Memory in the World; but yet he might mistake one thing for another, even in those, which personally concerned him. I do not believe, that he asked for the Rhime in question, to finish his *Petition of the Dictionaries*; for That incomparable Satire was finished before *Balsdens* came into the Academy. He was not admitted before the Year 1647, or 1648; and That *Petition* was finished about the Year 1642; I shall prove it from the History of the Academy. Mr Pellisson relates, that Mr Menage suppressed That *Petition, after he had made it*: He goes on thus: "It remained above ten Years concealed among his Papers, 'till a Person, who

"had them all in his keeping, suffered himself to be robbed of this, by a Person not unknown to us, who soon gave several Copies of it (6)." Mr Pellisson had said, in the same Page, That "a Printer had lately published this *Petition, in a small Form, with many Faults, and that it had since been more correctly printed, in Quarto.*" Without doubt he means, by This more correct Impression, the Edition of Mr Menage's *Miscellanea*, which appeared in the Year 1652. However it be, the Year 1652 is the Date of Mr Pellisson's Book; and consequently the *Petition of the Dictionaries* was finished in 1642 (7). It might be said, that, when Mr Menage was tired with keeping That Piece, which he had suppressed, and was resolved to publish it himself, among his other Poems, he designed to enlarge it, by introducing the new Members of the Academy; and that, if *Balsdens* is not among them, it is because the Rhime, which Mr du Puy sent, did not please, or was too difficult to come in there. Upon this Supposition, Mr Balsdens was obliged to his Name, for escaping the Lash, in the *Petition of the Dictionaries*, and That Name, so untractable, with respect to rhiming, produced a much more favourable Effect, than Those of *Tuticannus* (8), and *Eearinus* (9): But I do not think, there is any room to make this Supposition; for the *Petition*, printed in the Year 1652, does not contain the Name of any one Member, admitted into the Academy, since the Year 1640; and yet there were some among those new ones, who lay open to Mr Menage, as much as he could desire. Was good Mr du Rier a Translator without Reproach?

[D] He lived in the College of *Harcour*.] Mr de Marolles, who informs me of this, adds, That *Balsdens's* Landlord was a good Man, whose Name was le Landez, since Doctor of Divinity, and Uncle to the two Mazures, Curates of St Paul, one after another (10). He says, That *Balsdens* was, at That Time, of a merry Humour, and of a diverting Conversation.

(6) Pellisson, Hist. de l'Acad. Franç. pag. 72.

(7) See many curious things in the Anti-Bailler, Vol. 1, cap. 82, concerning This Petition of the Dictionaries.

(8) Quod minus in no fric ponar a amicis libellus, Nominis efficitur condicione tui. Lex pedis officio, fortunæque nominis obstat, Quæque meos adeas est via nulla modis. -- Thy Name, my Friend, should in my Books appear, But it disdains poetic Chains to wear.

Ovid. lib. 4, de Ponto Eleg. 12.

(9) Nomen nobile, mole, delicatum, Versu dicere non rudi volebam.

Sed tu Syllaba contumax repugnans. -- Thy noble Name my Muse with Pleasure tries;

But the rough Syllable it's Aid denies.

Marshall. lib. 9, Epig. 12.

(10) Mémoires de Marolles, pag. 32, ad Ann. 1616.

BALMIS (ABRAHAM de) a Jewish Physician, born at Lecci [A], in the Kingdom of Naples, flourished at Venice in the Beginning of the XVIth Century. He composed a Hebrew Grammar [B], printed at Venice in Hebrew and Latin, by Daniel Bomberg, in the Year 1523. He translated into Latin several Commentaries of *Averroës* on *Aristotle*, as also some Works of *Aven Pace*, and wrote a Book of his own, *De Demonstratione*, and another *De Substantia Orbis*. See *Gesner's Bibliotheca*, and the *Bibliotheca Rabbinnica* of Bartolocci. We must not forget, that he taught in the University of Padua (a), and that he took a much greater Pleasure in confuting what was advanced by others, than in laying down any thing certain of his own [C].

(a) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, pag. 536.

[A] He was born at Lecci.] You will find these Words in *Gesner's Bibliotheca*: "Ibidem (1) hic author natus se scribit in Litorio civitate agri Salentini quæ à Brundisio Hydrunto & Graia Gallipoli 24 miliaribus distat, eodem in loco sita ubi olim Rudizæ patria Ennii, ex reliquiis Rudiarum nata originem (2). -- There this Author writes, that he was born in Litorium, a City of the Salentines, which is distant from Brundisium, from Otranto, and Græcian Gallipoli, Twenty four Miles, situated in the same Place, where Rudizæ, the Native Place of Ennius, formerly stood, and was built with the Ruins of Rudizæ." I wonder, that neither *Toppi*, nor *Leonard Nicodemus*, have mentioned him, in the *Bibliotheca Neapolitana*.

(2) Gesner in Biblioth. vol. 1, versio.

[B] He composed a Hebrew Grammar.] He intitled it *Mikne Abraham*, that is to say, *Abraham's Possession*. Father Bartolocci is mistaken, when he says, that *Daniel Bomberg* translated it into Latin (3). If he had consulted the Preface, he might have seen, that *Daniel Bomberg* caused That Translation to be made by others. First of all, he employed the Author himself, and desired him to make his Translation literal. This Strictness was observed for some time: Afterwards the Author used a greater Freedom, in order to have some Elegancy: After his Death, *Calonymus*, who finished the Translation, took infinitely more Liberty, and *Bomberg* did not oppose it (4). This shews, that *de Balmis*, was no longer

(3) Julius Bartolocci, Biblioth. magna Rabbini. Tom. 1, pag. 34.

(4) See in Gesner's Biblioth. fol. 1, a Fragment of the Preface, which

living in the Year 1523. Mr Simon says, that the Translation of That Grammar is word for word, and very barbarous (5); that, in truth, there is but little Method, in That Author, but that otherwise he shews great Erudition, and that, in a great many Places, he corrects the Errors of the Grammarians, who wrote before him (6). Huetius gives a very faithful Account of the Latin Translation (7). He says, that *de Balmis* began it, and that *Calos Calonymus* finished it; that the first rendered it barbarous, and more obscure, than the Original; and that the second, thinking to avoid the Defects of the other, ran into the opposite Extremum.

[C] He took a much greater Pleasure in confuting than in laying down any Thing certain of his own.] Munster makes this Reflection on him. "Abraham de Balmis, says he (8), nihil aliud ægrot mihi visus est quam veterum doctrinam perpetuo convellere atque impugnare, magis in insectando occupatus quam in docendo. At in dubium tantum vocare priforum præceptiones, cum interim nihil certi statuas, non docere est fed ridere. -- Abraham de Balmis seems to me to do nothing but continually attack, and oppose, the Doctrine of his Predecessors, being more taken up with censuring, than with teaching. But, to weaken the Authority of the old Maxims, without establishing something new in their room, is not the way to instruct, but to turn every thing into Jest."

(5) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, pag. 536.

(6) Id. ibid. lib. 1, sub. fin. pag. 278.

(7) Huetius de Claris Interpretibus, p. 186, 187. Mr Bailler's Judgment of the Learned, Tom. 4, n. 24, p. 200, makes him say, that this Translation was made by an unknown Hand.

(8) Munster in Præf. Grammat. Elie. apud Spizellii Felicem Literatam, pag. 958.

BALTHASAR (CHRISTOPHER) was a Man of Learning and Merit, in the XVIIth Century. He applied himself principally to the Study of Ecclesiastical History, and This Application gave him a very great Disgust for the *Romish* Doctrines, and a great Desire to embrace the Protestant Religion. He had a considerable Post in the *Presbital of Auxerre* (a), and, because he must either resolve to quit that, or still keep his Religion, he was for some time in doubt which part to take: But, at last, Conscience got the better, and obliged him to leave *Auxerre*, his Estate, Office, Relations, and Friends, and go to *Charenton*, where he was publicly received into the Reformed Church. He persevered in it to his Death, and edified his Brethren as well by his good Life, as by his Conversation. The Expences he was obliged to be at in *Paris* being too great for the Circumstances he was in, and his Conversion exposing him too much in such a City as That, he considered, that it would be better for him to retire into some Province, and was very well pleased to find himself invited to go to *Castres* by a young and rich Counsellor of the *Bipartite Court of the Edict* (b), who lodged him in his House, and allowed him a reasonable Pension. This Counsellor thought himself very fortunate in having a Learned Man with him, who might teach him a great many fine things by his Instructions and Conversation. But Mr *Balthasar*, desiring to labour for the Public, would have all his time at his own disposal, and for that reason he took leave of his Counsellor. His Design was favoured by the National Synod of *Loudon* in the Year 1659; for That Assembly granted him a Pension of Seven hundred and fifty Livres, to be paid by all the Churches of *France*, according to the Repartition, which was made of them (c). Before That Synod was held, he had prepared a good number of Dissertations on material Points against Cardinal *Baronius* (d). He gave four or five of them to a Minister of *Castres*, who was one of the Deputies of the Province of *Upper Languedoc* and *Upper Guienne*. They were presented to Mr *Dailly*, Moderator of That National Synod, who, of all the Ministers, was best able to judge of the Goodness of those Pieces. Mr *Dailly* was very well pleased with them, and gave all the Company a very advantageous Character of them. He brought them to *Paris*, where it was hoped they would have been printed; for they were thought to deserve Publication. But the Event made it appear, that no Measures were, or could be, taken for it. The Author, who was very old, and afflicted with the Stone, happened to die; Mr *Dailly* died also; and, after this, the Church of *Castres* wrote several Letters to recover those Dissertations, but they could not so much as learn what was become of them. Mr *Balthasar* left some others not quite finished, and many Collections, most of which consisted of separate Notes, wherein he had set down the Authorities and Testimonies he was to make use of against Cardinal *Baronius*. It is pity, that all this should remain in a Chest, in the Possession of I know not who (e). Mr *Balthasar* wrote very well in *Latin*; his Panegyric on Mr *Fouquet* is in a fine Style. This is all that I have seen of his, and I cannot tell whether he published any thing else. If he had been less scrupulous about his Language, he might have made a quicker Progress in his Censure on *Baronius*. However, I believe what has been said of his Scruples about his *Latin*, is something Hyperbolical [A]. What is reported of his Credulity in Witchcraft seems to me more likely [B].

(a) It was
that of the
King's Ad-
vocate.

(b) His Name
was Mr du
Faur.

(c) It was
at the Re-
quest, and
Recommend-
ation, of the
Synod of Up-
per Langued-
oc, and of
Upper Gui-
enne. He
enjoyed al-
ready a Pen-
sion of 300
Livres. See
the Act of the
National
Synod of
Loudon,
in the Syno-
dicon of Mr
Quick, Tom.
2, pag. 572.

(d) He gave
them the Title
of *Dissertationes*.
His Work
was in Latin.

(e) Taken
from a Me-
moir, commu-
nicated by
Mr de la
Deuze, to
Monsieur
Minister at
Castres, and
now at the
Hague.

[A] What has been said of his Scruples about his *Latin* is something Hyperbolical.] Among several Pieces, the Abbot de Marolles published in the latter Part of his Life, there is one, which contains the Names of Those, who had presented him with their Books, or honoured him with their Compliments, in an extraordinary Manner. There we find the following Words: "Christopher Balthazar, who had made for many Collections, with his own Hand, for several manuscript historical Treatises. He designed to compose some Animadversions on the Annals of *Baronius*; but went a little too late about it, and had not yet formed his Style, intending to polish it yet farther, after too elegant a Manner, in so much, that he could not write one whole Page of his Book in a Day, though he was above Sixty three Years of Age." If the Abbot de Marolles had dated the Time, which he pointed at, we had known at what Age Mr *Balthasar* obtained a Pension from the Synod of *Loudon*.

[B] Notice has been taken of his Credulity in Witchcraft.] The same Abbot de Marolles supplies me with the whole Commentary on This Text. The Passage is somewhat long, but I will not abridge it: What will not serve for one Purpose, may serve for another. "Let us return now into our Closet, where one day, in a Company of learned Men, were Mr *Balthazar*, who is so skillful in the Knowledge of History, and Mr de *Sorbiere*, whose Affability and Learning deserve also much Commendation: The one, from being a Catholic, had embraced the pretended Reformed Religion (1), and

the other, from being a Protestant, was returned to the Catholic Church. Whereupon, the first being taken to task, on account, that the Motives of his Change could not be comprehended, considering his great Knowledge, said, he was induced to it, from a Belief, that there was more Purity, and Simplicity, in the other Communion, than in ours: That it had re-established the Holy Liberty of the Gospel, under the mild Yoke of Faith in our Lord's Promises; and that it had taken away all Abuses, and Superstitions, to place, in their room, a Worship agreeable to the Usage of the Primitive Church. All the Parts of his Answer were disputed; but That proving ineffectual, the Discourse was turned to other Matters; and from the Subject of Miracles, came to That, of the infinite Number of Stories told of Sorcerers, and Apparitions, which would scarcely be credited by Children: whereby it appeared, that he, who had shewn himself such an Enemy to Superstition, admitted it, in some Measure, by a sufficient Credulity for these Things; besides that, having explained himself on the vain Predictions of Astrologers, he discovered plainly, that he adhered but too much to them, as well as to Those of *Nostradamus*, in his Centuries, than which nothing in the World can be more gross. This was the Judgment of the whole Company, in which was present the Abbot *Talman* (2), a Man of fine Parts, Mr *Baudouin* (3), Abbot of *Massay*; and the Abbot of *Verdus*, who have so intirely shook off all popular Errors, with Mr de la *Herpiniere* of *Bleis*, so rational, in all his

(1) The Memoirs of the Abbot de Marolles were printed off the 5th of January, 1656. Mr Balthazar had therefore made his Abjuration in 1655; at least.

(2) He ought to have said Tallemant.

(3) He ought to have said Bourdelot.

"his Sentiments, Mr de *Marsay le Bassin*, Governor
"of *Gien*, whose great Knowledge is accompanied
"with a noble Elocution, and some others, whereof

"one only endeavoured to maintain the Opinion,
"which had been rejected (4)."

(4) *The Ab-
borde Marol-
les' Me-
moirs*, pag-
276.

BALZAC, a small Lordship in *Angoumois*, on the River *Cbarante*, is famous for having given it's Name to, and been a long time the Residence of, one of the most Eloquent Writers of the XVIIth Century [A], namely, the famous Mr de BALZAC. His Name was *John Lewis Guez*, and he was the Son of *William Guez*, a Gentleman of *Languedoc* [B], who was very deserving, and who, having devoted himself early to the Service of *Roger de Bellegarde*, Marechal of *France*, and Governor of the Marquisate of *Saluces*, conducted several Affairs with a great deal of Prudence. Before he was Twenty six Years of Age, he was sent to the Court of *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, about some Negotiations of Consequence, which he managed very successfully, and gained the Esteem of This Prince. Some time after, he was Governor to the Son of the Marechal de *Bellegarde*: This young Lord was killed in the Battle of *Coutras*, in the Year 1587 (a). The Father died in the Year 1579 (b). So that *William Guez*, having lost these two Patrons, found a third in the Duke of *Epemon*, who desired to have him near him. His Services proved very considerable on several troublesome Occasions. *Henry IV*, having observed with what Address, Integrity, and Steadiness, This Gentleman dispatched the Affairs, on which the Duke of *Epemon* sent him to Court, would willingly have retained him in his Service (c); but found him more inclined to a Country Life, than to That of the Court, with which his Virtue would not easily suit. This good Gentleman fixed himself in the Province of *Angoumois*, where he died the Twentieth of September, 1650, at the Age of an Hundred Years [C]. He had married a Gentlewoman of the Family of *Nesmond*, with whom he lived Sixty four Years in perfect Concord (d). He had by her, among other Children, the Famous Mr de *Balzac*, whom I am going to mention. See the Latin Elogy of *William Guez*, composed by Mr de *Girac*, and printed at the end of the *Christian Socrates*. I have taken from it what has been just now read, to which I add; I. That *William Guez* did so much resemble Father *Narni*, that, the first time Mr de *Balzac* saw That famous Preacher, he thought his Father had disguised himself in a *Capucin's* habit (e). II. That, among several other Virtues of *William Guez*, *Don Peter de St Romuald* praises the Magnificence, which he shewed in the Structure of the Castle of *Balzac*, and in That of his House at *Angoulême* (f). That House was furnished with such exquisite Rarities, and particularly Pictures and other Ornaments, that the Queen Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, would lodge no where else during her abode in *Angoulême*. III. That one of his other Sons was called Mr de *Rouffines* (g). IV. That he had a Daughter, who is very often mentioned by *Monsieur de Balzac* [D].

(a) *Father Anselm's History of the great Officers*, pag- 194.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) See the Choice Letters of *Balzac*, p. 364. Edit. of Holland.

(d) See *l'aved 'till the Year 1653*. See the 15th Letter of *Balzac* to *Conrart*, Book 3.

(e) *Balzac*, Letter 27, to *Chaplain*, lib. 3.

(f) *St Romuald*, Thres. Chronol. ad Ann. 1627.

(g) Mr de *Balzac* wrote the 4th Letter of the 8th Book to him.

[A] It is famous, for having given it's Name to one of the most eloquent Writers of the XVIIth Century. I cannot tell what *Moreri* builds upon, when he says, that Those of the Family of *Guez* have enjoyed the Name of the Lordship of *Balzac*. I. First of all, he ought to have known, that *Balzac* is the Name of This Village, and *Balzac* That of the ancient Family of *Balzac d'Entragues* (1). II. Secondly, none but *John Lewis Guez* used the Name of *Balzac*; his Father always retained the Name of his Family (2); and if, after the Death of *John Lewis*, some of his Relations called themselves *Balzac*, I do not believe it came to Mr *Moreri's* Knowledge. In short, what has been said by some Persons, "That, if Mr de *Balzac* had not taken the Name of his Lordship, his Family Name at the Head of his Works would have prevented their great Success in the World, and that People would not have conceived so favourable an Idea of his Letters, if they had been entitled *Monsieur Guez's* Letters; and that it is believed, the Name of *Balzac* being taken for That of a Noble and Ancient House, sufficiently known, procured him the more Respect (3)."; this, I say, is partly probable, and partly very false. It is probable, that such a plain Name, as That of *Guez*, might have prejudiced an Author in the Title of a Book (4); but it is very false, that *John Lewis Guez* put the Name of *Balzac* in the Title Page of his Books, to avoid this Inconvenience, and to make People believe, that they came from a great Lord; This was the thing, which *Sorel* would be at, with his confused, and perplexing, Expressions. Once again, this is false: for *John Lewis Guez* had taken the Name of *Balzac*, before he thought of printing his Letters. I cannot apprehend how it happened, that Mr *Ménage*, who caused This Author's Poems, and Latin Letters, to be printed, where we see, both in the Title, and at the Top of every Page, the Name of *Joannis Ludovici Guezii Balzaci*, should say, that they

bear the Name of *Joannis Ludovici Guezii Balzaci* (5). I should think, that the Printer of the *Anti-Baillet* put *Guezii* instead of *Guezii*, if I did not see the same Fault, in a very correct Edition of Mr *Ménage's* Poems (6).

[B] *Balzac* ----- was the Son of *William Guez*, a Gentleman of *Languedoc*.] Sometimes Mr de *Balzac* represents his Extraction, in such a manner, as to give us an high Idea of it. He says, *That Those, to whom he has the Honour of being related, have founded Monasteries in several Parts of the Kingdom, and that Angoulême and Toulouse are proud of the Marks of their Piety* (7). He tells us, in another Place, that the Great Grand-father of his Great-Great Grand-father was presented with three Parishes, in *Languedoc*, by the Countess *Alix* (8). *Theophibus* gives us a quite contrary Idea of Mr de *Balzac's* Family.

[C] *Who died at the Age of an hundred Years.*] I have made use of a round Number, after Mr de *Girac*, whom I have quoted; but I ought to rectify the Matter a little, by means of a Letter of Mr *Guez*, to his Son, signed *Guez*, and dated the twentieth of November 1642 (9). He was then entered into the Eighty ninth Year of his Age. He could not therefore be an hundred Years old, the twentieth of September, 1650, which was the Day of his Death. That Letter is a pressing Exhortation to publish some Manuscripts, but, above all, the Apologies against *Phylarchus*.

[D] *He had a Daughter, who is very often mentioned by Mr de Balzac.*] She was married to Mr de *Campagnolle*, who died Captain of the Guards, at *Montauban*, and who was the Brother of a brave Man, whom *Tevanus* sometimes mentions (10). That Captain of the Guards left a Son, who was killed at the Siege of *Lens* (11), and a Daughter, who is the Lady of *CAMPAGNOLLE*, sometimes mentioned in Mr de *Balzac's* Letters (12). He shews much Fondness for That Niece, and gives good

(5) *Ménage*, *Anti-Baillet* Tom. 1. p. 4.

(6) In the *Index*: It is the Edition of *Wetstein* at *Amsterdam*, 1687.

(7) *Balzac*, *Miscellan. Works*, Dié. 14.

(8) *Choice Letters*, pag- 367.

(9) *Ibid.* pag 367. Edit. of Holl.

(10) See the Latin Poems of *Balzac*, pag. 112. in 12mo.

(11) See the Volume of *Letters* to *Conrart*, Book 5, Letter 3.

(12) See the 6th Letter of the 16th Book, and the 42d of the good 9th.

good Advice for her Education. See his *Choice Letters*, Page 157, and the Forty sixth, Forty seventh, and Forty eighth Letters of the seventh Book, in the Edition in *Folio*. I have found a Passage, in a Letter of *Cassat*, which concerns the Lady of *Campagnolle*. *Mr Balzac*, says he (13), *you will see a Niece, beautiful and ingenious, who very well understands true gallantry from false, and who wants nothing but a little more of your Esteem*. This he wrote to *Voiture*. I have seen another Book, in which there is something, which may relate to This Lady. It is there said, that *Langlade* (14), one of Those, whom Cardinal *Mazarin* employed most in his secret Negotiations, had, before he came to Court, fallen in Love with a young Lady in the Country, called *Mademoiselle de Campagnol* (15). "He did not dare to propose Marriage to her; but he had exacted a Promise from her, not to marry, and engaged himself to let her know, when his Fortune should be in a Condition to make her

"happy. He trusted *Gourville* with his Engagement to This young Lady, and, told him, with some Discontent, that he did not think his Fortune was sufficient to pretend to This Alliance, having, in all, but Forty thousand Crowns. *Gourville* bid him not trouble himself about That, but go, with all Satisfaction, and conclude his Marriage, promising to give him as much more. Upon this Assurance *Langlade* departed, and gave a great deal of Joy to *Mademoiselle de Campagnol*, by shewing her he had not forgot her. They were married, and *Langlade* returned to Paris, with his new Wife, where they found *Gourville* had taken a fine House for them, and furnished it splendidly. He gave *Langlade* That fine Furniture, with a great Quantity of Plate and Jewels for his Wife, besides the Forty thousand Crowns; and *Madam de Parville* (16) took great Care to shew this Country Lady all the *Beau Monde*. This new married Couple lived a long time together, in mutual Satisfaction."

(13) See the 20th Letter of the Entre-tiens des Voitures et Coiffes, pag. 249.

(14) Gallantries of the Kings of France, Tom. II. pag. 239, Edition of Brussels, 1694.

(15) Ibid. pag. 243.

(16) She was a Mistress of *Gourville*'s.

BALZAC (JOHN LEWIS GUEZ *Sieur de*), was born at *Angoulême*, in the Year 1595 [A]. He acquired an extraordinary Reputation very early. There was so lively an Imagination, so much Eloquence, and so many uncommon Thoughts, in the Letters, which he wrote in his younger Years, that those, who saw them, were charmed with them, and praised them every where: So that, being in the Service of the Cardinal of *la Valette* (a), he soon became known, and esteemed at Court; inasmuch, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, to whom he had wrote several times, did him the honour to answer him very obligingly. This Answer was printed with *Balzac*'s Letters, the first Edition whereof is of the Year 1624. He thought himself in the way of a very great Fortune [B]; his Letters sold so well, that they had a Run of several Editions. They were praised beyond measure; but not with the unanimous consent of all Readers. Some contradicting Spirits started up, either excited by Envy, which is most likely, or from a discovery of the weak Passages of *Balzac*'s Works. These Dissentions, having reigned for some time in Conversation, became a public War in the Year 1627, and one of the most cruel, that ever was known of this kind. It was begun by a young Monk, who wrote a little Book, intitled, *The Conformity of Mr Balzac's Eloquence with That of the greatest Persons of the past and present Times*. Tho' this Piece was not printed, yet it went almost as publicly from Hand

(a) Sorel, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 121. of the 2d Edit.

[A] He was born at *Angoulême*, in the Year 1595. I have not met with this in any Book; but observe, how I have inferred it from two Letters of *Balzac*. He mentions, in one of these two Letters (1), the Thanks he had given to *Mr Spanheim*, in 1649, for the fine Oration, which he had received from him, and which had revived in him a Passion, which Fifty three Years had taken from him. Without doubt, That Oration was his Funeral Oration on *Frederic Henry*, Prince of *Orange*: it may be supposed, that he received it in the Year 1648; for he was not quick in answering; he was, therefore, Fifty three Years of Age, in 1648, and must consequently be born in 1595. In the other Letter, dated the fifteenth of *October*, 1637 (2), he speaks of a Piece, which he composed, at seventeen Years of Age, and says, that it was full Twenty five Years, since his writing it. So that he was Forty two Years of Age, when he wrote That Letter, and consequently must be born in 1595. *St Romuald* places his Birth in the Year 1598. For he says, *he*, Twenty eight Years of Age, in 1626 (3); but he forgot to prove This Reason. I do not deny, but I have found a Passage, which proves, that *Balzac* was born in 1596. I quote it in the Remark [B].

The small Piece, he composed, at seventeen Years of Age, is worth a Digression. He owns, that, in writing it, he committed both a Fault, and a Folly, and excuses himself, the best he can, on his Youth, and on his composing it in *Holland*, without designing to publish it in print (4). He took it very ill, that *Heinsius* revived that Fault. I have already observed (5), that this is an inconvenience, to which Authors, any thing famous, are very liable: They generally happen into some Paper Quarrel, which causes their Antagonists to search out, carefully, every little Fault of their Youth, to reproach them with in public. I do not wonder, that some have believed, that, at This Time, *Balzac* would not have refused to make his Fortune in *Holland*, under the Profession of an *Huguenot*. Before I read the Piece, I am mentioning, I took it to be a rash Judgment; but I have altered my Opinion, since *Mr Minutoli* favour-

ed me with a Transcript of That Writing (6). He had a printed Copy of it, of the Edition, which *Heinsius* caused to be published, at *Le den*, in the Year 1638. The Title of it is, *A Political Discourse on the State of the United Provinces of the Netherlands*, by I. L. D. B. a French Gentleman. It is a Pamphlet of four or five Pages, subscribed, at the end, *John Lewis de Balzac*. This Work is very fine, full of Wit and Thought; but I am well assured, that *Baudius*, who was in a public Office at *Leyden*, and who received a Salary from the States of *Holland*, would not have decided so strongly for the Justice, wherewith the States threw off the Yoke of *Philip II*, nor have sought for such high Compliments for *Holland*, nor such cutting Invektives against the *Spanish* Government, nor, in short, such studied Maxims, in favour of Liberty of Conscience. So that it is very excusable to suspect, that the French Gentleman, perhaps, founded the Business, by That flying Sheet, and that, if the Republic, struck with Admiration of so fine a Pen, and so well affected, had offered a good Post, the Author, of seventeen Years of Age, would have preferred it before his Country, and his Catholicism.

Mr de Balzac took his Journey into *Holland*, in the Year 1612. *Theophilus* was his Fellow-Traveller, whom, if we may believe *Father Gault*, he, at the same time, played a very sly Trick (7), which occasioned the Misunderstanding between That Poet and *Balzac*. The terrible Letter, which *Theophilus* printed against him, contains a Charge of two, or three, unpleasant Adventures: I do not speak, says he, of the plundering of Authors; *Doctor Baudius's Son-in-law* accuses you of another sort of Theft. - - - I do not repeat my having formerly drawn my Sword to revenge your being cuckolded.

[B] He thought himself in the way of a very great Fortune. It is very pleasant to hear him relate the Reasons of his great Hopes. Read, then, the second Story, which he tells, in his *Entre-tiens* (8): it concerns himself. Among other things, you will find there the Proof of what I have said, concerning the Elogies, given to his Letters, even before they were printed. He tells us, That the Bishop of *Lyon*, being

(6) He is Master of a great number of such scarce Pieces, which he always took great care to collect.

(7) Letters of *Philarch*. Part. I. pag. 257.

(8) *Entre-t.* 8. pag. 132. Edit. 12mo.

(1) It is the 14th of the 3d Book to *Conrart*: see Thanks to *Mr Spanheim* are in the 19th of the 6th Book.

(2) It is the 10th of the 3d Book to *Chapelain*.

(3) *St Romuald*, Chron. Abbrégé, ad Ann. 1598.

A WARNING published by *Balzac*, at 27 Years of Age.

(4) The 10th Letter to *Chapelain*, Book 3.

(5) See above, at the End of the Remark [C] BALDUS.

Hand to Hand, as if it had been in Print, and no Body was ignorant, that a *Feuillant*, called Brother *Andrew*, was the Author of it [C]. Mr *de Balzac* desired it might be publickly confuted; which was performed in the Apology, published by *Ogier* in 1627 [D]. The General of the *Feuillans*, whose Name, at that time, was Father *Goulu*, took Brother *Andrew's* Cause in hand; and, under the Name of *Phyllarcus* (b), wrote two Volumes of Letters against *Balzac*, with an extraordinary Heat, as I shall relate in his Article. This Quarrel was the occasion of a great many Books (c), and raised such a Storm, as almost overwhelm'd Mr *Balzac*, as well because of the Artifices of his Enemies, as because he had given some hold to his Critics, by some very dull Hyperboles, vain Sallies, and ticklish Propositions. He let this Storm blow over, without answering his Adversary [E]. Upon whose Death, which happened in the Year 1629, a Calm ensued. The Public began to recover from the prejudices, they had suffered themselves to be possessed with against Mr *Balzac*, who, making a good

(b) This is the first notice of the name, by way of allusion to his quality of General of the Feuillans.

(c) See 1. Eibl. fr. pag. 121. See the Article J. A. VERSAC.

(g) This happened in the Year 1618.

being recalled from his Exile (g), *careful him extremely, and complimented him as an illustrious, rare, and extraordinary Person, and that, having invited him to Dinner, one Day, he said, to a great many Persons of Quality, at Table with him, Here's a Man (that Man was then but Twenty two Years of Age) to whom we must do good, when it lies in our Power, and we must begin with an Abbey of Ten thousand Livres a Year. Is it possible to conceive a finer beginning? Many would have been lent him upon this, at Rome, and Wagers laid on his future Advancement. Nevertheless, Matters went no further. Cardinal Richelieu did not remember what the Bishop of Luçon had said. This puts me in mind of a Passage of the *Misanthrope*: "Monsieur de Balzac appeared first to be a Bishop. Afterwards he desired "only to be an Abbot; but he did not succeed in "either. He even writes, in one of his Books, that "he should never be an Abbot, unless he himself "should be the Founder of the Abbey (10)."*

(10) Page 290.

[C] A little Book was published against him - - - wherein a Feuillant, called Brother *Andrew*, was the Author. He was of *Mans*; he reconciled himself afterwards to Mr *Balzac*, and went to see him, at *Angoulême* (11). Mr *Balzac* entertained him magnificently, and contracted a cordial Friendship with him, which continued as long as they lived (12). He wrote several Letters to him, wherein he styles him, *The Reverend Father Don Andrew de St Dennis*. See, particularly, one of the Dissertations, printed with the *Christian Socrates*, in the first Edition, and, among the Latin Letters, the Poem, entitled, *Iteration*, preceded by a Letter, wherein *Balzac* relates the Change of That Monk with much Joy, and makes use of this fine Exclamation, a Parody on *Virgil* (13).

(11) St Romanus, Continuat. Chron. Admari ad Ann. 1627.

(12) See his Concern for the Interests of Father *Andrew*, in the 17th and 18th Letters of the 4th Book to Contrasts, written in the Year 1633.

(13) Virg. Aen. lib. 12. ver. 563.

O superi tantum plebs concurre motu
Aeterna posthac mentes in pace futuras?

Love, couldst thou view, and not avert thy Sight,
Two jarring Authors join'd in cruel Fight,
Whom Leagues of lasting Love so shortly shall unite.

DRYDEN.

(14) Page 268.

Another Latin Letter, which precedes This (14), informs us, that Brother *Andrew*, who, according to *Voiture's* Expression, had been the *Helena* of That War, having heard, that Mr *Balzac* was dead, lamented, and praised him. But, after this, being informed, that the News was false, he became a good Friend of the supposed deceased, and therefore made it appear, that he was not in the Case of This Sentence:

(15) Horat. Od. 24. l. 3.

Virtutem incolamem odimus,
Sublatam ex oculis quarimus invidi (15).

We fight that Virtue we enjoy the most;
And never know it's Value, 'till 'tis lost.

(16) Perfect to Mr Balzac's Works 1. and the Relation of his Death.

This Circumstance must not be forgot, that This *Friar*, who was then Prior of the Convent of *St Merri*, near *Orleans*, had no sooner heard of Mr *Balzac's* dangerous Sickness, but he attended all his Monks to pray with him for the sick Person (16). The latter, being recovered, gave an Incense Pot for the Altar of their Church, of Four hundred Livres Value, and an annual Revenue to supply it continually with Per-

fumes. If *Moréri* had mentioned the evident Marks Mr *Balzac* gave of his sincere Reconciliation with Brother *Andrew*, and with Father *Goulu*, there would not have been found to great a Want of Judgment in this Place of his Dictionary. He was esteemed, from the first, as the most eloquent Man in France. This Reputation raised him a great deal of Envy, and the Quarrel he had, toward the Year 1627, with Father *Goulu*, General of the Feuillans, and others, is sufficiently known. All the World, however, was persuaded of Mr *Balzac's* Sincerity, and Generosity, who died, as he had lived, very much of a Christian. What a strange leap, from the Year 1627, to the Year 1654, in so few Lines! And, besides, what signifies, That Sincerity, and That Generosity, which every Body was, however, persuaded of? Was That the Business in Hand? The Question was, only to know, whether *Balzac* was a good, eloquent, and orthodox Author.

[D] This Piece was refuted, - - - in the Apology, published by *Ogier*, in 1627. There have been various Reports, about the true Author of That Work. Some believed, that he, who fathered it, was really the Author of it: Others, that he only lent his Name to a Piece, composed by *Balzac* himself. Here is what Mr *Ménage* says of it: "Prior "Oger answered those Books of Father *Goulu*, against Mr *Balzac*, in a Piece he intitled, *Mr Balzac's Apology* (17), which is a Book, wrote with "some Learning and Elegancy. But *Oger* furnished "only the Learning: The Elegancy was, altogether, "Mr *Balzac's* own. I have heard Mr *de Racan*, "and Mr *de Gomberville*, say to several Times, who "had seen Mr *Balzac* intent on That Work. And "I have read, elsewhere, that Mr *de Balzac*, speaking of That Work, declared, that he himself was "the Father of it, and *Oger* only the God-father; "that he had supplied the Silk, and *Oger* only the "Canvas (18)." In all Probability, the publishing this Report made the *Sieur de la Motte-Hérain* fear such another Fate, which he endeavoured to prevent, by declaring, in the Preface to his Answer to *Phyllarcus*, that the Advice he had received from several Places, that they would give his Book a Master, obliged him to advertise all his Readers, That he was no *Roger*, who fought under the Arms of *Leo*; that he had not the Complaisance of those, who father other People's Children; that he could not endure to have his Books made for him; and that, for this, he was no more obliged to his Friends, than to the greatest Strangers in the World. He tells us, in the same Place, that his Preface, on *Balzac's* Letters, had been very falsely ascribed to others. This will be seen more particularly in his Article (19).

(17) These few lines, in the Remark [F] after GOULU's Article, that Mr Menage is mistaken in saying, that the Apology, published by the Prior Oger, was an Answer to Father Goulu's Book.

(18) Menage's Preface, sentive to the Letter of Balzac, p. 252.

[E] He let this Storm, raised against him by Father *Goulu*, blow over, without answering his Adversary. I confess, that, at this very time, he took Pen in Hand to compose his *Relation to Menander*; but That Piece was not printed till a long time after. The reason of This Conduct appears from their Words of *Balzac's* Twenty third *Entretien*. "You may remember the cruel Perfection kindled against me above "twenty Years ago. At that time an Angel from "Heaven would not have been heard, if he had come "down to plead my Cause. The Faction was too "strong, and too passionate, to allow the Public to "form a right Judgment. God be thanked, the "Storm is over, and, after it, succeeds a Calm. The "Face of Things being changed, it is to be hoped "that Right will also take place again." The Author

(19) See Remarks [D] of the Article MOTTIER-AIGNON.

a good use of his Disgrace, and also of the indifferent Success of his *Prince* [F], retired to his Country-House, where he not only refined his Thoughts and Style, but his Heart also, and there preserved, by his Epistolary Correspondences [G], and the Pieces, he from time to time published, the Reputation of very great Merit, and of the best Pen in *France*. However, it must be confessed, that his Style seems too much laboured, and the turn of his Thoughts sometimes too much affected, and feldom natural: but, tho' his Letters have not that easy Air, and that happy Sprightliness

thor, finding himself importuned anew to publish his Defence, complied with it. *Menander*, to whom he addresses his Relation, is *Mainard* (20). Though that Relation contains a Defence of some of the Passages, which Father *Goulu* had criticized, yet it is rather a general Answer, than a continued and complete Refutation of the two Volumes of *Phyllarchus*. *Balzac* also vindicated some Passages, which a Doctor of *Louvain*, and a Doctor of *Bezançon*, had censured (21). I find there is a Fault in his Calculation. It appears by his Twenty seventh *Entretien*, that he did not resolve to publish his Apologies, till above twenty Years after the Persecution he had suffered from *Phyllarchus*. And yet, it is most certain, that the Volume of his Miscellaneous Works, of which the Discourse to *Menander* makes a very considerable part, was printed in the Year 1645, and his Bookeller says in it, That the Author could not refuse the Publication of it, at the repeated Instances of his Father, who was Ninety one Years of Age. If you compare Mr *Guez*'s Letter, which I have mentioned in the Remark [C] of the foregoing Article, with That Advertisement to the Reader, you will find, that the Resolution of printing the Apologies against *Phyllarchus* was taken in the Year 1644. How can this agree with the Twenty seventh *Entretien*?

[F] He made a good Use of the indifferent Success of his *Prince*.] The Author's Friends had promised This Work as a Master-Piece, which would silence all Critics; especially those, who accused *Balzac* of being incapable of writing any thing but Letters. The Event did not answer these Expectations; That Book added nothing either to *Balzac*'s Reputation, or Fortune, and raised him some trouble from the *Sorbonne*. Though the Marquis d'*Ayotona* had caused it to be burnt at *Brussels* (22); it was yet mentioned, with the utmost Contempt, in an Answer of the Abbot of *St Germain*, as a Book suppressed by the Censure of the Doctors, and the Sentence of the Judges, a Month after it's Birth. Mr *Pellisson* relates, that, in the Year 1636, *Balzac* read some part of his *Prince*, which he then called the *Minister of State*, to the French Academy (23). This would make one believe, that, at first, he had only a Mind to write the Cardinal's Panegyric. But it is certain, Mr *Pellisson* was mistaken. The *Prince* was printed in the Year 1631. This Book was to have been followed by two others; the latter of which was called the *Minister of State*. Some observe, that, in his *Prince*, he praises the Cardinal more than the King. (See the Thirty seventh Page of the fifteenth Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*.) But this is false. We find, in the eighth Book of This Author's Letters, the Answer the Faculty of Divinity wrote to him, to signify, that they were satisfied with his offers to alter what they had found worthy of Censure. The Latin Letter, he wrote to a Father of the *Christian Doctrine*, concerning This Process of the *Sorbonne*, is admirable. It is in the Hundred eighty seventh Page of his *Epistolæ selectæ*, in the Edition, of *Paris*, 1651, in 12mo.

Observe, That some Persons have affirmed, that this Work was one of the Author's best Performances. It is thus, Sir, that you yourself have praised it in your *Prince*, and in your Relations to *Menander*, which are the two great Miracles of your Art, and the highest Pitch of Heroic Eloquence. Thus says *Coslin* in his Defence of *Voiture*. Mr *Richet* says, in his Remarks on some Letters, That the *Prince*, and the *Aristippus*, are two of the most Eloquent Pieces of *Balzac* (24). If a Judgment of the Merits of *Balzac*'s *Prince* was to be made by the Number of Editions, it would be very advantageous: "At first came out two Editions in *Quarto*, at the same time; then another in the same form, but in smaller Characters, and full of Faults, which I believe was printed at *Niort*, or at *Poitiers*. Afterwards, there was one in 8vo, pretty good, though pirated.

"After that, came out That of *Bouillerot*, in 8vo also, but corrected; and lastly the Edition in 12mo, of 'Coulé.' These words are taken from a Letter, Mr *du Rondel* did me the Honour to write to me the tenth of May 1698. I am going to quote another part of it. "I have lately bought, says he, the *Prince*, of the first Edition, wherein I found, with unspeakable delight, what Mr *de Balzac* had written, and what he afterwards altered and cut off: "and it was on this occasion, that I first rightly apprehended what *Scaliger* meant by his *detrabendo fecit audire*. *Balzac*, by cutting off five or six Pages, suppressed Faintness, re animated Weakness, increased his Strength, and recovered the Attention, which was just forsaking the Reader." I make use of an Edition in 4to, of the Year 1632. The place, where it was printed, is not set down; but doubtless it was at *Rouen*. I have seen one, in a small 8vo, printed at *Paris* by *Torffaint du Bray*, 1632. It is called, in the Title, *The second Edition corrected*. Mr *Perrault*, who so highly commended *Balzac*'s *Aristippus* (25), said nothing advantageous of his *Prince*. He only takes notice, that this Piece appeared after the Miscellaneous Works. I flatter myself he will not take it amiss, if I observe, that he is mistaken. For the Miscellaneous Works did not appear till a long time after the *Prince* (26). Let us conclude with a Passage of *Gabriel Naudé*: "Quibus omnibus velut coronidem accessisse ferunt Bullaci, Viri Clarissimi, Principem, Gallicæ modo pumice diligenter expolitum. Verum enimvero, quoniam ipse post meum à Gallia discessum typis fuit demandatus, ut propterea nondum in manus meas pervenerit; varique, ut audio, ac proflus accipiti judiciorum alea fuit acceptus: hoc solum de illo pronunciare possum, quod fuit ab antiquis in simili occasione ex formula usurpatum, Non liquet (27). — To all which, they say, is added, as a finishing Piece, the *Prince* of the most famous *Balzac*, now represented in the finest French Polish. But, as that Book was not printed till after my leaving France, and is therefore not yet come to my Hands, and has been, I bear, very differently received: I can only say this of it, as some of the Ancients did on a like Occasion, It does not appear."

[G] He kept up Epistolary Correspondence.] This Correspondence was so great, that it over-powered Mr *Balzac*. For, besides that he composed with extreme Difficulty, he knew, that his Letters would be shewn to every body, and must therefore be very exact. See how he describes his own Case in this respect. "He receives all the bad Compliments of *Christendom*, to say nothing of the good ones, which give him yet more trouble. He is persecuted, he is killed, with the Civilities, which come to him from the four Quarters of the World; and last Night there lay fifty Letters on the Table in his Chamber, which required Answers; and those eloquent ones, and such as might be shewn, copied, and printed. — (28). He lays in another place (29), "At this very time I am speaking to you, there lie a Century of Letters on my Table, which wait for Answers: I owe some to crowned Heads." As he was the first in France, who acquired a great Name by this sort of Writings, so he obtained the Title of the great Epistolizer of France. The first Letters, he published, were not near so good as those he wrote after his Retirement; and yet the latter did not sell any thing like the former. *Sorel* had reason to make this Observation (31); and the Critic *Maimbourg* was not to blame for repeating it (32). This shews the capricious Humour of the Public.

[H] His

(20) Menage, Remarks on Aymault, p. 252.

(21) See the Pieces, added at the End of the Christian Socrates.

(22) Balzac's Letter 43, l. 8. *Entretien*, 13, p. 282.

(23) History of the French Academy, pag. 221, & 267.

(24) Richet's Letters, pag. 97.

(25) Perrault's Illustrations Men, pag. 176.

(26) The Licence for Printing his *Prince*, is dated the 13th of Sept. 1631; and the Apprehension is dated the third of October following. The Miscellaneous Works were printed in the Year 1645.

(27) Naudæus, Bibliogr. Polit. p. 47.

(28) Balzac, *Entretien*, 7.

(29) The seventh Letter of the fifth Book, in the Volume to Constant. See also the Choice Letters, pag. 15, and the Letters to Chapelain, pag. 81, Edit. of Holland.

(30) Select Epistles, pag. 258.

(31) Sorel's Biblioth. Franç. pag. 135.

(32) Preface to the New Letters on Maimbourg's History of Calvinism.

Sprightliness, which shines in those of *Voiture*; yet they are very pleasing, and have a certain lively and serious Gaiety, almost inimitable [H]. There appear also, in all his Writings, a great many Touches of Learning, well chosen, and well applied. In a Word, one cannot sufficiently admire, considering in what condition he found the *French Tongue*, how he could open his way to such a neatness of Style. It must not be wondered at, that his Writings favour of Labour. Elevation; and Grandeur, was his principal Character; which cannot be attained without Meditation. In all probability, future Ages will do his Works Justice, for the long Discredit, they suffered, by means of some Critics: Which did not hinder a great number of very excellent Judges from persevering constantly in their first Admiration

(d). He was a good *Latin Poet*; and his *Latin Letters* shew, that he wrote That Language in very great Purity. If he had many Enemies, who wrote against him [I], he had, on the other side, a very great number of Friends, and Admirers (e); and there were few Persons of Merit, either *French or Foreigners*, who, in travelling through *France*, did not take the Pleasure of making him a Visit [K]. He was one of the forty Members of the *French Academy* [L]. Cardinal *Mazarin* endeavoured

(d) See what Mr Menage said of Mr Balzac's Eloquence, Menagiana, pag. 212, 213, 214. See also Mr Perrault in Balzac's Elégy.

(e) The great Dux Caesar's Load and showed him very much. See his Life by Mr Baillet, Vol. I. pag. 159, & seq.

[H] His Letters ----- have ----- a certain lively and serious Gaiety, almost inimitable. Let us hear what Richeliet says (33). "Balzac does not make a Complaint, which has not in it something witty, new, and eloquent. — He had a pleasing sprightly Melancholy: This appears in his Letters, and he never speaks of it without charming the Heart, and inspiring Delight. — He discovers there a certain Melancholy full of Charms, which engages more than all the Gaiety in the World."

(33) Richeliet, Lett. p. 81, 82.

[I] He had a great many Enemies, who wrote against him. The Chancellor Seguyer, having prevented the Publication of a Book composed against Balzac in 1636, received, a little while after, a Letter from that Author (34), which contains the following Words: "So long as there are none but these Pen-gladiators, who present themselves for Licence to appear in print, be not so sparing of the Prince's Favours, but abate a little of your Severity. If it was a new thing, perhaps I should not be displeased with the Suppression of the first Libel, which should abuse me; but now there are as many of them, as will make a small Library, I am very well pleased to see the Number increased, and I take delight in raising a monumental heap of Stones, which Envy has cast at me, without doing me any harm." Among those, who wrote against him, besides the Persons already mentioned, we may reckon Daniel Heinfius, who answered, with some scorn, the Criticisms, which Balzac had made on the *Herodes Infanticida*. See the Thirty fifth *Entretien* of Balzac upon this, and the Twenty fifth Letter of the first Book of *Chapelain*, and the twentieth of the second Book. *Salmajus*, who was Heinfius's Enemy, and Balzac's Friend, appeared in this Dispute, and adjudged the Victory to his Friend: but a Minister of *Languedoc*, whose Name was *Croi* (35), took arms against Balzac in favour of Heinfius: and yet, a little while after, he wrote very sharply against Heinfius; but it was indeed on other matters. *Nicolas Bourbon*, of the *French Academy*, is also one of the Number. See what the Historian of the Academy says of it (36). We must not forget *Coffar*, who, thinking, that Balzac had, by way of Jealousy, engaged Mr de Girac to criticize *Voiture*, addressed to him the Defence of *Voiture*, and stult it full of stinging Raileries. The Blow was felt, and the matter came at last to an open War. And *Coffar* threw off the Mask. See how Mr Girard reproaches him for it in the Preface to Balzac's *Entretiens*. There are some Facts in the *Menagiana* very proper to be inserted here. "Mr de Balzac, after having obliged Mr de Girac to write in *Latin*, against the Letters of *Voiture*, engaged also Mr *Coffar* in the Defence of *Voiture*, and to write against Mr de Girac: this was to procure to himself the Praises of both Parties. I passed through *Mans* in my return to *Paris*, at the same time that the Defence was finished. Mr *Coffar* gave me two Copies of it, the one to be sent to Mr de *Pincheyne*, Nephew to Mr *Voiture*, and the other to Mr *Conrart*. He told me, that he would willingly submit it to any Alterations, either by adding, or diminishing. One of the Copies was communicated to Mr Balzac, who sent some Corrections; but, in the mean while, the Work was printed. And, as his Corrections came when the Impression was finished, an Account

(34) It is the 43d of the 3d Book of the second Part of the Choice Letters.

(35) He is the Author of the Anonymous Answer to Balzac's Letter and Discourse on a Tragedy of Heinfius, entitled, *Herodes Infanticida*; which Answer was printed at Geneva (lib) the Title does not mention it) in 1642.

(36) Pag. 259, Edit. 1674. See also the 28th, and 36th Letter of the second Book of Chapelain.

was sent him, that they were received too late; and the Count appeared such as it was, which gave him some Uneasiness (37). I pass over the biting Expressions belittled on Balzac, in the *Hexameron Rustique*. See the Complaint, which Mr Menage makes, for having been introduced in it, to act a Part against Mr Balzac (38). I omit also what passed between Mr du Moulin, and him; for it was only a light skirmish of Controversy, wherein each Party was complimented. Other Disputes proceeded from it, which were more malignant (39); but, as far as I can remember, Mr Balzac received only this little Blow in it; *Vir ingenio compto & Gallicæ eloquentiæ laude clarus Balzacus, sed in religionis negotio plusquam infans*. — Balzac famous for his fine Understanding, and his French Eloquence, but in Matters of Religion ignorant below the Capacity of a Child. Mr du Moulin gave it him in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Answer to *Petra-Santa*. No notice was taken of it, as if the Insult was not known. See the eleventh Letter of the second Book to *Chapelain*. I should be too tedious, if I should undertake to speak of one de *Vaux* (40), and all the other Adversaries of Balzac.

(37) Menagiana, pag. 166, 167.

(38) Ibid. pag. 323.

(39) The Jesuit Sylvestre à *Petra-Santa* having written sharply against du Moulin's Answer to Balzac, was paid in the same Coin, by du Moulin and Rivet.

(40) He published the Tomb of the French Orator.

[K] There were few Persons — who — did not take the Pleasure of making him a Visit. This was a great Incumbrance to him, as appears by these words of his seventh *Entretien*. "Some troublesome Persons come here sometimes, from above an hundred Leagues distance, and that on purpose, if they may be credited, who are almost the Death of him, beginning with their first Compliment, that his great Reputation, and the Celebrity, which he has given to the Place of his Abode, have obliged them to come and see A Person so well known, and A Village so renowned; so that he ought not to take amiss so just and obliging a Curiosity. Some Days since, one of these curious Persons began his Harangue with, *The Respect and Veneration, which be always had for him, and for the Gentlemen his Books*. Nothing can be more Historical than this; by which you see how far the Style of Compliments may be carried." They were not only learned Men, who went to see him, but great Lords also, and I am much deceived, if the Count de *Pigneranda* did not do him that Honour, when he passed through that Country, in his Return to Spain. Mr Balzac informs us with Pleasure, that the same Count had reproached him for the ardent Zeal of his Pen, in the Defence of the Honour of *France*. This we find in the Letter, wherein he confutes the current Report, that he had composed a Manifesto for the Prince of *Condé*, in 1651 (41).

[L] He was one of the forty Members of the *French Academy*. Mr Pellisson, having related, from the Register of the Academy, that, on the thirteenth Day of March, 1634, Mr de *Beisrebert* produced a Letter, which he had wrote, on his own Authority, to Mr de Balzac, to acquaint him, that, if he should request of the Society, by Letter, to be admitted among them, it would readily be granted. I say, Mr Pellisson, having related this, adds, *That he did not find in the Register what followed upon it; but that undoubtedly Mr Balzac was, upon his Answer, admitted, a little while after, into the Academy* (42). Mr Balzac did not find Mr Pellisson a faithful Historian

(41) It is printed at the Christian Socrates.

(42) History of the Academy, pag. 221.

(f) See Balzac's first Letter to that Cardinal, in the Vol. of Letters to Conrart.

(g) See the 11th Letter to Conrart, lib. 3. and several others in the same Volume.

(h) Thus he was pleased to call the Place of his Residence.

(i) This appears in an hundred Places of his Letters.

endeavoured to recall him to Court (f). Queen *Christina* was very kind to him, and desired him to write to her (g). The greatest Lords of the Kingdom gave him, in his Desert (b), many Marks of their Esteem (i). His greatest Excellency was, that he not only lived and died in his Retreat as a good Man, but also as a good Christian. *While he was living, he set a-part Eight thousand Crowns of his Estate for Pious Uses* (k). He caused two Chambers to be built for him, in the Convent of the Capuchins of *Angoulême* [M], where he often resided (l). It was there that he composed his *Christian Socrates*. *He spoke some very fine things on his Death-bed, and, by his Will, ordered himself to be buried in the Hospital of Our Lady of the Angels in Angoulême, at the Feet of the Poor, that were buried there* (m). He bequeathed twelve thousand Livres to that Hospital, and left a Fund, of an hundred Livres a Year, to be given every two Years as a Prize to him, who, in the Judgment of the *French Academy*, should best compose a Discourse on a Pious Subject (n). He died the eighteenth of *February* 1654 [N]. The *Sieur Morisset*, a Canon of *Angoulême*, made his Funeral Oration, and another *Morisset*, Brother of the former, and Advocate in the *Presidial* of the same City, caused a Discourse to be printed in Praise of the Deceased (o). An Edition of all Balzac's Works was published at *Paris*, in the Year 1665, in two Volumes in Folio, with a Preface of the Abbot *Cassagnes*, a Member of the *French Academy*. Consult the *Illustrious Men* of Mr *Perrault*, and you will find there an Elogy of *John Lewis Guez*.

(b) Epistle Dedicatory of Balzac's Entretiens.

(l) Morisset, Account of his Death.

(m) St. Romuald, Chronol. Abbrevi. ad Ann. 1654.

(n) This was not begun to be executed before the Year 1671. See the Hist. of the French Academy, Edit. 2. pag. 555.

(o) St. Romuald, ubi supra.

(43) In the Year 1635, La Peyre dedicated his Book, intitled The Explication of the Times, to the Academy, with this Title, To the Eminent, adorned with the Cardinal's Picture engraved on a Copper Plate, with a Crown of Rays round it, on each of which was inscribed the Name of an Academiſt. History of the Academy, p. 195.

(44) Ibid. pag. 221.

(45) Ibid. pag. 106.

in this matter: He acknowledges, that Mr *BuisRobert* had exhorted him several times to write a complimentary Letter to the Academy, and had even threatened him from the Cardinal, if he should refuse to write That Compliment: But he declares, that he wrote no Answer, and that, about five or six Months afterwards, he had an Account of his being made a Member of the Academy, and of his Name having been seen in the Sun of the little honest Man, Mr *de la Peyre* (43). From whence he concludes, that, if a Letter had been presented, as from him, to the Academy, it was a false one. This is what he wrote to Mr *Conrart*, the Twenty second of *September* 1653. It is not known, what answer he received from him to clear the matter; but it appears by a Letter of the third of *November*, of the same Year, that Mr *Conrart* had undeceived him. One would almost suspect, that Mr *Conrart* had satisfied him, that he had seen the very Original of That Compliment under his own Hand; from whence we must conclude, that the greatest Wits do not always remember the Letters they have written some Years before. What is unquestionable is, that Mr *de Balzac* took himself to be a true and absolute Academiſt; for the Register of the fourteenth of *April*, 1636, testifies, that he read some part of his Prince in the Academy (44); and it has been proved by his printed Letters, that he "sent some of his "Works to Monsieur du Chatelet, desiring him to "read them in the Academy, and to accompany "them with some of his Words, which, he said, "would not only suffice to excuse him to them for "the Thanks, but also for the Speech, which he "owed them (45)." He had just before said, "That "the Honour which the Academy had done him, "to admit him into their Body, without obliging "him to go to *Paris*, were two singular Favours "at one time." I remember two Passages in his Letters, wherein he acknowledges the Gentlemen of the Academy for his Brethren. The first is in the sixteenth Page of his Choice Letters, and the last in the Ninety fifth Page of his Letters to *Chapelain*.

[M] He caused two Chambers to be built for him in the Convent of the Capuchins of *Angoulême*.] I have

not read any where, but in the *Menagiana*, that he had a Design to put on the Habit of that Order. "Mr *de Balzac* was so affected with Devotion, that he "entered into a Convent of the Capuchins, where he "had a Mind to put on their Habit. Nevertheless, "he did not die there (46)." Perhaps he desired, like many others, to die in the Habit of *St Francis*.

[N] He died the eighteenth of Feb. 1654.] The List of the Academiſts, printed at the end of the second Edition of *The History of the Academy*, makes Mr *de Balzac* live 'till the Year 1657, since, in that Year, it names *Hardouin de Peresfixe*, Archbishop of *Paris*, as his Successor. On the contrary, the List of the deceased Academiſts, printed at the end of the *State of France*, of the Year 1680, mentions Mr *de Balzac* as dead a considerable time before the Year 1654; since it places him before *Baro* and *Baudouin*, who died before the Year 1651. If Mr *Pellisson* had been concerned in the second Edition of *The History of the Academy*, the two Faults, which I have quoted, would not have been seen in the List; one whereof relates to the time, when *Balzac* died, the other to the Person that succeeded him, who is not Mr *de Peresfixe*. Moreover, Mr *de Peresfixe* was not Archbishop of *Paris*, in the Year 1657. But Mr *Pellisson* has not examined these Particulars. Mr *Baillet*, who, without doubt, believed the contrary, is very excusable, for having thought, that, on such an Authority, he might place the Death of *Balzac* in the Year 1657 (47). As to the Day of his Death, *Moreri*, *St. Romuald* (48), *Henningus de Witte* (49), Mr *Perrault*, and several others, say it was the Twenty eighth of *February*. But the Persons, whom I have consulted, informed me, that it was the nineteenth of *February*, according to the Contract made with the *French Academy*, concerning the Fund that *Balzac* left it, and according to a Manuscript Letter of the *Sieur Morisset*. Lastly, it was the eighteenth of *February*, if we may rely on these two things: the one is, that, in the Preface to *Balzac's* Works, it is affirmed, that the Account of his Death was written the very next Day after: the other is, that this Account is dated the nineteenth of *February*, 1654.

(46) Menagiana, pag. 238.

(47) Baillet, Judgm. on Poets, Tom. 4. n. 1487.

(48) In the Table of his Chronol. Journal, printed in 1664; for he says nothing of *Balzac* under Febr. 28.

(49) Dier. Biographie. ad Ann. 1654.

BANCK (LAURENCE) a Native of *Norcopin* in *Sweden*, was Professor of the Civil Law, in the University of *Franker*, for the space of fifteen Years (a). He gained so great a Reputation, while he was a Student there, that, upon his Return thither from his Travels into *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, &c. the Civil Law Chair was presented to him, together with a very good Salary (b). He died the thirteenth of *October* 1662 (c). I shall mention his Works below [A], and particularly an Edition, which he published, of the famous Book of *Taxes of the Romish Chancery* [B]. It is a Work sufficiently curious to be considered a little more

(b) Banck. Epist. Dedic. Taxæ Cancellariæ Romanæ.

(c) Witte, ubi supra.

[A] I shall mention his Works below.] He published, at *Franker*, in 1649, a Book intitled, *de Tyrannide Papæ in Reges & Principes Christianos*. Seven Years after, he published *Roma triumphans, seu Inauguratio Innocentii X.* As to his Pieces, *De Banca Ruptorio*; *De Duellis*; *De Consiliis & Conflariis Principum*, &c. (1); I cannot ascertain their Dates.

[B] — and an Edition, he published, of the *Taxes of the Romish Chancery*.] I have related, in another Place (2), several things concerning these Taxes, and particularly mentioned the Edition of them, published by *Pinet*, in the Year 1564. I have observed also, that *d' Aubigné* quotes the Edition of *Paris*, in 1520. This is not the first, as some have imagined; for the

(1) In Rem. [B] of the Article p. 1. NET.

(1) Witte, Dier. ad Ann. 1662.

more particularly, and deserves our making some Reflections on it, as well to rectify what we have already said of it elsewhere (d), as to illustrate what several other Authors have written about it, who have not explained themselves with due exactness.

(d) *Le Remark [B] of the Article PINET.*

(3) *It is in Latin and Dutch, in 8vo See Preface, and p. 330.*

(4) *By Gofwin Colinaur.*

(5) *Taxe Canc. Apof. pag. 95, 96, Edit. of Bois-le-duc.*

(6) *See Remark [1] of the Article PINET.*

(7) *That is, he must pay 5 Gros.*

(8) *It is that published by Banck. See pag. 127.*

(9) *See Remark [B] of the Article PINET.*

(10) *P. 132.*

(11) *P. 103.*

(12) *That is, he must pay 5 or 7 Gros.*

(13) *It was printed at Lyons in 1564, and at Leyden in 1607, and at Amsterdam in 1701, with a new French Translation. These 3 Editions are in 8vo.*

(14) *Taxe des Parties Casuelles de la Boutique du Pape, pag. 65, & seq. Edit. of Lyons, 1564 in 8vo.*

Edition of *Bois-le-duc*, 1664 (3), shews, that this Book was printed at Rome, in the Year 1514, and at Cologne (4), in 1515; and was entituled *Regule, Constitutiones, Reservationes, Cancellarij, S. Domini nostri Leonis Papæ decimi, noviter editæ & publicatæ*, and that, in fol. 67, it has these Words: *Taxe Cancellariæ, per Marcellum Silber, alias Franck, Romæ, in Campo Floræ, Anno M.D.XIV, die XVIII Novembris impressæ, finient feliciter.* - - - - The Chancery Taxes, printed by Marcellus Silber, alias Franck, at Rome, in the Campus Floræ, the eighteenth of November, 1514, is happily completed. This is attested by two of the Eschevins of *Bois-le-duc*, together with the Town-Clerk, who had collated, Word for Word, this Edition of Rome, with That published by Stephen du Mont, Bookseller at *Bois-le-duc*, in the Year 1664, and entituled, *Taxe Cancellariæ Apofolice, & Taxæ Sacræ Penitentiariæ Apofolice.* In this last we find (5) the Passage, quoted by d'Aubigné, from the Paris Edition, in 1530 (6): *Abolutio pro eo qui matrem, Sororem, aut aliam conjuganeam vel affinem suam, aut commatrem, carnaliter cognovit, gr. v. Abolutio pro eo qui virginem deforavit, gr. vi.* (7). — The Abolutio of him who has lain with his Mother, Sister, or other Relation, either in Consanguinity, or Affinity, is taxed at Gr. v. The Abolutio of him who has deflowered a Virgin, Gr. vi. This is also to be met with in the Edition of Franeker, in 1651 (8). I am surprized it should be wanting in the Edition of du Pinet, entituled, *Taxe des Parties Casuelles de la Boutique du Pape.* This is in Latin and French, with Notes added by the Editor. He was greatly to blame, in not mentioning on what authentic Copies he formed his Edition; for it differs from the others, both in the order of Matters, and in the Denomination of Monies. This mentions only *Tournois, Ducats, and Carlini*; and the others only *Gros*: at least the Ducat and Carlin is very rarely mentioned. d'Aubigné affirms (9), that the Paris Edition says, *The Murder of a Father, or Mother, is rated at one Ducat, and five Carlini*; but, in the Edition of Franeker (10), and in That of *Bois-le-duc* (11), it is, "*Abolutio pro eo qui interfecit patrem, matrem, sororem, uxorem* - - - - gr. v. vel vij (12). "*The Abolutio of him, who has murdered his Father, Mother, Sister, Wife,* - - - - at gr. v. or vij." I say, I am surprized, that this Article of Incest should be missing in the Edition of du Pinet (13), in which we find more enormous Articles; These, for instance; "*Abolutio à lapu carnis super quocunque actu libidinoso commissio per clericum, etiam cum monialibus, intra & extra septa monasterii, aut cum conjuganeis vel affinis, aut filiâ spirituali, aut quibuscum aliis, five ab unoquoque de per se, five simul ab omnibus abolutio petatur cum dispensatione ad ordines & beneficia, cum inhibitione, tur. 36. duc. 3. Si verò cum illis petatur abolutio etiam a crimine commissio contra naturam, vel cum brutis, cum dispensatione, ut supra, & cum inhibitione, turon. 90. duc. 12. carl. 16. Si verò petatur tantum abolutio à crimine contra naturam, vel cum brutis, cum dispensatione, & inhibitione, turon. 36. duc. 9. Abolutio pro moniali, qua se permittit pluries cognosci intra & extra septa monasterii, cum rehabilitatione ad dignitates illius ordinis, etiam abbatiale, turon. 36. duc. 9. Abolutio pro concubinario, cum dispensatione ad ordines & beneficia, turon. 21. duc. 5. carlin. 6 (14). - - - - The Abolutio and Pardon of all Acts of Fornication committed by a Cleric, in what manner soever, whether it be with a Nun, within or without the Limits of the Nunnery, or with his Relations, in Consanguinity, or Affinity, or with his God-daughter, or with any other Woman whatsoever; and whether also the said Abolutio be given in the Name only of the Cleric himself, or of him jointly with his Wives, with a Dispensation to enable him to take and hold his Orders, and ecclesiastical Benefices, and with a Clause also of Inhibition, costs Thirty six Tournois, and nine or three Ducats. And if, besides the above, he receives Abolutio from Buggery, and the Crime against Nature, although committed with brute*

Beasts, with the Dispensation and Clause of Inhibition, as before, he must pay ninety Tournois, twelve Ducats, and six Carlini. But, if he only receives Abolutio from Buggery, or the Crime against Nature, and committed with brute Beasts, with the Dispensation and Clause of Inhibition, he pays only Thirty six Tournois, and nine Ducats. A Nun, having committed Fornication several times within and without the Bounds of her Nunnery, shall be absolved, and enabled to hold all the Dignities of her Order, even that of Abbess, by paying Thirty six Tournois, and nine Ducats. The Abolutio of him, who keeps a Concubine, with Dispensation to take and hold his Orders, and ecclesiastical Benefices, costs Twenty one Tournois, five Ducats, and six Carlini (15)." I conjecture, that du Pinet followed the Edition, which the Protestant Princes inserted amongst the Causes of their rejecting the Council of Trent, and which was entituled, *Taxe Sacræ Penitentiariæ* (16). Mr Heidegger recites some Pieces of it, which exactly agree with the Edition of du Pinet (17). It is observed by some, that there is an Epitome of the Taxes of the Romish Chancery, at pag. 603, & seq. of a Work entituled, *Luculentæ Deductio Causarum recusati Concilii Tridentini à Protestantium Germaniæ Principibus publicatarum*, and at the beginning of a Book of Hunnius de Indulgentiis, and at pag. 216, & seq. of *Majusculæ Common Places* (18). The Author of the Book, entituled *Simonia Curie Romæ*, printed in 1612, has inserted in it this Passage of the said Common Places (19). Compare this with the Remark [A], of the Article TUPPIUS.

We shall say something of the Edition, published by Laurence Banck. It was printed at Franeker, in the Year 1651, in 8vo. He says, he consulted the most ancient Copies, both printed and Manuscript; and, by comparing them Word for Word, supplied from thence, which were most perfect, what was wanting in the others. He made use of the Edition of Cologne, in 1523, of that of Wittenburg, in 1538, of that of Venice, in 1584 (20), and of a Manuscript, which had been communicated by John Baptist Sibon, a Bernardin Friar, and Reader of the College at Rome. By this means he enlarged his Edition, something beyond any of the former. He added a sort of Glossary, or Notes, to explain the difficult Terms. He also subjoined a small Piece, in Italian, containing the Taxes in Use, under Pope Innocent X; and explained the Value of Money, according to the Usage of that Time. His Notes have been of great Service to the Author of the Remarks, added to the Edition of *Bois-le-duc*. Note, that, in the Preface of this here, it is observed, that the Inquisitors have put the Tax of the Chancery in the List of condemned Books. "Nascentem suffocare conati sunt ipsi Authores, & in Indice Librorum prohibitorum, ex Patrum Concilii Tridentini autoritate, Hispaniarumque Regis & ducis Alban. decreto, Leodii anno 1570 edito, inter primæ Classis Authores atro calculo notarunt (21). — The Authors themselves endeavoured to stifle it in the Birth, and branded it among the Works of the first Class, in the List of prohibited Books, published at Liege, in the Year 1570, by the Authority of the Fathers of the Council of Trent, and by the Decree of the King of Spain, and Duke d'Alva." I have not this Edition of the *Index Librorum prohibitorum*. That, which I make use of, and which was copied from That of Madrid, in 1667, in Folio, places, only under the third Class, *Præfixæ & Taxæ Officiæ Penitentiariæ Papæ, ab Hæreticis depravata* (22): Observe, that it is only condemned on the Supposition of its having been corrupted by Heretics; and the Index, published at Rome, by Order of Alexander VII, uses the same Words with this of Spain (23). But let them suppose as much as they please, that it has been corrupted by Heretics, the Editions of it, which cannot be disowned, as That of Rome, in 1514; That of Cologne, in 1515; Those of Paris, in 1520, in 1545, and in 1625 (24); and Those of Venice (25), one in the sixth Volume of the *Oceanus Juris*, published in 1533, the other in the fifteenth Volume of the same Collection, reprinted in 1584: These Editions, I say, are more than sufficient

(15) *I have followed du Pinet's Translation.*

(16) *See Heidegger Myfter. Babylon. magnæ, Tom. II, p. 350, & seq.*

(17) *Ibid. p. 350, & seq.*

(18) *Daniel Francus, Disquisit. Academicæ de Indicibus Libr. prohib. & expurgand. p. 115. Lipsæ 1684. 4to.*

(19) *Lydiæ Analacta in Clemang. pag. 17.*

(20) *He means that published in Tom. XV, Part. I. pag. 368, of Tractatus Trinitatis, seu Oceanus Juris Universæ.*

(21) *Preface of Taxæ Cancell. & Penitent. Apofol. Edit. of Bois-le-duc.*

(22) *Indices Libror. prohibitor. & expurgand. Hispanicus Romanus. Genev. 1657 in Folio, pag. 859. col. 2.*

(23) *Ibid. in Indice Roman. ejusd. Edit. pag. 106.*

(24) *Mr Drellincourt cites these 3 Editions of Paris. See his Words in Remark [B] of the Article PINET.*

(25) *Heidegger Myfter. Babylon. magnæ. Tom. I. p. 547.*

sufficient to justify the Reproaches of the Protestants, and to cover the Church of Rome with Confusion. Our *Laurence Banck* was ignorant of almost all these Editions, I have particularized, as also of That of *Frankfort*, in 1612, in 4to (26). *Rivet*, *Voëtius*, *Hottinger*, and several other, *Hellwones Librorum*, great Readers, have falsely believed, that the Edition of 1520, was the first (27); for they have principally urged this Edition against the *Roman Catholics*, who would not allow, that ever the *Taxation of the Chancery* had appeared by Authority. *Voëtius* relates, that, in 1633, a Chancellor of *Bois-le-duc* declared he would abjure his *Catholicism*, if any one could shew him those Abominations, which the Protestants had quoted, as from the *Taxes of the Romish Chancery*. Application was made to *Rivet*, who lent his Copy of the *Paris* Edition, in 1520 (28). *Voëtius*, in giving this Account, takes Occasion to exhort, very pathetically, the Library-keepers of Protestant Universities, to preserve and buy up the authentic Copies of this Work. "Quia autem, *says he* (29), "hic *Taxe Penitentiariae* mentio facta, moneo exemplaria pauca hodie haberi posse (quæ & quorum "arte facili prudentiores cuncti;) aliqua tamen "in manibus nostrorum superflue editionis *Parisiensis* "1520, in 4^o, apud *Tussain Denis*. Editæ etiam est "Venetiis, cum quampulcris aliis Tractatibus in "Oceano Juris. Addo, rem & librum à Pontificiis "passim negari, ubi ita usu venit, ut nostri, allegando illam *Taxam*, mendacii & calumnie suspecti fiant, imò & arguerent. Accidit anno 1633, ut quis *J. Confultus* idemque Senator *Sylvæducentis*, desertionem & rejectionem *Papatus* mineretur, (more ipsi non infolito, si quidem tam abominanda, qualia ex *Taxâ* nostri referunt, demonstrari possent. Ut amplius & consult. huic *Viro* ex asse satisfaceret, quæritum apud exemplari (30), me de etiam à me postulatam est. Quod cum mihi ab ipsis pontificiis editum nullum esset, petii commodato à celeberrimo Theologo *Andræ Riveto*. Ante biennium alibi concertatione inter nostros & Pontificios quoddam obortâ super eadem hæc *Taxâ*, denuo consultus, commonstravi Bibliothecam *D. Riveti*, in quâ certo scirem exemplar edit. *Parisi*. 1520. haberi; quippe quod ipse ante annos aliquot manibus & oculis meis usurpasset, & Fratribus *Sylvæducentibus* ex summi illius Theolog. concessione aliquamdiu usurpandum misissem. Velim hæc occasione obtestatos omnes publicos Reformatum Scholarum, Ecclesiarum, Politiarum, Bibliothecarios, exemplaria illa, si quæ in ipsis potestate sint, capis inclusa diligenter custodiant, ne à plagiaris auferantur; aut, si non sint, hoc agant, ut à privatis five Bibliopoliis, five Viris literatis, prece aut pretio quovis redimant. — But, *since I have here mentioned the Penitentiary Fees, I must take notice, that there are but few Copies of it now to be met with, by whose means, and what Contrivance, is not difficult to be conjectured, though we have some of the Paris Edition, in 1520, in 4to, by Tussain Denis, still remaining in our Hands. It was also published at Venice, with several other Tracts, in the Oceanus Juris. I must add, that both the Fact, and the Book, are denied by the Papist, inasmuch that when we cite those Fees, we are not only suspected, but even accused, of Forgery and Calumny. It happened in the Year 1633, that a certain Civilian, and Counsellor of Bois-le-duc, engaged (by an usual Bravo) to renounce Popery, if those Abominations could be proved, which our Protestants quoted from those Fees. In order to give full Satisfaction to this honourable and learned Person, great Inquiry was made for a Copy of it, and, among others, Application was made to me. As I had not an Edition by me, which was published by the Papist, I borrowed one of That celebrated Divine, Andrew Rivet. About two Years after, being consulted again, upon another Dispute between our People, and some of the Papists, concerning these Fees, I showed them the Library of Rivet, where I knew there was a Copy of the Paris Edition, 1520; having myself pe-*

ruled it, some Years before, and sent it, by the Favour of that great Divine, to be perused, for some time, by the Fraternity of Bois-le-duc. I would take this Occasion earnestly to intreat all public Library-keepers of Protestant Seminaries, Churches, and Societies, who have any of these Copies in their Custody, to take particular Care and secure them in their Cases, out of the Reach of Plagiarists; and those, who have not any of them, to make it their Business to procure such as are to be met with in private Hands, either of Book-sellers, or Men of Learning, at any Rate.

I take the *Romish* Controversists, who have not a Word to say against the Authority of the Edition of *Rome*, or That of *Paris*, to be under great Perplexity. This appears from the Answers of Abbot *Richard* to the *Præjuxæ* of Mr *Jurieu*. This Minister had published the Abominations of the *Tax of the Chancery* (31). The Abbot replies, that these were only particular Facts, which had never been authorized by the *Laws and Canons of the Church of Rome* (32).

"We find, indeed, continues he (33), that [Mr *Jurieu*] relates * these *Taxes* from an old Book of the *Romish* Chancery. But is it not extremely ridiculous, to endeavour to pass upon the World a Book of *Taxes* for *Laws* and *Canons*? Would it not be making a Jest of all Civil Law, to insert Tables of *Taxes* into the Code, and reckon them in the Number of *Laws*? Would not this be doing great Honour to the Gentlemen concerned in them?

"Let Mr *Jurieu*, therefore, inform himself, what are the *Laws* and *Canons* of the Church of *Rome*; and let him know, in the mean time, that these old *Taxes* of the Chancery of *Rome* are not only of no Authority in the Church, but have always been regarded by her with Horror. These *Taxes* of the Chancery began but under the Pontificate of *John XXII*, about the Year 1320; and the *Taxes* of the *Penitentiary* appeared only towards the Year 1336, under *Benedict XII* †; and both were immediately suppressed, and ever afterwards ranked in the Number of prohibited Books, according to the Remark of Mr *du Mont*, who printed them in the Year 1664; which sufficiently shews the Church of *Rome's* Abhorrence of those *Taxes*, and that she is far from proposing, or observing, them for Rules, as Mr *Jurieu* would make us believe she has done. Let him therefore consider, that the *Acts* of the Officers of the Court of *Rome* are but particular *Acts*, and not at all the *Acts* of the Church." This Answer is far from sufficient; for, in the first place, the Church of *Rome* has never shewn, by the Suppression of these *Taxes*, that she has had them in Abhorrence. They have been printed thrice at *Paris*, twice at *Cologne*, and twice at *Venice*; and some of these Editions have been published since *Claude d'Espence* exclaimed publicly against the Enormities of this Book. We have seen, that the *Inquisition of Spain*, and That of *Rome*, have condemned it only as they suppose it to have been corrupted by Heretics. I must add, in the second place, that the Suppression of such a Work is not a sure Sign of disapproving the Rules it contains. This may only signify, that they repented of the Publication of it, as it gave so fair a Handle for the Heretics to reproach the Court of *Rome*, and to wound the Church of *Rome* through the Sides of the Pope. These ought to be esteemed Mysteries of State, *Arcana Imperii*, not to be divulged (34). Are there not Persons of the same Opinion as to Ceremonies (35)? I pass by many other Considerations, which a Controversist might alledge against Mr *Jurieu's* Adversary; but I shall not content myself with observing, that *Claude d'Espence* exclaimed, very loudly, against the Abomination of these *Taxes* (36); I must also observe, that the Protestant Controversists cite This, in all their Disputes, and that the Spanish *Inquisition* would have this Passage expunged from That Doctor's Book (37). Note, that the *Inquisition of Rome* has condemned *Laurence Banck's* Edition of the *Taxes* (38).

(31) *Jurieu*, *Præjuxæ* latige, contre le Papiſme, Tom. I. p. pag. 295, & seq.

(32) *Rivet*, *Examen des Præjuxæ de Mr Jurieu*, pag. 218.

(33) *Ibid.* pag. 319.

* Part. 7. pag. 295. of his *Præjuxæ*.

† Polydore, *Virgil*, de Invent. Rarum, lib. VIII, c. II.

(34) Compare this with that of *Hor.* de Art. Poët. ver. 185.

— *nam tam Digna geri promes in Scenam t multaque tolles Ex oculis, que mox narret fœcundia præfens. Improper Sighi do but disjunge the Scene, Such had much better be describ'd than seen.*

(35) See Remark [D] of the Article GRASSIS.

(36) See a Passage of Mr *Drellin-court*, cited in Remark [B] of the Article PINET.

(37) Index Hispan. Libror. prohibitor. p. 232, col. 1.

(38) Index Rom. Libror. prohibitor. pag. 124, col. 2. & pag. 261.

(26) Catalogue of the Oxford Library, pag. 132.

(27) *Franci* *Disquisit. de Indicibus* Libr. prohib. p. 115, 116.

(28) *Voët.* *Disquisit. Theolog.* Tom. II, pag. 296.

(29) *Id.* *ib.*

(30) There is an Error in this Place. The Errata of the Author corr. it, me de exemplari. But this does not rectify the Error. *Daniel* *Francus*, *Disquisit. de Indicibus* Libr. prohibitor. p. 115, cites this Passage thus: quæritum apud alios de exemplari, etiam à me postulatam, exemplar.

(a) The Words of *Voëtius*, circa annum 1500. vivat *Matth. Bandellus*, in pag. 677, de *Hilhor. Latinitate*, are not worthy regarding.

BANDEL (MATTHEW), born at *Castro-novo* in *Lombardy*, flourished in the XVth Century (a). He was a *Dominican*. *Moreri* (b) has repeated the greatest part of what *Voëtius* had said of him; but he ought to have added some other curious matters of Fact, and not to have omitted two Circumstances, which were taken notice of by *Voëtius*: One of which is, That the Translation of *Egesippus* is in Italian;

(b) *Moreri* under the Word *BANDELLA*.

Italian; The other, that the Inhabitants of *Fermo* caused the Harangue, which *Matthew Bandel* made in praise of their City, in the Year 1513, to be placed among their Records (c). Here follow some Supplements. This Friar, being at *Mantua*, contracted a very strict Friendship with *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*, which continued all his Life-time, and which he carefully cultivated in *Guienne* [A]. He was some Months Bishop of *Agen*, and there he composed, in the *Italian* Tongue, the Histories, or the Gallant Novels, which made him so famous. I have quoted them in the Remark [M] of the Article LEO X. and in the Remark [I] of the Article MAHOMET II. They are each of them dedicated to some Person of his Acquaintance (d). The Twenty first of his Second Part is dedicated to *Lucretia de Gonzague*, to whom he had been Preceptor (e). He dedicated another to his Friend *Scaliger*. They have been translated into *French*, and we must say a word about the Judgment, which the Translator made of them [B]. The Catalogue of *Thuanus's* Library (f) informs me, that the three first Parts were printed at *Lucca*, in the Year 1554, in *Quarto*, and the fourth at *Lyons*, in the Year 1573, in *Octavo*. I wonder, that Mr *Menage* did not place this Monk in the Catalogue of Ecclesiastics, who have composed Love Verses (g) [C].

[A] He contracted a Friendship, with *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*, --- which he cultivated --- in *Guienne*.] This would scarcely be known, but from these Words: "Eodem tempore Mantuæ degebat *Matthæus Bandellus* insuper *Dominicanus*, vir eloquentissimus, & optimus, qui postea per aliquot menses Episcopus *Aginnensis* fuit, & *Mantuæ* Marium *Æquicolum* summa observantia coluit, atque ibi cum *Julio Cæsare* arctissima amicitia necessitudine conjunctus fuit, quam ab eo tempore, ad supremum usque vite diem, in *Aquitania* perpetuavit. Is, quum unam historiarum suarum, quas *Aginni Etruscæ* lingua *Boccacium* imitatus concripit *Julio* dedicaret, eum non solum *Scaligerum* agnoscit, sed etiam illusterrimum vocat in epistola dedicationis. Et quum in quatuor tomis ingentibus, singulas singulis summis, & nobilissimis, ac generosissimis viris dedicaverit, neminem eorum majori honore, quam *Julium* affectit, quum aliquot ex illis illustres vocare nulla fuisset invidia (1). --- At the same Time lived, at *Mantua*, *Matthew Bandel*, a *Dominican*, a very eloquent, and excellent Man, who was afterwards, for some Months, Bishop of *Agen*, and, at *Mantua*, professed a great Esteem for *Marius Æquicola*, contracting also there a most intimate Friendship, and Familiarity, with *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*, which he continued afterwards, in *Guienne*, to the Day of his Death. He dedicated to him one of his Novels, which he wrote in *Italian*, in Imitation of *Boccace*, and calls him illustrious *Scaliger*, in his Epistle dedicatory. And, though he dedicates every particular Novel, in all the four great Volumes, to so many several Persons of the biggest Rank, yet he honours none of them more remarkably than *Scaliger*, though calling some of those illustrious was far from a being Compliment." *Lucretia de Gonzague* wrote two Letters to *Father Bandel*, which intimate to us, that he was advanced to some Preferment. The first (2) shews, that he was in *France* (3), the second that he was in *Guienne*: In the first he is called *Reverendo patre*, but, in the other, he is styled *Monsignor P. Bandello*, and he is congratulated on his new Dignity. There is no Date of the Year to it. He was not yet a Bishop, when *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* wrote him a Letter (4), on the Death of *Fracastorius*. The Answer (5), *Bandel* returned him, is dated *Bassensis* 22 Novemb. 1553.

[B] His Novels have been translated into French, --- Here is the Judgment the Translator made of them.] Observe, first of all, that the first six were done into *French*, by *Peter Boistau*, and the other by *Belleforest*. The Advertisement to the Reader, prefixed to the first Volume (6), contains these Words: "Desiring also that you would not to take it ill, if I have not confined myself to the Style of *Bandel*; for his Phrases seemed to harsh to me, his Expressions so improper, his Discourse so ill put together, and his Sentences so barren, that I chose rather to new-mould his Work, and put it into another Form, than to be such a superstitious Imitator, having only taken the Subject Matter of the History, as you will easily discover, if you have the Curiosity to compare my Style with his." Observe here a Fact, which is pretty curious. *Belleforest*, working on the Thirty seventh Novel, was seized with such a Remorse of Conscience, that he resolved to leave off his Translation. "I will here lay down my Pen, says he (7), and leave, from henceforth,

"these Subjects, which are capable of being turned every way, and may serve as Lessons of Instruction to some, and, to others, as Examples, to encourage them in their Follies and Wildness; for what I have done of it, at this time, was rather to gratify a Friend, than out of any Desire to be necessary to the Publication of any Thing of this kind. Not that Age exempts me from speaking merrily and jocosely; but, whatever may be concealed under them, that may colour the too soft, and tender, Expressions, necessary to be used in describing Amours, there are different times for these Merriments: And, besides, I have other Designs of greater Consequence than *Bandel's* Histories, or the Amours of Those, who, by their Example, should deter us from following our sensual Appetite so far, as to become, at last, the Entertainment of Posterity, by the Memory of our Follies. This King (8), then, shall put an End to my Undertaking, and make me, from henceforth, take my Leave of all prophane Subjects, unless, sometimes, a more solid History should enliven my Spirits, and a longer Discourse should encourage me still to go on with this Author, whom I have rather adorned and amplified, than followed, or imitated." To excuse what is past, he adds this Remark. "I do not write Love Stories out of Levity, but as one, who laughs at Fools, and those, that are vainly transported with, and suffer themselves to be conquered by, their Lusts; and accuses Adulterers, detests the Infamous, abhors Murderers, and is sorry, that there are such senseless Men in the World, who sacrifice their Lives for so short a Pleasure, as the Ease of the Body. In fine, I praise Virtue, and condemn Sin, wishing, that, as I myself have taken warning, by these Examples, so I may see others put an End to their Folly, by the Amendment of their Lives. If any Body takes more Delight in the merry Stories, that are in *Bandel*, let him divert himself with them as much as he pleases: As for me, (as I have said) I give him up my Share of it, and leave him also the Happiness and Honour he may receive from thence, by enriching this dry Author, and also our Language, with the natural Sweetness of his Eloquence (9)." See here a *French* Layman, who scruples to translate, what an *Italian* Monk had wrote about Love. But this Scruple did not continue long; for *Belleforest* finished that Translation, and even added some Supplements to it.

[C] Mr *Menage* has not placed him in the Number of Ecclesiastics, who composed Love Verses. *Bandel* wrote some, and was congratulated for them, by his Friends. See *Julius Cæsar Scaliger's* Epigram, de *Bandelli amoribus Tuscia lingua decantatis* (10), and the four Verses I am going to transcribe:

Dum teneros loquitor dulcis *Bandellus* amores,
Ipse sui oblitus tela remisit amor.

Seu cantat Anionum fontem fontique sorores,
Ponti ipse ex illo lactea vena fluit (11).

While sweet *Bandellus* paints Love's various Charms,
The lifting God lets fall his useless Arms.
Or, if of Helicon we bear him sing,
His flowing Wit supplies the Muses Spring.

The Catalogue of *Nicolas Heinsius's* Library (12) informs me, that the *Canti* XI, &c. dal *Bandelli*, were printed, at *Agen*, in the Year 1545, in 8vo.

BANDOLE

(c) Voff. de Hist. Lat. pag. 677.

(d) See Remark [A].

(e) See that Lady's Article.

(f) In pag. 403, of part 2.

(g) It is at the end of the Anti-Bailliet

(1) Joseph. Scaliger. in Consultatione Fabulæ Burdonianæ, p. 269, 270.

(2) Letters of *Lucretia de Gonzague*. Venice 1553.

(3) Page 63.

(4) Pag. 56, of his Letters, Edit. of Leyden, 1600.

(5) Letter 67, among those of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*.

(6) Printed at Paris, in 1567, and reprinted, the same Year, at Antwerp.

(7) Belleforest, in his Epistle, p. 327, part Po. matu

(8) Henry VIII, King of England.

(9) Belleforest, ibid. pag. 65.

(10) You may find it in Remark [B] the Art de GONZ. GUE (L. CRETIA

(11) *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* in his roibus, p. 327, part Po. matu

(12) In t 200, of t II.

BANDOLE. BANGIUS. BARANZAN. 631

BANDOLE (ANTHONY *de*), Advocate in the Parliament of *Provence*, published a French Translation of *Xipbilinus*, at *Paris*, in the Year 1610, in *Quarto*. He also printed, in the same City, in 1609, in *Quarto*, a Parallel between *Cæsar*, and *Henry IV.*, prefixed to *Cæsar's Commentaries*, translated into *French*, and commented on by *Vigener*.

BANGIUS (THOMAS), Doctor and Professor of Divinity in the University of *Copenhagen*, was born in the Year 1600 (a). He finished his Studies in Humanity in the College of *Ottensee*, in the Island of *Funen*, and, about the Year 1621, he went to *Copenhagen*, where he continued his Studies with great Success. *Gasper Brochmand*, Professor of Divinity, and Bishop of *Sealand*, made him Preceptor to his Son. *Bangius* was, at the same time, Preceptor to *Christian Friis*, eldest Son of the Chancellor of *Denmark*. Having continued that Employ above five Years, he obtained a Pension of the King, and went to *Rosstock*, from whence he returned to *Copenhagen*, upon the Emperor's Troops advancing towards the *Baltic Sea*. He finished his Course of Divinity under Professor *Brochmand*, and then went to *Franker*, where he learned *Rabinism* and *Chaldaism* under *Sixtinus Amama*, by whom he was much esteemed. He afterwards studied at *Wittenberg*, where he received a Letter, in the Year 1630, from the Rector, and Council, of the University of *Copenhagen*, offering him the Professorship of the *Hebrew Tongue*. He desired to be excused, as not being learned enough to acquire himself worthily of that Office: But, being advised by Professor *Brochmand*, who was then Rector, not to refuse what was offered him, he accepted of it, upon condition that he might be permitted to employ the Income of that Post in studying the *Arabic* and *Syriac* Languages, for some Years, under *Gabriel Sionita* (b). This being consented to, he went to *Copenhagen*, and, in the Month of *September* 1630, he took possession of the *Hebrew* Professorship, and afterwards was made Doctor in Philosophy. He discharged this Duty, to the Advantage and Improvement of the Students, till the Year 1652, when he was promoted to the Professorship of Divinity, vacant by the Death of *Brochmand*. He was made Doctor of the same Faculty in the Year 1653, in the King and Queen's Presence. Three Years after, the Office of Library-Keeper of the University was conferred upon him, and he performed the Dedication of the Church of the *Trinity*, by a *Latin Sermon* (c). Being taken ill, the eleventh of *October* 1661, his chief Care was of the Concerns of his Soul: He Confessed himself, and Communicated the sixth Day of his Sickness, and died the Twenty seventh of the same Month (d). He married, in 1638, the Daughter of a Senator, by whom he had fourteen Children, eight Sons and six Daughters. His Writings testify his Learning [A].

(a) Flemish Finorum. I chose rather to set down the name of his Country in Latin, than to mistake the vulgar Name.

(b) He then taught at Paris.

(c) That Church was designed for the Religious Exercises of the Students.

(d) Taken from his Funeral Program, composed by Peter Scavennius, Rector of the University of Copenhagen, cited by Witte, Memor. Theol. renov. pag. 1387.

[A] His Writings testify his Learning.] He was an Author before he was a Doctor: for, in the Year 1627, he published an Exposition of a Passage of *Jeremiah* (1). His *Vindiciæ locorum Genes.* xlviii. 16. *Genes.* lvi. 1. *Psalms* xix. 1. appeared in the Year 1630. The Year following, he published *Fontium Israelis Trias*, *Jona*, *Michea*, *Ruth*; and in the Year 1634, his *Exercitatio Glotologica, de Ortu Linguarum*. His *Exercitationes otto literariæ antiquitatis* appeared in the Year 1638. The two Books, *Obervationum Philologicarum*, appeared two Years after. *The Hermes & Pan Hebraicus, quo vivum absoluti Hebraici Lexicographi exemplum proponitur*, was printed in 1641 (2). *The Psephorus Inscriptionis hierosolymicæ, quo Stellæburgum regium Hafniense illustratur*, came out in the Year 1648, and was followed, the Year after, by the *Tropæum protevan-*

gelicum, quo ex Scriptis Pontificiorum ostenditur veram esse lectionem, Ipsum conteret tibi caput, & soli Christi convenire. The *Exercitatio elenctica de Nepilimis, Gigantibus vulgo dictis, opposita Jacobo Boulduc* was a Work of the Year 1652; and the *Oliva Sacræ pacis repurgata*, a Work of the Year 1654; and the *Cælum Orientis & prisca Mundi*, a Work of the Year 1657. I do not mention the Titles of some other Works, which have not been omitted in the *Funeral Program*, nor by *Albert Bartholin* (3). Some of the Books, whose Titles I have mentioned, are only Orationes, of which Number is the *Oliva Sacræ pacis repurgata*. This, however, has obtained a Place for the Author in the Catalogue of the Reconcilers of Religion (4), and has been wholly inserted in the *Irenicorum Tractatum Prodromus*, by *John Duræus*, or rather *Dury*.

(1) It is the 24th Verse of Chap. xxiii.

(2) Father Labbe, Biblioth. Bibliothecæ p. 298, speaks of that Book, and it has no Relation to his Design, and acribes it to Thomas Bengus.

(3) In Libro de Scriptis Danorum.

(4) See Heidegger, de Concord. Ecclæs. Prot. pag. 208.

BARANZAN (REDEMPTUS), a *Barnabite Fryar*, was one of the first, in the XVIIth Century, who ventured to quit the Path of *Aristotle's* Philosophy. *La Motte le Vayer* says, that he may be placed among the first Wits of our Age (a), and that the Works of his Youth entitle him to it [A]. He adds, that this honest *Barnabite* had many times promised him, but always under the good pleasure of God, That he would appear to him again, if he should depart this Life. He did not keep his word, Providence having ordered otherwise; and he verified the Sentence of a *Latin Poet*.

(a) Christian Discourse of the Immortality of the Soul, in Vol. IV. of his Works, in 12mo, pag. 172.

Qui nunc it per iter tenebricosum,
Illuc unde negant redire quemquam (b).

Wbo (b) Catull. Epigr. 3.

[A] He may be placed among the greatest Wits of our Age; the Works of his Youth intitle him to it.] Doubtless he means the Book *De novis Opinionibus Physicæ*, printed, at *Lyons*, in the Year 1619. *König* mentions two of This Fryar's Works. *Edidit*, says he, *Uranoscopiam & campum Philoſophicum, ann. 1620* (1). — He published two Pieces, one called *Uranoscopia*, the other *Campus Philoſophicus*. I have had, in my Hands, a Copy of the *Campus Philoſophicus*,

printed, at *Lyons*, in the Year 1619. It contained but one Volume, and treated only of Logic, very much in the manner of the *Peripatetics*; but the Approbation, annexed, gives me to understand, that This Volume is but the first Part of *Baranzan's* Course of Philosophy, and that the general Title of That Course is, *Summa Philoſophica Amiciensis*; which confirms what I have said, that That Author taught in *Amici*.

(1) The Oxford Catalogue says, Uranoscopia seu universa Doctrina de Cælo, 1617.

*Who now does Death's benighted Way explore,
From whence the wandering Soul returns no more.*

(c) In the
Article
BONFA-
DIUS.

I shall mention, in another place (c), some Persons who have made such Promises. Baranzan was of Verceil: He taught Mathematics and Philosophy in the City of Annecy in Savoy. Naudé, in the Seventy ninth page of the Instruction, which he published in 1623, concerning the Society of Rosicrucians, mentions him as then dead.

BARBARUS (FRANCIS), a Noble Venetian, was a famous Man in the XVth Century. He was not only very learned, but also very skillful in the managing Affairs of Government. He was no less a Statesman, than a Man of Letters, as he made appear in all the public Employs, with which he was intrusted; and principally when he was Governor of Brescia. The Vigilance, Steadiness, Tractableness, and other great Virtues, wherewith he defended That City against the Forces of the Duke of Milan, commanded by the famous Piccinin, cannot be sufficiently admired. He had Enemies within, and without, the Town, and conquered them all. The Divisions were very great in the City: the *Avogadri*, and the *Martinenghes*, were the Heads of two opposite Factions; he engaged them, by his Eloquence, to unite, and act in concert, for the Public Good. The length of the Siege, or Blockade, caused a Famine in the Town, and the Famine caused the Plague; and yet, under all these Obstructions, he had the happiness to frustrate all Attempts of the Enemy, for three Years, and force them to retire. This happened about the Year 1439 (a). Some Authors believe, that our Francis Barbarus is he, who wrote a Book of *Re Uxoriam*, some Letters, and some Orations. It is the opinion of Volaterran (b), who adds, that he had been a Disciple of Chrysoloras, and that he forgot all his Greek in his Old-age. Volaterran might perhaps be under some Mistake [A]. Francis Barbarus died in the Year 1454 (c).

(a) Taken
fr. m. Vianoli
in Book 18,
of The Hi-
story of Ve-
nice, Tom. I.
See also what
he says in
Book 20,
pag. 768.

(b) Volaterr.
lib. 21, pag.
73.

(c) Voss. de
Hist. Lat.
pag. 620.

[A] Volaterran might perhaps be under some Mistake.] These are the Grounds of my Suspicion. I find, in Vianoli, that Francis Barbarus, who so successfully defended the City of Brescia, was the Father of Zachary, and That Zachary was the Father of Hermolaus Barbarus (1). I find, in Gesner's Bibliotheca, that Francis Barbarus, Author of the Book of *Re Uxoriam*, translated the *Lives of Aristides* and *Cato* from the Greek of Plutarch, and dedicated them to his Brother Zachary. I find, in Volaterran (2), that Hermolaus Barbarus was Nephew (3) of That Francis Barbarus, who defended the City of Brescia: Volaterran had mentioned this Francis Barbarus, in the Seven hundred and seventy third Page, and, among other things, had said of him what follows: "He understood the Greek Tongue well, but, as I have heard his Relation, Hermolaus Barbarus, say, he forgot it quite in his Old-days. *Hic postremo senescens, uti ab Hermolaus ejus necessario accepit, literarum Græcarum, quas probe tenebat, erat omnino oblitus.*" The other Particulars, which Volaterran has related of This Francis Barbarus, are, that he had been a Disciple of Chrysoloras, that he had written a Book of *Re Uxoriam*, some Orations, and some Letters, and that he acquired a great Reputation in defending the City of Brescia. *Dum Brixia Prætor esset, eam urbem à Philippo ductis obsidione magnâ cum laude liberavit.* This gives room to suspect, that Volaterran has promiscuously joined together what belongs respectively to the Father and Son. The Passage of Gesner testifies, that Francis Barbarus, Author of the Book of *Re Uxoriam*, and Translator of the *Life of Aristides*, was the Brother of Zachary Barbarus. Now, according to Vianoli, Zachary Barbarus was the Son of him, who defended Brescia, and Father of Hermolaus; it should be said, then, that he, who defended Brescia, had a Son, whose Name was Francis Barbarus, who wrote the Book of *Re Uxoriam*, and translated the *Lives of Aristides* and *Cato* out of the Greek of Plutarch, and who was Uncle of Hermolaus Barbarus. According to this, Volaterran attributes certain Things to the Father, which belong only to the Son. Moreover, he, who defended Brescia, might have had a Brother, whose Name was Zachary, to whom he had dedicated his two Translations; and then Volaterran's whole Mistake would consist, in not having known, that Francis Barbarus was the Grandfather of Hermolaus. If I had the Works of Francis Barbarus, probably, I might find some Circumstances, which would decide

the Question. But, for want of that Advantage, I desired Mr de Larroque to clear my Doubt; and this was his Answer: "Mr Joli proves (4), that the Author of the Book of *Re Uxoriam* was the Grandfather of Hermolaus, and that he published it about the Time of the Council of Constance; for Poggio and Paul Vergerio mention That Book, in some Letters, dated from the City of Constance: Poggio's Letter is written to Guerini of Verona, and That of Vergerio to Nicholas Leontinus. They praise Francis Barbarus for having written so well concerning Marriage, though he was very young, and not married himself. He dedicated the Translation of the *Lives of Aristides* and *Cato* to his Brother Zachary, and died in the Year 1454. "Mr Joli distinguishes two Daniel Barbarus's." Note, I have been told, that this Preface of Mr Joli, which I have quoted, contains several Elogies of the Author of the Book of *Re Uxoriam*, and clears up a great many Things, that concern learned Men.

Gesner and Vossius quote a Letter of Andrew Brentinus, by which one may learn, that Francis Barbarus, Grandfather of Hermolaus, and Father of Zachary, had composed and translated many Books. "Nimirum in te omnia Francisci Barbari patris virtutum lumina elucescunt: cui certe multum Latina lingua debet, tot tantique ab eo libris partim compositis, partim conversis, à quo minime degenerat Hermolaus filius, te tanto patre non indignus (5). — For, in you, all the Virtues of your Father Francis Barbarus shine in their brightest Lustre: to whom, undoubtedly, the Latin Tongue is greatly indebted, on account of so many Books, some composed, and others translated, by him; and from whom Hermolaus, a worthy Son of so great a Father, does not at all degenerate." It is very certain, by the Testimony of Hermolaus himself (6), that his Father's Name was Zachary; so that Philip de Bergamo was much mistaken, when he made him the Son of Francis Barbarus, and Grandson of Zachary: Francisci Barbari filius, Zachariae Barbari nepos (7). Moreri, as well here, as in a thousand other Places, translates Nepos by Nephew, which is a very gross Fault. They, who pretend to write good Latin, use Nepos only to signify Grandson: They, who are not so scrupulous in their Latin Style, use, indeed, the Word Nepos for Nephew, but they commonly add, *ex fratre*, or *ex sorore*, to take off the Equivocation; if they say Nepos only, they mean Grandson.

(4) In the
Preface to
the French
Translation
of the Book
of *Re Uxo-
ria*, printed
at Paris, in
the Year
1667.

(1) Vianoli's
History of
Venice, Tom.
1, lib. 27,
pag. 768.

(2) Lib. 21,
pag. 777.

(3) Ex fratre
nepos.

(5) Andreas
Brentinus,
Patavinus,
Epistola ad
Zachariam
Barbarum a-
ræd Vossium
de Hist. Lat.
p. 621.
It is affirmed
in the Ap-
pendix of Dr
Cave, pag.
147, that
Hermolaus
was the Son
of Francis.

(6) See the
32d Letter of
the 12th Book
of *Isidore* of
Politian.

(7) Phil.
Berg. apud
Vossium de
Hist. Lat.
pag. 621.

BARBARUS (HERMOLAUS), Grandson of the foregoing, was one of the most Learned Men of the XVth Century. He was born at Venice, the Twenty first of May, 1454 (a). He made such great, and speedy, Proficiency in his Studies, that he began to write Books at the eighteenth Year of his Age [A]. The publick Employ, wherein he was very early engaged, did not prevent his earnest application to Learning [B]. He was sent, by the Venetians, to the Emperor Frederick; and to his Son Maximilian King of the Romans; and This Deputation was so far from putting a stop to his Pen, that it supplied him with matter to exercise it; for he did not only publish the Speech [C], which he delivered before those two Princes, at Bruges, in the Year 1486, but he wrote also a Treatise of the Agreement of Astronomy with Physic; I say, he wrote it the same Year, as he went through the City of Cologne in his way to Mentz, at the desire of Theodorick Flasz, a Physician of Nuis (b). As he understood Greek very well, he undertook the most difficult Translations, and began with a celebrated Paraphrast on Aristotle; I mean Themislius. Afterwards he undertook Dioscorides, whose Text he corrected as well as he could; and made a Translation of it; to which he added a very learned Commentary. It is said, that he also attempted two of the most difficult Treatises of Plutarch (c): I cannot tell whether That Translation was ever published. He had a design to translate all Aristotle's Works [D]; and he says, in one of his Epistles Dedicatory, that the Execution of that Design was a great way advanced. He had an extraordinary Facility in writing Verses, and it is pretended, that he composed above Twelve thousand [E]. But, of all his Works, there is none, which gained him so much Reputation, as That, which he perform'd on Pliny. He corrected near Five thousand Passages of That Author, and occasionally restored Three hundred in Pomponius Mela (d). This noble Work has been criticised [F], as well as his other Books

(a) Gesner. in Biblioth. fol. 247, ex Trithemio.

(b) Gesner. in Bibl. fol. 317.

(c) De Iride & Ofiride & cur Oracula desierunt. Gesner. in Libl.

(d) Hermol. Barbarus in Prefat. ad Alexandrum VI.

(1) Gesner. Biblioth. fol. 317.

(2) Teissier's Additions to the Eloquia of Tiberius, Tom. 1. P. 354.

(3) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 622.

(4) Herm. Barbar. Epist. 37, lib. 12, inter Politiani Epistolas.

[A] He began to write Books at the eighteenth Year of his Age.] Gesner tells us so: Ab octavodecimo ætatis sue anno scribere exorsus multa elegantissima opuscula composuit (1). Vossius intended the same thing: but, because his Printer forgot two Letters, it occasioned Mr Teissier to say, that Hermolaus Barbarus began to write at Twenty two Years of Age (2). This is his Translation of these Words of Vossius, Ab anno ætatis duo vicesimo scribere exorsus fuit (3). And thus you see the Errors of Printers are sometimes of great Consequence. It is plain, that Vossius had written duodevicesimo: So that two Letters, suppressed in this Word, have robbed an Author of four Years Glory. Mr Teissier's Fault may be seen in the One hundred fifty seventh Page of Dr Cave's Appendix.

[B] His publick Employs - - - did not prevent his earnest Application to Learning.] We must understand this with some Restriction; for it is certain, that those Employments must have interrupted his Studies. "Honores, jays be (4), in republica gesti multos & magnos: quâ fide, quâ opinione, quâ gratiâ, non dixerim. Placet quidem impendisse annos penitus duodecim, sed octo reipub. continuos: totum id tamen tempus literis ferè perit. — I have discharged many, and great, Trusts in the Common-wealth; with what Fidelity, Reputation, and Favour, I shall not pretend to say. I have been engaged in them full twelve Years, eight of which have been entirely spent on the Public: And the whole Time was almost quite lost to Learning."

[C] He published a Speech.] It was dedicated to Carondelet, who was then Chief Secretary to the King of the Romans. The Author confesses, that he does not publish it exactly as he delivered it; but he declares, at the same time, that he gives it entirely as he had prepared it. If he did not speak it as it was composed, it was, because the Courtiers desired him to be short, and to come speedily to the main Point. They were not ignorant, that the Study of polite Learning flourished at that time in Italy, and that the Ambassadors from That Country took a Pleasure in making long Speeches, set off with all the Ornaments of Rhetoric. Nay, Hermolaus was obliged to reduce the two Speeches, which he, and his Colleague had prepared, into one; and, as the Abridgment, and the Reduction, were to be made in the Space of an Hour and a half, judge of Hermolaus's Presence of Mind, which happily overcame all These Difficulties. "Obsecro ne mirere si qua leges in hoc libello quæ tunc dicta non fuerunt. Nec enim addidi nunc ea, sed detraxi tunc, admonitus ab aulicis exemplo quam limen attrigi ne longus essem, ambitiosa reciderem, optima quæque dicerem, patientissimis omnino, sed occupatissimis tamen Principibus, parcerem. Amputavi subito consilio multa.

"----- Considerans hoc & æstimans quid sequi horam antequam Principes adiremur significandum nobis fuerit non duas orationes seorsum, ut cogitabamus & paraveramus, sed unam duobus junctim habendam & recitandam esse (5). - - - Be not surprized if you meet with some Things here, which were not delivered. They are not now added, but were then suppressed, being advised, by the Courtiers, as soon as I appeared, not to be long, to cut off all Flourishes, to speak only to the material Points, and to favour, as much as possible, Princes, who, though they had a great deal of Patience, yet had very little Leisure. I immediately cut off many Things. - - - Considering, and providing for this also, that we were told, about an Hour and half before we were to be admitted into the Presence, that we must not deliver two separate Speeches, as we expected, and had prepared, but put both of them into one."

[D] He had a Design to translate all Aristotle's Works.] See what he says in the Preface to his Pomponius Mela (6). "Vocant nos majora quædam studia, urgemusque nostrum illud verum omnes Aristotelis libros in latinum vertendi exponendique propositum. Quod si ad exitum perduxero (nam bona ejus pars jam pridem peracta est) non dubito futurum, quin de reliquo in literis labore gratia mihi fiat. - - - I am intent upon greater Studies, and am carrying on the old Design of translating into Latin, and commenting on, all Aristotle's Works. Which if I can bring to Perfection, as a great Part of it is already done, I do not doubt but the learned World will thank me for all the rest of my Time, spent in their Service." His Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric was published after his Death. See the following Article.

[E] He had an extraordinary Facility in writing Verses; and had composed above Twelve thousand.] Among other Pieces of Poetry, he wrote a Poem of Six hundred Verses, which bears the same Title with a Piece, written by his Grand-father Francis Barbarus, I mean, de Re Uxorâ; but the Substance of them is very different. Francis Barbarus prescribes Rules as well to those, that would marry, as to those, that are already married (7): he is so very particular, that he has a Chapter de cœtus ratione. Hermolaus confines himself to this Question, Whether a wise Man ought to marry (8)? and concludes for the Negative.

[F] That noble Work, on Pliny, has been criticised.] It has been pretended, that he had too much indulged his Conjectures and Memory. Pintiaus used him very rudely upon it. Those, who pardon him the Defects of his Memory, do not forgive the Instances of his Temerity; but declare, very freely, that he has undertaken to correct many things, which were no Faults,

(c) Herm. Barbarus Epist. ad Carondeletum, inter Epistolas Politiani 45, lib. 12.

(6) Apud Gesner. Biblioth. fol. 317, verso.

(7) See the Titles of the Chapters of his Work in Gesner's Biblioth. fol. 247, verso.

(8) Gesner. Biblioth. fol. 317.

Books [G]. He was Embassador from the Republic of Venice to Pope Innocent VIII, when the Patriarch of Aquileia died. The Pope immediately conferred That Patriarchate upon him. Hermolaus was so imprudent as to accept of it, without waiting for the Approbation of his Superiors [H], though he could not be ignorant, that the Republic of Venice had made Laws, to forbid all Ministers, sent from thence to the Court of Rome, to accept any Benefice. Hermolaus's Excuses, grounded on the Pope's having compelled him to embrace the Prelacy, were not listened to. The Council of Ten signified very roughly to him, to renounce the Patriarchate, and that, if he did not, his Father should be degraded from all his Dignities, and

Faults, but only surpassed his Understanding. It is true, that, in several Editions of Pliny, great Regard has been had for Hermolaus's Corrections, since they have been inserted in the Text; but it was said, long ago, that this pretended Physician of Pliny had given him more Wounds, than he had cured. Let us see how Father Hardouin expresses it. "Ipse (Hermolaus) in iis quæ attigit, sæpè nimium concessuræ, memoriæ etiam plus quam hominem deceat, tribuit: uti paulo acerbius eam ob rem in vestus in eum Pintianus olim exprobravit. Sed concessa facile venia *μνημονικῶν ἀμαρτυριῶν*, quod minus mirum sit memoriam excidere aliquid rerum, quam constare omnium: at non venia dignus æque, quam neglectis veterum exemplarium vestigiis, & præfatur ante se editionum securus, plurima pro arbitrio, eruditè magis quam cautè ac verè, mutavit, vel planè pessumdedit: cum plurima ex iis quæ castigavit, non errata illa sint, sed parum intellecta. Tantum nihilominus auctoritati Barbari subsecuta ætas eruditionique tribuit, ut conjecturas illius, ceu totidem *κρίσεις*, *δόξας*, in contextum inferuerit, unde eliminandæ à nobis variis argumentis fuere. Sensit jamdudum hanc labem operi Pliniano illatam auctor Epigrammatis, alias haud perlegantis, in Commentarios à Stephanus Aquæz edite, de quibus agendum mox erit. Sic enim ille:

Dum facere Hermoleos medicinam Barbarus optat
Non paucis lacerò vulneribus Plinio,
Perlæsum gravius conjecta vulnerat arte:
Nec minus incauta plurima turba manu.
In tantum ut Latio jam deploratus abiret,
Ob multa in Stygias vulnera fessius aquas, &c.

"Felicior aliquanto SIGISMUNDUS GELENIUS, qui uno duntaxat archetyporum prædico, collatis inter se exemplaribus, non pauca restituit, quæ Hermolao latuerant (9). — He (Hermolaus) in his Corrections, gives often too much Liberty to Conjecture, and to Memory a great deal more than any Man ought to do; for which Pintianus has a little too severely reproved him. But his Faults of Memory are very excusable, since it is much less to be wondered at the letting slip some things, than the retaining all: but he is not so easily to be pardoned, for sighting all old Manuscripts, and former Editions, and boldly altering, in an arbitrary Manner, with more Learning than Caution and Truth, and sometimes plainly defacing: since a great many of his Emendations appear where there were no Faults, but only his own Misunderstandings. And yet the succeeding Age paid such a regard to the Authority, and Learning, of Barbarus, that they inserted his Conjectures as so many authentic Glasses into the Body of the Text, which have cost us a great many Arguments to remove. This Injury, done to Pliny, was observed by the Author of an Epigram, otherwise not very elegant, on the Commentaries published by Stephanus Aquæz, of which we shall presently speak. Thus he,

While Barbarus, and other Quacks, pretend
The mangled State of Pliny's Text to mend:
Their Art so much in blind Conjecture deals,
It boldly gives ten wounds for one it heals.
That thus defac'd he flies the Latian Light,
And gladly seek Repose in Realms of Night.

"SIGISMUNDUS GELENIUS used a much more successful Method, who, by the sole help of Manuscripts, which he collated, has restored a

"great many Places, which Hermolaus passed by." I have let down this long Passage, the letter to convince Mr Varillas that he was mistaken in a Matter, which was pretty well known. But yet, I am very well satisfied, that Hermolaus's Work on Pliny's Natural History deserves Admiration, considering the great Number of Authors he was obliged to consult, and the little time he had for it. He says, he performed it in twenty Months: He broke the ice for others; he found Pliny in a very bad Condition, and like a Land that had lain waste a long time, or a House infected with the Plague, or haunted by Hobgoblins. *Hæc erant in Pliniano codice flagitia, propter quæ non parum multi divinum opus tanquam fœditatum, imo vero quasi pestilens aut lemuribus infame domicilium vitabant. Ea nos Græcis & Latinis auctoribus perlectis omnibus lucubratione viginti mensium revellere ac publicare curavimus* (10). As to Volaterran's Notion, that it was an Undertaking little suitable to the Character of Hermolaus Barbarus; *opus impar ejus dignitatis & vitæ instituti* (11), it has been very justly condemned, as well because Hermolaus had entred upon it before he was a Churchman, as because it were to be wished, that many other Prelates would commit the like Faults. *Utinam sic a multis ejus dignitatis atque instituti peccaretur* (12). Vossius adds another Reason, which is, that Pliny did not make him neglect the Episcopal Functions; witness his Sermons, still preserved in Manuscript at Padua. I should rather chule to say, that, since the Venetians would not suffer him to accept that Dignity, he could not neglect the Patriarchal Functions in favour of Pliny. Note, that, having published that Work in the Year 1492, he added an Appendix to it, which he calls *Secundæ castigationes*, and which is dated at Rome, the thirteenth of January, 1493.

[G] As well as his other Books.] His Translation of Themistius is not just, if we may believe Vossius. "Ipse ille Themistius ab Hermolao Barbaro, dum nimium fudet elegantiz, tantâ conversus est libertate, ut sæpissimè longè aliud dicat quam fenserit Themistius (13): — Hermolao Barbarus, while he too much studied Elegancy, took such liberty in translating Themistius, that he often said those Things which Themistius was very far from meaning." And he has shewn, in the Translation of Aristotle's Rhetoric, that he did not understand Greek well enough, if we rely on Francis de Ejebat (14). It is objected, that he was so full of Pliny, that he too often made use of his Words in the Translation of Dioscorides. This Translation has been often criticized by Marcellus Virgilius. *Doctè quidem & eleganter translati, sed (ut nonnulli videntur) nimis ad imitationem Plinii, quem dum ubique sequitur à Dioscoridis verbis aliquando recedere videtur. Marcellus Virgilius, qui post Hermolaum eisdem libros transulit, plerumque interpretationem ejus carpit* (15).

[H] Hermolaus was so imprudent as to accept of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, without waiting for the Approbation of his Superiors.] I know of no Body, who has related the Fact better, than Peter Bembo; for which reason it cannot be improper, or disagreeable to all those, who have not that History, to see here what he says of it. "Eo mortuo Innocentius Patriarchatum (sic enim appellant) Aquileiensem — Hermolao Barbaro, legato apud se Veneto attribuit. Quod ubi civitas intellexit, tamen Hermolao ad Senatum scriperat, coactum se à Pontifice vestem senatoriam mutavisse: quoniam tamen sacerdotiis cooptari cives Veneti, qui legati Romæ essent, lege prohibebantur; graviter tulit, ausum illum contra leges patrias facere. Auxit ejus rei magnopere invidiam, quod antea ex Hermolai literis, quas ad Senatum de Barbi morte dederat, more inusitatoque majorum comitiis senatoriis præ-

(10) Herm. Barbarus in Epilogo Operis p. 425. Bafil. 1534.

(11) Volaterr. lib. 21. pag. 777.

(12) Cogitare debuerat Volaterranus, jam antequam ad Episcopatum provectus esset, parata majori ex parte habuisse, quæ ad istud opus pertinerent. Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 623. Hermolaus foyi only, Plinianus castigationes quas Legatus Romæ nec dum scripsit inchoaveram. Pref. ad Alexand. VI.

(13) Voss de Philosophia, pag. 8.

(14) Andr. Schott. Biblioth. Hispan. p. 333.

(15) Gesenius in B. biblioth. fol. 317. veris.

(9) Hard. Præfat. in Plinium ad uñum Delphinum.

and soon after see his Estate confiscated. They were inflexible: *Zachary Hermolaus* made use of all imaginable Means to obtain the Consent of the Republic to the Patriarchate of his Son; but, not being able to gain his Point, he died of Grief [I]. His Son followed him soon after: Some say, that Grief also was the Cause of his Death [K]; but it is more likely, that he died of the Plague. *Pierius Valerianus* has placed him at the head of his *Unfortunate Learned Men*. He seems to me to run an extravagant Length, in saying, that it is not certainly known, whether *Hermolaus Barbarus* was ever buried [L]. This great Man died at

"judicium Patres fecerant, cujus ipsi civis nomen ad
"id adipiscendum sacerdotium Innocentio commen-
"darent. Itaque deceptos in eo sese, ac propè de-
"ludos querebantur. Erat omnino Hermolaus, propter
"ejus summam in literarum atque optimarum ar-
"tium studiis præstantiam, magnum apud externas
"nationes nomen, apud suos quidem certe maxi-
"mum: nam ad doctrinæ singularum opinionem
"etiam vitæ perpetuum innocentiam adjunxerat. Si-
"mul est multum patris opibus, & gratia, qui summo
"proximum in civitate magistratum gereat, mul-
"tum clientelæ, necessitudinibus, propinquitatibusque
"pollebat. Quibus tamen in rebus omnibus satis
"sibi præfidi non habuit: cum pluris à Patribus una
"legum charitas, majestasque, quam illorum civi-
"um omnibus aucta nominibus dignitas, atque cla-
"ritas, feret. Decemviri enim literas ad eum fe-
"vere scriptas dederunt; mora omni, exultatione-
"que sublata, sacerdotium repudiaret: id si non
"faceret, patrem magistratu remoturus, & bona
"ejus publicaturos præ se tulerunt. At pater, per-
"specta civitatis voluntate, omnibus tentatis rebus,
"cum jam eam flecti & leniri posse discederet,
"ægritudine animi est mortuus. Filii non multo
"post Romæ, editis Plinianis castigationibus, im-
"mensi propè laboris opere, privatus plebeio mor-
"bo perit. Eum vitæ finem Hermolaus habuit,
"omnium ex sua civitate, qui ante illum nati es-
"sent, Latinorum & Græcorum literis plane doctissi-
"mus (16). — Upon his Death, Innocent gave
"the Patriarchate (as it is called) of Aquileia, to
"Hermolaus Barbarus, Embassador for the Venetians
"at Rome. Which, when the Senate understood, not-
"withstanding Hermolaus had signified to them by
"Letter, that he had not made this Exchange of his
"senatorial Robes, without being compelled to it by
"the Pope, the Venetian Laws not allowing any of
"their Citizens, who are sent Embassadors to Rome,
"to accept of any Ecclesiastical Preferments, they
"were much incensed, that he should dare to infringe
"the Laws of his Country. What farther heightened
"their Displeasure was, that, upon the News the Se-
"nate had received, by Letters from Hermolaus, of
"the Death of Barbus, they had, in their Assembly,
"according to ancient Custom, made choice of a Per-
"son, whose Name they were to recommend to Inno-
"cent, to succeed in That Patriarchate. Therefore
"they looked upon themselves as deceived, and in
"some Measure tricked by him. The Reputation of
"Hermolaus was very great in foreign Nations, on
"account of his extensive Learning; and greatest of
"all in his own; the Integrity of his Life being as
"extraordinary as his Knowledge. The Wealth and
"Interest of his Father, whose Office in the Republic
"was next to that of the chief Magistrate, the Num-
"ber of his own Dependants, Friends, and Relations,
"were great Advantages to him. But yet all these
"put together were not sufficient to protect him: since
"the single Consideration of the Value and Authority
"of their Laws was of more weight with the Senate,
"than all the Excellencies, which any of their Citi-
"zens could possibly attain. The Council of Ten
"wrote severely to him, that, without delay or excuse,
"he should renounce his Ecclesiastical Dignity; and
"threatened to degrade his Father, and confiscate his
"Estate, in case of Refusal. The Father, finding the
"fixed Resolution of the Senate, which he had, in
"vain, tried all possible means to soften and divert,
"died of Grief. The Son not long after, having pub-
"lished his Corrections of Pliny, a Work of immense
"Labour, died at Rome in a private Station, and of
"a vulgar Distemper. This was the End of Hermo-
"laus, who, for his Learning in Latin and Greek, was
"the most extraordinary Person Venice had ever pro-
"duced."

[I] His Father — died of Grief. We have just now seen, that *Bembus* asserts it. The thing is
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likely enough; for he was an ancient Man, and en-
joyed one of the chief Polls of the Republic. Such an
hard Experience of the Decay of one's Credit in
one's old Age, and to the Prejudice of a famous and
dearly-beloved Son, is generally a fatal Blow. *Za-
chary Barbarus* died in the Year 1492, much refig-
ed to the Decrees of Providence: He was in the
seventieth Year of his Life: He was much lamented,
and his Funeral-Pomp was very magnificent. See
the Letter, which *Hermolaus* wrote to his Friend *An-
tonius Calvus* (17). "Accedit quod septuagesimum
"ingressus annum, quamdiu in familia nostra vixit
"nemo; quod functus omnibus honoribus; quod re-
"publica incolumi; quod liberis honesto loco pos-
"itis; incredibili desiderio & amore civitatis excessis,
"frequentia funeris tanta (ut audio) quanta in cive
"nunquam. — We must add, that having entred
"into his seventieth Year, to which none of our Fa-
"mily ever before arrived; that having attained all
"the highest Honours; that having seen the Republic
"in absolute Security; that having placed his Children
"in honourable Stations, he died extremely lamented
"and beloved by all, and was attended, I am told,
"at his Funeral, by such Numbers, as no Citizen
"ever had been before."

[K] Some say, that Grief also was the Cause of his
Death.] *Volaterran* affirms it: "Romæ decessit ex
"animi dolore exacerbante quod orator à Venetiis
"missus, præter ejus auctoritatem Senatus, Patriar-
"cha Aquileiensis ab Innocentio fuerat creatus, ac
"propterea contumax & exul (18). — He died at
"Rome through excess of Grief, because, being sent
"thither Embassador by the Venetians, and made 777.
"Patriarch of Aquileia, by Innocent, without their
"Consent, he was therefore declared a Rebel, and an
"Exile." I am fully persuaded, he died, being ac-
counted a Rebel, and an Exile; for he always took
upon himself the Title of Patriarch, notwithstanding
the strict Orders he had received from his So-
vereign to renounce the Patriarchate; but I believe
he died of the Plague, and not of Grief. My Rea-
son is, I. That, from the time of his Disgrace to his
Death, he was engaged in a Work, which required
a great Composure of Mind, and a perfect State of
Health (19). II. That *Peter Crinitius*, who lived at
that time, declares, that *Hermolaus* died of the
Plague (20). He does not relate it in general, but
adds a very particular Circumstance, which is, that
Picus Mirandulanus, having heard at Florence, that
Hermolaus was sick of the Plague, sent him an Anti-
dote with all Speed; but the Messenger came too
late. *Paulus Jovius* reports the same Fact. "Mors
"ante diem irrepsit, & pestilenti quidem morbo
"properata, adeo ut quod à Pico Politianoque Flo-
"rentiâ laboranti per dispositos equos mittebatur
"miræ potestatis antidotum, veneni celeritate præ-
"verteret (21). — Death approached before-
"hand, being hastened by a Pestilential Disem-
"per, which made such quick Dispatch, that the
"famous Antidote, which was sent him with all possi-
"ble Expedition from Florence by Picus, and Poli-
"tiano, came too late." So that I can easily believe
what *Hermolaus Barbarus* says of himself, That he
bore his Disgrace without Uneasiness, and was even
pleased with an Injury, which gave him an entire
Leisure for Study (22). His Friends were afraid he
would sink under his Disgrace, and his Enemies
declared to every where. It was undoubtedly by means
of these latter, in order to rob him of the Honour of
his Constancy and Tranquillity, that what was owing
to a contagious Distemper, was ascribed to Grief. See,
in the Remark [P], what I quote out of *Alcyonius*.

[L] *Pierius Valerianus* — says, that it is not
certain, whether *Hermolaus Barbarus* was ever buried.]
I say once more, that *Pierius Valerianus* seems to
run an extravagant Length, in saying, that this Pa-
triarch, dying in Poverty, and forsaken, was depriv-
ved

(17) It is the 32d of the 12th Book of Istoph of Politian.

(18) Volat. lib. 21, pag. 777.

(19) Viz. The Corruption of Plin.

(20) Crinit. de honestâ Disciplinâ, lib. 2, c. 7.

(21) Jovius Elog. c. 36.

(22) See the 31st Letter of the 12th Book of Istoph of Politian.

(16) Bemb. Histor. Vene-
tice, lib. 11.
fol. 18 verso

(e) See Remarks [K].

at Rome, in the Year 1493. He expresses, in his Letters, a great Renunciation, and Tranquillity of Mind, in regard to the Treatment, he had received from his Country (e). I do not believe, he can be said to have been a Cardinal [M]. It is reported, he had recourse to the Devil, to know the Sense of a Greek word [N], made use of by Aristotle. We must not forget, that Laurence de Medicis gave him some Testimonies of a singular Esteem [O]. Mr Varillas has given us; a very entertaining and elaborate Account of Hermolaus Barbarus, but he is mistaken in many things, and oftener than Moreri [P].

I shall

(23) Pier. Valerian. de Literariorum Infelicit. pag. 9.

(24) Jovius Elog. c. 36.

(25) Rochepozai in Nomenclat. Cardinal.

(26) Ollivini, in Athen. Romano.

(27) See, below, the Passage of Alcyonius.

(28) Valerian. de Literat. Infel. pag. 9.

(29) In Compendio Historico.

(30) Voß, de H. E. Lat. pag. 621.

(31) Pref. in Plin.

ved of Burial: "Ob susceptum inconsulto Senatu suo Aquileiense sacerdotium exul factus, & de possessione ejectione, vitam inopem aliquandiu traxit, Alexandri Pontificis summi sportula quodammodo sustentatus: paucis vero post mensibus pestilentia contactus, delertus ab omnibus, infelicissimo mortis genere oppressus est; quique laudatione, & eloquentia sua innumeris ætatis suæ homines illustraverat, & funere, & honore sepulchri ita defraudatus est, ut ubi sepulcus, quove hominis cadaver coniectum fuerit, ignoretur (23). — Being exiled, and deprived of his Estate, for accepting the Patriarchate of Aquileia, without consulting the Senate, he lived very poor for some time, and was in some measure maintained by the Charity of Pope Alexander. In a few Months after, he was taken with the Plague, and, being forsaken by all, died in the most wretched manner; and he, who, by his Elogies and Eloquence, had so highly honoured a great Number of his Contemporaries, was so far denied both a Funeral and Grave, that, where his Corps was thrown, or buried, no Body can tell." Paulus Jovius, who wrote after Pierius Valerianus, does not only say, that Hermolaus Barbarus was buried, but also mentions the Place of his Burial. "Scilicet ut nimis severa patria optimi civis ossa non haberet, quæ sub colle hortorum ad Flumentanam portam sepulchro condita ex Campo Martio ab erudita Romana juventute salutantur (24). — But that his cruel Country might not have the Remains of so excellent a Citizen, they were buried under the Hill of the Gardens, near the Flumentan Gate, where they are visited by the Roman Youth from the Campus Martius." Mr da la Rochepezai (25), and Father Ollivini (26), point out the place of his Sepulture more clearly; they place it at Santa Maria del Popolo. If Valerianus had only said, that the Fear of the Plague caused those, who should have assisted the Patriarch (27), to forsake him, he would not have fallen into This Hyperbole.

[M] I do not believe, he can be said to have been a Cardinal. Pierius Valerianus is far from affirming it; he says some things, that are too inconsistent with it; but does Paulus Jovius, who has so clearly contradicted him as to the burying-place of Hermolaus Barbarus, say, that this Patriarch had obtained a Cardinal's Cap? Not in the least: he only says, that he was designed for that Dignity. "Tulisti quippe æquo animo suffragiorum severitatem, quum ex eo tamen pari merito tibi purpura pararetur. Sed mors ante diem irrepit (28). — Thy even Mind received the cruel Sentence unmoved, and such appeared thy great Merit, that it was just about being rewarded with the Purple. But Death approached before hand." The Author of the Nomenclator Cardinalium reports, that Tritemius, followed in this by Pierius Valerianus, and several others, assert, that Hermolaus Barbarus attained to the Cardinalship. As to himself, he affirms nothing, but contents himself with these words, Cardinalis designatus, sed ut fertur nondum evulgatus. — Designed a Cardinal, but, as it is said, not declared. Voßius quotes the Franciscan, John Ricbe, who asserts (29), that Hermolaus Barbarus was made a Cardinal (30). Father Hardouin affirms the same thing (31).

[N] It is reported, he had recourse to the Devil, to know the Sense of a Greek Word.] This Word is so essential to the Peripatetic Natural Philosophy, that, without first fixing the Sense of it, there is no understanding what Aristotle meant, concerning the Nature of Body. I speak of the Word ἐντελεχία, which some Latinists, not being able to find a better, have at last rendered by That of perfectibility. Peter Crinitus speaks as if Hermolaus himself had boasted of That magical Consultation, and as if he had said, that the Answer was given with such a weak Voice, that he could make nothing of

it. "Et revera perexilis vocula dæmonum & exigua est, quod olim noster quoque Venetus Hermolaus dicebat, vocem se dæmonis præteritum & pene subsistentem audisse, qua ille, de Aristotelis forte entelechia interrogatus, sibi ipsi & Georgio Placentino responsitavit (32). — And, indeed, the Voice of Devils is soft and low, as cur Hermolaus, of Venice, formerly said, that he heard the Devil answer a Question, he, and George Placentinus, had put to him, concerning the Entelechia of Aristotle, in a faint and whispering sort of Voice." I believe I have gone to the Source of this Fact, by quoting Peter Crinitus: Most People (33) quote only Bodin's Dæmonomania, where I have not yet met with this Transaction of Hermolaus (34). Some quote Menrolus, who mentions it in his Treatise de Entelechia. To conclude, some pretend, that Bædæus is the Inventor of Perfectibility: You will find these Words in Du Verdier Vau-Privat, And even Thise, who intended to praise him, have said of him, Est felicissimus quidem, fed audacissimus in novandis vocabulis. — He is very happy indeed, but very bold, in coining new Words; as when he rendered Aristotle's Entelechia by the Word Perfectibility (35). Note, that several Persons maintain, that Cicero has very ill translated that Word of Aristotle (36).

[L] Laurence de Medicis gave him some Testimonies of a singular Esteem.] He went to meet him, notwithstanding his ill State of Health, and received him very magnificently at his Country Seat: "Cum Hermolaus Barbarus Reipub. Venetæ nomine legationes foret per Italiam obiret, & ad urbem Florentiam obiter accederet, Laurentius Medicus [qui Florentinam Rempublicam non minore tum consilio, quam fortuna gubernabat] statim tanto viro cum amicis pluribus (ut sit) obviam procedit: nihil veritus, quod ægros pedes haberet, ac summis doloribus vexaretur. Tum in Caiana villa (quam infinitis propè sumptibus ædificatam) honorificentissimè illum accepit: simulque tanti hominis ingenio, & doctrina singulari provocatus, eam quoque liberalissimè studiorum nomine illi obtulit, cum infanti atque instructissima bibliotheca, quam ad exemplum Philadelphi mira tum industria paraverat, ut in eo quasi Musarum secessu simul cum Pico Mirandula honestioribus disciplinis, ac philosophiæ sacris pro arbitrio incumberet. In quo Hermolaus Barbarus (ut homo maxime humanus) libenter se dixit & studiorum causa, & Laurentii merito talem animum agnoscere: villamque ipsam, si per publicas curas liceret, excipere (37). — As Hermolaus Barbarus, who happened to be charged with some Embassies, from the Republic of Venice, to Italy, took the City of Florence in his Way, Laurence de Medicis, who then governed the Florentines with no less Prudence than Success, went out to meet so extraordinary a Man, with a great Number of his Friends, as the Ceremony is: Not at all regarding, that he had the Gout in his Feet, and was in great Pain. Then he received him very honourably at his Villa Caiana, which he had built at an infinite Expence: and, at the same time, in respect to his great Abilities, & extraordinary Learning, he offered him the Use of it, for the pursuing his Studies, together with a large and curious Library, which, in Imitation of Philadelphus, he had collected with surpassing Industry, in order to enjoy this Retreat of the Muses, together with Pico Mirandulanus, in the Pursuit of Learning and Philosophy. Which kind Offer, Hermolaus Barbarus, as he was perfectly complaisant, readily replied he should be glad to accept, not only for the sake of his own Studies, but also in regard to his Highness's great Favour, if his public Commissions would have given him leave."

[P] Mr Varillas has given a very entertaining and elaborate Account of Hermolaus Barbarus; but he

(32) Crinit. de honesta Disciplina, lib. 6. c. 11.

(33) Further Rapin's Reflections on Philosophy, pag. 350. Teiffier, Elog. Tom. 1. pag. 355.

(34) I have not had leisure to look Page after Page for this, but I have not met with it in the places where it was most likely to be found.

(35) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 472. reporting what Genebrard said of Bædæus.

(36) Joannes Ferrerius Pedemontanus confutes them in the Treatise de Entelechia.

(37) Petrus Crinitus de honesta Disciplina, lib. 1, cap. 9. pag. 400.

I shall cite a Passage of *Alcyonius*, which will shew, that our *Hermolaus* congratulated himself on his Disgrace, and that he never studied with so much application, as after his Country had used him ill [2].

(38) Varill.
Anecdotes
de Florence,
pag. 187, &
seq.

(39) Mr. Varill.
says, that Pliny's
Natural History
contains
36 Books: he
ought to have
said 37.

(40) Har-
dwin, in
Plin. Tom.
I, pag. 2.

(41) Jovius
Elog. c. 36.

(42) See to-
wards the
end of the
following
Remark.

(43) Gelfner.
fol. 318.
These Words,
Hos libros
Themistii
paraphra-
sticos Hermo-
laus Barba-
rus Venetiis
A. 1570, in
fol. editis,
in the Jour-
nal of Leip-
sic, ann.
1685, pag.
461, are not
exact; for
that Edition
was a great
while after
the Author's
Death.

be is mistaken in many things, and oftner than Möreri.] He says (38), I. That *Hermolaus Barbarus* was esteemed, at *Venice*, the most remarkable of all the Nobles for the Profession of the highest, and nicest, Gallantry. II. That no Body ever saw him study, or that no Books were to be seen in his Chamber, or Closet. I question the first of these things, and the second I hold to be false. III. That, having undertaken the most laborious Task, then known, in the Republic of Learning (this was the Correction of *Pliny* (39), he made use of the Authority of Manuscripts, and that of The Greek and Roman Writers, who had treated on the same Subjects; and that, in such Places, where those two Assurances failed him, he made use of his own Conjectures with so much Probability and Success, that not one of them have been rejected. See the Confutation of this, in the Remark [F]. IV. That it was by this ingenious Method he discovered, that *Pliny* was born at *Como*, and that he composed a Dissertation about it, which convinced all those who read it. Of all the Authors I have consulted for a List of *Barbarus*'s Works, I have found none, who ascribes to him any such Dissertation. It is true, that, in his Preface to *Pliny*, he seems to prefer the reading *Catullum congeronem meum*, before That of *Catullum conterraneum meum*, whereby he eludes a very strong Argument, which is taken from That Passage, to prove, that *Pliny* was of *Verona*. It is true also, that, independently from the reading *Congerronem*, which he will neither absolutely admit, nor reject; he declares, that *Pliny* was of *Como*, and not of *Verona*; but he does not enlarge upon this; he contents himself with three Lines: This therefore cannot be called a formal Dissertation. Now, though *Varillas* were in the right, as to this Point, yet he tells a great Falshy; for there is scarce any learned disinterested Critic, but always adjudged *Pliny* to those of *Verona*. "Ca- sam dudum adjudicarent Veronenibus eruditi, inter quos præcipui Polycarpus Palermus singulari opere de Plinii patriâ, & Scaliger in Euseb. Chron. pag. 190 (40). — The Learned have long since adjudged the Cause to the City of *Verona*, among whom the principal are Polycarp of Palermo, in a particular Treatise on *Pliny*'s Country, and Scaliger on Euseb. Chron. pag. 190." Very probably the misunderstanding *Paul Jovius*'s Words deceived *Varillas*. "Novocomenibus C. Plinium secundum civem suum ab imperitis invidiose surreptum erudita præclaraque sententia reddidit" (41). — Your great Judgment has restored to "Novocomum ber Citizen C. Pliny II. whom the illiterate had robbed her of." V. He tells us, in the Secret History, That the prodigious Desire *Barbarus* had to remedy the Disorders in *Physic*, made him attempt *Dioscorides* in the same manner, as he had done *Pliny*. Which is to confound the Order of Times. *Barbarus* lived so short a time after the Publication of his Work on *Pliny*'s Natural History, that he formed no new Designs; he had Books enough to finish; and I do not doubt but that he had begun with *Dioscorides*, before he applied himself wholly to *Pliny* (42). VI. *Hermolaus*'s Friends advised him quietly to enjoy the Honour, which he had acquired by his *Pliny*, and his *Dioscorides*; but he himself told them, he must translate what *Themistius* had left us on *Aristotle*, and be performed what he had proposed. Here is a new Anachronism: the Translation of *Themistius* is one of the first that *Barbarus* published. "Themistii Peripatetici Paraphrases in aliquot Aristotelis Libros admodum adolefcens Latinas effecit (43). — He translated the Paraphrase of *Themistius* the Peripatetic, upon some Books of *Aristotle*, when he was very young." He dedicated it to *Sixtus IV.*, who had been dead eight Years, when he published his Notes on *Pliny*. VII. *Hermolaus* did the Republic Justice, against his own Interest, and confessed, that they had Reason to be against him. He intreated the Pope to confer the Benefice on Him, who should be presented to him by the Ambassador of *Venice*; and expressly declared, that he would not have it, if he must purchase it at so great a Price, as the Displeasure of his Citizens. This seems to be a meer Romance: We have seen already

(44), in the Passage of *Peter Bembo*, that *Hermolaus*'s Father would never let go his hold, and that he only endeavoured to soften the Republic. It is certain also, that the new Patriarch always preserved his Title, and did not submit to his Temporal Superiors. VIII. I do not know where *Varillas* read, That the only Means, for *Hermolaus*'s Cure, was to send him right Bezoar, and that there was some of it in a Vessel of *Agate* at *Florence*, which the *Soldan Caibay* had presented to *Laurence* of *Medicis*. *Peter Crinitus*, who ought to know it as well as any Body, says, that the Antidote belonged to *Picius Mirandulanus*, who knew the Composition of it. "Pharmacō contra pestem quod ille sibi fī quando incidisset affervabat diligentissimē, curat ut Romam quā celerim ad *Hermolaum* devehatur. Dicebat autem Picius illud ipsum ex oleo scorpionum linguisque aspidum, & aliis ejusmodi venenis, confectum (45). — The Remedy for the Plague, which he carefully kept for his own Use, whenever he should meet with that Misfortune, he dispatched to *Hermolaus*, at *Rome*, with all possible Expedition. *Picius* said, it was a Preparation from Oil of *Scorpions*, Tongues of *Asps*, and other Poisons of that kind."

Mr Möreri's Faults consist in saying, I. That the Senate did not approve the Choice, which *Innocent VIII* made of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, for the Patriarchate of *Aquileia*. II. That *Hermolaus Barbarus* published *Pliny*'s Natural History. The Senate would have no less disapproved the Election of another Person; and the Republic was not displeased for what *Innocent VIII* had done in favour of *Hermolaus Barbarus*, but because the Pope pretended to dispose of the Patriarchate without consulting them, and because *Hermolaus* had acknowledged the Pope's pretended Right, in accepting of that Dignity, against the Laws of his Country. He published his Corrections on *Pliny* without *Pliny*'s Text (46).

[2] A Passage of *Alcyonius* will shew, that *Hermolaus* — never studied with so much Application, as after his Country had used him ill.] Here is the Passage: it is *Cardinal John de Medicis* (47), who speaks. "Exsiliū igitur Barbaro non solum calamitatem detraxit, sed etiam dignitatem auxit, quod quidem ita constanter, moderateque ferebat, ut facitissime jocularetur Musas illud sibi à patria impetrasse, quoniam ægrè ferrent hominem suis sacris initiatum ambitione vulgarium honorum distineri, & plebeis occupationibus impediri. Itaque plura scripsit biennio exsul quā XX. ante annos cum patria frueretur & honoribus illius florentissimè esset, recognitionem errorum Pliniani codicis, explanationem librorum de anima Aristotelis, cum tamen ante ejusdem Philosophi libros talis argumenti in Latinum convertisset, & XVI. libros de ratione differendi, veteres Peripatetici organon eos appellanti; & V. Rhetoricos & unum Poëticum, octoque *Dioscoridae* Medicos, quos alio etiam opere intruxerat quod *Corollarium* inscribebat. Adjece- rat quoque pulcherrimam expositionem ad libros analyticos posteriores Aristotelis ante in Latinum translatos (48). — Exile, therefore, not only eased him from Trouble, but advanced him in Dignity; and he bore it with such Constancy and Moderation, that he used to jest, and very pleasantly call it a Favour, which the *Muses* had obtained for him, from his Country, in order to prevent one, initiated in their Mysteries, from being otherwise taken up, and interrupted with popular Ambition, and public Employments. Therefore he wrote more, in the two Years after his Banishment, than he did in twenty Years before, when he was in Favour with his Country, and in fullest Enjoyment of it's Honours; namely, a Correction of the Errata of *Pliny*, an Explication of *Aristotle*'s Books of the Soul, which he had before translated into Latin, as also his sixteen Books of The Art of Reasoning; the Peripatetics call them *Organon*; and five Of Rhetoric, and one Of Poetry, and the eight Books Of *Physic* of *Dioscorides*, enlarging them with a Work, which he calls a Corollary. He had likewise added an excellent Commentary on the latter Books of *Aristotle*'s Analytics, before translated into Latin." This seems to refute what I have advanced above (49), but,

(44) Cita-
tion (16).

(45) Petrus
Crinitus de
honestis Dis-
ciplinâ, lib.
2, cap. 7.

(46) This
Paragraph
was at the
End of the
Remark of
the Article
BARBA-
RUS
(FRANCIS)
in the first
Edition.

(47) He was
a Terwards
Pope Leo X.

(48) Petrus
Alcyonius in
Medice Le-
gato priore
de Exilio.

(49) In Re-
mark [P],
num. 7, and
vi.

but, if you consider it attentively, it does not; for, besides that there might be some want of Exactness in this Enumeration of *Alcyonius*, it is certain, that part of the Writings, which he particularizes, are rather a Revision, or a more ample Exposition, of what *Hermolaus* had already performed, than a quite new Undertaking; and it appears plainly, that *Dioscorides* had past through his Hands before his Exile, and before the Correction of *Pliny's* Text. It is a Confirmation of what I have said against *Varillas*. Farther, it ought to be observed, that the Writings, in this List, were not published before the Death of the Author, who, therefore, could not be advised to take his Ease, on account that his *Pliny*, and, afterwards, his *Dioscorides*, had acquired him sufficient Honour. We shall now see, that *Alcyonius* observes, that these Works of *Barbarus* were preserved in Manuscript, in a Library. "Et hæc quidem omnia (50)

(50) *The Work on Pliny, published by the Author himself, should have been excepted.*

(51) *Alcyonius supplies that Cardinal John de Medicis said this about the Year 1512.*

(42) *Alcyonius in Medicine Legatus prioris.*

"ad huc diligentissime asservari vidi à fratribus illius cum, sedecim abhinc annos (51), Venetiis Bibliothecam illius excuterem, atque incredibili sum lætitia elatus cum cognovi doctissimi amicissimi hominis elucubrations non intercidisse, quod ne evenisset magnopere verebar, cum in suburbano Oliverii Caraphæ Collegæ mei ex pestilentia obisset, et domesticis intimique familiares fugâ salutis suæ consulissent, omniaque tanquam bona caduca in medium relinquent. Sed ejus generis scripta ab interitu & furto vindicta fuisse narrabant Zenotetis celsitudinem operâ, quem ille habebat ad manum (52). — And all these I found were still very carefully preserved by his Brothers, upon my examining his Library at Venice, about sixteen Years ago; and it was an exceeding great Pleasure

"to me, to understand, that the Lacubrations of this learned and friendly Man were not lost, as I apprehended they had been, on his dying of the Plague, at the Country House of my Colleague Oliveri Carapha, and being forsaken by his Friends and Domestic, for fear of Infection, and leaving all his Papers and Things in such Confusion, and without an Owner. But they informed me, that these Writings were preserved by the Care of one Zenoteles, who attended him." I cannot deny, but that *Barbarus*, in the Epilogue of his Corrections on *Pliny*, does promise an Edition of *Dioscorides*: "Scire oportet, says he (53), annotamenta hæc — *Dioscoridi quoque prope diem emittendo profutura: — It will not be improper to hint, that these Annotations — will also be of Service in an Edition of Dioscorides, which I shall shortly publish.*" But I still insist, that *Varillas* has not distinguished the Times. A Work of this Author, on *Dioscorides*, had been seen, before he published That on *Pliny*, and after he had given a Paraphrase of *Themistius*. See what follows: "Primum quidem dum Themistii nobis paraphrasin atque id juvenis adhuc tam elegantè Latine loquentem producit: mox edito in *Dioscoridem* corollario tam variâ ac reconditâ doctrinæ rerum omnium suppellectilem depromit: postremum *Plinio* — succurrit (54). — He first published an elegant Latin Translation of the Paraphrase of *Themistius*, while he was very young; afterwards, by publishing his Corollary on *Dioscorides*, he discovered an inexhaustible Fund of Learning: last of all, he undertook the Assistance of *Pliny*."

(53) *Herm. Barbarus in Monito ad Lector. ad calcem castigat. pag. 521.*

(54) *Jo Oporinus Ep. dedicat. Castigat. Herm. Barbari in Plin.*

BARBARUS (DANIEL), Great Nephew to the preceding, was esteemed for his Learning. He published a Commentary on the Five Predicaments of *Porphyry*, in the Year 1542. Two Years after, he publish'd a Commentary on the Three Books of *Aristotle's* Rhetoric to *Theodectus*, which had been translated into Latin by *Hermolaus Barbarus*. He had said, in a Letter to *Gesner*, that he hoped speedily to publish several Works of *Hermolaus* (a). We are indebted to him for the Edition of the Dialogues of *Speron Sperone*.

(a) Taken from *Gesner*, Bibl. p. 192, verso.

BARBARUS (DANIEL), of the same Family as the preceding, was Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and famous for his Learning. He had much addicted himself to Mathematics and Philosophy, before he was dignified in the Church; but, after his Promotion to Episcopacy, he applied himself wholly to the Study of Divinity. He was so prejudiced in favour of *Aristotle*, that he would willingly have taken an Oath of Fidelity to him, had he not been a Christian (a). He was Ambassador of *Venice* in *England*, when Pope *Paul IV* named him Coadjutor to the Patriarch *Grimani* (b). He was one of the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*, and expressed there a great Zeal for the Pope. He voted strongly against those, who desired the Communion in both Kinds (c). He died in the Year 1569, aged Forty one Years (d). He had published several Works [A], and doubtless, if he had lived longer, he would have published many more (e).

(a) Taken from *Thuanus*, lib. 46, pag. 942.

(b) *Palavic. Hist. Conc. Trid. l. xvi. cap. iv, n. 22.*

(1) *Voss. de Scient. Mathematicat. pag. 355, & 425.*

(2) *De Script. Sculci XVI.*

(3) *Teiffier, Adit. to Thuanus, Tom. I. p. 354.*

(4) *Freh. Th. at. Vir. illust. pag. 126.*

[A] He had published several Works: A Commentary on *Vitruvius*, which was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1567. *La prattica della prospettiva*, printed at the same Place, in the Year 1559, and in the Year 1568 (1). *Catena Græcorum patrum in quinquaginta Psalmos latine versa. Aubertus Miræus* (2), *Morici Teiffier* (3), *Konig, Paul Freberus* (4), &c. ascribe to him the Commentary on the Five Predicaments of *Porphyry*, and the Commentary on *Aristotle's* Rhetoric, which I mention'd in the preceding

Article: But, as the first of these Commentaries was printed in the Year 1542, and the second in the Year 1544, it is evident they are not the production of our *Daniel Barbarus*, who was born in the Year 1528 (5). *Freberus*, by a very strange Mistake, says, that our *Daniel Barbarus*, who died in the Year 1569, at 40 Years, of Age, had obtain'd the Patriarchship of *Aquileia* from Pope *Innocent VIII.* to whom he was sent Ambassador from *Venice* (6).

(c) *Id. lib. xviii. cap. iv. n. 4, ad An. 1562.*

(d) *Voss. de Scient. Mathematicat. pag. 355. Thuanus, l. xvi. pag. 942.*

(e) *Thuanus ibid.*

(5) According to *Thuanus* and *Vossius*.

(6) *Freber. ibid.*

BARBARA, Wife of the Emperor *Sigismund*, was the Daughter of *Herman* Count of *Cilia* in *Hungary*. *Sigismund* had been taken by the Hungarians, and placed under the Guard of two young Gentlemen, whose Father he had put to Death. While he was under their Guard, he persuaded their Mother to let him escape. This point was not gained without having made a great many Excuses to her, for the Death of her Husband, as well as a great many Promises. Among other things, he promised her to marry the Daughter of the Count of *Cilia*, a near Relation of this Widow; and he performed that Promise (a). She proved the most extraordinary Woman, that ever was seen. She had no manner of shame for her lewd Life. Nor did her great Singularity consist in this; there have been but too many Princesses, who have shewn no Regard for what the World should say of them, with respect to their Impudicities. What made

(a) *Æneas Silvius in Addition. ad Anon. Panormitum de dictis & factis Alphonzi. l. iiii. n. 44, p. 69.*

her so extraordinary, was Atheism [A], which is almost without Example among Women. She did not believe there was either Heaven, or Hell [B], and laughed at those Religious Persons, who renounced the Pleasures of Life, and mortified their Bodies. *Sigismond* found himself also ill married upon other accounts; for his Wife *Barbara* plotted, with some great Lords of *Bohemia*, to drive him out of the Kingdom, and to marry another Husband. He discovered the Plot, and condemned the Empress to perpetual Imprisonment. When he was dead, she was set at liberty (b); and, as she had Thoughts of marrying again, some body represented to her the Example of the Turtle Dove, which lives single all her life, after the death of her first Mate. But she answered, *If you would propose to me the Example of Beasts, Let it be That of Pigeons and Sparrows* (c) [C]. She grew old at *Graz* in *Bohemia*, without forsaking her Debaucheries (d), and died there about the Year 1451. The *Bohemians* buried her very magnificently at *Prague* in the Tomb of their Kings, as *Bonfinius* affirms in the seventh Book of the third Decad. *Prateolus* does not forget her in his Alphabetical Catalogue of Heretics, which makes him very ridiculous; for she did not forge any new Doctrine, nor set up her self as the Head of a Sect; She fell into the Impieties, which are common to all times. In all Countries, profane and impious People have always ridiculed those, who, out of a Principle of Religion, undertake the Task of mortifying the Flesh, instead of following the inclination of Nature (e).

(b) Ex *Matthis*, Theat. Hiflor. in *Sigismundo*, pag. 998.

(c) *Aeneas Silvius*, ubi supra, n. 52, pag. 56.

(d) *Gretii* in *Bohemia* in vita turpi & fœdis libidinibus infameminiuit. *Matheus*, lib. 1.

(e) *Barbara* — stultas app. habuit virgines que pro Christi nomine pascere fuissent, propterea quod voluptatis gaudia non gustassent. *Prateolus*, pag. 85.

[A] *What made her so extraordinary, was Atheism, which is almost without Example among Women.* I am not ignorant of what has been lately published in a Satire on that Sex, which, in my Opinion, is Mr *Boileau's* Master-Piece. In this new Piece, Impiety itself is made one of the Irregularities of Women;

Dans le sexe j'ai peint la piété caustique.
Et que feroit-ce donc, si Censeur plus tragique
J'allois t'y faire voir l'athéisme établi,
Et non moins que l'honneur le Ciel mis en oubli?
Si j'allois t'y montrer plus d'une Capaneé,
Pour souveraine loi mettant la destinée,
Du tonnerre dans l'air bravant les vains carreaux,
Et nous parlant de Dieu du ton de Des-Barreaux?

*Justly I've shewn the Sex's flaming Zeal.
What if still blacker Crimes I should reveal,
The Female Atheist's gigantic Pride,
Trampling on Heav'n and Hell with impious Stride;
A bold Capaneus in a Woman's Form,
Daring the Heights of Providence to storm;
Defy it's Laws, disdain it's sovereign State,
And substitute that senseless Idol, Fate;
To brave the dreadful Thunder's threatening Tone,
And speak of God as Des-Barreaux has done?*

But all this may be true, though there be not above four, or five Women, in *France*, fallen into those impious Maxims. I am willing to own, that this Prodigy is become something less extraordinary, since Women do not pretend to be so ignorant as formerly. It will require a certain Proficiency in false Metaphysics, to sink the Mind into this unhappy abyss of Irreligion. However it be, I am very much of Opinion, with the Author of the *Thoughts on Comets*, that Women do not deserve to be censured upon such an account. "Atheism is not their Vice: they make it a Virtue not to enter into deep Reasonings; so that they stick to their Catechism, and are much more inclined to Superstition, than Impiety; they are great Followers of Indulgences and Sermons, and so much possessed with a thousand Passions, that fall, as it were, to their lot, that they have neither the necessary time nor capacity to call in question the Articles of their Faith (1)." It is certain, they will sooner find the Secret of reconciling Passions and Religion together, even in *Molinism* itself, than the Expedient of believing nothing.

[B] *She did not believe there was either Heaven or Hell.* See the Picture *Bonfinius* has left us of this Woman: "Barbaram Imperatricem ea tempestate Græci diem obitu ferunt, indomitæ libidinis mulierem, quæ inter adulteros publicè vitam duxit, prostitutæ pudore viros sapiens petiit quam pederetur. Quam ab omni religione destituta foret, superos æ inferos esse negabat: religiosas ancillas, jejuniis aut orationi rebusque divinis intentas, gravius increpabat, nullis asseverans molestiis ac inedia

"corpus esse macerandum: immo laute pascendum, in deliciis & voluptatibus alendum, & post mortem, cum nihil superest, nullam deorum animorumque curam esse subeundam (2). — The Greeks relate, that the Empress *Barbara* died about that Time, a Woman of insatiable Lewdness, who spent her Life publicly among Adulterers, and, laying aside all Modesty, solicited the Men much oftener than they solicited her. Having thrown off all Religion, she denied there was either God or Devil: She severely chid her Maids, who were devoutly inclined, and spent their time in fasting and praying, and other religious Exercises, affirming, that the Body ought not to be mortified, or made uneasy, but much rather indulged and gratified in the most luxurious manner; and that, as there was no such thing as a future State, it was needless to be concerned about Gods and Spirits."

[C] *If you would propose to me, said she, the Example of Beasts, let it be that of Pigeons and Sparrows.* It is one of the finest Common-Places of Morality, to shew Man his Disorders, by comparing them with the Regularity of Beasts; Men tear each other to pieces; Man is a Wolf to Man (3); but Beasts of the same Kind do not fight with each other. It was by this means that *Horace* endeavoured to make the Romans ashamed, who engaged themselves in Civil Wars; *The Wolves and Lions*, says he, do not do so. He supposes his Objection to be so strong, as to reduce those, against whom he urges it, to a shameful Silence.

(2) *Bonfinius*, Rerum Ungaricar. Decad. III. lib. vii. pag. 344, 345.

T H E Inconveniences of a System of Morality form'd on the Conduct of Beasts.

(3) *Homo homini lupus. Erasmus. Adag. chil. 1, c. 1, n. 70, p. 43.*

Neque hic lupus mos, nec fuit leonibus
Unquam, nisi in dispar, feris.

Furor ne cæcus, an rapit vis acior?
An culpa? respondit date.

Tacent, & ora pallor albus inficit,
Mentisque percussæ stupet (4).

(4) *Horat. Epod. 7.*

*Nor Wolf, nor Lion preys upon his Kind:
And shall we Man a greater Savage find?
Well may the Question turn the Monster pale,
And make the faulting Sense it's Office fail.*

Juvenal made use of the same Morality in his fifteenth Satire, ver. 159.

Sed jam serpentum major concordia: parci
Cognatis maculis similis fera: quando leoni
Fortior eripuit vitam leo? quo nemore unquam
Expiravit aper majoris dentibus apri?
Indica tigris agit rabida cum tigride pacem
Perpetuam, sævis inter se convenit uris:
At homini, &c.

*But Serpents now more Amity maintain:
From spotted Skins the Leopard does refrain:
No weaker Lion's by a stronger slain:
Nor, from his larger Tusks, the Forest Boar
Commission takes his Brother Swine to gore:*

(1) Some Thoughts on Comets, n. 147, pag. 421.

*Tyger with Tyger, Bear with Bear, you'll find
In Leagues offensive and defensive join'd.
But lawless Man, &c.* TATE.

(c) See his
8th Satire.

Mr Boileau has very well translated the Latin of those two Poets, and joined other Examples to it (5).

Voit-on les loups brigans, comme nous inhumains,
Pour detrouffer les loups, courir les grands chemins ?
Un aigle sur un champ pretendant droit d'aubaine
Ne fait point appeler un aigle à la huitaine :
Jamais contre un renard chicanant un poulet
Un renard de son sac n'alla charger Rolet.
Jamais la biche en rut n'a pour fait d'impuissance
Trainé du fond des bois un cerf à l'audience :
Et jamais Juge entre eux, ordonnant le congrès,
De ce burlesque mot n'a fait ses arrêts.

*Who sees the High-way Wolf in ambush lye,
To rob his Brother Wolf in passing by ?
When does the Eagle on the Eagle prey,
By setting up a Claim to waif and stray ?
When does the Fox, whom constant Thefts maintain,
For Poultry stoln his Brother Fox arraign ?
When does the rutting Hind a Suit commence,
And prosecute the Stag for Impotence ?
When does the Judge, assign'd to try their Cause,
With bawdy Orders stain the sacred Laws ?*

Though this is a very fine and pathetic Common-Place, yet it has it's Foible : For, first, it may be eluded by turning it into a Jest ; and, in the second place, it may be seriously opposed by the Maxim ;

(6) Horat.
Sat. 3, lib. 2.
ver. 103.

Nil agit exemplum litem quod lite resolvit (6).

*That Argument but little Force displays,
Which, solving one, another Doubt will raise.*

that is to say, It may be retorted, and, by turning the Tables, the Moralist may lose his Advantage. I do not pretend to approve of those, who oppose Jest to Arguments ; but I say, it is a very great Disadvantage to an Argument, to be able to be turned into Ridicule by those, who love jesting. Let us prove this by an Example. Suppose any body had undertaken to persuade Mr de Bautre, that it is better to chuse an old Mistress, than a young one, and had quoted the place of *Pliny*, where it is said, *That the Rams are fonder of old Ewes than young ones* ; would he not have been confounded by this Answer, given him with a Sneer (7), *That is, because Rams are Rams* (8). A Roman Lady made use of the like Thought, on somebody's wondering why the Females among Beasts did not desire the Male, but when they had a Mind to become Mothers. The Lady answered, *It is because they are Beasts. Simile dictum Populæ Marci filia, quæ miranti cuidam quid esset quapropter aliæ bestia nunquam marem desiderarent nisi cum prægnantes vellent fieri, respondit, bestia enim sunt* (9). Was not this a confounding Stroke ? So much for the first Inconveniency. The other is not less considerable ; for, in short, a Man, who is to be sent to learn his Duty in the School of Beasts, will tell you, that he desires no better Doctrine. " For there, says he, I shall learn to determine Right by Force : The stronger Mastiff does not scruple to rob the weaker of his Share. What is more common than to see " Dogs fighting together ? Do not Chickens attack " one another in fight of their common Mothers ? " Do not Cocks fight together so cruelly, that many " times the Battle does not cease before the Death of " one of the Combatants ? Do not Pigeons, the Symbol of Meekness, come very often to Blows ? " What can be more furious, than the Engagement of Bulls ? Does not Force decide their Right in their " Amours."

(7) See Menagiana, p. 323. of the 5th Edit. of Holland.

(8) Vervecina in patria crassique sub ære nascitur Juvenc. Sat. X. ver. 50.

(9) Macrobi. Saturnal. lib. II. cap. v. in fine.

----- Ignotis perierunt mortibus illi
Quos Venerem incertam rapientes MORE FERARUM
Viribus editor cædebat ut in grege TAURUS (10).
*No Pen their Histories did e'er relate,
Who in promiscuous Love have met their Fate,*

(10) Horat.
Sat. III. lib. I. ver. 103.

*Cut off by some superior Lover's power's
As the Herd Bull no Rival can endure.*

Illic alternantes multa vi prælia miscent
Vulneribus crebris : lavit ater corpora sanguis,
Verlaque in obnixos urgentur cornua vasto
Cum gemitu : reboant silvæque & magnus Olym-
pus :

Nec mos bellantes una stabulare, sed alter
Victus abit, longæque ignotis exulat oris
Multa gemens, ignominiam plagasque superbi
Victoris, tum quos amittit inultus amoris,
Et stabula aspectans regnis excessit avitis (11)

(11) Virgil.
Georg. lib.
3. ver. 210.

*The sloping Warriors, aiming Head to Head,
Engage their clashing Horns ; with dreadful Sound
The Forest rattles, and the Rocks rebound.
They fence, they push, and pushing loudly roar ;
Their dewlaps and their sides are bath'd in Gore ;
Nor, when the War is over, is it Peace ;
Nor will the vanquish'd Bull his Claim release :
But, feeding in his Breast his ancient Fires,
And cursing Fate, from his proud Fox retires.
Driv'n, from his native Land, to foreign Grounds,
He with a gen'rous Rage repents his Wounds ;
His ignominious Flight, the Victor's Boast,
And, more than both, the Loves, which unrevenged
be lost.*

*Often he turns his Eyes, and with a Groan
Surveys the pleasing Kingdoms, once his own.*

DRYDEN.

" Shall I not learn the most unnatural Barbarity in
" the School, where you send me ? Do not fume
" Beasts devour their young Ones ? Shall I not learn
" Incest there ?

----- fed enim damnare negatur
Hanc venerem pietas, coëuntque animalia nullo
Cætera delectu, nec habetur turpe juvenæ
Ferre patrem tergo : fit equo sua filia conjux,
Qualque creavit init pecudes caper, ipsaque cujus
Semine concepta est ex illo concipit ales.
Felicis, quibus ista licent : humana malignas
Cura dedit leges, & quod natura remittit
Invida jura negant (12).

(12) Myrm.
apud Ovid.
Met. lib. 10.
ver. 323.

*But Piety this Passion must allow ;
All Creatures else promiscuous Love pursue.
Bulls know no shame their Daughters to bestride ;
The willing Filly makes her Sire a Bride ;
The wanton Goat does his own Kids enjoy ;
Nor to the Bird are his own young Ones coy.
O happy these ! while Man by Nature free,
To envious Laws gives up his Liberty.*

" Shall I not learn there to seize on every thing that
" lies within my reach, that I may lay up Provi-
" sions like the Ant ?

----- ficut
Parvula, nam exemplo est, magni formica laboris
Ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo
Quem fruit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri (13).

(13) Horat.
Sat. I. lib. 2.
ver. 32.

*Great Heaps to raise, learn from the little Ant ;
See her vast Stores, to guard from future Want.*

" Shall I not free myself from the hard Slavery, which
" torments so many People, and makes them break
" out into these pathetic Complaints ?

Que vôtre bonheur est extrême,
Cruels lions, sauvages ours,
Vous qui n'avez dans vos amours
D'autre règle que l'amour même !
Que j'envie un semblable fort !
Et que nous sommes malheureuses
Nous de qui les loix rigoureuses
Punissent l'amour par la mort (14) !

(14) These
Verses are
taken from
the Pastor
Fido, accord-
ing to the
Translation
of the Com-
te de la
Savoie.

*How exquisite your Bliss appears,
Cruel Lions, savage Bears;
Whose Loves no other Rule confines,
But that which Love itself enjoins!
How envied is your happy Fate!
How wretched is our slavish State;
Whose rigid Laws, against all Sense,
Make Love a Capital Offence!*

It cannot therefore be denied, but that the Examples, which the School of Brutes affords, of all manner of Irregularities, do something weaken the moral Reflections I have mentioned in the beginning of this Remark: For, since Divinity assures us, all Beasts are free from Sin, it cannot be said, that some are grown disorderly for a Punishment of their Faults, and that others have been preserved regular for a Reward of their Virtue. So that whatever they do is equally regular; and, if any one should ask, as *Sigismund's* Widow did, *Why will you rather have me imitate the Turtle-Dove, than the Pigeon, or the Sparrow?* You can give no good Answer, without consulting the Grounds of Morality, as much as you would be obliged to do, if you did not at all make use of the Example of the Turtle-Dove. What Answer would Mr Boileau give to a Sophist, who should maintain, that his *rutting Hind* is a very false Comparison? For, to make it good, it must be supposed, that this Brute is capable of being in the same Condition with those Women, who sue a Man for Impotency. Now can a Hind be in such a Case? Does the engage her Faith to a single Stag? If one fails her, does she not find others? Mr Boileau's biting Invective, and Satire, would be well grounded in a Country, where there were no Laws of Marriage; but it is very certain, that, in such a Country, Men would no more be sued for Impotency, than Stags, nor condemned to shew their Manhood by a *Congress*, in pursuance of an Order of Court.

What I have said does not at all lessen my Belief, that the moral Observations, I am speaking of, are very proper to affect most People. Therefore I do not blame *Francis de Sales*, who propounded the Elephant for an Example of Chastity; and I condemn the Answer of the *Empress Barbara*. A thousand things might be said on this Subject. The Actions of Brutes are, perhaps, one of the most profound Mysteries, on which our Reason can be exercised; and I am surprized, that so few Persons perceive it. But let us relate the Words of *Francis de Sales*: "The Elephant, *says he* (15), is one of the most unwieldy, but, at the same time, the worthiest and most sensible of the whole Brute Creation. "I shall say one word of his Chastity; he never changes his Female; he very tenderly loves the Mate he has once chosen; but yet he cohabits with her only every third Year, and then not above five Days, and so privately, that he is never seen in the Act: On the sixth Day, he makes his Appearance, and, in the first place, goes directly to some River, and washes his whole Body, nor returns to the Herd before he is purified. Is not this a fine, and a chaste, Disposition of such an Animal, and a good Example to married People, not to set their Affections on their Sensuality and Pleasure, but, as soon as those Gratifications are over, to wash their Heart and Affections, and purify themselves as speedily as possible, that they may afterwards have their Minds at full Liberty, for the Performance of Actions more pure and exalted? &c." What he says of the Elephant is taken from *Aristotle* (16), *Pliny* (17), and *Ælian* (18). *Claud. Spence* in his Treatise *Of the State of Widowhood*, where he speaks of *Monogamy*, had remarked this of the Elephant, and given it, together with that of the Turtle-Dove, for eminent Examples of Modesty and Chastity to Christians.

(c) Introduction to a ge-
vout Life,
part 3. c. 39.

OF the Cha-
stity of the
Nuptial Bed.

(16) Aristot.
Hist. Anim.
lib. 5. c. 15.

(17) Plin.
lib. 8. c. 5.

(18) Ælian.
Hist. Anim.
lib. 3. c. 17.

BARBERINI (FRANCIS), one of the best Poets of his Time, was born in the Year 1264, at *Barberino* in *Tuscany*. His Mother being a Native of *Florence*, he went and settled in that City, where the Profession of a Civilian, but, above all, the beauty of his Poems, made him very considerable. Most of his Works are lost. That, which was intitled *The Precepts of Love* [A], had a better destiny. It was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1640, and adorned with fine Cuts. It was done by the Care of *Frederic Ubaldini*, who took that occasion to court the higher Powers; for the House of *Barberini*, which was descended from this Poet, enjoyed the Papacy at that time. At the beginning of This Work he placed the Author's Life and some Elogies; and, because there were several obsolete words in those Verses, he added a Glossary to explain them, and clear, or prove, the Sense of them, by the Authority of cotemporary Poets (a).

[A] His Poem entitled, *The Precepts of Love was preserved*.] This is equivocal; one might imagine that this Poem was a School of Coquetry, like that of *Ovid*, *de Arte amandi*; but it would prove a

very great Mistake. There is nothing more Moral than this Poem of *Barberini*. It contains nothing but Rules, which teach those their Duty, who fix their Love on Glory, Virtue, and Eternity (1).

(a) Taken
from the A-
cta Erudito-
rum, in 8. 74
of Vol. I. of
the Supple-
ments, pag.
349.

(1) Acta E-
ruditor. pag.
349, of the
1st Vol. of the
Supplements.

BARCLAY (WILLIAM) a Learned Civilian in the XVIth Century, was of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, and of a very good Family [A]. Though he had been in favour with Queen *Mary Stuart*, he could not make his Fortune at the Court of the King of *Scotland*, the Son of that Princess. This made him resolve to retire into *France* in the Year 1573 (a); and, though he was near thirty Years

(a) The Life
of John Bar-
clay, prefixed
to the Ar-
genis, has it
the Year
of 1572.

[A] He was of a very good Family.] Namely, That of *Barclay*, which is related to all the great Families of *Scotland*, as appears by a Patent, from King *James*, printed before the *Argenis*. I make use of the Word *Patent*, because it is not a meer Letter, written to the Duke of *Lorrain*, as Mr *Ménage* affirms (1), but a Letter, sealed with the great Seal of the Kingdom, and addressed to all Persons, in the usual Form, To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting. Mr *Ménage* is very excusable in his Mistake; but he, who caused this Supercription, *Episcopa Jacobi Scottiæ Regis, Carolo Lotharingiæ Duci*, to be placed before King *James's* Attestation, is guilty, either of unpardonable Fraud, or Ignorance. He ought to have read That Writing, since he caused it to be printed, and prefixed to a Book (2). There

is not a Line in it but will shew, that it was not a Letter written to the Duke of *Lorrain*. The Italian Translator of the *Argenis* (3) tells us, That the Relations of the Lady *Malleville* would not agree to her Marriage with *William Barclay*, before they had seen Proofs of the Nobility he had boasted of. He adds, That this vexed *Barclay*, only on account of the amorous Impatience, with which he was transported; for he was obliged to wait for the Arrival of a Certificate, before he could taste the Pleasures of Enjoyment. He goes on, and says, That, when the Relations of the fair Lady saw the Royal Attestation, they were the first, who bestowed the Consummation. It is impossible to forbear wondering, when we find these things in the same Page with the King of *Scotland's* Certificate; for This Prince declares,

(3) His Name
is Francisco
Pona; he
wrote the
Life of John
Barclay, and
prefixed it to
his Transla-
tion of the
Argenis.

(1) Ménage,
Remarks on
the Life of
Ayrault,
pag. 228.

(2) It is
printed be-
fore the Ar-
genis.

of Age, yet he went to study the Civil-Law at *Bourges*. Some time after, he there took his Doctor's Degree [B]; and as he had a great deal of Wit, and applied himself very much to Study, he soon made himself capable to teach the Civil-Law. His Uncle, the Jesuit *Edmond Hay*, procured him a Professorship in that Science, in the University of *Pontamousson*, by the Credit he had with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had lately founded that University. That Duke did not only confer the chief Chair on *Barclay*, but made him also one of his Counsellors of State, and Master of Requests of his Palace. In the Year 1582 (b), *Barclay* married a Gentlewoman of *Lorrain* (c), by whom he had a Son, who became a Famous Man, and was the innocent cause of his Father's falling out with the Jesuits. This young Man had so much Wit, that they used their utmost endeavours to get him into their Order. His Father was angry with them for it; and they with him in their turn, and did him so many ill Offices with the Duke, that they obliged him to leave *Lorrain*. He went to King *James* at *London*, who offered him a place in his Council with a very good Salary; but he refused those Offers upon account of the condition annexed to them, which was to embrace the Religion of the Church of *England*. In the beginning of the Year 1604, he returned into *France*, and accepted the Professorship of the Civil Law, which was offered him by the University of *Angers*. He taught there with great Splendor [C], till his Death, which happened towards the latter end of the Year 1605 [D]. He was buried at the *Franciscans* (d). He published some Books [E], and

(b) See Remark [A], of the following Article.

(c) Her Name was Anne de Malleville.

(d) Taken from Mr Menage's Remarks on the Life of Peter Ayrault, pag. 228, & seq.

(4) In Lorraine, he had married a Wife, not at all unobtainable either in Family or Virtue.

(5) The 10th of March, 1582. Moreri makes it the 25th.

(6) Menage, ubi supra.

(7) Francis, ubi supra.

(8) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 231.

(9) Nic. Erythraeus, in Pinae, lib. III, pag. 76. Paul. Freherus, in Theat. pag. 153, makes him to be a native of Pontamousson. He quotes Imperialis and Thomassin.

(10) Mr Menage's Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, pag. 228, divides this Preface of John Barclay into the Son of William.

declares, expressly, that *Barclay* had a Wife already (4); and this is farther certain, from the Date of the Attestation (5). That Date is above a Month after the Birth of *John Barclay*, the Son of *William*, and of the Lady *Malleville*. Judge how the amorous *William Barclay* was obliged to delay his Joy, by waiting for a Certificate. The Author of *John Barclay's* Life, in *Latin*, was in the same Error: He says, The Attestation was required, that he might prove himself a Person of Quality to his future Spouse. Cum Anna de Malavilla contracturus nuptias ex Scotia regias literas accepisset, quibus ingenue nobilitatis titulus futuræ sponse approbaret.

[B] He studied the Civil Law at *Bourges* --- and there took his Doctor's Degree. Cujacius presided at That Act (6). It is a great Folly to say, that *Barclay's* Marriage did not interrupt his Studies, and that, having continued them, after his Wedding, from a Scholar he became a Doctor, and, from a Doctor, a Professor of the Civil Law: *Lequali* (nozze) non rompendo il bel filo de gli studii di lui, successse che di jobulare ch' egli era, passato al grado del Dottorato, ricevea una lettura principale di Leggi (7).

[C] He taught, at *Angers*, with great Splendor. "He went to his Lectures, attended by his Son, and two Servants, dressed in a magnificent Robe, with a great Chain of Gold about his Neck (6)."

[D] He died towards the end of the Year 1605. Mr *Moreri*, being deceived by *Nicetus Erythraeus*, and others, has put down the Year 1609, instead of the Year 1605. He believed, with Reason, that our *Barclay* went to teach the Civil Law, at *Angers*, in 1604; and he found, in *Nicetus Erythraeus*, that This Professor lived five Years after taking Possession of That Place. "Ab Andibus optimis conditionibus evocatur, ut in iplo gymnasium primariam Juris Civilis cathedram obtineret, ubi cum jam quinquennium docuisset mortuus (9). --- He was invited, by the University of *Angers*, on advantageous Terms, to accept the principal Chair of the Civil Law, which he enjoyed five Years, and then died." It was natural to conclude, that he did not die, till about the Year 1609. But the Italian Author is mistaken, since, besides the Authority of Mr *Menage*, I can alledge this Reason; *William Barclay* was dead before the Differences between *Paul V.* and the *Venetians*, were ended. "Accendebant hominem & pietate & jam senecta liberiorum illæ turbæ quas multi ominabantur, cum Pontifex in Anglum Venetique districtus, illum quidem jam à sacris nostris alienum acerbare, hos autem alienare videbatur. Sed tam pium conatum intercepti foelix & in Christo obitus. --- The Disturbances, which many forelaw, from the Pope's Violence against *England* and *Venice*, which seemed to exasperate the former, already alienated from our Communion, and to alienate the latter, stirred up the good Man, whose Piety, and old Age, had given him a greater Degree of Freedom. But a happy, and truly Christian, Death prevented his pious Design." This we find in the Preface to the Book *De Potestate Papæ* (10). The Differences be-

tween the Pope, and the Republic of *Venice*, were ended in the Year 1607. The Sieur *Witte* being, perhaps, deceived only by *Moreri*, has placed the Death of *Barclay* in the Year 1609 (11).

[E] He published some Books. Among others, *Praemedia*, on the Life of *Agriola*, and a Commentary on the Title of the *Puncta de Rebus Creditis & de Jurjurando*. He published it in the Year 1605, at *Paris*. But the two Pieces, which made the most Noise, were the Treatise of the Papal Power, and That of the Regal Power. The Title of the first is, *De Potestate Papæ, an & quatenus in Reges & Principes seculares jus & imperium habeat*. The second is entitled, *De Regno & Regali potestate adversus Buchananum, Brutum, Boucherium & reliquos Monarchomachos*. He published this latter Work at *Paris*, in the Year 1600, and dedicated it to *Henry IV.* The other did not come out of the Press before the Death of the Author, who durst not even say, that he was writing such a Work. "Et quidem de Regno libros quibus popularem amicum exagitat nulla dissimulatione conscripsit. Sed hoc opus (de Potestate Papæ) secreto aggressus est, cum tunc aliquid Pontifici negare hæresis censetur (12). --- He never dissimulated the writing his Book, of The Regal Power, wherein he lashes popular Ambition. But this Work (Of the Papal Power) he undertook privately, the denying the Pope any thing being, then, esteemed Heresy." He undertook these two Pieces, when he saw the Disorders of the League, the Subjects in Arms against their King, and the legitimate Possessors of the Throne declared, by the Papal Bulls, to have forfeited their Crown: *Lorrain*, where he was advantageously settled, followed the Stream, and approved the Revolt of Subjects, and the Attempts of the Court of *Rome* against the Temporalities of Princes. He remained firm in his Principles; for he had learned them in a good School; neither must it be questioned, but that the Seditions of the *Scots* had been, in this Respect, his chief Catechism. Nothing is more proper to make the Republican Maxims hated, than to see, that they have produced Troubles, which have destroyed the Religion one believes to be the true one, and dethroned a Queen, by whom one was beloved. However it be, the Professor of *Pontamousson* shewed an uncommon Steadiness: Most Persons alter their Principles as they change their Country and Interests; as for him, he preserved those Maxims in *Lorrain*, which he had in *Scotland*, though the Situation of Affairs was entirely reversed. The Authority of the People, advanced above the Royal Power, served, in *Scotland*, for the Ruin of Popery, and, in *France*, for the Ruin of the Protestants. Notwithstanding all this, *Barclay* did not change his Opinion: He had found it unjust in *Scotland*, where it promoted the Catholic Religion, and found it no less unjust in *France*, where it promoted the same Religion. It is a Rarity to meet with so much Constancy in a Doctor; but those, whose Principles turn like Weather-cocks, are every where to be found. I have said, that *Barclay* durst

(11) Witte, in Appendice Diarii Biographici.

(12) In Praefat. Opera de Potestate Papæ.

The League did not alter Barclay's Hypothesis concerning the Independence of Kings.

(c) *Quæ (F-
t ras) cum
idem Guil-
lelmus vide-
ret una cum
avita religi-
one foredece-
re, Principi
peno vero
suum mar-
cedere in
infamis car-
ceris situ,
dolore con-
fectus mi-
gravit, anno
1571, Lute-
tiam.....
Whicb
(Learning)
when Bar-*

and one among the rest, wherein he refuted some Authors, who, tho' of different Religions, did yet agree in Republican Maxims in favour of Religion [F]. He had an aversion for the Calvinists [G]; which Spirit of Bitterness was probably occasioned by the Condition he saw his Country in, when he was forced to abandon it for the sake of his Catholic Religion (e).

*clay saw
trampled on,
together with
the Religion
of his Ance-
stors, and his
Queen reduc-
ed to the
Disgrace of a
Prison, he
was ready to
find nothing
but Grief, and
retired to
Paris. Vita
Jo. Barclaii.*

not own he was writing against the Maxims of the Italians; but this ought only to be understood of the time of the Continuance of the League; for, when it was defeated, he no longer made a Mystery of his Work, but sent it to the Press, and dedicated it to Clement VIII (13). But he took it away again from the Printer, and kept it near ten Years, during which time, he added a great deal to it, but cut off much more. He was making all the haste he could to finish it, on the Apprehension of the Differences, which were likely to happen, between the Pope, and the Venetians; but Death hindered him from putting the last Hand to his Work (14).

[F] He refuted some Authors, who, though of different Religions, yet agreed on Republican Maxims, in favour of Religion.] He refuted two Protestants, Buchanan, and Hubert Languet: And also Boucher, one of the Curates of Paris, and a very violent

Leaguer. This Man submitted the Sovereign Authority to the People, for the good of the Catholic Religion; the others did the same thing for the good of the Protestant. So that they were all three united in the general Thesis, and all three Adversaries to Barclay.

[G] He had an Aversion for the Calvinists.] This appears by his Writings. Read these Words of Mr Menage: "He was a great Enemy to the Calvinists" and Lutherans. In his Commentary on the Title "in the Digests de Rebus creditis, he says, speaking of Doneau, Doctor-Regent of the Civil-Law in the University of Bourges, Hugo Donellus unus ex præceptoribus meis: vir civilis Disciplinæ peritus, sed malus, quia hæreticus Calvinista (15). — Hugo Donellus, one of my Preceptors, to be admired for his Learning in the Civil Law, but to be abhorred for his Calvinistical Heresy."

(15) Menage's Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, pag. 229.

BARCLAY (JOHN), Son of the foregoing, was born at Pontamousson, the Twenty eighth of January, 1583 [A]. The Jesuits of That Town, under whom he studied, were so charmed with his Wit, that they used their utmost Endeavours to draw him into their Society. I have already said, that this was the reason of his Father's going to King James, who was lately come to the Crown of England. He brought his Son along with him; his Son I say, who was already an Author [B], and had some new Works ready for the Press: He had published a Commentary on the *Thebais* of Statius, in 1601 (a), and he published a Latin Poem on the Coronation of King James, and the first part of the *Euphormio*, in the Year 1603. Those two Pieces pleased his Britannic Majesty very well, who loved and understood Learning. John Barclay dedicated to him That beginning of the *Euphormio*. He returned into France with his Father, who would not leave him with King James, for fear That Prince, who would willingly have retained him, should engage him to abjure the Romish Faith. He continued at Angers, till his Father's Death; after which he went to Paris, where he married [C], and went soon after to London. He was there in the Year 1606, and

(a) It was printed at Pontamousson, and dedicated to Charles III, Duke of Lothian.

[A] Was born at Pontamousson, the Twenty eighth of January, 1583.] I have blindly followed Mr Menage, but referred to myself the Liberty to rectify him here by himself. He mentions, at Page 228, what I have taken for the Text to This Remark, and afterwards affirms, at Page 232, that John Barclay died the twelfth of August, in the Year 1621, aged Thirty nine Years and six Months. He must therefore be born in the beginning of the Year 1582. This is confirmed by another Fact, related by Mr Menage. In the Year 1603, John Barclay dedicated the first Part of the *Euphormio* to the King of England (1), and declares, in the Apology for the *Euphormio*, that he was but Twenty one Years of Age, when he caused that first part to be printed (2). An Author, who is but twenty Years and some Months old, does not use to say, that he is but Twenty one Years of Age; he expresses himself only in that manner, when he is in his Twenty second Year. Barclay was, therefore, full Twenty one Years old, in 1603; and consequently was born, not in the Year 1583, but in 1582. So that, if his Birth-day was the Twenty eighth of January, his Father's Marriage must be placed in the Year 1581, and not, as Mr Menage would have it, in the Year 1582. The same Consequences will follow from what he says (3), that Barclay, being but nineteen Years of Age in 1601, printed a Commentary on Statius. He remarks, that he, who wrote the Life of John Barclay, printed before the Argensis, is strangely deceived in saying, that John Barclay was born at Aberdeen (4). If he was mistaken in the Place of his Birth, he was not mistaken in the Time, which, he says, was the Twenty eighth of January, 1582. We read, under the Effigies of John Barclay, in the Frontispiece of the Argensis, that he was born the Twenty eighth of January, 1682: And thus the Engravers deceive us, as well as the Printers.

[B] He was an Author very early.] We have seen already, that, at nineteen Years of Age, he published

a Commentary on Statius; he deserves, therefore, to be inserted in the next Edition of Baillet's *Famous Children*; but he would deserve it yet more, if his true Age had been known to Niclus Erythraeus: for, in that Case, he must have been an Author at fifteen Years. And, indeed, Erythraeus says, that Barclay was but seventeen Years of Age, when he wrote a Poem on King James's Coronation; that is to say, in 1603. *Annum tum agebat Joannes decimum Septimum cum de Regis inauguratione elegantissimum carmen edidit, maximo verborum sententiarumque splendore illuminatum; quod lætum Rex adeo probavit, ut &c.* (5). At that rate, he must have been but fifteen Years of Age, when, in 1601, he published a Commentary on the *Thebais* of Statius. Let us observe, here, a new Mistake of That Italian Author, which proved contagious to Moreri, and so contagious, that it has produced another. Mr Moreri was not contented with saying, that Barclay was but seventeen Years of Age, when King James was crowned, but he has converted the printed Poem of This Author into a Speech delivered on that Occasion. Paul Freberus places John Barclay's Birth in the Year 1585, and the Panegyric on the Coronation in the seventeenth Year of his Age (6).

[C] He went to Paris, and there married.] "He married Louise Debonnaire, Daughter of Michael Debonnaire, Treasurer of the old Bander, and of Ursula Denisot. — He went afterwards, with his Wife, into England, where he had, by her, two Sons and a Daughter (7)." He did not marry at Rome: Moreri, who says so, did not, in the least, understand his Niclus Erythraeus, who would easily have informed him, that Barclay escaped from England, with his Wife and Son, and retired to Rome, where she brought him another Son. *Ibi Barclaius ex uxore quam habebat masculam prolem suscepit. Sed aliquanto post — clam ex Anglia una cum uxore & filio se fugâ surripuit, ac Romam venit* (8). — *Romæ novam ex uxore suâ masculam prolem accepit, ac citæ unæ Urbem*

(5) Niclus Erythr. Plineo. 3^a pag. 76.

(6) Freherl, Theat. pag. 1515.

(7) Menage's Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, p. 230.

(8) Niclus Erythr. Plineo. 3^a pag. 77.

and it was then, that he came acquainted with Mr de Peirese. He had lately published the History of the *Gun-Powder-Treafon*. It is a Pamphlet of Six Leaves (b), printed at *Amsterdam*. In the Year 1610 (c), he published, at *London*, an Apology for the *Euphormio*, and his Father's Treatise *De Potestate Papæ* [D]. In the Year 1612, he printed a Book at *Paris*, intituled *Pietas* [E]. It is an Answer to Cardinal *Bellarmin*, who had wrote against *William Barclay's* Book of the *Papal Power*. Two Years after, appeared the *Icon Animorum*, which he published at *London*. From whence he went, in the Year 1616, to *Paris*, where he was prefented, by his good Friend Mr de Peirese, to Mr du Vair, Keeper of the Seals. He went afterwards to *Rome*, being invited thither by Pope Paul V, where he published a Book of Controversy, intituled *Parænesis ad Sæcularios*. He received a great many Favours from Cardinal *Bellarmin*, though he had written against him. He died at *Rome*, the twelfth of August 1621 (d), while his *Argenis* was printing in *France* (e) [F]. His body was carried into the Church of St Onuphrius upon the *Janiculum*. His Son erected a Marble Monument for him, in St *Lau-rence's* Church, on the way to *Trooli* (f): We shall give the Reason, in the Remarks, why his Widow caused her Husband's Bust to be taken from thence [G]. Many believe, that *John Barclay* made Profession of the Protestant Religion in

(b) Intituled, series pate- facti alvinis- tus paricidii in maxi- mum regem, regnumque Britanniæ cogitanti, & instructi.

(c) See the end of the Re- mark [D].

(d) On the Print before the *Argenis* they have put the date of April.

(e) Taken from Mr Menage's Remarks on the Life of Peter Ayrault, pag. 228, & seq.

(f) Nic's Erythreus, Pinacoth. 3. pag. 80.

(9) Ibid. pag. 79.

(10) Ibid.

(11) Gassendus in vita Peireskii ad Ann. 1616. pag. 283. See also pag. 288.

(12) Menage's Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, p. 231, 232.

(13) Ibid. pag. 231.

(14) Joannes Barclaius qui post editum de Summo Pontifice o- pus, nec jam solita apud Regem, fu- erique pollens gratia, subduxit sese ex Angli- a. John Bar- clay, having published the Book of the Papal Power, and not enjoying so much of the King's Favour as formerly, retired out of England. Gassend. ib. pag. 282.

(15) Endre- mon-Jean- nus, Epit. monitaria ad Jo. Barcli- o. n. 1.

Urbem nostram auxit (9). *Maffio Barberini*, who was afterwards Pope *Urban VIII*, was God-father to our *Barclay's* new Son (10). In Reading these Words of *Erythraus*, one would never imagine, that *Barclay's* Wife did not come to *Rome*, 'till four Years after her Husband; and yet *Gassendus* affirms it to be true. Read the Place, where he mentions the good Offices, which Mr de Peirese did the Husband, in the Year 1616, and the Wife and Child in 1620. *Præterea fuisse Peireskio non minorem circa Barclai uxorem, filium, & Jo. Ludovicum Debonarum uxoris germanum, cum QUARTO post ANNO profecti Romam ad illum sunt* (11). If Mr Menage had well considered these Words of *Gassendus*, he would not have said, that *Barclay's* Son came to *Paris* with his Mother, in the Year 1652; that he made no great Figure; that he composed *Latin Verses*; and that, at the same time, he printed there, a *Latin Elogy*. *Erythraus* speaks of *Barclay's* Widow, as of a presumptuous and haughty Woman: See, below, the Remark [G]. In the *Latin Life* of *John Barclay*, it is falsely said, that he married *Louise Debonnaire*, after having been employed in several Embassies by King *James*.

[D] He printed his Father's Treatise *De Potestate Papæ*. If we believe Mr Menage (13), the printing That Book lost him great Part of the King of England's Favour. I cannot apprehend from whence this should come, since this Book strongly confutes the Pretensions of the *Ultramontanes*, and particularly *Bellarmin's* Arguments, and stoutly maintains the Independency of Kings. Could any thing be written more agreeable to King *James*? I conjecture, that *Gassendus's* Latin (14) has deceived Mr Menage; and this convinces us yet more effectually, how difficult it is to write very clearly in *Latin*. Upon examining the Passage more closely, it will appear, that the Author does not affirm, that the Book, concerning the Pope's Power, displeased King *James*; but it may very easily be so understood, without some Attention. The Jesuits did not be- lieve, that the printing of That Book had displeased the King of Great Britain: But, on the contrary, they reproached *John Barclay* for having put it in the Press with That Prince's Consent, and with the Corrections of the *English Divines*. *Neque vero nisi ejus (Regis) nutu patris tui librum à Britannici Evangelii ministris ad libidinem deformatum, Londini typis excusum* (15). Mr Menage has not rightly marked the Year of the Impression. That Work was printed in the Year 1609. The Congregation of the *Index* condemned it the same Year, by their Decree of the ninth of November.

[E] He printed a Book at *Paris*, which he intituled *Pietas*. Here is the remaining Part of the Title; *Sive publicæ pro regibus ac principibus, & privatæ pro Gul. Barclai parente, vindictia contra Bellarmi- num*. The Letter of *Eudemone-Joannes*, which I have quoted, testifies, that *Barclay* took a Journey to *Paris* for the printing of That Work, to do more Service to the Protestant of England: for it was said, "that

"he thought he should be less suspected of Intel- ligence with the Enemies of the Church, if he "published That Work out of England." *Ac nunc quoque non dissimili consilio te Lutetiam & Brit- annia demigrasse, ut cum & coram apud viros prin- cipes, & scriptis apud cæteros, Ecclesiæ causam cal- lumnias tuis traduceret, tamen quantis majore locorum inter- vallo ab Rege disjungereris, hoc longius abesse à suspi- cione fraudis* (16). This is one of the most cunning and common Teaches of the *ODIUM THEOLO- GICUM*. Those, who are at a loss to answer the Ob- jections, raised against the Common Doctrines, fall upon the Persons, who propose those Objections: They brand them as so many false Brothers, who are in League with the Adversaries, and only retain the outward Profession of Orthodoxy, to enable them to do greater Execution.

[F] He died - - - while his *Argenis* was print- ing in France. His good Friend, Mr de Peirese, to whom he had sent the Manuscript, took care to find him a Printer, at *Paris* (17). The first Edition of This famous Book is That of *Paris*, 1621. It has been translated into several Languages, as *French, English, Italian, Dutch, &c.* *Nicæus Erythraus* ob- serves, that it was translated into *Italian* to satisfy the Curiosity of the Women. Hearing that this Book was very much cried up, they expressed a great De- sire of knowing the Contents of it. "Eadem in- genii fecunditate peperit egregium illud opus, "Argenida nomine, quod & argumenti novitate, " & verborum splendore, ac rerum varietate, tan- tum commendationis habuit, ut mulierum etiam, quæ illud miris in cœlum laudibus effertur audiebant, ad cognoscendum, quid illud afferret, studia com- moveret; adeo ut quidam quo animus illis exple- ret, in *Italian* sermonem illud converteret (18). "The same Fruitfulness of Genius produced "that celebrated Work, entitled the *Argenis*, which, "for the Novelty of the Subject, the Beauty of "the Language, and Variety of Matter, was so "universally admired, as to raise, even among the "Women, a Curiosity to know what it contained; "so that, in order to gratify them with an Oppor- "tunity of reading it, some Person translated it into "Italian." Mr de Peirese caused the Author's Effigies to be placed in the Title of the Book, with the following Distich, which he desired *Grotius* to com- pose (19).

(15) Id. B.

(17) Gassend. Vit. Peiresk. pag. 288, 290.

(18) Nic. Erythre. Pi- nacoth. 3. pag. 77, 78.

(19) Gass. Vit. Peiresk. pag. 290.

Gente Caledonius, Gallus natalibus, hic est,
Romam Romano qui docet ore loqui.

His Birth in France, his Name in Scotland shines;
The Roman Tongue he ev'n at Rome refines.

[G] We shall give the Reason, why his Widow caused her Husband's Bust to be taken from thence. *John Barclay's* Tomb was near the Gate of the Church-yard, over-against which Cardinal *Francis Barberini* had erected another, for his Preceptor *Bernard William*. Both Tombs were exactly alike. *John Barclay's* Widow, being offended at so perfect a Resemblance, would have demolished her Hus- band's Tomb; but, not being able to do That, she would,

in *England* [H]: He denied it publicly [I]. His Books of Controversy had no great Success: the others had many Admirers [K], and have not wanted Centuriers [L]. As to the Fortune he made at *Rome*, it is variously related. Some

say,

would, at least, have his Marble Bust taken from it, and brought to her House. Her Pride could not endure, that her Husband, who was illustrious by his Birth, and more so still by his Wit and Learning, should be there paralleled with a pitiful Pedagogue. "Quod uxor Barclaii mulier tumido, "ut aiebant, animo atque elato, cum vidisset, statim viri sui imaginem ex sepulchro illo, quod rotundum demoliri non posset, detrahi iussit, ac domum suam afferri; quod acciperet indigne, cum cui ipsa nupta fuisset, generis splendore clarum, fed ingenium et eruditiois fama clariorum, cum homine obscuro, ac nullius fere ingenii, & ut ipsa dicebat, "pedagogo, componi (20)."

(20) Niclaus Erythraeus, Pinacoth. 3. pag. 81.

[H] Many believe, that John Barclay made Profession of the Protestant Religion in England. The Jesuit Eudemus Joannes lays it to his Charge, that, while he lived at the Court of the King of England, he either actually was, or at least passed for, a Heretic. He adds, that it was said, This Prince made use of him, to translate his Preface concerning the Oath of Allegiance into Latin, and to carry it to several Princes. "Nam te quidem aliquot annis in aula ejus Regis ita veritatem ferunt ut hæreticus aut plane effes, aut habere quidem certè. Cui nonnullam etiam Latine reddendâ, deferendâque ad Principes præstatione ejus monitoria operam ab te navatam memorat (21)." Erythraeus, not da-

(21) Eudemus Joannes, Ep. Monit. ad Barclai. n. 1.

ring to say, positively, that Barclay was a Heretic in England, or, at least, that he professed Heresy, does yet declare it as the Opinion of all the Papists of that Country, that King James made use of John Barclay's Pen to compose the Book, entitled, *Funiculus triplex, & Cuniculus triplex*. These are his Words: "Utrum autem, apud regem, incorruptam catholicam religionem semper conservaverit, vel falsum, si non animo, specie tenus hæreticorum se erroribus oblinierit, incertum est mihi: illud autem certum, catholicorum omnium in Anglia fuisse opinionem, Regem illum in eo libro, cui titulus est *Funiculus triplex, & Cuniculus triplex*, componendo usum fuisse Barclaii adiutorem atque magistrum (22)."

(22) Niclaus Erythraeus, Pinacoth. 3. pag. 77.

I know of no body, who has been more decisive on this Question, than Imperiali. He says, plainly, that Barclay embraced the Religion of the Church of England, and afterwards abjured it; but, that they were to little persuaded of the Sincerity of his Conversion at Rome, that, after his Death, they caused the Inscription, and the Statue, which his Son had put upon his Tomb, to be taken away (23). Paul Fridericus attributes this to the Jesuits: "Statuum & inscriptionem quam ejus demortui gloriæ filius in templo S. Laurentii extra muros exerebat, patres Soc. Jesu sublatam & deletam voluerunt (24)."

(23) Imperialis in Museo Historico.

(24) Freherus in Theatr. pag. 1115. He quotes Imperiali, and Thomassin.

"The Jesuits ordered the Inscription and Effigies, which his Son had dedicated to his Memory, in St Laurence's Church-yard, to be taken down and demolished." The Truth of it is hard to be known: It is possible, something was found among his Papers, or elsewhere, which might discover, that he was a Protestant in his Heart, and occasion this Resentment shewn against his Tomb. It is possible, on the other side, that the Vanity of his Wife might be the only Cause of the disordering of his Tomb; and that this might give occasion, to such as are fond of Conjectures, or of idle Comments on Town-talk, to find a Mystery in it, and some private Process of the Tribunal of the Inquisition.

(25) In Prefat. Parmensis, ad Secretarium. That Book was printed in the Year 1617.

[I] He denied it publicly. We must either lay aside the most certain Maxims, by which we judge of Facts, or acknowledge, that John Barclay did not renounce the Catholic Profession in England. He declares publicly, that he was born, and always continued, a Catholic (25), and that, though he had accepted of an Office from King James (26), he never conformed to the Church of England, nor absented himself from the Catholic Assemblies. *I was constant, says he, at the latter.* He calls to witness the French and Spanish Ambassadors, and their Fathers Confessors, who were also mine, says he. Here is something of yet greater force. He appeals to King James, of whom he boasts to have obtained the Pri-

(26) In regis familia esse inter domesticos. One of the King's Domestic Erythraeus says, that the King made him his Secretary: ab epistolis, & consiliorum omnium participem habuit. Freherus, ubi quærit Imperialis, et Thomassin, says, that his Place was that of Gentleman of the Bed Chamber: titulo nobilitati cubiculo regi honestatus.

vilage not to be disturbed in his Catholic Religion. King James was yet living, when Barclay published these Particulars: the Embassadors, to whom he appealed, were not all dead. How can it be thought therefore, that he declares a Falshood? He vindicates himself from another thing, which had been laid to his Charge; That of having been the Author, or Promoter, of a terrible Libel, which appeared against King James, as soon as Barclay left England. Lastly, he makes a Recantation of certain Doctrines, in the Book, which he had written against Cardinal Belarmin. He does not forget to mention, that he went away with the Royal Permission. *Neque fortum me feci: impetrati regis pace publice cum familia Britanniae ora solvi.*

[K] The others had many Admirers. See, in the Works of Sir Thomas Pope-Blount (27), and Mr Baillet (28), several fine Encomiums made on Barclay. The following, if it were true, would without doubt be the greatest of all, in respect to the Dignity of it's Author. It is reported, that Cardinal Richelieu was continually reading the *Argenis*, and that from it he took all those Counsels, and Political Expedients, with which he put France into so advantageous a Situation. *Ad immortalitatem Barclai una sufficit illius Argenis, quam Richelæus ævi nostri miraculum affiduit, ut ajunt (29), verjabat manibus, babebat quasi præcepticem ac directoricem illius regiminis, quo deinceps Galliam reverentem juxta terribilemque gentibus cæteris fecit (30).*

(27) Centuria Authorum, p. 655.

(28) Judgment on the Poet, T. m. 4. pag. 152.

(29) Here is an, it is said, which has very much the Air of a Fable.

(30) In Barclay's Life, before the Argenis.

(31) See the end of the Remark [F].

[L] And have wanted not Centuriers. We have seen the Distich under Barclay's Picture, compiled by Grotius (31). It is a great Compliment on that Author's Latin Style. However his Style has not been approved by every Body. "The Anonymous Author of the little Book, entitled *Censura Euphormionis*, printed at Paris in 1620, speaks of the Style of the *Euphormio*, in these terms: *Quod miretur aliquis, latinitas quoque ipsa Romanas aures peregrinitate radit, & veteris saporis imbutum palatum offendit. — And what is very surprizing, even the Latin of it sounds like a foreign Language to a Roman Ear, and is shocking to those, who have any Relish for the Elegancies of Antiquity.* It is thought, to mention this by the way, that Seton, a Scotchman, was the Author of that little Book. Joseph Scaliger, in his Three hundred and eleventh Letter to Charles Labbé, does not speak at all more favourably of That Satire of Barclay. *Quantum Euphormionem Barclai faciam ex eo cognoscere potes, quod vix sex folia ejus legere poterim. — What an Opinion I have of Barclay's Euphormio, you may guess from this, that I have scarce been able to read six Leaves of it.* Thus speaks the Original of that Letter, which I have seen in Charles Labbé's Hands; for, in the Edition of Scaliger's Letters, there is an Asterisk in the Head of *Euphormionem Barclai*. He gives much the same Account of it in his *Scaligerana secunda*: *There is a Pedant at Angers, who wrote a Satyricon, which seems at the beginning to promise some thing, but in Conclusion makes out nothing at all (32).* Peter Musnier, a Canon of Vézelay, answered the Book entitled *Censura Euphormionis*, by another, entitled *Censura censura Euphormionis*; but this Answer was so very indifferent, that, in all probability, it made John Barclay himself write an Apology for his *Euphormio* (33). But, as it has been already observed, John Barclay was but Twenty one Years of Age, when he published the first Part of that Satire. His *Argenis*, which was written in his riper Years, is better done. And, if he, who wrote "John Barclay's Life, printed before the *Argenis*, may be believed, Cardinal Richelieu very highly esteemed that Performance. I shall conclude with remarking, that a Benedictine, named Bugnot, who taught Rhetoric in the Abbey of Tiron, composed Latin Notes on that Work, which were printed at Leyden in 1664, with the *Argenis* (34)."

This is the Harvest of the learned Mr Menage; I shall endeavour to gather up some Gleanings after him, and begin with these Words of Balzac: "An Académiste of Rome, a Confident of the formidable Scripius, know-

(32) See Mr Menage's second Addition to the Life of Ayrault, pag. 539.

(33) Mr Menage said, pag. 231, that Barclay published, at London, in 1610, the Apology for his Euphormio, which he dedicated to Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy.

How can he say so, that the great Answer, which was made to a Criticism on it, printed in the Year 1620, obliged Barclay to write his own Apology?

(34) Menage's Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, pag. 232, 233.

(g) Ibid.
p. 79.

(h) Imperialis & Tommasinus, apud Paulum I. reherum, Th. str. pag. 1515.

(i) See Baillet's Judgment on the Poets, Tom. 4, pag. 112; and Sir Thomas Pope: Bunt, Centura Aurorum, p. 655.

say, that *Maffeo Barberini*, who loved him very well, having been created Pope, was a great Benefactor to him, and conferred a good Benefice upon his eldest Son, and the Office of his Holiness's Chamberlain (g). Others say, that he was forced to amuse himself with the culture of Flowers, to divert the Concern he was under, on seeing himself so little advanced (b) [M]. But it is certain, that he died before *Barberini* was elected Pope. He attempted some Things in Poetry, and several good Judges commend the *Latin* Verses, we have of his, as very extraordinary (i). His Works have been confusedly mentioned in *Moreri's* Dictionary [N]. He was revising his *Euphormio*, in order to reprint it. He left behind him the *History of the Conquest of Jerusalem* (k), and some Sheets of the *History of Europe* (l). It could not, with any Truth, be said, that King *James* sent him Embassador to the Courts of the Emperor, King of *Hungary*, and Duke of *Savoy* [O]. He makes no mention of it himself, when he describes the

(h) Ha lasciatto a po le l'Historia de beati Jacobi: chi e la medesima ch' e il Taffo cartato nel suo Goffredo. --- The same which was the Subject of Taffo's Poem. Francesco Pons, in the Life of John Barclay.

(i) Id. ibid.

"ing the Friendship, that was between Mr *Barclay*, "and myself, and the Love I had for his *Argenis*, "in order to moderate, as he said, the Violence of "my Passion, offered to shew me in that new History, which we had then in Manuscript, Fifteen "hundred Inimproprieties, upon a fair Computation, "besides innumerable other Faults, and strange "Phrases (35)." *Sorel*, an Enemy of *Balzac*, passed much the same Judgment on the Style of the *Argenis*: "As for the *Argenis*, says he (36), if it's *Latin* "is esteemed, I am of a quite contrary Opinion; "for there are an infinite number of new Words in "it, which were never current in *Rome*, inasmuch, "that, if *Sallust* were to return into the World again, "he would be at a loss to understand them." He pretends, that, in this, he only follows the Opinion of the most learned, who have some of them even gone so far as to say, that *Barclay's* Language was rather French, than *Latin* (37). He is not content with censuring the Style, but also condemns the Economy of the Work itself, and is no less severe "on the *Euphormio* (38). "It is, says he (39), an "History of a Person of mean Quality, but it is "extremely silly. — What gave this Book so "great a Run was it's being in *Latin*, and the Rarity of seeing a modern Romance in that Language; but it has never been considered, that it is lucky for the Author, that he did not write it in a Vulgar Language, because there is now no notice taken, that he does not understand how to make each of his Persons speak agreeably to his Character, which is the Grace of a Satire. Instead of this, he affects pedantic Expressions, and makes a Footman speak like a Schoolmaster, who understands *Greek* and *Latin* History; so that, all this considered, together with the lowliness of the Adventures, the Satire of *Euphormio* appears to be the Work of a School-Boy, just beginning to "learn Wit (40)." When he grew old, he was not quite so severe in his Censure; but he continued his Dislike to the *Euphormio* (41). That Satire, says he (42), was wrote in *Latin* by John Barclay, and translated into French by John Beraut, Doctor of Physic, of the Faculty of *Paris*; there is a good deal of Learning in it, with some touches of Satire on several Vices of the Age; but the Method of it is not the most ingenious, and agreeable, that ever was invented. We have already seen what *Scaliger* thought of the *Euphormio*; This is the Judgment he passes on the Style. There are a great many Faults in it, which every Body does not know: as there are *Gallicisms* in *Beza's* Poetry (43). We must not forget, that this Book had the same fate with the Treatise of the Pope's Power; it was condemned by the Inquisition. The Decree orders the expunging some Parts of it: but *Nicinus Erythraeus* says, That the Bookellers were forbid to sell it, and all particular Persons to keep or read it; and that, before this Order, he had read some Part of it. *Partem Euphormionis degustavi tum, nondum lata lex erat, ne bibliopola cuiquam liceret eum vendere, aut cuiquam domi habere ac legere* (44). Let these Words be well considered, and compared with some others in Page 77. It is surprising, that the Court of *Rome* should have so little regard to the Congregation of the *Index*: We shall see, that *John Barclay* was very graciously received at *Rome*, and most liberally supplied with every Thing, by the Bounty of the Pope, on account of the Reputation he had acquired by his *Euphormio*. "Romam venit, "ubi cum Pro eo quod ex EUPHORMIONE, quem

"nibus humaniter exceptus, & a Paulo V, qui tum "Romanam Ecclesiam Pontifex administrabat, bonis "omnibus, quibus sponte se exuerat, amissis, in victu, "vestitu, ac ceteris omnibus ad vitam necessariis, magnifice ac liberaliter habitus (45). Mr *Ménage* has found a Fault in the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Argenis* (46). *Barclay*, addressing himself to King *Lewis* XIII, tells him, That the Prince, of whom he was born, deferred in his Life-time the Surname of *Le Grand*, the Great, which was not conferred upon him till after his Death. *Eo se parente genitus, qui vel confusum hostium, sæculi sui jumentum Magni cognomen ferre visus debeat, quod vos modestius extindit adididit* (47). This is a Fality: for *John Barclay's* Father, dedicating his Book de Regno, to *Henry* IV, in the Year 1600, gives him the Title of *Henricus Magnus*. Mr *Ménage* confesses, that he owes this Observation to Mr *Noble*.

(45) Id. ib. pag. 77.

(46) *Ménage's* Remarks on the Life of *Ayraul*, pag. 232.

(47) *Barclay's* Epistle Dedicatory to *Argen*.

[M] Some will have it, that he was under a Concern on seeing himself so little advanced.] The Author of the *Italian* Translation of the *Argenis* confesses, that the Favours of *Paul* V, and *Gregory* XV, were no way proportionable to the Merit of *John Barclay*, whether it be, says he (48), that Fortune is pleased to persecute Virtue every where, or that the Pope thought, that Poverty was the true Mother of Knowledge (49). He insinuates, that *Barclay* was no good Oeconomist, and that his generous Temper, and numerous Family, reduced him pretty low. *Ivi dunque si tratteneva il Barlaam con facolta non poco angusta rispetto la numerosa famiglia, e gli suoi spiriti generosi*. In some *Latin* Verses, where he introduces his Wife, who causes her Picture to be drawn, *Barclay* says he had but two Sons. In his *Latin* Life, those Verses are quoted, to prove, that he had two Sons and one Daughter. What Judgment is here!

(48) *Franciscus Pons*, in the Life of *John Barclay*.

(49) This Proposition is very uncertain, and often very false. See the *Hand* facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat Res angusta domi & curta suppellex juvenalis. Sat. 3, vers. 164. Rarely they rise by Virtue's Aid, who live in Plung'd in the depth of helpless Poverty.

[N] His Works have been confusedly mentioned in *Moreri's* Dictionary.] I. I have said already, in the Remarks [B] and [C], that this Author has converted a Piece of Poetry into a Speech; II. And that he has falsely placed the Scene of *John Barclay's* Marriage at *Rome*; III. And his Birth in the Year 1586. IV. He is in the wrong to think, that *Barclay's* *Satiricon Euphormionis* contains five Books. Properly speaking, it contains but two, for the third is only an Apology for the other two; the fifth is not *Barclay's*, but *Morisset's*; and the fourth is not built on the Model of the foregoing. It is the Book, which the Author entitled, *Icon animorum*. V. *Moreri* knew nothing of this, since he spoke of That *Icon animorum*, as of a distinct Work from the five pretended Books of the *Satiricon Euphormionis*. VI. If I am not mistaken, *John Barclay* published no other Pieces against the Protestants, but only the *Parænesis ad Sæcularios*, which he carried ready finished into *Italy*, and printed it at *Rome*, as soon as he arrived there. And yet, *Moreri* tells us, that *Barclay* published some Books against the Protestants, during the melancholy and solitary Life he led at *Rome*, amidst the Favours of *Paul* V, and of his Successor *Gregory* XV. The *Parænesis ad Sæcularios* was printed in the Year 1617. *Gregory* XV was not elected till the Year 1621. VII. He adds, that *Barclay* published also, at that time, the *Icon animorum*. This is false. That Work was printed at *London* in 1614, two Years before the Author went to *Rome*.

Dryden. See also the 6th and 7th leaving Verses of the 7th Satire.

[O] It could not with any Truth be said, that he was sent Embassador.] A Writer of Panegyrics, or Lives, is too apt to make use of great Words. If a Prince appoints any Body to carry a Packet

(31) The 10th Discourse among the Miscellaneous Works, pag. 405.

(36) *Berger Extravagant*, lib. 13, pag. 83.

(37) *Sorel*, Remarques sur le *Berger Extravagant*, pag. 608. See also his Bibliothèque Franç. pag. 182.

(38) The 13th Book of the *Berger Extravagant*, and in the Remarks on the 13th Book, and elsewhere.

(39) Remarques sur le *Berger Extravagant*, pag. 763.

(40) Ibid. pag. 765.

(41) Bibliothèque Franç. pag. 182.

(42) Ibid. pag. 193. See the End of this Article.

(43) *Scaligeriana*, pag. 23.

(44) *Nicinus Erythraeus*, P. 1. lib. 3, pag. 2.

the Life he led with King James (m); and all that can be made of it, in my opinion, is, that this Prince might make use of him to transmit, to foreign Princes; some Copies of the Book, he composed for their common Interests, against the Pretensions of the Court of Rome. His *Euphormio* and *Argenis* have been translated into French [P].

(m) Barclay us in Pref. Parone. ad Sectarios.

of Importance, you will soon see the Dispatch of a Courier, converted into an Extraordinary Deputation; or even into a real Embassy. I am willing to believe, that, if the Presents, which King James made to several Princes, as an Author, were intrusted to Barclay, it was not as to a meer Bearer; it is likely, that the King, who knew his Merit, made that Commission agreeable to him; but, after all, That Message makes to little Noise; that it is a Jest to say; "Illius (Regis magnæ Britanniæ nomine legationes obivit ad Rodolphum Imperatorem, ad Matthiam Pannoniæ Regem, & ad (50) Emma-nuelem Philibertum ducem Allobrogum (51). — He was sent Ambassador, by that King, to Rodol-

phus the Emperor, Matthias King of Hungary, and Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy."

[P] His *Euphormio* and *Argenis* have been translated into French. I have already quoted Sorel (52), who observes, that the *Euphormio* was translated into French by John Berault: I must add, that this Translation was printed at Paris, in the Year 1640, in 8vo, and that it was preceded by two others, the Authors of which, for fear of keeping too superstitiously to the Letter, have left the Work at least as difficult as they found it (53). Berault has subjoined a Key, and Commentary, to his Version. The Translation of the *Argenis* was printed at Paris, by N. Buon, in 1624, in 8vo; but the Author of it is not named.

(52) Above, Quat. (50).

(53) See the Advertisement of the Bookeller, before the Translation of Berault.

(50) The Duke of Savoy's Name was Charles Emanuel.

(51) In the Life of Barclay, before the *Argenis*.

(a) That is, Son of the Star. He applied to himself the Prophecy of the Book of Numbers, chap. xxiv, ver. 17. There shall come a Star out of Jacob.

BARCOCHEBAS, or *Barcochab* (a), excited innumerable Disorders in Judæa, by his Impostures, and drew a dreadful Calamity upon his Nation under the Reign of Adrian. He was a Jew, who declared himself to be the *Messias*, and found a famous Rabbi, who favoured That impious Pretension (b). This false *Messias* suited himself surprizingly to the Prepossessions of That miserable People; he spoke of nothing but Wars, Battles, and Triumphs; and the first Lesson of his Gospel was, that they ought to rebel against the Romans. He had so much the less Trouble to inculcate This Doctrine, because he took his time, when the Zeal of Religion had thrown the Jews into a violent Rage against the Emperor. That Prince had newly established a Colony near Jerusalem (c), where he had settled Idolatry. The Jews looked upon this as an intolerable Abomination, and a prodigious Profanation of the Holy Places; on account of which they were very inclinable to rebel. Some pretend, that Circumcision was forbidden them [A]: this was to force their Consciences. The Talmud alledges another reason for their taking up Arms [B]. Their Impostor is said to have made use of the same Trick, which Eunus had practised in Sicily, to make the Slaves revolt; that is, he kindled Straw in his Mouth, that he might be thought to vomit Fire [C]. He fortified himself in several places; but he chose the City of

(b) His Name was A K E T A. See his Article.

(c) Which he called *Ælia Capitolina*, after his own Name and of Jupiter Capitolinus, to whom he caused a Temple to be built there.

[A] Some pretend, that Circumcision was forbidden them. Spartan imputes their rising to that Prohibition: *Moverunt ea tempestate & Judæi bellum quod volebant mutilare genitalia* (1). — The Jews at that time broke out into Rebellion, because they were denied the Liberty of Circumcision. It is not unlikely, that the circumcising of their Children was forbidden them, since we read in *Modestinus*, that they obtained from Antoninus Pius the Liberty of doing it; they had been disturbed on that account, and were obliged to have recourse to the Emperor's Justice. *Circumcidere Judæi filios suos tantum, rescripto Divi Pii permittitur in non ejusdem religionis qui hoc fecerit, castigans pæna irrogatur* (2). The Decree, which they obtained, seems to say, that sometimes they circumcised Children not born of their Sect. This was forbidden them on the Penalties established against Castration.

(1) Spartan in Vita Adriani, cap. 14.

(2) Modestinus Libro Regularum, apud Casaubon in Spartan. Adrian. cap. 14.

[B] — — — The Talmud assigns another Reason for their taking up Arms. It is reported, that the Jews had a Custom to plant a Cedar on the Birth of a Son, and a Pine on that of a Daughter; and to make the Bridal-bed of the Wood of those Trees, when their Children married. It is added, that, in a Journey, which the Emperor's Daughter made into Judæa, some part of her Chariot happening to break, her People cut one of these Cedars, and brought it to her; that the Jews, not being able to bear this, rose up in Arms, and killed those, who had cut down that Tree. The Emperor, understanding, that the Jews were revolted, marched in great Wrath against them, and extirpated them. "Ob curs carpenti vastata est Bethara. In more fuit ut cum nasceretur infans plantarent cedrum, cum infantula, pinum; cumque nati contraherent matrimonium, ex iis conficerent thalamum. Die quadam transit filia Cæsaris, & confectum est ei curs carpenti. Cedrum istiusmodi exiderunt atque ad eam attulerunt. Insurrexerunt in eos Judæi atque eos ceciderunt. Relatum est Cæsari rebellare Judæos. Profectus ille in eos iracundus, excidit totum cornu Israelis (3)." The Jews would be altogether inexcusable, if they

revolted on so slight an occasion as this. These poor People do not even know how to tell a Lie to their Advantage. What Ignorance is it to give the Emperor Adrian a Daughter! To conclude, Pines are Trees, which grow too slowly (4) to serve for a Bed, by that time a Daughter will be ready to share it with a Man; and many of them would have deserved to be pitied, if they had been obliged to wait for a Husband, till their Pines were grown to a sufficient Size.

[C] Barcochebas is said to have made use of the same Trick with Eunus — — — that is, he was thought to vomit Fire. This we learn from St Jerome. "Tu videlicet flammeus, immo fulmineus qui in loquendo fulminas. Atque ut ille Barchochebas auctor seditionis Judæicæ stipulam in ore successam anhelitu ventilabat, ut flammam evomeret videretur (5). — — — Thou hast not only the command of Fire, but also of Thunder, in thy Words. And as Barcochebas, that Ringleader of the Jewish Rebellion, kindled Straw in his Mouth, and ventilated the Flame with his Breath, that he might be thought to vomit it." Here is a Man, whose Words were Fire and Flame, not only in a figurative, but literal, Sense. As for Eunus, see what Florus says of him: "Syrys quidam nomine Eunus (magnitudo cladum facit ut meminerimus) fanatico furore simulato dum Syriæ deæ comas jactat, ad libertatem & arma servos quasi numinum imperio concitavit; idque ut divinitus fieri probaret in ore abdita nuce, quam sulphure & igne stipaverat, leniter inspirans flammam inter verba fundebat (6). — — — A certain Syrian, named Eunus (the prodigious Slaughter he occasioned makes me mention him) counterfeiting a divine Inspiration, while he pretends to brandish a Lock of Hair of the Syrian Goddess, he excited the Slaves to assert their Liberty, and take up Arms, as it were by the Command of the Gods; and that he might prove his Commission, having artfully conveyed into his Mouth some Fire and Sulphur, in a Nutshell, he gently breathed out the Flames as he spoke." This is an Example to shew Sovereign Princes, how dangerous those Per-

(4) It may be said of them, — — — Arbos Tarda venit feris factura nepotibus umbram. Verg. Georg. lib. 2. v. 68. A fullen Tree At leisure grows for late Posterity. Dryden.

(5) Apologia 2. adversus Rufinum.

(6) Florus, lib. 3. c. 19.

(3) In Tractatu Talmudico Babylon. Gittin fol. 67. apud Joh. à Lent, de Judæorum Pseudomessia, p. 7.

of *Bitter* for his place of Arms, and the Seat of his Empire. It is said, that, to try the Courage of his Followers, he required them to cut off one of their Fingers, and on the Remonstrances, which were made him, he left off that Test, and made use of another Invention [D]. He ravaged a great number of places, and massacred a Multitude of Persons: He was particularly barbarous towards the Christians [E]. The Emperor, being informed of these Violences, sent some Troops to *Rufus* Governor of *Judæa*, with Orders for the immediate suppressing This Sedition (d). *Rufus*, in obedience to this Order, exercised a thousand Cruelties, but yet could not obtain his End. The Emperor was forced to re-call *Julius Severus*, the greatest Captain of those Times, from *England*, and commit to him the whole Conduct of That War (e). This General gained his Point against the *Jews*, without giving them a general Battle. He attacked them after another manner, as well because of their great number, as also because he saw them fight like desperate Men. He chose therefore rather to charge them separately, to cut off their Provisions, to shut them up, and straighten them (f); and at last, all was reduced to the Siege of *Bitter*, in the eighteenth Year of *Adrian* (g). The great number of *Jews*, who threw themselves into that City, was the cause of their making a very long Defence, and being reduced to great Extremities by Famine (h). After the taking of that place, the War was not quite ended, but did not continue long: *Barcochebas* perished in it (i), and the *Jews* have not failed to invent some Fables about it [F]. The manner, in which *Adrian* dispersed the Remains of that unhappy Nation, was very cruel [G]. But all the

Stories,

sons are to a State, who pretend to Inspiration. This last enthusiastic Impostor raised an Insurrection of above Sixty thousand Men, and gave the *Roman* People a great deal of Trouble.

[D] It is said that he tried his Followers, by obliging them to cut off a Finger, — and that he made use of another Invention. It is reported, that he drew Two hundred thousand Men after him, who had cut off one of their Fingers, to make Proof of their Courage. The wise Men, not approving such a Mutilation, deputed some Persons to him, to know how long he would thus mangle the *Jewish* Nation, *usque quo tute Judæos mancus efficit?* He answered, *How then would you have me try their Strength?* They replied, *That he should enroll none, but those, who could pull up, with their Hands, a Cedar from Mount Libanus.* He took their Counsel, and found Two hundred thousand Men more, who gave this proof of their Strength (7). You will say, these are *Jewish* Fables. It is true, and as such I relate them; and, for that Reason, they belong the more properly to this Dictionary.

[E] He was particularly barbarous towards the Christians. Indeed he made a great Slaughter of the Gentiles, but he did not force them to renounce their Religion. He play'd the part of a Converter, only towards the Christians; I say of a *Dragooning* Converter, and, perhaps, worse (8); for he condemned all those to Death, who would not forsake *JESUS CHRIST*, and load him with Curfes. *Justin Martyr* has complained of this: *Proximo namque bello Judæicos Barcochebas defensionis Judæorum dux & princeps, solos Christianos ad gravia supplicia nisi Christum abnegarent & maledictis incesferent, probravit* (9). *David Gans* does not deny, but that those of his Nation spilled whole Torrents of Blood (10). I am even of Opinion, that he represents their Executions much more dreadful than they actually were. He pretends, that, in the City of *Alexandria* alone, they killed above Two hundred thousand Persons, and that, in the Island of *Cyprus*, and the parts adjacent, they did not leave one Man alive. *Tunc Judæi Bitterenses regerunt cum (Barcocheban) & elegerunt ipsum in unum super se, jugum Romanorum abjicientes. Occiderunt ex Romanis & Græcis qui in Africa innumerales: insular arena maris, similiter fecerunt Aegyptiis: incolæ urbis Alexandrinæ etiam ex Romanis interfecerunt ultra bis centena millia. Qui in Cypris, occiderunt omnes plane gentes vicinas, ut ne superstes quidem remaneret.* See what will be said hereafter (11), concerning the omission of a Common Form in *Adrian's* Letters. O religious Wars, how horrible are your Cruelties!

[F] The *Jews* have not failed to invent Fables on the Death of *Barcochebas*. They say, that, after the taking of *Bitter*, *Barcochebas's* Head was brought to the Emperor *Adrian*, and that he asked *who had killed him?* and that he ordered the Soldier, who replied, *It was I*, to go and fetch the Body. The

Soldier, being come to the Place, found a Serpent round *Barcochebas's* Neck. The Emperor having viewed the Body, said, *If this Man had not been killed by his own God, who could have hurt him* (12)?

[G] The Manner, in which *Adrian* dispersed the Remains of that unhappy Nation. I have a great deal of Reason to make use of the Word *Remains*; for the Number of *Jews*, who perished in that War, is not to be expressed. The Abbreviator of *Dio* relates, that they had fifty Fortresses, and Nine hundred and eighty five very considerable Boroughs, razed; that they had lost Five hundred and eighty thousand Men in Battles and Inroads, and that the Number of those, who perished by Famine, Sickness, and Fire, is infinite: So that almost all *Judæa* remained without Inhabitants (13). Let us now see what was done with those, who happened to survive to great a Desolation. "An incredible Number of all Ages and Sexes * were sold at the same Price as * Horses, in a very famous Fair, called the Fair of the *Turpentine Tree* †. Wherefore the *Jews* had an Abhorrence for that Fair. ----- Those, who could not be sold there, were brought to *Gaza* †, and exposed to Sale in another Market, established there by *Adrian*, and which, the Chronicle of *Alexander* says, is yet called *Adrian's Market*. Those, they could not sell in *Palestine*, were transported into *Egypt* †, where they perished by Shipwrecks, and by Famine, or were killed by the Pagans. ----- When the War was ended, *Adrian* prohibited the *Jews*, by an Edict publicly fixed up **, from returning to *Jerusalem*, on pain of Death ††, and Guards were purposely placed there, to hinder them from entering it ††. That Law denied them even the Liberty of coming near it, or of being in any Place, where they might have a Sight of it ††. *Turtullian* *, and *St Jerom* †, go yet further, and extend That Prohibition all over *Judæa*; and the *Jews* seem to agree to it, when they speak of the Fast, which they instituted on account of That Decree, whereby their Fathers had been forbidden to come into the Country of *Judæa* †. The Author, of whom I borrow This Passage, with all its Quotations (14), makes a Remark on the Fair of the *Turpentine Tree*. He observes, that "St *Jerom* says †, in a certain Place, that the *Jews* were sold, at *Abraham's* Tent, where is kept, says he, an annual Fair, very much frequented. This is not difficult to be granted, for, in the Place, where *Abraham* had lived, in the Valley of *Mamre* [near *Hebron*], and where he entertained three Angels, there was remaining, in the IVth Century a *Turpentine Tree*, which the People of the Country said had been there from the Creation of the World." See the Remark [G] of the Article *ABRAHAM*: Let us return to the Calamity of the *Jews*. Some Authors say, that *Adrian* caused their Ears to be cut off, and transported them into *Spain* (15). It is

(d) Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4, c. 6. pag. 118.

(e) Xiphilin. in *Adriano*.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) *Abus* the Year of *CHRIST* CXXXIV.

(h) Euseb. ubi supra.

(i) Id. ib.

(12) Joh. à Lent, de Pseudo-Messias, pag. 24, ex *Echa Rabbati*.

(13) Xiphilin. in *Adriano*.

* Hieronym. in *Jerem.* cap. 31, pag. 343. b.

† Chronic. Alex. pag. 596.

‡ Id. ibid.

† Hiero. in *Zach.* cap. 31, pag. 272. d.

** Id. in *Is.* cap. 6, pag. 31. d.

†† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 4, cap. 6, pag. 218, & *Demonstr. Evang. lib.*

2, cap. 38. pag. 71. d.

†† Justin. Apol. 2, p. 84. b. c. Dial. pag. 234. a.

†† Justin. pag. 84. b. Sulpic. Sev. lib. 2, pag. 149.

†† Euseb. Hist. Eccl. pag. 118, d. Hier. in *Is.* lib. 3, p. 227.

* Apol. cap. 21, p. 20, d.

† In *Judic.* cap. 13, pag. 224, 225.

cap. 6, pag. 31. d.

In *Daniel.* cap. 9, pag. 595, d.

† Scaliger. *Trag. lib. 1.* cap. 6, p. 45.

(14) Tillemon. Hist. des Emper. Tom. 2, pag. 501, 502, 503.

† In *Zachar.* cap. 8, pag. 262.

(15) Apud. Lent, de Pseudo-Messias, pag. 17.

(-) In *Madrafeh Rabbati* Megill. fol. 67, apud Joh. à Lent, ubi supra, pag. 10, 11.

(8) I make use of a perhaps, because several Fathers maintain, that the Alternative of Abjuration, or Death, would have been a le's Cruelty, than what was committed in France, by the *Dragoon* in 1685.

(9) Justin. Apologia pro Christianis ad Antonin. Plum.

(10) David Gans, *Germinis Davidis* ad Ann. 880. millenarii quarti, apud à Lent, p. 9.

(11) In *Re-mora* [1].

Stories, the Rabbins tell on this Subject, are not to be credited [H]. This War cost the Romans a great many Lives (k). If I mention in the Remarks several Facts, which concern this War, it is because the Article of Hadrian refers to them, and there was a necessity of shortening, as much as possible, That Emperor's Article, by means of This Reference. The Jewish Authors suppose, that Adrian was personally in that War [I], that he besieged and took the City of Bitter, and that he disputed, with a Rabbi, about the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead [K]. This Fact is very curious; And will be found in the Remarks.

(k) See Remark [E].

Eusebius

very likely, that Part of the Idolatries, which That Emperor established in the new City of Jerusalem, did not begin 'till after the Destruction of Bitter, and the Death of Barcochebas. It was one of the most sensible Shocks, which that unhappy Nation ever had to sustain. Adrian, knowing their Abhorrence for Swine, caused one of Marble to be set up over the Gate, which led to Bethleem **. He made use of the Stones of Solomon's Temple ††, for the Building of a Theatre, and several Pagan Temples. Two of his Statues, and some Idols, were set up in the Place, where That Temple stood †. The Statue of Jupiter was set up in the Place of our Saviour's Passion. This is what St Paulinus affirms ††: but, according to St Jerom *, Jupiter's Statue was set up where JESUS CHRIST rose from the Dead, and That of Venus, where he died. The Cavern, where he was born, was profaned by the Temple, and infamous Worship, of Adonis †. See Mr de Tillemont, to whom I am indebted for these Particulars (16).

[H] All the Stories, which the Rabbins tell on This Subject, are not to be credited.] They say, that the Slaughter was to great in Bitter, when the Romans made themselves Masters of it, after a Siege of three Years and a half, that the Horses marched up to the Mouth in Blood (17). They add, that the Blood made so strong a Current, that it carried Stones, of the Weight of four Pounds, along with it, and ran for the Space of four Miles into the Sea. Now Bitter was four Miles from the Sea. Adrian had a Vineyard-plot eighteen Miles long, and as many wide; (it is the Distance from Tiberias to Zipporis) where he made a Fence or Partition with the Bodies of those, who were killed in Bitter: For he would not suffer them to be buried, nor were they buried 'till the Reign of his Successor. There were two Rivers in the Valley of Judaim, running on different Sides of it (18): the Rabbins computed, that the Water made but two thirds, and the Blood the other third, of those Rivers. For seven Years the Gentiles had no need to dung their Vines, they were so richly manured with the Blood of the Jews. The Blood carried away Stones with it of an immense Magnitude, and entered forty Miles into the Sea: Quinimo sanguis rapiebat secum petras magnitudinis quadraginta modiorum, donec ad quadraginta miliaria usque in Oceanum fueret (19). Three hundred Skulls of Children were found on one Stone. There are, in these Rabbinical Expressions, some touches of the Style, which Rabelais makes use of, to represent the Valour and Prowesses of his Garagantua and his Pantagruel. But let us relate one more Story concerning the Slaughter of Bitter. In That City there were Four hundred Colleges, and in each College Four hundred Masters, each of which had Four hundred Disciples, or Scholars in his Class. In the first Attack, the Scholars made use of their Writing Pens (20), to kill their Enemies; but, after the Place was taken, they were packed up with their Books and thrown into the Fire. Ita pubes principio hostes impetum facientes graphiis suis confodiebat: cum vero hi praevalerent, urbem cepissent, involverunt puerulos illos cum libris suis, osque igne sic cremarunt (21). The Jews say, that Adrian destroyed twice as many People of their Nation, as Moses brought out of the Land of Egypt, and they esteem him a greater Persecutor of them, than either Nebuchadnezzar, or Titus (22). One of their best Chronologers affirms, that the Loss, which their Nation sustained in the time of Nebusaraddan, or in the Time of Titus, does not come up to That, which they sustained under the Reign of Adrian; for the Talmud says, that Four Millions of Persons perished at Bitter, quadringentas myriadas. Nevertheless, there is, in the Ritual of the Jews, a Hymn for the ninth Day of the Month Ab, being That of the Date of Adrian's Edict, which prohibited their

setting Foot in Judaea: I say there is an Hymn, wherein Nebuchadnezzar and Adrian are equally represented, as two great Scourges of their Nation. That Hymn names them often, but speaks only once of Vespasian and Titus; it mentions Four hundred and eighty Synagogues burnt by Adrian. "Recordare Domine qualis fuissei Adrianus, crudelitatis consilia amplexus, consultu idola se pervertentia. Et sustulit, combussitque quadringentas et octoginta synagogas (23). --- Remember, O Lord, the Sin of Adrian, who, following the Counsels of Cruelty, and listening to Idols, which perverted him, destroyed, and burnt, Four hundred and eighty Synagogues."

[I] The Jewish Authors suppose, that Adrian was personally in That War.] Eusebius says expressly, that the Emperor sent some Troops to the Governor of Judaea, to chastise the Revolt of Barcochebas, and never mentions That Prince's going thither afterwards in Person. The Abbreviator of Dio speaks only of the Generals, who were sent into Judaea by Adrian (24). He remarks, that, during That Emperor's Stay in Egypt and in Syria, the Jews, who were discontented at the Building of Aelia Capitolina, durst not stir, but appeared in Arms openly, as soon as he was gone. He adds, that Adrian sent, against them, the best of his Generals, and particularly Julius Severus. This was a proper Place to say, whether he was present, in Person, when the Rebels were punished; and yet That Writer mentions nothing of it: From whence it seems to follow, that Adrian did not at that time go into Judaea. But, not to conceal any Thing, it must be owned, that Dio makes a Remark, which intimates, that Adrian was present in That War. He says, that the Romans lost so many Men in it, that This Emperor, writing to the Senate did not use the common Preamble, Si vos liberique vestri valitis bene est, ego quidem & exercitus valeamus. — If you, and your Children, are well, it will give me cause to rejoice; I have the Pleasure to assure you of my own Health, and That of the Army. One would think, that a Prince, who begins his Letter with These Words, must be present in the Army; and if he is not, he ought not to make Use of That Compliment, neither in time of Prosperity, nor in Time of Adversity. It does not, therefore, seem likely, that Dio would have made This Observation, if he had thought, that Adrian was near Rome, or very far from the Army, when he wrote to the Senate. This Objection may be easily answered; for, in the first Place, it may be said, that Adrian's Absence was the very Occasion of his not using That Form; from whence it would follow, that Dio did not rightly apprehend all the possible Causes of That Omission, when he ascribed it only to the Loss, which the Roman Army had suffered. It may be said, in the second Place, that an Emperor, who is a great way from his Army, might very well make use of That Form, in a Letter, wherein he acquaints the Senate with the good News, which his Generals have wrote to him. In fine, it might be maintained, against Dio, that the Victory, obtained over the Jews, was so complete, and did so effectually remove all Possibility of a new Insurrection, that, tho' the Roman Army had sustained great Losses, there was room to write to the Senate, according to the Style, commonly used in the News of Prosperity. It is possible, therefore, that This Writer might make a wrong Observation.

[K] And, that he disputed with a Rabbi about the Doctrine of the Resurrection of the dead.] This Fable says, that the chief Difficulty, objected by Adrian, was, that the Parts of a dead Body were dispersed in a thousand Places. He was answered, that there was a small Bone in our Body, which was incorruptible, and that God would restore our Body again out of That little Bone. The Jews pretend, that

(23) Apud eundem à Lent, pag. 18, 19.

(24) Xiphilini in Adriano.

** Hieron. in Chron.

†† Euseb. Demonst. lib. 8. cap. 3. pag. 406.

† Paulin. Burd. p. 43. 2. Sulpic. Sever. lib. 2. pag. 149.

†† Epist. 11. p. 134, 135.

* Epist. 13. pag. 102.

† Paulin. Epist. 11. p. 134, 135.

(16) Tillemont, Hist. des Emper. pag. 503.

(17) See the Book Echa Rabbati super Thren. 11. v. 2. apud Noldin. de Vita & Gestis Herodum, pag. 453.

(18) In Tractatu Tal. medico Giffin. apud à Lent, p. 16.

(19) Ibid.

(20) An Instrument tubereus, which they used to write in those times.

(21) Tract. Giffin. apud eundem à Lent, p. 13.

(22) See Jo. à Lent, pag. 14.

WHAT the Jews report of a little Bone called LUZ, which they say is in the Back of Man.

(l) Euseb. ubi supra.
(m) Tandem Trajanus Imperator mittit Adrianum fortis sue filium (etis kindred as fold) du- cem exercitus contra ipos. — At last, the Emperor Trajan sent Adrian, his Sister's Son, to command his Forces against them.

David Gans, in G. emine Davidis, ad Ann. 3880, apud Lent de Piculo Messias, pag. 55.

(25) Hoorn- buck contra Judæos, l. 8. c. 3. p. 556.

Eusebius supposes, that *Adrian* intrusted this War to his Lieutenants (l). It is at least very certain, that *Adrian* did not command his Uncle *Trajan's* Troops in *Judæa* during the Rebellion of *Barcochebas*. *David Gans*, the Jewish Historian, is very much mistaken in affirming it (m). Some say, that there were two *Barcochebas's*, one under *Titus*, the other under *Adrian*; and that the first, having failed in the Test required of him, was killed as an Impostor, and a false *Messias*. Upon his declaring himself to be the *Messias*, a Passage of Scripture was alledged to him, which imports, according to the Jewish Exposition, that the *Messias* will be able to discern, by the Smell, whether a Person accused be Innocent or Guilty (n) [L], and it being found, that this pretended *Messias* had not a Nose good enough to make that distinction, he was put to Death. This Opinion is not much followed (o).

(n) Isaiah xi. 3.

(o) Nollins de Vita & Geis Herodum, p. 391. maintains this Opinion. Lent se cili it, pag. 14, de Pseudo-Messias.

(26) Manoff, Ben-Jamel, de Resurrectione, l. 2. cap. 15.

that a celestial Dew will soften That Bone, and make it grow, in the same Manner as a little Leaven raises the whole Mass, or, as a Grain of Wheat shoots into the Ear. *Officulum illud dicunt rere quodam caelesti molendum & extendendum ad instar fermenti quod in totum se massam diffundit, vel quemadmodum granum aliqum tritici in crismam se exporrigit* (25). *Adrian* would not believe any thing concerning the Incorruptibility of That Bone; but the Rabbi, with whom he disputed, made a Trial of it; and it resisted every thing, Fire, Water, the Hammer, &c. Here is a long Passage of *Manasse Ben-Israel*. "Ajunt in spina dor- si aliquod officulum esse, quod nunquam percat: ex isto officulo solo post interitum & annihilationem omnium aliarum partium, dicunt, hominem instauratum, restitutumque iri, in resurrectione mortuorum; juxta illud, quod in *Berefit Raba Paraf. 28*. legitur; *Adrianus* (cujus ossa comminuatur) quæ- sitit ex *R. Jeosuah filio Hanina*, unde *Deus* benedictus germinare faciet hominem in futuro sæculo? respondit ille, ex — luz, hoc officulo spinæ. Rursus alter, unde nosti hoc? da mihi illud, inquit ille, officulum, & te docebo: contudit illud in mola, sed non tulit est; conjecit in ignem & non conflagravit; conjecit in aquam, & non attritum est; imposuit incudi, malleoque cecidit; sed ne hilum comminutum est: Imperator Romanus, si- ve quod rideret resurrectionem mortuorum, si- ve quod audiverat aliquod incorruptibile officulum esse in corpore humano, cupiditate ejus sciendi; vel quia, uti verisimile est, hæsiabat ob difficultates eas, quas jam recensimus, quæsitit ex *R. Jeosuah filio Hanina*, unde, vel quomodo restituerentur mortui, quorum membra tam longe, lateque dispersa essent ac dissipata? Respondit illi *R. Jeosuah*, ex officulo spinæ dorsii, appellato luz, quod incorruptibile est. Qui cum non posset facile adhibere fidem, experimento ei ostendit ita esse. Hæc opinio, si quid antiquis credimus, non probabilis est. Istud enim officulum tale est, ut nequeat interire, quamvis hodie nullus sit, qui illud noverit. Sunt qui arbitrentur, Davidem hujus officali mentionem facere, cum ait, Custodiens ossa ejus, unum

"ex iis non consumptum est. Psalm xxxiv. 21. (26).

"— They hold, that there is in the Spine of the Back a little Bone, which never perishes: and that from this little Bone only, after Death and Annihilation of all the other Parts, the whole Man will be renewed, and restored in the Resurrection of the Dead. According to what we meet with in *Berefit Raba Paraf. 28*; *Adrian* (whose Bones I wish may all be annihilated) asked Rabbi *Jeosuah the Son of Hanina*, from whence the human Body was to spring up again for a future State. To which he answered, from Luz, or the little Bone of the Spine. The other replied, how do you know that? I will take that Bone, says he, and shew you: he tried to grind it in a Mill; he threw it into the Fire; he endeavoured to dissolve it in Water; he attempted to break it on an Anvil with a Hammer; but all to no purpose; it remained still the same: The Roman Emperor, either in order to ridicule the Resurrection of the Dead, or to be satisfied of the Truth of what he had heard of the Incorruptibility of a little Bone in the human Body, or which is most probable of all, being puzzled with the Difficulties we mentioned, urged *R. Jeosuah*, the Son of *Hanina*, with this Question. Whence, and by what means, shall the Dead be restored, whose Bodies have been dispersed over the Face of the whole Earth? *R. Jeosuah* answered him, From the little Bone of the Spine, called Luz, which is incorruptible. The Truth of which being doubted, he demonstrated it by Experiment. This opinion, if we have any Faith in Antiquity, is not improbable. For That little Bone is of such a Nature, that it cannot be destroyed, though there is no Body now who knows it. Some have believed, that *David* had regard to this Bone, when he said, Thou pre- servest his Bones, one of them shall not perish. Psalm xxxiv. 21." These doating Fools should have said, that this little Bone is the true Seat of the Soul.

[L] The *Messias* will be able to discern by the smell whether a Person accused be Innocent or Guilty.] Compare this with what will be related in the Remark [C] of the Article DEMOCRITUS.

BARDE (*JOHN de la*), Counsellor of State, Marquis de Marolles, on the River Seine, was Ambassador of France in Switzerland, in the Reign of Lewis XIV. He had been chief Deputy of Mr de Cbavigni, Secretary of State (a). He assisted at the Conferences of Munster, as a Minister of the Second Rank, and some Endeavours were used to have him complimented with the Title of Excellency, but without any Success [A]. He had then been named Embaf- fador

(a) See Wicquefort's Embassador, Tom. 1. pag. 9. 9.

[A] Endeavours were used to have him complimented with the Title of Excellency, at the Treaty of Munster, but without Success. Mr de Wicquefort reports it, and adds, that the Plenipotentiaries of France made their first attempt on the Nuncio, who answered, that he would not do it (1). They pressed him to give Mr de la Barde that Title, and the first Visit. The Reasons he gave for his Refusal were, That he would not set an Example, which no body would follow, nor make Mr de la Barde useless, who was very serviceable to the Assembly. He would indeed have made him useless, because, if he had done him the Honour which was desired, he must have put him under a Kind of Necessity of requiring it from all the other Embassadors, and of not appearing any more if they had refused him, as it would infallibly have happened. The Venetian Ambassador imitated the Nuncio; and so la Barde was obliged to be satisfied with the Honours they were willing to do him. He desired the Emperor's

Ministers at Osnabrug to distinguish him from the other Ministers of the second Rank, and since they could not treat him as an Ambassador, not to treat him as a Resident; and provided he was treated in the third Person after the Italian Manner, he should not pretend to the place of Honour in Visits or Conferences. And indeed he could expect no great Distinction, at Munster, or Osnabrug, by virtue of his Credential Letters for the Swiss Cantons. Mr de la Barde complained of an Italian Writer, for misrepresenting this matter, and, to convince him, affirms, that the Plenipotentiaries of France always treated him as an Ambassador, and that they could do no otherwise, since the King's Patent, and all the Letters from Court, gave him that Character. "Avaxius ac Savianus hunc haud secus ac seiplos invicem habere; neque aliter poterant, cum regio diplomate atque omnibus Regis atque Mazzarini ad se atque ad alios litteris legatus esset appellatus. Id eo

"accuratius

factor to Switzerland. He served France, with great Faithfulness, and Ability, in the whole course of that Embassy. He wrote the *History of France in Latin, from the Death of Lewis XIII. to the Year 1652*. That History was long expected, as a Master-piece [B]: It was printed, at last, in the Year 1671 (b), and well received by the Public. The Style of it is good; the Narrations are without Flattery, and shew a great Knowledge of the Intrigues of the Cabinet. The Author has Latinised his Name by That of *Labardeus*. The Latin Names, he gives to others, would puzzle the Reader, had he not taken care to place the French Names in the Margin. He had made a French Translation of this History, which, in the opinion of some good Judges, was very much inferior to the original Latin (c). "As he was very learned, in Matters of Divinity, he also wrote a Book of Controversy, in Latin, against the Opinion of the Protestants, concerning the Eucharist (d) [C]." The *Dutch Gazette* have informed us, that he died in the Year 1692, being ninety Years of Age. The Addition I would make to the Remark [C] of this Article, will be found below, [D].

See the
Page.

A Manuscript Memoir, communicated by Mr. ... one of the ... Library. Kept in the ... at Paris.

A French ... the ... of ...

"accuratus mihi dicendum fuit, quod homo quidam Italicus eâ de re secus scriptis ex alienâ lubidine, atque invidia in Labardeum: nam id illi ipsi tribuere nolum, qui in hujusmodi rebus etiam supra verum alius favit, hos cum Residentes, aut ad minores Principes absque ullo Titulo missi essent, Legatos nihil fecius appellando (2). --- "D'Avant and Servien regarded him as their Equal; nor could they indeed do otherwise, since his Royal Credentials, and all the King's and Mazarine's Letters, both to himself, and other Ministers, styled him Ambassador. It was necessary to be the more particular in this Affair, because it has been misrepresented, by a certain Italian Author, out of Envy and Prejudice to la Barde: For it cannot be ascribed to his Manner of writing, which inclines to the other extrem, and gives the Title of Ambassador to Residents, and such as are sent without a Character to inferior Princes."

[B] His History of France was long expected, as a Master-piece. "Mr de la Barde is preparing a Latin History, which is to shew, that France has either it's Sallust or it's Virgil." This is what Father le Moine thought proper to intimate to the Public, in his Treatise of History.

[C] He wrote a Book of Controversy, in Latin, against the Opinion of the Protestants concerning the Eucharist. This puts me in mind of what I have heard his Grandson, the Abbot of Brion, Canon of Notre-Dame at Paris, say, viz. That he applied himself several Years, with great diligence, to examine the Opinion of some Fathers about That Question, and to compose a large Volume of great Learning; but, all of a sudden, it came into his Head to destroy that great Work, so that one

Morning he threw all he had wrote upon that Subject into the Fire.

[D] Here is what I would add to the Remark [C] of this Article. This relates to his Book of Controversy. In a Manuscript Letter of his, to one of his Friends, dated from Solthorn, March 3. 1663, we find these words. "Libellum ad te de re seriâ, imò divinâ, mitto, quo tui otii mei, sicuti prius negotii, ratio conficit: in eo Latinitatem nostram ne quæstiveris, quam de divinis scribendis atque disputandi genus vix patitur. — I send you a Treatise on a serious, and indeed a divine, Subject, that I may shew you the manner of my spending my leisure Hours, as I have formerly done in respect to my busy ones: you must not look for Purity in our Latin, it being scarce consistent with these Divinity Discourses and Disputations." His Friend answers him a little time after in this manner. "Restat ut de opusculo tuo Theologico gratias agam: in hoc solitas elegantiam tuam desideravi; neque verò tu argumenti severitatem excusa: quid enim est tam contumax, quod nitescere, quid tam horridum, quod poliri amenitate istâ tuâ non possis; sed nimirum ingenii Helvetiis scribebas. — I must not forget to thank you for your Piece of Divinity, in which I expected to have found your usual Elegance: the nature of the Subject is no excuse: for what is there so obscure as not to be illustrated, what so rough as not to be polished, by your fine Pen: but you wrote to Helvetian Understandings." This Answer is dated the 19th of the same Month. These Passages will fix the Time of this Book of Controversy to this Year 1663.

BARLETTA (GABRIEL), a Dominican Monk, distinguished himself towards the end of the XVth Century [A], by a manner of Preaching much more becoming a Buffoon, than a Minister of the Gospel. He was born at Barletto (a), in the Kingdom of Naples. Henry Stephens is not the only Person, who exclaimed against his manner of Preaching (b), full of mean Explications, only proper to expose our most venerable Mysteries to contempt; some Roman Catholics have not spared Gabriel Barletta on this Head [B]: And this Censure does

[A] He distinguished himself towards the end of the XVth Century. Altamura, in his *Bibliothèque of the Dominicans*, places Barletta in the Year 1470; from whence it appears, that Poffevin was mistaken only 200 Years. "Gabriel Barletta, says he

"(1), Neapolitani regni, Apulus, Ordinis autem Dominicani, Theologus & concionator utilis, cum floreret anno 1270. — Gabriel Barletta, of Apulia, in the Kingdom of Naples, of the Dominican Order, a Divine, and able Preacher, flourished in the Year 1270." He adds, that his Sermons were printed several times, before the Edition of Venice, 1571.

[B] Some Roman Catholics have not spared him. Theophilus Raynaud, under the Name of Petrus à Valle Clausa, wrote sharply against Barletta, and reproached him particularly for his impertinent Answer to this Question, How the Woman of Samaria knew that JESUS CHRIST was a Jew? She

knew it, says he, by the Circumcision. It must be confessed, that this Critic was not so exact as he ought to have been; for he does not only forget to mention the two other marks, whereby, as Barletta says, That Woman knew JESUS CHRIST to be a Jew; but he also makes Barletta say, that she saw our Lord was circumcised; but it is certain Barletta did not express himself in that manner: "Prima ad habitum quem portabat. --- secunda quia Nazareus in cujus capite novaculum non ascendit. --- tertia ratio ad circumcicionem: nullus alius populus erat circumciscus. — The first Mark was that of his Habit. --- the second, his never having had his Head shaved, as being a Nazarene. --- the third, his Circumcision: no other People were circumcised." It would signify nothing towards the Justification of this Critic, to say, that what he imputes to Barletta may be inferred from his words; for what a Man says ought never to be confounded

(2) Labardeus, Hist. de Rebus Gallicis, lib. 4. pag. 189, ad Ann. 1646.

(a) In Latin Barulium.

(1) Poffevin. Appar. Sacr. Tom. 3. fol. 527, apud Altamura, p. 518. This Fault is not to be found in the Edition of Cologne, 1607. It is there, pag. 610, cum floreret Ann. 1470.

(b) See the Apology for Hierodotus, where many Scraps of Barletta may be found.

does much greater Service and Honour to the Catholics, than the Pains the Dominicans take to justify This Preacher [C]. His Sermons were printed at Venice, in the Year 1571, in Two Volumes in 8°. The First Volume contains the Lent Sermons: the Second contains the Sermons on the Advent, Pentecost, Whitsunday, Ascension, and other Festivals (c). He was yet living, when the Turks took Otranto, in the Year 1480 (d). Some of his Friends undertook to justify him, by denying him to be the Author of the Sermons, which passed under his Name [D].

(c) Poffevin. Appar. sacri. Tom. i. pag. 620.

(d) Altam. Biblioth. Ordin. Prædicatorum p. 135.

A RULE which those ought to follow, who impute certain things to an Author.

confounded with the Consequences, which may be drawn from what he says. How many things escape not only an Orator, but also an Author, whereof he does not perceive so much as the most immediate Consequences? It is very possible therefore, that this Critic, by imputing to him those Consequences, imputes to him what he never thought of. So that, if a Man will be an exact and faithful Critic, he must prescribe this Rule to himself: "Censure the very words themselves, which are obnoxious, and religiously forbear either to add or suppress a Tittle." Shew the Authors the Consequences, which proceed from them, but do not assert, that they have seen and admitted those Consequences; wait for what they will reply, when they are told, that they follow naturally, and necessarily, from what they have said." I cannot believe, that Barletta could ever have arrived at such a height of Impudence and Extravagance, as to utter the *impudrata blasphemia*, which his Critic imputes to him, in such fine Latin. It is enough to accuse him of not knowing what he said with his third Mark. I shall therefore leave his Critic to Altamura's Anger. "Pessimè igitur à Valle Clausà fallavit calumniatus Barlettæ sententiam exerbendo: respondit Samaritanam cognovisse Christum esse Judæum videndo eum esse circumcisi. Ubi fraudulento silentio præterivit duas priores rationes, &c. (2). — Valle Clausà, in order to destroy Barletta's Opinion, has most abominably misquoted it, and made him say, 'That the Woman of Samaria knew Christ to be a Jew, by seeing he was circumcised. Where he unjustfully suppresses the two former Reasons before given, &c.' Another of his Sermons was censured with greater exactness. In that, the Question is, why the Holy Ghost deferred his coming into the World for ten Days. Barletta ascribes this to the fear of being served in the same manner as the Son of God was, and makes the Dispute between the Father and the Holy Ghost to end only by this expedient. The Holy Ghost bethought himself to take the Appearance of Wind and Fire, that he might not run any hazard among Men. What can be said meaner, and more unworthy of the Divine Majesty?

[C] The Dominicans take a great deal of Pains to justify this Preacher.] To begin with the Sermon on the Pentecost, I observe, that Altamura is so far

from owning, that there is any thing in it worthy of Censure, that, on the contrary, he finds it represents the Obstinacy of Mankind with wonderful Art, and is very much surprized at this rash Accusation of so eminent a Preacher. "Tanti nominis, says he (3), concionatore, tantocum fructu verbum Dei diffeminantem, ut adhuc vigeat ad perpetuum tantum viri decus commune in Italia proloquium. Nescitis prædicare, Qui negat Barlettæ (4). — So eminent and edifying a Preacher, that to his immortal Honour it continues a Proverb in Italy, to this Day, 'He who knows not how to imitate Barletta, knows not how to preach.' As for the main part of the other Objection, he answers it very poorly; for he pretends, that, according to Barletta, the Woman of Samaria knew by JESUS CHRIST's Garment, and his Hair, that he was a Jew; from whence, in arguing, he drew this Consequence, that he was circumcised. Once more, the shortest and best way is to say, that this poor Preacher did not know what he said with his third Mark: he had not known whereabouts he was, had he taken it for a Subject to reason upon.

[D] Some undertook to justify him, by denying, that he was the Author of the Sermons, which passed under his Name.] Leander Albertus pretends, that, in his Youth, he knew the ignorant Person, who forged those unworthy Productions, which went under the famous Name of Barletta (5). It is much to be wondered, that the new Author of the Bibliotheca of the Order, has not alleged this reason in justification of his Brother; some would be apt to say he durst not make use of it, because what Leander Albertus had said was known to be false. But, whether it be so or not, it is at least very certain, that there are some impertinent Things in the Writings, which are incontestably ascribed to Barletta. We have seen the Censure of Father Raynaud. Moreri is in the wrong to maintain, that several Protestant Authors have made use of his pretended Sermons, to ridicule the Catholics, and that, among those, Henry Stephens is one of the first: for I dare be positive, that the Sermons, from whence Henry Stephens took his Raileries, are none of those, which Leander Albertus imputes to an Impostor. The Dispute between the Father and the Holy Ghost is one of Henry Stephens's Gaieties; now Altamura acknowledges, that Barletta is the Author of it.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) He had already said this in pag. 195, with a long Train of pompous Elogies.

(5) Alberti Descript. Ital. p. 370.

BARLEUS (MELCHIOR), a Native of Antwerp, a Latin Poet in the XVth Century, and Son of Lambert Barleus, who was Keeper of the Records of Antwerp, above Forty Years, was educated under good Masters, and testified by several Writings, both in Prose and in Verse [A], the Progress he had made. One of his Brothers, whose Name was James, left his Country for his Religion, and made his Escape into Holland, where, after having been Regent of the second Class, in the College of Leyden, he was called to the Brill, to be Rector of the College there. Gaspar Barleus, elder Brother of Melchior [B], succeeded in the Office of Keeper of the Records, which his Father had; but, when Antwerp was again brought under the Yoke of the Spanish Government, he left his Country, and retired into Holland. He carried his eldest Son along with him, who was yet in the Cradle (a), and of whom I shall speak in the following Article.

(a) Taken from Gaspar Barleus's Funeral Oration spoken at Amsterdam, by John Arn. Corvus, Jan. 18, 1648.

[A] He published several Writings, both in Prose and in Verse.] These are the Titles of them; *Brabantias libri 5. & Antwerpæ Encomium. De Diis Gentium libri 5. in Elegiac Verses, at Antwerp in 1562 (1). De raptu Ganymedis libri tres (2), & Bucolica, at Antwerp 1572. A Speech De vite humane felicitate; cum adjuncto carmine, De Rerum humanarum infirmitudine, ad Gasparem fratrem, at Antwerp 1566 (3). Historia de Domus Austriacæ Eminentia (4).*

[B] Gaspar Barleus was elder Brother of Melchior.] I make no doubt but Valerius Andreas has taken this Gaspar for him who was Professor at Amsterdam, and whose Latin Verses were so much cried up. If he

has, he was grossly mistaken: That Professor was Melchior's Nephew, and not his Brother. If it be said, in order to excuse Valerius Andreas on this account, that he does not make the Mistake, which I have supposed, yet he would be in the wrong on another: for when an Author is described by his Relations, those ought never to be made use of, who are unknown either in the Commonwealth of Learning, or in the World; and consequently these words of Valerius Andreas, Melchior Barleus, Antwerpensis, Gasparis frater, would be impertinent, if they were meant of Melchior's Brother; because that Brother, though he taught at Bommel, is an unknown Person. Moreri has committed the same Fault with Valerius Andreas.

(1) Valerius Andreas, Bibli. Belg. pag. 669.

(2) Cæsius in Orat. Funerariæ Gaspar. B. ræli.

(3) Valer. Andreas, Bibli. Belg.

(4) Cæsius, l. c.

(a) By the Epistle Dedicatory of his Letters, it appears that he was born February the 12th,

BARLEUS (GASPAR), Nephew of the foregoing, was Professor of Philosophy at *Amsterdam*, and one of the elegant Latin Poets of the XVIIth Century. He was born at *Antwerp* in the Year 1584 (a). His Father, who was a Protestant, fled into *Holland*, when the Duke of *Parma* had made himself Master of that City. He staid three Years in *Leyden*, after which he was called to *Bommel*, to be Rector of the College there. He enjoyed that place seven Years, and then died, having designed his Son *Gaspar* for the Ministry of the Holy Gospel. This *Gaspar* studied eight Years in the College of the Province of *Holland* at *Leyden*, and, being afterwards received into the Ministry, he served a Country Church near the *Brill*. *Bertius*, being advanced from the Office of Sub-Principal to the Principalship of that College, thought no Person so fit to succeed him as our *Barleus*. His Recommendation was successful; *Barleus* was made Sub-Principal, and, some time after, Professor of Logic, in the University of *Leyden*. He concerned himself so far in the Disputes of the *Arminians*, that he was removed from all his Offices, when the opposite Party had fully triumphed in the Synod of *Dort*, in the Year 1618. *Barleus* began, then, to study Physic, and, in two Years time, thought himself fit to commence Doctor. He took his Degree at *Caën*; but scarce ever practised at all. Some young Persons desired him to read Lectures to them in Philosophy, and polite Learning; and, as it was what he had been used to, he resumed this Employment, and regained a great Character for it, even in the University of *Leyden*. The Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, having erected a famous School in the Year 1631, offered him the Professorship of Philosophy. He accepted, and discharged it very honourably until his Death, which happened the fourteenth of *January*, 1648 (b). He was a Man of great Merit. There is extant a Volume of Speeches, which he pronounced on several Subjects, and which are not only commendable for the Style, but also for the Turn, and frequent Touches, of Wit. Poetry was his chief Talent: His Muse was very copious and lofty (c). There scarce happened any great Subject during his Life, on which he did not bestow some pompous Encomium, if he was not prevented by Reasons of State [A]. Cardinal *Richelieu*, and Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, were not forgot: much less did he pass by the Conquests and brave Exploits of *Frederic Henry* Prince of *Orange*. Queen *Mary de Medicis*, and the magnificent Reception the met with at *Amsterdam* (d), gave *Barleus* occasion to exercise his Eloquence. He published some very sharp Pieces of Controversy, against the Adversaries of *Arminius* [B].

(c) See the *Eleges* of *Barleus* in the *Diatribe* de *Poet.* p. 140.

(d) In 1637.

That

[A] There scarce happened any great Subject, during his Life, on which he did not bestow some pompous Encomium, if he was not prevented by Reasons of State.] I make use of this Restriction, because I have read in *Barleus's* Letters, that he refused to write a Poem on the Coronation of the Emperor *Ferdinand III*, which had been requested of him. He considered, that he had to do with suspicious Persons, who would not fail to stigmatize him as a Pensionary of the House of *Austria*; besides, after having so highly celebrated the Victories of *Gustavus* over the Emperor, he did not see how he could compliment *Ferdinand*, on any great Honour acquired in making War with the *Swedes*. Here is an honest Poet! How many of his Profession get over these Scruples! They have a two-handed Pen; they do not only prepare Panegyrics for the conquering Party, be it who it will, but also, after the Event, make Verses for both Parties (1). I do not question but that there are Poets in *Italy*, who have complimented, or will compliment, both the *Dauphin*, and Prince *Lewis of Baden*, on the Campaign of 1693. These are the Words of *Barleus*: "Litteras accepi Viennæ, quibus petitur uti laudatione aliqua velim prosequi Coronationem *Ferdinandi* tertii Imperatoris. Ego si sapiam abstinebo ab illa laudatione religiosissime. Quamquam enim ea possem scribere quæ ad laudes Imperatoris faciant, nec Reip. nostræ adversentur, tamen prout sunt nostratium ingenia, judicarent me beneficio obstrictum *Austriacis*. Scimus Cæsarem non quidem sperto Martem nos petere, sed per latum Hispani nobis gravem esse. Laudavi etiam non ita pridem *Gustavum* Suecicæ Regem, ejusque adversus Cæsarem bella probavi. Jam ut laudem *Ferdinandum* tertium ob gesta adversus Suecos feliciter bella, à prudentia mea impetrare non possum. Non sum ambider, fext, sed ab omni adulatione alienissimum. Cuperem obsequi petitioni illustriissimi Legati, sed hoc cavendum ne dum foris bene, domi male audiam. Forte nimis sum meticulosus, sed & illud certum illum Cæsaris laudationem à me protestam calumniam suspitionibusque opportunam fore (2). — I received Letters from Vienna, desiring I would

compose something in Honour of the Coronation of the Emperor *Ferdinand III*. But I think it prudent to decline this Task entirely. For though I might pay a Compliment to the Emperor, without the least Prejudice to our Commonwealth, yet such are the Suspicions of our People, that they would believe me to be bribed by the House of *Austria*. We know the Emperor does not strike at us directly, but only by means of the Spaniard. Besides, I have congratulated *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, on his War with the Emperor. And I cannot think it consistent with my Reason, to compliment *Ferdinand III*, on the very same Occasion. I scorn to play a double Part, and have the greatest aversion to Flattery. I should be glad to obey the Request of the most illustrious Ambassador, but must take care that, while I am esteemed abroad, I am not ill thought of at home. Perhaps I am too scrupulous, but undoubtedly an Encomium on the Emperor, composed by me, would give room for Suspicions and Reflexions." *Barleus's* Fear was not without Foundation; and, if Reason would not suffer him to write the Panegyric of *Ferdinand III*, because *Holland* was at War with the House of *Austria*, and an Author should not blow hot and cold, Prudence no less advised him to forbear that Elogy. Those, who believed him a Friend to the *Arminians*, would have defamed him as an Enemy to God and the State, and would not have been content with declaring him such, both in private and in public. To conclude, if all the Heroes, he celebrated, paid him as well as Cardinal *Richelieu* (3), he had no reason to say, that the Culture of *Parnassus* is That of an ungrateful Soil.

[B] He published some very sharp Pieces of Controversy against the Adversaries of *Arminius*. In the Year 1615, he published a Piece at *Leyden*, entitled, *Bogermannus talskyggenes, seu Examen Epistolæ dicatoriæ quam jussu ad pietatem illustrium Ordinum Hollandiæ & Westfrisiæ notis præfixit Joannes Bogermannus Ecclesiæ Leuwardensis: in quo etiam Crimina à Mattheo Slado imposita Erasmo Roterodamo diluuntur*. The Year following he published a little Book, the Title whereof was, *Dissertationcula in qua aliquot*

(1) Compare this with what *Macrobium*, *Saturnalis* 1. 2, cap. 5, pag. 337, says of a Man who had taught two *Rowers*, the one to congratulate *Augustus*, and the other to congratulate *Marce Antony*.

(2) *Gaspar. Barleus, Epist.* 334, pag. 668: the Letter was written in the Year 1636.

(3) If we believe *Sorbiere*, that Cardinal gave him 5000 *Livres* for his *Elogy*. *Sorberiana*, pag. 224.

(c) *His Son-in-law, Gerard Brandt, could find it to be printed at Amsterdam in 1667. Some of the most considerable use to be seen in the Coll. Ethic. of Epistole Prædicatorum ac Eruditorum Virorum, published by the Arminians, in 8. in 1667, and in Folio in 184.*

(4) Page 4.

That Wound was never healed: He was looked upon all his Life time, as a Favourer of that Sect [C], and many Persons murmured against the Magistrates of Amsterdam, for entertaining such a Professor. All his Proceedings were narrowly watched, and not the least Favour shewn him. He was terribly exclaimed against, for some Verses he had made on the Book of a Rabbi [D]. After his Death, his Letters were published in Two Volumes (e); but the *Sextus Empiricus*,

aliquot Patricæ Theologorum & Ecclesiastiarum malejana consilia & studia iusta orationis libertate reprehenduntur. There was too much tartness in that piece, and it was too severe on the Preachers; for he pretends (4), that Holland afforded, "Viros Prædicatorum rii ordinis vocales plus satis, qui ad scribendos salutarios libros inepti, ad prædicandum Christi sapientiam elingues, tamen ad obtestandum cum Magistratibus, tum dissentientibus circa res religionis symmilitis, disertis sint & copiosi. — Preachers louder than they need to be, who have neither Pen to compose good Books, nor Tongue to deliver the Doctrines of Christianity, but can find both in the most full and eloquent manner to defame not only Magistrates, but also their own Fraternity, who differ from them in matters of Religion." In the following Page he says, "Si templa aliquot Hollandiæ peragraré libeat, Theologos quamplurimos in spermologos, concionatores in convitatores, pacis præcones in factionum principes & schismatis faciundi buccinatores transformatos mirabere, nec tam reformatæ amplius, quam pessimis aliorum moribus deformatæ religionis antilites esse jurabis. — If you look into some of the Churches of Holland, you will be surprised to find several Divines transformed into idle Praters; Preachers into Slanderers; and the Messengers of Peace into Ringleaders and Trumpeters of Faction and Schism: infamous that you would be apt to regard them as Priests of a Religion, not reformed, but deformed by the baseness of their own Morals." This is a most violent Insult on those, whose Character ought to have obliged him to treat them with Respect. This Invektive was immediately translated into Dutch. I cannot well tell whether it was in this Dissertation, that he called one Vincent Drielenburgh, who had set up for a Prophet, by the Name of *Nebulo*; but either in this, or some other Writing, he made use of that opprobrious Expression; which exasperated that Person to such a Degree, that he published a Book, wherein he calls Barleus a Knave and a Rascal, *Nebulonem & Sceleratum*, and engaged to give an Hundred Livres to the Deaconry of Leyden, and to deliver himself up into the Hands of Justice, that his Punishment might be exemplary, if it could be proved, by solid Reasons, that he was a Knave, *Nebulo*. Vincentius etiam Drielenburgh suis prophetandi partibus non desuit, nam anno superiore à Galparo Barleus in scripto quodam Nebulonis nomine designatus, id adeo Propetice suæ dignitati patavit esse injuriosum, ut edito mox scripto eundem Barleum sceleratum & Nebulonem nominaret, &c. (5). A little while after, there came out a Book, which pretended to prove this Charge against Drielenburgh, by ten incontestable Reasons. He answered those ten Reasons, and flew out extremely against Barleus. The latter composed a Remonstrance to the States-General during his Exile. It is dated from Francfort, in the Month of August, 1620, and intitled, *Fides imbellis, sive Epistola parænetica ad illuissimos & potentissimos Fœderatarum Provinciarum Ordines*. It is a Piece very well written, wherein the sad Consequences of Persecution, and the Rights of Conscience, are very pathetically represented. You will find it in the *Præstantium & Eruditorum Virorum Epistolæ* (6).

[C] He was looked upon, all his Life-time, as a Favourer of the Arminian Sect. It is certain, that, after he was restored in the University of Leyden, he did not break off his Correspondence with the Arminians. His Hundred and fifty sixth Letter informs Uytendogard, that Polyander, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, had discovered to his Friends, that all the Moderation, which appeared in the Writings, published by the Faculty of Theology, against the Arminians, came from himself: *Quidquid mollius leniusque scriptum reperitur in specimine, à se protulisse esse, reliqua asperiora collegarum esse* (7); but that he desired the Arminians, who were made acquainted with it, would keep it secret, because it would expose him to the Indignation of his Colleagues. *Regavit me obnixè per D. Vossium intermunicum, vobis uti scriberem, ne si forte hac*

res ad aures vestras pervenerit, ejus in responso vestro meminisse velitis, ne collegarum suorum invidiæ ac odiis, quorum jam semina jacta, miser obiciatur (8). The following Letter testifies, that one of Polyander's Colleagues reproached him for having told this to Barleus, an Enemy of the Church: *Tu hoc dixisti Barleus, quem scis esse hostem Ecclesiæ, qui illud ipsum ad Uytendogardum, & Episcopum perscripturus est.* These Letters were written in the Year 1630. It appears, by Barleus's Letters, that he was always of the Opinion of the Remonstrants.

[D] He was exclaimed against, for some Verses he had made on the Book of a Rabbi. Menasseh Ben-Israel, one of the most learned Men among the Jews, in the XVIIth Century, published a Book on the Creation, in the Year 1634. Barleus made an Epigram upon it, and, according to Custom, suffered it to appear at the Head of the Work. He declared too plainly, that he preferred a good Life before the Truth of speculative Doctrines. A Divine of Deventer, made a mighty bustle about it; he published a Piece, wherein he maintained, that the Epigram was full of Blasphemies, and that the Author of it was a Socinian. Nay, there was a Design to bring the Matter before the States of Holland, to convict Barleus, and all the Arminians, of Socinianism. Consilia agitari uti Libellus iste Conscriptis ordinibus Hollandiæ exhibetur ut appareat Barleum & Remonstrantes esse Socinianos (9). Barleus defended himself with Heat, and was very angry. He maintained, that his Words were maliciously interpreted, and even falsified, that they might the better colour the Arts they made use of, to find such a Meaning as he had never thought of. "Epigramma quoddam meum — quæsitis & perversis detorsionibus malignè interpretatur. Dicit illo epigrammate contineri varia quæ Ecclesiæ perniciofa, religioni Christianæ probrofa, & in Deum ac Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum impia sunt. Socinianismum adhuc auctori epigrammatis impingit, &c. — Censor pessima fide voculam è carmine sustulit, & suam substituit, maneamus pro vivamus. Sensus affingit verbis meis de quibus ne per somnium quidem cogitavi (10). — He maliciously interprets a certain Epigram of mine — by far-etched and unfair Constructions. He says, that Epigram contains several Things destructive to the Church, opprobrious to Christianity, and blasphemous to God, and our Lord Jesus Christ. He also charges the Author of it with Socinianism, &c. — This Censor has unjustly suppressed an Expression of mine, and substituted one of his own, maneamus, instead of vivamus. He construes my Verses in such a Sense, as 'I never once dreamed of.' He protested that he was no Socinian, that he never had been one, and that he detested the Doctrines of the Socinians. He added, that some would be glad to have him a Socinian, that their Hatred of him might find a larger Field of Triumph. *Non sum Socinianus nec fui unquam, imo hostis sum istorum dogmatum acerrimus. Vellent quidam me esse qui explendi in me odi materiam sollicitè querunt* (11). If that Judgment were false, it was, however, not unlikely; for those who engage in Controversies about Doctrines, accuse their Adversaries of so many things, that, commonly speaking, nothing can mortify them more, than to appear quite different from their Representations. However it be, it was lawful for Barleus to repulse the Calumny; but he ought not to have made such stinging Verses against the Divine of Deventer, that perhaps Archibolus would not have exceeded them. That Divine's Name, in short, was *Vedelius*, and his Book entituled *Deus Synagoga*. A Professor of Utrecht (12) seconded him in that Attack, by a Piece called *Vorsius redivivus*, which *Vedelius* took care to get printed. *Vorsius* believed, that Barleus felt sick, by laying the Insults of those two Antagonists too much to Heart. See what he wrote to *Grotius* the fifteenth of December, 1637. "Collega Barleus jam tertium menssem laborat quartanâ. Metuitur ei à magistro. Ut

(8) Ibid.

(9) Barleus, Epist. 388, pag. 675.

(10) Ibid. p. 674, 675. See also pag. 678.

(11) Ibid. pag. 679.

(12) Mart. Schoockius. See Voite select. Dissert. Vol. I. pag. 1156.

(c) Solomon Theodorus, in Pacificatorio difficti Belgii, pag. 176, 177.

(6) In Pag. 633, & 169. of the Edit. of 1684.

(7) Barleus Epist. 156, p. 156.

Empiricus, which was expected from him, never appeared. He has shewn how able he was to write History, by the *Relation of what passed in Brasil*, during the Government of Count *Maurice of Nassau*. He published that History in the Year 1647. Strange Reports were raised about his last Sickness [E], and about his Death [F]; but the Truth of it is hardly to be known: There is but little Credit to be given to Reports of this Nature; for it is notorious, from an hundred Examples, that, if an Author has distinguished himself ever so little, Fame does very much magnify the Personal or Domestic Disgraces, which befall him: And those, who are acquainted with the whole Secret, are commonly Persons too nearly concerned to publish what may occasion the least Disreputation.

(13) The *Event* did not confirm this Conjecture. The like are made every Day, that prove false.

(14) This is a true Gallicism. C'est celui de l'Entrée.

(15) Epitaphic, and eruditor. Viro-rum, pag. 706. Editio in fol. 1684.

(16) Rochus Honorius in Epist. ad Barleum, ibid. p. 795.

(17) In the Sorberiana, pag. 3, 38. Edit. of Holland, 1694.

(18) Doubtless it is a Fault of the Press. Perhaps the Author had written Sibiliter, for, he has elsewhere called that Ved. that put his Name to the first Piece, &c. very much surprised, that he had forgotten his Name.

" Ut convalescat, non videtur idem fore qui quondam
 (13). Affixit valetudinem opere properando quod
 nunc exciditur. Est hoc de ingressu (14) reginæ
 matris in urbem nostram, & honore pompæ ei
 exhibitæ. Typis prodibit augustis, plurimis exornatum
 picturis. Atque hoc quod dixi non dissimulat
 lat apud amicos. Sed multum metuo ne morbum
 hunc inde contraxerit, quod nimis ad animum re-
 vocaret quæ adversus eum scripta sunt à Doct.
 Vedelio, & Mag. Schoockio (15). ----- My
 " Colleague, Barleus, has been afflicted with a Quar-
 tan these three Months. He is in some Danger of
 " a Consumption. If he recovers, he will scarce ever
 " be the same Man again. He destroyed his Health,
 " by applying so closely to the Work, which is now
 " printing. The Subject is the Entry of the Queen-
 " Mother into our City, and her magnificent Recepti-
 " on. It will appear in a very fine Letter, and a-
 " dorned with several Copper-Plates. He owns, among
 " his Friends, the Account I have now given. But I
 " much fear, that his Distemper is rather owing to his
 " laying too much to Heart the Calumnies published
 " against him by Dr Vedelius, and Mr Schoockius." I
 believe, that most of Barleus's best Friends found
 him too much concerned for the Censure of his Epi-
 gram; for they advised him to despise his Critics,
 whom they lashed severely. " Tibi sum auctor ut
 " eos posthac præteritione mulctes. Accerrima vin-
 dicta est contentus: in malam rem homines ad
 " civilia ingenia vexanda natos. Ex Epigrammate
 " scilicet quo Manassen Judæum non profcendis con-
 vitiis, totus in te Theologorum ordo asperatus om-
 nem Hæreticorum sentinam in caput tuum infun-
 det. ----- Si verpum, apellam, recutitum eum-
 dem dixisses, & virum, ut videtur, non malum
 poetices scomatibus exagitasses, palmarium merui-
 ses. ----- Si quid mihi apud te est fidei crabro-
 nes istos iterum dico posthac negliges. Acrius enim
 posse repullam instant, & ubi excusseris venenum
 omne in aculeos advocant tanquam ipsi læsi (16).
 ----- I desire you would, for the future, repay
 " them with Neglect. Contempt is the most galling
 " Method of Revenge: and fittest to be used against
 " those, who are born to defame modest Merit, and
 " prove a Pest to Mankind. Because your Epigram
 " does not load Manasses the Jew with Reproaches,
 " the whole Order of Divines are angry, and bespatter
 " you with all the Filth, which Heresy ever produced.
 " ----- If you had called him a circumcised Wretch,
 " and abused him, though he does not seem to deserve
 " it from you, with poetical Slander, you would have
 " been admired. ----- If I have any Influence
 " over you, I again beg you would despise these Hor-
 " nets. For a Repulse only makes them return to the
 " Charge with greater Fury, and, if you shake off their
 " Venom, they only prepare to sting you with all their
 " Vengeance, as though you were the Aggressor." Bar-
 leus's Epigram, which was the Cause of so much Stir,
 would have found a place here, if it had not lately
 been inserted in a little Book, which is in every body's
 Hands (17). I am surprized to find in it but a very
 small part of Barleus's Verses against Vedelius; but
 I wonder yet more, how Sorbieri could think, that the
 Passage, which he mentions, shews the Author scoffed
 at both Religions. These are Sorbieri's Words: " Cùm
 " Vedelius nomen suum in priori scripto analytico
 " epigrammatis Barleani restituisset (18) ait
 " ----- quid tenebroso
 Calumniator prave delites antro,
 Et excolet sæve tergiversator
 Accessit orco monstra perditæ sectæ?
 Cur versipellis Sarmatæ malas voces

Portenta fidei, exhibilata Senenſis
 Commenta verbis affricas ferenatis?

" Quæ sane nec Calvinianis satisfacere nec aliis, sed
 " utriusque religionis ludibrio habitæ poetam merito
 " suspectum reddidere (19). ----- Because Vedelius (19) Sorbe-
 " bad suppressed his Name in his first Piece, against
 " Barleus's Epigram, he makes him this Reply,

Why starts the Slanderer, in his darksome Den,
 The bellish Maxims of the worst of Men?
 Why brings he back that cursed Sect to light,
 Long since condemn'd to everlasting Night?

" which can neither be agreeable to the Calvinists,
 " nor the others, but justly renders the Poet suspected
 " of ridiculing both Religions." A Man must be mad
 or drunk to judge so; for the Verses, which we have
 just now read, are the most severe that can be made
 against Socinianism, and no Body can testify more
 earnestly, than Barleus has done, how much he detest-
 ed to be suspected of that Heresy. This Author's
 Prose, which Sorbieri has quoted a little before, thun-
 ders full as violently against that Sect.

[E.] Strange Reports were raised about his last Sick-
 ness. I have heard say, that he thought himself to
 be made of Glass, and that he was afraid of being
 broke to pieces, when any body came near him.
 Others have told me, that he fancied himself Butter,
 or Straw, and durst not come near the Fire. This is
 inconsistent with his Funeral Oration, spoken by Cor-
 vinus, Professor of Law; for it is there affirmed,
 that he read a Lecture to his Scholars the Day be-
 fore he died, and that he was going to read another,
 when a Faintness seized him, from which he never
 recovered. Id quod dolemus, eo accidisse momento quo
 se parabat ut juventuti sibi commissæ docendo debitum
 præstaret officium (20). " Antecessit quidem eum
 " morbus cum quo luctabatur subinde, non tamen
 " tantus quin aliquomodo confectus adhuc sufficeret
 " laboribus. Audiverant eum, pridie diei quo eum
 " mors invasit, discipuli docentem: audivissent eam-
 " dem qua occidit, nisi ipsis eum abfultisset, ita ut
 " accepimus, plurimis hodie exemplis fere epidemica
 " lypothymia. ----- He had before laboured under an
 " Indisposition, which now and then afflicted him,
 " but not so severely as to binder him from going on
 " with his usual Employments. His Pupils had been
 " at Lectures with him the Day before he died, and
 " were to have gone again the next, if a sudden
 " Fainting, as I have been informed, which, by fre-
 " quent Instances, was become almost epidemical, had
 " not carried him off." It is very remarkable, that
 he had a little before made use of the same Precau-
 tion: " Inopinatus eum extinxit, ut nobis rela-
 " tum, Lipothymia. Inde factum ut eum extin-
 " ctum ante audiverimus, quàm morti esse propin-
 " quum morbus prænuntiaret. ----- A sudden Faint-
 " ness, as I have been told, carried him off. So that
 " we heard of his Death, before any Dissemper had
 " discovered him to be in Danger." Observe, that
 Corvinus had just before addressed his Speech to the
 Disciples of the deceased. And can any one think
 he would have told them falsely to their Face, that they
 assisted at one of his Lectures, the Day before his
 Death?

(20) Corvi-
 nus in Ora-
 tione Fun-
 ebris. Bar-
 leus.

[F.] And about his Death. Morbosus reports, that
 Barleus died in a Well, and that it is not known,
 whether he fell into it accidentally, or threw himself
 into it. Misero fato periiit, puteo submersus, an sponte,
 an casu, incertum, de morte ejus jam supra diximus.
 It is thus he speaks, in the Three hundredth Page
 of his Polybistor. Doubtless he refers us to Page 155,
 8 C when

when he says, that he had already mentioned This Death: But, in the One hundred fifty fifth Page, he does not acribe it either to an Accident, or to a premeditated Design, but affirms, that *Barleus* became mad, and cast himself into a Well; and quotes the Sixty fourth Letter of *Sorbiere*. "Eo nonnullorum excrevit à fiducia nimia ambitio, ut finis aliorum judicio in extremam incidant infamiam. Quod *Barleus* accidit, qui ob prælatum sibi Spanhemium in maniam incidit, seque ipsum in puteo suffocavit, quod de eo *Sorbiere* refert *Epist.* 64. extatque apud Duportum *Musarum subcisiya-rum*, Lib. 1. de eo Epigramma (21). — To such an Extrem are some Persons hurried by Pride and Self-conceit, that a Disappointment from the Judgment of others shall throw them into Madness. This happened to *Barleus*, who, on account of the Preference being given to Spanheim, fell into a Distraction, and drowned himself in a Well; This is related by *Sorbiere*, *Epist.* 64. lib. 1. And there is an Epigram upon it in Duport's *Muse Subcisiya*, lib. 1." This Quotation is very false, for here is what *Sorbiere* says. "The Death of *Barleus*, of which you desire the Particulars, is not

of that Importance (22), though he was a very worthy Man; for there will always be found a greater Number of excellent Poets than Physicians. When I was at *Amsterdam*, they spoke variously of his Death, as if Melancholy had hastened it. It is true, that, having composed a Funeral Oration, in Verse, on the Death of the Prince of Orange, and Dr *Spanheim* having spoke one in Prose, he bore the Inequality of their Reward very impatiently: For, as *Salmafius* said, very pleasantly, they made a great Mistake, in giving the Trooper's Pay to the Foot Soldier, and That of the Foot Soldier to the Trooper. *Barleus* had but Five hundred Livres, and the other had Five hundred Crowns." There is nothing about *Barleus*'s Death in the *Sarberiana*. We find there, indeed, that, according to the common Report, *Barleus* was subject to some Fits of Lunacy: "Ferebatur intervalla quædam minus lucida habere, nec aberat conjectura oculorum qui non bene sanam cerebri particulam indicabant. — He was said to have Intervals of P frenzy, and that a Wildness about the Eyes discovered his Brain was not right."

(22) That is, of the same Importance with that of *Wal-leus* and *Visslingius*, who did not meet the same just before.

(21) Morhof. Polyhist. p. 155.

BARLEUS (LAMBERT), Brother of the foregoing, was born at *Bommel* in *Guelderland*, in the Year 1595 (a). He was Greek Professor in the University of *Leyden*. Before That, he had been Teacher of the Second Class in a College at *Amsterdam* [A], and, before he taught that Class, he had been Minister of the *Baron de Langerac*, the Dutch Ambassador in *France* (b). He was called to *Leyden* to fill up the place of *Jeremias Hoelzelin*, and a new Addition was made to that Office; for it was given him with the Title of Professor in Ordinary (c), which is attended with several Advantages. He made his Inauguration Speech, *De Græcarum Literarum Præstantia ac Utilitate*, the Twenty second of October, 1641. In 1652, he published the *Timon* of *Lucian*, with several Notes, which have nothing very extraordinary, or profound, in them, but may be useful to Youth. He died the sixteenth of June, 1655 (d). His Commentary on the *Theogony* of *Hesiod* was printed in 1658.

(a) Witte in *Diario Biographico*.

(b) Corvinus in *Orat. Funerbi* Gasp. *Barleus*.

(c) See the *Epistle* Ordinary of his *Timon* of *Lucian*.

(d) Witte, *Diario Biogr.*

[A] He had been Teacher, of the second Class, in a College, at *Amsterdam*.] The Dutch give the Title of *Corrector* to the Teacher of this Class. That is

to say, *The Rector's Assistant*. They call the Teacher of the first Class *Rector*. He has an Inspection over the other Teachers.

BARLOW (THOMAS), Bishop of *Lincoln*, in the Reign of *Charles II*, was a very learned Man. He was a long time Professor of Divinity in the University of *Oxford*, and it has been suspected by a certain Person, that he was removed from thence for being too Orthodox [A]. He was very zealous against Popery, as he demonstrated by his Writings [B]. He had a large Collection of Books, and was a Man of great Reading. He died in the Year 1690, or thereabouts. Some small Pieces, which were found among his Papers, have been published since his Death. He has been confounded with *William Barlow* [C], Bishop of *Lincoln*, who flourished under King *James I*, and also died under that Prince.

[A] It has been suspected, by a certain Person, that he was removed from the University of *Oxford* for being too Orthodox.] This certain Person is a famous Minister, and Professor of Divinity, at *Groningen*; in a Word, it is *James Alting*. He says, in a Letter dated the thirteenth of March, 1676, That Dr *Barlow* was lately advanced to the Bishopric of *Lincoln*, on purpose that he might be removed from the University, where he taught the Orthodox Faith (1); for, adds he, the English are much inclined to *Pelagianism* and *Socinianism*: And, on this Occasion, he mentions a Book, *De Unione & Communionem cum Christo*, the Author of which is named *Sberlock*.

[B] He was very zealous against Popery, as he demonstrated by his Writings.] When there was so much Discourse about *Titus Oates*, and the horrible Conspiracy, which he discovered, This Bishop published a Book, wherein he maintained, against all Evolutions, that it is an Article of the *Roman* Faith, that the Pope may depose Sovereigns, and give their Dominions to others. This was a very good way to shew, that he designed to do the Papists some Prejudice; for, of all the Means likely to stir up the Zeal of the Nation against them, there is none can do it more effectually, than to shew, that they are always ready, from a Principle of Conscience, to take up Arms against Protestant Princes. The Book, which *Barlow* published on That Subject, was im-

mediately translated into French, and published under this Title: *An Historical Treatise on the Subject of Excommunicating and Deposing of Kings*: at Paris, by *Claude Barbin*, 1681 (2).

[C] He has been confounded with *William Barlow*.] The two Authors, who have added some Supplements to the Treatise of *John Deekberrus*, *De Scriptis Adelpotis*, are fallen into this Error. *Deekberrus* had said, that the Jesuit, who wrote, in English, against King *James*, concerning the Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, was refuted by Mr *Baclo*, Bishop of *Lincoln*. One of his Friends (3) informed him, by Letter, that This Prelate's Name was not *Baclo*, but *Thomas Barlow*; "Is si placet est *Thomas Barlowius* magni apud Anglos nominis, & de nominibus optime meritis. Optandum foret videre aliquando aversos ipsius, quorum magnam in instructissima sua Bibliotheca copiam habet, & nuperime uno & altero opusculo præfatum contra Curiam Romanam magnum litteratis desiderium excitavit. Historia ejus de conspiratione contra *Ja-colum Angliæ Regem*, vulgo *The Gun-powder Treason*, non ita pridem publicum vidit. — His Name is *Thomas Barlow*, who is very famous in his own Nation, and deserves very well of ours. It were to be wished he would present the World with his Manuscript Pieces, which are very numerous, and, by a late Taste or two of which, chiefly against

(2) I need not advert, that the Place of a Scriptis Adelpotis is fictitious.

(3) *Paulus Vindingin* See the E de Scriptis Adelpotis pag. 355. Edit. 1682

(1) See *Al-ting*, *Opera*, Tom. 5. pag. 391.

"against the Court of Rome, he has greatly excited the Curiosity of the Learned. His History of the Conspiracy against James King of England, commonly called The Gun powder Plot, has been lately published." The Letter, from which I have taken these Words, was written, at Strasburg, in 1681. It is plain therefore, that Mr Deckberrus's Friend imagined, that the Bishop of Lincoln, who had wrote, for King James, against a Jesuit, was yet living. Now this is a great Mistake. It was in the Year 1609, that King James made use of the Pen of Dr Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, against Robert Parsons, an English Jesuit. If that Doctor had been yet living, in the Year 1681, his Age must have been a Circumstance very extraordinary, and those would have been inexcusable, who should have mentioned

his Learning, and his Books, without taking notice of his great Age. It will be to no purpose to use any Evasions, or urge, that some learned Men live an hundred Years; since it is very well known, that the Name of the Bishop of Lincoln, who wrote for King James, was William, and not Thomas. I do not know whether an hundred Years would have been sufficient for Thomas Barlow to be living in 1681, and to have been a Bishop in the Year 1609; for it is very rare to be a Bishop, in England, before the Age of Thirty five or forty Years. The Author of the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres*, who took a small Review of Mr Deckberrus's, and Mr Vindingius's Faults, did not only overlook this, but, which is worse, adopted it (4).

(4) See de Scriptis A-delpotis, pag. 372.

BARNES (ROBERT) (a), Professor of Divinity, and Chaplain to Henry VIII [A], King of England, was sent, by his Master, into Germany, in the Year 1535 [B]. He conferred forthwith with the Protestant Divines, on the Subject of the Divorce: He had afterwards some Audiences of the Elector of Saxony, and joined with the English Embassadors, who proposed to that Elector an Alliance against the Pope, and who desired, that Henry VIII might be associated in the League of Smalcald. They gave hopes of a Reformation in England; but, at the bottom, their only aim was to obtain an approbation of their Master's Divorce, and a Politic Alliance to give the Emperour more Trouble, who threatened to revenge the Injury done to his divorced Aunt. They carried back an Opinion of the Divines of Wittemberg, which was not altogether favourable for them [C]; but they suppressed the Conclusion, when they presented it to the King. That part which

(a) See Romanek [A].

[A] He was Professor of Divinity, and Chaplain to King Henry VIII.] He was mentioned by these Titles, in the Credential Letters, which the King, his Master, gave him, in order to his Negotiation in Saxony; and those Letters are dated from Windsor, the eighth of July, 1535 (1). His Christian Name does not appear, in those Letters, before That of Barnes. In Germany he gave himself the Name of Antony Amarius, though his true Name was Robert Barnes. When he dedicated his *Lives of the Popes* to the King of England, in the Year 1535, he signed R. Barnes, Doctor (2). It appears, in a Preface of Luther (3), that Barnes concealed his Name, and his Title of Doctor, in Wittemberg, for fear of the Persecutors. Melancthon calls him D. Antonius Doctor, or D. Antonius, in a Letter, which he wrote to the King of England, the thirteenth of March, 1535 (4).

[B] He was sent, by his Master, into Germany, in the Year 1535.] The Preface, which I have quoted, informs me, that Barnes resided at Wittemberg, about the Year 1530, and that he did even lodge in the House of Luther. "Quis ante annos decem hoc decus in Beneficio quævisisset, & quod Christus ipse in eo nobiscum versatus esset? domesticum enim & commensalem habuimus (5). — Who, ten Years ago, would have expected this Honour from Barnes, and, that Christ himself, in him, should make his Abode with me? For he hath lodged and boarded with me." Barnes might have lived in Germany till the Year 1535, and might have received Credential Letters there, from Henry VIII, to negotiate with the Elector of Saxony. Upon This Supposition, the Author of the History of the Reformation of England might very well say, "That, at last, while the Bishop of Hereford was at Smalcald, that is, in the Year 1536, Barnes was sent, by That Minister, into England, where he was very well received by Henry, and entertained by Cromwell (6)." I say, upon This Supposition, this Account would be exact; for all that Mr de Seckendorf alleges against it, is, that Barnes came from England into Germany, in the Year 1535, with a Commission from Henry VIII (7). He was therefore returned into England, before the Bishop of Hereford sent him thither, and therefore the Message he was sent on, by That Prelate, ought not to be taken for his Return Home. But can it be proved, that the Credential Letters were not sent to Barnes into Germany, and that he himself was sent into That Country? Yes, it may: Seckendorf proves it from the Records, which have furnished him with many good Pieces: "Venerat Wittembergam (Reg. x. fol. 99. n. 42.) verno hujus anni 1535 tempore, Doctor ex Britannia ab Henrico Rege missus (8). —

"There came, to Wittemberg, in the Spring of the Year 1535, a Doctor from England, sent by Henry VIII." Melancthon confirms the same thing in Greek; for he made use of That Language to inform his good Friend Camerarius, that there was an Envoy from England, who spoke of nothing but of the King's second Marriage, and who said, that Henry VIII cared but little for the Affairs of Religion.

Ἡσέ δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔξω τῆς περιουσίας ἐκ τῆς Βρετανίας, μόνον διαλεχόμενος περὶ τῆς ἐνέληρα γάμου τῶ βασιλεῶς, τὸν δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περὶ μᾶλλον ἢ μίλει, ὡς φησι, τῶ βασιλεῖ (9). But, though we are not allowed to make the Supposition before mentioned, yet we may nevertheless hold Dr Burnet's Account to be true. That Historian says only, that the Bishop of Hereford sent Barnes into England: he does not deny, that Barnes was returned thither before.

[C] He, and his Colleagues - - - carried back an Opinion of the Divines of Wittemberg, which was not favourable for them.] Dr Burnet gives the Particulars of it very exactly; "Their first Sentiment of this Matter, says he (10), was, that the Ordinances of the Levitical Law were not moral. - - - Afterwards they altered their Opinion, when the Question had been a little more agitated; but they never agreed, that a Marriage, already consummated, could be dissolved, and they confirmed themselves more and more in this last Opinion, so that they condemned the King's two Marriages." He mentions this under the Year 1530. Not that he was ignorant, that This Opinion was given in 1536; but he did it, without doubt, to shew his Reader, all at once, the different Opinions of the Divines on the Divorce of Henry VIII. Mr Seckendorf thought so: for when he remarks, that the Opinion of the Divines of Wittemberg is to be found in the History of the Reformation of the Church of England, in the Collection of Records, and Original Papers, among those belonging to the Year 1530, he adds this Parenthesis (*forte per occasionem*). "Annus & dies responso huic non est adscriptus, & Burnetus illud inter acta anni 1530 (*forte per occasionem*) retulit. Lib. II. fol. 94 (11). - - - This Opinion is without Date, and Burnet has related it (perhaps occasionally) among the Transactions of the Year 1530. Book II. pag. 94." The Bishop of Meaux did not know, that the Decree of Wittemberg was of the Year 1536. He speaks only of Melancthon's Opinion, as to That Year, and does not criticize Dr Burnet, for having placed the Answer of the Divines of Wittemberg, in the Year 1530 (12). Mr Seckendorf observes, that the Copy of That Answer, which he read in the Archives of Weimar,

(9) Melancthon, Letter 170, of the 4th Feb, dated the 11th of March 1535.

(10) Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. Book 2. pag. 220. ad Ann. 1536.

(11) Seckendorf. lib. 3. pag. 122.

(12) See the History of the Variations, lib. 7. n. 58.

(1) See Seckendorf, History of Lutheranism, lib. 3. pag. 110. in the Addition.

(2) Id. in Supplementis ad Indicem l. n. 10.

(3) That which he prefixed to the Relation of the Martyrdom of Barnes, inserted in the seventh Volume of his Works. See Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 262.

(4) It is the 20th of the 3d Book.

(5) Luther apud Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 262.

(6) Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Book 2. pag. 689.

(7) Seckendorf, lib. 3. pag. 262.

(8) Id. ibid.

(b) Seckendorf Hist. Lutheranism, lib. 3. pag. 110. & seq.

which must have been disagreeable to that Prince, was in the Conclusion (b). The Conduct of Barnes pleased the King of England very well; for which reason he was employed to cultivate a Correspondence with the Princes of Germany. He was sent several times to those Courts; and, among other Negotiations, he was the first who was employed in the Treaty of Marriage with Anne of Cleves [D]. He was a good Lutheran, and made no Secret of it in his Sermons; for, in the Lent Season of the Year 1540, he confuted the Sermon, which Bishop Gardiner had preached against the Doctrine of Luther. He took Gardiner's own Text, and taught a quite contrary Doctrine to what that Prelate had established concerning Justification: he even attacked that Bishop personally, after an indecent manner, and jested on the Name of Gardiner. Gardiner's Friends complained to the King about it, who ordered, that Barnes should give him Satisfaction for it; that he should sign certain Articles, and make a Recantation in the Pulpit. All this was performed, but in such a manner, that Complaints were made, that in one part of his Sermon he had the Subtlety to maintain what he had retracted in the other. Upon these Complaints the King ordered him to be sent to the Tower, from whence he never returned but to suffer Death in the midst of Flames [E]; for the Parliament condemned him as an Heretic, without giving him leave to make his Defence. A little before his Death, he declared his Belief, rejected Justification by Works, the Invocation of Saints, &c. and desired that the King would go about a good Reformation (c). The freedom of his Tongue had brought him into many Troubles a long time before. In Wolsey's Prosperity, he preached so strongly at Cambridge against the Luxury of the Prelates, that every body might easily guess he designed it against that Cardinal. This occasioned his being sent for to London, where he came off - - - by the Solicitations of Gardiner and Fox, by means of abjuring some Articles proposed to him. "Afterwards he was imprisoned again on new Accusations, and then every one believed he would be burnt. But he made his Escape, and retired into Ger-

"many,

(c) Taken from the History of the Reformation of England, wrote by Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, lib. 3. pag. 689. & seq.

WHETHER the Divines of Wittemberg reasoned consistently.

is longer than That, which is to be found among Dr Burnet's Original Pieces. Here is the Passage, which was suppressed by the Embassadors of Henry VIII. "Eti contentiamus cum Dominis legatis servandum esse legem de uxore fratris non ducenda, mansit tamen inter nos controversum quod legati statuunt dispensationi locum non esse, nos vero putamus esse illi locum. Neque enim strictius obligare nos lex potest quam Judæos: si autem lex dispensationem admittit, vinculum matrimonii utique fortius est quam lex illa altera de uxore fratris. — Although we agree with their Excellencies the Embassadors, that the Law, which prohibits the marrying a Brother's Wife, is to be observed, yet we differ in this, that they hold this Law cannot be dispensed with, and we think it may. For we cannot be under a stricter Obligation to the Law, than the Jews were: and, if the Law admits of a Dispensation, the Tie of Matrimony is more binding than that other Law concerning the Brother's Wife." Mr Seckendorf conjectures, that the Embassadors suppressed That Passage, that their Master might still entertain Hopes, that the Divines of Wittemberg would at last approve his second Marriage.

This Thought is very reasonable: and, in general, those Divines might very justly suppose, that there are Acts, which ought not to have been executed, and which yet, being once executed, ought to be maintained. But, I confess, I cannot well apprehend how the beginning and end of their Opinion can be reconciled. They own, on the one side, that the Ordinances of the Levitical Law are Divine, Natural, and Moral; that no Law can be made in Opposition to them; and, that the Church has always judged, that a Man's Marriage with his Brother's Widow is incestuous. "Hoc manifestum est, & negare nemo potest, quod lex tradita Levit. xviii. 20. prohibet ducere fratris uxorem, &c. fed divina, naturalis, & moralis lex est intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris uxore, & quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut constitui possit (13):" and, on the other side, they maintain, that This Levitical Law may be dispensed with: Legati statuunt dispensationi locum non esse, nos vero putamus esse illi locum. If it may be dispensed with, Henry VIII ought to have believed, that he was lawfully married to Catherine of Aragon. But, if it is Indispensable, Divine, Natural, and Moral, and such, in a Word, as will admit of no contrary Authority; lastly, if the Church has always adjudged, that a Marriage, not conformable to This Law, is incestuous, then Henry VIII ought to have looked

upon his Cohabitation with Catherine of Aragon as no other than Incest, and therefore immediately he ought to have obtained from it, and the Divines of Wittemberg ought to have made no Doubt, whether they should approve, or disapprove, his Divorce. The Maxim, That there are things, which ought not to have been done, which, when once they are done, ought not to be undone, could have no place here, since the Question was about the Continuation of an Incest. Those, who love Scandal, and want an Opportunity to recriminate, would not easily agree with the Observation of Dr Burnet, "That if, in the Conduct of the Saxon Divines, there does not appear the Cunning, the Policy, and the Diffimulation, of the Court of Rome, yet there appears in it, at least, the Candour, the Sincerity, and good Conscience, of the Apostolic Times (14)." For my own Part, I had rather suppose, that they did not reason consistently, than that they designed to have the Pleasure of reflecting on the Pope's Dispensation, and at the same time the Policy of carrying it fair to Charles V, and the Interests of his Cousin the Princess Mary: but an Adversary, who loves to give things a malicious Turn, might, by way of Repraisal, pass a severe Judgment on the Conduct of those Divines (15).

[D] He was employed in the Treaty of the Marriage with Anne of Cleves.] This was a Misfortune to Barnes; "Because the King being not well pleased with that Marriage, spared neither the Author nor the Instruments of it." This is what the Bishop of Salisbury assures us (16). Luther has touched on another Circumstance; he says, That the true Cause of the King's hatred for Robert Barnes, was the Liberty, wherewith that Doctor diffused him from repudiating Anne of Cleves (17). Mr Seckendorf pretends, that Dr Burnet observes the same thing (18): I question it much; for I have not met with it in his Reformation of England.

[E] He was sent to the Tower, from whence he never returned, but to suffer Death in the midst of Flames.] The Relation of his Martyrdom was sent from England into Germany. Mr Seckendorf found it in the Archives of Weimar, translated into the German Language (19). Luther published it (20), and added a Preface to it, wherein, among other things, he praises Barnes's Modesty. "He was not ignorant, says he, of the Failings of Henry VIII, nor did he dissemble them among his Friends; but every where else he spoke of that Prince in very respectful and honourable terms (21)."

(14) Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, lib. 2. pag. 229.

(15) See the Bishop of Meaux's Hist. of the Variat. l. 7. p. 262. n. 25.

(16) History of the Reformation, lib. 3. pag. 689. ad Ann. 1540.

(17) In Prefat. Relation. Martirii Barnese, apud Seckendorf. l. 3. p. 262. n. 25.

(18) Ibid.

(19) Ibid. n. 24.

(20) It is inserted in Vol. VII. of his Works, Edit. of Altona, f. 422. id. ibid.

(21) Ibid. n. 25.

(13) Apud Seckendorf, pag. 114. Burnet's Hist. Reformation in Collection of Records, Part i. l. 2. n. 35.

"many, where he applied himself wholly" to the Study of the Bible, and of Divinity. He made so great a progress in it, that he became very considerable both among their Doctors, and Princes. When the King of Denmark sent Embassadors into England, he ordered, that Barnes should accompany them (d), or rather that he should be one of them (e). The Bishop of Salisbury, whom I quote in the Margin, might easily be justified in a Point, for which he is criticized (f). There are at least two Books published by Barnes [F].

(d) Id. ib. pag. 683.

(e) Fox men-
t on this lost
Opinion;
which seems
dubious to
Dr. Burnet,
ibid. p. 689.

(f) See Re-
mark [B].

[F] There are at least two Books published by Barnes.] The one contains the *Articles of his Belief*; the other is the *History of the Popes*. The first was printed in Latin with a Preface of Pomeranus, at whose House Barnes lodged at that time. It was printed in the German Language, at Nuremberg, in the Year 1531. It contains nineteen *Theses* according to Luther's Principles, and several Proofs taken from the Scripture, and the Fathers. The other Book was printed at Wittenberg in the Year 1536, with a Preface of Luther: It contains the Lives of the Popes from St Peter to Alexander III, and is dedicated to the King of England: The Author wrote

the Epistle Dedicatory the tenth of September 1535. He treats the Popes very ill; and promises to continue their History down to his own Time (22). Mr Seckendorf is of opinion, that this Book deserves a second Edition (23), and has inserted the Preface of it in his Indexes, because, *says he*, it is very difficult to be met with, and may be reckoned for lost. *Quia Liber ipse rarissime invenitur, & pro deperdito haberi potest* (24). It is certain, however, that a new Edition of it was published at Leyden in the Year 1615, which contains also the Lives of the Popes, written by John Bale, and which is not yet very scarce.

(22) Ex
Schollis five
Supplemen-
tis Secken-
dorff ad In-
d. cem I.

(23) Recudi-
meretur. ib.

(24) Id. in
Index III,
ad Ann.
1535.

BARNES (JOHN), in Latin *Barneſius*, an English Benedictin Monk, was one of those Roman Catholics, who, following the Examples of Erasmus, Cassander, Wicelius, Modrevius, Father Paul, and many others, made all their life-time Profession of the Catholic Religion, though they observed a great many abuses in it, which they heartily wished to see reformed. He wrote a Book against *Mental Reservations*, which was not at all pleasing to the Jesuits [A], though he dedicated it to Pope Urban VIII. His *Catholico-Romanus pacificus* is full of such things as cannot be relished by those, who are called good Papists [B]. Doubtless he desired to bring the two Churches as near one another as ever he could. The Court of Rome was very much displeased with him for it. This poor Man, of unexceptionable Morals (a), being at Paris, was apprehended [C], and stript of the Habit of his Order, to be carried into Flanders bound on Horseback. He was afterwards sent to Rome, where he remained in the Prison of the Inquisition, till he was removed into That of Lunatics (b). In this latter Station he ended his Days, being most certainly worthy of a better fate. He was a professed Monk of the Convent of the Benedictins of Douay, and had been Superior there (c); but, being not able to agree with the Monks of his Order, he retired into France, and did not obey the Summons of the Benedictins, requiring

(a) See Re-
mark [B].

(b) See the
French
Mercury,
Vol. XII.
pag. 335^b.

(c) Ibid.
Vol. XII.
pag. 752.

[A] He wrote a Book against Mental Reservations, which was not at all pleasing to the Jesuits. It was printed at Paris in the Year 1625, under the Title of *Dissertatio contra Æquivocationes*: it was printed in French the same Year, and in the same place, under the Title of, *Traité & Dispute contre les Équivoques*. The Approbation of the Faculty of Divinity says, that John Barnes was Doctor of Arts, of Sacred Theology, and Professor of the English Mission, and first Assistant for the Congregation of Spain, and is dated the thirteenth of July 1624. The Author's Epistle Dedicatory is dated from Paris the thirteenth of January 1625. So that Father Theophilus Reynaud is mistaken, when he says, that Barnes was carried to Rome, and imprisoned under the Pontificate of Paul V. I shall relate his own Words; as they inform us of something concerning This poor Benedictin. "Joannes Barneſius Jesuitis admodum infensus, ob nonnullas suspiciones de competat illis vitæ suæ, eo loco fuit apud Paulum V, ut eum tanquam novæ fidei fabrum per Albertum Austriacum, & Gallia abducentem, & Belgio Romanum ævedum judicaretur carcere dignum: donec emotus cerebro inter fatuos pone S. Pauli minoris ædem sacram fatuari desit cum aliorum periculo (1). — John Barnes, a great Enemy to the Jesuits, from some Suspitions he had of their having discovered his Manner of Life, was seized in France as a Heretic, by Albert of Austria, and carried through Flanders to Rome, where he was condemned by Paul V, to be imprisoned; till, becoming distracted, he was removed to the Hospital of Lunatics behind the Church of St Paul the Minor, where he ceased to do mischief by his Madness." This Passage was quoted by Edward Brown, in the Eight hundred twenty sixth Page of his *Appendix to the Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*, printed at London 1690. See the following Remark. We read in the French Mercury (2), That this honest Benedictin believed, that the Jesuits hated

him mortally, after the Printing of his Book of Equivocations; that Doctor Gamaches (who was accounted one of the most able Divines of his Time) refused to give his Approbation of it, when requested of him; and that he wrote that Book whilst he was Confessor in the Convent of Chelles (3).

[B] His *Catholico-Romanus pacificus* is full of such Things as no good Papist can relish. It was printed at London in 1690, in the Appendix of the *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum*. The Author of the Appendix informs us, that he had seen three Manuscripts of This Work of Barnes; and he quotes these words of John Bafier, Professor of Divinity. "Barnus ille Irenæus (4) tametsi vitæ inculpatae & famæ integræ fuit, mediâ Lutetiâ correptus, suo habitu exutus, & quadrupedis instar barbarum in modum alligatus ad equum, & ita vehementissimè ævedus primo in Flandriam, deinde Romam, ibi in Inquisitionis barathrum, deinde in maniacorum ergastulum erat detrusus (5). — This good Irenæus, though of an unblameable Life, and unspoiled Reputation, was arrested in the middle of Paris, stript of his Habit, and tied upon a Horse, more like a Beast than a Man, in a very barbarous Manner, and so carried away by violence, first into Flanders, and then to Rome, where he was thrown into the Dungeon of the Inquisition, and afterwards into the Recepsacle of Lunatics."

[C] He was apprehended at Paris. They would have sent him away the same Day he was taken, if the Captain of the Watch had been as impatient, as the Father Procurator of the Benedictins of Douay was. But this impatient Person was forced to acquiesce till next Day, and then Father Barnes was carried in a Coach to Vilette, where two Benedictins waited to go along with him, and with the Guards, who were ordered to carry him to Cambray. He was bound on a Horse, and delivered to the Governour of Cambray, who sent him to the Castle of Wardeen (6). Father Theophilus Reynaud was in the wrong to speak of Orders from Albert of Austria for

(3) Mercure
Franç. Tom.
XII, p. 751.

(4) That is,
the Benedi-
ctin Barnes.

(5) Brown, in
Append.
Fasciculi
Rerum ex-
petend. His
quotes John
Bafier, Dia-
triba de an-
tiquæ Eccle-
siæ Britanni-
cæ libertate,
Bregis im-
pres. 1556.

(6) French
Mercury,
Vol. XII.
pag. 753.

(1) Theophil.
Rayn. in Theo-
logia antiqua
de veri Mar-
tyrii adæ-
quate sumpti
notione.
This Book
was printed
at Lyons in
1656, under
the Name of
Leodegarius
Quintinus.
The Passage
which I quote
out of it, is
pag. 174 of
his Apopom-
pæus.

(2) In Vol.
XII, p. 752.

quiring him to return to *Douay*, or to retire into some other of their Monasteries. He lodged at *Paris* near the College of *Navarre*, afterwards in the College of *Burgundy*, and lastly in the House of the Prince of *Portugal*, where the Captain of the Watch arrested him the fifth of *December* 1626. He was writing an Answer to the Book intituled, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, wherein he would have inserted his particular Opinions about the Discipline of the Church (d). Father *Theophilus Raynaud*, concealing himself under a fictitious name, wrote against his Treatise of Equivocations [D].

Perhaps it will be entertaining to the Reader, to find here the reason, why *Barnes* was an Enemy to the Jesuits [E]: I mean the reason, which they have published.

for That Archduke was dead a long time before *Barnes* was apprehended. I have quoted This Jesuit's Words in the first Remark.

[D] Father *Theophilus Raynaud*, concealing himself under a false Name, wrote against his Treatise of Equivocations. I speak of the Book entitled, *Splendor veritatis moralis, seu de licito usu Equivocationis, pro Leonardo Lessa, adversus Joannem Barnefum Anglum Mnachum*. It was printed at *Lyons*, in 1627, in 8vo: The Author takes the Name of *Stephanus Emonerius*. I have a stronger proof of it, than That, which *Placcius* formed out of two Passages of Father *Alegambus* (7), in one of which it is said, that *Theophilus Raynaud* composed, sub nomine alieno, the Treatise, of which I have just now given the Title (8); and in the other, that he concealed himself under the Name of *S. Emonerius* (9). This is my Proof. Father *Abram* says, in his Treatise de Mendacio (10), that *Theophilus Raynaud* acknowledged the Book of *Emonerius*, entitled *Splendor veritatis moralis*, for one of his Works, and that he may easily be discovered in it. *Miror te hunc pro Theophili partu agnoscere. — I wonder you should take this for one of Theophilus's Productions: thus says one of Father Abram's Interlocutors; the other answers; "Quid ni vero agnoscam cum illum in suis " Moralibus suum esse fateatur (11)? Quem si abdicaret, nullo tamen negotio patrem vel ex ipsa " filii facie cæterisque corporis lineamentis agnoscere possemus,*

Sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat.

"Why not, when he owns it himself in his Moral Works? And if he should disown it, it were easy to find him out to be the Father, from the Resemblance it bears to him in every part of it,

The Eye, the Hand, the Face exactly like.

Here is a Passage of *Theophilus Raynaud*, which shews, that he acknowledged the Confutation of *Barnes* to be his Work, and that this *Benedictine* was yet living in the Year 1650. "Dixi ego sane in præfatione operis de Equivocatione, adversus Cæctani germanum, bipedum omnium effrontissimum, Joannem Barnefum Anglum, qui vicenariio carcere, in quem curante summo Pontifice reclusus est, necdum detersit multiplicis adversus Deum, & Religionem Catholicam, ac S. Benedicti familiam, malignitatis rubiginem --- Societatem Jesu, &c.

(12). — I have said, in my Preface to that Work on Equivocation, against Cæctan's own Brother, the most hardened Wretch living, who, by twenty Years Imprisonment under the Jurisdiction of his Holiness, has not worn off the least Particle

"of the Canker of his abundant Virulency against " God, the Catholic Church, and the Family of St " Benedict --- that the Jesuits, &c."

[E] This is the Reason, why he was an Enemy to the Jesuits. On his Return from Spain into the Netherlands, he assisted at one of their public Disputations, wherein the Respondent proposed his Quodlibetal Thesis thus: *An Joannes, in Hispania infamis, possit hic in Belgio absque peccato infamari*. That is to say, *Can John, being infamous in Spain, be innocently defamed in the Netherlands?* Such Cases of Conscience have been examined by *Soto*, *Molina*, and several other Writers; but in a general manner, though with the Addition of some particular Circumstances. Those Generalities were not kept to in the Disputation, at which *John Barnes* assisted; for the Question was reduced to such precise Terms, by denoting in a particular Manner the time, and place, that he believed they meant him personally, and he would never be persuaded to the contrary, though they made very humble Protections to him, that they had no such design. He resolved to revenge himself, and make choice of the Subject of Equivocations. *Theophilus Raynaud* relates this, when he mentions the Answer, which he wrote against that Book of *Barnes*. "Ad singularia locorum ac temporum adjuncta, illis in oris per familiaria, difficultas restricta est. --- Clara locorum designatione petiuntur se ratum Barnefius, bellum indixit inconciliable Societatis Jesu Doctoribus; nec se ullis unquam vel contestationibus, vel mollibus ac propè supplicibus verbis, flecti passus est, ut nihil minus quam de eo notando cogitatum esse, in eo Thesium programmate ac prologo, persuaderetur (13).

— The Difficulty was urged with particular Circumstances of Time or Place, according to the Custom of their Disputations. — Barnes, thinking himself pointed at by the Place, whicb was named, declared perpetual War against the Jesuit Doctors; nor could he ever be prevailed upon by any Evidences, or the most candid and even humble Declarations, to believe, that there was not the least Thought of aiming at him in the Discussion of that Thesis. He does not forget to say, that *Barnes* was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; and that, having lost his Senses, he was removed to the Hospital of Lunatics; "Barnefium, ob periculosas novitates, --- carceri esse mancipatum, postea autem emota mente, in satuorum ergastulo Transiberino, (vulgo gli Pazzarelli) conclusus est; ubi anno 1643, erat superstes (14). — Barnes, for his pernicious Innovations, --- was thrown into Prison, and afterwards, running distracted, was removed to the Madhouse on the other side the Tyber, (commonly called gli Pazzarelli), where he was living in the Year 1643."

(13) *Theophilus Raynaud* in Synagmæ de libris propriis, p. 22, col. 2. Apopompei.

(14) *Id. ib.* p. 23, c. 1.

BARON (PETER), Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge in the XVIth Century, was a Frenchman born (a). He excited some troubles in that University, by certain Doctrines, which he delivered there, in the Year 1590. It was pretended, that his Opinions came very near those of the *Pelagians*. *Whitaker*, *Tindal*, *Chadderton*, *Perkins*, &c. opposed them in their Sermons, Lectures, and Books; but, at first, they spared their Adversary's Name, because of his great Age. Perceiving afterwards, that he continued to dogmatize, and that he maintained an heterodox Hypothesis in his *Summa trium de Prædestinatione Sententiarum*; *Whitaker* formally declared himself his Antagonist, and refuted his *Summa*. The Matter was brought before Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Archbishop of *Canterbury*. A Convocation of Prelates, and Doctors of Divinity, met at *Lambeth*: *Whitaker* was summoned to appear there, who maintained the common Opinion with so much Strength, that it became gloriously triumphant. That of *Baron* was condemned, and nine Articles (b) were drawn up, the twentieth of *November* 1595, which

(d) *Ibid.*

(7) *Placcius* de Pseudonymis, pag. 189.

(8) *Alegambus* Biblioth. Soc. Jes. p. 432.

(9) *Id.* pag. 432.

(10) Printed with his Pharus Vetus Testamenti, at Paris in 1643, folio.

(11) He does the same thing in his Synagmæ de Libris propriis. See the following Remark.

(12) *Theophilus Raynaud*, Hoploh. §. 2. item. 7. c. 12 p. 256. Edit. Lugd. 1650.

(a) He gave himself the Surname of *Stemparius*, which, I believe, is as much as to say d'Estampes.

(b) A loco, Lambethani dicti sunt. *Alting*, *Theolog. Hist.* p. 305, 306.

which were received in the University by Public Authority. *Baron* was dismissed, and returned into *France*: which restored Peace to that University (c). Some think, that he was used too severely [A]. We shall see the Titles of some Works of this Professor [B].

[A] Some think, that he was used too severely.] The Extracts of a Book of *Thomas Fuller*, which Mr *Des Maizeaux* has been so kind as to send me, shall be my Commentary on this place. That Book is an History of the University of *Cambridge*, and is to be met with at the end of *The Church History of Great Britain, from the Birth of Christ till the Year 1648*.

"A Contest happened between Mr *Chadderton*, (afterwards Master of *Emanuel College*;) and Dr *Baro*, Margaret Professor (1), about some heterodox Opinions, vented by the same *Baro*, both in his Readings and Print, (viz. in his Commentary on *Jonah*, and Book de *Fide*). Whereupon the Doctor procured Mr *Chadderton* to be called into the Consistory, in the Presence of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr *Hausford*, Dr *Harvey*, and Dr *Legge*, where he utterly denied, that he had ever preached against the Doctor, but he propounded these Questions as erroneous and false.

1. *Primus Dei amor non est in natura fidei Iustificantis.* — The principal Love of God is not in the Nature of justifying Faith.

2. *Fides Iustificans non præcipitur in Decalogo.* — Justifying Faith is not commanded in the Decalogue.

"Many Papers, in *Latin*,* passed between them, and at last they were conceived to come nearer together.

"The end of *Peter Baro's* triennial Lectures began to draw near: now, although Custom had made such Courtesy almost a Due, to continue the same Professor, where no urgent Reasons to the contrary were alleged, yet the University intended not to re-elect him for the Place, meaning fairly to cut him off just at the Time, (which would be the less Pain and Shame unto him,) when his Years should be expired (2). He himself was sensible of it, and, besides, he saw the Articles of *Lambeth*, lately sent to the University, and foresaw, that Subscription thereto would be expected from, yea imposed on, him, to which he could not condescend, there-

"fore resolved to quit his Place. So that this his Departure was not his free Act, out of voluntary Election, but That whereunto his Will was necessarily determined; witness his own reply to a Friend, requiring of him the Cause of his withdrawing: *Fugio, faith he, ne Fugarer. — I fly for fear I should be driven away.*

"Some conceive this to be hard Measure, for which was used to one of Dr *Baro's* Qualifications: for, I. He was a Foreigner, a *Frenchman*, *Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hospes*. II. A great Scholar; for he that denieth Learning in *Baro*, (so witnessed in his Works,) plainly affirmeth no Scholarship in himself. III. An inoffensive Man for Life and Conversation; seeing nothing of Viciousness could be charged upon him, which otherwise, in his Contest with Mr *Chadderton*, had been urged against him. Lastly, an aged Man, coming hither many Years since, (when the Professor's Place as much needed him as he it,) and who had painfully spent his Strength in the Employment. Others alleged, that, in such Cases of Conscience, there is no Plea for Courtesy, and that *Baro*, as he was a Stranger, had brought in Doctrines to the infecting the University, the Fountain of Learning and Religion, and therefore Archbishop *Whitegift* designed the removing him from his Place (3).

This is, Sir, (they are Mr *Des Maizeaux's* Words) what Fuller says; and I chuse to translate him literally, though not so well, rather than run the hazard of deviating from his Sense. He takes notice, that all the *English* wrote *Baro* constantly, or *Baroe*, and that, in Original Writings, the Doctor signed *Baro*; from whence it might be concluded, that I should have called him *Baro*, and not *Baron*, unless it be said, that he latinized his Name, when he signed *Baro*, and that the *English* called him according to the *Latin* Termination. That which is certain, is, that the Name of *Baron* is much more used in *France*, than that of *Baro*, which is not altogether unknown neither, witness the Continuator of *Astrea* (4).

[B] Here are the Titles of some of *Baron's* Works:] *Prælectiones* 39, in *Jonam*, printed at London, in 1579. *Summa trium Sententiarum de Prædestinatione. De Præstantia & Dignitate divina Legis.*

BARON (VINCENT), in *Latin* *Baronius*, a Monk of the Order of *St Dominic*, was much esteemed in the XVIIth Century, for several Books, which he published. He had the Famous *Theophilus Raynaud* for his Antagonist, and I do not know whether the Desire of encountering so famous a Champion, might not make him take, for that Jesuit's Work, what was really not so. He sometimes has acknowledged himself mistaken in his Conjectures on that Head. The Works of Father *Baron*, which are come to my knowledge, are, a Book, on *Justification, against the Doctrine of the Calvinists*; a *Moral Theology*, divided into three Parts [A], and an *Apology for his Order* [B]. In his *Moral Theology*, he has treated on the principal Matters in dispute between the *Dominicans* and the *Jesuits*. He was a famous Preacher.

[A] He composed a *Moral Theology*, divided into three Parts.] The first is designed against the Doctrine of Probability, adversus *Laxiores Probabilistas*

(1). He therein confutes *Caramuel*, who had wrote four Letters against the Dissertation, which *Fagnano*, Dean of the Prelates of *Rome*, had inserted in his Commentaries on the Canon-Law. *Fagnano* maintains strongly, that an Opinion, which is thought less probable, ought never to be preferred before that, which is thought more probable. *Caramuel* confuted him, and was confuted by our *Vincent Baron*. Father *Theophilus Raynaud* was refuted by the same Work, in relation to an Opinion of *Suarez*, condemned by *Clement VIII*. *Suarez* had maintained, that Confession might be made by Letters: Father *Theophilus* contrived some Expedients to defend his Brother against the Pope's Censure, and Father *Baron* wrote against those Expedients. He, at the same time, fell upon the *Janfenists*, since he maintained, against *Wendrokius*, "That sometimes, though very rarely, there happen Cases, wherein there may be an invincible Ignorance, as well of the Law of Nature, as of a positive Law (2)." In the second

Part, he attacks *Amadeus Guimenius*, and is not satisfied with maintaining, that the loose Opinions, which are imputed to the *Dominicans*, are not their true Sentiments; he shews also, what Judgment ought to be passed on those Opinions. He acknowledges, in his Preface, the wrong Notion he had entertained in composing his Work: He thought, that *Amadeus Guimenius* was but a fictitious Name, which Father *Theophilus* had given himself (3). In the third Part he treats of Liberty, and of the *Media Scientia*; and he maintains, that the Fore-knowledge of God has no other Foundation, than his Decrees; and that this Fore-knowledge is so far from destroying Man's Liberty, that, on the contrary, it establishes it (4). This must not be taken for a Paradox; for whoever should say otherwise, would not follow the Definition of Liberty, which ought to be given in the System of Physical Predetermination: It is by virtue of the different Ideas of Liberty, that the Dispute may be spun out, and the Reader so deluded, as not to be able to judge of the ill Success of his Cause.

[B] — and an *Apology for his Order*.] It is a *Latin* Work, like the foregoing: It is an Answer to the

(1) Margaret Countess of Richmond, Mother of Henry VIII, built some Colleges at Cambridge, and founded two Professorships of Divinity, one at Oxford, and another at Cambridge. Those who enjoy these Professorships, and the Salary annexed to them, are called Margaret Professors.

John Tistler, Bishop of Rochester, was the first who enjoyed that at Cambridge: Erasmus was the second, and Baro the fourteenth. This Marginal Note is Mr *Des Maizeaux's*.

(2) Fuller's Hist. of the University of Cambridge, ad Ann. 1596.

(1) Journal des Savans, March 8, 1666, pag. 294.

(2) Ibid. pag. 198.

(c) Aliqd. ibid.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 145, & seq. Edit. of Lond. 1655.

(4) See the History of the French Academy, pag. 321.

(3) Ibid. Apr. 12, 1666, p. 36.

(4) Ibid. June 21, 1666, pag. 257.

(a) By the
means of Mr
Pinffon des
Riolles.

Here is a Memoir, which came into my hands since the first Edition of this Work (a). "Father Vincent Baron was born at Martres, in the Diocese of Rieux in Gascony. He entered into the Order of Dominican Friars at Toulouse in the Year 1622. He taught Divinity for several Years, with applause, in the Convent of the same City, and was Prior there, as he was likewise at Avignon, and in the General Novitiate of the Suburb of St Germain at Paris. He was Definitor for his Province, in the General Chapter held in the Year 1656. Where he presided at the *Theses* dedicated to Pope Alexander VII, which gained him the esteem of all the City, and of the whole Order. He was in the Assembly, when the Pope sent to tell the Definitors, and the Fathers of the Chapter, that he was under the greatest Concern to see so deplorable a looseness in Christian Morality, which had been introduced into it by certain new Casuists, exhorting them to compose another System, agreeable to the Doctrine of St Thomas. This engaged Father Baron to undertake those Pieces he composed on that Subject. He was again elected Provincial, and afterwards the Father General sent him Commissary into Portugal, on Affairs of Importance, wherein he was so successful, that the Queen, the Court, and all the Monks, gave testimony of his Merit by a public Act. He returned to Paris to the General Novitiate, and died there the Twenty first of January 1674, being seventy Years old. Besides several Latin Poems, which he left as a sample of his capacity in Literature, he published the Books, which I shall mention below [C]." You will find a very honourable Passage concerning him in the Historical Apology for the Censures of Louvain and Douay (b). The Congregation of the Index was not favourable to him [D].

(b) Published
in 1688, by
Mr. Geray,
Rector of
Divinity:
this Passage
is at p. 243.

the cruel Invektive of Father Theophilus Reynaud, entitled, *De immunitate Cyriacorum à Censuris*, and to him, who pretended to shew, that it is well if the tenth Part of all the Works, which are ascribed to Thomas Aquinas, be really his. Father Baron enters the List also, with Mr de Launoi, who maintained, that many Passages of the Fathers, cited in a Treatise of Thomas Aquinas, against the Greeks, are forged. This Dominican was not contented to write an Apology for his Order, he made also their Panegyric (c).

(c) Journal
des Savans,
March 7,
1667, p. 92.

[C] He published the Books, which I shall mention below. What I am going to transcribe is contained Word for Word in the Memoir, from which I have taken the Addition to this Article. *Theologia Moralis*, Paris, 1665, two Volumes in 8vo. *Primus Tomus ejusdem correctus*, Editio secunda 1667, in 8vo. *Libri Apologetici contra Theophilum Rainaudum*, Paris, 1666, two Volumes in 8vo. *Mens sancti Augustini & Thomæ de Gratia & Libertate*, 1666, in 8vo. *Ethica Christiana*, Paris, 1666, two Volumes in 8vo. *Responsio ad Librum Cardenæ*, Paris, in 8vo. *Heretici Convicti*, Paris, 1668, in 12mo. *Panegyrics on the Saints*, Paris, 1660, in 4to. The Book entitled *Ethica Christiana septemdecim loci*, composed against one Matthew Moya, who had taken the Name of Amadæus, was censured at Rome, by the Intrigues of Cardinal Nitard, who was offended at it; and Capisucchi, the Master of the sacred Palace, who had approved of it, was turned out, and Father Hyacinthus Libelli, since Archbishop of Avignon, was put in his Room. Capisucchi was afterwards re-instated, and, since that, made a Cardinal. I do not find, in this List of the Works of Father Baron, the *Exercitatio*, which Mr de Launoi refutes with surprizing Sharpness, in one of his Letters, the fourteenth of his fifth Part. See the Remark [P], of the Article of (JOHN de) LAUNOI, at the beginning.

Two or three Months after I had received this Memoir, the following Account was sent me. "Apo-

logia pro sacra congregatione Indicis ejusque Secretario & Dominicis, contra Petri à Valle clausa Libellum famosum incipitum, de Immunitate Auditorum Cyriacorum à Censuris; Romæ, typis — m.d.c.lxii, in 4°. Advertat lector præter innumera errata ex prælo passim sensum & stylum auditorum mutantia, addita nonnulla necessaria sermone simplici, & multa adjecta convitia: has autem labea tollit secunda editio. — An Apology for the sacred Congregation of the Index, and their Secretary, and for the Dominicans, against a Libel of Petrus à Valle Clausa, under the Title of The Exemption of Ecclesiastical Authors from Censure. Printed at Rome, 1662, in 4to. The Reader is to take notice, that besides innumerable Errors of the Press, which every where disturb the Sense and Style of the Author, there are some material Things added in plain Language, and much Scandal: but these Imperfections will be corrected in a second Edition. This second Edition was published at Paris, by Simon Piget, in the Year 1666, in two Volumes, divided into five Books. The first printed at Rome, at the Instance of Cardinal Capisucchi, then Master of the sacred Palace, who approved it, occasioned the removing of the same Capisucchi from his Office, by Alexander VII, a great Friend to the Jesuits. It was also put into the Index, the Twenty eighth of February, 1664."

[D] The Congregation of the Index was not favourable to him. Here is an Extract of their Decree, of the Twenty seventh of September, 1672. *Duo primi Tomi operum Fr. Vincentii Baroni, inscripti Theologiæ moralis Summa bipartita, prohibentur: tertius vero præfati auctoris suspenditur donec corrigatur: ultimi autem duo Tomi ejusdem Auctoris, scilicet quartus & quintus, quinque libros apologeticos continentes, pariter prohibentur* (6). See the End of the preceding Remark.

(6) See Father Papebroch, Responsi. ad exhib. Errorum, p. 283.

BARONI (LEONORA), an Italian Lady, one of the best Singers in the World, flourished in the XVIIth Century. She was Daughter of the Fair Adriana of Mantua, and was so admired, that a great many fine Wits made Verses in her Praise. There is a Volume of excellent Pieces, in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish, printed at Rome, under the Title of *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni* [A]. Those, who desire to know the particular Perfections

[A] There is a Volume of Pieces, in her praise, under the Title of *Applausi poetici alle glorie della Signora Leonora Baroni*. Nicus Erythraeus spoke of this Work, when he said, "Legi ego, in Theatro Eleonoræ Baronz, cantricis eximie, in quo omnes hic Romæ, quotquot ingenio & poetica facultatis laude præstant, carminibus, tum Etruscæ tum La-

tinæ scriptis, singulari ac prope divino mulieris illius canendi artificio tanquam faustos quosdam clamores & plausus edunt; legi, inquam, unum Lælii (Guidiccioni) Epigramma, ita purum, ita elegans, &c. (1). — I have read, in the Theatre of Leonora Baroni, the celebrated Singer, wherein all the Wits and Poets, here at Rome, have, in Italian

(1) Nic. 1 rythm. Piccoth. II, pag. 129.

Perfections of her singing, may read the Account given by a good Judge, who had heard her sing [B]. It is from him I have borrowed this Account.

"and Latin Verses, complimented and applauded her divine Skill in singing; I have read, I say, one Epigram of Lælius Guidiccio, so beautiful and elegant, &c."

[B] They may read the Account given by a good Judge, who had heard her sing. "She is endowed with fine Parts; she has a very good Judgment to distinguish good from bad Music; she understands it perfectly well, and even composes; which makes her absolutely Mistress of what she sings, and gives her the most exact Pronunciation and Expression of the Sense of her Words. She does not pretend to Beauty, neither is she disagreeable, nor a Coquet. — She sings with a bold and generous Modesty, and an agreeable Gravity. Her Voice reaches a large Compass of Notes, and is exact, loud, and harmonious; she softens and raises it without straining, or making grimaces. Her Raptures and Sighs are not lascivious; her Looks have nothing impudent, nor does she transgress a Virgin Modesty in her Gestures. In passing from one Key to another, she shews sometimes the Divisions of the enharmonic and chromatic Kind, with so much Art and Sweetness, that every body is ravished with that fine and difficult Method of singing. She has no need of any Person to assist her

"with a Theorbo, or a Viol, one of which is necessary to make her singing complete; for she plays perfectly well herself on both those Instruments. In short, I have had the good Fortune to hear her sing several times, above thirty different Airs, with second and third Stanzas, composed by herself. I must not forget to tell you, that, one Day, she did me the particular Favour, to sing with her Mother and her Sister: Her Mother played upon the Lyre, her Sister upon the Harp, and herself upon the Theorbo. This Concert, composed of three fine Voices, and of three different Instruments, so powerfully transported my Senses, and threw me into such Raptures, that I forgot my Mortality, and thought myself already among the Angels, enjoying the Felicity of the Blessed."

I have taken this from a Discourse on Italian Music, printed with the Life of Malherbe, and some other Treatises at Paris, in 1672, in 12mo, at the end of which are these Words: *This Discourse was composed by Mr Maugars, Prior of St Peter de Mac, the King's Interpreter of the English Language, and, besides, so famous a Performer on the Viol, that the King of Spain, and several other sovereign Princes of Europe, have wished to hear him.*

BARONIUS (DOMINIC), a Florentine Priest and Preacher in the XVIIth Century, wrote vigorously against the Church of Rome, and concurred with the Vaudois in Piedmont to maintain Orthodoxy; but, at last, he was esteemed a false Brother, because he maintained, that, in time of Persecution, it was not necessary to make outward Profession of the Truth [A]. Celsus Martinengue, Minister of the Italian Church of Geneva, wrote against him on that Subject, and Replies were made on both sides. These Books are become very scarce, I know not for what reason. Our Baronius composed a Mass according to his own Fancy, which he thought likely to reconcile the Differences betwixt the two Religions; but he found himself disappointed; for the Protestants rejected his Project (a).

(a) Taken from the Ecclesiastical History of the Vaudois, composed by Peter Giles, chap. 10, pag 62, 80, 81. Geneva 1644.

[A] He maintained, that, in Time of Persecution, it was not necessary to make outward Profession of the Truth. He did not therefore deserve the Name of Antinicomite, which Peter Giles gave him; but rather That of Nicodemite. Let us see in what manner That Historian speaks of him. "Dominic Baronius, says he (1), was a Florentine, a Popish Priest, and a Preacher of Repute, and who, in less dangerous Times, had shewn some Zeal for the true Religion, almost wholly embracing it, and condemning almost all the Papal superstitious Constitutions, except only some few Particulars, which though he retained, yet he treated them so ambiguously, that it could hardly be known what was his Opinion of them, as appears in several Italian and Latin Treatises composed by him, and particularly in That of human Constitutions, wherein he shews what may be admitted, and what ought to be rejected. In that Book, among several great Errors, which he condemns in the Popish Church, he says of the Mass — "I do not set down the Passage, which Peter Giles alleges; but here is what follows that Quotation: "He wrote, in the same Style, concerning the other Popish Superstitions: But, for all this, he endeavoured to persuade, that, in very dangerous Times, and Places, People might dissemble outwardly what they thought of such Errors, and even go to Mass, provided they constantly retained the Truth in-

wardly, and did not heartily concur in any of those Errors. He said, that, in such Times, and Places, the Minister of Truth ought to make it his Business to shew his Disciples the Tares, and to teach them how to discern them from the good Grain, and to make them hate the Tares, and love the Wheat with all their Heart: But, as to the outward Profession, that he ought to let the Lord work his Pleasure, without exposing himself, and others, to great Dangers. — Celsus de Martinengue — confuted, by a notable, and long, Treatise, all the Reasons Baronius alleged in Support of his Opinion; and Replies were made on both Sides for some Time. And Baronius, thinking himself able to reconcile the two Religions, reformed the Mass, in order, that, agreeably to what he had laid down, People might go to it with a good Conscience; and sung it himself, according to his own Reformation, and acted in the same manner, in several other Points, thinking, by that means, to please every Body, by trimming. But his Proceeding was condemned by a great number of the truly Faithful, not only by Words and Writings, but also by their Actions, since they chose rather to part with their earthly Goods, and this temporal Life, than to shew any outward Consent to Popish Idolatry, and erroneous Superstitions (2)."

(1) Id. lib. 14, pag 64. See also p. 246.

BARTAS (WILLIAM DE SALUSTE Seigneur du) A French Poet. See SALUSTE.

BARTHIUS (GASPAR), one of the most learned Men, and fruitfulest Pens, of his Time, was born at Custrin in the Country of Brandenburg, the Twenty second of June 1587 (a). His Family was of an ancient Nobility [A]: His Father, Charles Barth, Professor of the Civil Law at Francfort on the Oder, Counsellor to the Elector of Brandenburg, and his Chancellor at Custrin, died the sixth of February 1597, at Halberstadt, from whence his Widow withdrew to Hall with her

(a) Hnlse-mannus in Concione funebri, apud Freher. Theatr. Vi-ror. illustr. pag. 1546.

[A] His Family was of an ancient Nobility. There are but few Gentlemen of Quality, and few great Lords, who can shew a more ancient Original than Barthius. One of his Ancestors signalized himself

(1) Peter Giles's History of the Churches of the Vaudois, chap. 10, pag. 62.

(b) Holle-
mannus, *ib.*

her Children; *Gaspar* was sent to *Gotha*, afterwards to *Eisenach*, and, after that, to several Universities of Germany, and *Italy* (b). He became so learned in a little time, that his Childhood was admired by great Men [B], and he composed several Books while he was a beardless Boy [C]. He had a wonderful Facility in making Verses [D]; and also published a great many [E]. He learnt the living

(1) In An-
nalibus Sa-
xonibus, cap.
100, pag.
135.(2) Barthius
in Statium,
Tom. II.
pag. 1026.(3) *Ib.* *ibid.*(4) Barthius
says, at pag.
1026, 1027,
of his Com-
mentary on
Statius, in
the space of a
few lines,
that he had
five Paternal
Uncles, and
that his
Gr.-inf.ther
left six Sons.
This is incon-
sistent.(5) Illiberes
omnes—
excesserunt.
Ibid. pag.
1027.(6) *Ibid.*
pag. 1025.(7) *Ibid.*BARTHI-
US's cauleſſe
Fear of dy-
ing without
Posterity.(8) *Ib.* *ibid.*
pag. 126.

self in the War against the *Vandals* in the Retinue of the Emperor *Lewis* the *Debonair*, in the Year 856. He was a *Bavarian*; he commanded the Cavalry, and was killed in That War, as *Cyriacus Spangenbergius* observes (1). The Grandfather of *Barthius* was one of the chief Gentlemen of *Bavaria*: he went and settled in the Circle of the *Upper-Saxony*, where he bought several Estates, and, in the Year 1545, he was honoured by the Emperor, and the States of the Empire, with many noble Titles. "Avus idem noster, ne in his terris minor esset gentilibus suis alibi viventibus, à Carolo quinto, Con- filio & Senatus-consulto omnium Imperii statuum tum Spiræ præsentium, ex integro Cæsareæ Ma- jestatis & sacri Imperii auctoritate utriusque nobilis & miles Tornearius declaratus est, omniaque liberæ & veræ nobilitatis privilegia accepit, cum singulari integritatis, doctrinæ, & strenuitatis testimonio, anno Christiani M.D. XLV (2). — That the Rank of my Grandfather, in this Country, might not be inferior to That his Family held in other Places, he was knighted, and declared Noble, both by the Em- peror Charles V, and his Council, and by Decree of all the States of the Empire, then assembled at Spire, and received all the Privileges of a free & true Nobility, with a particular Testimony of his Integrity, Learning, and Courage, in the Year 1545." He enjoyed the Office of Chancellor at the Court of *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, Elector of *Mentz*, Archbishop of *Magdeburg*, and Cardinal. One of his Ancestors, whose Name was *Herman*, was Grand Master of the *Teutonic* Order, towards the end of the XIIIth Century (3). The old Annals make mention of him: *Munſter* speaks of him in his Cosmography; and the Catalogues of the Grand Masters of That Order, even those composed by *Jerom Megiserus*, do not forget him. Others of the same Family are to be met with in the Relations of Tur- naments, and in the Collections of the Coats of Arms of principal Noble Families of Germany. The Fa- ther of *Gaspar Barthius* had several Brothers (4), who all died without Children (5). One of them had been Master of the Horse to some great Princes, and did not want Learning (6). *Barthius* says, that he shall be the last of his Family: *Superſtes nunc ego omnibus paterni mei nominis familiam meam univerſam mecum rebus humanis brevi educam* (7). You see him in the Front of several of his Works, with the Title of *S. R. Imperii Eques*. The Thoughts of his Fa- mily dying with him was extremely afflicting, and lay very much at his Heart: He often considered this melancholy Subject; which makes me believe, that he was very easily comforted on the Death of his Wife. She was barren, and likely, according to his reckoning, to outlive his Virility; for, otherwise, he would not have spoken in the manner we have seen. But, when he least suspected it, his Wife died. He soon took another, to see whether he could avoid the hard Fate, he had so much feared, of being the last of his Family. He looked upon himself no longer an useless Load on the Earth; this might be proper to call himself, while he despaired of having any Offspring. He had the Hoppiness to beget Sons and Daughters by a second Marriage; but he forgot to correct the Places of his Commentary, where he ap- pears to be out of Hopes of leaving a Successor. If he did not care to correct his Manuscript, he ought, at least, to have added something, at the end of it, concerning his second Marriage being more fruitful than the first. If I am asked, How I came to know, that his first Wife was not dead, when he complained of being the last of his Name? My Answer will be, That I infer it from this small Calculation. *Barthius's* Funeral Oration informs me, that he became a Widower in the Year 1643, and that his Mother died at *Hall*, the Twenty second of January 1622. Now he had been dead but eighteen Years, when he made his Complaints: "Ego inutile ferè pondus terræ omnibus mei nominis mortalibus superſtes supervivo integro octodecennio (8). — I am almost an useless Load on the Earth, having outlived all

"my Family full eighteen Years, and being the last of my Name." His first Wife must therefore have been alive at that time.

[B] His Childhood was admired by great Men.] If I am allowed to extend the Word Childhood a little farther than usual, my Text will be very true; since *Scaliger* set a great Value upon the first Productions of *Barthius*. "Cujus virtutem juvenilem ac cordatos ausus *Josephus Scaliger* suscepit adeo, ut divinationis instar hanc illi de *Barthio* vocem exci- disse compertum sit, natum esse adhuc unum æter- nitati ingenium, quod si ad maturitatem perveniret, literas aliquandiu vivere posse (9). — — — — *Wolfe* (10) *Spizelline* in Temple Honoris referato, pag. 381. "juvenile Capacity, and judicious Performances, *Jo- seph Scaliger* so greatly admired, that, in a sort of prophetic Spirit, he declared thus concerning *Bar- thius*, that there was now, one Genius more born for Eternity, and, if this should live to Maturity, Learning might furvide some time longer." *Daui- mus* says, that some learned Men were not ashamed to learn of This young Scholar: "Eo adolescenti uni do- ctore non erubuerunt *Taubmannus*, *Siberus*, *Schmi- dius*. Quæ *Gruteri* aliorumque apud externos vi- rorum de eo tum lata fuerint judicia, domi eorum literæ aservatæ partim, partim lætæ, docent (10). — — — — *Taubmannus*, *Siberus*, and *Schmi- dius*, thought it no Disgrace to be taught by This Youth. The Judgment, which *Gruterus*, and other Foreigners, passed on him, may be seen in their Writings, either published, or in their own Hands." Another learned Person, who had been *Barthius's* School-fellow, speaks thus of him: "Novi — — — ante annos ferè quinquaginta pueri præſtabiles minas, cum ſub Wilkii p. m. manu eſſemus συχολαſαι: novi ante hos XLIII. annos *Wite- bergæ* adoleſcentem florentem gratia apud non- nullos, θαυμαſόμενον ἔγω κατὰ τὸν ἀξίον (11). — — — I knew him — — — almost fifty Years ago, a very promiſing Lad, when we were Schoolfellows, under *Wilkius*: I knew him, about Forty three Years ago, a Youth in great Esteem a- mong ſome, and much admired by ſome of his own Age."

[C] He composed several Books, while he was a beardless Boy.] Mr *Baillet*, who has placed him in his Catalogue of Famous Children, will give us the most particular Account of him. He informs us, "That, at twelve Years of Age, *Barthius* turned the Plalter of *David* into all sorts of Latin Verses; and that, in the same Year, he published other Poems in the same Language; and that the Col- lection of *Silvæ*, Satires, Elegies, Odes, Epigrams, and Iambic Verses, which he caused to be printed at *Wittenberg* in the Year 1607, comprehends all the Poetry he composed from the thirteenth to the nineteenth Year of his Age (12)." We have it from himself, continues Mr *Baillet* (13), "That, be- ing yet but in the sixteenth Year of his Age, he wrote a Treatise, or Dissertation, by way of Letter, on the Manner of reading Latin Authors usefully, by beginning with those from *Ennius* to the end of the Roman Empire; and continuing them, from the Expiration of the Latin Tongue, to the Critics of these latter Times, who have restored the an- cient Authors." It is a Performance, which the Author says cost him but Twenty four Hours; but it is so close, and so full, that it shews *Bar- thius* must, even at that Time, have read a pro- digious deal; and that this Reading was so far from being indigested, or confused, that it was accom- panied with a perfect Judgment, &c." To this may be added, that he was but eighteen Years of Age, when he composed a Commentary on the *Cæiris* of *Virgil*, which was printed at *Amberg*, in the Year 1608, and contains much Learning.

[D] He had a wonderful Facility in making Verses.] *Barthius*, having observed, that *Statius*, in some Mea- sure, congratulated himself on having spent but two Days about the *Epithalamium* of *Stella*, which con- tains Two hundred seventy eight Hexameters, adds, that *Statius* did not expose himself to the Censure

(9) *Spizelline*
in Temple
Honoris re-
ferato, pag.
381.(10) *Daui-
mus* Epist.
14. ad *Rei-
nelium*.(11) *Reine-
sius* Epist.
15. ad *Daui-
um*, pag. 46.
This Letter
is dated Jan.
14. 1651.(12) *Baillet*,
Famous
Children, p.
297, 298.(13) *Ibid.*
pag. 296.• It is to be
found in the
50th Book
of his *Ad-
versaria*.

living Languages, and made it appear, by his Translations out of *Spanish* and *French* [F], that he was not contented with a superficial Knowledge of them. It is surprising to find, what a number of Authors he must have read, from his *Adversaria*, and Commentaries on *Statius* and *Claudian*. Most Critics are satisfied with reading Prophane Authors; but this was not enough for him; he acquired also a great Knowledge of Ecclesiastical Authors, especially those, who lived in the middle Ages. His constant application to Books obliged him to relinquish all manner of Business, and to lead a retired life at *Leipsic* (c). He resolved early to disengage himself intirely from the World, and the Study of Prophane Authors, in order to apply himself only to the great Affair of Salvation [G]. He put this design in execution in the latter Years of his Life; and it appears, by his *Soliloquia*, published in 1654, that his Thoughts were deeply engaged on Eternity [H]. He died the seventeenth of September 1658, a little above Seventy one Years of Age (d). The Manuscript Works he left behind him [I], those which were

(c) Spizellus, in Templo Honoris refutato, pag. 383.

(d) Witte, Diarium, Biogr.

(14) Nam fuit hoc virtuosus: in hora sepe ducentos, Ut magnum, versus dictabat, flans pede in uno. He, turning on his Heel, vents, in one Hour, Two hundred Verses, good ones to be sure. Hor. Sat. 4. l. 1.

(15) Barthius, in Stat. Tom. I. pag. 7.

(16) Spizellus in Templo Honoris, pag. 382.

(17) Id. ib. P. 386, 387.

(18) See the Bibliothecae of the Spanish Writers, Vol. I. pag. 403, 413, Vol. II. pag. 211.

(19) Judgment of the Learned, Tom. I. pag. 542.

(20) Daumius in the Preface to Barthius's Commentary on Statius, dated March 15, 1664.

of *Horace* (14), since he did not make Two hundred Verses in an Hour, as That Poet did, whom *Horace* ridiculed (15). "I find a great Hyperbole, *con- tinues he*, in That Criticism, though I am not "ignorant what it is to make a great many Verses "in a little time; for, in three Days time, I translated "into *Latin* the three first Books of the *Iliad*, "which Translation contained a little above Two "thousand Verses."

[E] And also published a great many. For, besides those mentioned in the Remark [C], he published a Poem at *Frankfort*, in 1623, entitled *Zodiacus vitae Christianae*; Satyricon, plerique omnia verae Sapientiae mysteria singulari suavitate enarrans. It is divided into twelve Books. In the same Year, and Place, he published *Epidorpidum ex mero scazonte libri III. in quibus bona pars humanae sapientiae metro explicatur*. His Epigrams, divided into thirty Books, and dedicated to King *James*, appeared under the Name of *Tarraeus Hebius* (16). The four Books *Amabilium Anacreontis decantati*, were printed in the Year 1612. He wrote a Paraphrase on *Aesop's Fables* in Verse, a Translation of *Musaeus* also in Verse, and a Poem on *Quintus Smyrnaeus*, in Verse, was ever published. He speaks of it in the Five hundred eighty fourth Page of the third Volume of his *Statius*.

[F] He composed Translations out of *Spanish* and *French*. I do not know, that he translated any thing out of the latter Language, besides the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*, which he put into *Latin*. He had much more Inclination for the *Cassilian* Tongue, as he has shewn in several Places; and *Don Nicolas Antonio* was not ignorant of the Praises, which he bestowed on the *Spanish* Books (18). I know but two *Spanish* Books, translated into *Latin* by *Barthius*; one is the *Celestina*, the Author whereof was unknown to him; the other is the Continuation of the *Diana* of *Montemajor*. Here is the Title, which he gave to the Translation of the *Celestina*. *Pornodidascalus Latinus. De lenonium, lenarum, conciliatricum, servitiorum, delis, veneficis, macchinis plujquam diabolicis; de miseris juvenum incautorum qui forem etatis amoribus inconcessis adducunt, de miserabili singulorum periculo & omnium interitu*, at *Frankfort* 1624. He added some Notes to his Translation. The *Spanish* Author of That Work, or of That Tragi-Comedy, was *Rodericus Cota*. The Continuation of the *Diana* of *Montemajor*, translated by *Barthius*, is the Work of *Gaspar Gil-polo*. *Barthius's* Translation was printed, at *Hanau*, in 1625, under the Title of *Erotodidascalus, seu Nemoralium libri V. Mr Baillet* says (19), That he also translated the *Pornodidascalus* of *Aretin* into *Latin*. Without doubt, it is the same Book, which *Daumius* speaks of in these Terms: "Reliqua quae ----- *Barthius* publicavit ex Hispanico Colloquio P. Aretini de las Damas ex Hispanico ab ipso translatò, & a nobis recuso nuper, adjecto cognoscere poteris (20). ----- The rest ----- which *Barthius* published from *Aretin's* instructive Dialogues, "On Ladies of Pleasure, translated by him out of *Spanish*, and revised by us, will appear from the Work itself here subjoined." You may conclude from hence, that This *Latin* Translation of *Aretin*, was not made from the Original, but from a *Spanish* Translation.

[G] He resolved early to disengage himself intirely from the World, ----- to apply himself only to his Salvation. Having said, that his Mother had some Fore-sight of her Death, three Years before she died,

and that he survived That good Mother eighteen Years, in perfect Health, except a Weakness in his Sight (21), he adds; "Cupio autem coeptis scribendis "laboribus demum aliquando defungi, & totum me "Christo dedicare, quam rem saepius jam orsum habens infinita bellorum & bellicorum tumultuum "exactionumque impedimenta haectenus suspenderunt. ----- My Desire is to quit, at last, all farther "Thoughts of writing, and dedicate myself intirely "to Christ, which I have already very often attempted, but have hitherto been prevented by the "interruption of Wars, and Tumults of Wars, and "other Hardships." To know at what Time he spoke thus, one need only remember, that his Mother died in the Year 1622. See the end of the Remark [A].

[H] His Thoughts were deeply employed on Eternity. Here is the Testimony, which *Theophilus Spizellus* has given of him: "Sacrum nimirum ad Deum "sinceramque pietatem *Barthius* meditabatur accessum, plurimis pie literatorum ac Deo sacrorum "hominum exemplis incitatus. Quo de imprimis "testatur insigne SOLILOQUIORUM OPUS, extremis vitae temporibus à *Barthio* publicatum, flagrantissimis ad Deum suspiriis oppido plenum, & vel Augustino scriptore dignum, quod etiam hemiplecticus quotidie revolvere, & per priorum meditationum vestigia denud cogitationes suas coelo immittere, consuevit; quinimo divinum amorem, quem intimis fibris semel imbibisset, continuis precum ejaculationibus alendum jugiter atque roborandum putavit, quousque à sacrae pariter ac literariae solitudinis diversorio, anno aevi nostri octavo & quinquagesimo, aetatis vero septuagesimo primo emigravit (22). ----- *Barthius* was studying "to make his Approaches to God, and true Piety, "being encouraged to it by the Examples of many of "the piously Learned, who had devoted themselves to "God. This his admirable Piece of Soliloquies particularly demonstrates, being published by him in "his latter Years, and abounding with the most fervent Ejaculations to God, worthy of St Augustin himself, and which *Barthius*, though lame of one "Side with the Palsy, used every Day to turn over, and by pursuing the Thread of his former Meditations, to send his Thoughts again to Heaven. He made it his Business to nourish and strengthen incessantly that divine Love he had established in his Heart, by the continual Exercise of Prayer, 'till he departed from this sacred and learned Retreat in the Fifty eighth Year of our Century, and the Seventy first of his Age."

[I] The Manuscript Works he left behind him. *Daumius* has informed the Public, that there were found, among this Author's Papers, the second and third Volumes of his *Adversaria* (23); some Notes, and Glossaries on the Writers of *Palestine*, published by *James Bongars*; *Benedictus Paulinus Petroscurus de Vita S. Martini*, & *Paulinus Pelleus cum Tertuliani Jona, Juretiq; & Barthii animadversionibus*; XXI Books of Epigrams: XII Books of *Anacrentics*; The Zodiac of the *Christian* Life, corrected and enlarged in several Places: several other Poems, most of which had never been printed, and the rest had been corrected: *Glossaries* on *Valerius Maximus*, and on the *Epistles* of *Pliny the Younger*. *Daumius* declares, that, if the Cruelty of the Times, entirely prejudiced against Literature, will permit it, and if, by the Liberality of some *Mecenas*, any Benefit may accrue by it

(21) Barth. Commentar. in Statium, Tom. II. pag. 826.

(22) Spizell. Templo Honor. P. 384, 385.

(23) Daumius, in Pref. Comment. Barthii in Statium.

printed [K], those which were burnt together with his House [L], and those which he is known to have wrote, but are lost no body can tell how [M]: I say all these Works make such a prodigious bulk, that it is scarce possible to conceive they could be performed by one Man. I do not know whether any, who have lived to turn grey in the dust of a Registry Office, ever wrote so much as this Author has done. There is a Story published, which had better have been suppressed, concerning a Tour, it is pretended, he made into Holland with a fair Lady [N]. Some learned Men have complained of the printing of That Story,

it to his Heirs, all those Works may one Day be printed. *Si diritas permittat temporum politioribus bene Mufis profus infensum, fructusque si aliquis Mecenatum benignitate ad reliquos tu maxime heredes sit redundaturus* (24). I have not heard, that any of those Manuscripts have ever stirred out of his Heirs Hands, except the *Paulinus Petrocarius de Vita S. Martini*, which *Daumius* took Care to get printed in the Year 1681. The Bookellers will not catch at that Bait as they did formerly, when *Barthius* touched their Honour, by declaring, in a Preface, that he had a very great Number of Books, which waited only for the Courtesy of the Bookellers, to appear in public (25); and that they should be printed, as soon as he could meet with an industrious Bookeller to undertake it (26). This produced a very speedy Effect, as to some of his Works, and a slower one as to others; but, nevertheless, most of these Books were printed, when that Preface was mentioned in the *Bibliothèque Universelle*. Let us see in what Terms it was done; the Passage deserves to be set down; it contains a Criticism somewhat satirical, but grounded on Reason. "There is a Preface before it, mentioning the Titles of some Books, which the Author promised to bestow on the Public, but few of which have been printed (27), because he found no Bookellers, as he himself observes (28), who had the same Zeal, as himself, for the Advancement of Literature. But, if all his Works were like this, it may be pronounced, that we have lost little more than a great many Quotations of no great Use. Not but that there might be some good Things in them, as well as in this: But they are, as it were, hid under so great a Number of Pages of the Ancients, that it requires a great deal of Patience to find them out (29)."

[K] *Those which were printed*. I will only here take notice of the chief of them: A great Volume in Folio, entitled *Adversaria*, divided into sixty Books. *Quibus ex universa antiquitatis serie omnis generis loci tam Gentilium quam Christianorum scripturum illustrantur & emendantur, cum rituum, morum, legum, formularumque observatione & elucidatione, cum undecim indicibus, VII autorum, IV rerum. At Frankfurt, 1624.* The Author has shown in it a surprizing Degree of Memory, Reading, and Learning; it is pity we cannot say as much of his Clearness, and Judgment. He left two other Volumes of *Adversaria* of as large a Size, without reckoning his having revised and corrected the first. *De quo Adversariorum Tomo secundo aut tertio, uterque enim jam peractus est, primo etiam recensito in iis & amotis nebulis quas illi inducere livor voluit* (30). The whole contains an Hundred and eighty Books. Let us proceed to some other Titles. *Galli confessoris Christianae doctrinae compendium, seu sermo Constantiae habitus; C. Barthius recensuit & Animadversionum librum adiecit* Frankfurt, 1623, in 8vo, *Phæbadus contra Arianos cum animadversionibus. Guil. Britonis libri Philippius cum notis. Claudiani Edicii Mamerti de Statu Animæ, libri III. cum Animadversionibus*; Cygneæ, 1655, in 8vo. *Ænæ Gazæi Dialogus de Immortalitate Animarum, cum Zacharia Mitylenæo Philopolo Christiano, Græcè & Latine*, Leipzig, 1655, in 4to. *Barthius* published a new Translation of *Ænææ Gazæus*, and made use of That of *John Tarrinus*, as to *Zachary*, both which Works he adorned with Notes. *Soliloquia rerum Divinarum*; Cygneæ, 1654, in 4to. A large Volume of Notes on *Claudian*, printed in the Year 1650, in 4to. And three large Volumes upon *Statius*, printed in 1664, in 4to. He was not well pleased with That Edition of *Claudian*, because the Printer had not made use of a good Corrector (31). It is pity that there is no Table of Matters, nor, in general, any Index. His Commentaries on *Statius* are very free from that Fault.

[L] *Those, which were burnt, together with his House*. It was a Country-house, which was burnt by the Carelessness of the Farmer, or some such other Person, who inhabited it. "Cum villa nostra urbana non bello, non latronum manu, sed perfidi incolæ temeritate conflagravit (32). When my Country-house was burnt down, not by the Misfortune of War, or the Violence of Robbers, but by the Audaciousness of the treacherous Inhabitant." It is, without doubt, That which *Daumius* calls *Incendium Sellarhusanum*, which happened in the Year 1636. "Etiam nonnulla flammis, says he (33), incendio Sellarhusano, anno M.DCC.XXXVI. absumpta periere. Some also perished in the Flames, in the Fire of Sellarhuse, in 1636." By this Misfortune, *Barthius* lost his *Index Appulejanus* (34), all that he had wrote on *Tertullian* (35), his *Index on Thucydides*, &c. "In quo scriptore (Thucydide) per bellicos hos triennales motus & excessiones ingens damnum accepimus, indicem enim tam in auctorem quam Scholiam (qui recitator tamen est quam vulgo attenditur) confeceramus, in eum parte Bibliothecæ perit (36). Flammæ ingens scrinium manu mea scriptis chartis effertum, simul abfusserunt: & sic perierunt mihi multa juvenilia & puerilia scripta (37). In which Writer (Thucydides) by the Disturbances and Removes, which War has occasioned for three Years together, I have met with great Loss; for I had made an Index, both to the Author and his Scholiast, (who is much more modern, than he is generally esteemed,) this perished with part of my Library. The Flames . . . destroyed a great Desk full of my Manuscript Works all together; and so went many of my childish and youthful Productions." He says, that his Library had been already twice plundered, when the Fire made that new Havock. *Adfesse Bibliothecæ non possumus miris modis duabus vastationibus depopulate, & uno incendio vix dimidiatim ereptæ* (38).

[M] *Those, which were lost, no body can tell how*. *Daumius* says, that, after the Author's Death, they looked in vain for his Commentary on *St. Augustin. De Civitate Dei*, his Book *De Superstitionibus Veterum*, his Treatise *De dubiis Scripturis*, his Characters, and several other Writings of that Nature. *Barthius* quotes very often the Books I have just now mentioned, and gives an advantageous Idea of them. It is very likely, considering the Nature of their Subjects, that they were none of the work of his Works. He had begun a great many others, to which he referred his Readers, as if they had been already printed. See the *Index Autorum* of his *Statius*, at the Word *Barthius*.

[N] *There is a Story published, concerning a Tour, it is pretended, he made into Holland, with a fair Lady*. Mr *Colomies* mentions it on the Authority of *Isaac Vossius*. He was very much to blame to print such Stories, which he had only met with in Conversation. Every body knows, that they, who like to entertain a Company pleasantly, are furnished with a great many little Stories, to which they add such Circumstances as they think proper, to make them more singular and diverting. They would not take this Liberty, if they knew, that what they say would be printed. However it be, the Story runs thus: "Mr *Vossius* told me one Day, that *Barthius*, being come from Germany to Harlem, to see *Scriverius*, he brought a very fine Lady along with him; and that *Scriverius* had no sooner seen her, but he found the means to make *Barthius* drunk, that he might entertain the Lady with more Liberty; which succeeded according to his Desire. Nevertheless, he could not do it so well, but that *Barthius*, being recovered from his Drink, had some Suspicion of what had past; which increased in such a manner, that he carried the Lady back again in a great

(24) Id. ib.

(25) Sequentur delincepti, uti quidem Typographorum comitis erit. *Barth. Pref. in Rutili. Itinerar.* it is dated Octob. 24, 1622.

(26) Expectant Editionem, si foliolum Typographum nacti fuerimus. Id. ib.

(27) It is certain that the best part of them is printed.

(28) He does not observe this in that Preface.

(29) Bibli. Universellæ, Tom. V. p. 210, in the Extract of *Rutilius' Itinerary*.

(30) Barthius in Statium, Tom. I. pag. 110. See also the Preface of *Daumius*.

(31) Id. ib. p. 343.

(32) Id. ib. Tom. III. p. 1398. He had said, in the ninth Page of the first Tome, Flammæ non ab hoste sed domesticis sceleribus meæ turn mansioni injecit. My House was set on fire, not by hostile, but domestic, Wickedness.

(33) *Dæm.* Prefat. in Statium.

(34) *Barth.* in Statium, Tom. I, pag. 9, & postum. alibi.

(35) Ibid. &c. p. 1338. of the third Volume, where he says, Notæ nostræ in integrum fere *Tertullianum* Our Notes upon almost all *Tertullian*.

(36) Ibid. Tom. II, p. 305.

(37) Ibid. Tom. I, pag. 9.

(38) Ibid. Tom. II, p. 372.

(c) Hille-
mannus. in
Orat. Fun.
Bar. hit.

(f) Id. ibid.

Story, and pronounced it a Fable [O]. *Barthius* had two Wives (e). He married the first in the Year 1630, and the second in the Year 1644. The first died in the Year 1643, without bringing him any Children. The second bore him a Son and three Daughters, and survived him (f). He happened to be four times in besieged Towns, and came off without any other loss, than only once of his Cloaths and Arms (g). He complained of having been ill used by *Vossius* [P]. He took *Scaliger's* Part very warmly against *Scioppius* [Q], but was no Friend to the Learned *Reinefius*. The latter had discovered too many of his Faults, not to make him angry [R]. It was impossible that an Author, who wrote so many things, and with so much Precipitation, could escape the judicious Censure of *Reinefius*. It has been pretended, that it was not always for want of Memory, that

(g) Qui intra
obfidendam
obfidendamque
urbem ali-
quando fue-
rit. Id quod
nobis quater
contigit,
nupiam la-
se, nisi ipo-
litione una
vestimento-
rum, & ar-
morum di-
reptione.
Barth. in
Stadium,
Tom. II.
pag. 10411

(39) Colo-
mefii Opus-
cul. 102.
Edit. Ultra-
ject. 1669.

(40) Duimi-
us, Epist. 14.
ad Reinef-
ium, pag. 37.

"a great Rage, and suffered her to be drowned in
"the Rhine (39)." It must not be denied, that *Bar-
thius* had a bad Reputation, as to his Morals. One
of his best Friends confesses it; but he maintains,
that this was ill-grounded. "De moribus quæ in-
vidi nugati sunt quorumque causa ego ignotum meo
"malo abhorrebam, rem aliter quinquaginta hæc cum
"eo conversatione comperi. Adeo quicquid de eo
"dixerunt scripseruntque ego hæcenus profus credere
"abnu, cujus intima nescio an æque alii patuerint
"(40). ----- As to the Vice, which have been
"maliciously objected to him, and on account of which
"I had an ill Opinion of him before I knew him, to
"my own Disadvantage, I have found, by fifteen Years
"Conversation with him, that he is intirely clear
"of them. So that I have hitherto absolutely contra-
"dicted all the Stories, which have been told, or
"wrote, about him, and I believe no body knows
"him so intimately as I do."

[O] Some learned Men have complained of the print-
ing of that Story, and pronounced it a Fable. See here
what *Morbofius* has said of it; "Quibus (Colomefii
"opusculis) adjicitur libellus Gallico sermone, cui ti-
"tulus *A Collection of Particulars*, in quibus multa de
"eruditiss familiariter à Vossio aliisque suppeditata,
"laudato semper autore, vir ille effutit, quæ insigni-
"tis sane temeritas fuit. Multa tamen in his sunt
"mendacia, quæ illud de Casparo Barthio horren-
"dum, qui concubinam suam Rheno suffocaverit,
"quod ejus cum Scriverio amores deprehenderit (41).
"----- To which (Colomefius's Works) is added
"a small Piece in French, entitled, *A Collection*
"of Particulars, wherein, with the biggest Indiscre-
"tion, he blabbed out several Stories, familiarly told
"by Vossius, and others, of learned Men, always re-
"membering to name his Author. Among these are
"a great many Lies, such as that horrid one about
"Caspar Barthius's drowning his Mistress in the
"Rhine, on account of an Intrigue he had discovered
"between her and Scriverius."

[P] He complained of being ill used by Vossius. Few
Persons had cause to make the like Complaint; for
never was so learned a Man, as *Vossius*, more complaisant
or modest to those he censured. However, let us see *Bar-
thius's* Complaint at length. "Quo loco vir doctiss. (42)
"pulerè etiam de Lutatio judicari doctum esse lectu-
"rum quæ dignum Exegeten, præter quidem glossemata.
"Sanè longè melius & compertius, quam nuper Jo-
"annes Gerhardus Vossius, qui Lutatium ex Servio
" & Higinio compositum dicere ausus est maximam
"partem. Qui doctissimus homo cum alio nos loco
"perperam (ut clara res est, & demonstratam jam
"notis libi) ineptiarum & absurditatis, nunquam à
"nobis læsus, & ab invidis planeque egregie ineptis
"Thrafunculus incitatus, insinulare ausus sit, meritò
"utriusque notæ hic habebitur, cum ex Commenta-
"riis Lutatians infinit, quorum nec centesimam par-
"tem Servianæ & Higinianæ Commentationes vin-
"dicare possint. Idem præstantissimus vir incogitate
"eodem loco scribit Lutatium à Lindebrogio primum
"editum (43). ----- In, which Place I had learned
"Man also judges favourably of Lutatius, that his
"Comment and Glosses are full of Learning, and
"worth reading. And, indeed, much more truly and
"justly, than John Gerard Vossius, who boldly af-
"firmed, that Lutatius had borrowed the greatest Part
"of his Performance from Servius and Higinius. This
"most learned Vossius has also, in another place, with
"equal Injustice, (as I have demonstrated elsewhere,)
"taken the Liberty to accuse me, who never offended
"him, of Impertinence and Absurdity, on the Insiga-
"tion of some envious Bonstlers, who are themselves
"remarkably impertinent; by which he has, deserved-

"ly, drawn upon himself both those Accusations, since
"Servius and Higinius's Commentaries cannot lay
"claim to a hundredth part of what is contained in
"those of Lutatius. The same excellent Man has also
"basely asserted, in the same Place, that Lutatius
"was first published by Lindebrogius."

[Q] He took Scaliger's Part very warmly against
Scioppius. Three Books, wrote against that great
Man's Enemy, are ascribed to him; and his Name was
found out by way of Anagram, in That of *Tarræus*
Hebeius Nobilis à Sperga. Resoluto Anagrammate
Gasperis Barthii Berolinæi confirmat Excellentissimus
Geislerus de Mutatione Nominum. Exemplor. dec. i. n. 5.
(44). The first of those three Books is entitled *Cave*
canem, de Vitâ, Moribus, Rebus gestis, Divinitate Gas-
paris Scioppii Apostatæ Satyricon, Hanov. 1612, in
12mo. The second, *Scioppius excellens; in laudem*
ejus & sociorum pro Josepho Scaligero & omnibus pro-
bis Epigrammatum libri III. ex triginta totis hinc inde
collecti. It is printed with the first. The third, *Am-*
phibiteatrum Sapientiar, Hanov. 1613, in 8vo. See
Rhodi in the place which I have quoted, and *Plac-*
cius, in the 262d Page of his *Pseudonymus Writers*.

[R] *Reinefius* discovered too many of his Faults not
to make him angry. They were such Faults as an
ingenious Man could not have defended; they were
Faults which deserved Condemnation, which is so
much the more shocking and provoking. "A. Cl.
"Barthio quem tu tantum non in cælum effers, &
"quem sua defensorum esse scribis nihil indigni ini-
"quive expecto, tam licet ipsi in meis, si quando
"lucem adspicere publicam, (lenta autem res est, &
"fortasse incumbit in spongiam, ut olim illius Ajax)
"quàm in ipsius mihi licere visum est experiri; non
"existimo autem Soli oblocuturum esse. Sunt enim
"pleraque, quæ nunc quidem produxi, adeo certa li-
"quidæque, ut nisi temere ligare velit, nec calumniam
"quidem contradicendum mihi tingere debeat. Per-
"pende, quæso, mi carissime NESTERE, ἀνὲρ ἀδύς,
"ubicunque ab eo dissentio: maximè verò examina,
"quæ cap. 8, lib. 2. quo ejus in Plinium Valerianum,
"dictum Empericum, illatæ emendationes producun-
"tur, trado & miraberis hominis doctissimè manife-
"stissimas inscitias, frustrationes, & puerilia ἀεεπά-
"μα'α, audaces etiam conjecturas in autorem non
"intellectum investas deprehendes magno numero.
"Istas si quis præfractè tueri præsumserit, eum ne
"sani quidem capitis esse dixerò; Barthium autem
"mecum fore & visurum, me quamvis indigno in-
"dice, id quod verum est nullus dubito. ----- I ex-
"pect no other than a handsome Behaviour from *Bar-*
thius, whom you cry up so to the Skies, and affirm
"to be about publishing a Defence of his Writings.
"He may try the Proof of my Works, if ever they see
"the Light, (which will require some time first, and,
"perhaps, they may come to the Sponge at last, as
"his Ajax did) as I have done in Respect to his;
"I do not suppose he will rail at the Sun. For a great
"many things, I have advanced, are so clear and cer-
"tain, that he can never contradict them, except for
"the sake of Contradiction. Examine, I beg of you,
"my dearest Nellerus, without Prejudice, the places
"where I differ from him, but especially cap. 8, lib. 2,
"where his Emendations on Pliny Valerianus, called
"the *Empiric*, are considered. I there shew, and you
"will be surprized to see, the most manifest Ignorance,
"Mistakes, and childish Notions, and bold Conjectures,
"and Misunderstandings of the Author, in great Num-
"ber. If any one should obstinately presume to defend
"these, I shall think him mad; but I do not doubt
"but Barthius will agree with me, and see the Truth,
"however unworthy I am to shew it." These are the
Words of *Reinefius*, in a Letter which he wrote to
Neslerus,

(42) That is
to say, Nico-
laus Loeffius
in chap. 18.
of his Mis-
cellanea.

(43) Barth.
in Stadium,
Tom. II.
pag. 871.

(44) Rhod-
us de Auct.
supposit. n.
54

that *Barthius* contradicted himself [5]. It is no wonder his Memory, how strong soever it might be, should often deceive him, considering his method of composing his Books [7]. He made no Collections, and scarce ever corrected what he had once written.

(1.) It is
the 6th.

Nepherus, the Thirty first of *March*, 1638 (45). See also his fifteenth Letter to *Daumius*.

[5] It has been pretended, that it was not always for want of Memory, that *Barthius* contradicted himself. "Some have observed, that, when he gives his Judgment, he falls now and then into Contradictions, for want of Memory (46)." *Daumius* pretends, that those, who took notice of that sort of Contradictions, knew nothing of *Barthius's* Designs. "He wrote, says he, all that came into his Mind, this Day one thing, and to morrow another, on purpose that, when he should look over them again, some time or other, those Contradictions might engage him to examine things more nicely, and give him a better Opportunity to correct, or confirm, what he had written. *Memini in publicis academicis Disputationibus diversæ sententiæ ejus loca exagitata fuisse. Sed auctores scopum scriptoris nescio an vel per transennam viderint. Novi enim, hoc consilio, eoque fine, Barthium ea, quæ in mentem sibi venerant, in chartam conjecisse, etiam diversis diebus tempore sententiis, ut quandoque ad ea revertenti illa diversitas ampliorum de veritate cogitandi suppeditaret materiam, occasionemque longè commodiorem retrahendi vel stabilisendi quod scriperat. Id quod fine capitis vi Libri undecimi & alibi sæpius testatur (47)."* See how *Reinesius* has confuted this Apology (48).

(46) Baillet,
Judgm.
Tom. III.
pag. 424.

(47) *Daum.*
Epist. 14. ad
Reinesium,
p. 8. 37.

(48) *Rein.*
Epist. 10. ad
Daumium,
pag. 45.

[7] It is no wonder his Memory — should fail him, considering his Method of composing his Books. We must hear his own Words. "Puto jam tale quid supra notasse. Non enim potest, ut nullis penitus rebus adjuncti, omnium strictam memoriam habeamus. Omnino enim aliter nos commentamur,

quam solent homines etiam litteratissimi, dum auctores legunt, excerptes quædam atque ea deinde excerpta in *Silvam* Observationum, eam porro *Silvam* in *Commentaria* redigentes. Nunquam tale quid factum à nobis est: Sed ut cuique auctori e narrando bene facere volumus, arcepto illi Animadversiones hoc genus imputamus, folius memoriæ beneficio nixi, quam marginalibus nonnunquam prius Notis instruiamus, dum cum libris veteribus Editiones comparamus. Cætera omnia è calamo fluent elegantè & minuto literarum ductu. Nec unquam scriptio repetitur: nec ullis lituris cruciatur: quarum nec decem aliquas hæcenus hi *Commentarii* agnoverint (49). ----- I think I have before observed some such thing. For it is impossible for me, who use no sort of Assistance, to have a perfect Memory of every thing. For my Method of commenting is quite contrary to that commonly used by the most learned Men, who, in reading Authors, take Notes all along, and then afterwards reduce those Notes into a Collection, and that Collection into *Commentaries*. I have never done any thing like this: But, as I would do Justice in explaining each Author, I ascribe these sorts of Observation to every one respectively, by the sole Strength of my Memory, which is sometimes first directed by Marginal Notes, made on my comparing the several Editions. Every thing else flows from my Pen in a small and exact Letter. Nor do I ever write any thing over again, or blot out what I have once wrote. These *Commentaries* have not bitberto met with ten Instances of this Kind." I do not know whether it is right to boast of such a thing; I think the Public deserves more Respect.

(49) *Barth.*
in *Statium*,
Tom. III.
pag. 465.

BASINA, Wife of *Childeric* King of *France*, and Mother of the Great *Clovis*, had been married to a King of *Thuringia*. *Childeric* being forced to leave his Dominions, because his Lewdness had so exasperated the People, that he had reason to fear the worst from them, fled (a) to the King of *Thuringia*. He was received by him with all manner of Respect; without doubt *Basina*, who was a very beautiful Princess, entertained him admirably well. Experience has always shewn, that those lascivious Princes, who are expelled their Country, do not renounce their Gallantries in the place of their Retreat. *Childeric* was an Example of it: He fell in Love with *Basina*; and, finding her not cruel, he made no scruple to pursue the matter so far as to enjoy the Wife of that same Friend and good Neighbour, who furnished him with a place of Refuge [A]. He engaged her in so close an Amour, that she could never after quit it. The French recalled *Childeric* eight Years after they had expelled him (b). *Basina* could not be easy with that Prince's Absence. She left her Husband, and went to *Childeric*; and, when he asked the cause of her Visit, she answered, ingenuously, that it was her Love of him [B]; and that if she had known any Prince beyond the Seas, who could have

(a) About the
Year 460.

(b) *Gregor.*
Turon. Hist.
Franc. lib. 2.
cap. 12.

[A] *Childeric* made no scruple ----- to enjoy the Wife of that same Friend ----- who furnished him with a place of Refuge. There would be ground enough to believe it, though the Historians had not related it. Would *Basina* have run after *Childeric*, if he had not loved him, and tasted with him the Pleasures of Love? But we have the Testimony of Historians: These Words are to be found in the Author of the *Archievements of the Kings of France*, in the seventh Chapter. "Dum fuit in *Thuringia* cum *Basina* Regina uxore *Bisini* Regis ipse *Childericus* commixtus est. — While he was in *Thuringia*, *Childeric* conversed criminally with Queen *Basina*, the Wife of King *Bisinus*." *Aimonius* relates the same thing in the eighth Chapter of the first Book, "Dicebatur idem princeps consuetudinem stupri cum ea habuisse, cum exularet. — The same Prince was said to have continued an adulterous Commerce with her in his Exile." *Rorico* is more expressive: I will quote him in the following Remark.

[B] She answered him ingenuously, that it was her Love of him. According to *Gregorius Turonensis*, in the twelfth Chapter of the second Book of the History of the French, the Answer was thus expressed: "I very well know that you are an useful and vali-

ant Man. It is on this account, I am come to live with you; for, be assured, that if I had known of any Body, in the Provinces beyond the Seas, who could have been more useful to me than yourself, I would have gone and desired to have lived with him." The Abbot of *Marolles*, who thus translated the Text of *Gregorius Turonensis*, adds a Remark to advertise us, that *Basina's* Meaning, in this Discourse, is equivocal. This is not unlikely: I do not believe that *Childeric* had given any proofs of his Military Valour in *Thuringia*: So that the Valour, which *Basina* spoke of, might be of another nature, and more useful to a Queen than a Martial one; and I am tempted to believe, that, both in *Gregorius Turonensis*, and in *Rorico*, we ought to read virilitatem & virilitorem, instead of utilitatem & utilitorem. The Equivocation will still remain. *Basina* answers, I know your Virility, and that you are a very brave Man. Those words are better connected than the following, I know you are an useful and valiant Man. Let no body object the Immodesty of these words, I know your Virility; is there not as much in a Woman's saying to her Gallant, I know your usefulness? However it be, Here is the Latin of *Gregorius Turonensis*: "His regnantibus si-

" mp!

have been more agreeable to her, she would have gone to him. *Childeric* was charmed with this discourse, married *Bafina*, and had a Son by her, who was a very brave Prince, and embraced the Christian Faith. If this Woman's Conduct was worse than That of *Helena* [C], That of *Childeric*, all Circumstances rightly considered, was not better than That of *Paris*. Father *le Cointe's* excuses are but very trifling [D]. The Author of the *Galantries of the Kings of France*, relates the Visions of *Bafina's* Bridegroom better than Mr de *Cordemoi* [E].

Since

" mul *Bafina* relicto viro suo ad *Childericum* venit. Qui cum follicite interrogaret quâ de causâ ad eum de tantâ regione venisset, respondisse fertur, " *Novi, inquit, utilitatem tuam quod sis valde strenuus, ideoque veni ut habitem tecum. Nam novis; si in transmarinis partibus aliquem cognovissim utiliore te, expectissem utique cobitationem ejus. At ille gaudens eam sibi in conjugio copulavit.*" The anonymous Author of the *Gesta Regum Francorum* (1), *Fredegarius* (2), and the Monk *Rorico*, relate *Bafina's* Answer in the same manner as *Gregorius Turonensis*; only *Rorico* has explained it much better, and expressly said, that the Discourse of that Woman was full of Lewdness. Which is so far from weakening my Conjecture concerning virilitatem & viriliorem, that it strongly confirms it. These are the words of *Rorico*: " *Bafina quoque Sifini regis uxor, apud quem latuisse praeconstravit* *Childericum*, sapiens relicto viro thoro confortium nostri Regis est experta. Quamobrem & eum nec multo post in Franciam est sequuta, cupiens loco uxoris habitare cum eo. Quam *Childericus* cum imperate conspexisset, & ad quos usus de tam longinqua provincia ad eum properasset inquireret, illa postposito pudore muliebri, ut erat nimis luxuriosa, tale fertur dedisse responsum: " *quoniam novi utilitatem tuam & pulchritudinem, & quod sis habilis & strenuus, & domo veni ut habitem tecum, nam si in extremis terræ finibus utiliore te cognovissem, & hunc nihilominus expectissem. Complacuit regi mulieris sermo factus, & eam gaudens sibi sociavit in uxorem* (3). " ----- *Bafina also, the Wife of King Sifinus, with whom, we have before shewn, that Childeric had taken refuge, often left her Husband's Bed to share that of our King. For which reason, not long afterwards, she followed him into France desiring to live with him as his Wife. Childeric being surprized at so unexpected a Visitor, and desiring to know the Cause of her Undertaking so long a Journey, she, laying aside all female Modesty, as being of too amorous a Constitution, returned this Answer: It was because I know you useful and comely, able and vigorous, that I left my Home out of a Desire to live with you; for if I had known of any one more so than yourself, though he had been in the furthestmost Parts of the Earth, I would have gone to him. The King was much taken with her pleasant Answer, and married her with much Satisfaction.*" This whole Relation of *Rorico* shews, that this Woman did not compliment *Childeric* as a brave Warriour, but as a complete Champion in Love.

[C] *Her Conduct was worse than That of Helena.* To give every Body their Due, I ought to say here, that this pretty Comparison is none of my own; I find it in a modern Writer (4). " *Bafina, says he, the Mother of Clovis, was not contented to prostitute her Honour to Childeric I, who fled for Protection to her first Husband Bisinus, or Bafinus, King of Thuringia; but did worse than Helena, who at least would be carried away, whereas this Woman came into France of her own Accord, and with so much confidence, that she durst tell Childeric, that, if she had known a braver Man, and worthier of her Love, she would have gone to him to the end of the World.*"

[D] *Father le Cointe's Excuses are but very trifling.* He takes it ill, that *Amonius* should say, that *Childeric* married *Bafina* before the Death of her first Husband (5). He pretends, that *Amonius* is the first who said it, and loaded the Birth of *Clovis* with such an Ignominy. He adds, that this Historian is not to be credited, considering the Distance of the Time he lived in, and his Prepossession against the *Merovingians*. He brings two other Reasons, one that the *Germans*, who were the Stem of the *French*, did not permit Adultery; the other, that, if *Childeric*

had married another Man's Wife, he would have exposed himself to the same Danger, which forced him to leave his Kingdom eight Years before. From all which Considerations he chuses rather to believe, that *Bafina*, not being able to endure the ill Treatment she received from her Husband, fled into France, and that she did not marry *Childeric* before she had certain News of her Husband's Death. He remarks, that others say she was divorced, and that therefore, under Paganism, nothing hindered her from marrying a second Husband. He refers us to *Robertus Cenalis* (6). Let us examine a little into this Dispute. In the first place, I say, that, if the Silence of the Authors, who preceded *Amonius*, is a good reason, it must no longer be said, that the King of *Thuringia* abused his Wife, or that he divorced her, or that he was dead before *Childeric* married her. These are Facts mentioned by none of the ancient Authors. In the second place, does not *Gregorius Turonensis* say, that *Bafina* left her Husband, and that her first Answer to *Childeric* pleased him so well that he married her? Is not this almost saying in express terms, that she was *Childeric's* Wife before her first Husband was dead? In the third place, the Passage out of *Tacitus*, which Father *le Cointe* alleges to prove, that the *Germans* disapproved Adultery, shews, that *Childeric* was exempted from the General Law (7); for whatever was the real Motive of the Woman's coming to him, she declared it was grounded on that Prince's Valour: Besides, the Punishment of Adultery was left to the Husband's Choice, and *Bafina* was no longer in her Husband's Country. Not to observe, that Laws are seldom made for Sovereigns. Lastly, *Childeric* had nothing to fear from the Mutiny of his Subjects upon this account; he married a Stranger who was come to seek him: What harm could this do the *French*? I own that they had revolted eight Years before; but then they were alarmed, one for his Daughter, another for his Sister, &c. for *Childeric*, at that time, gave himself up to debauchery in a very violent Manner (8). The Affair of *Bafina* did not at all concern them; would they have ever thought of breaking the Reconciliation by espousing the Quarrel of a King of *Thuringia*?

[E] *The Author of the Galantries of the Kings of France, relates the Visions of Bafina's Bridegroom better than Mr de Cordemoi.* These are his words: " It is reported, that having intreated *Childeric* not to lie with her on the Wedding-Night, she sent him three times into the Court-Yard of his Palace, desiring him to observe, without fear, the Visions which should appear before him; and that by her occult Science, he was entertained the first time with " *Unicorns, Lions, and Leopards; the second time with Bears and Wolves; and the third time with Dogs and Cats; from whence she concluded, that those various Animals presaged the Diversity of the Manners and Customs of the Race, which was to proceed from their Marriage. It will be so much the more readily believed, that this report is only a Fable invented at pleasure, if it be observed, that the ardent Passion, which that Queen had for Childeric, would, in all probability, never have permitted her to lose so much time, while she knew how to pass more pleasantly, than to lie in Bed alone, while her Lover was entertained with those pretended Apparitions* (9)." It cannot be denied, but that the Reason he alleges to confute that old Story has some force; but it would have had much more, if *Bafina's* forwardness itself did not make it too probable, that the Ardour of her Passion had already received some considerable Relief. After what had passed between them, neither *Childeric* nor she were like to pay much regard to the Marriage Ceremony, or to defer their Embraces till the Nuptial Solemnity had authorized them: And for that reason *Bafina* might well let him rest till the following Night. Mr de *Cordemoi* pretends, that *Bafina*

(6) Lib. 1. de Re Gallica, Peniche 12.

(7) This is the Passage of Tacitus; Severa illis matrimonium, nec ullum morum partem magis laudaveris, nam prope soli barbarorum singulis uxoris contenti sunt. excepta modum paucis qui, non libi fore, sed ob Nobilitatem, pluribus nuptiis an buntur. Paucissima in tim nuptia sententia adulterii quorum penna pfectus & Maritis permittitur. Their Marriages are very strict, and no part of their Customs is more to be commended. For they are almost all sole Persons who allow but of one Wife, except only to some few, who are indulged with more than one, not in regard to their Lust, but their Nobility. Altho' they are a numerous Nation, Adultery is very rare among them, and is always let intimated ately to be punished at the Discretion of the Husband.

(8) When they were reproached for their Sedition, they gave for their Reason, Quia sine lege subestatur filia nostra. Because we usually violated our Daughters. De Gestis Francor. l. 7.

(9) Galantries of the Kings of France, Tom. I. pag. 5.

(x) Apud du Chesne, Tom. I. pag. 696.

(z) Ibid. pag. 727.

(3) Rorico. de Gestis Francorum, lib. 1. pag. 802, in the first Vol. of du Chesne's Edition.

(4) In la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. X. pag. 342. Letter 43.

(5) Le Cointe Ann. Eccles. Francorum, Tom. I. pag. 94.

(c) *Father Daniel*, Dis-
sert. II, on
the History
of France,
1825,
Edition of
Paris, 1696.

(d) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 426.

(10) *History*
of France,
Tom. I.
pag. 128, ex
Fredeg.
Scholast.
cap. 12.

(11) *Pâquier*,
Recherch.
de la France,
lib. 6, c. 44.
pag. 588.

(12) *Garasse*,
Recherch.
des Recherch.
pag. 60.

(13) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 61.

(14) *Id. ibid.*
pag. 63.

(15) *Defence*
of *Stephen*
Pâquier a-
gainst the
Impositions
and Calum-
nies of *Gar-
asse*, lib. 2.
§. 4. p. 160.

(16) *Id.*
pag. 162.

(17) *Id.*
pag. 163.

Since the first Edition of this Work, I have read what *Father Daniel* has published, against those, who say, that *Childeric* was expelled by his Subjects, that he was recalled at the end of eight Years, and that the Queen of *Thuringia* came after him, &c. This Author thinks, *That what Gregorius Turonensis has wrote upon it, is nothing more than an Abstrait, or Abridgment, of some Romance current in his time (c);* and that the Visions, *Childeric is pretended to have had on his Wedding Night, and which have been added to the Story of Gregorius Turonensis, have the Air of a Romance,* as well as the rest (d). I shall mention the Quarrel commenced with *Pâquier*, and the Answer returned to his Criticism [F]: From this Remark, it will appear, that Disputes occasion many Faults to be committed, as well of the Heart, as of the Understanding.

was already with Child, and near her time, when she desired her Husband to look for Apparitions three times successively the same Night, at the Gate of his Palace, and he quotes *Fredegarius* for it (10); but it is certain, that his Witnesses contradicted him: *Fredegarius* says, that those Visions preceded the Consummation of the Marriage. *Cum primâ nocte jugiter stratu junxissent, dicit ad eum mulier, hæc nocte à coitu virili abstinemus. — Cumque Basina hæc universa narrasset, abstinere se castè usque in crastinum.*

[F] I shall mention the Quarrel commenced with *Pâquier*, and the Answer returned to his Criticism.] Let us first relate *Pâquier's* Words: "Our ancient Writers place *Clovis* among the Legitimate, but do not consider, that, in their Account of his Life, they affirm the quite contrary. They all agree in this, that *Childeric*, having been expelled the Kingdom for his Extortions and Cruelties, retired to *Thuringia*, where, having been honourably received by the King, he fell in Love with his Wife Queen *Basina*: infomuch, that being afterwards recalled by the French, he carried her away, and married her, violating thereby the Law of Nations, and of Hospitality; and yet the Great *Clovis* was born of that Marriage (11)." Let us see, in the next place, the Censure of *Father Garasse*: He says, "That *Pâquier* adding something of his own to the fabulous Report of the ancient Chroniclers, sets forth, that *Childeric*, having fled for Shelter to the King of *Thuringia*, fell in Love with his Wife, and ravished her, and carrying her into France married her in contempt of every Thing sacred (12)." He goes on thus (13), "*Master Pâquier* might have despised such Dreams, and learned from *Paul Emilii*, and *Gregorius Turonensis*, the falsity of this Narration; and the *Sieur Du Pleix* has related it very judiciously in the Life of *Childeric* — (14). The ancient Chroniclers of France never judged or dreamed, that *Clovis* was a Bastard, for having married *Basina*, or any other *Thuringian* Woman; for if he married *Basina*, he might have learned of the French Historians, that she came herself into France, after the Death of her Husband the King of *Thuringia*, and married *Childeric* her second Husband, from which true and lawful Marriage *Clovis* was born." Let us pass to the Answers returned to *Garasse*. First he was censured for having opposed *Gregorius Turonensis* to Mr *Pâquier*, who yet — forms his Doubts on that Author's Words (15). They were quoted and confirmed by the Testimony of *Aimonius* — who seems in some things to go farther than he; for he remarks, that *Basina* forsook her Husband, *Priori abjecto viro* (16). Then to the Testimony of those two Historians was added That of *Nicollis-Gilles*. These are his Words, in the sixteenth Page of the Life of *Childeric*: "During the time that *Childeric* was with *Basinus*, King of *Thuringia*, he fell in Love with his Wife, whose name was *Basina*; and after he was recalled to his Kingdom, the said Queen *Basina*, who doted very much on him, forsook the said *Basinus*, King of *Thuringia*, her Lord and Husband, and came to *Childeric*, who forgetting the former Kindnesses which he had received, married her, by whom he had *Clovis* the first Christian King of France (17). It was observed, that *Richard of Vajebour* authorizes this Opinion in his Antiquities of the *Belgie Gaul*, and that all our modern Historians follow it. But it was thought sufficient to quote *Belle-Forrest*, who said, "That *Childeric* determined to marry, but in so doing he appeared very ungrateful to his Host, the

"King of *Thuringia*, whose Wife he debauched and married, without troubling himself for the wrong done to *Basinus*, or the Reproach that he might receive for it (18)." At the Conclusion it was said, that all the Authors, who have been quoted, are as authentic, and judicious as your (19) *Logician Du Pleix*, who lent you his Whim in this Passage, to authorize your want of Judgment." The mistake was not forgotten, which *Garasse* made, when he said, that *Clovis* married *Basina* (20). It was called both "an impious and malicious Ignorance; for by that means he would make the first Christian King of France more abominable than those brutish *Ethiopians*, who, as *St Jerom* says against *Jovinian*, defiled their Mothers Bed without any Distinction (21)." Instances of the like Abominations were quoted there, with many Exaggerations, and long Declamations.

This Dispute shews us part of the Corruptions, which prevail in most Writings of this Nature. The Apologist passes over one of the Faults which had been censured: He does not justify *Pâquier*, nor does he own, that he was rightly accused as to that Article; I mean the Rape of *Basina*. Our ancient Chroniclers have not mentioned it, and therefore *Pâquier* aggravated *Childeric's* Ingratitude: he made Additions, which were both fabulous and scandalous. The Authority of *Gregorius Turonensis* might well be alledged against him, and nevertheless his crafty Apologist supposed, that this Historian had only been alledged, in relation to the other parts of *Basina's* Adventures, and on that Supposition founded the most insulting Reproaches. Here are already three great Corruptions; not to acknowledge That Part of the Remarks of a Critic, which is good and just; to dissemble That, which is favourable to him in his Quotations; and to apply intirely, with much noise, to That only which may be turned into a disadvantageous Sense. Here is another Irregularity: *Garasse* censured some Faults, and committed others in his Censure. *Gregorius Turonensis* was for and against him in different Respects; he made no distinction, but quoted him in a general manner, and placed him between *Emilius* and *Du Pleix*. Ought he not to have given him the first Rank? He perplexed himself wretchedly about a pretended Marriage of *Clovis* with *Basina*. This was done heedlessly: It appears plainly, that a Hurry of Mind, and a Distraction common enough among Authors, made him write contrary to what he thought; the Sequel of his Discourse evidently shews he did not believe that *Clovis* was the Husband of *Basina*. Yet *Pâquier's* Apologist falls violently upon that Passage: he takes it to be a capital Crime: His Zeal for the first Christian King of the French grows warm, and he calls the Figures of Rhetoric to his Assistance. Is this to act honestly? His Adversary had shewn him an Example of a like Corruption; for he had very wrongly armed himself with the Appearance of a great Zeal for the Honour of the Nation, on account of their first Christian King. He had preferred a Kind of Impeachment for a Crime of State, very unjustly, since, except the Rape, *Pâquier* had only followed our ancient Historians, and modestly represented their Consequences. How shameful is it, that Authors should be suffered to take the Liberty to engage Sovereign Princes in their petty Quarrels?

It is much more useful to make Readers sensible of these Faults in Writers, than to criticize Historical Fallhoods: and therefore I hope what I have just now observed will meet with Approbation.

(18) *Id.*
pag. 164.
Note, the
Author ob-
serves, that
Ronsard
confirms
that Opinion
in Book 4. of
his *Franci-
ade*, and that
de Serres
calls that an
illegitimate
Marriage.

(19) The
Words are
spoken to *Gar-
asse*.

(20) *Defence*
of *Pâquier*
against *Gar-
asse*, p. 166.

(21) *Id.*
lib. 3. §. 2.
p. 426, 427.

SOME
Examples of
the Faults
of Authors.

BASNAGE (BENJAMIN), the Son of *N. Basnage*, Minister of *Norwich* in *England*, and afterwards of *Carentan* in *Normandy*, was born in the Year 1580. He devoted himself to his Father's Profession, and was also Minister of *Carentan*; nay he continued to all his Life, though other more considerable Churches, and particularly that of *Rouen*, desired to have him for their Minister. He considered his first Church as his Spouse, from whom nothing but Death could divorce him; and therefore he would not make use of the liberty, which the National Synod of *Charenton* had given him, in the Year 1623 [A]. He assisted in that Synod, as a Deputy of the Province of *Normandy*. In the Year 1631, he was again named by that Province to assist in the National Synod of *Charenton*; but the King forbade him to go thither, and took his Church from him. He was presently after restored to it, and obtained leave to sit in that Synod, as a Deputy of *Normandy*. The Remonstrances, made to his Majesty by that Assembly, produced this good effect. He had given such Proofs of his Capacity and Prudence, that he was elected Moderator of the National Synod of *Alençon* in 1637. This Assembly wanted a Moderator, furnished with many Talents; for they had very nice Matters to handle. The Disputes about Universal Grace had made a great noise; it was to be feared, that a Theological War would break out in the Reformed Churches of *France*, more formidable than a severe Persecution; Mens minds were already very much heated, and prepossessed. This Synod settled Matters on a right foot, to which the Prudence and Conduct of the Moderator very much contributed. He was associated with the Moderator in the National Synod of *Charenton* in the Year 1644. This Assembly deputed him to the Queen-Mother, who gave him some Marks of her Esteem. He had a great number of Disputes with the Controversitists; he wrote against the Church of *Rome*, and they against him (a). His *Treatise of the Church* was much esteemed (b): He undertook a *Work against the indiscreet Votaries of the Holy Virgin*, which remained imperfect. He died at Seventy two Years of Age, in 1652, which was the Fifty first Year of his Ministry. He left two Sons, who made his Name very Illustrious, both upon their own, and their Childrens, account [B]. It must not be forgot, that he was deputed to King *James*, and that, by That Prince's leave, he went into *Scotland*, where he did great Service to the Churches in their Temporal Interests. King *James's* Letter of Leave styles him *Deputy from all the French Churches*. He is often mentioned in the *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*; but That *Work*, being in *English*, does not always observe the true Orthography of proper Names [C], which sometimes produces Confusion.

(a) Left vain, and Dragonis are the chief who wrote against him.

(b) If I am not mistaken, it was printed at Rouen, in the Year 1612.

[A] He would not make use of the Liberty of quitting his Church, which was granted him by the Synod of *Charenton*, in 1623.] The Provincial Synod of *Normandy* had permitted him to leave his Church; That Church had appealed about it to the National Synod, and That Appeal was rejected by the National Synod of *Charenton*, in the Year 1623. However our *Benjamin* did not leave his Church.

[B] He left two Sons, who made his Name very Illustrious, both upon their own, and their Children's, Account.] The eldest, ANTONY BASNAGE, was born in the Year 1610, and followed his Father's Profession, and was Minister at *Bayeux*. He signalled himself by his Constancy and Courage in the last Persecution; the Prison of *Haere de Grace*, into which he was put at the Age of Seventy five Years, did not shake his Resolution. When the Edict of *Nants* was repealed, he was set at Liberty, and fled into *Holland*: He died at *Zutphen*, in the Year 1681, aged Eighty one Years. He left a Son, whose Name is SAMUEL BASNAGE, *Sieur de Flottemanville* (1), who had been Minister with him of the Church of *Bayeux*, and is at present at *Zutphen*. He is one of the most learned Ministers, who left *France*. He had already published a Book in *Latin* (2), which is a Continuation of the Critical Observations on the Annals of Cardinal *Baronius*, which *Cajetan* had begun. He is now writing an Ecclesiastical History (3). I have wrote the Article of the other Son of *Benjamin Basnage*.

[C] He is often mentioned in the *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*, which does not always observe the true Orthography of proper Names.] For Example, in the Ninety fourth Page of the second Volume of the *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*, mention is made of the Deputies of *Charenton*, *Sainte Mere & le Val de Serre*. It ought to have been said, *Carentan*, *Sainte Mere Eglise*, & le *Val de Serre*. In the Seventy fifth Page *Benjamin Basnage* is filed Minister of *Charenton*; and, in Pages 259, and 274, Minister of *Quarentin*; and, in Page 322, Minister of *Sainte Mere*. It should be *Sainte Mere Eglise*;

and it ought to have been observed, that *Carentan* and *Sainte Mere Eglise* are two Places, which made but one and the same Church among those of the Reformed Religion. They had, indeed, each of them a distinct Place of Worship; but, as one was looked upon as annexed to the other, there was but one Pastor, and one Consistory for both. At Page 89, it is said the Conference of *Constantine*, instead of the Conference of the *Cotentin*. These are Faults of Orthography, which may confound Readers, and make them think, that there were Churches, in *Normandy*, called *Sainte Mere*, *Charenton*, and *Quarentin*. A Person, who should be employed by Booksellers to make Additions to a Geographical Dictionary, might imagine he had made a considerable Discovery, by finding those three Parishes in a Country, where the Geographers had not yet perceived them. Faults are like Sparks of Fire; That, which is at first but an Alteration of a Letter, becomes sometimes a Complication, or Heap of monstrous Falsities. It must be remedied early, *principiis obsta*. Here are also Mistakes of another Nature. The Author of the *Synodicon* makes mention (4) of one *Peter Basnage*, Son of *Anthony*, and Grand-son of *Benjamin*, and says, that this *Peter Basnage* had no Church in the Year 1637. This is a Mistake. *Anthony Basnage* had but two Sons; the eldest called *Mr de Flottemanville*, who was born in the Year 1638. The younger was named *Francis*, and followed the Profession of Arms, and died in the Year 1685. The same Author takes (5) *Mr Basnage*, Minister of *Rotterdam*, to be the Son of *Benjamin Basnage*; but he is only his Grandson. These small Faults, which I find myself obliged to discover for the Instruction of Readers, do not hinder me from believing, that *Mr Quick's* Work (6) is very curious and useful, and that all the Reformed of *France* are very much obliged to him for the Pains he has taken to make such an ample and exact Collection of their Synods, and for the long Preface, which he has added to it.

(1) He was born in 1638.

(2) Intituled *De Rebus Sacris & Ecclesiasticis Exercitationes Historico-criticae*, Utrecht, 1692, in 4to.

(3) He has already published three Volumes of it, in folio, entitled, *Annales Politico-Ecclesiastici Annonum* D.C.XIV a Cesare Augusto ad Phocam usque. They were printed at Rotterdam, for Leers, in 1706, and dedicated to the States General in 1705. He promises to continue this Work.

(4) Page 383.

(5) Page 497.

(6) An English Minister, who, in 1692, published, at London, the *Synodicon in Galliâ Reformatâ*; or, the Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons, of the seven last National Councils of the Reformed Churches of *France*, 2 Volumes in Folio.

BASNAGE (HENRY), Son of the foregoing, was born at *Ste. Mere Eglise* in Lower Normandy, the sixteenth of October, 1615. He was one of the most able and eloquent Advocates of the Parliament of Normandy, into which he was admitted in the Year 1636. There was no considerable Cause, which he was not employed in. He went to Paris, with the Deputies of the Province of Normandy, on account of the * Tax called *Tiers & Danger*: It was he, who drew up the Memorial of the Province, and who was made choice of to defend that Cause. At the request of the Marquis de Maignon, he took another Journey to Paris, to regulate the Shares of the Succession with the Marquis de Seigneulay (a); and it is well known, that he would have been concerned in the general Review of the Common Laws of France, if the Project, formed about it, had been put in execution (b). In the Year 1677, he was nominated Commissioner for the Affairs of Religion, and worthily discharged that Trust. He was equally successful in Consultations, and Pleadings; and has made it appear, that he could prove as good an Author, as an Advocate. The *Common Law of Normandy*, which he published with very ample Commentaries in the Year 1678, was so much valued, and sold so well, that a Second Edition of it, in Two Volumes in Folio, was published in the Year 1694. At the same time was printed a third Edition of his *Treatise of Hypothecæ, or Pledges*. And, notwithstanding his great Age, the Author had the care of those Editions: his Judgment and Understanding continued unimpaired. This is very rare, and happens only to those, who have had both a lively Imagination, and a strong Head; which was his Character. His Religion did not hinder those, who were at the Head of the Parliament, and the rest of the most considerable Members of that illustrious Body, from having a great Esteem, and a particular Kindness, for him. He received all manner of Civilities from M. de Mombelon, first President of Rouen, to whom he dedicated his *Common Law of Normandy* in the Year 1694. He died at Rouen, the twentieth of October, 1695, aged eighty Years and four Days. If he had not the pleasure of seeing his Children in his old Age, yet it was a great Comfort to him to hear of the Honour, which they acquired in Foreign Countries by their excellent Writings [A]. He had also the Satisfaction to know, that his Son-in-Law, Mr Bauldri, Professor of Sacred History at Utrecht, had made himself very much esteemed by his Lectures, and by a learned Commentary on the *Treatise of Lactantius de Mortibus Persecutorum* (c).

* It is a Tax which the Gentry pay once in every King's Reign, for Forests and Woods.

(a) He had married the Marquis of Maignon's Sister-in-law.

(b) Some Persons of Credit have been told, that M. le Tellier, Promoter of that Project, had nominated Mr Basnage for one of the Executors.

(c) Printed at Utrecht, in 8vo, in the Year 1692.

(1) He was born at Rouen in 1633.

(a) Those who have the Direction of Churches are so called, to distinguish them from other French Ministers, who reside in the Towns of Holland.

(3) It was printed in Nov. 1608, in 2 Vols in Fol. See the History of the Works of the Learned, 1608, pag. 381, & 500. And the Journal of Utrecht, Tom. IV. pag. 24.

(4) He was born at Rouen, Aug. 7, 1656.

[A] If he had not the Pleasure of seeing his Children - - - yet he heard of the Honour, which they acquired, in foreign Countries, by their excellent Writings. His eldest Son, JAMES BASNAGE, was but a little above Twenty two Years of Age (1), when the Church of Rouen desired him for their Minister, in the Room of Mr le Moyné, in the Year 1676. He served that Church with much Applause from that time, 'till the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. Then he retired into Holland, and settled at Rotterdam, where he is Ordinary Minister (2). The Latin and French Books, which he has already published, and chiefly his admirable Answer to the Bishop of Meaux, have fully justified those, who promised his History of the Church would be a very complete Work; which has been yet farther made good by the Publication of the Work itself (3). His other Works are the *Examination of the Methods proposed by the Assembly of the Clergy of France, for the Re-union of Protestants to the Church of Rome*, printed, at Cologne, in 1684. *The Epistle of St Chrysostom to Cæcilius the Monk, together with three Epistolary Dissertations*, printed, at Rotterdam, in 1687, and reprinted in 1694. *The Holy Communion, or a Treatise on the Necessity and Means of communicating worthily*, printed, at Rotterdam, in 1687, and several Times since. *A Treatise on Conscience, with Reflexions on the Philosophical Commentary*, printed, at Rotterdam, in 1696. *The History of the Jewish Religion, from JESUS CHRIST, to the present Times, by way of Supplement to Josephus*, actually printed, at Rotterdam, in five Volumes in 12mo.

His younger Brother, HENRY BASNAGE, Sieur de Beauval (4), was admitted Advocate in the Parliament of Normandy, and pursued his Father's Steps; but the Troubles, on account of Religion, made him rather choose to retire into Holland, than to follow a Path so glorious in the Eyes of the World. He was very young, when he published a little Piece on the *Tolerance of Religions*, which was wrote with a great deal of Spirit and Judg-

ment. He has acquired, and is daily maintaining, an immortal Reputation over all Europe, by publishing the *History of the Works of the Learned*. The Disputes he had with Mr Jurieu often interrupted him in that Work, and produced several very lively and sharp Pieces, on both Sides. His Correction of *Furetiere's Dictionary*, which he has improved with several Additions and Emendations, and an infinite Number of Examples, taken from more polite French Writers, is a Work of very great Use. He is again actually revising it.

Though these Gentlemen are yet living, there is a Necessity of mentioning them, to prevent their being continually mistaken the one for the other, as has been already done in some Books. See the Remark [C] of the foregoing Article, and this Passage of the *Bibliothèque Universelle*: Wherein it is shewn, that the Author of the History of the Journals is not very well acquainted with Messieurs Basnage. "I have already said, that this Work (5) is very necessary; but I must add, that it would be much more so, if he, who wrote it, had been better informed; for he has committed several Mistakes, which discredit the whole, 'till they be corrected. For Example, speaking of the *History of the Works of the Learned*, which is known to be wrote by "Mr de Beauval the Advocate, he says, that a French Refugee Minister is the Author of it, and that his inserting in the Title Page, By Mr B*** Docteur of the Civil Law, is only to conceal himself the better: That This Minister, and Author of That Work, is the same, who wrote against the Bishop of Meaux, and against Baronius, confounding, at this rate, three very different Persons. It is true, we may very well excuse him on this Article; for it is very rare to see one single Family produce so many famous Authors; and they, who are not well acquainted with every Branch of it, may very easily confound them (6)." This Reflexion is both ingenious and judicious.

(5) There is to wit, M. Christiani Junckeri Dredensis Schediasma Historicum de Ephemeris seu Diariis Eruditiorum.

(6) Bibliothèque Universelle, Tom. XXII. P. 427, 428.

BASTA (NICOLAS), by Nation an *Epirote*, was a good Officer of Horse in the *Spanish Service* in the *Netberlands*, where the Duke d'Alba brought him in the Year 1567 (a). He signalized himself in the Defeat of *la Nove* before *Engelmünster* in 1580 (b). The Duke of Parma gave him a very honourable Testimony [A], four Years after, by sending him to the Assistance of the Elector of *Cologne*. His Father, whose Name was *Demetrius*, had born Arms forty Years in the Service of the House of *Austria* (c). He was undoubtedly related to *George Basta* [B], which is sufficient to prevent the Censure of those, who might perhaps be apt to blame me for publishing this Article. When a Person deserves a place in a Dictionary, he in some measure opens the Gate to his Relations. Let this be observed once for all.

(a) Strada,
de Bello
Belg. Dec. 1.
lib. 6.

(b) Id. Dec.
2. lib. 3.

(c) B. 1. 7.
ad Annum
1565.

[A] *The Duke of Parma gave him a very honourable Testimony*. It is this: "Hunc (*Blasium Capi-
jucum*) & Nicolaum Bastam veterem Epirotarum
equitum ductorem Coloniam mittens Alexander,
Colonienfibus reſcripſerat, delectos à ſe fuiſſe tre-
nuos adeo gnarique militiæ viros ut horum con-
ſilia, ſi occaſio ſe daret, tuto ipſe ſequi paratus
eſſet (1). ----- Alexander, ſending him (*Baſius
Capiucius*) and *Nicolas Baſta*, the old Epirote Gen-
eral of Horſe to *Cologne*, wrote thus to the Inhabitants,
"that they were Perſons choſe by him for ſo remark-
able a Courage and Skill in War, that, if he had
Occaſion, he himſelf ſhould think it the beſt Courſe
to follow their Direction."

(1) Strada,
de Bello
Belg. l. 6.
Dec. 2. l. 5.
pag. 308.

[B] *He was undoubtedly related to George Baſta*. Some ſay he was his Brother (2), and obſerve, that four famous Hiſtorians (3) have aſcribed a glorious Action of *George to Nicolas*; it is the Succour thrown into *la Fere* in the Year 1596. *Bouteroue* has not been guilty of That Fault; he very rightly gives the Name of *George* to him, who performed That Action (4). Few Warriors will conſent to ſuch Align-
ment of Glory, and brotherly Love ſeldom reaches ſo far. The anonymous Author, who publiſhed the Hiſtory of the Archduke *Albert*, in the Year 1693, gives the Name of *Nicolas Baſti* to him, who brought a Convoy of Proviſions into *la Fere*.

(1) Angell.
Gallucius,
de Bello
Belg. l. 8.

(3) Camp-
na, Derſis,
Thuanus,
Bauſieret.

(4) Rodolph.
Bouterius
Commentaire
de Rebus
Galliæ ge-
ſtis, lib. 3.
pag. 272.

BASTA (GEORGE), a famous General, in the beginning of the XVIIth Century, was originally of *Epirus* (a), but born in a Village called *la Rocca*, near *Tarentum*. He commanded a Regiment of *Epirote*, or *Albanese*, Horſe, when the Duke of Parma took Poſſeſſion of the Government of the *Netberlands* in the Year 1579; and he perfected himſelf in the Military Art under ſo great a Maſter as That Duke, who, ſoon diſcovering *George Baſta's* Merit, made him Commiſſary General of the Horſe in the Year 1580 [A]. There was no conſiderable Enterprize, in which he did not aſſign him a principal part. During the Siege of *Antwerp* in 1584, he had Orders to keep the Field, to hinder any Succours from entering into the Place; and, in 1588, having reinforced the Troops, which beſieged *Bonn*, he contributed very much to the taking of that Town (b). In the Year 1590, he followed the Duke of Parma into *France*, to the Aſſiſtance of the *League*; and, in the Year 1592, he had the command of the Rear-guard during the firſt Retreat (c). He was alſo concerned in the Expedition of Count *Charles of Mansfeld*, in *France*, in the Year 1593 (d). After which, he went to make ſome Campaigns in *Hungary*, and returned into the *Netberlands*, where, in the Year 1596, he was charged with a very difficult Commiſſion, which he executed very much to his Honour (e); this was to throw a Supply of Proviſions into *la Fere*, then beſieged by *Henry IV*. Never was more Conduct, Secrecy, and Diligence, ſeen, than he made appear on that occaſion. But, without doubt, the beſt Theatre of his Exploits was *Transilvania* and *Hungary*. In the Year 1601, he obtained a ſignal Victory over *Sigismund Battori*, who had cauſed himſelf to be elected Prince of *Transilvania*. The Imperialiſts loſt ſcarce 300 Men; but *Battori* loſt above 10000 Men, 110 Colours, 40 Pieces of Cannon, and all the Baggage of his Army. The Town of *Claufenberg* was beſieged ſoon after, and forced to yield to the mercy of the Conqueror. *Baſta* rid himſelf of a troubleſome Rival, who had ſhared the Honour of that Day with him, I mean the *Waiwode of Walachia*, whom he cauſed to be killed in his Tent, on ſuſpicion of his holding a private Intelligence with the *Turks*. The Year following, he quite ruined the Affairs of *Battori*, by the taking of *Biſtric*, and the Defeat of *Mofes*, Prince of the *Scicules*: So that *Battori*, humbly deſiring a Peace, renounced all his Pretenſions, and was ſatisfied with obtaining the Quality of a Baron of *Bobemia*, by way of Favour. In the Year 1603, *Baſta* again defeated the Army, which *Mofes* had raiſed, and perhaps he would have forced the broken remains of it in *Temefwære*, if the approach of the Winter had not hindered him from beſieging that Place. The Severities, he exerciſed, the following Year, againſt the Proteſtants of *Transilvania*, did the Emperor great Injury. He cauſed the like to be praſticed in *Hungary* by the Count de *Bel-joieuſe*, which made

(a) Strada de
P. II. Belg.
Dec. 2. l. 3.

(b) Taken
ſrom Strada,
ibid. & l. 6.
& 10.

(c) D'Aubig-
né, Tom III.
lib. 3. c. 9.
Thuanus,
lib. 122,
circa fin.
See all the
Extrait of
George Ba-
ſta, during
his two
Expeditions,
in Dondini,
Hiſtor. de
Rebus in
Galliâ geſti.

(d) Angell.
Gallucius
de Bello
Belg. lib. 1.

(e) Id. l. 8.

[A] *The Duke of Parma ----- made him Com-
miſſary General of the Horſe*. I ſhall take this Oc-
caſion to obſerve, that, in thoſe Times, That Office
was but of a new Creation in the *Netberlands*. That
Duke d'Alba brought it thither from *Italy* in the
Year 1567, where it lately owed its Birth to *Fer-
dinand Gonzague*, Governor of the *Milonezza*. The
Duke d'Alba conferred it on *Anthony Olivera*, de-
ſcended from That *Martin Olivera*, whom Don *Pedro*,

King of *Caſtile*, had ſent for from *France*, to ſerve a-
gainſt the *Moors of Granada* (1). *George Baſta* diſ-
charged That Office very well, and it was, during
his Sickneſs at *Caudebec*, that the Cavalry, falling
off from the good Diſcipline, under which he had
kept it, did not perform it's Duty ſo well in the
Attack, which the Royaliſts made, upon the Duke
of Parma, in 1592 (2).

(1) Ex Stra-
da, Dec. 1.
lib. 6. ad
Ann. 1567.

(2) Dondi-
nus, Hiſtor.
de Rebus in
Galliâ geſti.
lib. 3, pag.
513.

[B] The

made *Stephen Boskai* take up Arms, who soon found himself strong enough to obtain a Victory over the Imperial Troops, which That Count commanded. *Basta* could only repair this Loss in part; for if, on the one hand, the Siege, which he laid to *Cassovia*, disengaged the Count *de Bel-jouense*, he was, on the other hand, obliged to raise it (f). In 1605, he had the Vexation not to be able to hinder the *Turks* from making themselves Masters of *Gran* (g); but he had at least the comfort, by his Encampment near *Comorra*, both to become an invincible Barrier against them, and to charge them advantageously, upon their going to take their Winter Quarters. The Peace, which was made with the *Turks*, the Year following, and the little time he lived afterwards, silenced the Historians as to any farther Account of his Exploits [B]. He was honoured with the Title of a Count (b). Some say the *Turks* never had any Advantage over him [C]. We must not forget, that he is an Author [D], and in very great Esteem [E].

(f) Ex
Thuan.

(g) Mercure
Frag.
Tom. I.

(b) Strada,
Dec. 2, l. 3.

[B] *The Peace ----- and his Death -----* silenced the Historians, as to any farther Account of his Exploits.] *Bonifacio Vannozzi*, in a Letter dated in January, 1608, says, that two Letters, wrote by *G. M. Praga*, the Seventeenth and Twenty fourth of December, 1607, informed him of *George Basta's* Death (3). I fancy that this *G. M. Praga* had been Secretary to this General. He lamented the Loss of this Master, and commended the Kindness, which Count *Charles*, and the Countess his Mother, shewed him (4). I take notice of this, only to shew that this General did not die without lawful Issue. The Advice, which was given to *G. M. Praga*, makes me think, that he had a Mind to write the History of his Master: That Advice is very good. *Vannozzi* represents to him, that, if a Man desires not to pass for a Flatterer, he must undertake the particular History of some famous Action, in which the Person, whose Life he writes, had the principal Part. He points to one, as to *George Basta*, and adds, that, by managing it in this manner, he would have an Opportunity of representing the glorious Actions of a Man, without seeming to affect it. The great Advantage of this Method is, that it does not oblige an Historian to speak of the Imperfections of his Hero; whereas an entire History of his Life requires, that he should be represented, not only with his Virtues, but his Vices too. Now how commendable soever a Person may be, he is not without his Faults; and sometimes the bad Qualities are as numerous as the good. He quotes, on this Account, what *Livy* says of *Hannibal*: "Alcuni per fuggir'ill nome d'adulatore, tanto ambizioso, quanto dannato, si danno à scriver' un' ation publica, o un tal membro di essa, nella quale habbia parte principale colui, di cui noi intendiamo istoriar l'attian: e la vita: verbi grazia, volendosi porre in Carta la vita del fig. Co. Basta, si potrebbe pigliare à discriver' un' accidente della guerra d'Ungheria, fassi il tumulto e la Seditione de Ribelli, od altra impresa, nella quale S. E. havesse hauuto parte principale: & così dissimulatamente metterli à dir delle sue prodezze, con molto proposito, e fuor di sospetto; che hoggi di per lo più non si leggono vite e narrationi di Grandi, che non habbiano del fauoloso: E per cotali scrittori son tenuti à dire il vero, e fuggir la Menzogna: Stando che, così non fusi' egli, non vi sia alcuno tanto laudabile, che non habbia i suoi Nei: Onde saggiamente *Livio*, dopo una gran diceria à favor d'Annibale, chiuse il periodo così: *Æquabant vitia virtutes*: Perché, come peritissimo Maestro sapeva, che non si fi poteva, ne dovea tralasciar' indietto i cenni de' vizi, del descritto per virtuoso (5)." He takes notice, that *Hannibal*, who had but one Eye, blamed the Painter, who gave him two, and recompensed

him who drew him in Profil (6). This shews, that he would not have any Body tell a palpable Lie in his Favour; but was very well pleased with those, who found out the Art of hiding his Imperfections. *Vannozzi* afterwards hits upon a Latin Precept, which is very fine: "Convien dunque, says he (7), ut veritas ante oculos habeatur, gratia, aique odiis posthabitis; melius est enim Historicum, & Politicum, si non fert ratio temporum, ab Historia scribenda abstinere, quam eam turpiter mentiendo, & adulando, quod plerisque fecisse Flavius Vopiscus scripsit, maculare. Republice enim interest, nequid omnino nisi quod fit compertum & exploratum in lucem exeat, &c." This means, that, if the Times will not allow of speaking the Truth, it is better to forbear writing Histories, than to tell Lies; for the Public is concerned, that whatever is printed be true. He concludes with another Rule; *To praise but little, and to blame still less*. *Seniamo la Lettera*, says he (8), con quel moralissimo Detto: *Lauda parca, & vituperà parcius*. This was well worth a Digression; which I submit to the Judgment of all discerning Men.

[C] *Some say the Turks never had any Advantage over him*.] Let us hear *Strada*. "Militari scientiâ clarum quem è Farnesiana Scholâ supremum Cæsaris exercitus Ducem vidimus in Pannoniâ ex Ottomanicis copiis perpetuò victorem (9). — *Famous for his military Knowledge, who, from the Duke of Parma's School, became chief General of the Imperial Army, and was always victorious over the Ottoman Forces in Pannonia*."

[D] *He is an Author*.] His *Maestro di Campo generale*, was printed at Venice, in the Year 1606, and his *Governo della Cavalleria leggiera*, at Frankfurt, in 1612.

[E] *And in very great Esteem*.] See here what *Naudæus* says of him in his Treatise of Military Study; "In equestri militiæ disciplina quatuor seu duces seu tribuni communiter proponuntur, quorum de ea re lucubrations tanquam absolutissimæ omnium sibi calculos & approbationem conciliarunt; scilicet Georgius Basta qui summus mandatorum curator in Belgico Regis exercitu, & Cæsarianarum deinde copiarum ductor summo cum imperio fuit. — In the Military Discipline of the Country, four whose Lucubrations on this Subject are universally approved, and esteemed the most complete; namely, George Basta, who was Commissary general in the King's Army in Flanders, and afterwards Generalissimo of the Imperial Forces." The three others are *Ludovicus Melzius*, *Flaminius à Cruce*, and *Johannes Jacobus Walhaufius*.

(6) Ibid.
p. 8. 152.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Strada,
Dec. 2. l. 3.

(5) Id. ibid.
p. 191, 192.

BATHYLLUS, a young Man of *Samos*, passionately beloved by *Anacreon*, who mentioned him often in his Verses [A]. Among the remaining Odes, which we have of that Poet, there is one (a), wherein he draws the Picture this beautiful Youth.

(a) It is the
19th.

[A] *Anacreon ----- mentioned him often in his Verses*.] *Horace* observes it: These are his Words,

Non aliter Samio dicunt aruisse Bathyllo
Anacreonta Tejum
Qui perispe cava testudine flevit amorem
Non elaboratum ad pedem (1).

(1) Horat.
Egod. 14.

*Thus for Bathyllus did Anacreon burn,
And in loose Verse his amorous Passion mourn.*

Andrew Schottus shews an unaccountable piece of Madnes in quoting these Verses of *Horace*, to prove that *Mæcenas* loved the *Pantomime Bathyllus*, of whom I shall speak hereafter (2). *Charles Stephens* was not less mistaken, when he said, that *Bathyllus*, the Darling of *Anacreon*, is the same with the *Pantomimus*, mentioned in these Words of *Juvenal*, *multis salutate Bathyllo* (3). Is not this as much as to say, that *Juvenal* and *Anacreon* were Cotemporaries?

(2) Andr.
Schor. ad
Senec. Con-
trov. Præf.
lib. 5. pag.
484, Edit.
Th. de Ju-
ven.

(3) They a-
re Satire V
ver. 63.

[B] Poly-

Youth. His Description is not confined, like those of our Romances, to the visible parts; but extends also to those concealed; which is the reason that Madam *le Fevre* could not fill up all the places of her Translation, but was forced to leave whole Lines with Afterisms. This same *Bathyllus* had been loved by *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, who caused a Statue to be erected to him [B], in the Attitude of a Man singing, and playing on the Lyre. *Chabot* was mistaken in calling him *Pantomimus* [C]. Mr *le Fevre*, in endeavouring to excuse *Anacreon's* dissolute Life, has published some things, which were not very well known [D].

[B] *Polycrates* ----- *who caused a Statue to be erected to him.* Some think, that *Juvenal* speaks of it, when, addressing himself to the Gods, he says,

ut video, nullum discrimen habendum est
Effigies inter vestras, statuamque Bathylli (4).

*Bathyllus' Statue at this rate may prove
Thy equal Rival, or a greater Jove.*

Others read *Vagelli*, instead of *Bathylli*. That Statue of *Bathyllus* was in the Temple of *Juno*, at *Samos*, before the Altar. *Apuleius* has given a very particular Description of it (5).

[C] *Chabot is mistaken, in calling him Pantomimus.* *Hic Bathyllus*, says he (6), *Samius fuit Pantomimus Anacreonti in maximis deliciis.* Very probably his Error proceeds from the Idea he had of another *Bathyllus*, to whom the Title of *Pantomimus* very well agrees, as shall be seen hereafter.

[D] Mr *le Fevre*, in endeavouring to excuse *Anacreon's* dissolute Life, has published some things, which were not very well known. I will here perform the Promise I made in the Remark [G], of the Article *ANACREON*. This is the most proper Place for these Things. They would have made That Poet's Article too long; but I shall find room enough in this of *Bathyllus*. I say, then, that, as Mr *le Fevre* could not be ignorant, that our Poet's Love for *Bathyllus* passed for mere Sodomy, and that *Polycrates's* Jealousy of *Smerdis* made a great Noise, it is unaccountable how he could say, "We do not read, that *Anacreon's* Pleasures were Matters of Scandal, nor that his Galleries were ever complained of (7)." What he observes, in another place, is much more reasonable. He says, that more scandalous Passions have been seen in the Auxiliary Troops of France, than *Anacreon's* Amours. His Latin Description of them is too fine to be translated: "An id potius amet quod patrum nostrorum memoria in copiis Auxiliariis vidit Gal-
lia?"

Serica cum Dominam ducebant vincla capellam,
Cui nitidum cornu multo radiabat ab auro,
Et segmentatis splendeant tempora vittis.
Illa rofa & myrto fertisque recentibus ibat
Altum vincla caput, dilectæ concia formæ (8).

"Or would he rather pursue those Amours, which were
observed by France among the Auxiliary Forces, in
the Memory of our Fathers?"

Their Mistress Goat in silken Cords was led;
Her gilded Horns their Rays of Glory spread;
Her Temples with the finest Ribbons bound,
Her Head with Myrtles, and with Roses crown'd,
Proudly she tript, and scarcely trod the Ground.

This is a Piece of secret History, the Circumstances whereof, it is likely, several Readers will enquire into; a She-Goat, the Mistress of an Italian General, and led in Pomp with the Ornaments of a jointed Baby. It is impossible to carry farther, by the most strained Constructions, the

Novimus & qui te transversa tumentibus hircis (9).

We know who did your Business, &c.
And what the Goats observed with leering Eyes.

Mr *le Fevre* was brought into trouble for This Diffculty: "It is not proper, says he (10), that People should know, that I made the Verses about the Crowned Goat. Your Father, to whom I formerly told the History of the She-Goat, mentioned in the Dedication of *Anacreon*, and who is not igno-

rant in what manner I was treated in the Sanhe-
drim, will tell you my Reasons." Here is some-
thing which will facilitate an Enquiry into this Fact.
The Duke de Nemours, having besieged Lyons, in the
Year 1562, "was obliged to retire, being forsaken
"by Three thousand Italians, who deserted for want
"of being paid at the appointed Time. Their living
"had been so licentious, that the Country People
"knew no better Remedy, than to burn all the She-
"Goats of the Places, thro' which they passed (11)." I
choose rather to quote *Varillas*, than *d'Aubigné*,
who informs us, "That the Duke of Guise, having
"a Mind, that the Duke de Nemours should com-
"mand at the Siege of Lyons, *Tavannes* caused the
"Army to disband, and disgusted the Italians, by
"saying, that he could not lead Men to War, who
"forced Children and She-Goats; a thing so well
"known in the Country, that the Peasants left not
"one She-Goat alive, after their Departure (12)." The
same Historian says, that the Baron Des-Adrets,
leading his Men to fight against the Count de Suxe,
made no other Speech but this, "See there the
"Murderers of Women and Children, and the Lovers
"of She-Goats; let us fall on (13)." Doublets
d'Aubigné knew this by fresh Tradition, and had
read an Historian, who had named the Chiefs of those
infamous Soldiers, and who says, that *Tavannes*, being
either little satisfied with the Arrival of the Duke
de Nemours, who was to command the Siege, or hoping
for no good Success from it, retired into Burgundy;
that afterwards the Duke de Nemours "marched di-
rectly into Dauphiné, where several Actions were
performed (14); but, continues he, the Duke d'An-
goulême, complaining of his Pay, retired at that Time,
except six Companies, which accompanied Nemours,
under the Command of Brancaccio. Those Italian
Troops, sent and paid by the Pope, did much
harm wherever they passed, and plundered the very
Shoes of the poor Lazars they met with, and
were, besides, so villainous and detestable in their
Lives, that they brought She-Goats along with
them to make use of, for their more than brutish
Filthiness; which was the Cause that, afterwards,
the Peasants killed, and threw into their Layfalls,
the She-Goats in all the Places through which
they passed." The Author of the History of the
remarkable Things which happened in France, from
the Year 1547, to the beginning of 1597, relates the
same things. "During these Transactions, says he
(15), the Sieur de Tavannes came from Burgundy,
within three Leagues of Lyons, with a Design to
storm the City; but he was too far off, although
he had then with him above Five thousand Men,
besides Three thousand Italians, in the Pope's Pay,
commanded by the Count d'Angoulême (16). These
Italians, who were the greatest Pilferers in the
World, carried a great many Goats with them,
and brutally copulated with the Beasts, &c. (17)." It
appears by all these Authors, that this happened in
the Year 1562. But here is a Writer, who men-
tions other Circumstances. "The History of France,
says he (18), tells us, That the Duke de Nevers,
coming from Italy into France, to assist the King,
whose Crown the House of Guise endeavoured to
invade, under pretence of Religion, brought from
thence Two thousand Goats, covered with Capar-
isons of green Velvet, with broad Gold Galleons.
It does not give us room at the same time to doubt,
what use these Goats were for; it tells us, that
they were Mistresses for him, and all his Offi-
cers." That Duke de Nevers, is, without doubt,
Lewis de Gonzague, who married Henrietta of Cleves,
the fourth of March, 1565. Now we do not read,
that he went from Italy into France, with a Body of
Troops, in the Year 1562. He was Lieutenant Gen-
eral in the Marquisate of Saluces, and the rest of Pied-
mont, belonging to France, and he received Orders to
draw out those warlike Troops, which were there kept

GOATS

(4) Juvén.
Sat. xlii.
ver. 118.

(5) Apul.
Floridor. p.
350, 351.

(6) Chab.
in Horat. Epod.
14.

(7) Lives of
the Greek
Poets, p. 45,
Edit. of
Hall. 1680.

(8) Epist.
Dedicat. A-
nacreon.

(9) Virg.
Ecl. 3.

(10) Greek
Poets, pag.
34.

(11) Varill.
Charles IX,
Tom. I, p.
225, Edit. of
Holland.

(12) D'Au-
bigné Tom.
I, p. 214,
ad Ann.
1562.

(13) Ibid.
pag. 208.

(14) Theod.
Beza, Ecclef.
Hist. lib. 11.
pag. 230, ad
Ann. 1562.
It was then,
without
doubt, that
the She-goat
so well dress-
ed up, men-
tioned by Mr
le Fevre,
was seen. It
was That of
the General.
The Soldiers
worshiped then
That Sentence
of Claudians,
Utque du-
cum lituos
sic mores ca-
stra sequun-
tur.

(15) Page
255, Edit.
1599.

(16) Beza
calli bim Jo,
pag. 220, of
his Ecclef.
Hist.

(17) What I
suppress
here, is
word what is
in the last
lines of Be-
za.

(18) D'Ar-
tagman's
Memoirs,
Tom. III,
pag. 466.

(19) Varillas, Hist. of Charles IX. Tom. II. pag. 102, Dutch Edit. (20) Id. ib. pag. 103. (21) Davila's Hist. of the Civil Wars of France, lib. 4. pag. 283.

in reserve (19) and having discharged, with the Money the Pope sent him, *part of the Pay due to his Soldiers, he drew out of his Government about Thirteen thousand Lyons, entered into Dauphiné, raised the Blockade of Mâcon, besieged and took Mâcon, and went to join the Duke of Anjou, in Champagne* (20). See *Davila*, in the fourth Book of his History (21). One of these two things must be true; either those Goats were seen twice in France, or they were not seen in

the Army of *Lewis de Gonzague*: But however that be, *d'Artagnan's* Memoirs certainly offend against Chronology; for, in the time of the Duke of *Nevers's* Expedition, the House of *Guise* did not attempt to usurp the Throne. The Protestant Historians, who speak of these Goats in the Year 1562, say nothing like it about the Duke of *Nevers's* Troops, in 1567 (22). Now no Body can be ignorant, that their Silence in this Matter is of great Moment.

(22) D'Aubigné, *Mem. l. 1. c. 34. The History of Renauscole Thiers, pag. 110. La Popelinière, True and Perfect History of the Troubles, Book 3.*

(a) Athen. lib. 1, c. 17.

BATHYLLUS of *Alexandria* (a), a Freedman of *Mæcenas*, and very much beloved by him [A], invented, together with one *Pylades*, a new way of representing all sorts of *Dramatic Pieces* in Dances. This Invention was called the *Italian Dance* (b) [C], and comprehended *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, and *Satire*. Not that it was a mixture of them, but that both these *Pantomimes* preserved the Character of each kind in the performance of their Play. They differed in this, that *Bathyllus* excelled in the Comic [D], and *Pylades* in the Tragic part (c). The Emulation, which prevailed between them, formed two Sects of long continuance: each of them left some Scholars, who endeavoured to make their School famous, and to perpetuate the Name of their Master (d); for the Followers of *Bathyllus* were called *Bathylli*, and those of *Pylades* were called *Pylades*. Both of them preserved the Methods and Characters of their Masters. The Dances of the latter were grave, and proper to excite the great Passions of Tragedy; and those of the former were merry, and suited with amorous Adventures and comical Subjects. They were such Provocatives to Lust, and gave such irresistible Temptations to the

(d) Seneca, Nat. Quæst. lib. 7. c. 32. See *Salmasius* in *Carinum Vopiscus*, Voss. Instit. Poet. lib. 2, cap. 38.

[A] He was a Freedman of *Mæcenas*, and much beloved by him.] See the Scholiast of *Perfius*, on these words of the fifth Satire,

Tres tantum ad numeros Satyri moveare Bathylli,

and consider this Passage of the Fifty fourth Chapter of the first Book of *Tacitus's* Annals: "indulgenti ei ludicro Augustus dum *Mæcenati* obtemperat effuso "in amore Bathylli. — Augustus encouraged these "Diversions, in compliance to *Mæcenas's* Fondness "for *Bathyllus*." Consult *Dion* also, in the Fifty fourth Book, and *Seneca* in the Preface to the fifth Book of *Controversies*.

[B] He and *Pylades* were Inventors of a new manner of representing *Dramatic Pieces* in Dances.] *Suidas* says expressly, that *Augustus* invented the Dance of the *Pantomimes*, *Pylades*, and *Bathyllus* being the first, who introduced it (1). Every body is sensible, that *Suidas* means, that *Augustus* was the first, who authorized, and established, the Invention of those two great Dancers (2). In the Greek of That Author it is βαχχυλλίδης; This fault remains in the *Suidas* of *Æmilii Porcius*, though *Lipsius* had corrected it (3), when he rectified two Passages of *Seneca*, one of which had, *Bathyllus Mæcenate* (4), instead of *Bathyllus Mæcenatis*, and the other, *Si Pantomimus effem, Pantillius effem* (5), instead of *Si Pantomimus effem, Bathyllus effem*. *Zosimus* agrees with *Suidas* (6): he places, among the Causes of the Destruction of the Roman Empire, the Introduction of the Dances of the *Pantomimes* under *Augustus*, which were unknown before, and of which *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* were the Authors. *Athenæus*, where he speaks from himself, names only *Bathyllus*, but when he quotes *Aristonicus*, he also mentions *Pylades* (7). It is true, that, to find this in his Text, we must correct one word of it, as *Salmasius* has very well done. The Greek runs thus, Τῶτον τὸν Βάθυλλον φησὶν Ἀριστονίκῳ καὶ Πυλάδην, ὃ ἐστὶ καὶ σύγγραμμά περὶ ὀρχήσεως, τὴν ἰταλικὴν ὀρχήσιν συσχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς κομικῆς, &c. (8). We must read Πυλάδην, and translate the words thus, "Aristonicus ait, Bathyllum hunc " & Pyladem qui librum de saltatione scripti, Itali "cam saltationem composuisse esse comica, &c. —

(1) Suidas in ὀρχησις.

(2) See *Zosimus*, lib. 1.

(3) Lipsius in Tacit. Ann. lib. 1. p. 63.

(4) Controv. Pref. lib. 5.

(5) Pref. lib. 3. Epitomen.

(6) Zosim. lib. 1.

(7) Athen. lib. 1. c. 17, pag. 20.

(8) Salmasius in *Carinum Vopiscus*, pag. 83. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1671.

(9) Id. ibid. See *Vossius* Instit. Poet. lib. 2. pag. 180.

(10) Suidas in Πυλάδης.

they found no fault in these words: Ἐργάζεσθαι περὶ ὀρχήσεως τῆς ἰταλικῆς ἥτις ἐστὶ αὐτῷ ἐνέβη. περὶ τῆς κομικῆς καλεμένης ὀρχήσεως — καὶ τῆς σατυρικῆς. *Salmasius* pretends, that, instead of περὶ τῆς κομικῆς, it must be read ἀπὸ τῆς κομικῆς, and so on; which signifies, that *Pylades* wrote a Book concerning the *Italian Dance*, which he had invented and formed out of the Comic, &c. It is certain, that, by this means, *Suidas* would say a thing, which *Athenæus* relates positively. Let the Readers judge whether it might not be true, that *Pylades's* Book treated in particular of the three ancient Sorts of Dances, and of That, which he had substituted in the Room of those three, which was necessarily different from each of them, though perhaps it retained them all intirely.

[C] ——— which was called the Italian Dance.] I chuse rather to express myself thus; than barely to say, that *Pylades* and *Bathyllus* invented the Art of representing a *Dramatic Piece* by Dancing, and the Action of the Hands. I am not ignorant, that many Authors speak of it as of a thing, which began first under *Augustus*: for, besides the Authorities quoted in the foregoing Remark, it is certain, that *Suidas* says, somewhere, That at this time (that is, under This Emperor) the Dance of the *Pantomimes* was introduced, unknown before, ἢ τῷ πρότερον ἔσα (11). *Zonaras* also places the Establishment of it under *Augustus* (12). But, because *Salmasius* made it appear, that the Custom of acting *Dramatic Poetry* by the Motion of the Feet and Hands was much antecedent than *Bathyllus* and *Pylades* (13), it is better to say, that they only perfected That Art, and practised it after a new Manner. He believes, that, before their Time, the *Pantomimes* performed their Dances and Gestures while Tragedy or Comedy was representing, and that these two Men were the first, who discharged all the Actors, and introduced Dancing only on the *Orchestra* (14). I shall observe elsewhere (15) with what new Entertainments *Pylades* enriched the Art he professed. *Lipsius* believed himself to be the first, who discovered *Augustus* to be the Inventor of That Dance (16). This Discovery, as we have seen, is not very fortunate.

(11) Suidas in Ἀθηνῶν βιβλ. 1.

(12) Zonaras, lib. 1.

(13) Salmasius in *Carinum Vopiscus*.

(14) Ibid. p. 830, 831.

(15) In the Article of this PYLADES.

(16) Lipsius in Tacit. Ann. lib. 1.

(17) Lib. 1. cap. 17.

(18) Symposi. lib. 7. c. 8.

(19) Epitomen lib. 3. Praef.

[D] *Bathyllus excelled in the Comic Part.* *Athenæus* (17), and *Plutarch* (18), inform us of the difference, which was in this Respect between these two Dancers. It may be very well inferred from these words of *Seneca* the Father: "Quidam melius equitem "pantiunt, quidam jugum, & ut ad morbum te "meum vocem, *Pylades* in comœdia, *Bathyllus* in "tragœdia, multum à se aberant (19). — Some can "best bear a Trooper, some a Yoke, and, to instance in "my own Dissemper, *Pylades* in Comedy, and *Bathyllus* in Tragedy, differ widely from each other." The Sequel of the Discourse proves, that the Design is to shew, that a Person is not equally fit for different Parts. But, though each of these *Pantomimes* had

the female Spectators, that I dare not say of them, in my Mother Tongue, what *Juvenal* did in Latin [E]. The Romans divided themselves into Parties, on account of these two famous *Pantomimes*, and it seems, that the Friends of *Bathyllus* had once the Honour of causing *Pylades*, to be banished (e). The kindness of *Mæcenas* for *Bathyllus* may authorize This conjecture, with submission to *Macrobius* [F]. See what we shall say in the Article of *PYLADES*. Mention is made of *Bathyllus* in the eighth Fable of the fifth Book of *Pbædrus*. The Author of *Moreri's* Supplement has given a very proper account of This *Pantomime*; but his Quotations are wrong; for the Citation from *Plutarch* concerns only a small part of the Article, and That from *Lucian* has two great Defects; one is, that the Book de *Pantomimi Scena*, to which the Reader is referred, is a Chimera; the other, that the Treatise de *Saltatione*, where *Lucian* has said many things of *Pantomimes*, does not particularly mention *Bathyllus* and *Pylades*. I believe I have discovered the Origin of this wrong Quotation.

(e) *Dion.*
lib. 54.

had their Excellences and Perfection, as I have observed, yet they both undertook Tragedy and Comedy. *Bathyllus* was not the only one, who acted Plays, wherein some Persons were to be represented in great Motion, as the *Pans*, and the Satyrs feasting with *Cupid*; it appears, that *Pylades* signified himself by representing a Feast, given by *Bacchus* to the *Bacchantes* and Satyrs (20). *Vossius*, who appropriates such a Subject to *Bathyllus* (21), had not sufficiently regarded the learned Dissertation of *Salmafius*.

[E] I dare not say, in my Mother Tongue, what *Juvenal* did in Latin.] To shew how indecent this would be, see here *Juvenal's* words in the sixth Satire.

Cheironomon Ledam molli saltante Bathyllo
Tuccia vesicæ non imperat: Apula gannit
Sicut in amplexu: subitum & miserabile longum
Attendit Thymele, Thymele tunc rufica difcitt.

One sees a dancing Master cap'ring high,
And raves and pisses with pure Extasy:
Another does with all his Motions move,
And gapes and grins, as in the Feat of Love:
A third is charmed with the new Opera Notes,
Admires the Song, but on the Singer dotes:
The Country Lady in the Box appears,
Softly she warbles over all she hears;
And sucks in Passion, both at Eyes and Ears.

DRYDEN.

Father *Tarteron*, the Jesuit, suppressed this Latin in his new Edition of *Juvenal* (22), which he translated into French. He also suppressed some other Passages, for the Reasons, which he alleges in his Preface. Thus much by the by.

[F] It seems the Friends of *Bathyllus* - - - - - caused *Pylades* to be banished: The Interest of *Bathyllus*

may authorize This Conjecture, with Submission to *Macrobius*.] He says, that *Pylades* incurred *Augustus's* Indignation, because the Dispute between him and *Hylas*, who had been his Scholar, had raised a Sedition among the People. The answer ascribed to *Pylades* by *Macrobius*, Sir, you are ungrateful, let them concern themselves with our Quarrel (23), is the same with That mentioned by *Dion*, who reports, that this *Pantomime*, being recalled from his Exile, and reproved by *Augustus* for his Quarrels with *Bathyllus*, made answer, It is to your Advantage, Cæsar, that we amuse the People, and binder them from giving attention to other matters. Συμψέρεται σοι, Καίσαρ, περὶ ἡμῶν τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιὰ τριπύρεσθαι (24). Expediit tibi, Cæsar, populum nobis tempus consumere. Let who will take *Macrobius's* Part against *Dion*: as to myself, I prefer the latter; and I think it most probable, that it was not in *Hylas's*, but in *Bathyllus's* Favour, that the Emperor was angry with *Pylades*. In the Article of the latter, we shall see the Opposition between *Dion* and *Suetonius*.

[G] The Supplement of *Moreri* makes a wrong Quotation concerning *Bathyllus*. - - - - - I believe I have discovered the Origin of it.] *Salmafius* quotes *Lucian* several times, who wrote a fine Treatise of Dancing. Among other Passages, he quotes That, which contains the Description of the Equipage of a *Pantomime*, if I may be allowed the Liberty of That Word, to express all the Instruments made use of in Dancing. Now, before he quotes those of *Lucian*, he has these words, *Lucianus de Pantomimi Scenâ & apparatu*: By which, he does not mean to denote the Title of a Book, but only the Matter of a certain Passage he is going to quote. However, Mr *Hofman* was deceived by it; for, after having mentioned part of what relates to *Pylades*, in the Book of *Salmafius*, he refers us to *Lucian de Pantomimi Scenâ & appar.* and, as he puts these words in *Italic*, it is not to be questioned but this proved a Trap, into which the Continuator of *Moreri* fell headlong.

(23) Καὶ ὁ χαριεὺς βασιλεὺς ἔατον αὐτὸς περὶ ἡμῶν ἀποχό-
λαισθαι.
Macrobi. Sa-
turn. lib. 2.
c. 7. in fine.

(24) *Dion.*
lib. 54. ad
Ann. 736
pag. 610.

BATHYLLUS, a Latin Poet, cotemporary with *Virgil*. See, in the Supplement of *Moreri's* Dictionary, what is recorded of him. We have only to add this Circumstance to it, that the second Paper, *Virgil* caused to be posted up, began with the Distich, which *Bathyllus* had appropriated to himself, and that the next words were, *Hos ego versiculos feci*, &c. *Giraldus*, who is a Modern Author, ought not to have been quoted, but *Virgil's* life by *Donatus*. I cannot tell where *Charles Stephens* found his *Bathyllus*, an excellent Tragic Poet, who did not succeed so well in Comedies.

BAUDERON (*BRICE*), a French Physician, born at *Parei*, in the Country of *Charolois*, flourished towards the end of the XVIth, and beginning of the XVIIth Century. He applied himself with great success to the Composition of Medicines, and published a *Pharmacopœia* [A], which has acquired a very great Authority.

[A] He published a *Pharmacopœia*.] It was printed several times. *John de Renou* has observed, that the second Edition is of *Lyons*, by *Bennet Rigaud*, in 1596; and that the third is of *Lyons*, by *Peter Rigaud*, in 1603 (1). He says also, that he had seen, in the third, the Fault he had censured. Note, he makes this Remark, in a Book, printed in the Year 1623, wherein he answers a Complaint of the Son of *Bauderon*, and exhorts him to be "more diligent another

"time, in examining and correcting more particularly the Writings of his Father; in order to render them more clear and intelligible to those of his Profession, instead of confounding and making them more obscure (2)." From hence we may infer two Things: one, that our *Bauderon* was not living in 1623; the other, that his *Pharmacopœia* had been published with Additions by his Son. It was translated into Latin, by an Englishman, whose Name

(2) *Ibid.* See
the Article
RENOU.

(20) See the two Greek Epigrams mentioned by *Salmafius* in *Carinum Vopiscii*, p. 835.

(21) *Vossius*, *Inft. Poet.* lib. 2. pag. 281.

(22) *At Pa-*
ria 1639.

(2) *Renou*, *Antidotaire*, lib. vi. c. iv. pag. 39, of the French Translation, Edit. of *Lyons*, in 1637.

(a) See at the beginning of his Praxis, &c. the French Ver-
ses of John Bapti-
stus, of Mal-
con.

It is in French. He settled at *Mâcon* (a), and practised Physic there many Years. It is from this place he dates the Preface of a Latin Book, he caused to be printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1620 [B], wherein he tells us, he was eighty Years of Age, and had practised Physic 50. He was not living in the Year 1623 (b). (b) See Remark [A].

(3) Merck-
lini Linden.
renovatus,
pag. 133.

was *Philemon Holland*. This Translation was printed, with some other Pieces of the same Kind, at *London*, in the Year 1639, in folio, and at the *Hague*, in 1640, in 12mo (3).

[B] He caused to be printed at *Paris*, in 1620, a Latin Book. It is in 4to, and contains Eight hundred Forty nine Pages. The Title is, *Praxis in*

duo: Tractatus distincta: in priore agitur de Febribus essentialibus, tam simplicibus, quam compositis, confusis, erraticis, malignis, ac pestiferis, & symptomaticis, in genere & specie curandis: in posteriore, de Symptomatis & Morbis internis, à Capite ad pedes usque.

BAUDIER (MICHAEL), a Gentleman of *Languedoc*, lived in the Reign of *Lewis* the XIII. He published several Books, which procured him the Character of a Copious, and Laborious, Author, and sold very well. I know of no other than the following Books: *Inventory of the General History of the Turks* (a): *The History of the Seraglio: That of the Religion of the Turks: That of the Court of the King of China: The Life of Cardinal Ximenes: The Life of the Cardinal d'Amboise: The Life of the Marshal de Toiras: History of the Ministry of Romieu: The Piedmontois Soldier's relation from the Camp of Turin of what passed in the Campaign of Italy, in the Year 1640.*

(a) The 2d
Edition is of
Paris 1620,
in 4to.

BAUDIUS (DOMINIC), Professor of History in the University of *Leyden*, was born at *Lisse* the eighth of *April* 1561. He began his Studies at *Aix la Chapelle*. His Father retired thither with his Family during the Cruelties of the Duke d'*Alba*, and died there in the Year 1576. A little time after, *Baudius* went to continue his Studies at *Leyden*, where he staid but eight Months, and went afterwards to *Ghent*, whither his Mother had retired, and from whence she sent him to *Geneva*, where he studied Divinity, and performed all the Exercises of a Student in that Science. In the Year 1583, he returned to *Ghent*, where he continued his Studies of Divinity under *Lambert Daneau*; then he went to *Leyden*, where, having applied himself fifteen Months to the study of the Civil Law, he was made Doctor of Law in *June* 1585. Some days after, he followed the Ambassadors, which the States General sent into *England*, and became acquainted with several Persons of Note, and particularly with the famous Sir *Philip Sidney*. He was admitted one of the Advocates of the *Hague* the fifth of *January* 1587, and, being very soon weary of the Bar [A], he went to travel into *France* [B], where he continued ten Years [C]. He found good Friends, and great Patrons, there: *Achilles de Harlai*, first President in the Parliament of *Paris*, was one of the latter, and caused him to be admitted an Advocate in the Parliament in the Year 1592 (a). In 1602, *Baudius* went into *England*, with *Christopher de Harlai*, whom *Henry the Great*,

(a) The Life
of *Baudius*,
which I shall
quote here-
after, says
1591, but it
appears, by
his 23d Let-
ter of the 1st
Century,
that it was
in 1592.

[H] He was soon weary of the Bar.] Being a *Walloon*, he could not speak *Dutch* well enough to plead with Success; besides he stood in need of an Employ, which would furnish him with ready Money, and That is not to be expected from the Profession of an Advocate, till after many Years. Add to this, that he a little fed himself with the Vain hopes of Court Preferment; and lastly, that he was born a Poet, which, of all things in the World, gives the least relish for the knotty Subtilties of the Bar. See the Advice *Lipsius* gives him to persevere with Patience (1).

(1) In a
Letter dated
Oct. 1. 1587.
It is the 2d
among those
of *Baudius*
in Cent. IV.
Ed. of
Leyden,
1650.

[B] He went to travel into France.] He had a good Opinion of himself, and fancied, that he might obtain a public Character to travel honourably. He imagined, that the States would send him to the King of *Navarre*, if his Friends should request it of them. He communicated his Thoughts to *Lipsius*, who was then Professor in the University of *Holland*: The Answer, which he received from him, taught him handsomely to know himself better. "Prioribus (literis) agebas de legatiuncula ad Navarrenum: quo fundamento, mi Baudi, aut qua spe? Nunquam id factum, & ut in tua persona novum exemplum Ordines instituant, cave credas. Tu hoc & alia mereris, sed male res humanas nosti, si merita in his talibus appendis potius quam fortunam. ----- Hoc unum te moneo ne precipitem te tuorum vota, pia, sed improvida, qui ad lapsum saepe impellunt dum cogunt festinare. Ne sperne honores, sed nec avide appetite, qui eo minore te putant quia cares, tu eos habes pro minutis (2). — You mention, in your former Letters, that Deputation to the King of *Navarre*, but on what

(2) *Lipsius*, in a Letter dated in the 11th of Sept. 1588. It is the 2d among the Letters of *Baudius*, in Cent. IV.

Foundation, my Friends, and with what Hopes?

"There has not been hitherto any Instance of such a Deputation, and I would not have you think the States will now begin to appoint one in your Favour. You deserve indeed this, and a great deal more, but you are little acquainted with the World, if you think Fortune has not a greater Share in these Things than Merit. ----- One thing I would advise you, not to give too much ear to the Persuasions of Friends, which though well intended are yet unseasonable, and who, by spurring on too fast, are often the Occasion of a Fall. Neither despise Honours, nor court them too eagerly: And, if any think the worse of you, for not being possessed of them, you ought to think as meanly of them." This is a very wise Answer; *Seneca* could say nothing more judicious. *Baudius* was never the better for this good Advice: We shall see, in the Remark [C], that he continued all his Lifetime infatuated with Deputations and Embassies.

[C] ----- where he continued ten Years.] He testifies, in some of his Letters, that he designed to end his Days there, provided he could meet with a tolerable Maintenance. "Ægrè enim ægrè Galliam desero, nec deseram, nisi desertus ab omni sociis (3). ----- Ego hic aut alibi in hoc regno sedem exilii circumspicio: ignoscant mihi genii patriæ, plane non teneor revertendi desiderio (4). ----- I have no Thought of leaving France, nor will I leave it, unless all manner of Hope first leaves me. ----- I will either here, or in some other part of this Kingdom, find out a Place of Exile; my Country must pardon me, for I have indeed not the least Desire of returning." He alleges several Reasons to *Thuanus*, why he did not intend to return into *Holland*, and he makes use of

BAUDIUS
Infatuation
with the
Quality of
Deputy.
See Remark
[C].

(3) *Baudius*
Epist. 7.
Cent. I.
pag. 21. It
is dated from
Caen, Jan.
1. 1591.

(4) Id. Epist.
8. ejusdem
Cent. p. 2

(b) See *Remarks* [C].

(c) Baudius, Epist. 93. Cent. 3.

Great sent thither Ambassador (b). This Christopher was the only Son of the first President. At last Baudius settled at Leyden, being made Professor of Eloquence there in May 1602. After the Death of Merula, he read Lectures on History: and was allowed to do the same on the Civil Law. In the Year 1611, the States divided the Office of their Historiographer between him and Meursius (c), and, in consequence thereof, he wrote the *History of the Truce* (d). That Work is well penned. Baudius's Style was very polite, as appears by his Letters. His Friends published a great Number of them after his Death, and, from time to time, others have been added to them in the new Editions. He was a great Latin Poet [D]: the Verses we have of his leave no room to doubt it. He composed several kinds of them, and in great Numbers: and they have born many Editions.

He

SOME Fables concerning Baudius's Abode in France, &c.

(c) Id. Epist. 6. Cent. 1. pag. 18.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Epist. 8. pag. 22.

(8) Scipio Sardinus. See Mr. Servin's Letter to Baudius, pag. 38 of Baudius's Letters. See also pag. 41.

(9) Epist. 7. pag. 20.

(10) Epist. 41. Cent. 1. pag. 66. dated in the Month of August, 1595.

(11) See the 42d. and 43d. Letters of the first Century.

(12) It is the 41th Letter.

(13) Letter 55. pag. 70.

(14) See above, Citation (2).

(15) It is the 4. th Letter.

this as the strongest; That he could not leave France, while he hoped for any Thing there. "Nos qui via non pervulgata ad bonam mentem adspiramus non magis illic ad res tractandas idonei censetur quam *ἄνθρωποι λύπης*; vultures togati omnia virtutis præmia possident bonis de præsidio dejectis, vel (quod deterius est) viri Mercuaries, quibus quam bene conveniat cum genere literarum dicimus magno nostro malo. Denique (quæ ratio maxima est) non possumus vobis divelli quamdiu speculæ locum videro (5). ----- We ----- who quit the common Road, in our Search of Goodness, are esteemed there as unfit for Business, as an Ass to be a Musician; The Vultures of the long Robe are in Possession of all the Rewards of Virtue, in exclusion of the Good, or (which is worse) The Men of Business and Traffic; whose Disposition towards Men of Letters I know by sad Experience. Lastly, (which is the strongest Motive), I cannot be torn from you, whilst I have the least Hope remaining." He was too happy to return into a Country, which he spoke so ill of. He desired *Thuanus* to get him into the Family of the Prince of Dombes (6); and I believe he made the same Request to Scaliger (7). He was recommended to a worthy Gentleman, who, besides his Diet, allowed him Eight hundred Livres a Year (8), and, by that means, he found an Opportunity to insinuate himself into the Acquaintance of all the most illustrious Persons in the Parliament of Paris, which was then sitting at Tours. He wrote, from Caën, to *Thuanus*, that he was about a Work like That of *George Casander* (9). I cannot say, whether any Body ever placed Baudius among the Reconcilers of Religion. He endeavoured to cause *Lipsius* to be invited to Paris, and was very much vexed, that this Affair was neglected; for he found a great Disappointment in it. He desired to see his Native Country again, without being at the Expence of the Journey, and in such a manner as might do him Honour, and afford him a Pretence to give himself some Airs: He hoped to be deputed to fetch *Lipsius*: Was there not reason enough to be vexed that they should be so backward at Paris to send for That great Man? "Lipsio equidem omnia summa cupio, & ob honorem hominis, & ob amorem literarum. Sed tamen mei potissimum commodi ratio à me ducebatur, cum tam ambitionis flagitationibus hoc agebam, ut huc evocaretur. Sua debet enim voluntas, & rerum meorum status urgebat, ut in patriam excurrerem: quod ut sine sumptu meo & cum nonnulla dignitate fieret, bella occasio evenisse videbatur, si quod spe ac votis præceperam, publico nomine ad eum accerendum Legatus forem (10)." When he wrote this to *Thuanus*, his Affairs were in a bad Condition (11); he kept in the Country, because his Purse was too low to maintain him in Paris. The following Letter (12) to the same, was wrote in Prison: He says, That no Body would be bail for him, and That, without it, Mr. Servin's good Office, at whose Recommendation the Judges had been favourable to him, would be intirely useless. In 1597, he was at Paris, full of too presumptuous Pretensions. The Envoy of the United Provinces was so ill, that it was thought he could not recover. Baudius, flattering himself with the Thoughts of succeeding him, wrote immediately to Scaliger, and desired his Assistance to procure him the Character of Envoy of the States General to Henry IV (13). Scaliger returned him almost the same Answer that *Lipsius* had done about ten Years before (14). In the Year 1598, Baudius wrote to the two Envoys of Holland, at the Court of France, most humbly beseeching them to procure him some Employment in his Country's Service (15). In the

Month of July, of the same Year, he was in Prison for bailing another inconsiderately. In *carcerem conjectus sum nullum ob flagitium, sed ob inconsumulam spondendi temeritatem* (16). In the Year 1602, he went into England, with Christopher de Harlai, as his Secretary and Counsellor, and as a learned Man. *Profectus sum in Angliam ut ei sim à consiliis, à secretis, ab interioribus studiis* (17). The same Year he went into Holland, where he was made Professor. This is all his Letters have informed me of concerning his Abode in France. He thought himself so fit for an Embassy, and had so strong an Inclination this way, that his Professorship at Leyden could not cure him of That Passion. Above all, he would fain have been appointed to congratulate Henry IV, in the Name of the States General, upon the Report, that This Prince had been elected King of the Romans (18). "Si qua occasio aperiretur, ut extra ordinem publico nomine in Galliam legari possem, multum felicitati meæ gratularer. Sed hæc ægri somnia sunt, ut & rumor ille qui pervagatur de Gallo designato Rege Romanorum. Quid fit tamen ita esset, cum inquit in incredibili sæpe veritas, & in verisimili mendaciam, non disconveniret magnificentie Illustrissimorum Ordinum, mitti qui publicam lætitiâ secunda Oratione testarentur (19). ----- I should think myself very happy, if I could meet with an Opportunity of being sent Ambassador Extraordinary into France. But these are only a sick man's Dreams, as well as the Report of the French King being elected King of the Romans. But, if it should be so, as we sometimes find incredible things to be true, and probable things to be false, it would not be unbecoming the Magnificence of the High and Mighty States to testify the public Joy on this Occasion by a complimenting Embassy." In the Year 1607, he went into England to present his Poems to King James, and he had a great Notion of getting himself to be deputed to That Prince by the States General. For this Purpose he desired Mr. Vander Myle, Barnevelt's Son-in-law, to recommend him to his Father-in-law; and did not question but that Barnevelt would invent some Pretence for this Deputation. But, not succeeding in this, Baudius was resolved to pursue his Design at all Events, and so undertook That Journey with no other Character than That of his own Deputy. "Si amplissimi Ordines aliquid huic mortali mandare dignarentur quod nostra vox deferret ad aures Regis, forte nihil amitterent ejus eos ponere posset, & mihi tum gaudium tum honoris esset reip. causa legari, nec Baudii negotium omittre. ----- (20) Sin frustra mecum hæc blanda somnia mediocriter ibo à me legatus (21). ----- If the illustrious States would vouchsafe to charge me with a Compliment to the King, perhaps they would do nothing they need be ashamed of, and it would be both a Pleasure and an Honour to me, to represent the Republic, and, at the same time, not to neglect my own private Affairs. ----- But, if I only flatter myself with vain Hopes, I will go my own Ambassador." [D] He was a great Latin Poet. See the Judgment *Borricius* (22) and *Morbofius* (23) pass on his Poems. The first Edition is not of the Year 1607 (24), but of the Year 1587: He dedicated it to *Peter Regemorterus*. This Epistle dedicatory is the second of Baudius's Letters. He had published a Book of *Iambics*, by itself, dedicated to the Cardinal de Bourbon (25). He dedicated some of his Poems to the King of England, and some others to the Prince of Wales, in the Edition of the Year 1607, and he went over Sea to make his Present to his two Patrons. He had the cruel Mortification to return Home without receiving the Value of a Farthing from those

(d) Taken from his Life printed at the beginning of his Poems and Letters. See Meursius also in *Athenæ Batavis*, pag. 155.

(16) Epist. 43. pag. 74.

(17) lb. 55. Cent. 1. pag. 80.

(18) See, above, the Remark [F] of the Article AGATHON.

(19) Epistol. 71. Cent. 1. pag. 103. dated from Leyden, March 25, 1603.

(20) Baudius Epist. 64. Cent. 2. pag. 253.

(21) Ibid. pag. 254.

(22) Differtat. de Poët. pag. 140.

(23) Polyhist. p. 306.

(24) Mr. Baillet believed it. Judgment on the Poets, n. 4385.

(25) See the 9th Letter of 1st Century.

(a) Ibid. St. Romuald in his Chronological Journal has it the 17th of June.

(26) Epist. 91. Cent. II. pag. 208. dated the 9th of May, 1608.

He died at *Leyden*, the Twenty second of *August* 1613 (e). He had some mortifications in the latter Years of his Life [E]. He was none of those warlike Doctors in

those two Princes; all he gained, by That Journey, was to become their Creditor, which was not worth his Expenses. Here follow his Grievances and Complaints (26). "Arbitror te ex indicio famæ factum esse certiores, me superiori mense Augusto transfretasse in magnam Britanniam, cujus & Monarchæ de manu in manum tradidi Salisberiæ Poëmata mea, quorum minus malum carmen heroicum ejus honori inscribitur. Duo vero Gnomarum Iambicarum libri dedicati sunt Principi Britanniarum, quicum horam amplius unam familiariter sum collocutus. Sed hac fine stetit omnis regia liberalitas, nec teruncio factus sum propensior, ut vel meo exemplo liquere possit, magnos terrarum dominos posse perdere, non donare. Interim non penitet suscepti itineris, nisi quod te non offenderim. Nam & habeo reges debendi reos, & olim fors fuit intelliget

"Ἦν ἄτην, ὃ τ' ἄεσεν Ἀχαιοὺν ὕδην ἔτιος.
Durabo, & memet rebus servabo secundis.

"----- I suppose you have heard, that, in August last, I crossed the Sea into Great Britain, to whose King I presented my Poems, at Salisbury, with my own Hand, the most tolerable Copy of Heroics being inscribed to him. The two Books of moral Sentences, in Iambics, were dedicated to the Prince of Wales, with whom I had the Honour of above an Hour's familiar Conversation. But the Royal Generosity reached no farther, nor was I one Brass Farthing the better for it, so true is it, from my Example, that great Princes can ruin, instead of rewarding. However, I do not, in the least, repent of my Journey, except only in not meeting with you. For I have now those Princes in my Debt, and perhaps they will some time or other remember

*How wrong to slight the bravest of the Greeks!
We must with Patience wait for better Times.*

[E] He had some Mortifications in the latter Years of his Life] He was obliged to solicit a long time for an Augmentation of his Salary, though they could not be ignorant of the grievous Persecutions he suffered from his Creditors. He desired only to be admitted into the Sect of the *Millenarians*, that is, that his Salary might be raised to a thousand Guilders (27), which was hardly granted him, after many mean Solicitations, when *Scaliger's* Pension was divided among several other Professors. "Multis collegarum aucta sunt stipendia, quo nomine illis gratulor non invidio: sane omnes videntur quasi sacro agmine concurrere ad cernendam hæreditatem & legenda spolia

(27) See the 4th Letter of the IIIrd Century, p. 324.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Epist. ult. Cent. II. pag. 113. dated 1609.

(30) Pag. 324.

"maximi virorum Josephi Scaligeri (28). Læsus esse videor quod præteritis committi nulla sit habita Baudii ratio nec in augendo peculio, nec in causâ ordinariatus, quum tamen multi collegarum etiam plura obtinuerint quàm auri erant sperare (29). ----- Many of my Colleagues have had their Stipends augmented, for which I congratulate, and not envy, them: Indeed they seem to have stuck together on Purpose to enter upon the Inheritance, and divide the Spoil of the greatest of Men, Joseph Scaliger. I think I have been very ill used, in not being taken notice of by the last Assembly either as to increasing my Salary, or making mine a Professorship in Ordinary, when several of my Colleagues have obtained even more than they could expect." Nay, at that very time, poor Baudius was the last, who was thought of, though he alleged, that he had contributed as much as any Body to That great Man's coming into Holland (30). At last his Stipend was raised, but they forgot his repeated Instances on another Account: he was left Professor extraordinary, though he had solicited a long time for a Place among the ordinary Professors, that he might enjoy the right of Suffrage in the Assemblies of the University, without which he could not have any share in the Perquisites arising from Promotions. "Intellexi hesternâ die ex sermone nostrî Heinsii herois, habitam esse Baudii rationem in supplemento peculii. Quo nomine plurimum me Collegio Curatorum, in primis autem benevolentia

"tuz debere confiteor. Sed si eadem opera in ordinem redacta essent, nulla ex parte beneficium claudicaret. Nisi forte honorificentius est quod extra ordinem nobis ob sedulam in publico munere obeundo curam ac diligentiam præmium sit decretum, quam si adscriptus esset manipulo Ordinariorum. Mihi quidem judicium bonorum & optime voluntatis conscientia potior est omni prærogativa sententiæ dicendæ: tamen aliquid dandum est famæ, & publico hominum errori (31). ----- I understood yesterday, from the Discourse of our great Heinsius, that some Regard has been had to the augmenting my Salary. On which Account I own myself very much obliged to the College of Curators, but must of all to your particular Kindness. If by the same means I could have been ranked among the ordinary Professors, the Favour would have been perfect in every Respect. Unless it be thought more honourable to decree me an additional Reward as Professor extraordinary, on account of my great Care and Diligence in the Discharge of my Office, than if I had been listed among those in ordinary." Baudius was not grown the wiser for Lipsius's Advice. "I value the Esteem of good Men, says he, and the Testimony of my Conscience, more than the Privilege of giving my Voice: but some Regard must be had to Fame, and popular Error." Thus Men love to flatter themselves, and deceive the Public: They would enjoy Honours, and the glory of despising them, at the same time. "It is not, that we ourselves value, say they, such a Degree of Honour, or such a Prerogative, which makes us solicit for it; but, because the Vulgar will despise us, if we cannot obtain it." But what had Lipsius said to Baudius?

"Look on those as the lowest sort of People, who shall despise you, because they do not see Fortune favour you." If Baudius had made use of this

wife Maxim, would he have said, that some Regard must be had to popular Opinions? To leave this moral Digression, our Professor attained the Right of voting before his Death: He was ranked, at last, in the Class of Professors in ordinary (32); but, by the Maxim, Turpius ejicitur quam non admittitur hopes, it had been better for him, if he had not been received into it; for he was degraded from it; and because, during That Suspension, he had taken Place of a Professor in ordinary at a Funeral, he was severely reprimanded in a full Academical Council, where he was cited to appear for several other Reasons (33). I say nothing of the Injunction he received, not to pronounce the Speech he had prepared against the Scholars of *Leyden*, who had, in a seditious Manner, committed many Disorders (34). He was also forbid to publish it. But it was published afterwards, and is a very good Piece. I have not hinted, that they took from him the Professorship of the Civil Law (35), and that the Academical Council declared to him, on his Admission into the Body of the ordinary Professors, that he should take Place last of all (36). He would not submit to That Sentence, but alleged his common Topic again, that some Regard ought to be had to the Errors of the People. "Fortiter contemno & Stoica firmitate contemno ineptias illas & concertationes de loco, quum ad rectam rationem & ad serium ac severum judicium rem exigo. Sed obsecundandum est populo & scenæ, cujus calculo magni sæpe viri ex ejusmodi inanibus vel æstimantur vel deprestantur (37). ----- I heartily despise, and, with the Firmness of a Stoic, am intirely unconcerned at those Follies and Contentions about Place, upon a trivial and serious Consideration of the Matter according to right Reason. But we must suit ourselves to the present Taste and Times, according to which these Trifles have very often a great Share in advancing or blasting the Characters of Great Men." This is down right declaring, that he did not regulate his Conduct by right Reason, duly considered, but by popular Follies, duly considered. Let us pass to other Matters: his ill Husbandry made him fall into Poverty, and under the Hands of his Creditors, so as to occasion, in his Person, some Disgrace to the University: For he was put under Guardianship, as incapable of the Administration of his Estate. "Ut liberer ab impe-

(31) Epist. 6. Cent. III. dated May 13, 1605.

(32) This was not yet done the 17th of March, 1610. See Letter 16. Cent. III. It was done March 25, 1611. See Letter 35, 9 the same Century.

(33) See Letter 92. Cent. III. pag. 470, dated July 2. 1612.

(34) The Year 1608. See Letter 34 and 87. Cent. II.

(35) It was without any mark of Dishonour: Ne ordine motus esset qua necius exerceat, se honesta missione donatus, stipendia nullam partem imminuit, u oere sublevaretur. Mourjus. Atten. 82. pag. 156. See also Baudius, Epist. 70. Cent. III. pag. 445.

(36) Epist. 70. Cent. III.

(37) Ibid. pag. 447.

"riosa

in the Cabinet, who will neither have Peace nor Truce, and who treat, as ill affected to their Country, all those, who do not reject the Offers and Offices of the Mediators of Peace, as a dangerous Poison, and a fatal Snare. He earnestly exhorted the States to make a Truce with *Spain*. It is true he durst not put his Name to the two Speeches he published on that Subject (f). It is also true, that those two Speeches [F], and the Verses he made upon *Spinola*, excited great murmurings [G]. This pacific humour only regarded the State; for he was otherwise no Enemy to Poetical Quarrels: he maintained them with so much violence, that I do not believe, that the most famous Heathen Poets, for the bitterness of their *Invectives*, such as *Archilochus*, and *Hipponax*, could ever heap up more abuses, or make a more exquisite choice of vilifying Expressions. He principally employed them against the declared Enemies of the great *Scaliger*. They could not bear any Contradiction, and the most Cunning Man would have found it a very difficult thing to stop their Mouths. So that there was a reciprocal Shooting, and alternate

(f) He published one under the name of *Latinus Pacatus*, and the other under that of *Julianus Rombecius*.

(38) Epist. o. Cent. IV. dated June 13, 1613.

"*riosa auctoritate Curatoris homo jam quinquagenario major, nec, ut opinor, ætatis vitio delirus, aut ad agnatos & gentiles remittendus* decus vero publicum fuerit nos in hoc regno libertatis administratione bonorum prohiberi quasi rebus nostris superesse non possumus (38). *Ibat* "I may be freed from the Arbitrary Power of a Guardian, who am now above fifty Years old, nor yet, "I think, superannuated, or in such a State as to need being put under the Care of my Relations and Friends. But this is a very public Disgrace, to be debarred the Administration of my own Affairs, in a Nation of Liberty, as if I had lost my Senses." We shall mention hereafter his keeping a Mistress, which made him the Jest of all the Country. In a Word, this poor Man went through so many Vexations, that he says, in one of his Letters (39), he would have put an end to his Life, if God had not ordered us to keep our Station here, 'till he calls us from it. His Courage and drinking kept him up. He was not surprized, when the Faction of his Colleagues threatened to expel him from the Chair of the Civil Law, or to oblige him to Silence by the great Noise the Scholars should make (40). Was it not better to live like a Hermit, than with such Colleagues?

(39) It is the 19th of the 17th Century. P. 496.

(40) Epist. 48. Cent. III. p. 408, 411.

[F] The two Speeches, be made on the Peace, excited great Murmurings.] We should rather say, they had like to have ruined him; for Prince *Maurice* was made to believe, that he was abused in it, and a Report was spread, that the Ambassador of *France* had bribed the Author, with a good Sum of Money, to write concerning the Truce. *Baudius* was obliged to write both to the Prince, and his Secretary, in his own Justification; and to deplore his ill Fortune for exposing him to a Crowd of malicious Calumniators, or false Interpreters of his Words (41). "Suppose, said he, I have not had a sufficient Knowledge of every particular Fact, to be able to advise what is most expedient for our Country; does it therefore follow, that I must appear to have acted like an ill Subject in freely speaking my Sentiments in such a Republic as ours?" "Quod si per imprudentiam factum est, ut à recte suadendo mens aberraverit, quandoquidem pleraque τῶν καθ' ἑκαστά me latent, circa quorum cognitionem recti consilii norma gubernari non potest: saltem nihil fecisse arbitror præter officium boni civis, si in regno ac domicilio libertatis, quæ sub ejus præsidio secura conquiescit, ausus sum uti felicitate temporum, quibus & sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias sidenter effari liceat (42)." In all Countries, there are but too many Persons, who think no Body can differ from them on State Affairs, without being bribed by the Enemies of their Country. There are others of better Understanding, who know very well, that a Man may have a great Zeal for the Public Good, and, at the same time, be of an Opinion quite contrary to theirs; but yet make People believe, that such an Opinion favours of Treason: they must do it to make others afraid to contradict them. Whether it proceeds from the Jealousy of the Ignorant, who think, that there is no right way but their own (43), or from the Art of cunning Men, who make others believe what they do not believe themselves, a Man is equally to be pitied, when he finds himself exposed, as *Baudius* was, to the Fury of Slanderers. "Illud in universum obtinet, says he, vitio huma-

næ malignitatis, ut nihil tam commodè dicatur à viris alicujus famæ & eximiationis quin læva interpretatione depravari possit. Quid porro absurdius eo genere hominum qui me rumoribus distulerunt, quasi redemptus essem pretio ab amplissimo Præside & Legato Jeanninio ut scilicet inanes logos pro insigni liberalitate rependerem, & succenturiarer doctorem umbraticum viro in summis rebus trito ac subactò (44)? It is universally true, such is the Malice of Mankind, that the best Thing which can be said by Men of Character and Reputation is liable to Misconstruction. But what can be more absurd, than the loading me with this Calumny, as if I had been bribed by the illustrious President, and the French Ambassador, in order, it seems, to repay them empty Words for their great Liberality, and for me, who am only an obscure Doctor, to be added as an Assistant to one, who has been so thoroughly versed and employed in the greatest Affairs?"

(44) Epist. 3. Cent. III. pag. 319. See also pag. 321.

[G] And the Verses which he made for *Spinola*.] The Marquis of *Spinola* went into *Holland* before there was any thing concluded, either about a Peace or Truce. *Baudius* printed a Poem in Praise of That Marquis; but he suppressed the Copies of it, 'till the Business, which brought him thither, should more plainly appear. He only gave some of them to his most intimate Friends. "Mitto tibi exemplum carminis quo gratulatus sum Marchioni *Spinolæ*, quum in hanc regionem illius ergo adveniret. Curavi, ut vides, illud typis excudendum. Sed ex consilio amicorum hæcenus asservavi intra penetralia Vestæ, nec communicavi nisi cum paucissimis intimæ admissionis. Certe non est visum consultum, ut ipsi traderetur. Non quod illi quidquam sit indignum constanti vero vel bono cive: sed quia non videtur, &c. (45). But yet it was known, that this Poem was printed; and the Author was like to have been banished for it. He escaped that Punishment, only because there were some equitable Persons among those, who examined that Piece of Poetry. *Pene mihi stetit exilio hæc editionis festinatæ temeritas, nisi senior pars inspecta carmine me omni culpa liberasset* (46). A great many others would have pronounced, that no Body could praise That Marquis, without being a Traitor to the State, and a Pensioner of the Court of *Spain*. *Prævo & sinistro ingenio nati sunt qui crimen & pene perduellionis scelus putant, si quis assurgere audeat in laudem hostis. Tales multos alit hæc ætas, & quidem inter eos sunt qui sedent ad clavum reip. sub quorum maxillis edendum* (47). They would, at least, have appeared, outwardly, of Opinion, that whoever does not speak, or write, according to their Inclinations, and prejudiced Notions, must necessarily be a Traitor: And this it is not to consider, that Reason has different Faces, and does not appear in the same Light to all sorts of Understandings. There were even particular Excuses for *Baudius*: He was a good Poet, and could not avoid thinking on all remarkable Subjects; the Marquis of *Spinola*'s coming into *Holland*, was a Subject of that Nature: it was, therefore, very possible, that *Baudius* made Verses on that Marquis, only to exercise his Muse on a noble Matter, without any ill Thoughts against the State. This was not only very possible, but also very probable. Besides, the Expectation of some Pistoles, as a Reward for some Verses, is very consistent with the most perfect Loyalty. The worst that could be said of him, was, that he

(45) Epist. 86. Cent. II. pag. 287.

(46) Ibid. pag. 288.

(47) Ibid. See also Letter 95. Cent. II. p. 302.

(g) She was delivered of a Daughter, after the death of Baudius. See Calaub. Epist. 794. pag. 1012.

alternate Broadfides, between the University of *Leyden*, and the College of *Antwerp* [H]. I have not found, that *Baudius* makes any mention of his Children; but I know that he left his last Wife big with Child (g), and that he was at least twice married [I], and that this was not the most unexceptionable part of his Life. Wine

he had not the Zeal of the Times, that is, such a Temper of Mind as to take Fire, and startle at the very hearing the Word *Spaniard*. He kept his Affections cool, and wished well to the Public calmly, and without Passion, and only according to Reason. "Ego tamen si lentum hoc negotium sperato pacis eventu concludetur, ut ex intimis sensibus voveo, non dubitavo virum (Marckionem Spinolam) affari, & quicquid hujus est muneris meque omnem ipsi offerre, salvo jure patrie libertatis (48). — But if this tedious Treaty ends in a Peace, as I heartily wish it may, I shall make no Scruple to apply to him, (the Marquis Spinola,) and offer all the Service I am capable of, consistently with the Liberty of my Country." But the Public has occasion for quite another Disposition, That of an artificial and blind Hatred. Discourses, which feed this Passion, are at least Appearances of Maxims of State, Arcanorum Imperii.

[H] There was a reciprocal Storm, and an alternate Assault, between the University of *Leyden*, and the College of *Antwerp*.] See the Book entitled, *Væ Viçiti, lusus Rhetorum aduocatorum adversus Leydenfes eruaticas, munerario Godefrido Vrancken*. It is the true Name of a Jesuit, mentioned by *Alagambus* (49); and yet he ascribes the *Væ Viçiti* to the Jesuit *Maximilian Habbeque* (50). It was printed in the Year 1609. There is mention made in it of a Writing, which I have not seen, published, the Year before, by the Jesuits of *Antwerp*, against one *Schlaßius*. It would require a long List, to give the Titles of all the Pieces, printed at that Time, in the *Spanish Netherlands*, against the Professors of *Leyden*, and in *Holland*, against the Jesuits. *Baudius* was one of those, whom the Jesuits attacked after the most cruel Manner: He is terribly lashed in the *Væ Viçiti*. *Scribamini* did not spare him in the Year 1607, in his *Domini Baudii Gnomæ Commentario illustratæ*. *Baudius* did not deny, but that he had wrote too passionately against the Jesuits, and seemed to be troubled for it; he hoped also, that Persons of Candor would not take rigorously, what he had only expressed according to poetical Licence. Here is what he wrote to *Sueretius* (51): "Utinam rebus integris, te monitore & consiliario effem usus! liber nossem, si non melior, saltem securior & latoribus auspiciis exisset in lucem. Multaque nimis licenter effusa, vel privati laribus inclusissem ne temere erumperent, vel, quod tuisissimæ cautionis genus est, tardipedi deo commissem. Nunc post culpam admittam serio ringor, verum haud gravate veniam impetraturus confido apud elegantioris notæ judices & benignos rerum æstimatores, qui non abrepti præjudicii aut partium studiis, in causæ cognitione diligenter expendant, quantum publicis legibus ac moribus licentiz Poëtarum concedatur. — Ante omnia & vellem & fuerat melius, non tetigissem unctos. Nec prudentissimo consilio factum esse confiteor, quod tela strinxerim in universam Soteriorum sodalitatem. Sunt enim ex iis multi, quos ob doctrinam & virtutis ac probitatis indolem revereor atque observo. — I wish I had asked your Advice, before I had taken one Step. My Book, if not with Improvements, would, at least, have been published with greater Pleasure and Security. Many things, too freely touched, would either have been kept still private, or, which is the safest Way, committed to the Flames. I now heartily repent of my Fault, but hope to meet with no small Favour from Judges of the highest Rank, who estimate things fairly, and without being influenced by Prejudice or Party, will carefully consider, what Allowances our Laws and Customs always make to poetical Licence. — Above all I wish, and it had better, I never had meddled with the Jesuits. Nor was it prudent to attack their whole Society. For there are a great many of them, whom, for their Learning, Virtue, and Probity, I reverence and esteem." In another Letter, wherein he owns, that his Stile was too passionate, he hopes, that the Rage, which his Enemies express against him, will excuse him with equitable Persons. He goes on, and says, "I have just

"now read a Book, published against me, which is altogether interwoven with ridiculous Lies, though the Title seemed only to promise the Pen of a Friend (52)." *Serio pœnitet quædam nimia acerbis foras erupisse, quæ domi continuisse, & vellem fuerat melius. — Verum ut rem natam intelligo, non erit mihi sollicita causa dicenda apud æquos judices. Ipsa enim aduversariorum procacitas & convitiia sine more effusa largam materiam mihi præbent non tantum ad sperandam abolitionem, sed ad consequendam laudem moderationis at modestiæ. Vidi enim & evolvi hesternæ die à capite ad calcem librum in me conjectum, &c (53).* Several Reasons shew, that the Book he had just read, was the Commentary in *Gnomas* (54). Now that Commentary was a Work of *Scribanus* (55), and yet *Baudius* ascribes it to *Rosæide*, with so much Persuasion, that he declares, nothing can alter that Belief: For, says he, *this resembles the other Writings of that Jesuit, like two Drops of Water; there appears the same Genius, Humour, Stile, and Character*. We may conclude from hence, by the way, that the best Judges of Stile may be mistaken in their Opinion of this sort of Likeness, and in the Consequences they draw from thence, as to Authors of Books. *Non possum demoveri ab ea sententia quam exilissimè ac prorsus perjursum habeam, editorem hujus præclari factus esse Patrem Heriberum Rosæidem. Nam non ovum ovo, nec aqua è puteo tam similis est aquæ, quam liber iste refert nobis indolem, genium & characterem aliorum librorum, qui ab eodem Patre sunt expositi (56).* What is remarkable in it is, that *Baudius*, who feared to find, in the Commentary on his *Gnomæ*, the Infirmities of which he knew himself guilty, had, as he said, the Comfort to find nothing in it, but such Falsities as were notorious to all those, who knew him. *Verebar ne curiosus alienarum popularum observator, ea mihi ex vero objiceret, quæ serio conscientiam remorderent, & diligentius vivendi necessitatem impenderent. Nunc quæ de me inclementer dicit, pleraque talia sunt, ut risum non bitem movent iis qui me norunt, nec ad alios judices provocandum habeo, quàm qui oculis & sensu communi non desistuntur (57).* It is commonly the Fault of Satirists; they are too sparing in the Article of Spy-Money; they impute Crimes which are false, and omit those which are true. *Baudius* disowns the German Author, who had made his Apology in the Chair, against the Commentator on the *Gnomæ*. "Quidam parasitaster parvulus è Germania huc adveniens, me multum reclamante, impetravit à Senatu nostro Academico, ut sibi liceret publice pro mea dignitate scilicet adversus illum declamare. Ac ne quid ad summam finis sterilitas decisset, aut ut caput unctius referret, etiam orationem illam in vulgus edendam curavit. Testari possum ex animi sententia, mihi factum istud vehementer dupliciuisse. Satiùs enim erat me de seri ab omni patrocinio, quam à tam infirmo tibi cine causam nostram sustentari (58). — A certain insignificant Sycophant coming hither from Germany, obtained leave of our University, in spite of all I could say to the contrary, to make a Declaration in my Defence, against that Author. And that he might completely shew his Aukwardness, or make a sprucer Appearance, he has published that Oration. I can truly say, I am exceedingly displeased with this Performance. For it is much better to be destitute of all Defence, than to take up with so poor a one as this." I must further observe, that the Inveclives, *Baudius* seems most to repent of, are those which relate to Princes and crowned Heads. He did not spare even the King of France, who was an Ally of the Republic. *Sed horrida dicta sunt quæ in Lojolis, in editorem Amphibeatris, in impurissimum Schoppium stringimus. Atque utinam hoc sine sese cobibisset styli nostri procacitas. Sed in Pontificem, in Philippos, in Archiducem, in partium duces, evomit virus acerbissimæ suæ, nec parcat ipsi Liliæ regi (59).*

[I] He was at least twice married.] He speaks of his Wife's Death, in a Letter of the tenth of *Marib*, 1610 (60), and he writes the Twenty first of *February*, 1613, that he was married again. *Opinor jam*

(52) He says the June 27, 1610, p. 276, c. 1. ing the Commentary in Gnomas.

(53) Epist. 75. Cent. II. pag. 269. dated Nov. 10, 1610.

(54) See Rosæide's Chronological Journal, June 17, concerning that Book, and occasionally concerning Baudius.

(55) See A. Legembæus, pag. 72.

(56) Epist. 75. Cent. II. pag. 270.

(57) Epist. 58. Cent. II. pag. 255.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Epist. 58. Cent. III. p. 42.

(60) It is the 14th, 111d Cent. 77.

(40) Bibli. Soc. Jef. pag. 162.

(51) Ibid. pag. 337.

(52) Letter 8. Cent. II. pag. 286, 287.

Wine and Women were the two Rocks, on which his Reputation was shipwrecked [K]:
This

(61) Epist. 3.
Cent. IV. *te ex fama audisti me chorā maritorum iterum esse adscriptum* (61). I have not had time to look over every Letter, Page by Page, so that I cannot tell whether he mentions the Time, when he married his first Wife, or whether he had any Children by her, or not: but I know, that this Wife had Children by another Husband; for *Baudius* mentions a Son, and a Daughter of his Wife (62), and complains also of the Daughter's ill Houfwife (63). Perhaps the Son-in-Law, which *Theophilus* gives to this Professor, might be this bad Houfwife's Husband. It may be also, that, for want of Attention, *Theophilus* calls him Son-in-law, who was only *prigignus*, the Wife's Son (64). The Author of the *Væ Vidit* observes, that *Baudius* had no Children.

(62) Epist. 8.
Cent. IV.
p. 486, &
alibi.

(63) Epist.
22. Cent.
III. p. 344.

(64) See above, at the end of the Remark [A] of the Article BALZAC (f. L. Goes de).

(65) In Epist. mate
p. 13.

Natura quamvis liberos neget tibi
Efferte BURDI, nec tibi BAUDI, tua
Similes parentis Hecuba filios creet (65).

*Tbo' sterile Baudius no Offspring knows;
Nor Hecuba, whom for his Wife he chose,
To Baudius his Infant Likens' shows.*

[K] Wine and Women were the two Rocks, on which his Reputation was shipwrecked.] Since this Remark will be somewhat long, I shall divide it into Sections.

I. As to the first, he confesses the Fact: See three fine Passages on that Subject, at the Head of his Letters, extracted from his own Letters. I only relate the first and second. "Concurrant omnes, says 'be (66), non dicam ut ille Satyricus, augures, haruspices, sed quidquid est ubique hominum curiosum, qui in aliorum acta tam sedulo inquirent, ut ea fingant quæ nunquam fuerunt, nihil inveniet quod in nobis carere possit livor, quam quod interdum ad exemplum præci Catonis liberalius invitari nos patimur, nec semper confistimus intra sobrietatem veterum Sabinorum. Huic quoque peccato indies moderari conamur, & pulchre procedit. — I defy, not only as the Satirist says, Augurs, and Soothsayers, but also all inquisitive Persons whatever, who pry so indusively into other Peoples Affairs, and forge Facts which never happened, to discover, if they can, any thing in my Character, worthy of Censure, except my now and then indulging a little too freely, after the Example of old Cato, and breaking through the sober Rules of the Sabines. And even this small Fault I am every Day endeavouring to mend, and have gained a good deal of Ground." He expresses this with a better Grace, in the second Passage: "Malignitas obtricatorum nihil aliud in nobis fuggillare potest quam quod nimis commodum sin convivato, & interdum largius adspersor flore Liberi patris (67). — The most malicious can accuse me of nothing but being too good a Companion, and sometimes tasting a little too freely of the Favours of Father Bacchus." Since he has confessed his Fault, there is no occasion to produce *Scrivenerius* as a Witness against him, who supposes, that *Charon*, having given *Baudius* his Choice, either to remain in the other World, or to return into this, on condition to drink Water, and take his first Wife again, *Baudius* chose the former (68). Here is already something relating to the second Head; *Scrivenerius* would not have made such a Supposition, if *Baudius* had lived well with his first Wife.

II. Never had any Man less need to be comforted than he, when he lost her. His good Friend *Heinsius* could not forbear being merry upon it, both in Prose and in Verse, which he addressed to him; he wrote to *Grotius* on the same Subject, and told him, That our Age did not come short of That, which had seen *Xenophon* make an end of his Sacrifice, notwithstanding the News of his Son's Death; nor of That, which had seen *Q. Martius* go from the Burial of his Son to the Senate. "Baudius, says he to him, made himself drunk the Day he buried his Wife, and left nothing to do for the Comforters; he had effectually administered to himself, before their coming, all the Consolation it was possible for them to think of. The emptiness of his Purse is much more grievous to him, than the Vacancy he has met with in his Bed. I have helped him to some Money,

"which has revived all his Spirits; for, instead of That melancholy Air, and those down-cast Looks, which appeared in him, as if his Wife had been still living, I say, instead of that great Sadness, I perceived him raised all at once to a sort of Gaiey." *Baudius noster eo ipso quo uxorem extulit die vinum gustare voluit — omnia solatia quæ exultant adhiberi mentibus solent ipse occupavit. Nihil amicis in luctu reliquit quod vel imputare illi possent — Stabat antea demisso vultu ac tristi: uxorem ejus vivere adhuc credidisset (69). Vix spes melior affulsit, respirare cepit, & constanter multa de fragilitate vitæ disputare: nemo funus esse in adibus existimasset (70).* All these Pieces of *Heinsius* are diverting. But this Inconformity was not the greatest Fault *Baudius* committed, in relation to that Sex. We shall see, presently, more unlucky Incidents.

As soon as he came into France, he stopped so long at Caen, that there was a Report he was detained there by a Mistris. *Non posse me hinc à muliercula divelli quam impotenti amore deperam* (71). He denied it, and said, that the Dangers, which he had met with in the Journey, were the Cause of so long a stay. He said also, that, in spite of the Oppressions of the Professors, he might, at least, have taught the Civil-Law at Caen, if he had not engaged himself elsewhere. He gives a very bad Idea of That University, as to the Faculty of the Civil-Law. "Timuerunt sibi Juridici Professores nec ego — eos de imperitiæ possessione dejicerem. — Præses de quo retuli verbis acerbis homines illos castigavit coque assilavit Draconi Hesperidum hortorum. Tones quorum. Quid multa? frementibus miseris illis leguleis partim odio religionis, partim conscientia Inficitæ luez, perfectum est ut qui Leidæ gradum acceptissent, legitime promoti videantur (72). — These Professors of Civil-Law were afraid that I should dispossess them of their Ignorance. — The President, I told you of, severely reprimanded them, and compared them to the Dragon, who watched the Hesperian Gardens. You know on what Account. In short; notwithstanding the Opposition of those wretched half Civilians, partly from the Quarrel of Religion, and partly from the Consciousness of their own Ignorance, it was established, that they, who had taken their Degree at Leyden, should be allowed as regular."

Scrivenerius believed, that *Lipsius* meant *Baudius*, when he wrote to *Barclay*, in the Year 1599. "Scribit ad me, queritur, sed parum aperte, & ulcus aliquod sermonum eâ velle tegi equidem odoror. Si leve curatur, parum est: sin prævum aliquod & doctus (insanabile) doleo causa præclari ingenii quod sese (ah temere, ah stulte) in barathrum & præcepit dedit. Quis illigatum te trifurmi Pegasus expediet Chimæra? Sed meliora opto (73). — He writes to me, and complains, but with so much Reserve, that I suspect some Ulcer at the bottom. If it may be easily healed, the Matter is not great; but if it be of a malignant Kind, and incurable, I shall be sorry for the sake of so ingenious a Man, that he should, foolishly, and inconsiderately, throw himself headlong into such a Pit. Where will you find a Bellerophon to extricate you from this monstrous Chimæra? But I hope better Things." This favours of a Man drawn into, or deeply engaged in, an unhappy Intrigue.

To end with the worst part, I shall anticipate the Order of Time, and here observe, that he had made a Promise of Marriage, which he did not keep. — When he found himself a Widower, and pressed both by his Poverty and Constitution, to seek another Wife, he charged two of his Friends to inform him of the Circumstances of his former Mistress, and declared to them, that, if she was rich, he was ready to marry her before any other. He did not question but that he was still beloved by her. "Veteribus amoribus meis ex animo volo, nec ullam præceptaverim, si ad cæteras dotes accedit etiam copiosus imber qui olim per impluvium defluxit in finem Danaes. — Nisi molestum est, velim aliquid temporis impartiare disquisitioni, quo loco res ejus sitæ sint. Nam quin vivat nostri memor, & non immunis amorum, nullus dubito (74)." The Answer he received, was a Proof that he had too good an Opinion of himself; the Lady declared, the good not love great Drinkers. *Baudius* apprehended her

(69) Ibid.

p. 12, 13.

(70) Ibid.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid.

(73) Ibid.

(74) Ibid.

(75) Ibid.

(76) Ibid.

(77) Ibid.

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(283) Ibid.

This exposed him to Contempt, and Public Laughter. His very Friends made smart

meaning, and his Conscience was eased by that Refusal; for he made a Scruple of breaking his Promise; but now he found himself free, since she would not accept of him. "Etsi sincero affectu nympham illam prosequor, tamen magis liberandæ fidei religione, & veterum repromissionum ultro citroque stipularum memoria adductus sum, ut consortium ejus ambire non designarim, quam formæ lenocinio, vel divitiarum conditione (75). — Gaudeo me bona cum nympha ejus gratia liberatum esse nexu veteris promissi, καὶ διακλύου συλλαβῆς, καὶ μωροῦ, cujus adhuc me nonnulla inessebat superstitio (76)." It is remarkable, that all these Scruples of Conscience did not hinder him from annexing a Condition to the Design of executing his promise. Which Condition was, that his former Mistress should be rich (77), or else he would not marry her; and, to soften what might be too hard in this Resolution, he added, that, in this, he only considered her Interest; for, said he, *would it not be very injurious to her, to bring me Children, who could expect no other Inheritance from us, but Poverty and Hunger?* "Tu vero me tacente satis intelligis quam parum ex usu utriusque foret, τὴν λιμὸν καὶ τὴν πείναν (78), infelici contubernio invicem sociari. Quocirca nisi tam bene fundatum sit patrimonium amicæ, quam unice diligo, ut sine notabili incommodo nostris difficultatibus mederi queat, in rem communem est ut aliud mihi subsidium propiciam. Quod ne in eam partem velit interpretari, quasi quidquam detrimendi cepit amor ille pristinus, quo juvenculam formæ & ætate florentem formæ complexus, testor ex animi sententia me hoc ejus causâ facere, ne liberos educemus in spem egestatis atque esuritionis (79)." He made his Addresses elsewhere, viz. to one, whose Name was *Sophia*, in whom he found nothing good but her Riches. She had a very brutish Father, from whom he received a thousand Hardships; and the seconded her Father for some time, and complained of having been stolen: Very probably, she had been taking a Ramble for some Days with *Baudius*, which was then a piece of Gallantry in that Country. *Baudius* thought this Complaint very ridiculous, and most likely to stain *Sophia's* Reputation; and he said, by way of Allusion to *Fimbria's* Process against *Scævola*, that she had nothing to complain of, except that the Weapon was not thrust up to the Hilt. "Nihil habet quod de nobis queratur, nisi forte velit eam intenter accusationem quam adversus Scævolum ----- quod scilicet non totum telum corpore receperit (80)." *Sophia* was pacified, and seemed to disapprove her Father's Brutality. *Baudius* was in Raptures at this, and spoke of nothing but Marriage, though he knew very well, that this Mistress had no other Merit but a good Portion. The last Obstacle was removed, which was a Promise of Marriage, *Baudius* had made to a prostituted Servant, who sued him on his Promise (81), and I believe, that, after this, the Marriage with *Sophia* was consummated. The following Passages prove This Lady's ill Qualities, and her Father's Brutality. "Hesternâ die gravior apud Redorem questus sum de ----- Renovavi etiam veteres offensas quod me in causâ desipientis *Sophiæ* allocutus esset tanquam vitæ iratum, & candidatum patibuli. Sed *Sophiam* istam suis moribus ulciscendam permitto, si quidem rata habet quæ barbarus parens in me rustice & incivilliter designavit: nam contrarii rumores ad me deferuntur. Nonnulli dicunt eam honorifice & amice de nobis loqui: quod si ita est, recte & ordine facere ipsam arbitror, καὶ γὰρ τὸ γὰρ λαίον εἶναι, & tunc paratus sum omnium prætorum memoriam fidei amnestia ex animo delere, καὶ μὴ μνησικακῆν. Sin talia flagitia probat, nunquam eam sermone fuero dignatus. Sunt enim qui dicant me ab ipsa proscindi tam cruentis convitiis, quasi crimen sit quod vivam (82). ----- Yesterday I complained heavily to the *Redor* concerning ----- I even ripped up former Grudges, and accused him of having treated me, in the *Affair of the foolish Sophia*, as 'One angry with Life, and a Candidate for the Gallies.' As for *Sophia*, I leave her to the Punishment of her own Manners; if she indeed approves of the rude and uncourteous Treatment I have met with

from the Brute her Father; for I have been told the contrary. Some say, that she speaks respectfully & friendly of me; if This be true, I think she behaves with justice and decency; and I am then ready to forget every thing past. But, if she approves of such vile Treatment, I will never condescend to speak to her more. For I am informed by some, that she reproaches me with such bitterness, as if it were a Crime, that I am alive." Behold a good-natured Man! he had already shewn, that he was easy to be pacified. "Reversus domum ----- optata omnia comperi de mea *Sophia*, quæ me absente ancillam lecti & arcanorum sociam misit ad patrem scitatum ----- super nostra majestatem, an durius accepissem plenam familiaritatis repuliam, & an fera bestia factus essem, amissa voluntate revertendi. Ego vero oculum mihi exculpi malim, quam pati ut tam opima conditio elabatur de manibus (83). ----- Returning home, I found every thing relating to my *Sophia* just as I could wish: She had sent her Chambermaid and Confidant to her Father, to enquire ----- concerning My Majesty; whether I resented her absolutely denying to admit of my Familiarity, and whether I was so furiously enraged, as to resolve never to return. For my own part, I would sooner lose an Eye, than miss so fair an Opportunity of being happy." This Good nature would be less shameful, were it not for the Poverty, to which *Baudius* was reduced, and the great Estate of His *Sophia*. We meet with the following Words, in the Ninety fifth Page of the *Dominici Baudii amores*, and in the first Letter of the 14th Century, Page 479. This Letter was written the Twenty first of July 1612. "Plerique putant hanc labem non alia conditione deletum iri, quam si insulsum pecus uxorem duxero, cui præter *Sophiæ* nomen nihil adest humani cordis. An ideo pereundum erat Pompeio magno, si Lucullus non esset luxuriosus? Ego invitam cogere non possum ut velit esse conjux invicti Jovis, & tanti non est ut vel illi, vel furioso parenti supplicem. Dos tamen non esset adpernanda, nisi marita foret, & posset abique muliebri capite contingere. Postquam ----- reverfus fuerit, persuasum amicorum decretum est mihi jacere novissimum aleam, & exquirere an mecum lege fidelis καὶ ἀδύλα ἀμνηστίας pacifici velit. Paratus sum ex animi sententia conceptis verbis jurare μὴ μνησικακῆν: dum & ipsa levitatis culpam agnoscat, & parentis furias non approbet. Si tergi versabitur, relinquam illam ulciscendam suis moribus, & aliam consortem invenero, quæ melius intelliget suam felicitatem. ----- Many think I can never wipe off this Disgrace, but by marrying This Foolish Creature, who has nothing of Human, but The Name of *Sophia*. Would Pompey the Great have been ruined, if Lucullus had not been luxurious? I cannot compel her, against her Will, to be the Wife even of Jupiter himself; and it is not worth my while humbly to sue either to Her, or her mad-brained Father. Her Fortune, I confess, is not despicable, could it be obtained without marrying, and bowing the Woman into the bargain. When he returns, I have resolved, by the Advice of my Friends, to make one Effort more, and try, whether we can come to terms of Agreement, on condition of forgetting every Thing past. I am ready, on my part, sincerely to forget an eternal Oblivion; provided she acknowledges her own Levity, and does not approve of the injurious Treatment of her Father. If she shall refuse to comply with this Offer, I will leave her to the Punishment of her own Manners, and look out for another Wife, who shall better understand her own Happiness." Some Days before he had more Courage. He had a good Opinion of himself: He says, in the same Letter, that he is not so exalted, but he may yet obtain a Woman of Merit, though he has been so foolish, as to pay a long Courtship to an impertinent Xanthippe. "Non adeo exarui ex amoribus & humoribus, ut bona me sapienti femina vendicare non possim, etiam si tam infipienter circa *Sophiam* deliraverim, ut mihi Socratica fides objecta sit (84)." He was resolved to make a fresh Attempt; but was so much disgusted at This foolish Creature, and her brutish Father, that he almost with-

(75) Epist.
26. Cent.
III. p. 349.

(76) Ibid.
349.

(77) She was
then a Wi-
dow.

(78) That is,
Hunger and
Thirst.

(79) Epist.
24. Cent.
III. p. 347.

(80) Epist.
in Grotium,
in Baudii A-
moribus,
pag. 85.

(81) See Letter
93, of
Cent. III. p.
465; and
Letter 18, of
Cent. IV.
p. 496.

(82) Epist.
90. Cent.
III. p. 471,
dated July 2.
1612.

(83) Epist.
91. Cent.
III. p. 465,
dated March
3, 1612.

(84) Ibid.
pag. 480.

smart Jests upon it, which have been printed. Nevertheless, we must not believe

ed to be again refused. "Heri mihi Heinſius noſter adſuit, & rogatu meo adductus, partim ſua ſponte incitatus, recepti in ſe munus colloquendi ſerio cum Feſto Hommio *πρὸς τῆς Σοφίας*. Is tenet clavum imperii, & patris animum habet in ſua manu. Sed ſumma cum æquitate exſpecto quemlibet eventum, & prope eſt ut malim repulſam, ita me tædet & contumeliarum parentis, & inſulſorum filiz morum, quæ præter nomen non poſſidet micam ſalis (85). — Our Friend Heinſius was with me yeſterday, and has undertaken, partly at my Requeſt, and partly of his own meer Motion, to talk ſeriouſly with Feſtus Hommius about Sophia. I am little ſollicitous for the Event; nay I almoſt wiſh to be reſuſed, ſo tired am I of the Father's contumelious Behaviour, and the folly and ſtupidity of the Daughter, who has not common Senſe, and is a Woman only in Name."

We are now come to the moſt diſgraceful Scene of All. Baudius kept a Concubine for ſome time. She was a Servant-Maid, who was common to ſeveral Students, and who, finding herſelf with Child, fathered it on Baudius alone. She inſiſted likewiſe, that he had promiſed her Marriage, and ſummoned him before the Judges, to oblige him to perform his Promiſe. This Affair was both matter of Scandal and Laughter; but they, who know the World, will eaſily believe, that it occaſioned more of the latter, than the former. Baudius's Superiors could do no leſs than diſgrace him, by ſuſpending him from his Office. The Railleries, to which he found himſelf expoſed, made him take a Journey to Ghent. "Inter alias cauſas quæ me movent ut in viam me darem hæc fuit non inſima, ut prudenti abſentia ſubterdicerem me ab importunis conjugii diſparis congratulationibus, quibus cottidie aures meæ circumſonabantur (86). — Among other reaſons, which induced me to take a Journey, This was not the leaſt, that, by prudently abſenting myſelf, I might avoid the Congratulations on an unequal Match, with which I was perpetually teized." He ſeemed to queſtion, whether This Servant-Maid was with Child; but he was afraid, that, if ſhe ſhould lye-in, he ſhould ſwear the Brat to Him; for which reaſon he deſired his Friends to order it ſo, that ſuch a Slut as ſhe ſhould not be admitted to take her Oath; and offered voluntarily to do whatever the Laws of Humanity required; that is, to take care of the Child, which ſhould be born: but he thought it hard to be obliged to it. "Periculum enim eſt in mora, nam propinqua partitudo appetit, ſiquidem paritura eſt, nam permulti dubitant num ſit gravis, quod ſi eſt,

Sublimi ſeriam ſidera vertice.

"Cuperem inferi mandato, non eſſe illi ſcorto publice diffamatiſſimo deferendum juſjurandum tempore partitionis, nec habendam fidem in designando parente tam multorum capitum.

Cum ſuis vivat valeatque mœchis,
Quos ſimul complexa tenet trecentos.

"Ego nihilominus ſponte mea incitatus faciam quod officium humanitatiſ injungit. Sed cogi Baudium non decet, non oportet, à tam proſtituti pudoris ſcorto (87). — Delays are dangerous; for ſhe is near her Time, if ſhe be really with Child, which many doubt of; if ſo,

I'll ſtrike my Head againſt the Stars.

"I could wiſh it were inſerted in the Mandate, that This moſt infamous Poſtitude be not allowed to give her Oath at the time of her Delivery, and that no credit be given to her in pointing out the Father of the many-headed Offspring.

Will ſare the Jade, with her three hundred Sparks.

"However I am willing to do every thing, which the Laws of Humanity require. But Baudius ought not to be compelled by ſo ſhameleſs an Harlot." However, he choſe rather to keep Another's Child, than deſert a human Creature, and comforted himſelf with the Reflexion, that it would be a

Proof of his Manly Vigor; and that hereafter it would be no Prejudice to his future Wife Sophia, who ſhould be a Field, for the Cultivation of which he would from thenceforth reſerve his whole Strength. "Ut ut res cadet, nihil mihi evenire poteſt trifitius aut deterius quam quod animo præcepi, & mecum ante peregi. Nempe futurum, ut perjurio caput alligeret, & *ὑποβολιμαῖον* obtrudat heroi Baudio. Quid tum poſtea? Malo agnoſcere alienum, quam ſcortum humanum non ali. Teſtimonio crit me mærem eſſe, & viri munia poſſe fungi. Nihil inde abradetur in poſterum meæ Sophiz, cujus arvo familiari reſervabitur

Quidquid in arte mea poſſum promittere (88).

"----- However, nothing can happen to me more unfortunate, than what I ſuſpect, namely, that This Jade will perjure herſelf, and obtrude a Bſurd upon the Hero Baudius. But what then? I had rather father Another's Brat, than ſuffer an human Creature to periſh. Beſides it will be a Proof of my Manhood, and Ability to perform the Duties of an Husband. My Sophia will not bereafter find ſhe has leſt any Thing by it; for the Culture of whoſe Field ſhall be reſerved

All I can promiſe in the Tilling-Art.

He wrote This the Twenty ninth of March 1612, when it was reported, that the Servant-Maid was ready to lye-in. "Fertur eſſe, *ἐν ἰδύῃ*, ſed nulus credo,

----- Licet illi plurima manet
Lacryma.

"Sunt enim, quibus non poteſt perſuaderi, eam eſſe gravidam, & ego quidlibet credo cadere poſſe falſimoniz, fraudis, & malitiz in tam proſtigatam, perditam, atque inteſtabilem fœminam. — She is ſaid to be in labour; but I give no credit to it, notwithstanding all her Tears; for ſome will not be perſuaded ſhe is with Child; and I can eaſily believe ſo proſtigat, abandoned, and deteſtable, a Woman capable of any Falſhood, Cheat, and wicked Contrivance." He did not deny, but that he had promiſed the Girl Marriage; but pretended, that ſuch a Proſtitute, as ſhe, did not deſerve to enjoy the Benefit of the Laws: He did not believe, that any Faith ought to be kept with this Kind of Hereſies; for he recollected, that he had read ſo in the Code; but, as he could not cite the place, he deſired Grotius to put his Advocate upon producing That Law, in order to put a ſtop to the Proceedings of his Doxy. And, as This Girl's Pretenſions was the only Thing, which hindered Baudius's Miſtreſs from ſigning the Marriage-Contract, he deſired his Friend to diſpatch the Matter. "Domum reverſus audivi nuncium perquam optabilem de meis amoribus. Omnia eveniunt ex animi ſententia, nec quidquam deſcit ad votorum ſummam, niſi ut eximam ſcrupulum de pollicitatione matrimonii cum exoleto iſto propudio, labe & tæbe meæ famæ & exiſtimationis. Hanc tu peſtem ac perniciem ſi amolitus fueris pro dignitate muneris quo fingeris, & pro auctoritate qua merito vales plurimum, ſolidiorem capies gloriam, quam

----- Diram qui contudit hydram,
Notaque fatali portenta labore ſubegit.

"Tam viles perſonæ, tam diabolares victimæ publicarum libidinum, non ſunt dignæ obſervatione legum, ut memini aliquando legere in corpore Juris, ſed locus non occurrat memoria. Quæſo te, ut hiſce literis perleſtis continuo cures accerendum advocatum vander Werven, qui legem horrendi carminis dictet, cujus obnunciatione ſulminari poſſit fatalis illa fundi noſtri calamitas. Hoc ego beneficium tanti faciam, ut nemini plus in vita ſim unquam debiturus. Sed maturas oro, nam amanti & animo cupienti nihil ſatis ſeſtinatur (89). — Returning home, I received the moſt agreeable News in relation to my Love Affair. Every thing is as I could wiſh, nor is any thing wanting

(85) Epift. w/ſtims Cent. III. p. 475, 476, dated July 11, 1612.

(86) Epift. 90. Cent. III. p. 462, dated from Ghent, Dec. 4. 1611.

(87) Epift. 93. Cent. III. p. 467, dated March 28, 1612.

(88) Epift. 92. Cent. III. p. 464.

(89) Epift. 93. Cent. III. p. 465, dated March 28, 1612.

lieve All that the satyrical *Scioppius* has published on this last Head [L]. Some
Temper

"wanting to the Completion of my Desires, but to remove the Scruple about my Promise of Marriage to That Prostitute, the Stain of my Character and Reputation. If, by the Dignity and Authority of your Function, you can rid me of This Plague, you will gain more Honour, than He,

Whose Tail the Dire, Portentous, Hydra quell'd.

"Such Infamous Wretches, such Diabolical Victims to Public Lust, deserve not the Regard of the Law; as I remember to have read somewhere in the Code, though the Passage does not at present occur to my Memory. I desire you, upon the Receipt of This Letter, to send for the Advocate Vander Werven, who, by reciting the dreadful Denunciation, may terrify This Creature, who gives me so much Disturbance. But be as expeditious as possible; for Love is impatient of Delay." This is what he wrote on the Twenty eighth of March. He was not clear of the Affair in the Month of June; the Girl was yet in hopes of being married to him either by fair or foul Means; and *Baudius* durst not appear before his Mistress, during this Suit with his Concubine. "Hoc nisi fundamentum præstruatur, non finit θυμός ἀγνώσκει, ut viam affectem ad meam Divam, quæ non intelligit suæ bonæ: nec ideo tamen demovebor ab amandi proposito, quamvis spes aliqua supererit expugnandi ferreum istud pectus (90). -----
"Till This Foundation be laid, my Pride will not suffer me to approach my Goddess, who does not understand her own Good: yet will I persist in my Resolution of paying my Addressee to her, whilst there is any hope of conquering that stubborn Breast." He was inclined to enter into Articles with the Girl, and desired *Grætius* to draw them up; hoping, that the Creature, intimidated by his Threatnings, would sign the Agreement. "A tuo discessu nec patrem τῆς ἀδελφῆς Σοφίας allocutus sum, nec me conveniendum curavit Mercurii mater, nisi quod audio eam adhuc pallescere ebriosis, fœtibus, & furiosis spes de matrimonio.

----- sed prius Appulsi
Jungentur capræ lupis.

"Quid mihi autor es ut faciam? expectem litis eventum? hoc spissum est amanti, cujus animo nihil satis festinat. Quamquam hinc nugis jam longum valedixi, saltem inducias pepigi. Cuperem ad me mitti per hunc ipsum nuncium formulam transactionis, quam ipse concepisti. Spero me effecturum in seculo metu majoris malitias ut cupide subignem, & voluntariam condemnationem fubeat (91). -----
"Since your Departure, I have not once spoke to the Father of the foolish Sophia, who, I am informed, still entertains vain hopes of the Match. But, sooner

The Goat shall mix with The Appulian Wolf.

"What would you advise me to do? To wait the Event of the Suit? The Impatience of a Lover cannot bear delay: though I have bid a long Adieu to these Follies, at least have made a Truce with them. I could wish you would send me by the Bearer of This The Articles of Accommodation, which you yourself have conceived. I hope, by threatening her with something worse, to prevail upon her readily to sign them, and subscribe her own Condemnation." The Affair was yet undecided in the Month of July following (92), and *Baudius* thought it very strange, that This Slut was not banished out of the Country. "Tot Justitiæ Antifites unicam maleficam Circen, quæ meos sensus venenavit, amoliri non possunt, saltem ut Leïdam contagione sua, & ædes meas noxia vicinitate, non inflectet (93). ----- So many Dispensers of Justice cannot rid me of One mischievous Circe, who bewitched my Senses; nor even prevent her from infesting Leyden with her Contagion, and my House with her baneful Neighbourhood. He believed, that she was suffered to continue his Neighbour, that the Indignity of so many Affronts might force him to retire elsewhere. Video hoc agi ut contentis baud tolerandis ἀγνώπῳ θυμῷ ἀδigar at discipendam pedam viam, & quærendam baud ingressi atque inopis exilii sedem (94). At last he

put an end of the Affair, not by a Sentence of the Judges, but by way of Accommodation, on the Twentieth of October 1612. He conceded as little as possible; redemi me captum quam potui minimo (95); after which he was soon married. He wrote to *Peter Rubens* (96), that he was very well satisfied with his Wife. I do not know, whether he changed his Mind; but, however it be, This Marriage was of no long Continuance. *Baudius* died the Twenty second of August 1613, being reduced to a miserable Condition by a Delirium. *Delirio ac Vigiliis continuis miserè attritus, omnique tandem robore exutus* (97). His best Friends laughed at his Follies in Love. One of them propoed him as an Example to all Incontinent Persons, and exhorted them to restrain their Passions by the most austere Remedies, rather than indulge them like *Baudius*:

Quisquis es, exemplo tanti moveare marii,
Parce libidinibus luxuriose tuis.
Addita sit potius lascivo fibula membro,
Ut vindicta tuam transeat ista domum (98).

*Whoe're Thou art, a Slave to Joys of Sense,
Let This Example teach thee Contenance.
Wou'd'st Thou avoid vindictive Fortune's Frown,
Let the strong Button keep the Rebel Member down.*

See the Collection, entitled *Baudii Amores*, published by *Scrivierius*, in the Year 1638. You will find there, at page 77, *A Cento Virgilianus of Daniel Heinsius*, "ad Dominicum Baudium, qui postquam ignarus cum ancilla, cum qua tum alii, tum plurimi scholastici concubant, aliquandiu congressus esset, solus præter expectationem prole ab ea est donatus — to Dominic Baudius, who, after having corresponded with a Girl, who was common to several Students, had alone a Child unexpectedly fathered upon him."

No doubt, some will say, it would have been better to have pointed out, in the Margin, where these Things are to be found, than to produce so many Passages of This Author; but many others will be glad not to be at the Trouble of looking for them. It is to please the Lazy, whose number was never so great as in This Age, that I have taken the Pains to collect These Passages of *Baudius*. Let no one complain, that I disturb the Ashes of the Dead; for I say nothing but what *Baudius's* Friends have published, and what other Authors have informed the Public of several times. See *Spizellus* (99), who cites a Book, which I would willingly have consulted: It was printed in the Year 1675 (100).

[L] We must not believe all that the satyrical *Scioppius* has published on This last Head.] He speaks too ill of him, to deserve credit: the most infamous Pimping, and Magic, are the Exploits, which he attributes to him. His Latin Words cannot modestly be rendered into English: The Original is This: "Baudius Parisiis, ubi multis annis in concubitu summa cum infamia & velut quadruplatoris filium deceptor, vixit, non tantum magis deditus, incantatoribus & sortilegis ædes suas aperuit, & concubine suæ filiolum ad peragenda nefaria sacra commodavit, Dæmonique de thesauris reconditis, impimisque de Petronio utrum is alicubi integer existeret, consuluit; sed etiam amicis quibusdam majorem quandam ingenii divinitatem præferentibus ejusdem concubine filium, puerum non elegantem, turpissimum leno prostituit, ut cum postea tumentibus pueri maricis scelus propalatum iri metueret, quo minus eum veneno contubernales tollerent, minime impedivit, actumque jam de missello puero fuerat, nisi unius contubernalis acuminis expedit fuisset, ancilla, quæ morbo mederi sciret, inventa. Hæc nequamquam à me fingi, neminem paulò humaniorum Parisiis ignorare puto (101)." The General Sense of which is as follows; that "*Baudius*, living many Years in a State of Fornication at Paris, conversed with Magicians and Enchanters, and consulted the Devil about hidden Treasures, and particularly whether *Petronius* was any where to be found entire; and that, having prostituted the Son of his Concubine, and being in danger of being

(95) Epist. 18. Cent. IV.

(96) It is Letter 3, of Cent. IV, pag. 482, dated Febr. 21, 1613.

(97) In Vita ejus.

(98) *Scrivierius* in Epitaphio Baudii, p. 13: Baudii Amorem.

(99) Theophilus Spizellus in Felice Literato, p. 11.

(100) Specimen Bibliographiarum Gadenensium, published by Schellvigio.

(101) Apophthegmata Scioppian pag. 166.

(90) Epist. 96. Cent. III. p. 478, dated June 11, 1612.

(91) Ibid.

(92) See Letter 92, of Cent. III, pag. 473, dated Dec. 1, of Cent. IV, pag. 473.

(93) Ibid. Cent. IV.

(94) Ibid.

Temper are exposed to the hazard of losing a good Name. It cannot be denied, that *Baudius* was of an amorous Complexion: He was but a Student in Divinity, when he fell in Love with a Girl, who lodged at the Professor *Lambert Danaus's* House (b). The Remarks will inform us farther of This Affair. He was too free in his Opinions, and even in his Discourse, and had not the Prudence to accommodate himself to the Prejudices of the Times; This could not but create him Enemies, and expose himself to the ill Effects of their rash Judgments (i). He consulted Platonic Ideas too much; which is the reason, why he was a little too much scandalized at the Disputes, which were raised in *Holland*. He foretold the ill Consequences of them, some of which proved false, and others true. He thought They would occasion an Alteration in the Government; in This he was mistaken [M]; he believed they would create a Schism; In this he judged right [N]. They, who published his *Letters*, have procured more Delight

(b) See his 26th Letter Cent. II. pag. 224.

(i) See Remark [M].

" discovered, by some Marks of the Injury he had done him, he would have suffered him to be poisoned, had not an Old Woman been found, who undertook to cure the Child." If These things were so well known at *Paris*, as *Scioptius* affirms, how came it, that the First President appointed *Baudius* to be his Son's Secretary in an Embassy? *Scioptius* invented This, or had it from ill-grounded Stories, and divulged it in revenge for the abusive Language, which *Baudius* had given him, even before The Scalliger *Hypobolimus* appeared (102).

[M] He thought They would occasion an Alteration in the Government; in This He was mistaken.] We must hear Himself: He declares, that, were it not for Conscience, and Religion, he would have retired elsewhere long before, and that the violent Disputes of the Divines, and many other Disorders, made him fear, that the Work of the Reformation would be very much endangered by them. " Nisi me in his locis conscientie scrupulus, & religionis vinculum attineret, jam pridem captum esset augurium de mihi, grando, nec Leida spes meas includeret. Quamquam non pessime mecum agitur. Sed nec ea nostri ratio habetur, quam oportuit. Theologorum etiam nostrorum dissidentium, & virulentarum concertationes, odia fratrum, quæ ne morte quidem finiuntur, aliæ nostræ militiæ flagitia, penè efficiunt ut & illud superbum nomen reformatæ religionis, & ipsa causa incipiat mihi esse dubiæ sanitatis. — Præfigit mihi animus imminere his Provinciis fatalem rerum commutationem, & ex istis vitis rediturum aliquando veteris imperii desiderium. Suspectus sum multis, & charus acceptusque non paucis, quod voce & stilo passim inculco subditorum obsequia in legitimis Principes, & pleno ore decanto veras laudes Archiducum (103)."

— Did not a Scruple of Conscience, and the Tie of Religion, detain me, I had e'er now departed in a good Hour, nor had Leyden any longer been the Object of my Wishes. Though my Condition here is far from being the worst. But I do not meet with proper Regard. Besides, The virulent Disputes of Our Divines, The Animosities among Brethren, which Death itself cannot put an end to, and Other Enormities of our Warfare, induces me to suspect, that the proud Name of Reformation, and the Cause itself, is but short-lived. — I foresee a fatal Alteration in the Affairs of These Provinces, and am apprehensive, that the Intestine Divisions, which reign among us, will make the People wish for the ancient Government. I render myself suspected to Many, and acceptable to a Few, by inculcating, both in Conversation and Writing, the Obedience of Subjects to their Lawful Princes, and celebrating the true Praises of the Arch-Dukes." I question not, but *Baudius* propounded the Doctrine of the Obedience of Subjects, which he mentions, with too much Indiscretion, and Confidence; so that it is no wonder, if he was hated by several People. He was so bold also, as to infer This Doctrine in a public Thesis; and it is observable, that his Academical Superiors did not oblige him to expunge it, but only ordered him to inform the Youth, that they should not embrace such Opinions inconsiderately. Querit primum ex me, an statuissem præsidium & auctoritatem suffragii commodare defendendis corollariis periculose alæ plenius, ut est disputare in ambas partes, An religio sit de substantia reipublicæ, & negare fas esse subito privatoque homini ob causam religionis arma sumere contra Principem,

& id generis alia. Respondi, causam non videri cur in hoc atrio libertatis non sit fas absque pervicacia sentire quæ velis, & quæ sentias exprimere. Tamen rogatus ut admonerem juventutem ne temere & absque delectu talibus axiomatis assensum præberet, significavi me facturum (104). — He first asked me, whether I had resolved to undertake the Defence of dangerous Propositions, such as the Question, whether Religion be essential to a State, and the Assertion, that it is unlawful for a private Man, and a Subject, to take up Arms against his Prince, for the sake of Religion. I replied, that I saw no reason, why, in This Seat of Liberty, a man might not, without the Imputation of Perverse-ness, think as he pleases, and speak as he thinks. However, being desired to admonish the Youth, not to assent to such Propositions rashly, and without Examination, I promised to do so. Never was Man fitter to gain himself Enemies by the Liberty of his Tongue, and his Maxims, than *Baudius*: " We make War, said he, with the most powerful Princes of the World, and yet we are under the Correction of an hundred petty Rulers: Bellum gerimus contra potentissimos Mundi Monarchas, & servire cogimur istis minutoribus Satrapis (105). See the Liberty he takes of censuring the Divines, who had condemned *Vorslius*, without hearing him. Observe the ill Consequences, which, he says, must follow, if these Gentlemen are suffered to decide concerning the Honour and Merit of others, on meer Presumptions, Suspensions, and Hear-says. " Evadet ista effrænis audacia in optimi cujusque deformationem, si præjudiciis, suspicionibus, rumoriculis, & susurris, tantum licentia permittitur, ut fama & fructu dignitatis exuantur viri doctrina meritisque speculabiles. Sed de negotio fratrum, & sacrae gregis, dabitur alias oportunitas differendi locus (106). — This unbridled Liberty, will blast the Reputations of the best of Men, if Men of Learning and Merit must lose their Characters upon Prejudices, Suspensions, Rumours, and Whispers. But I shall have a better Opportunity of considering the Business of the Brotherhood, and sacred Herd." Once again, He was very fit to gain himself Enemies, and I am not surprized, that so many heinous Calumnies have been spread concerning him. In the Year 1609, he took a Journey into *Flanders*. During his Absence, a Thousand Stories went about, that he was gone to change his Religion, that he was already provided of a good Benefice, that he had turned Monk, and an hundred other things of this Nature, which gave occasion to the Thirty third Letter of the III^d Century. He was in such dread even of the Absurdities of Common Fame, that he wrote This Letter to Two of the Curators.

[N] He believed they would create a Schism; in this he judged right.] He built his Conjecture on the great Animosity, which he observed on both Sides. The Points in dispute seemed to him capable of being accommodated, provided The Combatants would but hear each other with a charitable Disposition. It was therefore the Disposition of the contending Parties, which made him fear they would come to a total Rupture. He was upon the Spot; and could see, in what Manner *Gomarus*, and his Friends, on one side, and *Arminius*, with his Adherents, on the other, mixed their private Passions with the Interest of their Doctrines. He declared freely, that the *Spaniards* and *Hollanders* would sooner agree together, than These two Ecclesiastical

(104) Epist. 99, Cent. III. pag. 471.

(105) Epist. 82, Cent. III. pag. 278.

(106) Epist. 33, Cent. III. pag. 362.

(102) See Lett. 79, of Baudius, Cent. II. pag. 276.

(103) Epist. 72, Cent. III. p. 432, 433, dated March 9, 1610.

light and Usefulness to the Readers, than Honour to his Memory. They are politely written [O], and are full of Wit; but he commends himself too much in them; He appears too Poor [P], too Importunate to his Friends, too Craving, too Vain, too Selfish, and too Irregular. This is to apologize for the Age, he lived in, of which he complained so much. It is partly by These Faults, that several learned Men render themselves contemptible in the Places, where they live, whilst they are the admiration of Those to whom they are known only by their Works. Notwithstanding the Length of This Article already, I cannot forbear subjoining here a very remarkable Particular; to wit, that *Baudius* had undertaken

Factions. Here follow his own Words: I set them down, that I may not be thought to deliver my own Opinions under his Name. I am in this, and many other Places, a bare Transcriber. "Utinam omnes nostri muneris & ordinis pari voto ac studio in eandem mentem conspirarent! Sed facilius conveniet inter Belgas & Hispanos, quam inter fratres, ubi semel in contentionem exarscere cœperunt. Omnino res erumpit in schisma, nisi fortibus consiliis huic malo occurratur. ---- Si spiritus docilitatis & Christianæ caritatis ducerentur duces (ut sic dicam) partium, confectum negotium esset. Sed utrinque videre est magnos animorum motus, manifestam concursionem, ut suffragatores sibi concilient, denique mentem contentionis studiosiorem, quam indagandæ noscendæque veritatis:

Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra.

"Sed ob Attridarum culpas supplicium ferunt Achivi: & Academia pessimi odoris est non solum apud extraneos, verum etiam apud nostros cives (107).
 "----- O! that All of our Function and Order
 "would unanimously conspire in Opinion! But sooner
 "will the Hollanders and Spaniards come to an Agreement,
 "than the Brethren, when once they have
 "began to grow warm in Controversy. The Affair
 "will end in a Schism, if the Evil be not provided
 "against with the utmost Prudence and Caution. ----
 "Were the Leaders of each Party (if I may so call
 "them) governed by a Spirit of Teachableness and
 "Christian Charity, the Business would be done.
 "But, on both Sides, we see great Animosity, a
 "manifest Struggle who shall gain the most Converts,
 "and a Temper of Mind more disposed for Contention,
 "than the Discovery of Truth;

Alike in Guilt Besieger, and Besieg'd.

"The Greeks suffered for the Offences of the Sons
 "of Atreus; and the University sinks in the Nostrils
 "not only of Foreigners, but even of our own Countrymen."

[O] *His Letters are written politely.* We read in the *Scaligerana* as follows: "Baudius a une Stile non Ciceronien, mais du temps de Domitianus: je garde toutes les Lettres de Baudius. ---- Baudius writes in a Stile, not Ciceronian, but such as was practised in the Time of Domitian: I keep all his Letters by me." Scaliger, therefore, thought them elegant, and good. It does not appear, that *Baudius's* Style is properly That of any Age of Latinity.

[P] *He appears too Poor.* It was not so much the Honour of being the States Historiographer, as the Salary of That Office, which made him solicit for it so earnestly. He put off his Creditors, till the Payment of his Pension of Historiographer; That Time never came; and They would be no longer put off in That manner; inasmuch that he was reduced to Great Straits. "Flagitantium importunitas efficit me morosiores, quam naturæ meæ Genius, & amicitia tuæ reverentia patiatur. Affidue enim obtundor à molestis Creditoribus, quorum nomina rejicio in spem obtinendi ejus muneris; sed tandem lacerati sunt hoc palpo, ut ulterius produci non possint (108). ---- The Importunity of my Creditors sours my Temper more than my natural Disposition, and the regard I have for your Friendship, allow of. I put off the payment of what they demand by the hopes of obtaining That Post; but They have been so long wheedled with This Pretence, that they are resolved to be put off no longer." When he said, that his Estate feared neither Thieves, Fire, nor other Calamity,

Non incendia, non graves ruinas,
 Non facta impia, non dolos veneni,
 Non casus alios periculum;

and that It resembled That of *Bias* (109); The Application was not more ingenious, than true: He spoke like an Historian, and not like a Rhetorician. At last came his Pension of Historiographer; but it was only as a drop of Water to a Thirsty Man: He foresaw it, and had been told of it; wherefore he wanted another Remedy, viz. a rich Wife. "Si possem in nassam matrimonii illicere foemininum aliquod opime dotatum (agnoscis heic facundiam supplementi chronicorum) non a'pernerer dona decorum. Sed ad eam spem aspirare non audeo, quamdium mihi certamen erit cum hydra molestorum flagitatorum (110). ---- Could I but prevail upon some very rich Lady to marry me, I should be thankful to Heaven for the Blessing. But I dare not entertain such an hope, whilst I am combating with an Hydra of importunate Duns." Let us add to this what he wrote to his Patron *Vander Myle*. "Recte dicebas nuper, nihil aliud posse locare in solido, & ad portum bonæ spei appellere quassatam ratem Baudii, quam opimum aliquod conjugium: sed procax istud genus divitum ac fortunatarum mulierum spernit viros fama meritique celebres, nisi censu quoque censentur (111). ---- What you said, the other Day, is very true, that nothing but a wealthy Match can secure, and bring Home safe, poor Baudius's scattered Vessels; but the Misfortune is, your moneyed Ladies despise Men, even of the greatest Reputation, who have not as much Money, as Merit." But no Relief came time enough: In vain did he beseech the Curators, with the most moving Expressions, to deliver him from the hard Persecution of his Creditors. "Humanitatis tuæ genium adjuro atque obtestor per Deum immortalem, per fas Christianæ Charitatis, per vinculum sanctæ fidei, & quidquid apud gentes venerandum & antiquum habetur, impone tandem optatum finem diuturnæ expectationi; neu me patere longius versari inter sacrum & saxum, sed ictu Creditorum, qui meas aures affidue molestis vocibus circumsonant, ut defæcato animo studia doctrinæ trahere nequeam (112). ---- By the Eternal God, by the Laws of Christian Charity, by the Bond of Holy Faith, and by whatever The World esteems Venerable and Sacred, I adjure, I beseech your compassionate Nature, to put, at length, a wished for Period to my tedious Expectation; nor suffer me any longer to continue in this Perplexity, under the Labors of Creditors, who are perpetually dunning me, and interrupting my Studies." He was left to their Mercy; and, except his Person, they seized on all that was in his House. The Jesuits of *Antwerp* knew it, and insulted him upon it. Read but these Verses, taken from the Thirty seventh Page of the *Va Vidisti!*

Pauperior Codro Catti nil continet arca.

Qui pote? Jam dicam: Baudæus in ære tabernæ
 Totus erat, (nostri quam pocula sæpe salutet);
 Caupo tulit lectos, sedes, mensasque, abacoscque;
 Et chlamydem & vestes, ollas, ignemque, focumque;
 Nil Baudæus habet, secum tulit omnia Caupo.
 Nec sat erat. Quid ages Baudi? Venderis & ipse?
 Accipe Caupo libros, vetulas has ferto papyros,
 Museum atque oleum, laternam & lampada fume;
 Sit modo liber adhuc Baudæus obire popinas.

The Poverty of Codrus is his Fate:

You ask, how so? attend, while I relate.

Baudius

(109) Epist.
 92, Cent. III.
 pag. 464.

(110) Epist.
 15, Cent. III.
 pag. 335.

(111) Epist.
 14, Cent. III.
 pag. 334.

(112) Epist.
 14, Cent. III.
 pag. 333.
 written to
 Mr Vander
 Myle, dated
 March 10,
 1610.

(108) Epist.
 5, Cent. III.
 pag. 323.

undertaken a Work, designed to effect a Coalition of Religions [2]: A Work, which, besides other Talents, required a great Share of Piety, as he himself assured *Thuanus*, in communicating to him his Design. You will find his own Words below.

*Baudius had run up a long Tavern-Score;
(That Baudius lov'd his Glafs, you knew before)
The cruel Vintner, when he cou'd not pay,
Carried Beds, Tables, Chairs, and All away:
Yet All too little: what remains there yet?
Say, Baudius! Shall your Person pay the Debt?
No! — Landlord, take my Books: if That won't do,
Away with Lamp, and Oil, and Papers too:
But at his Liberty let Baudius move,
From Tavern still to Tavern free to rove.*

Scrivenerius, Baudius's good Friend, says little less, than the Jesuits.

(113) I take the meaning of this to be, that Baudius married a Widow with three Children.

En, cum jure trium natorum ducitur uxor (113);
Et simul in barathrum præcipit amor amans.
Sic labuntur opes: sic nil stipendia profunt;
Pensio sic domino sæpe negata suo.
Pallia sic alius, Cajæque monilia fervat:
Æra fugant inopem sic aliena famem.
Proflit & duris urgens in rebus egestas:
Pignora stant, vacua non redimenda manu (114).

(114) Scrivenerius, in Baudii Amoris, p. 13.

*A Wife, at length, behold! The Lover gains,
And thence the Right, Three Children give, obtains;
Yet, cruel Fate! to Prison dragg'd must go:
Thus there's an End of Wealth, and Pension too.
Rich Cloaths and Jewels, once the wealthy Dame's,
Transferr'd from Caia, now Another claims.
Whilst pressing Want, with meagre Look, stands by,
And, unredeemable, his Pledges lie.*

[2] He had undertaken a Work, designed to effect a Coalition of Religions: What he says of it himself, is this. "Jampridem animo concepi opus, & statu arduum, & usu maximè necessarium, quod ipsum olim aggressus is, de quo nuper multo nobis sermo fuit, Georgius Cassander. Hic, tamen nihil dicas, tamen auguror animo quid cogitationi tuæ occurrat; esse nimirum rem tantæ molis, ut eam vi mente complecti possim, nedum facultate consequi. Fateor equidem ad hanc provinciam deligari par esse hominem instructum omnibus ingenii ac doctrinæ copiis. Opus insuper

"multiplici inquisitione, varia librorum supellectile, plurima rerum memoria, & quod familiam ducit, pietate. Sed utilitatis magnitudo, & penuria talium virorum, debet etiam ad hunc honestissimum laborem mediocres viros invitare, ut, si a spe perficiendi abint, saltem præclaræ voluntatis conscientia persuantur. Ego mihi conscius sum quam parum possum, sed aggrediendi studium probis omnibus me probaturum non despero. Deum certè confido piis conatibus adfuturum, in quem precipue intuens, id oneris tollere decrevi. Quod si saltem effecero, ut aliorum scribendi studia excitentur, qui digne hanc spartam exornare possint, nihil est quod me non affecutum esse exiliumem (115). — I have, a long time, conceived the Design of a difficult, but very necessary, Work, which was undertaken, likewise, by George Cassander: He, I mean, of whom we had, lately, so much Discourse. Here, I guess at your Thoughts, before you declare them; namely, that the Work is of so extensive and difficult a Nature, as scarce to be comprehended, much less executed, by me. I confess, The Undertaking requires a Person of the greatest Ability and Learning, much Enquiry, many Books, a great Memory, and, above All, a pious Disposition. But the great Usefulness of It, and the Scarcity of Persons so qualified, is sufficient to engage Men of moderate Talents in so generous an Undertaking: that, if They cannot flatter themselves with the Hopes of Success, They may, at least, enjoy the Consciousness of a worthy Intention. I am sensible of my own Inability; but I do not despair of approving my Intentions to All Good Men. At least, God, I doubt not, will assist my Endeavours; in Confidence of whose Favour, I have determined to undertake the Task. And if I can but excite others to employ their Pens more successfully on the same Subject, I shall have obtained the Utmost of my Wishes." *Colomies*, who has preserved to us these Words of Baudius, adds; "Opus, animo, ut puto, conceptum, nunquam prodiit. Hinc patet, cur Baudium Georgii Cassandri Afficem in Gallia Orientali dixerim, quod multis perobscuro, nec immerito, videbatur (116). — This intended Work was, I think, never published; which is the Reason, why, in the Gallia Orientalis, I call Baudius The Page of George Cassander; which to many seem'd obscure, and not without Reason."

(115) Baudii Epist. ad J. A. Thuan. apud Collemesii Opuscul. pag. 41. 42.

* Pag. 124.

(116) Colomiesii Opuscul. pag. 42.

BAUDOUIN (a) (FRANCIS), in Latin *Baldwinus*, a famous Civilian, was born at Arras, the first of January, 1520. He studied Six Years in the University of Louvain; afterwards he was some time with a great Lord (b), at the Court of Charles V; and then went into France, where he acquired the Friendship of the most Learned Men (c), and, among others, That of Charles du Moulin, at whose House he lodged (d). The eager Desire of being acquainted with the most famous Ministers, induced him to travel into Germany [A]: He saw

(b) The Marquis de Berge.

(c) Of Baudius, of Basif, &c.

(d) Ex Valerio Andree, Bibl. Belg. p. 227.

This is also to be found in Baudouin's third

Calvin

[A] The eager Desire of being acquainted with the most famous Ministers. This is the only Fault, which the Roman Catholics could impute to Him; if we may believe his Elogist, *Papirus Masso*. I have carefully perused That Author, to discover whether Baudouin ever forsook the outward Profession of the Church of Rome. But I find nothing, which can persuade me of it; for His becoming acquainted with Calvin, and Bucer, to learn, from their own Mouths, the Reason of their Separation, is no Sign, that he was a Protestant. It was meer Curiosity, and, at the most, but a kind of Distrust, which signifies nothing, unless it be added, that, having heard the Reasons of These Reformers, he found them so good, that he came over to their Side. Now *Masso* is so far from saying this, that, on the contrary, he tells us, that Baudouin disapproved of their Reasons. "In Germaniam profectus à defensoribus novæ sectæ intelligere voluit, quas ob causas à Romana & veteri Ecclesia decessisset. — quorum opiniones Non Probans, Bucerum tamen & Melancthonem aiebat sibi ob modestiam placuisse: Calvinum displicuisse propter nimiam vindictæ & sanguinis si-

tim quam in eo deprehendisset (1). — He travelled into Germany, to learn from the Defenders of the New Sect, for what Reasons they had separated from the Roman and Ancient Church. — And, though he did not approve of their Notions, yet he commended Bucer for his Modesty, but was displeased, he said, with Calvin, for That Thirst after Revenge and Blood, which he discovered in him." He says, I confess, that there was, formerly, an Intimacy between Calvin and Baudouin (2). But does this imply, that the latter had been a Huguenot? May not the Reader imagine, that they were acquainted at College, before Calvin became The Head of a Party? You may tell me, that Chronology does not allow of This; I reply, that you are much to blame, if you desire to be understood only by Those, who are acquainted with the Nativities of several Persons, and will take The Trouble of arguing from Thence. Your Duty is to express Baudouin's Abjuration in such clear Terms, that any Reader may see it from your Book alone, without the Help of Memory, or Reflexion. I go yet further, and maintain, that Those very Persons, who should

Reply to Calvin, fol. B. 5.

(1) Papirus Masso, Elog. Parte II, p. 156. 157.

(2) Familias quondam sui. Ibid. p. 262.

(a) He is called likewise Bauduin, Baldwin, Baudoin. See the Cabal Chimerique, pag. 250, Edit. 2. He wrote himself, in French, Baudouin.

Calvin at Geneva, Bucer at Strasburg, and others in other places. Being returned to Paris, he was invited to Bourges, to be Professor of Civil-Law [B]; and he discharged This Office with so much Honour, that he made his Colleague Duaren jealous of him (e). At the end of Seven Years, he left That Professorship, to teach the Civil-Law at Tubingen (f), whither he was invited; but, being informed, in his Journey, that du Moulin designed to return to that University, he stopped at

(e) Ex P. p. v. Maffion. Flög. Par. II. p. 256, 257.

(f) Testi-
m. 6. 1. 1.
Id. 1. 1. 1.
Turi. 2. 1. 1.
V. 1. 1. 1.
drea. 1. 1. 1.

should remember, that Calvin was at the Head of a Sect, before Baudouin left the College, will not find any thing, which looks like an Abjuration, in the *familiaris quondam fui*; for, by explaining These Words by other Passages of Papyrus Maffo, They will fix upon this Sense of Them: Baudouin, having assured Calvin, that he sincerely enquired after the Truth, had several Conferences with him, in which his Wit, Docility, and Sagacity, so charmed Calvin, that He made a Friend of This Heretic, even before he was fully convinced of the Truth of his Doctrine. Their Intercourse continued a long time; for two Years are not too long for solving the Difficulties, which Baudouin might propose. Calvin, who hoped to gain over, and wished it passionately, cared him very much, and opened his Heart freely to him. At last This Prey escaped him: Baudouin, not finding all his Objections fully answered, would not embrace the new Doctrine. This is the Sense, which might be given to the Words of Papyrus Maffo. He should not, therefore, have expressed himself in a Manner, so apt to mislead the Reader.

Moreri is yet more to blame; for he cannot justify himself, by alledging the Privileges of an Elogist. He declares, by the Title of his Book, that he acts the Part of an Historian: he could not, therefore, allow himself the Liberty, which Maffo might pretend to, under the favourable Title of *Elogium Francisci Baudouin*. Maffo, intending to write the Elogy of a famous Civilian, might say, "I thought it allowable to disguise what is disadvantageous to the Memory of my Heroe." A bad Excuse, and a continual Source of Illusion, and Falshood! But, after all, it comes better from a Panegyrist, than an Historian. What shall we say, then, to Moreri, who contented himself with these Words; "He had the Curiosity to visit Calvin, and the other Heads of the Protestants. It is said also, that he was inclined to go over to their Party, but, that the reading of a Piece of George Cassander hindered him from it (3). He had contrasted a Friendship with Calvin, but it was of no long Continuance." So far from finding the Abjuration of Popery in these Words, it appears clearly from them, that Baudouin never abjured the Church of Rome. Where is then The Historical Sincerity, and Peripatuity, which require, that, if all other Books were burnt, the History alone of a Man should plainly inform every Reader whether he said, or did, such a thing? The Fault, which I censure, is, therefore, very great, if it be true, that Francis Baudouin changed his Religion: It will, therefore, appear enormous to Those, who know, that he changed his Religion at least seven times. Read the public Re-proof, which he received for it; it is not expressed in general Terms, but attended with Circumstances.

Ejectum te, Balduino, & excommunicatum ab omnibus piis, quicumque in Gallia aut Germania nomen tuum audierint, negare non potes. Septies his viginti annis religionem mutasti. Non sapius ferè serpentes pellem mutant. Educatus es apud tuos in Flandria Papisticè. Postèa Genève Christianam Religionem professus es: eoque nomine aliquoties ad corporis Christi communionem accessisti: Inde Lutetiam profectus Papisticum habitum recepisti. Mox Geneviam reversus, & in Calvini contubernio, mensa, familiaritate, menfes multos commoratus, iterum Evangelicè nominis factus es. Postèa Biturigibus ad Papisticam Idololatriam, tanquam canis ad vomitum, redisti. Inde Argentoratum profectus, Evangelicum te professus es: cum Petro Martyre vixisti. Cœnam Dominicam in Gallorum Ecclesiâ amplius decies participasti. Mox Heidelbergam delatus confessioni Gallicarum Ecclesiarum, sub qua paulo antè cœnam Dominicam duodecies sumpteras, hostis factus es, & Hefullianis te partibus dedisti. Tandem in Galliam reversus, quantum Papista factus es. Horum si quid falsum aut fictum sit, volo ut mihi oculos eruas:

aut, ut calumniatorum tuum supplicium imitemur, crura mihi suffragas (4). ----- You cannot deny, Baudouin, that All Good Men, either in France or Germany, who had heard of your Name, passed Sentence of Excommunication on you. In the Space of twenty Years last past, you have changed your Religion seven times. Serpents scarce oftener cast their Skins. You was educated a Papist, in Flanders, your Native Country. Afterwards, at Geneva, you made Profession of the Christian Religion; under which Name you sometimes partook of the Communion of the Body of CHRIST. From thence going to Paris, you turned Papist again; afterwards, returning to Geneva, and being many Months intimately acquainted with Calvin, you became once more an Evangelic. Some time after, at Bourges, you returned to Popery, as a Dog to his Vomit. From thence going to Strasburg, you professed yourself a Protestant; and conversed with Peter Martyr. You received the Sacrament more than ten Times in The French Church. Not long after, at Heidelberg, you declared War against the Confession of the Gallican Church, under which, but a little before, you had twelve times communicated, and went over to the Party of The Hefullians. At last, returning to France, you embraced Popery for the fourth Time. If This be not All true, I give you leave to pull out my Eyes, or (to imitate your own Punishment for Calumny) to break my Legs." These Words are taken from a long Letter, written to Baudouin, in the Year 1564. The same Computation had been already mentioned to him in the Year 1562, and with very curious Circumstances; for he was put in mind, I. That, having desired to be admitted to the Holy Sacrament in the French Church at Strasburg, he had made a long Declaration of his Faith in the Presence of the Assembly. II. That, during his Abode at Geneva, he had made some public Discourses on Matters of Religion. "Verbofissimam fidei tuæ confessionem publice in templo non infrequentius hominum conventu magna & confidenti voce pronuntiasses, ut ad sacræ Cœnæ & corporis Christi communionem recipereris ---- in publica (ut vocant) congregatione confesseque pastorem & doctorem hominum tanquam Saul inter Prophetas verba de rebus sacris faceres (5). ----- You had pronounced, with a loud and assured Tone of Voice, in a full Church, before a large Congregation, a very long Confession of your Faith, in order to be admitted to the Communion of the Eucharist. ----- You discoursed of divine Matters, like Saul among the Prophets, in a public Congregation (as they call it) and Assembly of Pastors and learned Men." I have read this in a Letter, which Francis Hofman is said to have been the Author of. Observe, that he is deceived in the Circumstance of Time; for he supposes, that Baudouin made his first Abjuration of Popery at Strasburg; This is false; he did it, there, the third time. The Protestants gave him the Surname of *Ecebolius*, to signify, that he changed his Religion as often as his Linnen; and they quarrelled so often with him for it, in their Writings, that no One can pretend Ignorance of it (6). See the second Volume of the Disputes of Voëtius, page 780.

[B] He was invited to Bourges, to be Professor of the Civil-Law.] We shall touch on a second Fault of The Writers, who speak of him; They scarce ever distinguish at what time he was provided with such, or such Offices. Mr Menage, who avoided This Fault, observes, that he was Professor of the Civil-Law, at Bourges, from 1549 to 1556 (he should have said, from 1548 to 1555), and that he received the Doctor's Cap, there, from the Hands of Eggenarius Baro (7). The Ceremony of This Reception was performed the twelfth of March 1549, as Mr Catherinot informs us (8). He adds, that, in the Year 1553, the Wages of Francis Duaren amounted to Nine hundred and twenty Livres, Those of our Baudouin to Three

(4) Antoni-
us Guerin-
us (lib. 1. 1.
called in Ri-
vetus, Tom
III, p. 112
col. 1, but
in the Epit.
tome of Gu-
ner, he is
called Gua-
meus, or
Cynarus.)
Epit. ad
Baldouinum
pag. 16, 2.
p. d. Rive-
rum, Oner.
Tom. III.
pag. 1127.
col. 1.

(5) Epit.
ad Franc.
Baldouinum
de Officio
tum in r-
gione, tum
in scriptio-
bus retine-
do. ----- C
keeping the
Duty, both
our Religion
and our Writ-
ings.

(6) See 1.
Book, sub:
Baza. 1.
against B.

(7) Men-
Remarks
the Life of
Peter A.
rauh, p. 1

(8) Cath-
rinot's Ca-
vanism 1.
Berry, p.

(3) C. 1. 1. 1.
Thomas. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1. 1.
CHAR-
PENTIER
(P. 1. 1. 1.)
and y. 1. 1. 1.
And a great
Alphab.

at *Straßburg*, where for a Year he read Civil Law Lectures. Afterwards he went to *Heidelberg*, where he was Professor of the Civil-Law and History near five Years, till he was sent for by *Anthony de Bourbon*, King of *Navarre* [C], who made him Tutor to his Bastard. He carried his Disciple to *Trent*, and, understanding,

Three hundred and fifty, and Those of *Hugh Demeu* to Two hundred and thirty. I observe This, to convict *Pappyrus Masso* of a Falshood, who says, that *Baudouin's* Wages were as good, as Those of his Colleagues. "Accerfitur à Biturgibus ad docendi munus suscipiendum, futurus Collega Baronis, & Duareni Jurisconsultorum, accepturique de publico honorarium QUANTUM illis daretur (9). ----- "He was invited, by the People of Bourges, to take upon him a Professorship, in conjunction with Baro and Duaren, Lawyers, upon a Promise of a Stipend equal to what his Colleagues received." I have shewn, elsewhere (10), that he is guilty of Another Falshood. Mr *Catherinet* remarks, under the Year 1549, That *Baudouin* was for some time suspected of Heresy, as having been a Disciple of John Calvin at Geneva and Commensal of Charles du Moulin, at Paris. He says also, that, in 1556, *Baudouin* wrote against *Duaren* about Benefices, and that *Duaren* called him, in Contempt, *Balbin*. See, continues he, his Picture, in a Letter of *Duaren*, of the thirteenth of June 1556. I give some Extracts of This Letter in another Place (11). Note, that, during his Stay at Bourges, he held a Correspondence with Calvin by Letters, and assured him, that he was a good Protestant in his Heart (12). He was upbraided with having suborned a rich Widow at Bourges (13), and having left That University, without taking Leave of his Landlord (14). I only mention these Things, that some Circumstances may be seen of the Profession, which our *Baudouin* exercised in the University of Bourges. Mr *Ménage* affirms, that, in 1556 (15), he made, there, the Funeral Oration of *Eguinarus Baro*, whose Enemy he had been, if we believe *Duaren* (16). "Duarenus tantum juvenis (Balduini) gloriam non ferens, nunquam se Balduino æquum præbuit (17). ----- Duaren was so jealous of young *Baudouin's* Reputation, that he never was a Friend to him." I shall farther observe, that the Date of his Call to the Professorship of Bourges discovers a Mistake of Mr *Bullart*. He says, that This learned Man was gone to Geneva, to bear, from the Mouth of Calvin and Beza, the Reason, which had obliged them to forsake the Church of Rome (18). He acknowledges, that This Journey preceded the Time, wherein *Baudouin* was made Professor at Bourges. He ought, then, to grant, that *Baudouin* made it before the Year 1549, and consequently, when *Beza* was not yet a fit Person to be consulted on Those Matters. It is certain, I. That *Beza* was yet a Papist, and at Paris, when *Baudouin* cried up Calvin's and Bucer's Letters in all Companies (19). II. That *Baudouin* was gone from Geneva, before *Beza* went thither (20). This supplies us with a strong Proof of the Falshood, contained in these Words of *Varillas* (21): "Calvin, who pretended to raise him by the same Ways, that *Beza* had gained Repute in the Party, invited him to Geneva, received him in his House, admitted him into the Intrigues of the Consistory, and made use of him several Years as a Secretary. But, whether *Baudouin's* Humour was extremely sickle, as the *Calvinists* reproached him afterwards, or that he discovered, that Calvinism was but a refined Hypocrisy, as he declared in a satirical Apology; he went from Geneva to Heidelberg." *Beza* was not yet of the Protestant Religion, when *Baudouin* received so many Marks of Friendship from Calvin. *Baudouin*, after he had received Them, did not go to Heidelberg, but returned into France, and was seven Years Professor at Bourges. I confess, that, after This, He went again to Calvin at Geneva (22), but he did not stay long there; he suffered a severe Reprimand there, and testified his Repentance; he went soon after to *Straßburg*, by Calvin's Advice, and did not teach the Civil-Law at Heidelberg, 'till after he had taught it at *Straßburg*. "Quum illa Bituricensis conditio eum gravaret (offensatio enim, quæ sola pollet, evanuerat, ut ipse & votis minime satisfaceret) non dubitavit huc se recipere: & quum undique liberis eum convitiis exagitarint, qui prius amice fuerant, humanitèr à me impetrata venia admittus fuit. Feci

"quidem quod necesse erat, ut severa oburgatione correctus lapsus sui fœditatem agnosceret. Serviliter assensus est, & adulatoriè meis se consiliis regendum permisit. Argentinum profectus nomen dedit apud Pastorem & Seniores Gallicanæ Ecclesiæ (23). ----- Being displeased with his Situation at Bourges, which by no means answered his vain glorious Expectations, he made no Scruple of retiring thither; and, notwithstanding the Reproaches, which, on all sides, were cast on him by Those, who had formerly been his Friends, I received him kindly. By a severe Reproof, which was necessary, I brought him to acknowledge the Foulness of his Apostacy. He servilely complied, and flatteringly gave himself up to be governed by my Advice. Yet, going to *Straßburg*, he went over to the Pastor and Elders of the Gallican Church." Thus you see how *Varillas* informed himself of Things, which he pretended to speak of.

[C] He was sent for by Anthony de Bourbon, King of Navarre] Some say, that he was, then, in Lorraine, in the Retinue of Prince Casimir, Son of Frederick, Count Palatine (24). Others, that he was returned into France, with the Heir of the Count Palatine, who came to compliment Charles IX, on his Accession to the Crown (25). But all this does not so much as touch upon the Intrigue, which *Beza* mentions. He says, that, after the Death of Francis II, They, who feared to lose their Authority, in the Court of France, endeavoured chiefly to induce the King of Navarre to return back to the Romish Communion (26). They engaged him to send an Ambassador to the Court of Rome, in hopes either to recover his Kingdom, or to obtain Another from the Catholic King, by the Pope's good Offices. On the other hand, They gave him Hopes, by suborn'd Persons, that The Protestants of Germany might unite in his Favour, and assist him in recovering the Crown of Navarre; especially, if means could be found out to reconcile the Religions. They mentioned a Professor of Heidelberg to him, whose Name was *Baudouin*, who was a fit Person to negotiate such Matters. He sent for him into France; he conferred with him; and, judging him fit to find out the means of An Agreement in Religion, he set him to work; and, after some rough Draughts, prepared at Paris, he sent him back into Germany, and charged him, by Name, to consult with *Cassander*. This Intrigue, designed to break off the Conference of Poissy, did not effect it. The Ministers had already assembled there twice, when *Baudouin* returned with a Project of Union, printed at Basil (27). He was reprimanded for returning too late: He found, that the Bishop of Valencia, who had promised him a Professorship of Civil-Law, had changed his Mind. All, that he could obtain, was to be Preceptor to the King of Navarre's natural Son. He went to Paris, and gained Esteem by his Lectures, in which he joined Civil-Law with History; but he lost his Reputation on the Publication of the Book against the Treaty for a Reconciliation of Religions, which he had brought from Germany. He undertook to write against Calvin, in his own Defence; the Consequences of which we shall see below.

Varillas may be said, in the main, to confirm this Account of *Beza*. He says, that "Baudouin went from Geneva to Heidelberg, where he was Professor of the Civil-Law; 'till, *Cassander* having inspired him with the Desire of re-uniting all Religions, he thought it best to begin with France, where he expected to find the least Opposition. He came to Paris, where he communicated, to the Cardinal of Lorraine, the famous Consultation, which the same *Cassander* had drawn up for the Execution of his Project. The Cardinal received it with so much the more Joy, as he foresaw, that, though it should not produce all the Effect, which it's Author expected, yet it would, at least, set the Protestants at Variance, and divide the Ministers of the Assembly of Poissy, by the Overtures of Agreement, which it would suggest to the most moderate among them (28)." *Varillas* had said just be-

(23) Calvin, Rep. ad Balduin, pag. 368. Theol.

(24) Valer. Bibl. Belg. pag. 222. which agrees with Baudouin's Narrative, in his third Answer, fol. 91.

(25) Ménage, Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, pag. 157.

(26) Theod. Beza ad Francis Balduini Ecclesii Convicia Respons. init. pag. 201, &c. Tom. II. Oper.

(27) There is neither the Place of Impression, nor the Printer's Name, inserted in it. Beza ibid. pag. 202.

(28) Varillas's Hist. of Charles IX. Vol. I. pag. 9c. Edit. of Holland. See also Thuanus, lib. 28. pag. 567.

(9) Pappyr. Masso. Elog. Part II. pag. 227. You will find the Jam. Fault in Bullart, Acad. des Sciences, Tom. I. pag. 228.

(10) In the Article DUAREN.

(11) In the Remark [I] of the Article DUAREN.

(12) See Beza's Answer to Baudouin, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 213. 214.

(13) Beza, ib. pag. 214.

(14) Id. ib. pag. 213.

(15) He should have said 1550. See the Article DUAREN, Remark [E].

(16) Ménage, ubi supra.

(17) Pappyr. Masso, ubi supra.

(18) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. I. pag. 228. The same Fault is in the Theatrum of Ghillini, Tom. II. pag. 83.

(19) Beza Respons. ad Balduin, pag. 206. Oper. Tom. II. Note, that *Baudouin* says, in his third Answer, fol. 80, verso, that This belongs to the Year 1546.

(20) Beza in. ibid. fol. 83, verso.

(21) Varill. Hist. of Charles IX. Tom. I. pag. 89. Edit. of Holland, 1686.

(22) Beza Rep. ad Balduin. Oper. Tom. II. pag. 213.

(g) Valer. Andrea, Bibl. Belg. pag. 227, 222.

standing, that *Anthony* was dead of a Wound, which he had received at the Siege of *Rouen*, he returned with his Pupil into *France*, and found his Estate and his Books plundered (g). He returned to his own Country, whither he was invited, to teach the Civil-Law in the University of *Doüy* [D]. He was promised great Advantages,

fore, that, by this means, *Baudouin* became Preceptor to the King of *Navarre's* natural Son. He tells us, afterwards, how the Ministers got "clear of the "Difficulties, which *Baudouin* had thrown in their "Way. But, continues he (29), They would not have disentangled themselves so easily from *Baudouin's* second Difficulty, if Fortune had not favoured them. He had persuaded the Cardinal of *Lorraine* to send for the most famous Lutheran Professors of the *Palatinate*, and the Dutchy of *Wirttemberg*, to introduce them into the Conference, where, he was sure, they would be more zealous against the *Calvinists*, than against the *Catholics*; and that, by this means, besides the Pleasure of setting the Heretics together by the Ears, their Quarrels would make them ridiculous to the Court, where their Doctrine was before admired; and the People, who thought them uniform, understanding, that they had quarrelled among themselves, would so suddenly change the Esteem they had for them into Contempt, that no *Frenchman* would leave the Communion of the Church for the future. It must be confessed, that the *Catholics* never received more wholesome Advice, than This of *Baudouin*; and, if it had been put in practice with as much Diligence, as was requisite in so delicate an Intrigue, all the Evils, which the Conference of *Poissy* produced, afterwards, would have been prevented. And, indeed, the Ministers, who were not ignorant of their Adversaries most private Maxims, having discovered what *Baudouin* had proposed to their Disadvantage, were transported against him with all the Excess of Passion, which Indignation, Spite, Jealousy, and Fury, can inspire, when animated by a false Zeal, and hidden under so specious a Cover."

Note, That *Varillas* is mistaken, when he says, that *Baudouin* carried *Cassander's* Consultation to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*: For it was not made 'till three Years after (30). I shall give, below (31), the Title of The Work, which he carried, and shall observe (32), that he was employed to mediate an Ecclesiastical Agreement with the Prince of *Condé*.

[D] He was invited, to teach the Civil-Law in the University of *Doüy*.] The Marquis de *Bergue*, and several other great Lords of the *Netherlands*, engaged *Maximilian de Bergue*, Archbishop of *Cambray*, to manage matters so, that This Professorship of Civil-Law might be procured for *Baudouin*. They desired to make use of his Advice in Matters of State and Religion (33); for they knew his Opinion was, that the Laws against the Sectaries ought to be mitigated (34). "Nam *Baldouin* in ea erat sententia, ut veterem Edictorum severitatem leniendam profecturum, asserimaretque, retinere ea ratione Ecclesiam auctoritatem neque veteres consuevit, neque iis, quæ tunc erant, temporibus, posse (35). — For *Baudouin* was of such an Opinion, as to declare, that the ancient Severity of the Edicts ought to be mitigated, and to affirm, that Our Ancestors neither did, nor could, in those Times, support the Authority of the Church by such means." So that there is reason to believe, that he returned to *Paris*, because he would not be engaged, by the Duke of *Alba*, in the cruel Proceedings then in agitation. "Ac ne forte quæstor reis datus capitalibus sententiis provincialium suorum subscribere cogetur (36). — And last, by being appointed to enquire into the Guilt of the Accused, he should be obliged to join with those of his own Province, in pronouncing Sentence of Death on Them." The Male-contents of the *Netherlands* promised themselves great Things from his Counsels, since, besides the Principles, which I have already mentioned, he was a Person of great Address, and perfectly knew the World: "Ut in Belgium venit, magnam sui expectationem omnibus fecit. Solers animo, obsequendi gratia, & civilis congressus, nec minus officii comitate, ad ingenuum principum vitam instruxerat. Nec enim novorum hominum deliramenta sectabatur, & rursus in reititione serupulum oderat. Humanitque credebatur, iniquitatis temporum cedere, pietatisque integra-

tem in paucis violare, quam vim adferre turbatis conscientias, quas in contaminatis hominibus nulla unquam supplicia eluunt (37). — Upon his Arrival in the Netherlands, great Expectations were raised of him. He was a compleat Courtier; he never gave into the Follies of Upstarts; nor was a Bigot to Religion. Besides which, he thought it more becoming a Man to give way a little to the Iniquity of the Times, and rather to recede from the strict Laws of Piety in a few Instances, than to offer Violence to disturbed Consciences, which, in Persons infected with them, no Punishment can ever wash out." The Author, whom I quote, had observed, that *Baudouin* had been very well known to *Lewis of Nassau*, at *Heidelberg*. The third Apology of This Civilian informs us, that the Prince of *Nassau*, who had been his Auditor at *Strasbourg*, had lately cared him much in the *Netherlands* (38). Let us add to this, that he was esteemed by *William*, Prince of *Orange*. "Francisco Baldouin, jurisconsulto egregio, pacis Ecclesiasticæ studio, magni facti à Principe Arausfortensi Wilhelmo, aliisque Belgarum proceribus, qui & opera ejus usi sunt, cur credi non debeat, nihil caute est (39). — I see no reason, why we should not give Credit to Francis Baudouin, an excellent Civilian, who studied the Peace of the Church, and was highly esteemed by William, Prince of Orange, and others of the Nobility in the Low-Countries." It is *Grotius*, who says this, and who affirms, that That Prince, and other great Lords of the *Netherlands*, consulted *Baudouin*. It was in their first Proceedings against *Spain*. He was present in the first Assemblies of *Breda*; and they employed him to draw up the Writing, in which they demanded, of the Dukes of *Parma*, the free Exercise of their Religion. He shewed, that Religion cannot subsist without an Outward Exercise, and that it requires This, as a necessary Support, and Nourishment (40). The Author, who informs me of this, observes, that *Baudouin* had been recalled from his Exile, by the Archbishop of *Arras*. *Ab exilio per Archiepiscopum Arrebatensium (it should be Atrebatensem) revocatus* (41). To understand This, The Reader must know, that, finding himself accused of Heresy, he left his Country, and that, after his Flight, a Sentence of Proscription was pronounced against him (42). It was revoked, when they recalled him, in order to consult with him on the State of Affairs in the *Netherlands*. Note, that the Author, who speaks of the Archbishop of *Arras*, does not relate the Thing, as he ought: The Chronicle of *John Francis le Petit*, to which he refers, will tell us the Circumstances of it better: "Francis Baudouin — having before been banished from *Arras* for his Religion, was sent for by the said Lord, Prince of *Orange*, from *France*, to consult him on the Difficulties, which then occurred; who, after his Banishment, was revoked by the Chamber of *Artois*, at the Instance of the Archbishop of *Cambray*, went to the said Prince, in the City of *Brussels*; where, having conferred with him, and the other above-mentioned Lords, he drew up a Discourse, in the Form of a Proposal, concerning the Then Religious Troubles, which was sent to the King of *Spain*, directed to his own Person, wherein are contained the true Means of preventing all Insurrections, and extirpating Sects, and Heresies (43)." This Discourse is preserved entire, in the Chronicle of *John Francis le Petit*. It is solid, and very judicious. This Chronicle says, that "Baudouin luckily hit upon the true Remedy of the Troubles, which the King, and his Council, might, of late, have known to be so."

Let us remark, by the way, that the Writers, who speak of him, are in the wrong to say, that from the *Netherlands* he went to *Paris*. They should have said, that he did not go to *Paris*, till he had fled to *Geneva*, where he embraced the Protestant Religion (44). He boasted, that, for the Profession of the Gospel, he had suffered Exile, and the loss of all he had; but some affirm, that his Mother sent him all that he could pretend to of his Patrimo-

(37) Nicol. Bergun. lib. 2. fol. 67.

(38) Baudouin. in Relpon. ad Calvin. fol. 88, verso. It was printed in the Year 1594.

(39) Grotius in Rectoris Apologiam Dilectissimi, pag. 23.

(40) John Grevius, Epist. ad Bernhard. Brantium. It is the Epistole Eclesiasticæ & Theologicæ in Edit. of Amst. 1672. He quotes John Petit Tom. 1.

(41) Id.

(42) See Nicolas Baudouin, supra, p. 6.

(43) John Francis le Petit, Recorder of *Artois*, in his Great Chronicle of the *Netherlands*, To II. pag. 7. Edit. of Dretcht, 1610.

(44) See Words of Antonius Guarini, above, Ch. 4.

(30) See Sponanous, ad Ann. 1564. n. 27.

(31) In Remarq. [H].

(32) In Remarq. [M].

(33) Valer. Andrea, Bibl. Belg. pag. 222.

(34) Id. ib.

(35) Id. ib.

(36) Papet. Mado. Log. Part. II. pag. 229.

Advantages, and was very courteously received by the Duke of *Alba*, on the Eve of That Day that Count *Egmont* was imprisoned: but, fearing to be chosen one of the Judges of Those Persons, whom they had a mind to put to Death, he desired leave to be absent for some Days, under pretence of fetching his Wife, and his Library; and, having obtained it, he returned to *Paris*, where he stayed. He read there public Lectures on some Parts of the *Pandeſts*, with the Applause of a Crowd of Auditors (b). He accepted the Professorship of Civil-Law, which was offered him by the University of *Bezanſon*; but, understanding at his coming there, that the Emperor *Maximilian* had forbid That University to erect This Professorship, he would read no Lectures there, though he was solicited to do it. He returned to *Paris*, where he followed the Advice of *Philip de Hurault* (i), which was, to teach the Civil-Law in the University of *Angers*. This He did near four Years, and till the Duke of *Anjou*, who was proclaimed King of *Poland*, sent for him to *Paris*, at the time, when the *Polish* Embassy was received there [E] (k). He was designed for the Professorship of Civil-Law in the University of

(b) *See Remark [K].*

(i) *The Duke of Anjou's Chancellor.*

(k) *Taken from Papyrius Masso, ubi supra, pag. 258, & seq.*

Cracow

ny. "Fortunis exutum fuisse negant contreranei & familiares: quia extra Cæsaris ditionem à matre & coheredibus permiffum fuit sumere quantum ex hæreditate, si integra fuisset ejus conditio, pervenire ad eum poterat: ut ne quidem assis iacturam fecerit. Et aliquando coram homini gratulatus sum, quod tam facile recuperasset, quod sibi credidat perissile (45). ----- His Countrymen and Acquaintance deny, that he was stripped of his Fortunes; since, when he was out of the Emperor's Power, his Mother, and Co-heirs, allowed him to take as much of his Patrimony as he could have claimed, bad it remained entire; so that he did not lose a single Farthing: And I myself have personally congratulated him upon the easy Recovery of what he looked upon as lost." Observe, pray, a want of Exactness in *Papyrius Masso*. He says nothing of the Journey, which our *Baudouin* took into the Netherlands, at the Solicitation of the great Lords, who would remedy the Disorders, which The too great Severity of the Penal Laws, against the Sectaries, produced daily. He speaks only of a Journey taken, during the Government of the Duke of *Alba*. This is to forget the principal Thing, and to reduce the Affair to but a small part of it. What I have quoted from *Valerius Andreas*, *Nicolas Burgundius*, and several others, and which is a very considerable Part of *Baudouin's* Life, ought to be referred to the Year 1564, under the Government of the Duchess of *Parma*. It was in That Year, that *Cassander* and *Baudouin* were consulted by the Malecontents. The one, viz. *Cassander*, was named by the Count de *Horn*, and the other by Count *Lewis of Nassau* (46). It was believed, that These two Men were capable of accommodating the Differences of Religion. The Prince of *Orange* promised great things to *Francis Baudouin*, and not only designed to procure him a Professorship of Civil-Law, in the University of *Louvain*, or in That of *Duëny*, but also a Seat in the Privy-Council. *Baudouin*, returning into *France*, with a Promise to come back again into the Netherlands, at a proper Time, received many Presents from That Prince. Count *Lewis of Nassau* pressed him several times to keep his Word, and endeavoured to dazzle him with the Splendor of Dignities: *Imminetium Honorum blanditiis allicere* (47). But *Baudouin* thought he should not find his Account in the Business he had promised to undertake; all his Friends advised him not to concern himself in it, and he was in hopes of a better Reward for the Pains he took to reconcile the *Bourbons* with the *Guises* (48). These are Particulars, which deserved to have been touched upon by *Papyrius Masso*; and yet he has not said a Word of them; but, instead thereof, tells us, That the *Spaniards* offered him the Professorship of Civil-Law, in the University of *Duëny*; that They promised him a yearly Pension of Six thousand Florins, and a share of Fifty thousand Florins, in the Confiscation of the Estates of Those, who should be proscribed; and that The Duke of *Alba* received him civilly, &c. It would appear very strange, that the *Spaniards* should honour a Man in this manner, who had favoured the Prince of *Orange's* Designs, if we did not remember *Baudouin's* Inconstancy, I mean, his extreme Readiness at changing Sides. The Historian, whom I quote, having mentioned a fine Discourse of the Prince of *Orange*, adds, that it was the Fruit of *Baudouin's* Conversations. "Nemini mirum videri debet, tan-

tam in illo principe eluxisse cognitionem Philosphie; ex *Baldouini* colloquiis hauserat (49). ----- "No One ought to think it strange, that This Prince discovered so great a Knowledge of Philosophy; he acquired it by conversing with *Boudouin*."

I shall observe, in another Place (50), what he did in relation to the Massacre of *Paris*.

[E] *The Duke of Anjou* ----- sent for him to *Paris*, at the time, when the *Polish* Embassy was received there.] *Baudouin* was This Prince's Master of the Requests (51): He gained the Favour of the *Polish* Embassadors, by conversing with Them, and published a Discourse de *Legatione Polonica*, dedicated to *John Zamorski* (52); it is thought he would have gone into *Poland*, the Spring following, if he had not died. This is all that *Papyrius Masso* tells us of the Matter. Let us, therefore, look upon most of what is related by Mr *Bullart*, as fabulous Hyperboles. "It was, says he (53), during *Baudouin's* Abode at *Angers*, that the *Polish* Lords, who came to offer Their Crown to *Henry, Duke of Anjou*, arrived in *France*. A Person of Ability was wanting, to receive This sumptuous Embassy, and to answer it. It was a material Point to return Thanks for This Offer, without depressing the Royal Dignity that was offered: It was requisite to speak both like a King, and a grateful Man. No Person in *France* was found better qualified to undertake this, than the prudent BAUDOUIN. The Duke of *Anjou* having sent for him to *Paris*, This great Man appeared in the Halls of the *Louvre* among the chief Persons of the State: He was Interpreter to That famous Embassy: He was no less applauded for the Excellency of his Answer, than the famous *Zamorski* for That of his Speech; and he made himself so considerable to Those Illustrious Embassadors, that it was resolved to send him into *Poland* to settle That Crown on the Head of the new King, and to dispose That Nation to receive him; but his last Sickness, which seized him at the same time, deprived him of That Honour, and the Duke of *Anjou* of the Hopes he had of re-establishing the Unity of *Cracow* by his Means." Nothing could happen more glorious, than This, to a Professor of *Angers*: How comes it then, that one of his best Friends does not mention it, in the Elogy, which He consecrated to him? No good reason can be assigned for it, unless we say, that it is false; for it is against all probability, that he should be ignorant of such a thing, if it really happened. Writers of Elogies may be permitted to make use of a more figurative, and flattering, Language, than Historians; but neither Lying, nor Amplifications, such as change the Nature of an Adventure, ought any more to be allowed Them, than Historians; so that it may be said, that Mr *Bullart* is guilty of an inexcusable Excess. *Thuanus*, who has exactly related what concerned the *Polish* Embassadors, their Speeches, and the Answers, which were made to them, says nothing of our *Baudouin* (54). It is always the Bishop of *Posnania*, who speaks, and a Chancellor, who answers him: *Birague*, Chancellor of *France*, replied, when They harangued Charles IX. *Cbiaverni*, Chancellor of the Duke of *Anjou*, returned an Answer, when They harangued This Duke, and when They read to him the Act of his Election. If any other speaks besides, it is, *Nicolas Christopher Radzievili*, on the *Polish* Side (55), and *Paul de Foix*, for

(42) *Nicolas Burgund.* Hist. Belg. pag. 131. ad Ann. 1564.

(50) *In the Article CHARPENTIER (PATER).*

(51) *Menag. Remarks on the Life of P. Ayrault.* pag. 185.

(52) *He was one of the Polish Ambassadors.*

(53) *Bullart. Acad. des Sciences.* pag. 229.

(54) *Thuan.* lib. 57. init.

(55) *Id. ib.* pag. 47.

Charles

(45) *Calvin. Respons. sub fin. p. 370. Tractatum Theolog.*

(46) *Brother of William, Prince of Orange.*

(47) *Nicolas Burgund. ubi supra, pag. 68.*

(48) *Taken from Nicolas Burgund. pag. 67, 68.*

(1) Thuanus. lib. 57. pag. 47.

(m) Papyr. Masso, Elog. Part II. pag. 261.

(n) See Remark [A].

Cracow (1), and it is thought he would have followed the new King into That Country, if Death hath not prevented him. He died in the Arms of his only Daughter [F], in the College of Arras, at Paris, the Twenty fourth of October, 1573 (m) [G]. This is the Sum of what Papyrius Masso, Valerius Andreas, Aubertus Miræus, Bullart, and several others, relate of him. It is very strange, that they should so boldly suppress all that relates to his changing of his Religion (n). One can hardly infer from their Narratives, that he lived once in the Protestant Communion. Moreri has, either through Ignorance, or Dissimulation, omitted the same Things. But, in requital, he enlarges on the Quarrel between Calvin and Baudouin. It was a very sharp one [H]. Beza came into it with a little too much

(56) Id. ib. pag. 49.

Charles IX (56). My Remark would be of less weight, if Thuanus had made no manner of mention either of Zamoski, or Baudouin. But we find, that he speaks of them both; and after this Manner: He says, That Speech of Zamoski was printed; but that it was not known, whether it had been spoken; *In eandem rem edita, an habita sit incertum, Oratio luculenta a Joanne Zario Zamoscio* (57); and he adds, that Baudouin caused another Speech to be printed, addressed to Zamoski. Is not This plainly giving us to understand, that Baudouin was not chosen to interpret That Poland's Speech, and to answer it in the Presence of the whole Court? What can be stronger against Mr Bullart's Narrative?

(57) Id. ib. pag. 47. Note, that the Pages are very ill marked here in Thuanus, Edit. of Francfort, 1625.

[F] He died in the Arms of his only Daughter.] Her Name was Catherine. She was twice married; "her first Husband was John de Sauzay, Sieur de Sainte Ouanne, in Poitou; and her second Husband was Adam le Changeur, Sieur du Coteau, in Berri (58)." She was born at Heidelberg (59). Her Mother's Name was Catherine Biton; and was of Bourges. She was the Widow of Philip Labbé, Great Grand-father of Father Labbé a Jesuit, when she married Baudouin (60). She had some Children by her first Husband, who, with their Grand-mother, were ruined by their Step-father, as Calvin relates it.

(58) Menag. Remarks on the Life of Ayroult, pag. 158.

(59) Papyr. Masso, Elog. pag. 261.

(60) Menag. ibid.

(61) Calvin. Tractat. Theolog. pag. 370.

"Ipsum minime sospicandum esse clamant Bituriges, qui suos privigos, simul cum eorum avia, spoliaverit (61). — The Inhabitants of Bourges cry out, that he had but little Affection for his Children-in-law, having ruined them, together with their Grand-mother." Our Civilian was more desirous to leave a Daughter behind him, than a Son, because he feared Cicero's Destiny, whose Son inherited nothing of his Father's Eloquence. *Percontanti mihi malletne filium, quam filium habere, minime (62) inquit, Roma enim Ciceronis filium non agnoscebat loquentem* (63).

(62) It should be minime makes a contrary Sense to Maso's meaning.

(63) Papyr. Masso, Elog. Part II. pag. 261, 262.

[G] He died the Twenty fourth of October 1573.] And not the eleventh of November 1572, as Valerius Andreas says. Thuanus places his Death on the eleventh of November 1573; Mr Menage on the Twenty fourth of October 1574; and yet he makes him but Fifty three Years, nine Months, and Twenty four Days, old, though he had placed his Birth on the first of January 1520. These two Faults proceeded from la Croix du Maine.

(64) In Remark [C].

[H] The Quarrel between Calvin and Baudouin was very sharp.] I mentioned the Origin of it (64), when I said, that Francis Baudouin dispersed a little Book concerning a Re-union of Religions, whilst the Conference of Poissy was held. It was an anonymous Latin Discourse, composed by Cassander, and intitled, *De officio pii ac publice tranquillitatis vere amanti viri in hoc religionis dissidio*. When it was known at Geneva, that Baudouin designed to prejudice the Reformed by This little Book, it was thought proper to lay him open to the Public. For which reason, Calvin, in refuting This Piece, which he imputed to Baudouin, lashed him severely. His Refutation is intitled, "Responsio ad versipellum quendam mediatorum, qui pacificandi specie rectum Evangelium cursum in Gallia abruptere molitus est. — An Answer to a certain turn-coat Mediator, who has endeavoured to break off the right Course of the Gospel in France." It is in the Volume of Calvin's Opuscula, pag. 351, and the following. Baudouin defended himself, by publishing a Work, for which he had obtained a Licence in the Year 1557: he revised it, and added an Appendix to it (65). In a word, it was His *Ad leges de famosis libellis & de calumniaribus commentarius*, printed, at Paris, by Jacques Maitre, in the Year 1562, in 4to. Calvin's Reply appeared in the Field soon after with a

(65) See Remark [A] to Baudouin, pag. 262, 269; and Calvin's Answer to Baudouin, ibid.

strong Reinforcement (66); for it was accompanied with several Pieces composed by good Pens; besides which, They published The Letters, which This Deserter had written at several times to Calvin. "Respondit quoque Joannes Crispinus ejus contreraneus, & perpetuus, quoad ejus fieri potuit, amicus. Ad-juncta sunt quorundam infignium virorum scripta, quibus perpetua istius improbitas, summa impudentia, & extrema infestia ita manifestè redarguitur, ut ne nunc quidem possit ignorantiam suam diffiniri. Additæ sunt denique ipsius literæ variis temporibus ad Calvinum scriptæ, ut horrenda illa defectio, ipsius apostatæ testimonio, apud omnes bonos sanciretur (67). — Johannes Crispinus, likewise, his Countryman, and, as far as he could be so, his Friend, answered him. There were added, likewise, Pieces by some of the best Hands, in which his perpetual Dishonesty, consummate Impudence, and extreme Ignorance, are undeniably proved. Lastly there were added His Letters, written at different Times to Calvin, as a Satisfaction to all good Men of his horrid Apostacy." The Nature of this Collection will be more exactly known, if I give the Title of it here; which is This: "Joannis Calvinii responsio ad Balduini convicia. Ad leges de transugis, desertoribus & emanoribus, Francisci Balduini epistolæ quædam ad Joannem Calvinum pro Commentariis. Francisci Duareni J. C. ad alterum quendam Jurific. epistola, de Francisco Balduino. Antonii Contii J. C. admonitio de falsis Constantini legibus, ad quendam, qui se hoc tempore Jurisconsultum Christianum profectetur. De officio tum in Religione, tum in Inscriptionibus, retinendo, epistola ad Franciscum Balduinum Jurisconsultum. Ad legem III. C. Imp. de Apostatis, Joannis Crispini Commentarius ad Jurisconsultos. — John Calvin's Reply to the Calumnies of Baudouin. Some Epistles of Francis Baudouin to John Calvin, by way of Commentaries on the Laws relating to Desertors, and Vagabonds. An Epistle of Francis Duarens J. C. to another Civilian, concerning Francis Baudouin. An Advertisement of Anthony Contius J. C. concerning the Spurious Laws of Constantine, to one, who, at this time, professes himself a Christian Lawyer. Of the Duty, to be observed, both in Religion, and Writings, An Epistle to Francis Baudouin, the Civilian. The Commentary of Joannes Crispinus on the III. C. Imperial Law, concerning Apostates, addressed to the Civilian." This Collection, containing an Hundred and seventeen Pages, was printed in the Year 1562, in 4to. Baudouin composed a second Answer, which was printed at Paris, and at Cologne, in the Year 1562. Calvin, not thinking fit to refute it, published a Piece, of but One Page, wherein he informed the Public, that he would Answer This Adversary no more (68). It is there, that he reproaches him with having violated the Laws of Hospitality, by stealing some Papers, which might be of Service to him in his perfidious Attempts. "Antequam respondeo, says he (69), monendi sunt lectores nihil hac monedula esse furacius, ut hac parte fratrem suum patruelum Antonium Balduinum superet, cui ob surandi solertiam, cognomen Ablativi à condiculis inditum fuit. Tanta fuit mea erga ipsum facilitas, ut quicquid erat in bibliotheca mea chartarum liberè, me absente, excussisset. Subripuisse quæ in rem suam fore putabat, non aliunde petenda est luculentior probatio, quam ex ejus scripto, in quo se bellè prodidit. Certe fides ejus & hospitalitas hic deprehenditur (70). — Before I reply, I must inform the Reader, that nothing is more pifering, than this Jackdaw, in which respect he exceeds his paternal Uncle, Anthony Baudouin,

(66) *Entita led, Responsio ad Balduini Convicia* I is in the same Volume pag. 355, & seq.

(67) Beza ibid. p. 202.

(68) It is wrong place in the Edition of his Opuscula; for it is before the second Piece which he published against Baudouin, tho it was written after it.

(69) Calvin in France Respondit Theodori Eusebii ad Balduini convicia, p. 20 Oper. To II.

(70) See V. let. Andre Bibl. Belg. pag. 214.

much bitterness, even in the Opinion of several of his own Party [I]. It cannot be denied, that Baudouin was of a very inconstant, and fantastical, Humour. He

"doin, who, for his cunning in thieving, was nicknamed by his School-fellows The Ablative. He had such easy access to me, that, in my Absence, he had the Liberty of turning over all the Papers in my Library. That he pilfered what might be of Use to him, is evident from his Writings, in which he has finely betrayed himself. Here his Fidelity, and Obedience of the Laws of Hospitality, plainly appear." Beza supplied his Place, and replied to Baudouin's second Piece, who speedily published a third Apology against them. It appeared in the Year 1564, and the Title of it is, "Pro Fr. Balduino responsio ad Calvinum & Bezam, cum refutatione Calvini de scriptura & traditione (71). -----

"An Apology for Francis Baudouin, and a Confutation of Calvin concerning Scripture and Tradition." The Preface, which Baudouin composed on Optatus, in the Year 1563, may be counted for the fourth Piece. It was translated out of Latin into French by Peter Veil, who prefixed it to his French Translation of Optatus, printed at Paris, in the Year 1564. This Account affords us Matter for Censuring a Protestant Writer. He mentions the Intrigues relating to the Writing of *Cassander*, and adds, that Baudouin, not having been called by the Catholics, nor by the Reformed, to the Conference of Poissy, discharged all his Spleen against the Ministers, and published some Libels against Calvin, and Beza, and that They answered him. *Publicis scriptis infestatus est Calvinum & Bezam, qui edito responso ad illius probra respondent, & illum mendacis, perfidæ, atque impietatis reum esse infinitum demonstrare* (72). This is to declare him the Aggressor; which is false: So that This Author is not as faithful, and exact, as he should have been.

[I] Beza came into it with a little too much bitterness, even in the Opinion of several of his own Party.] The Piece, which he published concerning it, is in the second Volume of his Works (73). Here is a small Extract of the Letter, which *Sainte Aldegonde* wrote to him in the Year 1566. "Statueram præterea certiores facere te quàm hic finisrè plerique interpretentur libellos isthuc ultro citroque tum in Balduinum tum in Heshufum scriptos, ex eoque homines malevolos gravem Evangelicæ veritati conciliare invidiam. Sed quoniam auidi te harum rerum ab aliis esse factum certiores, volui ab hoc argumento superfedere. Rogo tamen, observande in Christo parens, ut vel in harum regionum gratiam, in quibus non modo cum hypocritis eo nomine nobis est colluctandum, verumetiam ab apertis hostibus gravia multa perpetienda, (qui suam tyrannidem in contentiones nostras derivant) non graves stylium quàm modestissimè in Evangelicæ veritatis Apostatas ac adversarios temperare. Non quidem quod parcendum illis censeam, qui nullum non lapidem movent, quò nos in invidiam graviores vocent, sed ne (dum illis pro merito respondeatur) quod suis illi vanissimis erga nos maledictis atque calumniis nequeunt consequi) nempe ut Evangelii lucem obruant, ejusque sectatores apertis veritatis hostibus exarnificandis tradant) id ipsum nostris, etsi justissimis ac verissimis, non tamen, ut plerique existimant, Evangelica mansuetudine dignis, vel accusationibus, vel responsionibus, adeptos se esse gloriantur. Id si feceris, uti omnino statuisse te audio, & nos magna invidia levaris, & illis ipsis perfidis Apostatis turpem maledicentiæ notam innotum reliqueris. Itaque ut facias, vehementer hic omnes Evangelii studiosi (qui te plerique ut parentem amant & colunt, reverenturque ut Præceptorem) etiam atque etiam te rogant (74). —

"I had determined likewise to have informed you of the Misconstructions, which several here put upon the Pieces written on both Sides, both against Baudouin, and Heshufius, and that ill-disposed Persons excused from hence a Prejudice against The Gospel-Truth. But, bearing, that you are already acquainted with it, I thought I might be dispensed with from entering upon this Subject. Yet, O venerable Father in CHRIST, I intreat you, for the Sake of This Country, in which we are, not only necessitated to contend with Hypocrites, as such, but have many Evils to suffer from professed Enemies, who impute their own Tyranny to Our Divisions, that you would be pleased to temper the Keen-

ness of your Style, and write with as much Moderation, as possible, against Apostates, and the Enemies of the Christian Faith. Not that I think they deserve to be spared, who leave no Stone unturned to increase the Odium against us; but least, by answering them as They deserve, we should give them an Opportunity of boasting to have obtained That, by Our Accusations, or Answers (which, though ever so just, and true, are, by many, thought not worthy of the Gospel Mildness) which They cannot effect by their ill-grounded Calumnies and Reproaches; I mean, The Extinction of the Gospel-Light, and The Persecution of its Followers by the avowed Enemies of Truth. If you do This, as I hear you have determined to do, you will both free us from a great Odium, and leave the shameful Brand of Calumny on These perfidious Apostates. This All, who are Lovers of the Gospel, here, most earnestly intreat of you, whom They Love and Honour as a Father, and revere as a Teacher." It appears from these Words, I. That other Person had already informed Beza of the Prejudice, which the passionate Writings, that had appeared against Baudouin, did to the Reformed. Ill-disposed Persons took an Occasion from them to render the Reformation odious. II. That he was most humbly desired, for the future, to take off the Edge of his too sharp Pen, if it were only in Favour of the Reformed of the Netherlands, who had, on this Occasion, not only the Hypocrites (75), but also declared and violent Enemies, to deal with. III. That it was to be feared, that True and most just Answers, but void of Christian Meekness, would accomplish That, which The Impudence of Calumniators endeavoured in vain to effect, viz. That The Light of Truth should be extinguished, and its Professors suffer a cruel Persecution. IV. That, if Beza condescended to This Advice, as it was said he was resolved to do, he would free the Church of Christ from a great Odium, and the Apostates would remain branded with Calumny. He answered *Sainte Aldegonde*, That, if He alone had been abused, he should no more have been moved at it, than if he had heard a Dog bark in the Indies: But, Religion being concerned in it, he thought he was obliged to treat The Infamous Apostate, who had calumniated it, according to his Desert; and that he regarded but little the Scruples of moderate Men. *The impudent Lies of That Calumniator*, says he, *must affect me as much, as the Vigor of Our Replies*. Every One may see, that it is necessary I should set down his own Words; for many may imagine, I pervert the Sense of them. Here they are: "Supereft ut ad extremam tuam Epistolam paucis respondeam. Balduinum & Heshufium nonnulli vellent moderatius à me fuisse reprehensos. Ego verò cuperem istos æquè affici impudentissimis eorum conviciis in homines innoxios contortis, ac iustis nostris defensionibus. Quid non enim in optimum illud & innocentissimum Dei servum jaculatus esse fœdus ille Apostata? in me verò quid non dixit? Et tamen Deus mihi testis est in animam meam, non multò magis me, si res mea privata ageretur, ista petulantia commoveri potuiffet, quàm si in his regionibus verfans audiviffem canes in India latrare. Sed quum per nostrum latus viderem Gallicas omnes Ecclesias ab isto conductio rabula confodi, & tanquam seditiosos accusari, quocunque istorum latronum telis corpora sua non objecerunt, ut facere necesse fuit, nisi & Christi causam & regiam majestatem prodere maluiffent, peccavi scilicet, quod ejus calumniis se respondi, ut & ipsum sycophantam suis coloribus depingerem, & causæ nostræ bonitatem probarem. Itaque quod ad illum attinet, non dissimulo me nullum peccatum agnoscere, & moderatos istos nihil morari. De Heshufio, quoniam aliud argumentum tractabam, lateor causam illam potuiffet aliter agi. Sed singularis illa infusio hominis & inficitia & audacia in hos veluti scopulos me adegit, ubi tamen spero me naufragium non fecisse (76). — It remains only to answer your last Letter in few Words. There are, who could wish I had reproved Baudouin and Heshufius with more Moderation. And I cannot help wishing, these Persons were equally affected with the impudent Calumnies They have vented against innocent Persons, as with My Just Defence. For what has not This base Apostate

(75) *Abeloea* be means the Anabaptists.

(71) Commentarius de statu reip. & religionis in regno Gallicie, Tom. I. fol. 169. ad Ann. 1561.

(72) *Id. ib.*

(73) Page 201, & seq.

(74) Philipus Mar-
tinus, Episc.
ad Theod.
Bezam. It
is the 6th a-
mong Beza's
Letters, pag.
205, 207.
Tom. III.
Opus.

(76) Theod.
Beza, Episc.
VII, pag.
209.

He was, with respect to Universities, what certain Persons are in relation to Mistresses, who run from one Fair to Another, and from Shore to Shore in the Sea of Love. It is very probable, that, when he lived at Bourges, in the Romish Communion, he had more affection for the Protestants, than when he communicated with Them at Heidelberg. It may also be suspected, that he neither liked Popery, nor Calvinism, nor Lutheranism, and that he would have new-modelled Them, and perhaps many other Sects, to form A New One out of Them. What is certain, is, that he aimed at a Re-union of Religions (o). On the other hand, it cannot be denied, that he had very fine Parts, an Extensive Knowledge (p), an admirable Memory, and an Eloquence so much the more persuasive, as he was a handsome Man (q), and had a strong, and pleasing, Voice (r). We are not to think, therefore, that there is any exaggeration in what has been said of his

(o) See Remarks [C] [D] and [M].

(p) Papp. Massio, ubi supra, pag. 261.

(q) Statuta sult. iusta, forma eximia, & per omnes virtutes gradus veneranda. Id. ib.

(r) Vocem canoram, firmam, latera, ut docens, Periculis infans, fulminare videtur. Id. ibid.

"thrown out against That best and most innocent Servant
"of GOD? What has he not said against Me? And
"yet GOD is my Witness, that, were it only my own
"private Concern, This Injustice would scarce move
"me more, than if I should, in this Country, hear the
"barking of Dogs in the Indies. But, when I am
"sensible, that the whole Gallican Church is woun-
"ded through my Sides, by this brawling Brawler,
"and That All, who resist the Attacks of these Rob-
"bers, which ought to be done, if we would not be-
"tray the Cause of CHRIST, and the King's Ma-
"jesty, are accused as seditious, I have offended,
"forsooth, in so answering his Calumnies, as to paint
"the Sycophant in his proper Colours, and prove the
"Goodness of Our Cause. Therefore, as to Him, I
"will not dissimble, that I am conscious to myself of
"no Fault, and that I disregard these moderate Men.
"With regard to Hehusius, as I was, then, band-
"ling another Argument, I confess the Cause might
"have been otherwise managed. But the singular
"Ignorance and Impudence of the Fellow drove me
"upon these Rocks, upon which, however, I hope I
"have not made Shipwreck."

I shall make but two Reflexions on This Answer. In the first place, it is undeniable, that Readers give some reason to believe, that they are more offended at the Bitterness of an Apologist, than at That of the Aggressor. Let a Writer defame all the World, the Dead, the Living, Sovereigns, Subjects, his Brethren in Religion, The Adversaries of his Party; let him exercise This Trade several Years successively, and become more malicious, and satirical, as he grows old; I confess, that The Readers perceive it, and blame him for it: but if, at last, This Man happens to be very ill treated by Those, whom he has provoked, you will hear an hundred times more Complaints against Them, than against Him. His very Enemies think it strange, that he was not treated with more Moderation. They have read, with pleasure, what was published to his Disadvantage; and yet they will not stick to say, that he ought to have been spared. This is an Effect of the immoderate Inclination Men have for censuring others. Some People are pleased to approve of nothing. But let us not judge of of those Moderate Persons, whose Opinion is mentioned by *St Aldegonde*. Doubtless, They were yet more offended at the satirical Audaciousness of *Baudouin*, than at the Invectives of those, who confused him; but they could have wished, that slandering had been the Character of the Enemies of the True Religion, and that They, who defended it, had distinguished themselves by Wisdom, and a moderate Style. They hated a satirical Disposition, which mixes Defamation with Reason, in which Personal Injuries predominate; and They could not detest it without some uneasiness, whilst it was common to their Enemies, and their Friends. Wherefore, They wished, as well for This, as for some other Reasons, that it were one of the distinguishing Characters of the Catholic Writers, and that the Protestants would not, by adopting it themselves, free them from this Brand of Infamy. I observe, in the second place, That *Beza* indulged his Imagination too far; for, if the Book, which he wrote against *Baudouin*, were the only One left us, we should not only take This Civilian for a most infamous Rascal, but also for an Author without any Wit, Learning, or Merit. He has, therefore, given a deceitful Description of him; since it cannot be denied by those, who have read what *Baudouin* has written, and what others have said of him, that he was a Man of very great Parts. An Author may be excused,

on account of the Infirmary of Human Nature for not allowing his Enemy to be Learned, Eloquent, and Ingenious. But, if he be permitted to conceal These Truths, he ought, at least, to abstain from denying Them. The Passion, which an Author shews, in the Works, he composes against the Enemies of his Religion, may proceed, sometimes, from a great Zeal; wherefore it must be said, that Anger is equivocal between Temper, and Devotion. But I cannot see, how the Haughtiness of a Writer can be reduced to an Evangelical Principle. I call Haughtiness the Contempt he expresses for his Adversary, and the Affectation of treating him as the most wretched of Authors; though the contrary be notoriously true, and is evident from his Employments, and Writings. I could wish not to have found, in the History of the Reformed Churches, that *Baudouin* died a wretched Pedant (77). Such an Expression ought not to have fallen from the Pen of *Beza*, who was then Professor of Divinity, and formerly Professor of Greek. He should have left so unpolite, and contemptuous, a Way of treating Those, who instruct Youth, to the Gentlemen of the Sword. He should not have affronted a Profession, which was of the same kind with his own. If it be said, that he did not place *Baudouin's* Pedantry in his being a Professor, but in his personal Defects, this is to say nothing at all; since This Civilian did not want Politeness, and knew how to converse with great Men, and enter into their Intrigues (78). An eager Desire of treating him with Contempt induced *Beza* to say, that, when he was propoled to the King of Navarre, in 1561, to be employed by him, That Prince did not know, that there was such a Person, as *Baudouin*, in the World (79). This is one of Those Things, which Authors advance at Random, and which they cannot justify afterwards. *Baudouin* affirms, that he was recommended to That Prince by the Queen of Navarre (80), to whom he had the Honour to pay his Duty, on the Wedding-day of That Queen's Daughter with That Prince (81). He affirms, that the Favour, and Good-will, of This Princess confirmed the Choice, which was made of him, for the Professorship of Civil Law, at Bourges. This is very probable; for, as she was Duchess of Berry, and promoted the Interest of Learning, there was no attaining to any Preferment in That University without her Concurrence. How was it possible for *Beza* to confute *Francis Baudouin*, on This Point? Some will, perhaps, say, that Zeal for Religion sometimes induces Divines to treat a Man, whom they refuse, with the greatest Contempt, and as a wretched Author; for They think it expedient for the good of the True Church, that her Sons should be persuaded, that none but ignorant Men oppose her. I answer, that a Zeal, which should occasion a Conduct, so contrary to Sincerity, Reason, and Justice, and yet more to the strict Morality of JESUS CHRIST, can never pass but for a very blind Zeal. I will not mention the Inconveniences of such a Conduct. It may be said to such Men; You may easily defend your Cause, since you acknowledge, that it is so weakly attacked; your Triumphs are no fight, that you fight for the Truth.

I must make yet another Observation. *Sainte Aldegonde* did not give all the necessary Advice; he forgot one, which was very material: He did not advise the returning an Answer to *Baudouin's* Third Apology. I know, that, in Matters of Right, a Man need not be so nice, as to leave none of his Adversary's Works unanswered. In a second Reply, Things

WHERIN
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answered

(77) *Beza*, Hist. Eccl. Book 4, p. 645.

(78) See Burgundius Words in Remark [D] Citat. (37)

(79) *Beza* in Respon ad Bald. p. 203.

(80) *Baldouin*, in II Responso fol. 84.

(81) *Beza* to say, the 20th of October, 1543.

(1) Vini cibique purissimum huncqum o-tinuat. Id. ibid.

his Auditory [K]. He eat, and drank, but little; and he took great Pains (t). He did not approve, that Hereticks should be put to Death (t); and reproached Calvin very much, on account of *Servetus* (u). He was no Colleague of *Cujacius*, as some affirm [L]. I shall say something concerning his Writings, and of his being accused of *Plagiarism* [M]. Note, That *Theodorus Beza* says, that he died, either

(t) See Remark [D].

(u) See his second Apology against Calvin.

may be set in the best Light, which can be given them; and, then, a Man may promise himself, that the intelligent Reader will not think it strange, if he does not enter the Lists again: But, in Matters of Fact, relating to personal and defamatory Accusations, the Aggressor must never be silent first; for, if he does not reply to the Apologies of The Accused, it is a Sign, that he wants Proofs, and that he is forced to stop at the Opposition of a meer Negative. *Baudouin's* Third Answer is full of giving the Lye, and recriminating; and contains some Facts in Vindication of himself; so that *Beza* ought not to have left it unanswered; he should have been put in mind to support his first Reply by a new Piece in Justification of the former. In these kind of Quarrels, He, who quits the Field, loses the Battle; Both Plaintiff and Defendant are obliged to answer every new Reason, alledged against them, tho' they were to publish twenty *Cafes* in their own Defence. Take notice of the Epithet *new*, which I make use of; for, if the Accuser, for example, or his Friends for him, should multiply Writings continually, repeating the same Things, only with some small Alterations as to the Form, and never answering either the Matters of Fact, or the Reasons of the Accused, the latter may keep a profound Silence; his first Apology is sufficient, 'till, among the Multitude of *Cafes*, published by his Adversary, One be found, containing something new.

[K] What has been said of his Auditory.] Bishops, Counsellors, and Gentlemen of the Sword, appeared there. *Sammartbanus* affirms This, as having seen it. "Homo, says he (82), facundissimus, iploque oris ac totius corporis habitu non iniquum, ex historiariarum & civilis disciplinæ conjunctione, suis prædicationibus gratiam & venerem aerebat. Ac cum quidem sæpe vidimus hoc splendidi summe doctrinæ apparatus, Lutetiae profitemem, cum ad ejus auditorium permulti primæ notæ homines, episcopi, senatores, equites, libenter & maxima frequentia confluerent. ----- He was a most eloquent Man, of a pleasing Aspect and Deportment; and set off his Lectures by a Mixture of History and Civil Law. I have seen him often, with this splendid Equipage of Learning, in the Professor's Chair at Paris, attended by many Persons of the first Rank, Bishops, Senators, and Gentlemen of the Army, who crowded to hear him."

[K] He was no Colleague of *Cujacius*, as some affirm.] *Beza* is one of them. "It is a shameful thing for you, says he to him, to reflect upon Calvin, as being of an Humor incompatible with others, naturæ axiosum; for you have rendered yourself intolerable to all your Colleagues, wherever you came. If you deny it, *Duaren*, le Conte, *Cujacius*, *Hotman*, &c. will convict you of the contrary (83)." *Baudouin* replied, that *Cujacius* was his Successor at *Bourges*, but not his Colleague, and that They had never seen each other. "Cujacius Balduino in ea Schola successit: collega nunquam fuit, imo alter alterum nunquam vidit. Per literas aliquando collocuti sunt, sed tam amice ut nihil magis. Imo Cujacius Balduino rogavit in illud suum collegium ut rediret. Si nobis non credis, Cujacium interrogato (84). ----- Cujacius succeeded Baudouin in That School: he was never his Colleague; nay, They never saw each other. They corresponded sometimes by Letter, but with the utmost Friendliness. Cujacius even entreated Baudouin to return to his College. If you do not believe me, ask Cujacius himself."

[M] I shall say something concerning his Writings, and his being accused of *Plagiarism*.] In his Twenty third Year, he commenced Author: for, in 1542, he published, at Louvain, *Leges de re rustica*, item *Novella Constitutio prima de hereditibus & lege Falcidia Justiniani*, which he had translated from the Greek, and accompanied with a Commentary (85). This was reprinted, the following Year, at *Basl* (86), by *Oporinus*, with a large Book of *Anthony Garrou*. In

1545, he published, at *Paris*, *Prolegomena de Jure Civili*; and, in 1546, *Commentarii in libros 18. Institut. Juris Civilis Justiniani Imperatoris*. His Commentary on the Laws of the twelve Tables was printed several Times. The third Edition is of *Basl*, 1557, in 8vo, by *Oporinus*, who printed, at the same time, his *Juris Civilis Catechesis*, and his Commentary ad *Edicta veterum Principum Romanorum de Christianis*, a Work, wherein he maintains Toleration, and which, for That Reason, was censured by *Claude de Saintes* (87). I omit several other Books of Civil Law, published by This Author. But the following Particular must not be omitted: I find in *Mr Menage*, that, "At the Request of the Prince of Condé, he wrote a Treatise of the means of attaining to a good Reformation in Religion. This Treatise having been published by a Carmelite, who had left his Order, and who added much of his own to it, *Baudouin* complained of This Proceeding to the Prince of Condé. The Prince banished The Monk from his Court, and gave *Baudouin* leave to defend himself. On this Permission, *Baudouin* wrote his *Advice on the Reformation of the Church*, in Latin, and afterwards in French: and his Answer to a Preaching Calumniation, in French (88)." In *Baudouin's* Third Answer, it appears, that, by order of the Queen-Mother, he went to see the Prince of Condé in Prison, and conferred with him about the reconciling of Religions, and that he was commanded to write a Book concerning This Conference, which was renewed after That Prince was set at Liberty. The composing of This Work hindered him from carrying a Letter to the Duke of *Guise* (89). Neither ought I to forget, that his *Constantinus, sive de legibus Constantini Imperatoris*, printed at *Basl*, in the Year 1556, was put in the Index Librorum expurgandorum, and that he passed for the Author of a Book, which was printed at *Strasbourg*, *Sub Christianorum Jurisconsultorum nomine contra Duarenum*, in the Year 1556; but he disowned it (90). In *Gesner's* Epitome, Another Work is ascribed to him, which belongs to Another *Baudouin*; *Non bujus, sed Petri Baldouini, sunt* (91). It is Notes on *Tully's* Offices. It was He, who translated an History of Poland into French, written, in Latin, by *John Herbut of Fultin*, *Cassellan of Sanez*. This French Translation was printed at *Paris*, in 4to, without the Translator's Name (92). He disguised himself sometimes under the Name of *Peter de la Roche*, *Petrus Rochius* (93), and called himself *Atrebatius*, by way of allusion to *J.C. Trebatius* and to his Country (94).

As for the *Plagiarism*, which was laid to his Charge, read what follows. "Pudendum est, & nimium illiberalis illud plagium, quod ipse insciarius non potest, de annotationibus in Justiniani Institutiones. Brethano præceptoris suo surreptis. Omitto quæ non modo Ferretus & Othomanus, quorum fortassis familiaritate tum abutebatur ex veteri illa formula τὴ τῶν φίλων καὶ αὐτῶν, sed etiam maximi ipsius inimici Baro, & Duarenus, optimo jure ex illius centonibus repetunt. Omitto etiam turpissimorum errorum Centurias, quas Contius & ipse Juris interpres in istius Constantino, quamvis exiguolibello, annotavit (95). ----- He cannot deny That Ungenerous *Plagiarism*, in his Annotations on Justinian's Institutes, which he stole from his Master Brethanus. I omit what not only Ferretus, and Othomanus, whose Friendship perhaps he abused, from that old Maxim, that among Friends All Things are common, but what even his greatest Enemies, Baro and Duaren, have a just claim to, in his Cento's. I omit, likewise, the Centuriæ of most scandalous Errors, which Contius, who was himself an Interpreter of Law, remarked in his Constantine." That Contius, mentioned by *Beza*, was Professor of Civil Law at *Bourges*, and was called *Antony le Conte*. *Hotman* is also mentioned in This Passage. He was One of *Baudouin's* Adversaries, and treated him with the utmost Contempt (96). He

(87) Claude de Saintes, ad Edicta veterum, fol. 6, verso.

(88) Menage. Remarks on the Life of Ayrault, pag. 158.

(89) Ex Balduino Responsione ad Calvinum & Bezan, fol. 101, verso, & 102.

(90) Valer. Andreas, ubi supra, pag. 225.

(91) Id. ib.

(92) See du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franc. pag. 365.

(93) Catharinus, Cat. riniſm of Berri, sub. fin.

(94) He subscribed the Letters of, which he wrote to Calvin.

(95) Beza Respons. ad Balduino Convicta, pag. 203, 204.

(96) See the Book, entitled Strigilia Papirii Mastonius, per Matagondem de Matagonibus, pag. 169.

(82) Sammartbanus, Eleg. lib. 2. pag. 86. Edit. Geneva. 1606. See also Papp. Masio, pag. 259.

(84) Beza, Respons. ad Balduin. pag. 208.

(85) Respons. pro Balduino 3. fol. 85.

(86) Valer. Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 223.

(87) And not in the Year 1534; as it is in Gesner's Epitome, pag. 235. A supposition of a Cypher (a common Fault of Printers) has occasioned the Year 1534, instead of 1543.

(x) Theod. Beza in vita Calvinii, ad Ann. 1:67, pag. 381.

either in the prosecution of a Law-Suit, or of Vexation, because Another was preferred before him to follow the Duke of Anjou into Poland (x). Many Reflexions might be made on the Oddness of his Fortune [N].

(97) Tu es Hermaphroditus in negotiis status, sicut fuit Balduinus in negotiis religionis. --- You are an Hermaphrodite in Matters of State, as Baudouin was in Matters of Religion. Id. ib. pag. 284.

(98) Id. ib. pag. 281.

(99) Id. ib. pag. 269.

(100) Menage's Remarks on the Life of *Ayrault*. P. 8. 158.

(101) Above, Citat. (84).

The Effect of the Proportions and Disproportions between the Qualities of one, and the same Man.

He even called him *Hermaphrodite*; and it seems he took this Word in it's natural Sense; though elsewhere he takes it figuratively (97). "Uxor (inquis), *he speaks to Pappyrus Maffio, mihi nulla est, nec unquam fuit. Nec mirum, Maffione: liquidem Balduini præceptoris tui similis es, quem omnes dicebant esse Hermaphroditum* (98). --- You say *you have no Wife, nor ever had. This is not to be wondered at in Maffio; for you are like your Preceptor Baudouin, who was said, by All, to be an Hermaphrodite.*" He pleases himself with saying, that *Cujacius* slighted Baudouin: "Cum omnes sciant quod prædictus Cujacius non fecerit unquam numerum de Balduino plus quam de suis veteribus ocreis (99). --- When All know, that the afore-said Cujacius made no more account of Baudouin, than of his old Boots." Mr Menage observes, and wonders at it, that *Cujacius* never mentioned Baudouin (100). We have seen, that he wrote very obliging Letters to him (101).

[N] Many Reflexions might be made on the Oddness of his Fortune. He was a Man of Wit, Learning, Eloquence, and Dexterity: He was a handsome Man; and he understood the Intrigues of the Court: Some of These Qualities, which I have specified, were very eminent in him. Great Princes employed him, several times, in Matters of Consequence, which put him in the way to Preferment; and yet he could never advance himself much, and, I think, did not die very rich. How many Persons, inferior in every thing to This great Civilian, rise very high, attain to great Offices, maintain themselves in them, acquire a good Name, great Riches, and much Authority? They have nothing shining in them; They do not excel in any thing, nor have any eminent Qualities: In vain do we look for That, in Them, which excites Admiration; we shall sooner find it in other Persons; who, nevertheless, continue always in a mean Condition, how often however they have had a favourable Opportunity of raising themselves. Most of Those, who consider This Train of Human Affairs, find something in it, which displeases, and vexes them; and They discharge their Spleen on what They call the Injustice or Blindness of Fortune. They seldom hit the true Reason of it; and consider but little Another Cause, which oftener produces This, than They imagine. They ought to know, that Eminent Qualities will not raise a Man to the Height, which they seem to promise, unless They be seconded by some other Qualities, or not crossed by certain Defects; for, not being seconded, or being crossed, they are an Insufficient Cause, and, consequently, according to the Laws of Mechanism, They must fail of their Effect. Now This is the Case of many of Those, who are Men of Great Parts: They want certain Things, with which These noble Talents would perform Wonders, and without

which They can neither advance, nor support, Them. The Qualities of These Persons are not well fortified; there is not That Harmony, and Proportion, between Them, which ought to be: So that, instead of assisting, They ruin one another: It is, therefore, no wonder, if a Man does not raise himself, and even if he miscarries, with such an Equipage. As for Those, who attain to a great Fortune, and maintain themselves in it, without having any Eminent Qualities, it is not to be wondered at. There is such a Concert, or such a Proportion, between Their good and bad Qualities, that they reciprocally support each other, and form thereby a complete Principle, which is sufficient for the Production of a Thousand profitable Adventures. It is with This, as with Machines; for, how coarsely soever they be made, They will play better, if their Parts are ranged, and proportioned, as They ought to be, than the most admirable Machine would do, if some Pieces were taken from it, or if some were added to it, which did not correspond with the rest. It is not enough to join, to a Knowledge of the World, That of Books, much Wit, and Eloquence, and several other Eminent Qualities; if, otherwise, you are unpolite, capricious, indiscreet, lazy, timorous, selfish, subject to mean Jealousies, presumptuous, incapable of following a tedious Business, inconstant, fitter to begin an hundred new Projects, than to support the Fatigue of carrying on the same Business for some time; I say, if you are a Man of such a Stamp, and if, notwithstanding your great Qualities, you do not raise yourself, do not blame Fate, the Iniquity of the Age, or the Malignity of your Neighbours; but blame yourself for it: impute the Cause of it to the Disproportion between the Qualities, which have been allotted you." I reckon *Francis Baudouin* among Those, who are in this Case. Note, that some Persons, among Those of this Stamp, do themselves Justice: They know the Mixture, which renders all their fine Talents useless; and, if they murmur, it is not against their Neighbours, but against their own Temper, and against Nature, which counter-balances whatever Qualification she had given them for rising in the World. However, I do not intend to comprehend, in This Hypothesis, a great Number of Particular Cases, in which the Causes of a Bad, or Good, Fortune are altogether External; I mean, that They, who, notwithstanding their eminent Qualities, remain in Obscurity, have had no favourable Opportunity of raising their Condition, and that They, who have attained to great Preferments, without any Merit, have found themselves in such an active Whirl of Circumstances, that They have had no Occasion to second it, and that their Incapacity was no obstacle in their Way. But remember, that *Baudouin* did not want Opportunities: They were often thrown in his Way.

BAUTRU DES-MATRAS (MAURICE), chief Lieutenant of the Provostship of Angers. His Sons, and Grandsons, have made his Name very famous, as shall be shewed.

BAUTRU DES-MATRAS (JOHN), Son of the foregoing, was an Advocate in the Parliament of Paris, and One of the best of them; for *Anthony Loisel*, in his Dialogue about Advocates, speaks of him in this manner; *Bautru had a bigger Flight, than They all; I do not say, that he was more Learned, than any of Them, but his Tongue was better hung, and, if I may say so, more Angevin (a). William and René BAUTRU DES-MATRAS were his Brothers. William, Counsellor in the Great Council, and Great Reporter of France (b), was Father of the famous Mr Bautru, of the French Academy, of whom we shall speak hereafter. René, Assessor in the Presidial Court of Angers [A], and Mayor of Angers*

(a) Le Croix du Maine, pag. 209, speaks of him in this manner, and says, that he died the 22d of August, 1580, aged 45 Years.

(b) Mathias Enchiridion of Remon, chap. 193. (c) Confess. Catholique de France, Book I. chap. 6. P. 337.

[A] René, Assessor in the Presidial Court of Angers. Doubtless *Daubion* spoke of Him, on occasion of a Woman (1), who was said to be possessed with Devils. She has two Devils, says he (2), one is called *Beelzebub*, and the other *Aphroth*. The first is a true Devil, a great Enemy of the *Hague*. The second is but every Body, and would have beat

" Monsieur Matras of Angers, if he had not taken up a Cudgel, and said to him, *Beelzebub*, you Rogue, if you play your tricks with me, I will beat you like a Devil. --- The Clergy of Angers would have these two Devils to be first examined by the Church; one of the Judges of the Town said, that their Honour was concerned in it; and, in

(b) Ex Anagii not. Gallicis vitam Pe. A. reddidit, 176.

in 1604, was Father of *Charles*, Canon of *Angers*, known by the Name of *PRIOR DES-MATRAS*, and Author of some Treatises of Divinity (c) [B]. I think it is the same Prior *des-Matras*, who was so famous for his witty Sayings [C], that he came but little short, in them, of Mr *Bautru* of the *French Academy*.

(c) Ex Menag. ibid.

"in order to examine these Spirits, he began to speak Latin, and Matras to speak Greek." See the Remark [B] of the Article *GRANDIER*.

[B] Author of some Treatises.] Here is what Mr *Menard* says of him, in his List of the Writers of *Angers*. "Carolus Bautru, Presbyter, Doctor Theologus, & Professor, Ecclesiæ Mauriciæ Angedavenfis Canonicus, maximi ingenii scientiarumque dotibus excellens, familiæque inter clarissimas præcipua. Scripsit de sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento tractationem, brevi publicandam, quam vidimus. Interea typis exposuit disputationem ad articulum quartum quæstionis 76. tertie partis Summæ Theologicæ Sancti Thomæ, utrum tota quantitas dimensio corporis Christi sit in hoc Sacramento, Andegavi, apud Antonium Hernault, 1638 (1). — Charles Bautru, Priest, Doctor and Professor of Divinity, Canon of Angers, a Man of great Wit and Learning, and of a very noble Family. He wrote a Treatise concerning the Sacrament of the

Eucharist, shortly to be published, which I have seen. "In the mean time he put to the Press a Disputation on the Fourth Article of the Seventy sixth Question of the Third Part of St Thomas's Summary of Divinity, Whether the whole dimensive Quantity of the Body of Christ be in the Sacrament. Angers, for Antony Hernault, 1638."

[C] He was famous for his witty Sayings.] Mr *Cousin* observes (2), that Mr *Menage*'s Memory supplied him with many witty Sayings, which he had learned in his Youth, and that the best of them were those of the Prior *Bautru* des *Matras*. This shews, that, in Mr *Cousin*'s Judgment, the Prior is to be preferred before the other *Bautru*, as to witty Sayings: for he could not be ignorant, that Mr *Menage* had as well learned Those of *Bautru* the Layman, as those of *Bautru* the Ecclesiastic. The *Menagiana* shews us, that Mr *Menage* had improved much more in the School of the first, than in That of the other.

(2) Journal of the Learned, ed. August 11, 1699, pag. 544.

(1) Apud Menag. Annotations on the Life of Peter Arvaul, pag. 177.

(c) History of the French Academy, pag. 347, Edit. 1672.

BAUTRU (WILLIAM) Count de *Serrant*, Counsellor of State in Ordinary, Introdutor of Embassadors, Ambassador to the Archduchess in *Flanders*, and the King's Envoy in *Spain*, *England*, and *Savoy*, was of *Angers* (a), and Son of *William Bautru*, Counsellor in the Great Council (b). He was one of the finest Wits of the XVIIth Century. He was, above all things, admired for his Jest, and smart Repartees [A]; and we find, in the Writers of his Time, a thousand Marks of his great Reputation. One of them (c) says; He is a Man, who makes part of his Philosophy to consist in admiring but very few things, and who, for these fifty Years, has been the Delight of all the Ministers and Favourites, and generally of all the great Men in the Kingdom, and was never their Flatterer. He was admitted into the *French Academy* at the beginning of its Foundation; he could not well be forgotten, being so well known to the Cardinal de *Richelieu*. His Marriage with *Mariba Bigot*, Daughter of a Master of the Accompts of *Paris*, did not prove a very happy one. (A fine Subject for Common-Place and Reflexions!) [B] A Son proceeded from

(b) Menage, Remarks on the Life of William Menage, pag. 376.

(c) Collier's 5th Vol. of Letters, pag. 120.

"[A] He was particularly admired for his Jest, and smart Repartees." I desire no other Proof of it, than the Turn of the Poet *St Amant*, in laughing at Those, who loved silly Jest, and Quibbles:

Si vous oiez une équivoque,
Vous jettez d'aise votre toque,
Et prenez son sens malautr
Pour un des beaux mots de Bautru (1).

When Pun ambiguous you bear,
With transport you applaud the Joke:
"Tis wondrous fine, I vow and swear;
A better Bautru never spoke.

(1) St Amant, in the Poem entitled, The Paltzy Poet, pag. 228.

The *Menagiana* would supply me with strong Proofs, if I stood in need of them: Mr *Bautru* is to be found in every Page of it; and we are told, in the Preface, "That, besides the witty Sayings of Mr *Menage*, there are Others to be found there, and particularly Those of the Famous Mr de *Bautru*, whom he knew perfectly well; for he had been his great Friend, and had seen and conversed with him very familiarly." *Collier*'s Letter, which I have quoted

(2) It is the Soul of the 3rd Vol.

(3) Menagiana, p. 328, 2d Edit. i. f. zette (4).

(4) Printed in 1647. See, the 6, Pages 33, 45.

(5) I Edit. 2. of Paris, they have put Serrant at length.

(2), contains several Things, whereby one may discover Mr *Bautru*'s Genius. He had the Inspection of the *Gazette* (3), and it is to him, that the Advertisement of the *Gazetteer* of *Cologne* imputes what was too favourable to Cardinal *Mazarin* in the *Paris Gazette* (4).

[B] His Marriage — did not prove a very happy one. A fine Subject for Common-places!] Since, what I am going to say, was printed at *Paris*, with Privilege, I may, doubtless, publish it in *Holland*, without fear of incurring the Censure of Judicious Persons. "Mr de *Serrant* (5) was the Son of Mr de *Bautru*; and, though they lived together, where Mr de *Seignelay* lives at present, yet neither of them owned themselves as Father, or Son. Mr de *Bautru* said, that he would own Mr de *Serrant* for his Son, provided he was a good Man; per-

haps he had some reason to question whether he was so or not. The violent Suspicions, which he had, of his Wife's Disloyalty had induced him to prosecute her at Law, and to be revenged of her. And, indeed, he caused his Servant to be seized, whom he accused of having had intelligence with his Wife, and procured him to be condemned to be hanged, at his first Trial: The Servant appealed, and was only condemned to the Gallies, because he made it appear, that Mr *Bautru* had done himself justice, and had used him cruelly. This Affair having made a great noise, Mr de *Bautru* resolved to laugh at it, as well as others, and would say sometimes: If the *Bautru*'s are Cuckolds, they are not Fools. His Wife would always be called *Madam de Ngent*, notwithstanding her Marriage (6), saying, that she would not be called *Madam Bautrou* by Queen *Mary de Medicis*, "who could, then, hardly pronounce French right." This is what I find in the second Edition of the *Menagiana*; in which they have adjusted This Passage, which was not intelligible in the First Edition. But, since this Lady's Name has been written after the Italian Pronunciation, it is easy to see why she refused to bear it. Quibbling prevailed at that time, and she was exposed to Raillery by various Allusions to the Word *trou* (Hole).

If Wit could secure a Man from Cuckoldom, which so many People dread, and so many call a Trifle, Mr de *Bautru* would have been exempted from This Disgrace; but Wit, Courage, a noble Mien, and even the Royal Dignity, are no security against it. This Disgrace has something common with Death; but there is this difference: Death spares no Crowned Heads; and there are every where very virtuous Queens. Notwithstanding this difference, the same Common-place of consolation ought to make an infinite Number of People submit to both these Accidents with Patience. A Poet, who was a Philosopher endeavours, very nobly, to inspire an indifference for Death, by this Reason: "Good Kings, The most formidable Monarchs, the

(6) I do not understand This; for, to make it Sense, The Lady, must, I think, have been called Mademoiselle, or Madam de Ngent, when she married Mr de Bautru. Now this is not at all likely; for Mr de Bautru had a Brother, who was called Mr de Ngent, which seems, that That Lordship did not come into their Family by Mr de Bautru's Marriage.

(d) See the following Article, Cistat. (e).

from it, (viz.) William BAUTRU, Count of Serrant, Chancellor to the Duke of Orleans, and Husband of Mary Bertrand, Daughter of Macé Bertrand, Lord de la Basinière, and Treasurer of the Exchequer. From this Marriage proceeded two Daughters, Margaret and Mary Magdalen. The first was married to the Marquis de Vaubrun, her Uncle, *a là mode de Bretagne*, as shall be said hereafter (d): The second was married to Edward Francis Colbert, Count de Maulevrier, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of France, and Brother to Mr Colbert. The *Menagiana* informs me, that the Grandfather of these two Ladies died, being about Seventy Years of Age

"Greatest Warriors, the finest Genius's, the Inventors of Arts, and the most Subtle Philosophers, are dead; and shall you, an inconsiderable private Man, and a Slave to a thousand shameful Passions, complain, that Death will not spare you?"

Lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancu' reliquit
Qui melior multis quam tu fuit, improbe, rebus.
Inde alii multi reges, rerumque potentes
Occiderunt magnis qui genibus imperitarunt.

Ille quoque ipse, viam qui quondam per mare
magnum

Stravit, iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum,

Lumine adempto animam moribundo corpore fudit.
Scipiadis belli fulmen, Carthaginis horror,
Ossa dedit terræ proinde ac famul' infumus esset.

Adde repertoires doctrinarum atque leporum,
Adde Heliconiadum comites, quorum unus Homerus

Sceptra potitus eadem aliis sopitu' quiete est.

Ipse Epicurus obit decursu lumine vitæ,
Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit; et omnia
Præstrinxit stellas exortus uti ætherius sol.

Tu vero dubitabis, et indignabere obire
Mortua quoui vita est prope jam vivo, atque vident,
Qui somno partem, &c (7)

(7) Lucret. lib. III. sub. fin. See Bernier's Abridgment of Gassendi. Tom. VII. pag. 27, Edit. 1684.

But, more to comfort thee, -----

Consider, Ancus peris'd long age,

Ancus, a better Man, by much, than Thou.

Consider, Mighty Kings, in Pomp and State,

Fall, and ingloriously submit to Fate.

Consider, even He, That mighty He,

Who laugh'd at all the Threatning of the Sea,

That chain'd the Ocean once, and proudly led

His Legions o're the fetter'd Waves, is dead.

Scipio, That Scourge of Carthage, now the Grave

Keeps Prisoner, like the meanest common Slave.

Nay, Greatest Wits, and Poets too, that give

Eternity to others, cease to Live.

Homer, their Prince, That Darling of the Nine,

(What Troy wou'd at a second Fall repine

To be thus sung?) is nothing now but Fame,

A lasting, far diffus'd, but empty, name.

Nay, Epicurus Race of Life is run,

That Man of Wit, who other Men out-son,

As far as meaner Stars the mid-day Sun.

Then, how dar'st Thou rapine to dye, and grieve,

Thou meaner Soul, thou dead ev'n whilst alive;

That sleep'st and dream'st the most of Life away, &c.

CREECH.

Let us say the same to Those inconsiderable private Persons, who are vexed at the Intrigues of their Wives: "You torment yourselves for a Thing, from which the most powerful Monarchs, the greatest Warriors, the finest Wits, and the most learned and zealous Doctors, are not exempted. What are You, that you should be more nice, than they? Learn, by these great Examples, to bear your Misfortune patiently."

Give me leave to say, by the by, that our Malherbe made use of Lucretius's Thought, in the Epitaph of a Prince.

Je suis poudre toutes fois,
Tant la Parque a fait ses loix

Egales & nécessaires,
Rien ne m'en a su parer:
Apprenez, ames vulgaires,
A mourir sans murmurer.

In common Dust, a Monarch once, I lie;
Such is th' impartial Law of Destiny.
Ye Vulgar Souls, when Fate's Decrees require,
Learn hence, without a murmur, to expire.

On occasion of this Passage of Malherbe, Mr Menage mentions the Epitaph of Margaret of Austria, which ends thus:

At vos plebeio geniti de sanguine, quando
Ferreæ nec nobis didicerunt fata, nec ullis
Parcere nominibus, patientius ite sub umbras.

You, who of base Plebeian Clay are made,
Since Death, impartial, strikes the greatest Head,
Resign, contented, to the fatal Blow,
And go, with patience, to the Shades below.

Johannes Secundus is the Author of This Epitaph: Mr Menage made a Parody of Malherbe's Verses on occasion of an Epic Poem (8).

I shall also observe, by the way, that the like Morality has been made use of, to teach all Men, that they ought not to complain of being subject to Death. It has been represented to them, that the greatest Cities are destroyed; and are They so unreasonable, as to think it strange, that Man should dye! "Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræus, sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florētissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata & diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: 'Hem, nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera proijcta jaceant (9). — Returning out of Asia, as I sailed from Ægina towards Megara, I began to survey the Countries around me. Behind me was Ægina, before me Megara, on my Right Piræus, on my left Corinth: which Cities, formerly the most flourishing, now lie in Ruins. I began to reflect with myself: What! Shall so inconsiderable a Creature as Man, whose Life ought to be still shorter, complain of being Mortal, when, at one view, we behold the Ruins of so many Cities?' Tasso has copied this Thought very well.

(8) See his Observations on Malherbe pag. 521.

(9) Servius Sulpicius p. 18. ad Ciceronem. It is the Book ad f. miliaris, 193, 194.

Giace l'alta Cartago; à pena i signi'
De l'alte fue ruine il lido serba:
Muiono le città; muiono i regni;
Cuopre i fasti, e le pompe, arena ed herba;
E l'huom d'esser mortal par che si sdegni:
O nostra mente cupida e superba! (10).

(10) Jerusalem of 160, Canto

Here lofty Carthage lies: the poor Remains
Of it's proud Ruins scarce Tbis Shore retains.
Cities must die; Kingdoms to Death must yield,
Their Pomp concealed in Dust, and Herbage of the Field.

And grudge we Death, to these Examples blind?
How covetous, How proud, The Human Mind!

Consult the thirtieth Dialogue of Balzac, and you will find there a fine Imitation of this Thought in Latin Verse: but you will not find these Words of Rutilius there:

(10) *It was*
in the Year
1005. Age (8), and, properly speaking, without Confession [C]. He was no Bigot [D], and had been very much afflicted at his Wife's Disloyalty [E].

Non indignemur mortalia corpora solvi;
Cernimus exemplis oppida posse mori (11).

(11) Rutilius
Nunatianus
Itiner.
lib. 1. ver.
413.

Repine no longer at Mortality;
Example teaches, that even Cities die.

Nor these Verses of *Anselmus*:

Miremur periisse homines? monumenta fatiscunt,
Mors etiam faxis marmoribusque venit (12).

(12) Anselmus,
Epiq.
35. p. 30.

What wonder, if the Human Frame decay?
Death sweeps the Monuments of Art away.

Scarron, who turned every thing into Burlesque, made, as every one knows, a fine Sonnet upon this Thought. It begins thus:

Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains,
Pyramides, tombeaux, dont la vaine structure,

The last six Verses run thus:

Par l'injure des ans vous êtes abolis,
Ou du moins la plupart vont être démolis.
Il n'est point de ciment que le tems ne dissoute:
Si vos marbres si durs ont senti son pouvoir,
Dois-je trouver mauvais qu'un méchant pourpoint
noir,
Qui m'a dure deux ans, soit percé par le coude?

Ye Tombs, and Pyramids, that brave the Sky,
Proud Monuments of Human Vanity!
By Time destroy'd, in Ruins now Ye lie.
No Cement can resist it's mighty Power:
If Time the strongest Marbles can devour;
Should I complain, that a vile Doublet black
Betrays, in Two Years' Wear, full many a Crack?

Let us not forget Authors of a low Rank: They, and first of all myself, ought to make some use of This Morality: The Faults, which escape us, are pardonable, because the most famous and learned Writers, as the *Scaliger's*, the *Salmafus's*, have committed many over-sights. If such Authors are often mistaken, Those of a mean Rank, in the Commonwealth of Learning, ought not to be ashamed of their Mistakes, any more than other Nations were ashamed of being overcome, after the downfall of *Carthage*; *Poë Carthaginem vincit neminem puduit* (13): This is what I have said, in the Plan of this Dictionary (14). Observe, that it must not be pretended, that I contradict, here, what I said there, and which I had enlarged on another place (15), that great Authors are most subject to commit Faults. This is very True in certain Respects; and, yet, their Mistakes may serve for a Comfort, and Excuse, to Vulgar Writers. But an ill use ought not to be made of them: we must endeavour to aim at Perfection.

[C] He died, properly speaking, without Confession.] The *Menagiana* affords me the Proof of this: "Mr

de Bautru was about Seventy seven Years of Age, when he died. He came often to see me, two or three Years before his Death, on the Days that I held a Conference at my House. I was at one of my Friends, when word was brought me, that he was fallen into an Apoplectic Fit. I ran to see him; but he had already lost his Senses. Father *de Harrouys* was sent for to confess him. When they told him what he was come for, he said to him, with a troubled Voice, Father, I do not know you, neither do you know me, and yet I must tell you the most secret Things that I have done. I saw him die — He died, as it were, without speaking, and even without Confession. He confessed himself, indeed; if Confession may be made by an Interpreter. As he was stammering, a Footman explained to the Confessor for what his Master would say. I leave you to think, what a Confession This was (16)." If the Question should be asked, Why his ordinary Confessor was not sent for? it may, perhaps be answered, *Because he had none*. It is probable, that he was one of Those, who put off the Sacrament of Penitence to their last Hours.

[D] *He was no Bigot.*] This may be inferred from what I have just now said, that there was no Acquaintance between him, and the Confessor, who prepared him for Death. But can any thing be more express than the Testimony of his Son? "After the Death of Mr *de Bautru*, when they were about telling his House, they found his Chapel out of order and in decay. It is no wonder, said Mr *de S* — (17), for Mr *de Bautru* neglected his Chapel, as much as he took care of his Kitchen and Library." If he preserved an outward Appearance, it was only for the Sake of Decency: *Being retired to St Lazarus's, some One gave him That Part of the Passion to meditate upon, which he thought would affect him most; and he fixt his Thoughts on the three Dices that is to say, on the Place, where it is said, that the Soldiers cast Lots for our Saviour's Garment. He loved Gaming much* (20).

[E] *He was very much afflicted at his Wife's Disloyalty.*] See, in the Remark [B], how he sued his Wife, and the severe Punishment, which he caused to be inflicted on his Servant, her Accomplice. Is not This to be very sensible of the Disgrace of the Forehead? But, on the other side, he soon laughed at it, as others did, and would say sometimes, *If the Bautru's are Cuckolds, they are no Fools* (21). It was the most cunning expedient he could chuse (22) for, if such a Jester, as he was, had appeared serious, fullen and melancholy, he would have been very much laughed at. And, when all is done, he might jest upon it at his Ease, since he had not connived at the Fault; it is only a voluntary Cuckoldom, which may justly be reproached, either seriously, or in jest. *It is somewhat surprizing, says Mr Menage* (23), *that, for forty or fifty Years, Mr de Bautru should have filled all Europe with his jests, and witty Sayings, whilst there were so many things to say against him.* Risum fecit, sed ridiculus fuit. *I do not know where I have read this: Assurance goes a great Way* (24).

(16) *Menag.*
p. 104,
Edit. 2, of
Holl.

(17) *That is*
to say, Ser-
vant, as in
Edit. 1, pag.

(18) *Menag.*
pag. 105.

(19) *Ibid.*
pag. 97, of
Edit. 1.

(20) *Ibid.*

(21) *Ibid.*
pag. 104.

(22) See the
beginning of
Remark [B],
of the article
AGESI-
LAUS II.

(23) *Menag.*
pag. 200, of
Edit. 1.

(24) *That's*
Words have
been left out
in Edit. 2,
pag. 105,
without men-
tioning the
Author of the
Latin
Poëte. It
is to be found
in Quintili-
an, Instit.
Orator.
lib. VI, c. 1.

BAUTRU (NICOLAS) Brother of the foregoing, was known by the Name of *Count de Nogent* [A]. He had five Children by his Marriage with *Mary Coulon*, Sister

[A] *He was known by the Name of Count de Nogent.* This Count was one of *Sorbiere's* Patrons, as appears by the twentieth Letter of That Author, wherein he intreats him to improve, to his Advantage, the Elogy, which he had made on Cardinal *Mazarin*. This appears yet better by the Eighty first Letter, where he thanks him for the Money, which his Eminence had granted him with. I quote these Letters, that They, who desire to know Men by public Testimonies, may satisfy their Curiosity. They may also see the Forty seventh Letter. The *Menagiana* contains some curious Things concerning the Count *de Nogent*. "He came to *Paris* with but "Eight hundred Livres yearly Rent; and he had "an Hundred and fourscore thousand, when he died,

"The first Day he appeared at Court, he carried the King on his Shoulders through a watery Place in the *Tuilleries*. Monsieur *de Nogent* was an admirable Man at reviving a languishing Conversation. Being one Day in the Circle of the Queen-Mother, *Anne of Austria*, and perceiving the Conversation flag, and that the Queen-Mother, and the Ladies, among whom was *Madam de Guemene*, had been silent for some time: breaking Silence, and addressing himself to the Queen, *Madam*, said he, is it not a very odd thing in Nature, that *Madam de Guemene* and myself should be born in one Day, and but a quarter of an Hour after each other, and that she should be so Fair, and myself so Black (1)?" They, who have the Address, which

(1) *Page 47,*
of Edit. 2.

Sister of *John Coulon*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*; I. ARMAND BAUTRU, Count de *Nogent*, the King's Lieutenant in *Auvergne*, Master of the Wardrobe, and Marshal de *Camp*, who was killed in 1672, as he was passing the *Rhine* on Horfback [B]. His Body was found, fifteen Days after, in the *Rhine*, three Leagues below *Tolhuis*, where the *French* crossed That River. This Count had married *Diana Charlotte de Caumont de Lausun*, Sister to the Marquis de *Lausun*, who has been Captain of the Life-Guards, and Governour of *Berri*, and had the Honour to be betrothed with *Mademoiselle de Mompensier*, Daughter of *Gaston of France*, Duke of *Orleans*, and Grand-daughter of *Henry the Great*. II. NICOLAS BAUTRU, Marquis de *Vaubrun* [C], Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, and Governour of *Philippeville*. He married *Margaret Bautru* (a), and was killed in 1675, in the Battle, which was fought beyond the *Rhine*, a few Days after the Death of Marshal de *Turenne*. III. LEWIS BAUTRU, called the Chevalier de *Nogent*, Colonel of Horse. IV. MARY BAUTRU, Wife of *Rene de Rambures*, Marquis de *Rambures*: From this Marriage proceeded a Son, in whose Person the Family of the Sires de *Rambures* ended, as to the Male Issue. V. CHARLOTTE BAUTRU, Wife of *Nicolas d'Argouge*, Marquis de *Rannes*, Cornet of the Light-Horse of the Guard, and Colonel-General of the Dragoons of *France* (b). He was killed in *Germany*, in the Month of *July* 1678 (c). He was Lieutenant-General. His Widow married again with *John Baptist Armand de Roban*, Prince of *Montauban*, Son of *Charles de Roban*, Duke of *Mombazon* (d).

(a) Grand-daughter of Mr de Bautru, the fine Wit.

(b) This Article was taken from Mr Menage's Observations on the Life of William Menage, p. 377.

(c) Merce Galant.

(d) Menage ibid. p. 308.

which he had, of reviving a languishing Conversation, are a great Help in the World; for, since, in the very Circles of the Queens of *France*, they are apt to fall into a kind of Drowsiness, which is almost as troublesome to the Company, as a Calm to Seamen; one may very well think, that a great many other Assemblies are subject to This Inconvenience. Is it not, therefore, very agreeable, that somebody should be always ready to revive the Company, that it may not be said, as Those Ladies in the *Menagiana* did, *It rains Weariness, as fast as it can pour*? But I wonder how the Count de *Nogent*, endowed with This Virtue, could be so weak, as Mr *Menage* represents him to be, against the Attacks of *Angeli*. "One Day, at the King's Dinner, *Angeli* said to the Count de *Nogent*, Let us be covered; This is of no Consequence to us. The Count de *Nogent* was so vexed at it, that it did not a little contribute to his Death (2)." In the first Edition This was said of Mr de *Bautru*, the Count de *Nogent*'s eldest Brother. It is true, that, instead of saying, that it contributed much to his Death, it is only said, that he was very much troubled at it. It were to be wished, that Mr *Menage* had corrected the *Menagiana* himself.

(2) Menagiana, p. 145.

(1) Merce Galant of 1672, Tom. III.

[B] Armand Bautru - - - - was killed in 1672, as he was passing the *Rhine*.] The News Writers of those Times informed the Public (3), That They,

who believed the Count was drowned, without having been wounded, and that his Horse was the Cause of his Death, were mistaken; since, after his Body was found, it was discovered, that he was killed by a *Musket-shot in the Head*. They published also, that his Body was buried in the great Church of *Zevenart*. In the Year 1686, the Marquis de *Biron* married a Daughter of This Count de *Nogent*.

[C] Nicolas Bautru, Marquis de *Vaubrun*.] It is He, of all the Family, who seems to have been most familiar with *Sorbiere*: That Author's printed Letters witness it; as also his Relation of a Journey to *England*. From the Letter, which he wrote to him, the eighth of *August*, 1657 (4), we learn, that This Marquis was Colonel General of the *Carabiniers of France*, and of an extraordinary Valour, but that it did not hinder him from being fond of good Books; "I wait, says he to him, for the Happiness of seeing you again at *Paris*, the next Winter, in That Chamber of the *Louvre*, where I have found you so often reading *Tacitus*, whilst the other Courtiers were employing the Morning in powdering their Hair, and tying their Knots of Ribbons." He was a very active Officer: His Disputes with the Count de *Lorge*, after the Death of Marshal de *Turenne*, had like to have proved very fatal to the *French*.

(4) It is the 4th. See also the 5th.

BEAUCAIRE DE PEGUILON (FRANCIS), in Latin *Belcarius Peguilio*, Bishop of *Metz*, was a very learned Man in the XVIth Century [A]. He descended from one of the most ancient Families of the *Bourbonnois*, and was one of the first Gentlemen of his Country, who applied themselves solidly to the Study of Literature. The Progress, which he made in it, induced *Claudius of Lorrain*, first Duke of *Guise*, to choose him for Preceptor to his second Son, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*. *Beaucaire* succeeded so well in this Employ, that he received many Praises for it from the Court of *France*, which he did not expect. He went with the Cardinal of *Lorrain* to *Rome*, where he conferred with *Paul Jovius*, Bishop of *Nocera*, which did not hinder him afterwards from confuting That Prelate's Historical Mistakes. At his return from *Italy*, the Cardinal of *Lorrain* procured him the Bishopric of *Metz* [B]: He carried him afterwards to the Council of *Trent*; and it was before That

[A] He lived in the XVIth Century.] According to *Konig*, he was alive in the Year 1625. *Res Gallicae*, says he, anno 1625, in literas redegit. - - - - In the Year 1625, he wrote an History of the French Affairs. Which is false. It is true, his History was printed at *Lyons*, in the Year 1625; but it had been written a long time before. The Bibliographers often commit such Mistakes.

(1) It is, as at the Year 1556.

(2) Beza's Ecclesiastical History, Lib. XVI. pag. 439.

[B] The Cardinal of *Lorrain* procured him the Bishopric of *Metz*.] Some say, that he only kept This Bishopric for the Cardinal. The Reader will not be displeased to find, here, the Account, which *Theodorus Beza* gives of the whole Matter. "At that same time (1), says he (2), *Charles of Lorraine*, Cardinal, and Bishop of *Metz*, the greatest

"Enemy, that our Religion had, resigned the Bishopric of *Metz*; at which Those of the Reformed Religion greatly rejoiced. But, as it was not at all likely, that such a Man, being the most Ambitious and Covetous of any of his Rank in the World, should voluntarily resign such a noble Preferment, it was immediately discovered, that this Hypocrite had only resigned his Title of Bishop, as making a Conscience of holding so many Crosses in his Hands, and reserved, in the mean time, all the Temporalities to himself. This Titular Bishop's Name was *Peguillon*, one of his Protonotaries, a Man of some Learning, but little skilled in Divinity, who, being accompanied by two other Bishops, viz. of *Toul* and *Verdun*, both like

That famous Assembly, that *Beaucaire* delivered the Speech [C], which is at the end of his thirtieth Book (a); for you must know, that he wrote an History of his own Times in *Latin*, which is much esteemed. He began it, when, in the Year 1568, he had resigned the Bishopric of Metz to Cardinal *Lewis* of Lorraine [D], and was retired to his Country-Seat, called *la Chrete*, in *Bourbonnois*. He brought it down from the Year 1462, to the Year 1567, and left off writing it, in the Year 1588. He was, then, in his Seventy fifth Year (b); for he was born the Fifteenth of April 1514 (c). He designed to continue it (d); but it is probable, the Infirmities of Old-age prevented him. He did not intend to publish This Work [E]; for he feared he had spoken such Truths, as might raise him dangerous Enemies. It was *Philip Dinet*, Sieur de *St Romain* (e), who, having found This History in the Author's Library at *la Chrete*, caused it to be printed, at *Lyons*, in the Year 1625 (f). It is said, that *Beaucaire* died the Fourteenth of February 1591 (g). He was a very fit Person to draw up the Decisions of a Council [F]; for he knew how to manage the Terms so well, that all the Disputants, that were to be satisfied, were pleased with it. The manner of his voting, one Day, concerning Episcopal Authority, dis-

(e) He had been the Duke of Longueville's Governor, and afterwards his Envoy in Switzerland, at several Times.

(f) In the Publisher's Advertisement.

(g) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1566, n. 34.

like himself, came to Metz, and alarmed a little those of the Reformed Religion, who thought they were come as Inquisitors, with some great Power, to persecute them, which made many of them absent from the City. But God diverted this Storm; and *Peguyon* was contented to publish a little Book in *Latin*, concerning Sanctification, and the Baptism of Infants, which was soon after answered: So that Those, who had abated themselves, returned without any Molestation. But These Shops gained a Nick-name by it, which was given them by those of their own Religion, who first named them the *Lent Bishops*, because, said they, they are as meagre as *Lent*, having only a small Pension, assigned them on the Bishoprics, of which they enjoyed the Titles, but the Cardinal the Profits. See the Remark [D].

[C] He delivered a Speech before the Council of Trent. He spoke it on the Day, which the Fathers of the Council had chosen to give Thanks to God for the Battle of *Dreux* (3). The two Historians of That Council acknowledge This Prelate's Eloquence (4); but *Pallavicini*, who does not give such a long Extract of the Speech, is more prolix on the Praises of the Orator, than *Father Paul*, and remarks also, that *Beaucaire* had lost his Nephew in That Battle. "Belcarus Episcopus Metensis vir eloquentia præclarus victorum laudes celebravit magnifica oratione ad Synodum, publicæ felicitati gratulatus in luctu domestico, quippe qui Gilbertum Belcarium sui fratris filium amiserat in conflictu, atque hæc omnia eleganti quam scripsit historiæ confignata posteritati tradidit (5). --- Beaucaire, Bishop of Metz, a Man of great Eloquence, celebrated the Praises of the Victors, in a pompous Oration before the Council, congratulating the Public Felicity amidst Domestic Affliction; for he had lost his Nephew, Gilbert Beaucaire, in the Battle; All which he delivered down to Posterity in an Elegant History, which he wrote." [D] In the Year 1568, he resigned the Bishopric of Metz to Cardinal *Lewis* of Lorraine. When Cardinal Charles of Lorraine made This Bishopric over to him, he reserved the Right of Reversion to himself; *Regressum, ut Romani Pragmatici vocant, sibi exceperat* (6). But he did not make use of this Right for himself. The Bishopric of Metz remained in *Beaucaire's* Hands from the Year 1555, till 1568 (7). It is falsely said, in the Advertisement to the Reader, before his History, that he went to Trent, with Cardinal *Lewis* of Lorraine, to whom he resigned his Mitre. It is certain, that he resigned it to him (8); but he followed Cardinal Charles of Lorraine to Trent. He was at Rome, in the Month of November, 1555, when the Pope gave him his Bull for the Bishopric of Metz. This I infer from his saying, that he admired the Eloquence, with which That Pope represented the Episcopal Duties to him. "Menſe Novembri Paulus me Pontificatu Metensi cedente Lotharingo Cardinale donavit, ac quum illi gratias agerem, me mei officii admonendo, & commissum populum commendando, sacunda in primis & satis proluxa oratione respondit, ut tam expeditam in homine sene & in multis negotiis versato eloquentiam admirarer (9)." After he had resigned, he retired Home, and, to employ his leisure Hours, wrote a Commentary on the French Affairs. "Quum post decimum tertium ex quo id munus suscepissem annum, Metensi pontificatu defunctus

esset, eoque cessissem, & me ab hominum frequentia subducens in Christianum fundum (10) paratum fenestru jam dudum inter nostros Boios studiorum meorum domicilium fecissem, me omnino otiosum vitæ extremum tempus traducere viderer, commentarios rerum Gallicarum scripsi (11)."

[E] He did not intend to publish This Work. He declares so himself. "Hos (Commentarios) me editurum non profiteor; lateant in Christiana nostra bibliotheca, donec tuto exire possint: vere nec in cujusquam gratiam aut odium scripsisse confirmo (12). --- I have no Intention to publish them: let them rest in my Library of la Chrete, till they may safely come abroad; I declare, that I wrote them impartially, and with a strict regard to Truth." This he says in his Preface; and here is what he says in the Conclusion of his Work: "Maturo judicio ne in multorum odia incurreremus, veritas enim odium parit, ut inquit poeta Comicus, non statim edendos judicavimus. --- Upon mature Consideration, to avoid giving Offence to many, since, as the Poet says, Truth gains us Enemies, I thought proper to defer the Publication of of Them." He is very violent against the Protestants; but it is not in that Respect, that the Fear of offending several Persons made him resolve not to publish it.

[F] He was a very fit Person to draw up the Decisions of a Council. *Father Paul* mentions the Difficulty, which the Fathers of the Council found themselves in, on the Question about Marriage. "The first Chapter concerning Abuses, importing the Re-establishment of the Banns, ordered by Innocent III. --- was touched and retouched several times, --- but always so unsuccessfully, that the last Correction was the worst. Among other things, a Point, already agreed upon, was altered; which was, That all Marriages, made in the Presence of three Witnesses, should be valid. And, instead of one of the Witnesses, it was said, That all Marriages, contracted without the Presence of the Priest, should be void; which raised the Ecclesiastic Order infinitely. --- I have not found in my Memoirs, who was the Author of This great Advantage, nor many other Particulars, which I would not have failed to mention, if I had known them. In the mean while, I must not rob Francis de Beaucaire, Bishop of Metz, of the Honour, which is due to him: for it was He, who, seeing the Impossibility of reconciling such different Opinions, gave This Decree the Form it now bears, which really admits of several Senses, but suits admirably well with the various Opinions about That Matter (14)."

We find the following Words in the Annals of Spondanus: "In quo decreto ad formam reducendo quæ probaretur et in sessione promulgaretur, cum patres valde perplexi essent, Franciscus Belcarus Episcopus Metensis, vir pius doctusque & acumine ac maturitate ingenii præstans, eum composuit quæ publicè conspicitur, cæteris comprobantibus (15). --- In the giving of which Decree the Form, which should be approved of, and promulged in the Session, when the Fathers were under great Perplexity, Francis Beaucaire, Bishop of Metz, a pious, learned, and ingenious Prelate, drew up That, which is publicly seen, with the Approbation of the rest." If any one should say, that a Person, who could

(10) His Country Seat called la Chrete.

(11) In Prefat.

(12) Of la Chrete.

(13) In Prefat.

(14) Hist. of the Council of Trent, lib. viii. ad Ann. 1563, pag. 730.

(15) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1563, n. 39.

(a) Taken from the Preface to The History of Lewis XI, by Varillas.

(b) Belcarus, in fin. lib. XXX.

(c) Id. in Prefat. Hist. Roriz.

(d) Id. in fin. lib. XXX.

(3) January 9, 1563.

(4) See Father Paul, lib. vii.

(5) Lib. 19. cap. 10. n. 5.

(6) Belcarus, lib. xxvi, n. 6.

(7) Ibid. sub fin. lib. 30.

(8) Ibid. lib.

(9) Id. lib. xxvii, n. 6. ad Annum 1555.

pleased the Flatterers of the Court of *Rome*; infomuch, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* censured him for it [G], and denied, that he had ever been his Disciple. I refer the Reader to *Moreri* for some other things which I omit. I believe there is an Exaggeration in That great Number of Books, which he ascribes to *Beaucaire*, and some Confusion in the Titles, which he sets down [H]. Cardinal *Pallavicini* praised *Lewis XIII* for permitting a Book to be dedicated to him, in which the Alliances of *Francis I* with the *Turks* are very freely censured (b). That Book is the History of *France*, composed by our Bishop of *Metz*. He had a Brother, whose Name was *JOHN*, who was educated with the Constable of *Bourbon* (i), and who had a Son killed in the Battle of *Dreux*, and a Daughter married to *Sebastian* of *Luxembourg*, Viscount de *Martignies* [I].

(b) Pallavicini. History of the Council of Trent, lib. v. chap. 1, n. 3.

(i) Beloeil, us, in Prie

could draw up a Decree so perspicuously, that every Reader might know, that such and such things are condemned in it, and that only such a thing is formally approved in it, would be a fitter Man to draw up the Decisions of a Council than *Beaucaire*; This is my Answer. I agree, that such a Man would be more proper for this Business, if Synodical Assemblies could, or would, sacrifice Political Interests to Truth, and Integrity: But, because They, who compose These Assemblies, have not Virtue enough to act only in favour of Justice, or Faith enough to hope, that a good Cause will be sufficiently protected by God, without the Assistance of Politics, there are no fitter Persons for their Purpose, than those, who know how to draw up Acts full of Ambiguities, and such as may satisfy the opposite Parties. However, it cannot be denied, that the Bishop, of whom I speak, was a fit Tool for the Pope; since That Council designed to displease none of the School Factions. "Who will not admire the Prudence of this Council? We are told very ingenuously (16), that the Members of it resolved to contrive their Decisions in such a manner, and to chuse and adapt their Words so, as not to prejudice, in the least, the different Opinions of the Schools, about which the Catholic Doctors were otherwise very much divided. We are further told, that it concerned the Prudence of the Council not to expose the Church to new Troubles, by the Disputes, which would have been raised among Divines, if their Doctrine had been discussed, and censured; and that it appears, that it is one of the Articles, on which the Pope had particularly insisted; not having intimated his Inclination for any particular Thing, but for the managing of the Schoolmen's Disputes, that he might not thwart any Opinion without Necessity, and in order to re-unite all the Catholic Forces against the Sectaries.

"This was praised so exactly, says our Author, that one may see, by the very Words, of which the Decisions are composed, that the Fathers of the Council have been scrupulously exact, in finding out Terms, which should not prejudice any of Those Opinions. If Father Paul had said This, such a Discourse would have been taken for a Satire on the Court of *Rome*: But it is Cardinal *Pallavicini*, who says it; and, consequently, it must be believed to be true (17)."

[G] The Cardinal of *Lorrain* censured him for it.] Cardinal *Pallavicini*, having said, that the Bishop of *Metz* declared, that he believed, that Bishops received their Authority immediately from God, and that they were not merely the Pope's Delegates, and that the Pope's Power is not unlimited, adds, that, in this, he went beyond his Bounds, *hac in re plurimum ille cancellus transgressus est* (18). "It was suspected, continues he, that the Bishop, and the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, juggled, and acted in concert; but the Cardinal, in order to remove These Suspensions, declared, that he had never been *Beaucaire's* Scholar, and censured him before the Embassadors of *France*, and twelve Bishops." *Fama erat, hunc Episcopum Lotharingi magistrum fuisse: & sane intimam cum eo familiaritatem exercebat, atque ejus operâ nobilem illum Sædem acceperat. Unde suspicio fuit, eos concorditer se gessisse, & textum à discipulo obscurè propositum fuisse dilucidatum à magistro interpretationis suæ claritate. Sed Cardinalis, hujusce famæ confusus, Qualiter negavit? se nunquam Beauqueri discipulum fuisse; cum quidem à se agnosci viram maximæ literaturæ, sed minimi consilii. Nec abstinent, quin illum castigaret coram duobus Gallis Oratoribus, & duodecim Episcopis (19). They, who know the Spirit of a Court, which was the Soul of this Cardinal's whole Conduct,*

will not build much on what he said, when he found, that he was called in question for *Beaucaire's* Opinions. He was willing to make use of him in founding the Business, in order to see whether any thing could be done to please the *Gallican* Church, but, afterwards, was as ready to disown him, when he knew that the Court of *Rome* was offended at it. After all, *Beaucaire* was, perhaps, a Man of no great Conduct, as we may suppose This Cardinal declared. This is but too common among studious Persons.

[H] There is some Confusion in the Titles, which *Moreri* sets down.] He says, that *Beaucaire* composed a Treatise of Children, that die in their Mother's Womb, --- and a Treatise against the Calvinists.] This is to declare plainly, that the first of these two Treatises does not oppose the Tenets of the Calvinists; which is false; for it is designed to oppose the Opinion, which they have, that the Children of the Faithful are sanctified in their Mother's Womb; and, therefore, that, though they die without receiving Baptism, they are, nevertheless, saved. The Passage of *Theodorus Beza*, which I have alleged before (20), informs us, that this Book of *Beaucaire* was answered. An anonymous Author replied to This Answer; his Reply was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1567, in 8vo (21), with the first Treatise of *Beaucaire* (22), and some others. Properly speaking, the two Books, mentioned by *Moreri*, are but one and the same Book. *Spandanus* remarks, that *Beaucaire* published his Dissertation against the Tenets of the Calvinists, concerning the Sanctification of Children in their Mothers Womb, in 1567; but what I have said before, shews plainly, that This Book had appeared before That time, and a little after *Beaucaire's* Infatiment in the Cathedral of *Metz*. Now he obtained That Bishopric in the Month of November, 1555, as I said in the Remark [D]. So that it must be said, that *Beaucaire* prepared a second Edition of his Treatise, and that he did not publish it till the Year 1567. He inserted some Letters in it, which were intercepted at *Châlons*, on *Marnes*, during the Conference of *Passy*. These Letters were written by *Tassin*, and *Theodorus Beza*. *Tassin*, Minister of *Metz*, had consulted the Ministers of the Conference of *Passy*, on the Question, Whether Children, baptized by a Woman, should be re-baptized. He was answered, That some Persons, of great Judgment, did not believe that it ought to be done, and that, therefore, they had thought fit to refer the Discussion of That Point to the Church of *Geneva*, and to That of *Zurich* (23). *Moreri* says, that the History of *France*, by *Beaucaire*, begins with the Year 1460, and ends with the Year 1580. But, had he consulted the Authors, whom he quotes, *Spandanus* (24) would have informed him, that it begins with the Year 1462, and ends with the Year 1566; that the Author promised, indeed, to continue it, if God gave him Life for it, but that the Effect of this Promise did not appear, though the Work was not published till about forty Years after *Beaucaire* had finished it. The Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library commits the same Fault with *Moreri*: I do not wonder at it, since the Bookseller's Preface contains This Error.

[I] His Brother *JOHN* --- had --- a Daughter married to *Sebastian* of *Luxembourg*.] *Beaucaire* speaks of This Marriage, and says, that *Queen Mary Stuart*, the Wife of *Francis II*, procured him for her Niece, whom the greatly loved (25). *Le Laboureur* confirms this. "Sebastian of *Luxembourg*, says he (26), partly "out of Inclination, and partly in hopes of gaining the Affection and Favour of *Queen Mary Stuart*, married *Frances* (27) de *Beaucaire*, Daughter of "John S. de *Peguilion*, and Maid of Honour to the said *Queen*, who loved her entirely for her good Qualities. He had an only Daughter by her, whose "Estate

Tu a Spirit of the Council of Trent.

(16) That is to say, in a Book, written by a Doctor of the Sorbonne, name Savary, and printed at Paris in 1615, concerning the Sufficiency of Attrition.

(17) Taken from the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Febr. 1686, Art. I. pag. 127.

(18) Pallavicini. lib. xix, cap. 6, n. 5. pag. 284.

• Littera Guillelmi ad Borromæum. - Decembris & sequentibus 1562.

(19) Afta Palearii ad Pallavicinum. ibid. n. 6.

(20) In Remark [B].

(21) The Title of it. Anonymi Antapolog. contra Apologiam, Matensium in nostrorum nomine scriptam, & eversione sanctificatio nis Calvinianæ.

(22) The Title is Contra Calvinianorum doctrinam de sanctificatione infantium uteris matrum.

(23) Claude de Saint-Ange Answer the Apology of Theodorus Beza cited by Irenæus, & Leuch. Hist. pag. 98.

(24) An. 151 n. 34.

(25) Beloeil's Hist. lib. 28, 37.

(26) Afta de Castillon. Tom. I. 829. 83.

(27) Fi. Uncle, & should be lost, call Mary, 123, n. Mr le boureur ing better formed, her, so wife, in the Ph

(28) *Estimate*, "Estate she managed with as much Care and Prudence, as she had shewn in the Education of This great Heiress (28)." *Brantôme* had not forgot this; for, in the List of the Ladies, who were eminent in the Court of Catherine de Medicis, he places *Madame de Martigues, formerly called Mademoiselle de Ville-*

montois, a great Favourite of the Queen of Scotland (29). *Mr le Laboureur, T. i. l. pag. 318*, says, that the Lady de *Villemontois* was *Mary de Beaumont*, Daughter of *John*, Lord of *Puy Guilleu*, *Seigneur de Poitou*.

(29) The Lives of the French Ladies, p. 94.

BEAULIEU (LEWIS LE BLANC Sieur de) Minister, and Professor of Divinity at *Sedan*, in the XVIIth Century, was a Man very commendable for his Learning and Virtue. A great many Theological Theses were maintained under his Direction, and collected into one Volume, after his Death, and printed in *England*. The Public was so well pleased with them, that This Edition was soon sold off, and Another published in the same Country, in the Year 1683 (a). If he had not been a *Frenchman*, a Preface would have been prefixed to the first, or second Edition, giving an Account of the Author's Life; for the *French* are very apt to let the History, or the Life, of a Kinsman, famous for his great Parts, and learned Works, fall into oblivion. The Impossibility I find of fixing the Time, and Place, of the Birth of *Lewis le Blanc*, the Time of his Promotion to the Ministry, and to the Professorship of Divinity, and other Historical and Chronological Circumstances, must be imputed to such a Negligence. I can say nothing more, than that he died in the Month of *February* 1675, and that he was well beloved by the *Marshall de Fabert* (b), one of the greatest Wits of his Age. Some of his Sermons were printed at *Sedan*, in the Year 1675. It is not in them, that the brightest Merit of the Author is to be looked for, but in his Theses, wherein he treats, with a wonderful Clearness [A], and great Penetration, the most important Matters of Divinity, and applies himself chiefly to remove the Misunderstandings, which have so greatly multiplied Controversies. He lays down the true state of the Question; he clears up things that are ambiguous, and makes it appear, that many Disputes, which are thought to be real, are only Disputes about Words. It is scarce credible, how much this Method prejudiced a great many ignorant Persons against him [B]. They imagined, that he endeavoured to bring back the Reformed to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. They, who knew his Virtue, and Piety, did not suspect any such thing of him; nor they, who were capable of judging right of his Theses: But many People in the remote Provinces knew him no otherwise, than as they had been told, that he shewed, that, in some things, the Divines of both Parties did not so much differ from each other, as was believed. These Gentlemen, being unwilling to lessen the Subjects of Division, which they would rather have increased, or being accustomed to interpret things ill, or rashly believe those, who give a bad Turn to the Actions of their Neighbours, looked upon *Mr de Beaulieu* as a false Brother, who was promoting the great Design of re-uniting both Churches [C], which the Cardinal de *Richelieu* was so fond of. This Professor's Penetration obliged him

(a) *It is the third. The first is that of Sedan, in 4to. The second is in folio.*

(b) He was Governor of Sedan.

[A] He treated the most important Matters with wonderful Clearness. Because *Mr Nicolle* will be sooner believed, than myself, I shall quote a Passage of his *Lawful Prejudices against the Calvinists*. "One of their Professors of *Sedan*, whose Name is *Lewis le Blanc*, has particularly signalized himself on this Subject, in his *Theses of Justification*. That Professor, who justly deserves the Praise of having an extraordinary clear Head, and of being a very fit Man to unravel Questions, which are perplexed by the different use of Terms, examines, in his Theses, the chief Differences between the Catholics and Protestants, on this Head, and concludes, on all the Articles, that The Catholics are in the right, and The Protestants only contrary to them in Words (1)."

[B] This Method prejudiced a great many ignorant Persons. They are not only weak Men, who have entertained Suspicions against *Mr Beaulieu*: See here what an ingenious Minister has published; "I respect *Mr le Blanc's* Memory; but the concern for Truth obliges me to remark, what no one is ignorant of, namely, that This Divine wrote after a manner, which made his Orthodox much suspected. Thinking to clear up Matters, to remove useless Disputes, or Those, which turn only on Words, and to take away all Equivocations, he has extremely strained the Space, which separates us from the Church of *Rome*. He has reduced the most important Controversies almost to nothing: And, by This Conduct, as also by his great Mildness, and the strong Inclination, which he always shewed for Peace, he has given many Persons occasion to rank him among the *Latitudinarians* (2). — The famous *Mr le Blanc de Beaulieu*, for whose Memory I have otherwise a great Venera-

tion, is not a Divine, whose Pen is to be borrowed, to describe the Opinion of the Reformed, about controverted Matters with the Papists. — He was a little too Neutral in the Quarrel, which we have to decide with Them (3)."
Hec ille (Le Blanc, pag. 796, n. 56.) qui laxus nimium est controversiarum quas tractat arbitrio, quo factum ut minimis partium adversarum conciliationi intentum, à communi via Reformatarum sæpe discesserit (4).

[C] It was believed, he was promoting the great Design of re-uniting both Churches. These false Suspicions increased, when a certain Report was spread abroad, That the *Marshall de Turenne*, being very fond of re-uniting both Religions, had founded the Professor of *Sedan*, and received a Letter from him, which was shewed to all the Ministers, in order to surprize them. This Report was not altogether groundless: for *Mr Jaquelot* says, that, in 1672, the Agent, who was employed in This Affair, came to *Vallin*, in *Champagne* — with a *Credential Letter*, signed *Lewis*, and a Letter from *Monsieur de Turenne*, to *Mr de Beaulieu*, Professor of Divinity at *Sedan*, and with That Professor's Answer to *Mons. de Turenne*, — and the Signatures of the *Pastors of Picardy and Champagne*, whom he had visited; but he adds, that This Answer did no Injury to *Mr de Beaulieu's* Reputation (5). Note, that he produces (6), an Act of the Synod of the *Ile de France*, which justifies the Ministers, who had signed. The Piece, in which he mentions these things, is a Letter against *Mr Benoit*, Minister of *Deslys*, who did not fail to answer it; and who, among other Remarks, made this, that the Signatures of the most innocent Ministers contained This Restriction: "And I promise to contribute to it, as much as lies in my power, with a safe Conscience (7)."
He adds, that this last Clause, "taken from

(1) *Ibid.* pag. 477.

(4) *Leydecker. Preface in Aphorism. Lud. de Dieu, §. 6.*

(5) *Jaquelot's Letter to the Pastors and Governors of the Wallon Churches of the United Provinces*, p. 32, dated from the Hague, Sept. 13. 1698.

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 33.

(7) *Benoit's Apology*, presented to the Governor of the Wallon Churches, pag. 42.

(1) *Nicolle Prejug. leg. cap. 11, p. 107, 108, Hill. 1683.*

(2) *Saurin's Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology*, pag. 239.

to avoid certain Terms, commonly received, which he found somewhat inconvenient. He did it, particularly, as to the Doctrine of the Certainty of Salvation. This gave Mr *Arnauld* an occasion to quarrel with him [D]. Mr *de Beaulieu* had no Children; his Widow, who was a very understanding and virtuous Woman, shewed an Heroic Constancy in the last Persecution (c). She could never be forced to make any Abjuration; so that, after many Vexations, which she endured, she died without betraying her Profession in the least. Mr *le Blanc*, Counsellor in the Pre-fidial of *Sedan*, Brother to Mr *de Beaulieu*, endeavoured twice to make his Escape into *Holland*, after his Abjuration, but was taken in the Way, and brought back again into his Country. *The King forgave him the Punishment of the Gallies, to which he had been condemned for designing to leave the Kingdom against the Prohibitions* (d).

Mr *de Beaulieu* has been very often cited, in the Quarrel between two French Ministers, who disputed, among other things, about the Principle of Faith. What I cite out of their Writings, may serve to discover his Opinions, and Character [E], and,

(c) Mr *Quick* speaks of it in his *Prolegomena to the Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*.

(d) Remarks on the Confession of *Sanci*, pag. 555, Edit. 1699.

(8) *Id. ibid.* pag. 41.

(9) *Arnauld's* Overthrow of *The Morality*, cited by *Peter Jurieu*; Justification of the Morals of the Reformed, Book IV, chap. xiv, pag. 405. Edit. of the Hague 1685.

(10) In his *Book intitled*, Calvinism convicted anew, c. 19.

(11) See the Justification of the Morals of the Reformed, Book VII, chap. xiv, pag. 36.

(12) *Saurin's* Examination of Mr *Jurieu's* Theology, pag. 260.

• Page 24, col. 1.

(13) *Id. ib.* pag. 261.

“ from Mr *de Beaulieu's* Letter, was a Snare laid for “ the Simplicity of good Souls. . . . It is certain, “ that Three sorts of Persons were concerned in This “ Project. I. Ill-minded Persons. II. Plain and “ honest Men. III. Wise and clear-sighted Persons, “ but dazzled, either with the seeming Usefulness of “ the Thing, or with the Name of Mr *de Beaulieu*, “ a Man of great Merit, but of too Apostolic a Sin- “ cerity, to disengage himself from the Craftiness of “ the *Marshall de Fabert*, an old Courtier, and who “ did not scruple to deceive People (8).” There is “ a small Mistake here; for the *Marshall de Fabert* “ had been dead above seven or eight Years, before This “ Project was set on foot. *Monf. de Turenne* was the “ Promoter of it.

[D] This gave Mr *Arnauld* an occasion to quarrel with him.] He accused him of having renounced the Opinions of the *Calvinists* in four Points of the Doctrine of the Certainty of Salvation (9). Mr *de Beaulieu* published a particular Thesis on This Subject, in Answer to Mr *Arnauld*. The latter replied after his Adversary's Death (10): *A Disciple, and intimate Friend*, of the deceased, answered Mr *Arnauld's* Reply (11). I have compared The Disciple's Answer and Mr *Arnauld's* Reply together, but could not determine which was right, or which was wrong; They are properly Questions of Fact, about which a thousand Equivocations, and all the Art of Disputation, may be used on both Sides. A Man must have more leisure, than I have, to examine This thoroughly. Nevertheless, I believe, if Mr *de Beaulieu* had written his Apology himself, his Cause would have been better defended.

[E] What I quote out of their Writings, may serve to discover his Opinions, and Character.] Let us begin with a Passage of Mr *Saurin*: He had just said, That Mr *le Blanc's* Name is not so much authorized, as famous, among us (12); and here is what he adds: What Mr *Jurieu* mentions of Mr *le Blanc* “ is more “ fit to cry down his Doctrine, than to give it cre- “ dit: For Example, Is it not a fine way of defend- “ ing the Authority of the Scripture, and the Truth “ of the Christian Religion, to say, That it is ne- “ cessary, that That, which is the first Principle of “ Faith, should not be proved by itself, nor by another “ Principle; and yet, that the Principle of Faith “ should not be an evident Thing, because, as in Hu- “ man Sciences, there are certain Principles, which “ are the first, on which all others depend, which “ neither depend on themselves, nor on other Prin- “ ciples, so it is with the Doctrine of Faith. They, “ who know the A, B, C, of the Art of Thinking “ and Reasoning, know also, that a Proposition, “ which is not self-evident, and is not mediately, or “ immediately, demonstrated by another self-evident “ Proposition, cannot be a Principle of Science, or “ of Faith, nor so much as pass for a true Proposi- “ tion, whilst it remains in That Obscurity. — Mr “ *Jurieu* adds, after Mr *le Blanc*, That, though the “ Scripture, that is to say, the Divinity of the Scrip- “ ture, be not self-evident, it ought not to be conclu- “ ded, therefore, that it is not the first Principle of “ Faith, and that it ought to borrow it's Authority “ from elsewhere (13). These Words neither agree “ with right Reason, nor the Word of God. The “ Divinity of the Scripture is evident by it's Cha- “ racters — Mr *de Beaulieu* reasons no better, “ when he answers the Objection, which the Ene- “ mies of Christianity make against the Holy Scrip-

“ tures in this manner. *As for those impertinent “ Questions, which are asked us, How do you prove, “ that the Apostles wrote their Books by Divine In- “ spiration? We answer, That they require an unjust “ thing of us; viz. that we should demonstrate a “ thing, which is not to be demonstrated. We, there- “ fore, confess freely, that we cannot demonstrate it, “ that is to say, prove and demonstrate it Mathema- “ tically: But we deny, that it follows from thence, “ that Those Books cannot be the first and certain “ Rule of Faith, because it is the Property of the “ Principles of Faith not to be evident* (14).” See, in Mr *Saurin's* own Book how he confutes These Maxims. We must insert Mr *Jurieu's* Answer here. “ It “ is a curious Thing, says he (15), to see how Mr “ *Saurin* uses Mr *de Beaulieu*, whom he calls, else- “ where, a most Excellent Man. But, here, because “ he is of Mr *Jurieu's* Opinion, and of That of “ the whole Church, concerning the Evidence of “ the Principle of Faith, he must needs be a Man “ of no very sound Orthodoxy; he favoured *Popey*, “ and *Arminianism*; he was a great *Latitudinarian*; “ he saved as many Persons as he could; he propo- “ sed such Absurdities, that he deserved to be sent “ back to his A, B, C; and it is imprudent to own “ one's self his Disciple. The Truth is, we can hard- “ ly believe our own Eyes. Here we may perceive “ what advantage the Living have over the Dead, “ as the Wife Man tells us: Such a one pulls the “ dead Lion by the Beard, who durst not have come “ within a thousand Paces of him, if he had been “ alive. — They, who knew the late Mr *de Beau- “ lieu*, know, that he was the most reserved Man “ in the World in speaking his own Opinions; A “ faithful Historian of Those of others, but most re- “ served as to his own; giving his Resolution only “ on notorious things, and such as were owned by “ all Divines. So that, unless he had been out of “ his Wits, it is not to be imagined, that he would “ have explained his Mind about such nice Proposi- “ tions, had he not been persuaded, that he followed “ the common Road. How could a Man, who “ made it his Study to know the Opinions of all “ Divines, and who seldom declared his own, be ig- “ norant of a Matter of Fact, known to Mr *Saurin*, “ who never saw but the Outside of great Libraries? “ Or, was Mr *de Beaulieu* so foolish, and so wicked, “ as to establish an Impiety, of which he was the “ Author, as a public Opinion? Whom does Mr “ *Saurin* hope to persuade of this? They, who have “ read the first Part of this Work, about the Mat- “ ter of Fact, will be ashamed of Mr *Saurin's* Rash- “ nesses: Since they will see, that our Orthodox Di- “ vines, since *Calvin*, have spoken as Mr *de Beau- “ lieu* did; and that, in This, and almost in every “ thing else, he is but an Historian. But does not “ Mr *de Beaulieu* advance some hard Things, about “ this Question, which are peculiar to him? For Ex- “ ample: That the *Proofs, which are alleged for “ the Divinity of the Holy Scriptures, are not of the “ Nature of Those, which are called de Fide, in the “ Schools; that they are not drawn from any Prin- “ ciple, or Rule, of Faith, and that, by themselves, “ they cannot make an Article of Faith*. Has any “ Body said so? Yes; It has been said, *Calvin* has “ said it in stronger Terms: he calls Those, who “ build Faith on the Characters of the Scripture (16), “ foolish and impertinent.” These *Proofs* are not of “ Those, which are called *de Fide* (17). — “ The “ other

(14) *Id. ib.* pag. 262.

(15) *Jurieu's* Defence of the Universal Doctrine the Church p. 372, 373

• Disput. Tom. IV de S. Scri No 9.

(16) *Juri* ibid. supra p. 378, 3

(17) *Juri* ibid. pag 381.

and, consequently, will not be superfluous. Some are persuaded, that there is great Misunderstanding in This Contest [F]. His Doctrine concerning the Efficacy of Baptism was also censured. See the Book, which I quote (e), printed at *Amsterdam* in 1695. See, I say, the fifth Leaf of the Preface, and the Treatise, which makes the Conclusion of it. See also Mr *Saurin*, pag. 522, 550, &c. of his Examination of Mr *Jurieu's* Theology. To conclude, I have just now discovered, that Mr *de Beaulieu* was born at *Plessis Marli* (f), where his Father was Minister, and that he died at the Age of Sixty Years, and six Months.

(c) Collection of several Treatises concerning the Efficacy and Necessity of Baptism.

* *Saurin*, pag. 399*

"other Accusation against Mr *de Beaulieu* *, of being
"a Latitudinarian, of enlarging the Way to Salva-
"tion, and of saving as many Persons as he could, is
"also ridiculous, since it is inconsistent with the
"Doctrine, which Mr *Saurin* lays to his Charge.
"He was rigid as to the Doctrine of Grace, and
"believed, that the Holy Ghost produced the Cer-
"tainty of Faith, without Means, as we have seen.
"— This Accusation — is entirely grounded on
"his explaining the State of some Controversies
"otherwise than they are commonly understood.
"But, if he should be deceived, it would only be a
"meer Error of Fact; for he never favoured any re-
"laxed Opinion, nor established the Indifference of
"Religions, nor a general Toleration of all Sects,
"as Mr *Saurin* does." Let us end with Mr *Saurin's*
"Reply. "I speak of Mr *de Beaulieu* with all the
"Esteem and Respect, which he deserves; and I
"put a great Difference between him, and Mr *Ju-
"rieu*; not for the reason, which Mr *Jurieu* sup-
"poses, that is, because the one is dead, and the
"other living; but because the living does not re-
"semble the Dead in every thing. Nevertheless, I
"observe Mr *de Beaulieu's* Faults as Those of a great
"Man. This I may do. I do not send him back
"to his A, B, C, as Mr *Jurieu* accuses me of do-
"ing, two or three times. I say only, That *Those*,
"who know the A, B, C, of the Art of Thinking and
"Reasoning, know also, &c (18) This is certain,
"and may be said by Those, who are persuaded —
"(19). I do Mr *de Beaulieu* no wrong in calling
"him a Latitudinarian. He was not so in the
"odious Sense, which Mr *Jurieu* puts upon the
"Word, in taking a Latitudinarian for a Kind of
"Atheist. But he was so, in some Degree. The
"manner, in which he explains the State of some of
"our Controversies, with the Papists, and other
"Sectaries, about Justification, the Certainty of Sal-
"vation and other matters, is a Proof of it: And
"our Learned and Sincere Divines do not deny it." Since Mr *Jurieu* replied nothing, I end the Remark here.

(18) *Saurin*, Defence of the true Doctrine of the Reformed Church, p. 164, 165.

(19) Note, that Mr *Saurin* has not said, as his Adversary supposes, and on which he grounds his Exclamations, Those, who know their A, B, C, but Those, who know the A, B, C, of the Art of Thinking. The Suppression of the last Words is unfair.

(20) *Citat.* (14).

(21) *Saurin's* Examination of Mr *Jurieu's* Theology, pag. 262, 263.

[F] There is great Misunderstanding in This Contest. Consider well the above-mentioned Words of Mr *de Beaulieu* (20). They inform us, that he believed the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures could not be Mathematically demonstrated. Let us compare That with This Answer of Mr *Saurin*. "If, by Mathe-
"matical Demonstration, Mr *le Blanc* understands
"such a Demonstration, against which Flesh and
"Blood can make no Objection, I acknowledge,
"that the Divinity of the Scripture cannot be Mathe-
"matically demonstrated: but, notwithstanding, it
"may be Morally demonstrated, so as to remove all
"doubts, which is manifestly contrary to Mr *Ju-
"rieu's* Principles (21)." The comparing of these
"two Passages shews, that Mr *de Beaulieu*, and Mr
"Saurin, teach the same Thing in the main. They
"both own, that the Divinity of the Scripture cannot
"be Mathematically proved: But you will say, does
"not Mr *Saurin* maintain, That it may be proved by
"Moral Demonstration? I own it; but I should be
"very much mistaken, if he could prove, that Mr *le*
"Blanc did not teach the same Thing. I am sure,
"That great Divine never denied, that the Proofs of
"the Divinity of the Scriptures are as strong as Moral
"Demonstration. He had no Interest in denying it;
"for, because a Man owns, that a thing cannot be
"proved by Mathematical Demonstration, it does not
"follow, that, if he argues well, he must acknowledge,
"that it cannot be Morally demonstrated. Let us far-
"ther shew the Misunderstanding of This Dispute.
"Mr *Saurin* fancies, that, according to the Principles
"of his Adversary, the Proofs of the Divinity of the
"Scripture do not exclude all Manner of Doubt. This
"is full of Equivocation. His Adversary does not
"pretend, that They, who perceive the weight and
"force of Those Proofs, ought still to entertain some

doubt; he does not deprive them of full Certainty,
"and entire Persuasion. He pretends only, That they do
"not see, that the contrary is impossible; as it appears
"to be in Things, which have been Mathematically
"demonstrated. It happens daily, that we are fully
"convinced of a Thing, and have not the least doubt
"about it, though we know, that the contrary is
"possible. A Traveller, looking in an Inn, the Mas-
"ter of which he never knew, eats, without fear,
"what is set before him; He knows very well, that
"his Meat may be poisoned, and that there is no Meta-
"physical, Physical, or Moral Contradiction, in sup-
"posing, that his Meat has been mixed with Poison,
"by chance, or out of Malice. He is not ignorant, that
"such things have been done; nevertheless, he is per-
"suaded, that he ought not to fear any thing in This Case;
"He eats with a full Persuasion, that he shall not be
"poisoned. We have still less doubt, when we eat at
"a Friend's House; and, yet, we are convinced, that
"it is possible, the Meat may be poisoned. Therefore
"a Divine must not be censured for saying, that we
"are perfectly convinced of the Truth of the Doctrine,
"which our Pastors declare to us, though the Reasons,
"on which they ground them, do not prove to us,
"that it is impossible the thing should be otherwise.
"Let us remember, that Mr *Saurin* gives up all Pre-
"tension to Geometrical Proofs; He is satisfied with
"Moral Demonstration, against which Flesh and Blood
"only can raise any Objections. Now This is exactly
"his Adversary's Doctrine; They quarrelled therefore
"for they knew not what. Mr *Jurieu* declares, that
"he has not laid any thing, which can imply, that he ex-
"cludes Conviction of Conscience (22); he maintains,
"that he has laid down, that the Characters of Divinity,
"which appear in the Revelation, "Are able to pro-
"duce a Kind of Certainty in a Man, who has any
"Equity, and is not prejudiced, without the Assis-
"tance of the Spirit of God. But, first of all,
"there are no Men in the World, who are not
"prejudiced. All, who are not yet converted, are
"full of the Prejudices of the Flesh. Besides, we
"do not require I know not what Certainty; but
"a Certainty, which surpasses all Certainty, even
"That of Sciences grounded on Demonstration (23). (22) *Ibid.* ib.
"— Surely, Those Characters are not such as
"can produce, in a well-disposed Mind, a Certainty
"of Speculation equal to the Certainty of Geome-
"trical Sciences (24). — He says, first, That (24) *Ibid.* ib.
"there are none of Those well-disposed Minds in
"the World, before Grace. II. That a Man, of
"Equity, and no Prejudices, might obtain a Kind of
"Certainty of the Divinity of the Scriptures, even
"without Grace. III. That the Certainty, which
"we require, is a Certainty, which surpasses That
"of Geometrical Demonstration (25). Observe
"farther, that Mr *Jurieu* declares, that he meant,
"that Those internal and external Characters, placed
"and ranged, by the Arts of Logic and Rhetoric, in
"the Works of our learned Men, by laying down,
"at first, self-evident Principles, and leading the
"Mind from one Conclusion to another, make a
"better Proof to Reason, than common Moral De-
"monstration; But that These same Characters,
"nakedly proposed, and without Art, do not make
"up Moral Demonstration, especially to the illite-
"rate, who must be led by the Hand, and are not
"able to understand several Things, which require
"Study and Penetration. Most of our simple and
"illiterate People never consider attentively That
"Demonstration, which is called Moral. But These
"same Characters, put together, which do not make
"up Moral Demonstration to the Mind, especially
"in the common Sort of People, form a Proof of
"Sentiment, which is beyond all Exception, and
"which is as lively as the Impression of the Sun on
"the Eyes (26)." Thus these Gentlemen are at last
"of the same Opinion: The one does not pretend to
"any Mathematical Demonstration, nor the other nei-

(22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) *Ibid.* (25) *Ibid.* (26) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) *Ibid.* (25) *Ibid.* (26) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) *Ibid.* (25) *Ibid.* (26) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) *Ibid.* (25) *Ibid.* (26) *Ibid.*

(22) *Ibid.* (23) *Ibid.* (24) *Ibid.* (25) *Ibid.* (26) *Ibid.*

ther. The latter is for Moral Demonstration, which the other grants him. The most plausible thing, which can be said in Mr Saurin's Favour, is, that, at first, Mr Jurieu did not well explain his Opinion, and that he seems not to have explained it, but by contradicting himself, according to custom. I believe also, that, when he began to meditate on this Subject, he did not very well know the Nature of Moral Demonstration. He formed too great an Idea of it; and This was, probably, the Reason, why he durst not say, that the Proofs of the Divinity of the Scripture amounted to such an high Degree of Evidence. If he had known the true Nature of This Kind of Demonstration, he would have less exposed himself. Moral Demonstration does not lie, like Geometrical, in an indivisible Point; It has a greater compass, and extends, from a Great Probability, to a very Great Probability. There are it's bounds, and, consequently, there is a great way to go from the Place, where our Proofs begin to be called Moral Demonstration, to the place, where they begin to be called Physical, or Metaphysical, or Geometrical, Demonstration. Perhaps, That, which deceived Mr Jurieu, was his seeing, that the Certainty, and Evidence, with which we know, that there was such a Man as *Julius Cæsar*, such a Republic as *Rome*, &c. does not pass for Science, but for Human Faith, for Opinion, and, at most, for the Effect of Moral Demonstration; and, because he did not see, that the Inspiration of the Scripture could be proved by as convincing Reasons, as Those, which prove, that *Cicero* existed, he feared to say, that there was Moral Demonstration for This Inspiration. If he entertained such a Thought, he did not know the true Nature of Things; for it is not true, that the Foundation of the Certainty and Evidence, with which we know, that there was a *Roman Republic*, is meer Moral Demonstration, nor that our Persuasion in that Respect is an act of Human Faith, or Opinion: It is Science properly so called; it is the Conclusion of a Syllogism, whereof the Major and Minor are clearly and necessarily true Propositions. There is at least Physical Demonstration in it. The School Philosophers were not ignorant of This. "Ille actus non est fidei, sed scientificus; innititur enim non humano testimonio, sed repugnantia physice, qua video non potuisse tot homines convenire ad mentendum. — Ille assensus oritur a duobus principiis, quæ non patiuntur dissentium. Primum est hoc: impossibile est tot homines tot sæculis convenire ad mentendum. Secundum est: hoc dicunt tot homines tot sæculis (27). — This Act is not of Faith, but scientific; for it depends not on human Testimony, but Physical Contradiction, by which I see, that so many Men could not conspire in a Lye. — This Assent

"arises from two Principles, which demand our Assent: The first is: It is impossible so many Men should, for so many Ages, agree in a Lye. The second is: This is affirmed by so many Men for so many Ages." However it be, Mr Jurieu explained himself better at last.

Let us take notice of Mr Saurin's Remark, That, if, by Mathematical Demonstration, Mr de Blacq understands a Demonstration, against which Flesh and Blood can raise no Objection, he acknowledges, that the Divinity of the Scripture cannot "be mathematically demonstrated." It were to be wished, that we had a general Rule to distinguish the Objections, which proceed only from Flesh and Blood; for each Christian Sect ascribes the Objections, which are made by Others, to That Principle, and so the Ball is tossed back again, and the Disputants are so far from deciding a Controversy, by maintaining, that a Doctrine is only opposed by Difficulties, suggested by Flesh and Blood, that it is an everlasting Dispute, whether a Difficulty, or an Objection, proceeds from such a Principle. I add, that there are some Truths, against which the most prejudiced, and most passionate, Men will not dispute, though it be never so much their Interest to oppose them. *Porphyry*, a great Enemy of the Christian Religion, and a great Zealot for Paganism, did not deny certain matters of Fact, alleged by the Christians. The Interest of his Cause required, that he should deny them; for it is a very great Advantage, in a Dispute, to reject both the Matters of Fact, and the Consequences of them. Mr Saurin, who is fully persuaded, that the Objections, which the Reformed allege against the Church of *Rome*, do not proceed from Flesh and Blood, knows very well, that, when the Question is about some Miracle, wrought by Relicks, They deny the Fact, and add, That, though the Miracle should be certain, it would not prove the worshipping of Relicks to be lawful. So that, according to the best Laws of Disputation, carefully observed by the Orthodox, *Porphyry* might have thought himself obliged not only to deny the Consequences of the Facts, alleged by the Christians, but the very Facts themselves. Flesh and Blood, I mean his Prejudices, and Passions, might lead him to it; for the more things we require our Adversaries to prove, the more we puzzle and tire them. How comes it, then, that That Enemy of JESUS CHRIST did not deny certain Facts alleged by the Apostles? Is it not because they could be supported by much clearer Reasons, than Those, which he alleged for what he denied? I decide nothing: it will suffice to say, that sometimes Flesh and Blood lay down their Arms, and submit to a Light, which does not please them.

REFLECTION on Mr Saurin's attributing the Objections of Unbelievers to Flesh and Blood. (28) Saurin's Examination of Mr Jurieu's Theology, page 202.

(27) Petrus Hurtius de Mendosa, Dignus. 8. de Anima §. iii. n. 24. p. 50.

(a) It was a Law-Suit against the Vidame of Amiens. See Remark [L].

(b) Allard's Life of the Baron Des-Adrets, cited by Maimbourg, Hist. of Calvinism.

(c) Varillas, History of Charles IX.

(d) Esprit, Facta Hist. lib. XI. p. 622.

(e) Apr. 28, 1572.

BEAUMONT (FRANCIS de) Baron Des-Adrets, was one of the Noblemen of France, whose Courage and Military Actions made the greatest Noise in the Religious Wars, under the Reign of Charles IX. He was of Dauphiné, and had learned the Profession of Arms in Piedmont, which was the best, and most famous, School of War in that Age. It is pretended, that the Desire of revenging himself of the Duke of Guise, who had been against him in a Law-Suit (a), made him declare for Those of the Protestant Religion (b). They add, that Catherine de Medicis wrote a Letter to him to excite him to Revenge, and even that she permitted him to make use of the Huguenots, that he might the better ruin That Duke's Authority in Dauphiné. The Duke of Guise, Governour of That Province, had made la Motte Gondrin his Lieutenant there: he was his Creature, and a Gentleman of great Courage (c). Des-Adrets, judging, that he could not begin his Undertakings more successfully, than by ridding himself of That Gentleman, practised upon some People in Valence, and managed his Intelligence in such a manner, that la Motte Gondrin, overwhelmed by the Sedition, which was raised in That City, was stabbed, there, in cold Blood. So that Valence was the first Town, which the Baron made himself master of, and where his Dignity was increased; for, whereas he was before Colonel of the Legionaries of Lyonnois, Dauphiné, Provence, and Languedoc (d), he was chosen, the next day after the Sedition (e), Administrator of Affairs, till the Prince of Condé's farther Declaration. From That Time, he over-run all the Country, and, understanding, that the Protestant Party had made themselves Masters of Lyons, he went thither, and assumed all the Authority to himself [A], without much inquiring,

[A] He assumed, at Lyons, all the Authority. Notwithstanding the Pains Varillas took to trace all the Steps of Des-Adrets, he was mistaken as to the

Government of Lyons. He always built on This Foundation, that, as soon as That City declared for the Reformed, the Prince of Condé sent Mr de Souffise

ring, whether it would be acceptable. With Five hundred Men, he defeated the Three thousand, which *St Vital* brought with him into the Neighbourhood of That City, to ravage the Country; he ransacked *le Forez*, secured *Grenoble*, where he compelled the whole Parliament to go and hear a Protestant Sermon; he plundered and burnt the great Charter-House; seized on *Pont St Esprit*; entered, like Thunder, into the Country of *Avignon*; and had, doubtless, taken the chief City of it, to treat it as the Pope's Troops had treated the City of *Orange*, had he not been informed, within a League of *Avignon*, that the Catholics had made themselves Masters of *Grenoble*. He marched That way immediately, and spread such a Terror among the Catholic Troops, that *Maugiron*, who commanded them, fled into *Savoie*, and durst not return into *Dauphiné*. *Grenoble* was soon reduced under our Baron's Power, who treated That City more kindly, than they had reason to expect. He was much more barbarous in other Places [B], which he seized by main Force, and where he exercised great Cruelties by way of Reprisals [C]. The Victory, which he obtained, against the Count de *Suz*, at *Vaureas*, made him Master of *Orange*, and of the County of *Venaissin*, and made *Avignon* tremble a second time. He defeated all the Pope's Troops; he entered into *Provence*; and overthrew all that appeared against him. Nevertheless, there were some Disappointments, or private Jealousies, which made him fail of relieving *Cisteron*. This Disgrace was followed by some others: The Duke of *Nemours*, after the ill Success of the Siege of *Lyons*, won two Battles against the Baron *Des-Adrets*; but durst not engage with him a third time; and

(1) Varillas: to be Governour there (1): for, when he speaks of the first Discontent of *Des-Adrets*, he says, it proceeded from the News, that *Soubise* was entered into *Lyons* (2). This supposes, that, after having commanded there for some time, he left That Post, and that *Des-Adrets* succeeded him, but that *Soubise* was sent thither again to the Exclusion of his Successor. This Historian is mistaken; The first, who commanded in the City of *Lyons*, after it had declared for the Cause, was the Baron *Des-Adrets* (3): *Soubise* was not sent thither, but when he was thought to be a fitter Man for That Post, than the Baron; and he continued in it 'till the Peace. *Varillas* would have known this Gradation, had he considered well his own Words: "*Des-Adrets, says he, --- approach-*

(2) Id. pag. 213.

(3) See *D'Aubigné*, Tom. I, pag. 203, and *Beza*, Hist. lib. xi, pag. 222, & seq.

(4) Varillas, pag. 200.

(5) *Maimb. Hist. of Calvinism*, lib. iv, pag. 273.

(6) Supplement to *Moreri's Dictionary*.

(7) *Beza* ibid. pag. 221, and *Book 12*, pag. 255, & seq.

(8) *Allard's Life of Des-Adrets*, pag. 42, and 59, cited by *Maimb. Hist. of Calvinism*.

(9) *A brave Maimb. Name was Moncelas*.

(10) See *Varillas*, *Charles IX*, Tom. I, pag. 212.

(11) *Allard*, ubi supra.

(12) *St Mornac*, in the County of *Venaissin*.

(13) *Castellau*, *Memoirs*, lib. iv, cap. 2.

"be kept. Nevertheless, the Baron *Des-Adrets* caused them to be thrown down headlong from the Top of the Castle, notwithstanding the public Faith, which was sworn, saying, That it was to revenge the Cruelty, committed at *Orange*. Some of Them, who were thrown down out of the Windows, from a very great Height, laying hold of the Bars, the said Baron *Des-Adrets*, very unhumanly, caused their Fingers to be cut off. One of Those, who were precipitated, falling down from the Top of the Castle, which was situated on a great Rock, chanced to take hold of a Branch of a Tree, which he would not let go: they shot, and threw many Stones, at him, but could not hit him. The Baron, wondering at it, saved his Life; and he escaped, as it were by a Miracle. When I was in *Dauphiné*, I went to see the Place with the Queen-Mother: He, who was saved, was still living near "That Place." *D'Aubigné* ascribes the taking of *Mornac* to *Montbrun*, Lieutenant of *Des-Adrets*, and observes, that *Montbrun* endeavoured, in vain, to moderate the Slaughter: that one of Those, who were thrown down, "continued hanging on some Branches, and that some Soldiers having shot at him, without wounding him, *Montbrun* saved him, and made him serviceable to him (14)." He says also, that Those of *Orange* "placed several dead Bodies on Floats, and let them go down the River *Rhone* to *Avignon*, with these Words written on their Breasts, "Till-Gatherers of *Avignon*, stop not these Tormentors; for they have paid Tribute at *Mornac*." All these Facts are taken from *Beza's Ecclesiastical History* (15), which shews plainly, that *Des-Adrets* was not the Author of what was done in *Mornac*. So that the Supplement to *Moreri* must be corrected by This, as well as the *Memoirs of Castellau*, and *Maimbourg's History of Calvinism*.

[C] He was cruel, by way of Reprisal. Here we must take notice of a great Fallacy of *Maimbourg*. After having mentioned the Cruelties of *Des-Adrets*, he adds these Words; "There were indeed some Catholics, who, being justly incensed at so many horrid Crimes, abused the Right of Reprisals, and treated them almost in the same Manner, of their own Authority; but there were but few, who persecuted so (16)." He supposes, then, that *Des-Adrets* began to exercise These Barbarities, and that the Catholics only followed his Example, and made use of them by way of Reprisals. But this is either gross Ignorance, or prodigious Infirmity; for Historians, least suspected of Partiality towards those of the Protestant Religion, confess ingenuously, that the Cruelties, which were exercised at *Orange*, preceded Those of *Des-Adrets*. Do but read *Varillas's History of Charles IX* (17), and you will find there, that, before the Leaps of *Mornac* and *Montbrun*, the Catholics had exercised the most enormous Cruelties at *Orange*, and particularly That of precipitating People from the Tops of Rocks, or on Pikes and Halberts. See the Article *SERBELON* (*FABRICIUS*), where I mention These strange

(14) *D'Aubigné*, *Hist. Univ.* Vol. I, pag. 207.

(15) *Beza* 12, p. 271.

CONFUTATION of *Maimbourg*.

(16) *Maimb. History of Calvinism*, lib. iv, pag. 275, Edit. Holl.

(17) Tom. I, p. 203, 204.

and found it more proper to use Artifices, to induce This formidable Leader of the Protestants to change sides [D]. They endeavoured to prevail upon him by Promises, and Threats [E]; they shewed him, that he had great Enemies in his Party [F]: At last, they staggered him in such a manner, that his Conduct became more and more suspected by the Prince of Condé, and the Admiral. The Conclusion was, that they secured his Person [G], at Romans, the Tenth of January, 1563 (f). He did not come out of Prison, but by the Treaty of Peace, which was concluded the

(f) Varillas,
History of
Charles IX.

Barbarities. *Castelnau*, whom I have already quoted, makes use of this memorable Reflexion; "Indeed it seemed, that, by a Judgment of God, the Cruelties were reciprocal on both sides; and Orange was thought to be the Foundation of Those, which were committed by the *Huguenots*, in cold Blood, in Dauphiné." Let us not forget the Baron's Answer to his Officers, when they represented to him the Injustice he was going to commit, and the Evils, which it might draw on their Party. He replied, with a Face, whose natural Deformity was much increased by Fury, that the Punishment, which he was going to inflict, was necessary to stop the Cruelty of the Catholics, and that, in order to reduce them to the Laws of a fair War, which they had first violated at the taking of Orange, it was necessary they should know, that the Calvinists could wage a cruel War, as well

(18) Varill.
History of
Charles IX,
pag. 211.

(19) Page,
204.

How Des-Adrets justified his Cruelties.

(20) D'Aubigné, Vol. I. Book iii, chap. 9, pag. 216, Edit. 1626.

(21) Admiral Coligni had taken this Method to correct the English. See the Application that was made of this, in the New Letters against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism, Tom. I, pag. 182, 190.

(22) Varill. Hist. Charles IX. Tom. I, pag. 272.

(23) Beza, Eccl. Hist. Tom. III, pag. 262.

"as themselves (18)." *Varillas*, who ridicules *These two Excesses*, could not confute him as to these Words, which they had first violated at the taking of Orange, since he had already observed, of himself, "that the Baron heard of the Cruelties, committed at Orange, with those inward Transports of Joy, which a bloody Man is capable of, when an unexpected Accident gives him an Opportunity of committing all manner of Excesses, without being reproached for having been the Aggressor (19)." I refer my Reader to the Answers, which *Des-Adrets* made to *d'Aubigné*, who asked him, one day, three things: "Why he had committed some Cruelties so ill becoming his great Valour? Why he had forsaken a Party, to which he was so much indebted: and, then, why he had no Success in any thing, since he had forsaken That Party, though he had acted against it (20)?" He answered, to the first Point, "That no body commits a Cruelty in returning one; that the first are called Cruelties, and the second Justice. Having, thereupon, made an horrible Discourtesy, of above Four thousand Murders, committed in cold Blood, and of the Invention of unheard of Torments, and chiefly of the Leaps of *Malcon*, where the Governour taught the very Children to see the *Huguenots* die without Pity, he said, that he had served them something like it, having Regard to the Time past, and to the Time to come: with Respect to the Time past, not being able to endure, without great Cowardice, the tearing in pieces his faithful Companions; and as for the Time to come, there were two Reasons, which no Captain can disapprove; the one, that the only Means to put a stop to the Cruelties of an Enemy, is to return them the like (21); whereupon he mentioned Three hundred Horsemen, sent back, some time ago, to the Enemies Army, on Waggon, having each of them a Hand, and a Foot, cut off, to change a merciless War into a courteous one." All his other Answers are full of Sense; to which I refer my Readers as I have said already, contenting myself to observe, here, I. That *These Leaps of Malcon* are to be found in the Article of That City. II. That our Baron justified himself more faintly to the Duke of *Nemours*, than to *d'Aubigné*. See the following Remark.

[D] *The Duke de Nemours used Artifice.* If we may believe *Varillas*, the Duke of *Nemours* prevented *Des-Adrets*, by writing a Letter to him, desiring him to treat two Italian Soldiers, who were fallen into his Hands, as Prisoners of War (22). But *Beza* says, the Baron wrote first to the Duke, to desire him to let at Liberty two Italian Soldiers (23). There is no question but that *Varillas* is mistaken; for *Des-Adrets*'s Letter, set down at length in *Beza*'s History, begins with the Request of the Liberty of Those two Italian Soldiers. *Varillas* has committed another Fault; for he does not faithfully report the Substance of That Letter: he pretends, that the Baron imputed the Cruel Executions of *Vaureas*, *Boulenne*, and *Pierrelate*, to the Necessity of obliging the Catholics to a

fair War with the Calvinists, whom they banded as fast as they took them; and that he added, that, after having obtained this Point, so necessary to his Party, that he could hardly find any Soldiers before, he observed exactly the Military Laws, which had learned in Piedmont. There is nothing like This in *Des-Adrets*'s Letter; he only confesses, that, at *Pierrelate* and *Boulenne*, two Towns, which he had taken by Assault, he could not, to his great Grief, withhold the Soldiers from taking their Revenge on Four or Five hundred Men, whom they found there. His Apology does not consist in alledging just and necessary Motives of his Cruelties, nor in saying, that, having attained the end, for which he had committed them, he desisted from them; he only denies them; and he does it, as *Beza* observes, in a very faint and soft Style. *Varillas* says truly, that the Duke of *Nemours*, apprehending y That Letter, that *Des-Adrets* was discontented, caused a Conference to be proposed to him, which was accepted.

[E] They endeavoured to prevail with him by Promises. [E] They wrote very civilly to him (24), and, after having represented to him, that the way, he took, would infallibly lead him to a Confiscation of Body and Estate, they tempted him with a Promise of the Collar of the Order, and with That of a Company of fifty Men at Arms, with the Sum of an Hundred thousand *Livres*; and, if he chose to live out of the Kingdom, they engaged themselves to send him the Sum of an Hundred thousand Crowns. The Duke of *Nemours* used all manner of Promises and Flatteries, when he conferred with *Des-Adrets*.

[F] They represented to him, that he had great Enemies in his Party. The Marshal de *Brissac* communicated a Letter of the Admiral to him, which he had received in the following Manner. *Soubise*, who suspected *Des-Adrets*, had acquainted the Admiral with it; the Soldier, who carried the Letter, was intrusted with an Answer to it; but, instead of carrying it to *Soubise*, he brought it to the Marshal de *Brissac* (25). Here are the Contents of it, as far as they relate to This Baron; "As to what you write to me, concerning the Baron *Des-Adrets*, every Body knows him to be what he is; but, since he has, hitherto, served so well in This Cause, we must bear his Insolence a little; for it is to be feared, that his Insolence may be changed into Fury. Wherefore my Opinion is, that you use your Endeavours to bring him to a Conference, and bear with him as much as you can."

[G] They secured his Person. [G] Here is a Passage of *Castelnau*'s Memoirs. "The Duke of *Nemours*, knowing *Des-Adrets* to be a good Captain, and a Person of great Credit and Reputation, thought it more expedient for the King's Service to gain him over, than to oppose him by Force; which he did so dexterously, with fair Promises, and smooth Words, (as being a very persuasive Prince, and who always knew how to prevail upon Men by his winning Address) that the *Huguenots* never had, since, a greater Enemy in That Country, than This Baron, who began, from that time, to contrive Mischief against them. The *Huguenots*, being very vigilant, had notice of it; for they had Spies every where. Which was the Reason, why the Baron *Des-Adrets*, being gone to *Valence*, was taken Prisoner by *Mowans*, (by Advice of Cardinal de *Chatillon*, and of the Sieur de *Carfil*, since made Duke of *Uzes*), who sent him to *Nîmes*, where he was in very great Danger, and would hardly have escaped with Life, had it not been for the Peace; by Virtue of which he was set at Liberty (26)." See the twelfth Book of *Beza*'s Ecclesiastical History, where the Detention of *Des-Adrets* is mentioned at large. "After divers Interrogations and Answers — Peace intervening, he was released, and sent to his House, without any Abolition or Condemnation." These are *Beza*'s Words (27).

(24) It was the Marshal de Brissac, who carried the Letter, first. Theod. Beza published his Letter, Hist. Ecclesi. pag. 291.

(25) Beza, ibid.

(26) Castelnau's Memoirs, 4, chap.

(27) Beza's Hist. Ecclesi. Book xi 305, 30

[H] He

the same Year; and then he professed his first Religion, and, afterwards, bore Arms against the other; but without any Success or Glory [H]; for which he is not the only Person, who has given very bad Reasons (g). This General shewed no longer the same Vigilance, Activity, Intrepidity, and Presence of Mind, which had been admired as Prodiges, whilst he served the Cause. All Those great Qualities, and the Victories, which he obtained over the Papists, did not hinder the Protestants from looking upon him as a Goliath, who dishonoured the Battles of Israel, by his barbarous Conduct [I]. He died without Honour, in an ignominious Old-Age, equally despised by both Parties (h); much unlike That Baron Des-Adrets, *Quantum mutatus ab illo!* who had been dreaded as far as Rome (i); for they were apprehensive there, that

(g) See Remark [H].

(h) Maimb. Hist. of Calvinism, p. 275. See Rem. [K].

(i) Brantome's Elog. of Montluc.

[H] He served in the Catholic Party, without any Success, or Glory.] See, here, what is to be found in the same Historian. "Being fallen so low, He (28)

(28) That is, The Baron Des-Adrets.

"went yet farther, since; having born Arms against "Those of the Reformed Religion, as well in *Dau- "phiné*, as in other Parts of France, being Colonel "of a Regiment of Foot, in which he got nothing "but Shame, with such a loss of his Reputation, "that he was never since employed, but remained "in his House, a Spectator of other Men's Miseries

(29) Beza, Hist. Ecclef. lib. xii. pag. 307.

"(29)." *D'Aubigné* says, that he was defeated, when the Army of the Duke of Deux Ponts entered France, in the Year 1569 (30). He says, elsewhere (31), that, at *Lyons*, at the return of the King of Poland, an Usher refused Admittance to *Des-Adrets*; and it

(30) *D'Aubigné*, Tom. I. pag. 473.

was on this Occasion, that He asked him the three Questions, mentioned before (32). He desired to know of the Baron, why he had so little Success in the Catholic Armies. "Child, answered he, with a Sigh (33),

(31) Ibid. pag. 215.

"nothing is too hot for a Captain, who has no more "Interest in the Victory, than his Soldiers: With

(32) In Remark [C].

"the *Huguenots*, I had Soldiers; and, since, I have "had none but Merchants, who think on nothing

(33) *D'Aubigné*, Tom. I. pag. 217.

"but Money: The others feared nothing, and were "full of Revenge, Passion, and Honour; I could "not keep in the Reins of the first; but the latter

"have worn out my Spurs." To speak the Truth, These Reasons are very weak; and, to confute them invincibly, it would be sufficient to refer the Readers to the great Number of general, and particular, Battles, in which the Protestants Troops were beaten.

A PASSAGE of *D'Aubigné* criticised.

What! were not the Papist Soldiers full of Revenge and Passion? Did they not hear continually their Priests, who exhorted them to take Vengeance of the *Huguenots*, for their plundering and prophaning of Churches? Is there any thing, which inspires more Fury, than such Discourses? What shall we say of the Decrees (34), "which permitted all manner of

(34) Maimbourg, Hist. of Calvinism, pag. 276.

"Persons, and even ordered all Communities to fall "upon the *Huguenots*, at the ringing of the Alarm-

"Bell, to pursue them strenuously every where, and "and to kill them without Mercy, as so many wild "Beasts, mad Dogs, and Wolves, that destroyed

"all the Kingdom: So that, through the Crimes of "one Party, and the Revenge of the other, there was "nothing to be seen, in all the Provinces of France, but

"Burnings, Blood, and Slaughter, and a Thousand fright- "ful Images of Death?" Could the Catholic Soldiers be free from Passion and Revenge amidst such dismal Objects? Was it more necessary to use Spurs for them, than Reins for the *Huguenots*? *Montluc* and *Tavares*, and several other Commanders of the same Party, make it appear, that it was the Baron *Des-Adrets*'s own Fault. At the Bottom, he did the Protestants more wrong, than he thought: and the Bishop of *Meaux* knew how to take advantage of the Disposition, he ascribed to them, of having been full of Passion, and

(35) See Mr de Meaux's Hist. of the Variations, lib. x. n. 39.

Revenge (35). But here is another Reason more false, than That which he gave to *d'Aubigné*. "Never

"any Man acquired so great a Reputation in so short "a Time; and never any great Commander lost it

"sooner: For the Duke of *Nemours*, who was sent "against him, and who could not defeat him by

"open Force, had no sooner brought him over to "his Party, but they represented him as the weakest, "and most unfortunate, Officer, of the Royal, and

"Catholic, Party. Not but that he had always the "same Valour, and Experience; but there is a great "Difference between fighting for, and against, one's

"King: For every thing is permitted in a Revolt; "and a Commander shews himself such as he is; "whereas, in the Service of his Prince, he must ap- "pear such as he ought to be; and he is more sub- "ject to Military Discipline. In effect, the Baron

"*Des-Adrets* was as furious, as valiant; he signalized "himself more by the Terror of his Arms, than by

"the Reputation of his Conduct; and he made more "Noise, than other Men of his Quality, because

"he was more cruel, and dreadful. In the King's "Army, they would not have suffered his Fury; "and the Law of Reprisals was so punctually ob-

"served, that both Parties were obliged to keep "Faith, and to wage a fair War (36)." Though it be my Interest to find Faults in Authors, since They are so many Materials for my Work, I am truly concerned, that so judicious a Person, as Mr *le La- "boureux*, should have published such bad Reasoning. Ask him, Why *Des-Adrets* was a great Commander during his Protestantism, and a very pitiful Officer in his Catholicism? He will answer you; it is be-

"cause, in a Revolt, a Man does all that he can do; "but, in a lawful War, all that he ought to do. There was never a more false Maxim, or more injudiciously applied, than This; since it is certain, that, in a Civil-War, the King's Party acts with more Bold-

"ness, and Confidence, than the Other: For the re- bellious Party, finding itself sufficiently odious, will not begin the Breach of Military Discipline, the Vio-

"lation of Capitulations, Slaughters in cold Blood, against the public Faith, &c. It is the Prince's Party, which gives itself more Liberty, in that respect, pretending to have only to do with People convicted of Felony, and actually under Sentence of Death: It seldom makes a fair War, but when the other Party resolves to use Reprisals. At least, Matters stood so in the Religious Wars, under *Charles IX*, and, consequently, This Maxim was very ill applied. Be-

"sides, I wonder, that Mr *le Laboureux* did not take notice of the Passage of *Brantome*, which he quoted a little after. That Passage is a Parallel between our Baron, and *Montluc*, wherein, though *Brantome* makes the latter a little less cruel, than the other, he says, nevertheless, that they might be compared in all things; both very brave, and valiant, both very capricious; both very cruel; both Companions in Piedmont; and both very good Captains. According to Mr *le La- "boureux*'s Maxim, *Des-Adrets* would never have ac-

"quired the Reputation of a great Captain, if he had always served his Prince: Why, then, did *Montluc* ac-

"quire That Reputation, or why did he preserve, and perfectly maintain, it, even when, according to Mr *le Laboureux*, a fair War, and the Law of Reprisals, were punctually observed? Why then did *Des-Adrets* lose all his Reputation, since That of *Montluc* was not lessened?

[I] The Protestants disapproved of — his barbarous Conduct.] Besides what has been already said on this Subject (37), I shall observe, here, that it was said, that he taught his Children to be cruel, and to bathe themselves in Blood (38). The eldest, who was afterwards a Catholic, was very busy in the Massacre of Paris. He died at the Siege of *Rochel*, with Con-

"struction for the great quantity of Blood, that he had shed. The Protestants are little concerned, whether This Hear-say of *Brantome* be true, or not; for They were the first, who condemned This Baron's cruel Dis-

"position (39). But every Body is concerned not to suffer the Licence of Him, who published the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary: He says, That, after a great Slaughter, *Des Adrets* made his two Sons bathe them-

"selves in the Blood of the Catholics. Father *Maim- "bourg* supplied him with This Gloss (40). Both of them should be told, that they ought not to take so great a Latitude in their Paraphrases. Their Wit-ness, grounded on a Hear-say, made use only of the Word Blood. What right had they to pretend, that he spoke of Human Blood? Do not Butchers contract an Habit of Cruelty, by the effusion of the Blood of Beasts?

[J] The Protestants disapproved of — his barbarous Conduct.] Besides what has been already said on this Subject (37), I shall observe, here, that it was said, that he taught his Children to be cruel, and to bathe themselves in Blood (38). The eldest, who was afterwards a Catholic, was very busy in the Massacre of Paris. He died at the Siege of *Rochel*, with Con-

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[L] The Protestants disapproved of — his barbarous Conduct.] Besides what has been already said on this Subject (37), I shall observe, here, that it was said, that he taught his Children to be cruel, and to bathe themselves in Blood (38). The eldest, who was afterwards a Catholic, was very busy in the Massacre of Paris. He died at the Siege of *Rochel*, with Con-

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(36) *Le La- "boureux*, Addit. to Casteln. Tom. II. pag. 23.

(37) In Remark [B].

(38) *Brantome's* Apo- logy of *Mont- luc*.

(39) See *Be- "za's* Hist. Ecclef. lib. xi. pag. 221.

T W S Sup- plement to *Moreri's* Dictionary criticised.

(40) Hist. of Calvinism, pag. 274.

that he would fit out a Fleet, to pay the Pope a Visit. We shall speak of his Children in one of our Remarks [K].

Here is a Supplement, which I borrow from a Work, which I have read since the first Volume of This Dictionary was printed off. The Baron *Des-Adrets*, being but fifteen Years of Age, was One of the Two hundred Gentlemen of *Dauphiné*, who were in the Army, which *Odet du Foix*, Lord of *Lautrec*, commanded in *Italy*, in the Year 1527 (k). He signalized himself every-where. In 1532, he obtained the Standard of the Company of the Lord *Depuy S. Martin*, Lieutenant in the Government of *Provence* (l). He had some Dispute with *George d'Urre de Venterol*, to whom That Company was given in the Year 1537, and who hindered him from obtaining the Lieutenantancy (m). This displeased him so much, that he protested he would serve no more, and retired to his Father in *Dauphiné*. Some time after, he went to *Turin*, to his Uncle *Boutieres* (n), General of the Army of *Piedmont*, who left him the Conduct of some Legionaries of That Province, which made part of the Garrison of the Town. He continued in this Employ till the *Disgrace* of *Boutieres*, which happened in 1544, and which obliged the Uncle and Nephew to retire into *Dauphiné* (o). A long Sickness hindered our Baron, above three Years, from bearing Arms. He had a Troop of Horse under the Marshal de *Brissac*, Lieutenant-General for the King in *Italy* (p), and was afterwards made Colonel-General of the Legionaries of *Dauphiné* (q). He received three Wounds, at the Siege of *Vulpian*, in the Year 1555. The Charge of Colonel of the Legionaries of *Provence*, *Lyonnois*, and *Auvergne*, was given him; and he led them, with those of *Dauphiné*, to the Duke of *Guise*, at *Turin*, in the Year 1557 (r). He lost his Baggage, and his Liberty, at the taking of *Moncalve*, in the Year 1558 (s), and accused *Pequigni*, who was Governour there, of the Loss of that Town. He cited him before the King, and lost his Cause [L]. His Repentment,

(r) Ibid.
pag. 19.

for

A Writer, who quotes an Author, should keep religiously to his Expressions, and not commit the Sophism, à dicto simpliciter ad dictum secundum quid. Let him conjecture, if he pleases; but he ought not to give his Conjectures as matter of Fact.

[K] We shall speak of his Children in one of our Remarks.] *Brantome*, whom we have quoted concerning the eldest, says, That there was a younger, who was the King's Page; but *Beza* will tell us more Circumstances about him. "The greatest Evil, says he, speaking of This Baron (41), was, that, growing worse and worse after this, he forsook the Reformed Religion, and carried his Children to Mass; the eldest of which, having been bred up in Germany, during the Troubles at the Court of the Elector *Palatine*, became, soon after, one of the most vicious young Men in France; but God did not let him live long. The other two were Twins, and were born at *Geneva* during the Troubles, to one of which *John Calvin* was God-Father." Mr *Allard* relates, that He, who had been the King's Page, and of whom he mentions a very bold Action, "was involved in the Massacre on

(41) *Beza's*
Hist. Eccles.
lib. xii.
pag. 307.

(42) *Allard*,
Life of *Des-Adrets*,
pag. 81.

(43) Id. ib.
pag. 90, 91.

(44) Ibid.
pag. 82.

(45) That is,
The Admiral's
House.

(46) *Davila*,
lib. v. p. 272.
Edit. of *Venice*,
1650.

these Words of *d'Aubigné*; "The Marquis de *Reşnel*, "Brother of Prince *Porcian*, was killed by *Buffi d'Amboise*, and the Son of the Baron *Des-Adrets*, "about a Law-suit, which he had with his Cousin-German (47);" for the meaning of them is, that *Buffi d'Amboise*, and the Son of That Baron, killed *Reşnel*.

(47) *D'Aubigné*, Tom. I. lib. i. c. 4.
pag. 456.

Mr *le Laboureur* said, in 1658, that the Family of *Beaumont* was extinct (48). I have been informed, by Mr *d'Hofier*, by means of a Friend, that *Suzanna de Beaumont*, Daughter and Heiress of our Baron *Des-Adrets*, was married to *César de Vauverre*, Lord of *Teis*, and *St Desfer*, in *Dauphiné*. Their Posterity continues to this Day. *Mademoiselle Des-Adrets*, who died Maid of Honour to the *Duchess of Orleans*, after the Year 1680, and who had been a Protestant, was descended from This *Suzanna*. Her Brothers were the Marquis *Des-Adrets*, who is Captain of a Ship, and the Chevalier *Des-Adrets*, who was Aide de Camp of the Marshal Duke of *Noailles*, when he was killed at the Siege of *Roset*, in *June*, 1693. He had been Captain of a Ship; but was captured, because he would not assist at the Lectures, which Mr *Renaude*, Engineer of *Marine*, read at *Brest*, by the King's Order.

(48) *Le Laboureur*,
Addit. to
Castelnau,
Tom. I.
pag. 22.

I shall insert here the Addition, which I published at the end of the first Volume of this Dictionary. It contains these Words: I have just now received (49) the Life of our Baron *Des-Adrets*, composed by Mr *Allard*, wherein Mr *le Laboureur's* Mistake is thus laid open. "The Family of *Beaumont* is not extinct, "as Mr *le Laboureur* believed, speaking of the Baron *Des-Adrets*, in his Additions to the Memoirs of *Castelnau*. It continues still in the Branches of *Pompignen* in *Languedoc*, of *Bresset*, in *Auvergne*, of *Auticamp*, and of *St Quintin*, in *Dauphiné*. It is true, that That of Baron *Des-Adrets* ended in two Daughters, the eldest of which, whose Name was *Suzanna*, was twice married; the first Marriage was with the Lord of *Tarvanas*, in *Piedmont*; and the second with *César de la Vauverre*, to whom she brought the Seat of *Des-Adrets*. The other's Name was *Elzber*, Wife of *Antony de Sassenage*, Lord of *Iseron* (50)."

(49) In the
Month of
Sept. 1696,
by the Care
of the obliging
Mr *Pinson*,
des *Riolles*.

[L] He cited *Pequigni* before the King, and lost his Cause.] I shall set down Mr *Allard's* Narrative. The Baron, having accused *Pequigni* of the Loss of the Town, and of his Liberty, and Baggage, pretended, that he ought to endemnify him for the Damage he had sustained: For this end, he summoned him before King *Francis II*, who had succeeded *Henry II*, where he maintained his Cause admirably well, and said, that *Pequigni* suffered the Enemy to enter without Opposition; that he might easily have defended the Breach, since it was but small, and the number of those, who re-

(50) *Allard's*
Life of *Des-Adrets*,
pag. 1, & 2.

solved

for it, against the House of Guise was managed by Catherine de Medicis (t), and had the Consequences, which we have already seen. The Author, whom I quote, gives a very particular Account of it, as also of This Baron's Actions, which he performed after his Return to the King's Party. He makes them more considerable, than other Historians do; but he owns, that this brave Captain was suspected of Intelligence with the Huguenot Party, that he was imprisoned, that he justified himself [M], and received Orders to raise a thousand Foot, which he conducted to Turin (u). He was there during the Massacre on St Bartholomew's Day. He soon returned into Dauphiné, and, seeing the small Account they made of him, he retired to la Frette (x), in the Graisivodan (y). He refused to sign the Formularies of the League, in the Year 1577 (z). He went to compliment the Duke of Mairenne, at Grenoble, in the Year 1581 (aa), and performed, there, an Act of his ancient Valour [N]. He accompanied la Valette, who was sent into Dauphiné against Lef-digueres, in the Year 1585 (bb). At last, being tired with so many Fatigues, oppressed with Age, and extremely disgusted with the World, he retired again to la Frette, where he lived a Year with visible Marks of his Return into the Bosom of the Church. He died, therefore, a true Catholic, after having made his Will, the Second of Febr. 1586, and was buried in a Chapel of the Parochial Church, which belonged to his House (cc). The Reader will not be displeased to see the Titles, which he gave himself, whilst he was at the Head of the Protestants of his Province [O], nor to know, that his Countenance discovered the Fierceness of his Temper [P].

(t) Mr Al-lard, *ibid.* pag. 24. 25, produces this Queen's Letter.

(u) *Ibid.* pag. 31.

(x) *Ibid.* pag. 33.

(y) It was one of his Houses.

(z) *Ibid.* pag. 34.

(aa) *Ibid.* pag. 37.

(bb) *Ibid.* pag. 39.

(cc) *Ibid.* pag. 90.

"solved to pass through it, very inconsiderable; that, if he denied it, he would make him confess it in a Duel. This Dispute appeared singular to the Court; and these two Enemies had some Friends among the Great Ones, who hindered the Decision of it for some time. It went, nevertheless, in favour of Pequiri, by the Credit of the House of Guise, which began to be very great in France; and they were forbid to attempt any thing against each other, on the Penalty of being punished as guilty of High-Treason: Whereupon, the Baron was so enraged, that he swore he would be revenged on the Guises; and This was the Reason, why he embraced, afterwards, the Protestant Party: This is what Thuanus says; and it is agreeable to Truth (51)."

(ct) *Ibid.* pag. 19, 20.

[M] He was suspected of Intelligence with the Huguenot Party, was imprisoned, and justified himself. At his Return into Dauphiné, after the Battle of Moncontour, "he was obliged to retire to his House, because Gordes, Governor of the Province, had conceived a great Hatred against him (52). It is thought, that he suspected him of being still inclined to the Huguenot Party, and even of having favoured the Armament, which was made, near Geneva, by Count Lodowick of Nassau, and of holding Intelligence with him. — Whatever there was in it, it is certain, that Gordes made but little account of him; at which the Baron murmured highly, and made some Complaints, which were somewhat bold, and even rash; which coming to the King's Ear, Gordes received Orders to cause him to be arrested; which he did. He was carried to Grenoble, and from thence to Lyons, and imprisoned in Pierrefise. At first, he was thought a lost Man, and so much the more, because Letters were intercepted from Princes, and the Admiral, in his Favour, and because the chief Heads of the Protestants interceded for his Liberty (53). He obtained it by the Peace, which was concluded in the Month of January, 1571 (54). He appeared before the King in his Council. "There he declared, that, being innocent, he supplicated his Majesty to suffer him to renounce the Benefit of the Edicts of Pacification, made in favour of those, who had acted against his Interests, under Pretence of Religion or Policy; that he had never done any thing, for which he might be blamed; that, if any Person was so bold as to maintain, that he was criminal in any respect, he was ready to make him deny it, Sword in Hand, if his Majesty would be pleased to permit it. The King answered him, That he was persuaded of his Innocence, and good Intention; that he had never questioned his good Conduct, and Zeal for his Service; that he was extremely satisfied with him; that he always believed his Intentions were good, and other things of that Nature, of which he desired his Majesty to grant him an Act: Which was willingly done. It is in the Registers of the Chamber of Accounts (55)."

(52) *Ibid.* pag. 75.

(53) *Ibid.* pag. 76.

(54) *Ibid.* pag. 77.

(55) Mr Al-lard has published this Act, p. 79: 80, 81.

ing at Grenoble, in 1581, the young Pardaillan, Son of la Motte-Gondrin, spoke haughtily and injuriously of the Baron Des-Adrets, because of the Loss of his Father at Valence. The Baron was informed, in his Retirement, what Terms he made use of, and also, that he said, if he met him, he would abuse him: Which obliged him to come to Grenoble, where, having waited upon the Duke of Mairenne, and having been kindly received by him, he said, several times, and also in the Presence of Pardaillan, that he had left his Solitude, and was returned into the World, to see if any One bore him any Grudge, and to give him Satisfaction; that his Sword was not so rusty, nor his Arm so weak, or his Strength so much impaired by Age, but that he was able to give Satisfaction to all those, who had any Complaint against him. Pardaillan neither said, nor did, any thing, that might give occasion for a Quarrel; so that Des-Adrets retired again, being satisfied with this last Bravery (56)."

(6) *Ibid.* pag. 87, 88.

[O] The Reader will see the Titles, which he gave himself, whilst he was at the Head of the Protestants of his Province. They are as follows: "Francis de Beaumont, Lord Des-Adrets, Gentleman in Ordinary of the King's Chamber, Colonel of the Legionaries of Dauphiné, Provence, Lyonnais, Languedoc, and Auvergne, Governor, and Lieutenant General for the King in Dauphiné, and my Lord the Prince of Condé's Lieutenant in the Christian Army, assembled for the Service of God, the Liberty and Deliverance of the King, and the Queen-Mother, the Preservation of their States and Grandeur, and of Christian Liberty in the said Countries (57). In the Chamber of Accounts of Grenoble, "there are several Ordinances drawn up in his Name — — — wherein he takes That Quality upon him, and, in others, he calls himself, Chief Governor of the Companies assembled for the Service of God, &c. There are some, which are thus directed; To all the True and Faithful Subjects of the King, our Sovereign and Natural Lord, associated in the Confession of the Reformed Churches, and Well-wishers to the Peace and Tranquillity of this Country of Dauphiné, Greeting, and Peace through our Lord Jesus Christ (58)."

(57) *Ibid.* pag. 23.

(58) *Ibid.* pag. 29.

Was he not a very fit Person to use such Language? Was he not a new Apostle, well qualified to imitate St Paul's Evangelical Salutation? [P] His Countenance discovered the Fierceness of his Temper. Thuanus, who observed him so nicely, at Grenoble (59), in the Year 1572, that he was able to delineate him by Memory, so as any one might know him again, gives this Description of him: "Erat jam totus canus, sed cruda adhuc ac viridi senectute, Oculis truculentis, naso aquilino, facie macilenta, sed ruboribus interfusa, ut lutum sanguine maceratum, quod in P. Corn. Sulla observatum est, ori inspersum diceret, de cætero corporis habitus proflus militari (60). — — — He was now quite grey-headed, but of a vigorous and robust old Age; he had fierce, sparkling, Eyes, a sharp Nose, a lean Visage, but flushed; so that you would say, "as

(59) Thuanus de Vita sua, lib. 1. pag. 1165.

(60) *Ibid.*

"as was observed in P. Corn. Sulla, that his Face" "for the rest of his bodily Constitution, it was al-
"was sprinkled with a Mixture of Dirt and Blood;" "together military."

BEAUNE (RENAUD de) Archbishop of *Bourges*, and, afterwards, of *Sens*, in the Reign of *Henry IV.* See SAMBLANCAI (WILLIAM).

BEDA (NOEL), Doctor of Divinity in the University of *Paris*, was the greatest Clamourer, and the most mutinous and factious Man, of his Time. He was a *Picard* (a), and lived in the Reign of *Francis I.* He declared himself a sworn Enemy to all those, who designed to make Learning flourish again (b); and it was on this score, that *Erasmus*, and *Faber Stapulensis*, incurred his Indignation. He pretended to have found a great many Heresies in the Paraphrases of *Erasmus*, and published a Book on that Subject. *Erasmus* justified himself, and, accusing him in his Turn, convicted him of a great number of Calumnies [A]. *Beda*, instead of proving, that he had been no Calumniator, or, instead of confessing, that he had not rightly apprehended his Adversary's Meaning, had recourse to the Art of Caballing: He read *Erasmus's* Books over again; he made new Extracts out of them, as unfaithful as the former [B], and gave them to be censured by the Faculty of Divinity; where his

(a) *Erasmi Supputat. Errorum Bedæ, fol. 22.*

(b) *Beda's Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. p. 22.*

(1) *Erasmus in the Reverse of the Title-Page of his Supputat. Errorum in Censuris Bedæ.*

(2) *Erasmi. Epist. 73. lib. xix. p. 392, dated Nov. 1527. See also Ep. 14. lib. 20. pag. 974. & Epist. 4. lib. 24. p. 1281.*

(3) *Id. Epist. 62. lib. 19. pag. 877, dated Nov. 30, 1527.*

(4) *Id. Ep. 71. lib. 39. pag. 836. See also Epist. 14. lib. 20.*

(5) *That of Beda against Erasmus. It was printed at Paris, by Jodocus Badius, in 1526, in folio.*

[A] *Erasmus convicted him of a great Number of Calumnies.* See the Book entitled, *Supputationes Errorum in censuris Natalis Bedæ per Erasmus Rotterodamum.* It was printed in the Year 1527. The Reverse of the Title page will inform you, that *Erasmus* found One hundred eighty one Lies, Three hundred and ten Calumnies, and Forty seven Blasphemies, in a pretty small Book of his Censurer; and This, without dealing rigorously with him; for he was spared in many things, which deserved to be taken notice of. "Ac ne quis queratur iniquam supputationem, non imputavimus illi tam multa indocte, stulte, & sine mente dicta. Non imputavimus tam multas propositiones, quas in censuris omisit, &c. (1). ----- And, left any one should think my Computation unfair, I have not charged him with many things, unlearnedly, foolishly, and inconsiderately, advanced. I have not imputed to him the many Propositions, omitted by him in his Censures, &c." A Man of Honour, and Conscience, would have made it his chief Business to vindicate himself against such kind of Lists; but *Beda*, and Those like him, find their Account better in repeating their first Accusations an hundred times over, just as if nothing had been answered to Them. If *Erasmus* may be credited, his Adversary's Book displeased *Francis I.* so much, that he prohibited the Sale of it. "Impotenter & infeliciter edito libro sic debacchatus est in me, ut Rex Christianissimus mox, ubi rem cognovit, veterit codices divendi, haud dubie vetiturus excludi, si tempestive monitus fuisset (2). ----- He railed so against me, in a weak and unfortunate Work, that the most Christian King, being informed of it, immediately prohibited the Sale of the Book, and, no doubt, would have put a Stop to the printing of it, had he had timely Information." The Book, which *Beda* published, at the same time, against *Faber Stapulensis*, was likewise prohibited; nevertheless, the Copies of these two Books were suffered to be dispersed. "Urit hominem, quod liber, quem in Jacobum Fabrum scripserat, edicto regio suppressus est, etiam si non est suppressus (3). ----- He is nettled at the Royal Edit, which suppresses his Book against James Faber, though, in Reality, it is not suppressed." "Nec jussu premere prestiti, sed elusit Regis edictum, curans ut in Germaniam spargeretur, & illic clam distrahatur (4). ----- Though commanded to suppress the Book, he did not obey, but eluded the King's Edit, contriving to have it dispersed, and privately sold, in Germany. I shall set down, here, a Passage of Mr *Chevillier's* Book about the Origin of Printing at *Paris*. "*Francis I.* ----- was so exasperated against Dr *Noel Beda*, who had refuted the Paraphrases and Annotations of *Erasmus*, and against the Faculty, who had approved, and caused his Book to be printed (5), that, the Doctor, being gone to the Court about some Business of his Society, was kept Prisoner there for a whole Day, not obtaining his Liberty, but on Condition to appear whenever it should be required, and a Letter under the Privy-Seal was sent to the Parliament, dated from *Amboise*, the ninth of April 1526, whereby they were ordered to put a Stop to the Sale of *Beda's* Book.

"I have read, in a Copy of the Registers of that Court, a Letter of *Jodocus Badius*, wherein he says, that he had printed Six hundred and fifty Copies of This Book, many of which had been sent into *Spain, Italy, Germany, and England*; that he had about fifty complete Copies left, and promised not to distribute them (6). ----- Moreover, *Lewis de Berquin*, a private Lutheran, and a Friend of *Erasmus*, with whom he held Correspondence by Letters, presented twelve Propositions out of *Beda's* Book, pretending they contained some Impieties, and Blasphemies, and required, that the Faculty should be obliged to condemn, or prove them by the Holy Scripture. The King heard this Accuser favourably; and, the tenth of July 1527, he sent the Propositions, by the Bishop of *Bazas*, to the Rector, whom he ordered to cause them to be examined by the four Faculties assembled together, and not by the Doctors of Divinity only, quos in hac materia suspectos habebat, as the Register of the Faculty says, ----- I find no written Account of what the Judgment of the four Faculties was (7). Take notice, that the Divines of *Paris* had rendered themselves so much suspected of Passion and Anger, that the King would not permit them to be Judges in This Cause, without joining with them the three other Faculties. It will not be amiss to see in what manner he bridled These Zealots: Here is an Extract of the Letter, which he wrote to the Parliament, the ninth of April 1526. "And, because we are duly informed, that the said Faculty, and their Agents, write indifferently against every Body, slandering their Honour and Reputation, as is done against *Erasmus*, and may endeavour to the like against others, We command you ----- to write immediately to Those of the said Faculty, or their Deputies, and to forbid them ----- to write, compose, or print, any thing whatsoever, either in general, or in particular, before it has been revised and approved by you, or your Deputies, and debated in a full Court (8). These Regulations did not continue long, though they seemed worthy of a general and perpetual Establishment.

[B] *He made new Extracts out of them, as unfaithful as the former.* The more he found himself convicted of Calumny, the more he endeavoured to ruin him, whom he had calumniated. He, therefore, resolved to try, whether, by producing the same Accusations a-new, under a Form somewhat different, he might not have a better Advantage of them. "Urit hominem ----- quod ego respondens & meam innocentiam & illius impudentiam sic omnibus ob oculos posui, ut in speculo non possit evidenter. Itaque prorsus animo gladiatorio parat vindictam, non se purgans, quod non potest, sed easdem calumnias alia specie rursus ingerens. ----- Habet sexcentas propositiones de paraphrasis decerpitas ----- eas ut narrat ad Facultatem deferret, & in aliquot jam audio pronunciarum. Sed quomodo proponit artifex? Omittit quæ rem explicant, quæ calumniam excludunt: addit de suo quæ faciunt ad calumniam: proponit velut à me dicta hoc tempore quæ dicuntur ab Evangelistis aut Apostolis, & ad Ecclesiæ primordia pertinent (9). ----- He is vexed,

(6) *Chevillier's Origin of Printing at Paris, pag. 174.*

(7) *Ibid. pag. 175.*

(8) *Ibid. p. 179, 180.*

(9) *Erasmi. Epist. 62. lib. 19. pag. 827.*

his fiery Temper, and his factious and violent Declamations against the Novelities of those Times, and against Those, who were not zealous enough to suppress them, gave him a kind of tyrannical Sovereignty [C]. This he abused in such a manner, that, at last, they were obliged to give him up to the Secular Power, which, to

"to find my Innocence, and his own Impudence, represented, in my Answer, as faithfully, as in a Glass. He, therefore, prepares, with the Fury of a Gladiador, to take his Revenge, not by vindicating himself, which is out of his Power, but by repeating the same Accusations under another Form. . . . He has selected Six hundred Propositions out of my Paraphrases. . . . he presents them, they say, to the Faculty; and, as I am informed, Judgment is given upon some of them. But how does This crafty Fellow propose them? He omits whatever tends to explain the Matter, or to remove Scandal: he adds of his own what contributes to Calumny: he proposes, as if advanced, at present, by, me what was said by the Evangelists, or Apostles, and related to the Infancy of the Church." Beda omitted none of the knavish Tricks of an unfaithful Maker of Extracts. He suppressed what was proper to justify the Accused Person, and to discover the Calumny: He added what would strengthen his Accusations; he turned to one Sense what had been said in another. There is nothing more easy, than to cause an innocent Opinion to be condemned by such Artifices: See the Seventy third Letter of the nineteenth Book of Erasmus. He contrived another Artifice; for he made choice of some Heads of Accusation, and, having put them into French, he sent them to the Court, to incense the Great Men, the Women, and all France, in general, against Erasmus (10). He had already alleged the Title of King of France, which Erasmus gave to the King of England, in dedicating a Book to him (11); I say, he had already alleged it, to render this poor Author odious at the Court of the Most Christian King. I do not know, whether any one told him to his Face, that he was very much in the wrong, not to endeavour, before all things, to justify himself; and that it was disgraceful to leave Erasmus's Lists unanswered, such Lists as convicted him plainly of gross Errors, and shameful Calumnies. "Quum meæ supputationes, ob oculos omnium posuerint hominis inficitum cum pari malitia conjunctam, non cogitat de purgando, sed articulos aliquot deceptos ex acervo calumniarum & Gallicæ verfos misit in aulam regiam. . . . Nunc eisdem articulos vobis ingerit, scilicet in ordinem digestos, ut novi videantur, perinde quasi nihil sit responsum (12). — Though my Computations plainly discovered the Ignorance and Malice of the Man, yet he never thinks of justifying himself, but, selecting some Articles out of an Heap of Calumnies, he turns them into French, and sends them to Court. — Now he repeats the same Articles to you, drawn up in such an Order, that They may appear new, as if they had never been replied to." He should have answered This without having recourse to so many unfair Practices. Perhaps Erasmus was the only Person, who reproached his Adversary with This. "Nisi Beda prorsus disliceret suæ causæ, responderet saltem ad quædam loca tam impudenter calumniosa vanaque, ut res manibus, quod aiunt, sentiri possit. Nunc, hoc omisso, quod in primis curatum oportuit, vim parat, conceitat facultatem, ut articulorum turba, suffragiis, & autoritate, me opprimat (13). — Did not Beda entirely distrust his own Cause, he would at least reply to some Passages, so impudently scandalous and false, that the thing may be felt, as the Proverb has it. But, having omitted This, which was his principal Concern, he now prepares Force, and stirs up the Faculty, to oppress me by a Multitude of Articles, by Votes, and by Authority." I say, Erasmus was perhaps the only Person, who reproached him after This Manner; for, commonly, They who are not concerned in the Injustice of an Inquisitor, govern themselves by the Rule of Thinking more, than Speaking.

[C] His factious Behaviour — gave him a Kind of tyrannical Sovereignty, in the Faculty of Divinity. I do not know, whether any thing is more difficult, than to obtain an equitable Judgment, in a Process of Doctrine, against such a Man as Beda. He was naturally violent; he indulged this violent Disposition with the greater Licence, as he covered himself with the fair Pretence of the Interest of Truth: He boldly defamed his Adversaries in his Books: He called moderate Persons base Prevaricators, which was a good means to oblige part of the Judges to side with him against their Consciences; for there is no pleasure in exposing one's self to be defamed by the Assessors of an Inquisition: In a word, it was the ready way to tyrannize over the Faculty of Divinity. Here is the most faithful Description, which can be seen, of the manner, how a Man of Beda's Stamp may extort an Academical Decree, a Synodal Sentence, &c. Michael Angels never painted more to the Life. "In omni consensu semper fuerunt, qui studiis & improbitate rerum summam sibi vindicant, nec temere fit, ut melior pars vincat. Per illos primum res privatim decernitur, mox excluduntur integriores, adhibentur idonei, præfatio commendat concordiam, adduntur minæ; hic, inquit, apparet, qui sint Lutherani factionis. Si quis dixerit aliquid æquius, mox audit à frementibus, Luthero pejor. Sunt ingenia modesta, quæ malunt quiescere, quam cum talibus contentionem suscipere. Sunt qui in gratiam privatam defleant à sua sententia: sunt qui metuunt aut sperent aliquid, eoque premant quod judicant optimum: sunt qui non intelligant, quod nudè proponitur: sunt qui iidem affectibus exæccati sunt, quibus Beda: sunt quos utunque sanos clamor ac tumultus aliorum, ita ut fit, agit in furias. Ita non fit, sed extorquetur senatusconsultum. In quo prodendo rursum qui extorserunt admittunt affectus suos, aliis vel incisus, vel conniventibus. Et hoc dicitur collegii decretum (14). — In every Assembly, there have been Men, who, by dint of Industry and Dishonesty, gain a Superiority over the rest; nor is it without cause, that the better Part prevails. Every Thing is first determined in private by these Men; afterwards Those of Integrity are excluded; such, as are for their Purpose, only admitted; they begin with recommending Unanimity, and end with Threats; Now, say they, we shall discover, who are of the Lutheran Faction. If any one delivers himself with more Moderation, than usual, presently it is murmured, that he is worse than Luther. There are moderate Tempers, which chuse to be quiet, rather than contend with such Persons: Others there are, who sacrifice their Opinion to private Favour: with some, Hope or Fear prevails, and induces them to stifle what they judge to be best: Some do not understand what is nakedly proposed: others are blinded by the same Passions with Beda: There are, who, though sound of Mind, are driven to a Kind of Madness by the Clamour and Noise of Others. Thus a Decree is not made, but extorted. In the framing of which, They again, who extorted it, intermix their own Passions, the rest either not perceiving, or conniving at it. And This is called A Decree of the Faculty." What he says in the fourth Fol. of his *Supputatio Errorum in censuris Bedæ*, is, likewise, a true Picture. "Deliguntur Deputati ad id idonei, quos optant ii, quorum auctoritas vel improbitas vincit in collegiis, in quibus frequenter, quod ait Livius, major pars vincit meliorem, nonnunquam minor sed importunior superat & majorem & meliorem. Allegatur Relator. Decernitur. Interim cum scribis res est. Et hinc insulsiuntur quædam obiter, quæ vel non sentiuntur, vel dissimulantur. — Deputies are pitched upon, proper for the purpose, who are chosen by Those, whose Authority, or Knavery, has acquired a Superiority in the College; in which, as Livy observes, The greater Part prevails over the Better, and sometimes the Less, but more importunate, conquers the Greater and Better. An Informer is appointed. A Decree is drawn up. In the mean time Scribes are employed. Hence some things are frequently repeated, which are either not perceived, or are connived at." That, which is to be lamented, is, that the Management, described in this Passage, is put in practice, even when the Question is to condemn what deserves it most. See the Complaints made against the Censure of a Book of *Mary d'Agreda* (15). Observe, that our Beda accomplished his Design:

self with the fair Pretence of the Interest of Truth: He boldly defamed his Adversaries in his Books: He called moderate Persons base Prevaricators, which was a good means to oblige part of the Judges to side with him against their Consciences; for there is no pleasure in exposing one's self to be defamed by the Assessors of an Inquisition: In a word, it was the ready way to tyrannize over the Faculty of Divinity. Here is the most faithful Description, which can be seen, of the manner, how a Man of Beda's Stamp may extort an Academical Decree, a Synodal Sentence, &c. Michael Angels never painted more to the Life. "In omni consensu semper fuerunt, qui studiis & improbitate rerum summam sibi vindicant, nec temere fit, ut melior pars vincat. Per illos primum res privatim decernitur, mox excluduntur integriores, adhibentur idonei, præfatio commendat concordiam, adduntur minæ; hic, inquit, apparet, qui sint Lutherani factionis. Si quis dixerit aliquid æquius, mox audit à frementibus, Luthero pejor. Sunt ingenia modesta, quæ malunt quiescere, quam cum talibus contentionem suscipere. Sunt qui in gratiam privatam defleant à sua sententia: sunt qui metuunt aut sperent aliquid, eoque premant quod judicant optimum: sunt qui non intelligant, quod nudè proponitur: sunt qui iidem affectibus exæccati sunt, quibus Beda: sunt quos utunque sanos clamor ac tumultus aliorum, ita ut fit, agit in furias. Ita non fit, sed extorquetur senatusconsultum. In quo prodendo rursum qui extorserunt admittunt affectus suos, aliis vel incisus, vel conniventibus. Et hoc dicitur collegii decretum (14). — In every Assembly, there have been Men, who, by dint of Industry and Dishonesty, gain a Superiority over the rest; nor is it without cause, that the better Part prevails. Every Thing is first determined in private by these Men; afterwards Those of Integrity are excluded; such, as are for their Purpose, only admitted; they begin with recommending Unanimity, and end with Threats; Now, say they, we shall discover, who are of the Lutheran Faction. If any one delivers himself with more Moderation, than usual, presently it is murmured, that he is worse than Luther. There are moderate Tempers, which chuse to be quiet, rather than contend with such Persons: Others there are, who sacrifice their Opinion to private Favour: with some, Hope or Fear prevails, and induces them to stifle what they judge to be best: Some do not understand what is nakedly proposed: others are blinded by the same Passions with Beda: There are, who, though sound of Mind, are driven to a Kind of Madness by the Clamour and Noise of Others. Thus a Decree is not made, but extorted. In the framing of which, They again, who extorted it, intermix their own Passions, the rest either not perceiving, or conniving at it. And This is called A Decree of the Faculty." What he says in the fourth Fol. of his *Supputatio Errorum in censuris Bedæ*, is, likewise, a true Picture. "Deliguntur Deputati ad id idonei, quos optant ii, quorum auctoritas vel improbitas vincit in collegiis, in quibus frequenter, quod ait Livius, major pars vincit meliorem, nonnunquam minor sed importunior superat & majorem & meliorem. Allegatur Relator. Decernitur. Interim cum scribis res est. Et hinc insulsiuntur quædam obiter, quæ vel non sentiuntur, vel dissimulantur. — Deputies are pitched upon, proper for the purpose, who are chosen by Those, whose Authority, or Knavery, has acquired a Superiority in the College; in which, as Livy observes, The greater Part prevails over the Better, and sometimes the Less, but more importunate, conquers the Greater and Better. An Informer is appointed. A Decree is drawn up. In the mean time Scribes are employed. Hence some things are frequently repeated, which are either not perceived, or are connived at." That, which is to be lamented, is, that the Management, described in this Passage, is put in practice, even when the Question is to condemn what deserves it most. See the Complaints made against the Censure of a Book of *Mary d'Agreda* (15). Observe, that our Beda accomplished his Design:

(14) Erasmus, Epist. 71, lib. 19, pag. 839.

(10) Idem. Epist. 71, lib. 19, pag. 839.

(11) Ibid. Epist. 73, lib. 24, pag. 1309.

(12) Idem. Epist. 73, lib. 29, pag. 886.

(13) Idem. Epist. 73, lib. 29, pag. 886.

(15) In Remonstrantia [C], of the Article MARY D'AGREDA.

(c) Beza,
Ibid. p. 15.

to punish him for his high Offences, condemned him to make the *Amende honorable*, and to confes, at the Gate of the Cathedral Church of *Paris*, in the Presence of a great Number of People, that he had spoken against the King and the Truth. He was, moreover, condemned to Banishment (c). This happened in 1535. He had very much opposed the Design, which *Francis I* had, to cause the *Sorbonne* to give a favourable Opinion for the Divorce of *Henry VIII*. He was not in the wrong in the main; for all, that was done to corrupt some Universities in *France*, was a true Mystery of Iniquity; but he ruined his Cause by his Passionate Behaviour, and his mutinous Carriage [E]; and even involved himself in the

(16) See
Chevillier,
Of the Ori-
gin of Print-
ing at Paris,
p. 173.

sign: The Faculty of Divinity censured *Erasmus's* Book, the Twenty seventh of December, 1527. It is true, This Censure was not made public till four Years after (16).

[D] He was condemned to make the *Amende honorable*.] *Bartholomew Latomus*, who was then at *Paris*, wrote this News to *Erasmus*. "Beda tuus fecit emendam, ut vocant, honorabilem, cum hac confessione quod contra veritatem & Regem loquutus esset, quæ verba ante ædem divæ Virginis magno populi concursu præcone palam pronunciavit: ne forte Lutheranism illum fuisse putes. Sed tamen detinetur adhuc in carcere, detrudendus in Monasterium aliquod, ut ferunt, ubi & quando Regi visum fuerit. — Your Beda has made the *Amende* honourable, as they call it, with this Confession, that he had spoken against Truth and the King; which words he pronounced openly at the Door of the Cathedral of the blessed Virgin, with a Cryer preceding him, and before a great Concourse of People: This I inform you of, that you may not think he was a Lutheran. However, he is still kept in Prison, to be thrust into some Monastery, they say, where and when the King pleases." This Letter of *Latomus*, dated the Twenty ninth of June 1535, is the Twenty seventh of the Twenty seventh Book of *Erasmus*.

SOME FACTS
concerning
Beda, in the
Affair of the
Divorce of
Henry VIII.

[E] He spoiled his Cause by his passionate Behaviour.] *Messieurs de Bellai*, who concerned themselves extremely in the good Success of *Henry VIII's* Divorce, speak very ill of *Beda* in their Letters. "I have never yet seen This King (of England), nor those that are in Credit with him, in so fair a way, as they are at present in; to which what your Divines have done has wonderfully contributed, according to the Advice, that is come from the Embassadors. But there is one *Beda* of That Number, who is a dangerous Person; and there would be no need of having many such in a good Company." This is what *John du Bellai*, Bishop of

(17) See the
Hist. of the
Divorce of
Henry VIII,
by Mr le
Grand-Tom-
III, p. 421.

Bayonne, wrote from London to Mr de *Montmorency*, the Twenty ninth of December 1529 (17). His Brother, *William du Bellai*, wrote to *Francis I*, the ninth of June, 1530, that *Beda* had committed great Disorders in the Assembly of the Faculty. "During which Discourses, says he, and whilst their Beadle was collecting the Names and Opinions of the Deliberators, to see what the Opinion of the Majority was, one of the said Gentlemen, our Masters, stood up, and took the Roll out of his Hand, and tore it; and thereupon, they all arose in great Disorder and Tumult, some beginning to cry out, that they had done and spoke enough about it, and that the greatest and foundest Party was of Opinion to deliberate no more about it, without writing to you, Sir, and to the Pope. In this manner the Company departed; and the King of England's Embassadors, who were walking in a Gallery, seeing them come out in such disorder, and with such a noise, and hearing all the Discourse, which passed between them, retired very much displeased to their Houles, putting a very ill Construction upon this Business. And they told me, they knew very well heretofore, what were the secret Practices of *Beda*, and his Accomplices, to render the Consultation such as they had found it (18)." *Du Bellai* adds, I. That, at his Request, the first President sent for *Beda*, *Barthelemy Tabary*, and some other Ringleaders of this Discord and Faction, and made them promise, that they would meet again the next Day. II. That the same first President "made the said *Beda* come to him in the Church of our Lady, about another Circumstance, and remonstrated to him his Abilities, and the Inconvenience, to which he might put the King, and was so urgent with

(18) Ibid.
p. 455; 466.

him, that he swore expressly, not only not to hinder the King's Letters from being obeyed, but to use his Endeavour, as if it were for his own Life, to make the thing pass without noise or scandal (19)." (20) Ibid. III. That, though, "at first, he would not trust too much to this Promise, so far as it was, notwithstanding another Promise formerly made to the great Master, the said *Beda* had begun this Faction, without which the Business might have been determined without any trouble to the King. Nevertheless, seeing the first President would trust to *Beda* for it, he (du Bellai) would not write again to the King about it." The Letter of the fifteenth of August of the same Year is curious. *Du Bellai* informs Mr de *Montmorency*, I. That the Business had been carried on by such wicked Intrigues, that, says he, I have often seen the King's Business in danger to suffer greatly by it; and I assure you, that, if I had not daily made use of the Assistance of the first President, who, besides the Authority of his Place, has great Credit with the said *Beda*, and his Accomplices, such an inconvenience would have happened by the Attempt of a foolish, I dare not say an ill, Man, that the Ability of a thousand wife Men would hardly have remedied it without extraordinary Trouble; and perhaps any other Judge, not infected with the Persuasion, which I perceive in the said President, that the before mentioned *Beda*, when he speaks Theologically, is infallible and impeccable, would have called That a Mortal Sin, which the said President can hardly believe to be a Venial Sin: However, the King has appointed Commissioners to enquire into the Abuses and Intolerances of the said *Beda*, and his Accomplices." II. That the English Embassadors had obtained an Order, from *Francis I*, to the Beadle of the Faculty of Divinity, to give an authentic Duplicate of some Act signed with *Beda's* own Hand; and that they had addressed themselves to the King, because to have it "by the leave of the Faculty, was to go back to A, B, C, considering the Tyranny heretofore usurped by the said *Beda*, and his Adherents." III. That the first President (20) "is so much persuaded of the Sanctity of *Beda*, that he cannot believe the Faults he sees in him, which are such, to speak the Truth, that, if I had committed such in self, and had a dozen Heads, I should have deserved to lose them all; as any Body may see, that will read the Legend, which the two Presidents, *le Viste*, and *Porellot*, will make of them. Nevertheless, My Lord, I do not conclude, that the said *Beda* is the only wicked Person; for he has Companions enough, that would be glad to give the King occasion to do something hastily against them, to acquire the Name of Martyrs with the Mob. I had often heard of their malicious Undertakings under the Title and Colour of Honesty and Hypocrisy; but I could never have believed the tenth Part, if I had not seen it (21)." These words are worth their weight in Gold; for they wonderfully represent the Character of many of those turbulent Zealots, who cause a thousand Disorders in a State, by the desire they have to domineer over the Multitude, and who willingly expose themselves to Persecution, that the People, interlarding themselves in their Disgrace, may make an Insurrection, and finish what their Intrigues have begun. The Bishop of *Bayonne*, in his Letters to Mr de *Montmorency*, confirms the greatest Part of what his Brother had written: "The Business of the King of England, says he (22), was proposed at *Paris*, after it could be deferred no longer; *Beda* played the Devil there, and the Assembly broke up without coming to any Conclusion; the King will have them begin again, and, if it be necessary, to send

(20) Ibid.
pag. 468.

(20) It was
Lizet, whom
Beza derived
from me.
William du
Bellai repre-
sents him here
as a weak
Person, and
writ for the
Office he bore.

(21) Le
Grand's Di-
vorce of
Henry VIII,
Tom. III,
pag. 473.

(22) In a
Letter, dated
June 1^{re},
1530, apud
le Grand,
ubi supra,
pag. 459.

(d) See Remark [E], and Erasmus, Epist. 56, lib. 3, pag. 1347.

(e) Beza, u. i. supra, pag. 7, 14.

the Crime of Perjury. He had much Credit with the first President *Lizet* (d), a Man much more fit to act the part of a bad Controvertist, as he did before his Death, than to be at the Head of the first Parliament of France. *Beda* was one of the chief Promoters of the Death of *Lewis de Berquin*, as we shall relate in the Article of That Protestant Martyr. In general, there was no one in *Paris*, who shewed more Violence against Those, who are called Heretics, than himself (e); and This is the reason, why *Beza* (f) ascribes the Punishment, which was inflicted on *Beda*, of being confined to Mount St Michel, where he died the eighth of January, 1537 (g), rather to the just Judgment of God, than to That of Men. He had been Principal of the College of *Montaignu*. You will find, below, the Titles of his Works [F].

(f) Ibid.

pag. 15.

(g) St Romuald, Journ Chronol. Tom. I. pag. 132, where he speaks positively of the Execution of the Faculty of Divinity laid for Beza.

"send him the said *Beda*. — I was told, that the Gentlemen of the Faculty were gone into the Conclave, to re-assume the Business relating to the King of England, *Beda*, *Barthelemy*, and their Adherents, being the Authors and Promoters of it, who, after so many Alarms on their Part, as you have heard, have no sooner been out of the Presence of their Dean — but they have, of their own particular Authority, undertaken to break what was generally done and concluded in so great an Assembly (23). — You know, my Lord, that I formerly told you, that *Beda* was suspected of a Design to get the Register falsified by the

"Beadle; and I would not give him time to increase That Suspicion, rather than lessen it (24)." By These Strokes of the Pencil we may know the true Character of This Personage.

[F] The Titles of his Works.] *De unica Magdalena contra Jacobum Fabrum & Judicum Chelivorum*, at Paris 1519. *Contra commentarios ejusdem Fabri in Evangelia & Epistolas libri II. & contra Erasmi paraphrases libri I.* at Paris 1526. *Apologia adversus clandestinos Lutheranos*, at Paris 1529. *Apologia pro filiabus & nepotibus Anna contra eundem Fabrum*. He is thought to be the Author of the *Registatio in integrum benedictionis cerei paschalis* (25).

(24) Letter, of Aug. 15, ibid. p. 322.

(25) Aubert. Miræ, de Scriptur. Secul. xvi, p. 21.

(22) Letter, dated August 11, 1530, ibid. p. 491.

BEDELL (WILLIAM), Bishop of *Kilmore*, in *Ireland*, was born in the Year 1570, at *Black Nottey*, in *Essex*. He studied at *Cambridge*, where he took his Bachelor's Degree, in the Year 1599. He left That University to exercise the Ministry at *St Edmundsbury*, in *Suffolk*, which he did very zealously, without any Interruption, 'till he was made Chaplain to the Ambassador, whom King *James* sent to the Republic of *Venice* (a). During his eight Years abode at *Venice*, *Bedell* contracted a very intimate Friendship with Father *Paul*, and, when he returned into *England*, he brought the famous *Mark Antony de Dominis* along with him, as also several Manuscripts, of Father *Paul's*, and, among others, *The History of the Council of Trent*. He returned again to *St Edmundsbury*, and, amidst the Functions of the Sacred Ministry, he translated into Latin *The History of the Interdiction*, and That of the *Inquisition*, which Father *Paul* had given him; and dedicated them to the King. He translated, also, the two last Books of *The History of the Council*. In the Year 1615, he was provided with a considerable Benefice, in the Diocese of *Norwich*, which he possessed twelve Years, applying himself very much to his Duty, and caring but little to make a noise in the World. He was so little known, that no one could give any Account of him to *Diodati*, a Divine of *Geneva* [B]. Nevertheless, his Reputation reached into *Ireland*, where, with a general Consent, he was nominated to the Headship of *Trinity College* (b). He would not accept of This Place, without the Command of his Superiors; and, being commanded to do it by King *James*, he joyfully obeyed, and discharged the Duties of That Employment to Admiration. Two Years after, he was promoted to the Bishoprics of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*, in the Province of *Ulster*, being, then, in his Fifty ninth Year (c). He found These two Dioceses in great Disorder, and was very active in reforming Abuses. He began with the Plurality of Benefices, and, to set a good Example, he resigned the Bishopric of *Ardagh*, and kept only That of *Kilmore*. He made some Regulations as

(a) It was Henry Wotton.

(b) This College is at Dublin.

(c) It must be, then, in the Year 1629.

[A] *Bedell* contracted a very intimate Friendship with Father *Paul*.] The Intimacy, which This Famous Venetian Divine had with *William Bedell*, was without any reserve; he discovered his Heart to him, which was more imbued with the Faith of the Reformed Churches, than with That of the Council of *Trent*. Nothing, perhaps, more clearly evinces Father *Paul's* reformed Faith, than the Particulars, which Dr *Burnet* published in the Life of our Bishop of *Kilmore*: I shall speak at large of it in another place (1). I shall only observe here, that Father *Paul* assisted *Bedell* in learning the Italian Language, and that *Bedell* helped the other to learn the English Tongue. Father *Paul* confessed, that he received from him some other Instructions, which were more considerable: See, hereafter, the Remark [H]. I add, that *Bedell* translated the Liturgy of the Church of *England* into Italian; and that he had the Liberty of conferring with Father *Paul* when, and as often as he would, even when none but Persons known to him were suffered to come near him, by reason of the wounds, which That Father had received (2).

his Office so worthily, one cannot say of him, that he was little known, without extolling to the Skies, at the very same time, his Modesty, Humility, Disinterestedness, and several other truly Pastoral Virtues, and very rarely to be found. Where are there Churchmen of great Abilities, who do not endeavour to make a Noise in the World, but chiefly to reach the Ears of Princes, and Favourites? Let us set down Dr *Burnet's* Remark: "*Diodati*, says he (3), That famous Divine of *Geneva*, being come into *England*, could meet with no one, who could give him any tidings of him, though he was very well acquainted with the Clergy. He was much surprised, that such an extraordinary Man, so much admired in *Venice*, so tenderly cherished by Persons of the greatest Merit, should be so little known in his own Country: he had lost all hopes of seeing him, when, merely by accident, he met him in the Streets of *London*, where they expressed their great Surprise and Joy to each other. *Diodati* presented him afterwards to the learned Dr *Morton*, Bishop of *Durham*, whom he informed of the particular Esteem, which Father *Paul* had for him; and That Prelate gave him a very favourable Reception."

(1) In the Article SARPI.

(2) Dr Burnet, in the Life of William Bedell.

(3) Burnet, ibid. pag. 33.

[B] No one could give any Account of him to *Diodati*.] What I say here would be no Encomium of a Person of little Merit; but, as to our *Bedell*, who was an able Divine, and a Minister, who performed

to Residence: He was very zealous for the Conversion of the Roman Catholics, and, thinking, that nothing could contribute more to it, than a Translation of the Scriptures into the *Irish* Language [C], he caused it to be undertaken. This Buſi-
neſs met with many Obſtacles. He expreſſed a great Zeal for the Re-union of the
Lutherans and *Calvinists* [D]. He did not approve of Thoſe, who made uſe of a
paſſionate Style againſt Popery [E], and did not think them fit to undeceive Thoſe,
who erred. He took a quite different Method: He was a Man of an Apoſtolic
Charity;

- [C] *He ſet on foot a Translation of the Scriptures into the Irish Language.* He had learned That Language; "and, though he was too old to ſpeak it, yet he underſtood it ſo well, that he made a com-
pleat Grammar of it, which, it is ſaid, was the firſt
that ever was made (4)." In favour of the new
Converts, "he cauſed the Common-Prayers to be
read every Sunday in *Irish*, and aſſiſted at them
himſelf. — The New Teſtament, and the Li-
turgy, had been already tranſlated into *Irish*; but,
judging, that the Old ought no longer to remain
untranſlated, he ſought for ſome one, who was
"Maſter of that Language, to tranſlate it (5); —
"and, calling his Eyes upon one King," aged about
ſeventy Years, he put him into Orders, provided him
with a Living, and deſired him to ſet about it. This
Perſon, not underſtanding the *Oriental* Languages,
was obliged to tranſlate it from the *Engliſh*; His Work
was reviſed by *Bedell*, who, after having compared
the *Irish* Tranſlation with the *Engliſh*, compared the
latter with the *Hebrew*, with the *LXX*, and with the
Italian Verſion of *Diodati*. When This Work was
finiſhed, he reſolved to be at the Charge of the Im-
preſſion; but his Deſign was ſtopped: Advice was
given to the Lord Lieutenant, and the Archbiſhop of
Canterbury, that it would be a ſhameful thing for a
Nation to publiſh a Bible, tranſlated by ſuch a de-
ſpicable Man, as King was (6). There was a Clergy-
man, who obtained the Benefice of This old Man,
and thruſt him out of it with *Ignominy and Violence*
(7). He was not only deprived of it, but alſo at-
tacked in his Reputation. "It is uſual, ſays Dr Bur-
net (8), for thoſe, who commit an Injuſtice, to
juſtify it by another, to load their Adverſaries
with Calumnies, and frequently to repeat their Ac-
cuſations, in order to prepoſſeſs the People againſt
them, and to oppreſs them ſo much, that they
"may not be able to obtain any Redreſs, but entire-
ly ſink under ſuch a weight of Malice." *Bedell*
uſed all his endeavours to prevent the Oppreſſion of
This poor Tranſlator, and prepared Matters to have
the *Irish* Bible printed in his own Houſe; but the
Troubles followed; and he did not live long enough
to execute his Reſolution. The Manuſcript was not
loſt; for, by the Diligence of the famous *Chriſtian*
Philosopher, Mr Boyle (9), they were printing of it,
when Dr Burnet publiſhed the Life of our Biſhop (10).
[D] *He expreſſed a great Zeal for the Re-union*
of the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*. He was not contented
to impart his Thoughts by Letters to Mr Dury,
but did alſo aſſiſt him in the Expence, he was obliged
to be at, to negotiate this Union, and gave him an
annual Penſion of Twenty five Piſtols, which he paid
regularly to his Correſpondents in London (11). This
Mr Dury's Name in *Latin* is *Duræus*: The pains,
he took, to execute his Project of Re-union, are
almoſt incredible. I believe, without making much
hate, he took as many Journeys, as the Jeſuit *Matthieu*,
who was called *The Poſſibility of the League*. They
may be compared in ſome things; but they differ
in many others. One was the Miniſter of a
League, which was already formed, and which, be-
ing actually in Arms, had none but violent Deſigns.
The other was the Miniſter of a meer national Con-
federacy, which was only to be built on the Mo-
deration of Men. So that it is no wonder, if one
of them rode Poſt, and the other travelled at his
leisure. There is, among the Treatiſes, which *Du-
ræus* publiſhed in 1662 (12), *William Bedell's* Opini-
on on the Queſtions, which the Undertaker of the
Re-union had propoſed to the Divines. This Pre-
late made it appear, that he was fit for ſuch an
Undertaking. A great Number of *Lutherans*, being
ſettled at *Dublin*, reſuſed to communicate with the
Church of *Ireland*. They were ſummoned before
the Archbiſhop's Council; They answered, that the
German Divines did not find, that the Preſence of
JESUS CHRIST in the Eucharift was taught, con-

formably to their Doctrin, by the Church of *Ire-
land*. The Archbiſhop ſent them to the Biſhop of
Kilmore; who gave them ſuch a ſolid Answer, that
the *German* Divines, who ſaw it, adviſed the *Luthe-
rans* of *Dublin* to communicate with the Church of
That Place. Dr Burnet ſays upon This, that the
Church of *England* has given no poſitive Definition
of the manner how the Body of CHRIST is preſent
in the Sacrament: So that Men of different Opinions
may praſtiſe the ſame Worſhip, without being obliged
to declare themſelves, and without any Preſumption,
that they all againſt their Belief (13). I have always
heard it ſaid, that there would be no better way to
prevent Schiſms, and Diſputes, than to avoid Par-
ticulars, and to allow of as General Formulæ as
may be.

[E] *He diſapproved of thoſe, who made uſe of a paſ-
ſionate Style againſt Popery.* He preached one Day,
among other things, as follows: "Give me leave,
"my Brethren, to ſpeak my Thoughts freely; I
"am very ſenſible, it will diſpleaſe many Perſons;
"but That ſhall not hinder me from diſcharging my
"Conſcience; and I hope Men of Underſtanding
"will not take it amiſs. I have long ago been of
"Opinion, that the manner, in which many Per-
"ſons treat their Adverſaries, in their Writings,
"and in their Sermons, deſerves Cenſure; They
"give a looſe to their Pens, and Tongues, and what
"they ſay is only a Series of Calumnies, and in-
"jurious Language; They think they have done
"Wonders, when they imitate their Enemies, or
"when they ſurpaſs them in them in That Way, in
"which He, who does the beſt, does, really, the
"worſt; they endeavour to juſtify their Proceedings
"by the Text: *Answer a Fool according to his Folly*,
"without conſidering the other Text, *Answer not a
"Fool according to his Folly, leaſt thou become like
"unto him*. But they are, ſometimes, the more in-
"excusable, becauſe, not underſtanding their Ad-
"verſaries Opinion, or, at leaſt, diſguiſing, and making
"it more unreaſonable, than it is, the Proofs, which
"they bring, have nothing that is ſolid, and con-
"ſiſt only in paſſionate Words about ambiguous
"Terms, which each Party takes in a different
"Senſe (14). — Let us not envy the Papists, and
"other Heretics, the Glory of outdoing our Adver-
"ſaries in railing; becauſe the more one excels in
"this Art, the more one is learn from the great
"Pattern of Charity, who ſays, *Learn of me, for I
"am meek and lowly in Heart* (15). — It is not
"with ſharp and cutting Expreſſions, but with ſolid
"Reaſons, that Error is to be confuted. — It is our
"Duty to confound Error, not to cavil, or
"to rail. It is ſaid, that *Alexander*, having heard
"one of his Soldiers ſcoff at his Enemy *Darius*, re-
"primanded him ſmartly in theſe Words; Friend,
"*I liſted thee to fight againſt Darius, and not to treat
"him unworthily, as you do* (16). But, in truth,
"JESUS CHRIST, our Captain, is but little obli-
"ged to Thoſe, who treat their Adverſaries in this
"manner; and it is very probable, that, if he was yet
"on Earth, he would ſay to them; *Preachers of my
"Gospel, I am willing you ſhould reſuſe Popery, and
"that you ſhould oppoſe my Enemy Antichriſt, and
"all the Sects, which fight under his Banner; but I
"have not called you to give them ill Words*. Theſe
"are my Sentiments concerning the manner, in which
"we ought to treat Thoſe of the *Romiſh* Com-
"munion: Perhaps they do not conform to the Practice
"of *Luther*, *Calvin*, and ſome other great Men.
"But our Conduct muſt not be regulated according
"to the Example of others: They were Men; and
"perhaps they had the failure of too warm a
"Zeal (17)."

This is a ſmall part of the Extract, which is given
us of This Sermon, in This Prelate's Life. He, who
gave it, informs us, that This Sermon was preached
a little after the Difference, which happened in the
Houle

(13) Burnet,
ubi ſupra,
pag. 133.

(14) This
Prelate
touches upon
the two
greatſt
Faults of
Thoſe, who
manage Con-
troverſies.
The one is,
that they will
rail too much
at their Ad-
verſaries;
the other is,
that they do
not faithfully
return on the
Opinions,
which they
reſuſe: They
diſſemble the
ſtrong Reaſons
of the
opposite Par-
ty; they ſtick
to ſilly In-
terpretations,
&c.

(15) Theſe
Words of
JESUS
CHRIST
were the Text
on which the
Biſhop
preached.

(16) I be-
lieve the Bi-
ſhop miſtakes
one for ano-
ther here: It
was Mem-
non, a Gene-
ral of Dari-
us, who ſaid
ſo to a Sol-
dier, that
ſlandered A-
lexander.
Plutarch
Apophth.
pag. 174.
But, as the
Ancients are
not always
uniform in
applying theſe kind of
Sayings to the ſame Per-
ſons, the Bi-
ſhop might,
perhaps, have
read what
he ſays.

(17) Burnet's
Life of Wil-
liam Bedell,
p. 145, 147.

(4) Ibid.
pag. 119.

(5) Ibid.
pag. 120.

(6) Ibid.
pag. 124.

(7) P. 125.

(8) P. 129.

(9) P. 131.

(10) That is,
in the Year
1685.

(11) Burnet,
in the Life
of William
Bedell,
pag. 132.

(12) This
Book is en-
titled, *Tran-
ſlationem tra-
ctatum nro-
dromus*.

Charity; and it was his kind Usage of the Papiſts, which, with the ſpecial Protection of God, ſaved him from their Fury [F], when they made ſuch a Maſſacre in Ireland, in the Year 1641. His Houſe, where ſeveral Perſons had taken Sanctuary, was ſpared for two Months; and, at laſt, when the Papiſts reſolved to employ Force againſt Thoſe Perſons, they had ſuch a Regard for him, as to deſire him to ſend them away; which if he did not, they declared, that they had Orders to ſeiſe him. But he choſe rather to give himſelf up to the Diſcretion of the Rebels, than to put thoſe out of his Houſe, who came for Refuge there. So they took him Priſoner, with his two Sons, and brought them, with thoſe few Perſons, that were in his Houſe, to the Caſtle of *Lochwater*. He had the Liberty to preach in his Priſon; and, a little while after, he was ſet at Liberty, with his two Sons, by an exchange of Priſoners. He was carried to the Houſe of an *Iriſh* Miniſter, and died within a few Days (d), with the moſt Chriſtian Diſpoſitions, that a true Prelate can have. His End answered the good Life he had led; he was the greateſt Example, that theſe latter Ages can parallel with the holy Paſtors of the Primitive Church (e). The *Iriſh* Catholics, whoſe Hatred for the Proteſtants, and Spirit of Rebellion, inſpires them with more Fierceneſs, than the Nature of their Climate, and Education, admired his Virtue, and gave him very ſignal Marks of their Reſpect, on the Day of his Burial [G]. His Learning was great [H]; and he would have teſtified it to the Public by a greater Number of Books [I], if he had printed all Thoſe, which he compoſed. They were almoſt all loſt; for the Rebels ſcattered his Papers, and his whole Library. He was Seventy two Years of Age, when he died, and was yet very vigorous; neither did he uſe Spectacles (f).

(d) Feb. 7, 1642.

(e) It is what Dr. Burnet, Biſhop of Salifbury, ſeems very particularly, and with great Elquence, in the Life of this Prelate. See the following Citation.

(f) Taken from his Life, compoſed by Dr. Burnet; tranſlated into French by L. D. M., and printed at Amſterdam, 1687, in 12mo.

Houſe of Commons in Ireland, where there were many Papiſts. Dr Burnet's Judgment upon it is well worthy of attention. He gives us, ſays he (18), ſuch a fine Method of handling Controverſies, that the Advice will, I think, be found to be as extraordinary, as it is little praſtized.

[F] It was his kind uſage of the Papiſts, which ſaved him from their Fury.] Their Bitterneſs, (I make uſe of the Biſhop of Salifbury's Words) was not ſtrong enough to reſiſt the Sweetneſs, which he had ſhewed on all Occaſions, and which made them ſay very often, that He ſhould be the laſt Engliſhman, who ſhould be driven out of Ireland. He was the only Perſon in the County of Cavan, who was not diſturbed in his Houſe, nor in the Church-yard, or Church, which were full of poor perſecuted People (19). When the Rebels ſent him Word to diſmiſs all thoſe, who ſheltered themſelves under his Roof, they added, That, as he had done good to ſeveral People, and had not diſobliged any Body, they had more regard for him, than for any Engliſhman in Ireland (20). See the following Remark.

(19) P. 181.

(20) P. 205.

[G] The *Iriſh* Catholics ----- gave him very ſignal Marks of their Reſpect, on the Day of his Burial.] The titular Biſhop of *Kilmore* had taken poſſeſſion of the Biſhopric: It was neceſſary to deſire his leave, that Biſhop *Bedell* ſhould be buried in his Church-yard: He alledged, at firſt, that it was holy Ground, which ought not to be prophaned by ſuch Burials; but, at laſt, he granted all that was deſired, and, accordingly, on the ninth of February, 1642, "the Body of the deceased was buried near that of his Wife, as he had deſired in his Life-time. On this ſad Occaſion, the *Iriſh* would pay him extraordinary Honours; The Chief of the Rebels drew up his Troops, and made them accompany the Corps in great Ceremony, from Mr *Shereden's* Houſe, to the Church-yard of *Kilmore*; They would alſo have had Mr *Clogy* (21), perform the Office, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England; but, though the Gentry would have paid him this Compliment, it was not thought fit to make uſe of it, for fear of ſtirring up the Rage of the Mob, which was already too much exasperated. When the Body was laid in the Ground, they fired a Volley, and cried out in Latin, *requieſcat in pace ultimus Anglorum*. — Peace be with the laſt of the Engliſh; and, indeed, they had very often pro-teſted, that they had more Conſideration for *Bedell*, than for any of the other Engliſh Biſhops, and that he ſhould be the laſt that ſhould be removed from them (22)."

(21) He had been Miniſter of Cavan, and had lived a long time with William *Bedell*. It is ſe, who in ſiſhed Dr. Burnet with Memoirs, to write this Prelate's Life.

(22) Burnet, ibid. pag. 222, 223.

(23) Burnet, ubi ſupra, pag. 8. Wotton attributes this Fact, in a Letter, which he wrote to the King of England, inſerted in the Life of William *Bedell*. pag. 37, 38.

Criticifms, that he had not well underſtood certain Paſſages; and was very much pleaſed to learn the true Senſe of Them, which This learned Engliſhman ſhewed him (24). *Marc Antony de Dominis* deſired the ſame Doctör to examine the ten Books of his *Eccleſiaſtical Republic*. "*Bedell* corrected many Miſ-applications of Scripture, and many Quotations of the Fathers, in it; for That Prelate, being altogether ignorant of the Greek Tongue, muſt needs have committed a great many Faults;" the Number of which was ſo great, that *Bedell* could not correct them all (25). He obſerved ſome Miſtakes, in the Works of the learned *Uſher*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh*. "They were neither many, nor of any great Moment; but, becauſe they did not anſwer the uncommon Exactneſs of That great Man, he thought he was obliged to point them out to him: which he did; and the Archbiſhop received his Cenſure with his uſual Mildneſs, and Humility (26)." He ſtudied much, "and chiefly the original Text of Scripture, of which he had ſo often read the Hebrew, and the Greek of the LXX, that he had them as fluent as the Engliſh Tranſlation (27)."

(24) Burnet, ibid. pag. 10, 11.

(25) Ibid. pag. 11, 12.

(26) Ibid. pag. 230.

(27) Ibid. pag. 227.

(28) This is what I find in the French Life of Mr. *Bedell*, pag. 26, 27. Now This is to ſuppoſe, that This Work of Father Paul is divided into but four Books; but all the Editions that I have ſeen conſiſt of eight Books.

[I] He had compoſed a greater Number of Books.] I have ſaid, in the Body of this Article, that he publiſhed a Latin Tranſlation of ſome of Father Paul's Works. I muſt obſerve, at preſent, that *Marc Antony de Dominis* was much better ſatiſfied with *Bedell's* Tranſlation, than with That of *Newton*. The latter tranſlated the two firſt Books of *The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent*; and the other tranſlated the two laſt (28). *Bedell* publiſhed a Book of Controverſy in the Year 1624, and dedicated it to the Prince of Wales. This Book was a Confutation of ſome of *Wadſworth's* Letters. This *Wadſworth*, Fellow Student, and Chamber-Fellow of *Bedell*, was provided with a Benefice in the ſame Dioceſe with *Bedell*, and was ſent into Spain, about the ſame time, that *Bedell* was ſent to Venice (29). I ſay, he was ſent into Spain, in the ſame quality of Chaplain, and to teach the Infanta Engliſh, when her Marriage had been agreed upon with King James. He ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to forſake his Religion and his Country, and publiſhed ſome Letters, containing the Motives of his Change (30). *Bedell* confuted them. It is believed, that his Anſwer had ſome Effect on *Wadſworth's* Heart, though it did not induce him to make an outward Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion. It is thought ſo, becauſe the Son of this new Catholic came to *Bedell* at *Kilmore*, and told him, "That his Father had ordered him to return him Thanks for the Pains he had taken to inſtruct him; that he read his Book continually, and he had heard him ſay ſometimes, after the reading of it, that he would make his eſcape." *Bedell* mentions a Diſcovery, which was made, of the Number of the Beſt, in the Inſcription of a *Theſis*, dedicated to Pope Paul V (31). It was found, that the numeral Letters of theſe Words, *Paulo V. Vice Deo* made 666; but he does not pretend

(29) I ſet down the very Words of the Life of William *Bedell*; tho' I found ſome difficulty in them; for it ſeems there are above twelve Years between Wotton's coming to Venice, and the Treaty of Marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Infanta.

(30) Burnet, ibid. p. 45.

(31) Ibid. pag. 14.

(32) Wotton
affured King
James of it.
ibid.

(33) Ibid.
pag. 13.

(34) Ibid.
pag. 229.

(35) Ibid.
pag. 227.

pretend to be the Author of the Discovery: However he was so (32), and he did Father Paul, and other Divines of the Republic of Venice, a very great Pleasure, when he communicated it to them (33). He wrote a very long Treatise on these two Questions: *Where was the Reformed Church before Luther; and what was the Fate of Those, who died in the Bosom of the Church of Rome, before the Reformation?* He was resolved to publish it; and the Learned Archbishop Usher often pressed him to it: The Irish Rebellion occasioned the Loss of This Work (34), and of a great Collection of critical Expositions on different Passages of the Scripture, together with his Sermons, and learned Paraphrases on all the Epistles and Gospels of the Day, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England (35). The

Irish seized on them, and the other Manuscripts, whereof there was a great Clift full; only his great Hebrew Manuscript was fortunately taken out of the Hands of these profane Men, and is preserved in the Library of Emanuel College. This good Luck happened by means of an Irishman, whom he had converted, who, mixing with the Rebels, brought away This Manuscript, and some other Books, with him. One would be apt to believe, that it is the same, which is mentioned in the Twenty fifth Page. Now it is said there, that Bedell bought, of Rabbi Lee, chief Chabam of the Synagogue - - - the fine Manuscript of the Old Testament, which he gave to Emanuel College; though he had a great Value for it; for it is said, that it cost him it's Weight in Silver.

BEGAT (JOHN), Counsellor in the Parliament of Dijon, was deputed to Charles IX, in the Year 1563, to present an Address to His Majesty, against the Edict, which granted the Protestants the Exercise of their Religion, after the first Civil-War. The States of Burgundy were resolved not to suffer the Assemblies of the Protestants, notwithstanding That Edict; and, to make the Court approve of it, Begat was sent thither, who spoke vigorously on That Subject. Afterwards he published an Apology, wherein he pretends to shew, by several Arguments, that Two Religions ought not to be suffered in one State, and that Toleration is offensive to GOD, and against the Public Peace. The Protestants published a Writing against it (a) [A].

(a) Ex Thurotano, lib. 36, pag. 732, ad Ann. 1564.

[A] He published an Apology - - - the Protestants published a Writing against it.] I have not yet seen any Catalogue of Authors, who make any mention of This Work of Begat; which made me resolve to find it out: besides, we shall see, in this Article, the little Regard, they had then in France, for the Royal Authority. The Province of Burgundy did not only refuse to comply with the King's Pleasure; but decided, after a mature Deliberation, in the Assembly of the States, that they would not obey his Will. When such things as these are represented to the French, since the Revolution, which happened in England, in the Year 1688, they know not what to say, and could wish, that the Proofs of these Reimonsances were no where to be found. I have the Reimonsance of Begat, in Latin, printed at Cologne, in the Year 1564. It is entitled, *Responsum conventus trium ordinum ducatus Burgundiae de edicto pacis nuper in causa religionis factae, ad Christianissimum Galliarum Regem, Carolum Nonum, anno 1563*. I wonder it should be so little known; for it was translated into several Languages, as I have just now seen, in the *Paradoxical Miscellanies* of Peter de

St Julien. The Passage is so curious, that it deserves to be produced entire. "To speak of a more recent Affair, when the Parliament of Burgundy, assembled at Dijon, deputed Mr John Begat, Counsellor in the same, to lay before the King the Reasons, why That Court had not proceeded to the Publication of the Edict of January (1), (where the said Begat spoke so well, and so learnedly, that no other Reimonsance was better received in our Time: which may be judged so, because the same French Reimonsance has been translated into Latin, Italian, Spanish, and High Dutch) it happened, that the said Begat fell into private Discourse with the Chancellor of l'Hospital, on the same Subject; and, as the Counsellor insisted upon the Privileges of Burgundy, and said, that the King had sworn, and promised, to observe them, the said Sieur de l'Hospital (as knavish, as a Chancellor) replied, that it did not belong to Subjects to act against their King *ex sponta* (they were his Words); and that all Contracts of Sovereign Princes with their Subjects bind them no longer, than they think fit (2)."

(1) I believe he was sicer, and that he confounds the Edict of January, 1561, with the Edict of Pacification, of the Month of March, 1563.

(2) Peter de St Julien, *Dexors of Chalmers*, Paradoxical Miscellanies, p. 123.

BELLAÏ, an illustrious and ancient Family in Anjou, which has produced some great Men. See, in *Moreri*, a long Series of the Genealogy of the du Bellai's, and a pretty large Account of the Persons of That Name, who have most distinguished themselves. I shall avoid Repetitions, as much as I can, in speaking of *William du Bellai*, and of his Brother *John du Bellai*: I mean, that, as far as can be done, I shall omit what *Moreri* has already mentioned.

(a) He found the French of Langei.

BELLAI (WILLIAM du), Lord of Langei, was Son of *Lewis du Bellai* (a), and of *Margaret de la Tour-Landri*. He did Francis I great Services, both by his Courage, and Parts; he was no less a good Captain, than an able Negotiator; and his Pen was as good, as his Tongue, and his Sword. His Dexterity in penetrating into the Intrigues and Designs of his Enemies, by his Spies, was surprising. See, in *Moreri*, what *Brantome* said of him, and add to it, what I relate below [A]. He

was

[A] His Address, in penetrating into the Designs of his Enemies, was surprising: add to it what I relate below.] Francis de Billon observes, that the Lord of Langei never began the Execution of any Military Undertaking, before he had made use of his Pen to discover the State of things (1). He reports, afterwards, these Words of Charles V. Langei's Pen has fought more against me, than all the barbed Lances of France (2). He commends This Lord's Secretaries very much; for, after having spoken of a Person, who offered Two thousand Crowns of Gold, in vain, for a Copy of a Letter, which a Cardinal had written to Francis I, he adds, that This "Person went away confounded, as having presumed, that he had to do with such good Merchants, as Thoe

"of the late Marquis du Guesst, whom a Secretary of the famous Langei (whose Name was Landry), by the Help of Money, founded to the very Bottom of their Thoughts: which he did out of Affection to a Master, who, in Cafe of Necessity, had a voluntary Sacrifice made him of the Hearts of his Secretaries, and other Gentlemen: Hence it is, that The Saying, Langei's Education, is still used in many Places, to his Praise, and to put France in Mind of the serviceable Persons of that Time (3)." If the Author, who has spoken so much of the great Effects of the Pen, and alleged so many Examples of it, had known what I have now quoted, he would have adorned his Work, entitled *Arma Auserina*, with it (4).

(3) Id. ibid. fol. 245, verso.

(4) Printed at Leyden, in 1670, in 12mo.

[B] He

(1) Billon, in his Unprovable Part of the Honour of the Female Sex. P. 1, 236, verso. Edit. of Paris, 1555, in 4to.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. 23.

was one of the chief Springs, which moved some Universities of France to vote according to the Passions of Henry VIII, King of England, when That Prince resolved, by way of Divorce, to quit his Wife, and be at Liberty to marry Anne Bullen. It was the Interest of France to favour the King of England, in this Matter; for the divorcing of Queen Catherine was an Affront to the Emperor, and a Pleasure to Henry VIII. This Affront on the one Side, and Pleasure on the other, were very proper to form a strict Alliance between the King of England, and Francis I; which was the reason, why William du Bellai used his utmost Endeavours in Favour of Henry VIII. He was sent several times to the Protestant Princes of Germany: He dexterously warded off the Blows, which were aimed at him there, in relation to the Severity, with which his Master punished Heretics [B]. He was made a Knight of the Order, and Lieutenant General in Italy. He had composed *An History of his own Times* [C], in Latin, divided into *Ogdoades* (b), and, afterwards, by the King's Order, he translated it into French: Somebody stole this Work; so that the Public has been deprived of it, except some Fragments, and three or four Books, which MARTIN DU BELLAI, the Author's Brother, inserted in his *Memoirs* [D]. You will see, in the Remarks, what Judgment Montagne passed on This

(b) La Croix du Maine imagined, falsely, that William du Bellai had wrote a Book, entitled *Ogdoades*, which was different from his History of France.

[B] He dexterously warded off the Blows, which were aimed at him in relation to - - - the Punishment of Heretics.] See the Substance of his Speech in the ninth Book of *Sleidan*: It was not possible to make a more artful Apology, than That, which he made for the Punishment, which Francis I, had inflicted on some of his Subjects, who had embraced the new Opinions. But Lange's Conversations were, at least, as artful as his Speeches: he conferred with the Doctors, and consult to them, that, on divers Points, the Opinions of the King, his Master, did not much differ from Those of a Book, which *Melanchthon* had published (5). Father *Maimbourg* was very angry, upon this Occasion, with *Sleidan*. "How " is it possible, says he (6), that the Lord du Bellai (7) " could have said so false a thing and so contrary " to all Probability? He, who, in the beginning of " That same Year, had followed the King in a famous Procession, where That Prince showed so much " Zeal for the Catholic Religion, and, after which, " he caused six Men, convicted of Lutheranism, to be burnt alive, with a slow Fire. One might as " well ask, how can a cunning and dexterous Embassador make use of any Disguise, when he desires to obtain things of great Importance, which " a sincere Acknowledgment would infallibly make " him lose?" Father *Maimbourg* confesses (8), that du Bellai declared, that They, who were punished in France, were such as the Protestants of Germany would not acknowledge. The same Jesuit does not censure *Sleidan* for having said, that du Bellai protected the King his Master had not declared against Lutheranism, by the Punishment, to which he had condemned some of his Subjects, and that none but malicious Calumniators could be guilty of so extravagant an Assertion. " Illum animadvertisse quidem in sua ditionis quosdam: sed hoc ad ipsorum injuriam nullum pertinere, tamen malevoli dicant quum illos medio sustulit ipsorum quoque causam veluti prejudicio quodam condemnasse: " rogat autem ne tam ineptis calumniis moveantur (9)." Father *Maimbourg* must therefore have believed, that The Embassador spoke in this Manner: Now what can be said more contrary to Sincerity, more false, and more unlikely? Was it not notoriously known, that, at Paris, they gave no more Quarter to the Lutherans, than to the Zuinglians? See what has been said, on all this, against Father *Maimbourg*, in the Critical Answer to his History of Calvinism (10). We have, here, an Article of the Religion of Sovereigns, and of the Embassadors Catechism; which is, That Heresy ought to be persecuted at Home, and carelessly in foreign Countries, in order to stir up a Civil War in a State, which it is their Interest to weaken, or in order to make an advantageous Alliance. It is the Embassador's Trade to act according to the Doctrine of Equivocations; and it should have been chiefly invented for them. But, to go on, *Sleidan's* Honesty has been displayed in its full Lure by Mr *Seckendorf*. He quotes *William*, and his Brother *John du Bellai's* Letters, written to *Melanchthon*; wherein they assured him of the good Sentiments of Francis I (11). Nay, he quotes a Letter, which That Prince wrote to the League of *Smalcald*, to excuse the Punishments in

question (12). The Confederate Princes were plainly imposed upon; and were made to believe many things, to hinder them from coming to an Accommodation with Charles V. A Modern Historian (13) observes, that *William du Bellai's* Discourse to the Faculty of Divinity at Paris, assembled to deliberate on the Divorce of the King of England, was all a Cheat: And why should he have been more sincere to the Prejudice of Francis I, in Germany?

[C] He composed An History of his own Times in Latin.] *Scævola Sammartbanus* was much mistaken, when he said, that This Work was the History of France, from the beginning of the Monarchy, to the time of the Author. *Historiam de rebus Gallicis ab ipsa imperii origine ad sua usque tempora, tum Latinè tum Gallicè, gravissimo stilo perfectus est* (14). If he had read the Prefaces, he would not have said so; for *William du Bellai* declares, in express Words (15), That his *Memoirs* begin with the Infancy of Francis I. He adds, that he had, at first, prefixed to them, by way of Introduction, a Discourse about the Origin of the Gauls, and French, and the Reduction of Those two Nations into one, which threw off the Roman Yoke; but that, afterwards, he laid aside That Discourse, and enlarged it so much, that he made a separate Work of it, and one of the seven *Ogdoades*, which made up his History. He treated, in That *Ogdoad*, I. Of the Antiquity of the Gauls and French; II. Of the Division of Gaul and France; He gave, there, a Geographical Description, and reconciled the Modern Names with the Ancient, as well as he could; III. Of the Laws and Customs, as well Military, as Political, and of the Offices, and Dignities. He accommodated the Time past to the present, as well, and as near, as he could (16). *Martin du Bellai* does no less clearly condemn *Scævola Sammartbanus*. " My deceased Brother, says he (17), " Messire *William du Bellai*. - - - had composed " seven Latin *Ogdoades*, which he translated, by the " King's Order, into our Vulgar Language, where " in might be seen, as in a clear Glass, not only " a Picture of the Occurrences of THIS AGE, " but also a wonderful Dexterity of Writing, according to the Judgment of the most Learned." If it had been a complete History of the Monarchy, would he have recommended his Brother's *Memoirs* by the sole Occurrences of this Age, and by the Style?

Note, That the Work of the Antiquity of the Gauls, and French, is so full of Fables, that one would think the Author did not so much design to write a History, as to forge a Romance. *Non Francogalliae historiae, sed Amadisicarum fabularum instituisse traditionem videtur*. Thus Francis Hotman speaks of it, at the end of the fourth Chapter of his *Francogallia*.

[D] Of which there remain - - - three or four Books, which MARTIN DU BELLAI - - - inserted in his *Memoirs*.] He was both a Soldier and an Author, as well as his Brother. He was Knight of the King's Order, Captain of the fifty Men of Arms of his Ordinances, and his Lieutenant-General in Normandy. He left some *Memoirs*, which reach, from the Year 1513, when he came to Court, to the Death of Francis I. " They are, says he (18), *Memoirs* both of Peace and War, of which I can partly speak as an Eye-witness; for I was personally

(12) Ibid. pag. 104.

(13) Le Grand's History of the Divorce of Henry VIII, Tom. I, pag. 179.

(14) Sammartban. in Elog. p. 12.

(15) In his Prologue. See p. 454 of the *Memoirs* of Martin du Bellai, Edit. of Rochel, 1573, in 8vo.

(16) Ibid. pag. 457.

(17) In the Preface.

SOME Facts concerning Martin du Bellai.

(18) In his Preface.

(5) It was his Locci Communis.

(6) Maimb. History of Lutheranism, lib. 3, pag. 232.

(7) In the preceding Time he is called William de Langev. That of Bellai, whereby the Order is inverted.

SLEIDAN justifies against Maimb. his Accusations.

(8) Par. 251 of his Lutheranism.

(9) Sleidanus, lib. 9, fol. 213.

(10) Letter 28, p. 133, 34 Edit. 1722.

(11) See note d. f. lib. 3, pag. 129. See also p. 232, n. 12.

This Book [E]. The Prologue contains very important Pieces of Advice to Historians, and very solid Reflexions on the Indignities, which are offered to History [F]. It is through a palpable Mistake, that a Book, concerning Military Discipline,

- "sonally present, in several Places, on this, and the other, side of the Alps; and, as for the rest, I could have certain Advice from those, who were present." Of the ten Books, which make up This Work, there are but three, which belong to *William du Bellai*, if we may rely on the Title-page, on the Preface of *Martin du Bellai*, and on the Title of the Prologues of the *Ogdoades*: But, if we consider the Running-title, and the particular Title, which is at the Head of each Book, we shall find, that the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, Books belong to *William du Bellai*, and that the first, second, third, fourth, ninth, and tenth, belong to *Martin*. That, which belongs to *William*, is taken from the fifth *Ogdoade*, and reaches from the Year 1536, to the Year 1543 (19). The whole Work of *William* consisted of seven *Ogdoades*; but the first did not relate to *Francis I*; It treated of the Antiquities of the *Gauls* and *French*, &c. as I have already observed (20). The other six were designed for That Monarch's Reign. The ten Books, which remain, written partly by *William*, and partly by *Martin*, were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1569, in *Folio*, by the care of *René du BELLAI*, Baron de la Lande, Son-in-law of *Martin*. Some quote an Edition of *Paris*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1572. I have seen one, which was printed off at *Paris*, the twentieth of October 1587, in *Folio*, by *Peter de Voinart*, the King's Mathematical Printer, and was sold by *Peter de Fuillier*. *Du Cbesne*, in his *Bibliothèque* of the Writers of the History of *France* (21), says, that there is a *Geneva* Edition, in 8vo, 1594; but he says nothing of That of *Rocheb*, 1573, in 8vo. *Hugh Surcau* translated This Book into *Latin*, and published it at *Frankfort*, in *Folio*, in the Year 1574. *Martin du Bellai* died at *Glatigni*, the ninth of *March*, 1559 (22). He had married *Isabella Cheneu d'Yvetot*, and, by This Marriage, he became Prince of *Yvetot* (23).

(19) Preface of *Martin du Bellai*.
(20) In Remark [C].
(21) Pag. 85.
(22) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Fr. pag. 314.
(23) Ibid. pag. 313.

(24) Montagne's Essays, Book 2, chap. 10, Tom. II, p. 155, Edit. of Paris, 1650, in 12mo.

MORERI judged ill of the Style.

[E] What Judgment Montagne passed on This Book:] These are his Words (24). "It is always pleasant to see things, written by those, who have experienced how they ought to be managed; but it cannot be denied, that a great want of That Freedom, and Liberty, of writing is evidently discovered in Those two Lords, which is conspicuous in the old *French* Writers, as in the *Sire de Joinville*, Domestic Servant of *St Lewis*, *Eginard* Chancellor of *Charmagne*, and, of later Memory, in *Philip de Comines*. We have, here, rather a Plea for King *Francis* against the Emperor *Charles V*, than an History. I do not believe they have altered any thing as to the main; but they make a Trade of judging of Events, often against Reason, to our Advantage, and of omitting all that is ticklish, in the Life of their Master; witness the removal of *Messieurs de Montmorency and Brion*, which is here forgotten; nay, the very Name of *Madam d'Esclamps* is not to be found in it. Private Actions may be concealed; but, to pass over in Silence, what every Body knows, and Matters, which have produced such public Effects, and of such great Consequences, is an inexcusable Fault. In short, to have a full Knowledge of King *Francis*, and of the Things, which happened in his Time, you must look elsewhere if you will believe me. The Advantage, which may be reaped from the reading of This History, consists in the particular Account of the Battles, and War-like Exploits, wherein These Gentlemen were present, in some private Sayings, and Actions, of some Princes of their Time, and in the Practices, and Negotiations, conducted by the *Sieur de Langey*, where there are many things, which deserve to be known, and Discourses, which are not vulgar." If *Moréri* had read the Memoirs of these Gentlemen, one might very well say, that he knew but little how to judge of Books; for he says, the Style of *William du Bellai* is pompous, and magnificent; and such as Persons of Quality ought to write in. First of all, it is certain, that the Style of This Illustrious Person is not pompous and magnificent; it is incorrect; and it does not appear, that the Author took any pains about it; besides it is full of broken

Latin Terms; which shews, that the Author does himself Justice, when he declares, that he had no regard to the Perfection of the Style. In the second place, Persons of Quality do not write in a pompous Style; It is not by this Character, that one may discover, whether an Author be a Person of Quality, or not: A professed Rhetorician, or preaching Monk, write an hundred times more pompously, than a Courtier.

[F] The Prologue of his *Ogdoades* contains very important Pieces of Advice to Historians, and very solid Reflexions on the Indignities, offered to History.] There never was more occasion to attend to This, than at present; but the worst of it is, that most of those, who are guilty of the Faults, censured by *William du Bellai*, do not commit them through Ignorance. It is Malice, Animosity, or the Desire of pleasing the People, and of getting Money by it, which engage Writers to falsify their Relations. Whatever may be the Cause of This Disorder, I shall set down a long Passage of This Author. He observes, very judiciously, That it is necessary, that They, who are acquainted with Affairs, be speedy in publishing Them; for, otherwise, it becomes too difficult to trace things back to their Original. "Slowness in History, says

he (25), is of so much the more dangerous Consequence, because the Lives of Mortals are short: and, if nothing be committed to writing by those, who know, and remember, the Affairs of their Times, They, who come after, though they are Masters of a good Style, and use Diligence, cannot write with certainty, and agreeably to the Truth. This we may, already, have observed in some of the last preceding Years, of which to speak truly, and at large, is a difficult Matter, partly through the Negligence, and partly through the Rashness of the Historians themselves, who, nevertheless, complain, that they have not Materials, worthy of their Studies, and Labour; but they would have done better, both for themselves and us, if they had written nothing, rather than have published under the Title of an History, a Parcel of fabulous and lying Stories, of which we have, at this Day, a greater Plenty, than we have of true Histories. I have read, in some Chronicle (which I believe some will think to be a Dream) that a King of *France*, after Dinner, chased a Stag from *Compiègne* to *Loudun*, which is about 100 Leagues. Every one knows, that the virtuous, and praise-worthy, Prince, *Charles*, Duke of *Orleans*, after he had been thirty Years a Prisoner in *England*, for the Service of the Crown of *France*, at last returned home, and died, loaded with Years and Honour: yet we read, in more than twenty Authors, that he was beheaded at *Paris* for High-Treason. Did not the last King of *Scotland* die in a Battle against the *English*, in the Year 1514? and yet I have read, that he returned Victorious, and Triumphant, into his own Kingdom. I avoid Prolixity, in recounting a great Number of these Lies, which are certainly published only through the Rashness, Carelessness, and Indiscretion, of Those Historians, and Writers of Chronicles, who, oftentimes, deliver That for certain, which they first heard, without having any regard to the Credibility of the Person, who related it to Them; or else by setting down what is commonly reported among the People; which, generally, has very little Truth in it: from whence it proceeds, that Readers, who are better informed, are not very willing to believe other good ancient Authors, thinking that they wrote after the same manner. Thus, in another Case, Cardinal *Bessarion* (26), seeing so many new Saints canonized at *Rome*, whose Lives he knew, and did not approve of; These new Saints, said he, make me very doubtful and scrupulous with respect to what is said of the Ancient ones. And I with these Writers of Chronicles would be quiet, or else give Names to their Books, answerable to the Contents, and that Those, who are able and willing to speak the Truth, were so zealous for the Honour and Glory of their Country, as to write in their

(25) *William du Bellai*, Prologue of his *Ogdoades*, pag. 435, &c. *Rocheb* Edit. 1573, in 8vo.

(26) See *Boadin's Words* in *Rem. [G.]* of the Article *LAUNOI* (JOHN DE) towards the end. He applies them to those lying Historians, who hinder us from believing others.

Discipline, is ascribed to *William du Bellai* [G]. I believe he is the Author of the other Works, which are ascribed to him [H]; but I do not think they were ever printed. I except *The Epitome of the Antiquities of Gaul*, which was printed, with some other small Pieces, in the Year 1556. *La Croix du Maine* assures us, that

William

"their own Language, what they have seen, or heard, from credible Persons. Then the Men of Letters might enrich their Style, and make it elegant, without the Trouble of searching the Truth amidst so many Lies, Contradictions, and Incon-
"sistencies, which are published by the said Writers of Chronicles, who foolishly depend upon the Hear-
"say of the first Person they meet with."

[G] It is through a palpable Mistake, that a Book, concerning Military Discipline, is ascribed to William du Bellai. Du Verdier ascribes This Book absolutely to him; but *la Croix du Maine* gives us to understand, that he is not sure of it: He neither notes the Year, nor the Place, where it was printed, but says only, That the Instruction of the Military Art is to be found printed under the Name of the said Sieur de Langcy. Du Verdier is more exact: he gives the Title in this Manner: *Institutions about War, extracted out of the Books of Polybius, Frontinus, Vegetius, Corna-*

(27) Brantome's Memoirs, relating to the great French Captains, Tome I, p. 332.

(28) John du Tillot, in his Collections of the Ranks of France, cited by the Baron de Fœneste.

(29) The Baron de Forquevaux, in the Life of several great French Captains, page 332, 333.

(30) In the 4th Chap. of the 4th Book, of Edit. 1, by Michael Valcofan and Challiot du Pré.

(31) This Reason is good for nothing, if it be absolutely upon the Words my Lord: An infinite Number of Authors imitate Julius Cæsar, who speaks of himself in the third Person. Will. Du Bellai followed this Method in his Memoirs.

(32) It has been said to have been Mamili in Refo.

Raimond de Poivre, Sieur de Forquevaux, a Gentleman of Gasconne, is the Author of This Work. He communicated a Copy of it to William du Bellai, as to his good Lord and Friend, and to whose Judgment he had first submitted it. This Copy was found among the Papers of That Lord (33): This is the Origin of the Mistake. If the Author's Kinman had acquainted the Public with the Truth of This Fact, before Nauac published his *Synagma de jure militari* (34), it is probable, that *Synagma* would not have retained the common Error, which we find in these Words: "Qui (Etricus Romanus) nunc in Tellina

"Valle sub Christianissimo Rege catinarum præfectus, idem omnino facit, quod quondam in Alpibus Taurinis Guilielmus Bellajus Langcyus, eodem munere defungens, fecerat, cæcis etiam moribus de militari, quos postea Mambrinus Roleus Italica, & omnes ferme populi sua lingua reddiderunt, ob tummam ejusmodi librorum, qui ab expertis & celeberrimis nostra & patrum memoria ductibus comparati fuerunt, utilitatem (35). — W'e (Henry de Rohan) now

Marshal de Camp in the Valbeline, under the most Christian King, does the same, which was formerly done by Bellai, Lord of Langcy, having published a Treatise of Military Affairs, which afterwards Mambrinus Roleus translated into Italian, and all other Nations into their respective Languages, on account of the great Usefulness of such Kind of Books, which have been written, in our own and our Fathers' Memoirs, by experienced and famous Generals." Nauac is moreover mistaken, in supposing, that the Books in question were printed during the Life of William du Bellai. He seems to value That Work much. His Judgment was therefore different from That of a Commentator on Onofander, of whom the Baron de Forquevaux complained in this manner: "This Military Discourse is indeed a necessary Work, and useful to those, who profess the Trade of War, and which will continue a long time esteemed, and prized, in the Hands of the most Understanding Men, in spite of the Slanders, and contrary Opinion, of a Modern Author, who, in his Annotations on the Military Art of Onofander, a Greek Writer, strives to despise one, with whom this Author is not to be compared, in this Science, though he wrote more like a Doctor than a Soldier, during the leisure, and idle Time, which the good Table, and the Amours of a certain Abbot with his Wife, afforded him (36), and though he has extracted his Commentaries from divers Authors; whereas the Text of him, whom I am speaking of, was conceived on Horseback, and written, Sword in Hand, by the Sieur de Forquevaux (37)."

What was *la Croix du Maine* thinking of, when he said, That the Constable, Anne de Montmorency, passed for the Author of the Book in question (38). Did he not know, that the Constable, was a Man of no Learning or Reading, and was not able to write? Let us see from whence his Doubt proceeded: "It is, says he, because, in reading that Book, I found, that the Author of it praises Messire William du Bellai, Lord of Langcy, very much, and recommends him for his Learning and Skill in War; which makes me believe, that he is not the Author of it, but that those Memoirs were found in his Library, without the Name of him, who wrote them, and that it was presupposed it was his own Work, because he had promised to write some Memoirs. I do not assert, that he is the Author of them, neither do I deny it." If he had read the Work well, he would have found stronger Proofs, than That, which he draws from the Praises given in it to William du Bellai.

[H] I believe he is the Author of the other Works, which are ascribed to him. See the Catalogue of them in the French Bibliothèques of *la Croix du Maine*, and *du Verdier*. Some of the chief of them were, perhaps, never finished: It is probable, *la Croix du Maine* gave That for a perfect Work, which the Author only promises in the Prologue of the *Og-*

(33) See the History of France, which is cited by Brantome, in his Memoirs, page 332.

(34) The Life of Onofander, written by the Baron de Forquevaux, and printed at Paris, in the Year 1625. The *Synagma* of Raimond de Forquevaux came out at Rome, in the Year 1637.

(35) Nauac's *Synagma de jure militari*.

(36) Here is a Fault for the Convent, as says Horace: I do not write to them, to search what they will do, and I do not write to them, being desired, and I do not write to them, being desired.

(37) The Baron de Forquevaux, ubi supra, page 334.

(38) *La Croix du Maine*, Bibl. page 139.

(c) La Croix du Maine. Biblioth. Franç. pag. 139. *William du Bellai* was born about the Year 1498, at *Glatigni*, in *le Perche* (c). I believe he is mistaken, as to the Time [I].

[I] La Croix du Maine affirms us, that he was born, in 1498, at *Glatigni* — I believe he is mistaken as to the Time.] After having said, Page 139, that *William du Bellai* was born in the Year 1498, or thereabouts, he places his Death, in the following Page, on the ninth of *January*, 1543, at the Age of Forty seven Years, or thereabouts. Would a Man, ever so little exact, say so? Would he not place, either 1496, on one side, instead of 1498, or 45 on the other, instead of 43? But this is not the chief thing. *Brantome* observes, that *Langy* died, not very old, and might have lived longer (39). Can any one speak thus of a Man about Forty four Years of

Age. Moreover, *Cardinal du Bellai* was Sixty eight Years of Age, when he died (40); now he died in 1560; he was, therefore, born in the Year 1492. It cannot, then, be said, that *William du Bellai* was born in the Year 1498; for he was older than his Brother, the *Cardinal* (41). I have just now discovered, that he died in his Climacterical Year. *Rabelais* observes it, in the Twenty first Chapter of his third Book, after having said, that he died the tenth of *January* 1543. The Author of the Remarks on the *Confession of Sanci* gave me notice of this Passage.

(40) Trifler, Additions to *Thuanus*, Tom. I, pag. 184.

(41) Sammarth. in Elog.

(39) Brantome's Illustrations Frenchmen, Tom. I, pag. 384.

BELLAI (*JOHN du*), younger Brother of the foregoing, was a Man of great Merit. He concurred, with his elder Brother, in favouring the Passions of *Henry VIII*, and decoying the Protestants of *Germany*, in order to serve *Francis I*, whose Affairs required, that a Quarrel should, at any rate, be fomented between the Emperor, and *England*, by the Divorce of *Catherine of Arragon*, and that the Confederates of *Smalcalde* should be amused with Lies, about the pretended Inclination of *Francis I*, to give the *Lutherans* some Satisfaction. This Conduct would have been more inexcusable in *John du Bellai*, who was a Bishop, than in his Brother *William*, who was a Lay-man; I say it would have been more inexcusable, if That Bishop had not been also an Ambassador, and a Statesman (a). The Definition of Persons, invested with That Character, is well known. Let us add, that it is not unlikely, that *John du Bellai* had a sincere Desire, and even some Hopes, of a Reformation, and that, upon this Prospect, he sincerely encouraged *Melanchthon* to come into *France*; for he inclined, for some time, towards *Lutheranism*, and even reformed himself privately as to the Article of Celibacy, by a Marriage of Conscience, which he contracted [A]. He was Bishop of *Paris*, when, in 1534, he was sent to *Rome* to soften Matters, in relation to the King of *England*; but he had no good Success, and could not hinder the Pope from fulminating an Excommunication against *Henry VIII*. He was promoted to the Cardinalship, by Pope *Paul III*, in the Year 1535, and died, in 1560, at *Rome*, where he had retired, after the Death of *Francis I*. He was a Man, who would willingly have quitted the Mitre, and Crozier, to take the Helmet, and Sword [B]. If it be true, that he condemned

(a) He was Bishop of Baïonne, in the Year 1527, when *Francis I* sent him Embassador into *England*.

[A] He reformed himself privately, as to the Article of Celibacy, by a Marriage of Conscience.] *Brantome* affirms it, in this manner: "I have heard a Lady of great and ancient Quality say, That the late *Cardinal du Bellai*, being Bishop and Cardinal, had married *Madame de Chatillon*, and died married; this she said, discoursing with Monsieur de *Manne*, of *Provence*, of the Family of *Seulac*, and Bishop of *Frejus*, who had attended the said Cardinal fifteen Years at the Court of *Rome*, and had been one of his private Protonotaries; and, happening to speak of the said Cardinal, she asked him, Whether he had never told, and confessed to him, that he was married? Monsieur de *Manne* was much surprized at this Question. He is yet living, and can tell whether I assert a Lie; for I was there. He answered, That he had never heard him, or others, say so. Well then, I tell you so, replied she; for there is nothing more true, than that he was married, and died really married to the said Lady *Chatillon* (1)." This Lady was the Widow of *Mont de Chatillon*, who was wounded before *Ravenna*, and who died of his Wounds at *Ferrara* (2). He had been in great Credit in the Reign of *Charles VIII*. His Widow, young and fair, was chosen Lady of Honour to the Queen of *Navarre*, and gave her the good Advice which That Queen mentioned in her *Hundred Novels*. *Admiral de Bonivet* crept into This Princess's Bed through a Trap-Door, but he got nothing there but a scratched Face (3). The Queen would have complained of this Attempt to her Brother *Francis I*, if the Lady *Chatillon* had not given her "This good Advice, which is one of the finest and wisest, and the most proper to avoid Scandal, that could have been given, even by a first President of *Paris*; and which shewed, nevertheless, that the Lady was as Cunning and Crafty in such Mysteries, as Wife and Discreet; and therefore it is not to be doubted, that she kept her Marriage with the Cardinal very private. — I believe, that the Cardinal, her said Husband, who was one of the

"most Learned, Eloquent, Wise, and Prudent, Men of his Time, had taught her to speak so well, and give such good Advice. — I think, the said Cardinal *du Bellai* might have done it; for, at that time, he inclined much to *Luther's* Doctrine and Religion (5)."

(5) Idem. pag. 156.

[B] He would have quitted the Mitre and Crozier to take the Helmet and the Sword.] *Brantome* shall be my Witness again. He says, that, when *Charles V* so haughtily braved the King of *France*, at *Rome*, it was a Misfortune for *Francis I*, not to have any Ambassadors there, that were Swords-men (6). "And yet, had it not been, continues he, for Cardinal *du Bellai*, who was as quick, and hasty, as any Military Man, (and indeed he looked like one; for he was qualified for any thing, and one of the greatest Men, both for Learning, and War) things had not gone well there, and the King had been much disgraced. Which makes me think, that there never were any Gown-men, who deserved more to be Ambassadors on all Occasions, than This Cardinal (as he has demonstrated in many Embassies, before he was a Cardinal, in *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*), and the Bishop of *Dax*, of the House of *Nouailles*, in *Limousin*, who served our Kings worthily in That Station, in *England*, and at *Venice* (where I have seen him), and afterwards at *Constantinople*. I will not wrong many other worthy Persons of their Character, whom I have seen in such a Station; but, in my Opinion, Cardinal *du Bellai*, and the Bishop of *Dax*, have surpassed them all; for they could as well have made use of their Swords, as of their eloquent Tongues: And, indeed, an Ambassador is as often obliged to treat of Affairs relating to War, as of State Matters." *Thuanus* (7) and *Sammarthanus* (8) have observed, that This Cardinal removed the Fear of the *Parisians*, who were in dread of *Charles* the Fifth's Army, and that he prepared all things for a vigorous Defence, having caused the City to be fortified. *Moreri* has said the same, but with little

(6) Id. Elog. of *Francis I*, in Tom. I, of his Memoirs, pag. 246.

(7) *Thuanus* Histor. lib. 26, p. 538.

(8) *Sammarth.* in Elog. pag. 13.

(1) Brantome's Lives of the Gallant Ladies, Tom. II, pag. 153.

(2) Idem. pag. 154.

(3) Ibid. pag. 155.

(4) Ibid.

condemned *Anne du Bourg* [C] to be burnt, his Vote must have been given at a Distance; for he was at *Rome*, when the Trial of *Anne du Bourg* was set on foot.

Exactness: He will have it, that *John du Bellai* did these things, when *Charles V.* entered into *Provence*, in 1537, and that the King, quitting his Capital, left This Cardinal there, and made him his *Lieutenant-General, to provide for the Security of Picardy, and Champagne.* Here are two Mistakes: The Irruption of *Charles V.* into *Provence* happened in the Year 1536; That, which put the *Parisians* in fear, and occasioned him to order their City to be fortified, happened likewise in the Year 1536 (9); but it concerned *Picardy*, and not *Provence.* It is That, which *Charles V.* caused to be made by the Count of *Nassau.* *Tbuanus* (10) refers the Care of Cardinal du Bellai, for the City of *Paris*, only to the Invasion of *Champagne*, in the Year 1544. But he is mistaken.

[C] *It has been said, that he condemned Anne du Bourg.* This is to be found in Mr *Teiffier.* Many blamed him, says he (11), for being the first, who condemned Anne du Bourg to be burnt alive; for which Reason, say they, God took him out of this World, forty Days after the Execution of This illustrious Martyr. The Calculation would not be right, according to the Annals of *Spondanus*, who places This Cardinal's Death on the sixteenth of February 1560 (12); for we find, elsewhere, that du Bourg was executed the Twenty third of December 1559 (13). The Author, whom Mr *Teiffier* quotes, says, that This Cardinal died the sixteenth of February, and fifty Days after du Bourg. His Calculation is less remote from the Truth, than That, which Mr *Teiffier* imputes to him; nevertheless, it is not exact; and therefore This Observation is chimerical.

(11) Addition to the Elogies, Tom. I, page 154. He quotes Continuat. Sleid. per Michael Lumpbrd. lib. 2. He supposes to have said Landorpius. (12) Spondanus Annal. ad Ann. 1560, n. 34. (13) Beza, Hist. Eccles. lib. 3, pag. 248.

(9) Mezerai, Abrégé, Chron. ad Ann. 1536.

(10) Thuanus ubi supra.

BELLARMIN (ROBERT), an Italian Jesuit, was the best Writer of his Times, in Matters of Controversy. He was born at *Monte Pulciano* (a), in the Year 1542, and admitted among the Jesuits in the Year 1560. His Mother, *Cynthia Cervini*, was Sister of Pope *Marcellus II.* He was ordained Priest, at *Ghent*, by *Cornelius Janjenius*, in 1569, and, the Year following, he taught Divinity at *Lowvain.* He was the first Jesuit, who taught this Science in That famous University, and he did it with extraordinary Success. Having lived seven Years in the *Netherlands*, he returned into *Italy*, and, in 1576, he began to read Lectures on Controversy, at *Rome*; which no Jesuit had yet done in That City. He acquitted himself so well, that *Sixtus V.* sending a Legate into *France*, in the Year 1590, gave him *Robert Bellarmin*, as a Divine, who might be very useful, if any Dispute about Religion should happen to be discussed. He returned to *Rome*, ten Months after, and was successfully promoted to several Offices, either in the Society, or at the Pope's Court, till, in the Year 1599, he was honoured with the Cardinal's Hat. It is said, that they were forced to threaten him with an *Anathema*, to make him accept of That Dignity. Three Years after, the Archbishopric of *Capua* was given him, which he resigned, when, in the Year 1605, the new Pope (b) would have him near his Person. He was employed in the Affairs of the Court of *Rome*, till 1621. Then he left the *Vatican*, and retired to a House of his Order, where he died, the seventeenth of September, in the same Year 1621. In his last Sickness, he was visited by Pope Gregory XV, whom he entertained with the Compliment of the Centurion [A], Lord, I am not worthy, that thou shouldst come under my Roof. He charged the Jesuit *Eudemon Jobannes* to testify publicly, that he died in the same Faith, which he always professed, and maintained with his Pen (c). It appears, that, on the Day of his Funeral, he was looked upon as a Saint [B]. It is certain, that no Jesuit did more Honour to his Order, than He, and that no Author maintained the Cause of the Church of *Rome*, in general, and That of the Pope in particular, better than He. The Protestants knew it very well [C]; for most of their learned Divines wrote against

(a) A Town of Tuscany.

(b) To wit, Paul V.

(c) Taken from the Bibliotheca, comp. ad by Alegambus.

[A] He entertained Pope Gregory XV with the Compliment of the Centurion. Supposing, as he did, that the Pope is the Vicar of the Son of God, he did not see, in the Application of this Passage, all the Propriety, which others see in it; and, perhaps, he thought he said nothing but what was very pious. Alegambus relates This as a fine Circumstance of Bellarmin's last Hours. "Invictus eum decumbentem Gregorius XV Pontifex Max. ac bis per amantem amplexus sacrum se pro ejus valetudine facturum promisit. Ipse Christi Vicarium obsequiosissime reveritus usurpavit illud Centurionis, Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tellum meum (1). --- Pope Gregory XV visited him, as he lay sick, and, twice embracing him very lovingly, promised him, he would pray for his Health. Bellarmin, out of profound Respect to the Vicar of CHRIST, addressed him in the Words of the Centurion, Lord, I am not worthy, that thou shouldst come under my Roof." The Spanish Ambassador, who made use of the same Words of the Centurion to a Prince, whom he looked upon as an Heretic, cannot be so easily excused. Balzac, who alleges this Example to his Censor, blames it at the same time. "What would he have said of the Compliment of That Spanish Ambassador in England, who received a Visit of King James, with these Words of the Maf: Domine, non sum dignus ut intres sub tellum meum (2)?"

[B] It appears that, on the Day of his Funeral, he was looked upon as a Saint. The Swiss of the Pope's Guard were posted round the Coffin, to keep off the Crowd, who endeavoured to throw themselves on the Corps, to touch and kiss it. All that he had made use of, was taken away, and distributed to those, who desired to have Relics of Them for devout Purposes. "Adversus undam populi concurrentis antea oculum tactumque sacri pignoris adhibere oportuit Helvetios et stipatoribus Pontificis. --- Quicquid rerum in usu habuit raptum distrahiturque in postulantes est ad venerationem (3)." When Bellarmin resigned his Archbishopric of *Capua*, the whole City was greatly afflicted at it: Some kissed his Garment; others rubbed their *Rejaries* devoutly against it; and every one pressed for his Blessing (4). These are Preludes of Worship, which may, in time, be followed by a Canonization in Form. It is pretended, that he foretold some things, and wrought some Miracles (5); and, because, after his Death, the Odour of his Sanctity was rather increased than diminished, the Congregation of the Rites was ordered, a-new, in the Year 1674, to proceed to the necessary Informations concerning his Life, and Miracles, to the end, that, if there be occasion, he may be beatified (6).

[C] No Author maintained the Cause of the Church of *Rome* better than He. --- The Protestants knew it very well. "They grant, that he

(3) Alegambus, Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu, pag. 499.

(4) Alegambus, ibid.

(5) Idem, pag. 410.

(6) Sotwel, in Bibliotheca, Secret. J. J. J., pag. 722.

(1) Alegambus, Biblioth. Script. Soc. Jesu, pag. 409.

(2) Discours I, to Cardinal Bentivoglio, in the Sequel of the Christian Socretes, pag. 442, 443.

(d) Virgil.
Eclog. 6,
ver. 44.

against him for the Space of forty or fifty Years. Their Professors, Lectures, and Theses, made his Name resound every where; *Ut litus Hyla, Hyla omne sonaret* (d). He was attacked on all Sides, and his Adversaries did not forget to examine, whether he had not contradicted, and afforded Weapons against, himself [D]. It is the Subject of a Book, which must needs have perplexed him not a little. There are some indiscreet and rash Men to be found every where; and therefore it is no wonder, if some Protestant Writers have published Falshoods against *Bellarmin*, of which his Party took Advantage [E]. There is no great Inconvenience in this, when unknown

Writers

"is the most subtle Enemy of the Truth, that has hitherto undertaken to oppose it: That *Demetrius*, the Silver-smith, spoken of in the nineteenth of the *Acts of the Apostles*, did not use so much Art in working his little Silver Shrines of *Diana*, as this cunning Artisan of Error did, in re-building the Palaces, and Altars, of Superstition: Which has given occasion to compare him to That *Marcion*, of whom *Tertullian* says, that, *Dedecus sum ingenio obumbrat, qui cum causis ubique ferè pessimas tuncat, et impiorum dogmatum patrocinio verissimum se Satanae atque Antichristi satellitem præbeat, agit tamen ingenio, ut speciosis coloribus inducat omnia, & distinctionum prælligiis, & umbris, eludat ea quæ solidissimâ veritate constituta sunt* (7). --- He has the Address to disguise the badness of his Cause; and, though he generally undertakes to defend the worst, and, by patronizing impious Tenets, shows himself a true Minister of Satan, and Antichrist, yet he has the Art of giving a specious Turn to every thing, and, by subtle Distinctions, of eluding what is built upon the strongest Reason." Be sure not to believe what *Alegambus* says, viz. That *Beza* owned, that *Bellarmin* had overthrown all the Protestant Authors. *Nec ipsi hostes ausi sunt dissiteri, ex quibus Theodorus Beza, unus hic liber, æstbat, nos omnes hunc præturbat* (8). It is a Jeit to alledge such things, without quoting the Book, where they are to be found. On such Occasions, the very Line, or, at least, the Page, ought to be quoted, otherwise every one will take such an Assertion for an ill-grounded Hear-say. I am fully persuaded, that *Beza* had not such a good Opinion of *Bellarmin*, and that, if he had, he would never have owned it. *Alegambus* says another thing, the Falshood whereof is not so obvious; which is, That a new Lecture was founded at *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, to confute *Bellarmin*. "In Angliæ Academiis Cantabrigiensi primum, mox etiam in Oxoniensi, nova prælectio instituta est, ad controver-nias Bellarmini, si possent, refellendas (9)." (7) *Id. ibid.*

(8) *Alegamb. Bibl. Soc. Jesu. pag. 411.*

[D] It has been examined, whether he has not contradicted himself. A Minister of Lithuania, whose Name was *Andrew Crastocius*, composed a Work entitled, *Bellum Jesuiticum* (10), in which he objects to the Jesuits Two hundred and five Contradictions. Sometimes *Bellarmin* does not agree with the other Jesuits, but most frequently *Bellarmin* confutes himself, in That Book.

I have said often (11), that He was reproached with having made use of, and opposed, the same Principles, according as he was to dispute either against the Protestants, or against the Enthusiasts. Here are some Particulars concerning that sort of Contradiction. "Some, being willing to excuse *Bellarmin's* Contradictions, and want of Memory, have said, that the great number of Persons, who had a Hand in the Fabrick of This Work, I mean, of his Writings, like the Builders of *Babel*, introduced this Confusion, for want of Understanding one another: But Those of his Communion are so far from taking this for an Excuse, that they reject it, as injurious to him: *Fulgati*, who wrote his Life, says, that he never employed an *Amenfis*. --- I believe, the true cause of *Bellarmin's* Contradictions, is, that the present necessity of attacking, or defending, is a more powerful Object, than any other; he cared but little, whether he was consistent with himself, or not, provided none should believe, that he agreed with his Adversaries (12). --- *Bellarmin* has often verified This Observation in his Books of Controversy: When he disputes against the *Libertines* and the *Schwenfeldians*, about the necessity of the Scripture, he speaks like a Protestant. And, when he disputes against the Protestants, on the same Subject, he argues like a *Schwenfeldian*. If he

(12) *Antillon's Critical Miscellanies of Literature, Tom. I, pag. 352.*

undertakes to confute the *Pelagians* about the Perfection of Works, he makes use of all the Arguments of those, whom he calls *Calvinists*: If he has to do with the *Calvinists*, he makes use of the Reasons and Distinctions of the *Pelagians*. If he writes against the *Anabaptists* concerning the Baptism of Children, he proves it by the Scripture: If he disputes with Us about Tradition, the Baptism of Children is one of the Points, which seems to him to prove the necessity of it, and of which the Scripture does not speak after a convincing manner, as he says. This puts me in mind of the Comparison, which I have seen somewhere, of *Bellarmin* with a certain *African*, whose Name was *Leo*, whom he himself compares to That Ambitious Bird of *Æthiops*, who was sometimes a Bird, and sometimes a Fish; a Bird, when the King of Fishes exacted a Tribute; and a Fish, when the King of Birds exacted it. *Ut Leo quidam Africanus in Granatenſi Regno natus, & postquam subjugatum est illud Regnum, in Africanam profugus, de se fateatur, si Afros vitio aliquo notari sentio, me Granatensium natum proficere; si Granatenſes malè audiant, mox Afer sum; Bellarminus certe multò quàm ille elegantius aviculam illam imitatur, qui nimirum respondet, Tom. I. Controv. l. i. c. 7. Patres secutos esse septuaginta Interpretum Editionem; Idem. Tom. I. Controv. l. i. c. 20. de 3. Eldrae agens, ait Patres secutos esse Hebræos, & tamen illud alterum, notate, quanta vi verborum efferat. Negari (inquit) non potest. Ipse tamen id ipsum loco posteriori negat (13). --- Thus*

One *Leo Africanus*, born in the Kingdom of *Granada*, but who, upon the Reduction of That Kingdom, fled into *Africa*, confesses of himself; If I hear the *Africans* charged with any particular Vice, I profess myself a Native of *Granada*; if the People of *Granada* are reproached, presently I am an *African*. *Bellarmin* certainly imitates That Bird with more Elegance, than He: when he replies, and with what that Jesuit says, *Jesuit* says, that *Bellarmin* followed the Edition of the Septuagint; whereas, Tom. I. Controv. l. i. c. 20. treating of the third Chapter of *Eldras*, he says, the Fathers followed the Hebrew: and yet observe how strongly he asserts the former; It cannot be denied, says he: yet he himself denies it in the latter Place." [E] The Protestant Writers published Falshoods against *Bellarmin*, of which his Party took Advantage. The Jesuit *John Argentus* makes mention, in the Apology of his Order, of four Libels newly come out against the Society, the third of which is levelled directly against *Bellarmin*, and relates many things, which had caused, attended, or followed, his Death. Nevertheless, This Cardinal was yet living. Doubtless, *Theophilus Raynaud* meant This Libel, when he said, that, Twenty five Years before (14), a Book was published in *Germany*, wherein *Bellarmin* was accused of having killed many Children, to hide his Incontinence (15). It was said, moreover, that the Cardinal, being at last moved to Repentance, had gone to our *Lady of Loretto*, to see whether he could expiate his Crimes; but that the Priest, to whom he had confessed them, was seized with so much Horror, that he commanded him to be gone; which threw *Bellarmin* into a Despair, of which he died soon after. This is the Substance of That Libel. *Bellarmin* read it, and laughed at it. Doubtless, he made many Reflexions on a Book, which asserted his Death. *Theophilus Raynaud* thought, that Father *Gresfor* had given himself a needless Trouble in refuting these kind of Stories, and that they did great Prejudice to the Protestants (16); for one might learn from thence what Judgment was to be made of the pretended Letter of *St Udalric*, which says, that Six thousand Children's Heads were found in the Wells of *Pope Gregory II*, after

(13) *Id. Ib.*

Page 354.

(14) This Calculation does not agree with the Year 1650, the Date of Th. Raynaud's Book, and with what that Jesuit says, that *Bellarmin* lived at That Libel.

(15) Th. Raynaud's *Hoplheca*, §. 2, Serie 2, cap. 1, p. 166, 167.

(16) It appears from the Bibliotheca of *Alegambus*, that Gretzer published Vindictio illustrissimi Cardinalis Bellarmini a criminatibus & infamibus Lutherani Magistri Ernesti Z-phirii, Ingolstadt, 1611, in 4to, and Castigatio libelli famosi adversus illustre Cardinalem Bellarminum, translated into High Dutch, by Father Conrad Vetter, 1615.

Writers commit this Fault; but, when Professors of Reputation impute to This Cardinal what he never taught, they injure their Cause, and expose themselves to great Mortifications. A Professor of *Sedan*, who has been very much talked of in *Holland*, is guilty of this Fault. It is remarkable, that *Bellarmin* did not follow the Doctrine

after he had driven away the Priests Wives. "Hæreticis, vel ad unam horam vagum mendacium, in lucro ponitur. Revera tamen ex hoc mendacio decessit illis haud exiguum. Siquidem inde deprehensum est, quæ fide ex horum mendaciloquorum majoribus quispiam, ex commentis S. Udalrici Epistolæ, sex millia capitum infantium, intra puteum Gregorii secundi, cum uxores sacerdotibus abstulisset, reperta dixerit. Non est enim ovum ovo similis, quàm hoc de Bellarmini infantis ticius scriptum, & illa S. Udalrici Epistolæ de cædibus per Clericos & Sacerdotes scortatorum, adversus quam subditiis S. Antistitis Epistolam, & ipse Bellarminus l. de Cleric. cap. 22. & Baronius anno 591. alique certarunt." It is no ways necessary, that the Falsities, published against *Bellarmin*, should have a retroactive Effect on the Story of the Six thousand Childrens Heads; but it is certain, that no better Service can be done to the Jesuits, and in general to any Party, which one undertakes to defame, than to publish Calumnies, which may easily be confuted. It is worthy of Observation, that, among so many Persons, possessed with an unconquerable Itch of publishing Satires, so few have the Art of poisoning them as they ought. Most of Those, who attempt it, are ignorant, that, in order to succeed well in it, that is, to direct the Blow right, a Man must religiously observe these two things: One is, to advance nothing but what may be proved; and, above all, to abstain from Accusations, which may easily be confuted: The other is, not to maintain obstinately what has been once confuted. I had forgot a third Advice, which is, carefully to dissemble one's Passion, and to hide the Appearances of it. I own, that a Man, who acts quite contrary to these Rules, finds but too many Persons, in his Party, who greedily swallow down all that he says; but it is This very thing, which does a great Prejudice to their Cause; because the other Party grows angry, and looks upon their Adversaries, from whom so many Satires, so greedily swallowed, proceed, as Men destitute of Reason, Equity, and the Assistance of Grace. These are not Reflexions at random, but grounded upon Experience. See how Father *le Tellier* takes advantage of some Stories, which are spread abroad without knowing whether they be true or false. Read what follows:

"For Example; What will it avail the Jesuits of *China* to have been the first, and almost the only Persons, who submitted, and without the least Resistance, to the Apostolical Vicars, as soon as they appeared there in 1684; since, notwithstanding this, their Enemies published again, the last Summer, by the Pen of their Secretary, the *Gazetteer* of *Holland*, that the Holy Father was extremely angry with the Jesuits, because they would not acknowledge the Bishops, whom he sent to *China*? Can it be questioned, but that, some Years hence, This Lye will appear again in it's turn on the Stage? Likewise, what will it avail the Jesuits of *Germany* to have an Attestation, signed by four of the Elector *Palatin's* chief Counsellors, all Protestants, wherein they testify, that the History of the Jesuit, counterfeiting a Voice from Heaven, to deceive That Prince, and to animate him to the Destruction of Heresy, is a meer Fable? Will this Attestation hinder some good Protestants, who shall continue the Jesuitical History, from making, some time or other, a Chapter about This chimerical Adventure, on the Credit of the *Gazetteer of Holland* (17)?"

Is it not strange, that the Author of the *Religion of the Jesuits* had rather follow his blind Passion, than make a good use of this Passage of Father *le Tellier*? So far from it, that he brought the Apparition of the *Palatine's* chief Counsellors (18). I have it from very good Hands, that he blamed the Minister a Refugee, who inserted This Attestation in his Abridged History of *Europe* (19). Such Persons spoil the Trade, they take in hand. They

should leave Satire to moderate Writers, who would compose them in a more dexterous and persuasive Manner.

[F] A Professor of *Sedan* — is guilty of this Fault. He maintained some Theſes, in the Year 1674. concerning the Power of the Keys, and charged Cardinal *Bellarmin* with having said, "That a contrite Man, full of Faith, and desirous to be reconciled with God, perishes eternally, except he can get a Priest to reconcile him before Death. WHICH I NEVER READ, added he, WITHOUT ASTONISHMENT AND INDIGNATION (20)." This implies, that he had often read these words in *Bellarmin's*; and yet they are not to be found in That Author. The Guardian of the *Irisb Capuchins* (21) disputed against these Theſes, and complained, at first, very vehemently of the wrong, which was done to *Bellarmin*. He continued the Dispute with the same violence, and confounded the Professor. This was not all. When the Dispute was ended, the King's Attorney presented his Petition against the said Professor (22); the Consequence of which was, that the Author of the Theſes made his Recantation in Writing, which was signed by him, and three other Ministers.

No one has any reason to think it strange, that such an Accident should be mentioned in a Dictionary of this Kind; for it would avail nothing, for the future, to be silent about it. And, though I should have the Discretion not to say any thing of it, it would not be less known in *Holland*, where the *Journal of the Learned* is in every Body's Hand. Four Years ago, every one might have read, there, the Substance of what I have just now related; and besides, that the *Authentic Proofs of Mr Jurieu's Recantation*, (for it was he, who composed, and maintained, these Theſes) are three Certificates produced by the Abbot de Cordemoi; one was made by the King's Attorney at *Sedan*, the other by the Count de la Bourlie, Governor of the same City, and the last by Father *Nicolas d' Hibernie, A Capuchin* (23). I have read these three Certificates, in the Book of the Abbot de Cordemoi; they are dated in the Year 1689. It may easily be imagined, that this Disgrace afflicted those of the Protestant Religion, and pleased the Roman Catholics.

It is against my Will, that I am forced to make an Addition to this Remark, in This Edition; but, Mr *Jurieu* having published something very outrageous against me on this Subject, it will be proper to produce, here, both his Words, and my Reply. "The great blank, which remains in the last Pages of this Sheet, is a Temptation to me, which I cannot resist, to allege a notable Example of the Trifles, and the Malignity, which This Book is said to be full of. The Case is this: Mr *Jurieu*, in a public and printed Dispute, quoted a Passage out of *Bellarmin*, wherein through the Slip of the Author's Pen, or the Printer's Mistake, instead of *attritus*, there was *contritus*; which made *Bellarmin* say, That a Man, weeping, penitent, and contrite, was damned, if he did not receive the Sacramental Absolution: Whereas *Bellarmin* said, that a Man, grievously bemoaning his Sins, through a Sense of *Attrition*, was damned, if he did not receive the Priest's Absolution. This moved a Monk to make a great Clamour. Mr *Jurieu*, in a Time of Persecution, granted him, what he would have granted him any where else, even in a Country, where the Protestant Religion had been the prevailing Religion: that is, He acknowledged, that there was a Fault in the printed Copy, proceeding either from the Author's Hand, or from the Printer, and that *Bellarmin's* Opinion was such as the Monk said. Any sincere Person would have owned as much in *Amsterdam*, or *London*. Is this a Story, which, after having been printed in several Satires, deserved to pass, through a third and fourth Impression, into a Book, which was designed for Immortality? Can any thing be more mean, or pitiful? There is therefore both Malice, and Meanness, in it (24)." These are Mr *Jurieu's* Words; and, in the following manner, I consulted them. "I

(20) Theſes de potestate clavium, p. 21, cited by the Abbot de Cordemoi, Letter to the New Catholics, p. 117.

(21) He was called Father Robert.

(22) Certificate of the King's Attorney at *Sedan*, cited by the Abbot de Cordemoi, ubi supra, p. 118.

(23) In the Abstract of a Letter from the Abbot de Cordemoi to the Catholics of the Isle of Arron, in *Xaintonge*, printed in the *Journal of the 24th of April, 1690*, pag. 277, Edition of *Amsterdam*.

(24) *Jurieu's* Judgement of the Public on the *Seur Bayle's Critical Dictionary*, p. 46, 47.

NECESSARY Qualifications for a good Satirist.

(17) A Defence of the new Christians, Part I, pag. 29. Edit. of Paris, 1687.

(18) The Religion of the Jesuits, printed at the Hague, 1689, pag. 79. See Remark [P], of the Article LYOULA.

(19) Month of August, 1686, pag. 160.

Doctrine of the Jesuits, concerning Predestination [G]; and that he did not favour loose Principles of Morality, nor the Expressions, which Indiscreet Zealots had insensibly introduced into the Litanies [H]. The Complaisance, which he had for his Superiors,

"find, that *Bellarmin's* Business sticks in his Stomach: I do not wonder at it; but Prudence should not have suffered him to make an Addition of it at the end of his Work. Silence had been best. The less certain things are stirred, the less they are troublesome. What I have said of That Affair is no Example of *Trifling* and *Malignity*. Without it, I should have ill performed the Duty of an Historian; since the Original Design of my Work was to observe the false Accusations, to which the Persons, of whom I was to speak, may have been exposed. If I had omitted This in the Article of *Bellarmin*, might it not have been justly said, that I was Partial, and that I omitted Things, which I could not pretend to be ignorant of? I borrowed it, not from a Satirical Book, as he falsely says; but from a Book of Controversy, and from the *Journal of the Learned*. I do not examine the Turn, which he takes, to cover his Fault; I only desire my Readers to have recourse to my Dictionary, in order to compare the Pieces, which are produced there, with his Reflexions. By this Comparison it will appear, how much Nature suffers in him, when he is obliged to perform some Act of Humility, and Sincerity. I am not surprized at it; for, when a Bow has been always bent one way, it is very difficult to bend it the contrary way, at the first undertaking. It is the same thing with the Fibres of our Brains (25)."

(25) Reflexions on a Pamphlet, entitled, *Judgment of the Public*, &c. pag. 15.

Most of my Friends thought, that I had too much neglected to make use of my Advantages: Opportunities, say They, have not failed you, but you have been wanting to Them; and a Man ought to avoid this Reproach, in a Paper War, no less, than in a true War. Why did you not fully expose This Author's Subterfuges? Could you not have confounded him by such and such Reflexions? I excused myself with the most proper means to put an end to this Discourse; which was by saying, that such Observations should not be squandered away in a loose Sheet; and that it was better to relieve them for another Edition of my Dictionary. I have considered the matter, since, more than once, and have found, that the best way is to leave my Readers to reflect on this little Incident. It will not be difficult for them to compare all the Pieces of This Process together, nor to discover, in Mr *Jurieu's* Apology, the grimaces, and contortions, of a Man, who suffers the rack. After all, it belongs to the Abbot *de Cordemoi* to refute This Apology. It is my Business, rather to be the Historian, than the Author, of the Reflexions, which This Quarrel may afford.

[G] *Bellarmin* did not follow the Doctrine of the Jesuits concerning Predestination. He was a good Thomist, and no ways a Molinist. But, how great soever his Authority was among his Brethren, he had but few Imitators. The small number of *Anti-Molinists*, in That great Body, was, nevertheless, of some use. I cannot better explain this Thought, than by setting down the words of the Author of the History of the Congregation of *Auxiliis*. "We sometimes meet with Men of an extraordinary Genius, who have acquired Credit, and have made themselves necessary to their Society; and who, raising themselves above the Fears and Considerations, to which others think themselves obliged to yield, teach the Truths, which they have learned from good Studies, more freely, not being able to resolve to betray their Consciences, or to act against their Knowledge. The Society bears with them, and suffers this little Revolt, because they know how to make it serviceable to their Party, and turn it to their Advantage and Glory; besides they know, there is no danger, that such an example should be followed by a great number, and cause a Schism in the Schools of the Society. Nay it is for their Grandeur, and agreeable to their Principles, to have grave Doctors of all Opinions, as it may promote their Capital Doctrine of Probability. No one knows what may happen. Things may take a quite contrary Turn; and, if the Society should find themselves obliged, (at least in some Provinces) to change their Opinion about Grace, as they did

"in France about the Pope's Authority, it would not be consistent with their Dignity to look for grave Doctors elsewhere, on whose Authority they might ground their Change. Among the Divines, of whom I speak, we may reckon Father *Tiphaine*, so famous for his two Works, *De Hypothesi*, and *De Ordine*, and the Author of the *Tricis*, which was maintained at Rome in 1674, whose Opinions concerning Predestination, and Grace, are altogether agreeable to Those of St *Augustin* (26). I have set down this Passage at length, not only because it may be inferred from it, that *Bellarmin* was very much considered in his Order, and that he knew it well, but also by reason of a certain Salt, with which these words are sprinkled, which is very proper to excite many Notions.

(26) *At the History of the Congregation of the Holy Spirit*, p. 31.

[H] He did not favour loose Principles of Morality, or the Expressions of Indiscreet Zealots — in the Litanies. The Patrons of This Morality did not approve of the Delay of Abolition; but Cardinal *Bellarmin* "preached, before some Popes, the necessity, and usefulness, of this Delay; and his Sermons are so full of this Doctrine, that it plainly appears, he laid it much to heart, and put it in practice very carefully. One may see some very fine Passages, extracted out of them by Cardinal *d'Aguirre*, in his eighth and tenth Dissertations on the third Council of *Toledo* (27). He, who supplies me with these words, is a *Janseuist*, who published a Memorial, containing, I. A Summary Deduction of the Origin and present State of the Doctrinal Disputes in the Netherlands, and of the true means to put an end to them: II. A succinct Answer to the three Accusations of Janseuism, Rigorism, and Novelty (28). He says, that the "Learned and Pious Cardinal *Bellarmin* might have passed for an Innovator, as well as for a Rigorist, if he had done, in these times, what he did on divers occasions for the Reestablishment of Discipline, and for the Reformation of Abuses. The Alterations he made in his Archdiocese of *Capua*; the Order, which he settled in the Bishopric of *Monte-Pulciano*, which he governed some Years, in the Absence of the right Bishop; the Advice, which he gave Pope *Clement VIII.* for the Reformation of the Church; That, which he addressed to his own Nephew, Bishop of *Treviso*, for his Conduct, and for the Administration of his Diocese; the Sermons, which he preached in the Apostolic Palace, and in the two Churches, I have already named, are so many witnesses of the holy, and necessary, Novelties, which he endeavoured to introduce, and of which he made the Obligation known. — Every one knows, that it is chiefly upon This (29) that the Accusation of Novelty was first formed. But, if it be an Innovation, Cardinal *Bellarmin* cannot be cleared. For he made such Alterations in the Litanies of the Holy Virgin, as would, now-a-days, make Those exclaim greatly, who are so lavish in bestowing the Epithet of Innovator, and That of Enemy to the Worship of the Holy Virgin, that nothing is more common, in their Writings, than these kind of Accusations against the most Catholic Persons, and Those, who are most truly devoted to the Worship of The Mother of God. But this most Pious and Learned Cardinal cannot be accused of Novelty in This, without accusing Pope *Paul V* of it, by whose Order he made those Alterations. He gives an account of it in a Preface, wherein he says, *That he has retrenched several Verses of the Litanies of our Lady of Loretto, because they were too metaphorical, such as these, TURRIS Eburnea, hortus conclusus, and the like; and that he had omitted others, because, though they may admit of a good Sense, they are susceptible of an harsh one, from whence the Enemies of the Church take occasion to blaspheme, such as these are: MARIA, DEI ET HOMINUM MEDIATRIX, INTERCEDE PRO NOBIS; AD OMNI RECCATO LIBERA NOS DOMINA; and others of that nature. For such kind of Innovations seem to attribute to the Holy Virgin what is proper to JESUS CHRIST as God."*

(27) Memorial, &c. See the Collection, &c. 172.

(28) Printed at Delft, by Henry van Riin, 1696. It contains 28 Pages in 4to.

(29) To wit, the correction of some Expressions, which scandalize the Heretics; as some in the Preface, attributed to St *Bonaventure*, which seem to ascribe to the Holy Virgin what belongs only to God, or to JESUS CHRIST, ibid. p. 20.

perious, in suffering some things to be altered in his Writings, and altering some Passages himself, concerning the Efficacy of Grace, does not hinder him from being, in the main, an *Augustinian* Doctor [I]. He brought himself into Trouble, almost for the same Reasons, which so much embroiled the Abbot *de la Trappe* with the Monks [K].

Some

[I] *What was altered in his Writings — concerning the Efficacy of Grace, does not hinder him from being an Augustinian Doctor.* Let us illustrate this by a Passage taken out of a *Jansenist* Book. "There is reason to believe, that the Doctrine of This Cardinal, on This Point, was, originally, very agreeable to St *Augustin's* Notions, when he sent his Controversies to be printed in *Germany*, and that it was one of the Opinions, which his Brethren of That Country took the Liberty to alter, in hopes, says the Author of his Life, to do more good among Heretics. I do not fear making a rash Judgment, in attributing this Alteration to Father *Gregory of Valentia*, That famous Martyr of the *Molinian* Grace. He was at *Ingolstadt*, whilst they printed *Bellarmin's* Controversies there; and he caused some *Theses* to be maintained there, in the Year 1584, which are, perhaps, the first of the Society, in which this new Invention of the *Scientia Media* appeared, which he thinks to be necessary in order to defend Human Liberty against the new Heretics. I will not deny what is said of the Heroic Patience of Father *Bellarmin*, for which the Author of his Life commends him on This Occasion: yet it appears, by the Revision he made of his Work, in 1608, that he found it had been too much softened, or rather too much corrupted, in relation to the Efficacy of Grace. And This Author of his Life, after having praised his Modesty, and his Humility, in suffering the Alterations of some of his Opinions, testifies, that, on the other side, he firmly stood to Those, which he believed to be either of Faith, or very much authorized in the Church: *It cannot be conceived, says he, how inflexible he appeared on such Occasions, as was plainly seen by what happened in relation to what he had taught, in his Books, concerning Predetermination, the Assistance of Divine Grace, &c.* That is, They could never make him change his Opinion in relation to Free-Predetermination, which makes, as he says, Part of the Faith of the Church; nor concerning Grace, which he believes to be efficacious, not merely by the Event, nor because it pleases the Will to consent to it; but by itself, and of it's own Nature: Which he positively says to be agreeable to St *Augustin's* Doctrine, and also to the Holy Scriptures. This he had always at Heart: And the Congregation of *Auxiliis*, which was just broke up, and where he had heard the *Dominicans* maintain the true Influence of Grace, of itself, with so much Solidity, caused, without doubt, some Remorse of Conscience in him, for having had a Patience, so prejudicial to Truth, in permitting his Sentiments to be altered upon This Subject; or in having altered them himself, by virtue of the Promise, which he had made, when he was admitted among the Jesuits, to following the Opinions of the Society, as it's Constitutions obliged him to do. That which is certain, is, That he corrected, not all that was to be corrected, the Society being too far engaged to abandon him, but some Passages, in which it did not appear, that he acknowledged any other manner of Operation in Grace, than That, which is called *Objective*, and *Moral*: he will have it known on the contrary, that he admits of an effective, and physical, Operation: Voluntatem moveri per gratiam etiam efficienter & physice; Deum aspirare voluntati bonum desiderium, afflare initium bonæ voluntatis: quæ aspiratio five afflatio physica actio est & Deo propria &c. — That The Will is influenced, likewise, Effectively and Physically, by Grace; That God inspires the Will with good Desires, or inspires the first Motions of good Inclinations; which Inspiration is a Physical Operation, and proper to God. This he repeats several times: For fear, says he, that any one should imagine, that we only admit of a Moral Influence on the Will by Grace." The *Jansenist* Author, having quoted some other Passages of The same Work of *Bellarmin*, concludes thus: "By all this it appears sufficiently what we should have found in

"*Bellarmin*, if his Work had not been altered by other Hands; and what That blind Obedience can do, which the Jesuits promise to yield to the Society, when they are received into it; even in relation to the Doctrine of the Church. But it appears also, that the first and last Opinions of *Bellarmin* were for the Doctrine of Grace, efficacious by itself, and that the Engagement, which he was under to the Society, not having permitted him to expunge all that had been inserted in his Works without his Knowledge, nor to alter the Foundation of the Opinions, which they had fastened upon him, yet he could not forbear giving Testimony to the Truth before his Death, knowing well, that he had said enough to overthrow all that remained in his Works, contrary to St *Augustin* (30)." Let us observe, that *Robert Abbot* strongly attacked *Bellarmin* in relation to the Alterations in the new Editions of his Works (31).

[K] *He brought himself into Trouble, almost for the same Reasons, which so much embroiled the Abbot de la Trappe with the Monks.* *Bellarmin* wrote a Book de *Gemitu Columbæ*, wherein he says, That one of the Things, which ought to make pious Souls lament and groan, is the great Remissness, into which some Religious Orders are fallen. Bitter Complaints have been made of This, as of a biting Invektive (32). But the Cardinal has not wanted Apologists, who have maintained, that what he complained of, is but too true; and that the want of Reformation is so visible in divers Places, that They, who live in this Disorder, and do not perceive it, verify the Maxim, *Sensibile juxta ac multo magis intra sensum positum non facit sensationem* (33). Let us quote a Passage of *Theophilus Raynaud*: "Audivit *Bellarmin* nus asper & mordax, quia in libro de *Gemitu Columbæ* fontem unum lacrymarum proposuit, Religiosorum aliorum Ordinum laxationem, quam homo ille spiritu barytono usquam cerni inficiatur, & utinam vel in speciem verè inficietur. Sed tanti fuit, *Bellarminum* mordere quoquo modo. Nam esse aliquas Religiones laxatas, & quibus reformatio sit necessaria, res est adeo nota, ut nemo nisi cæcus non videat, ait Major in. 4. d. 38. q. 2. Sed non est novum aliquis ita cæcitere, præsertim in causa propria, ut notum est ex eo exemplo quod recitat *Nider* lib. 2. de *Reform. Relig. cap. 9*. Episcopi ex ordine collapsi assumpti, qui, audiente ipso *Nidero*, pertinacissime inficiatus est, suum Ordinem esse collapsum, & reformatione egere, quantumvis (inquit *Nider*), luce foret clarius toti mundo, contrarium esse verum (34). — — — *Bellarmin* was taxed with Calumny and Invektive, because, in his Book de *Gemitu Columbæ*, he makes one Source of Tears to be the Decay of Discipline in some Orders; the truth of which This Author (He, who complained of *Bellarmin*) absolutely denies; and I wish he could with reason deny it, even as to Appearances. But it was worth while to attack *Bellarmin* at any rate. For, that some Religious Orders have relaxed Discipline, and stand in need of Reformation, is so notorious, that no one, that is not blind, but sees it, as Major says, in 4. d. 38. q. 23. But it is no uncommon Thing for People to be thus blind, especially when the Case is their own; as appears from the Instance, alledged by *Nider*, lib. 2. de *Reform. Relig. c. 9*. of a Bishop, taken from a fallen Order, who, in the bearing of *Nider* himself, obstinately denied, that his Order was fallen, and stood in need of Reformation, when (says *Nider*) it was as clear as the Noon-Day, that the contrary was true." The Pseudonymous *Philadelphus de novo lacu*, who wrote a Treatise de modernis Jesuitarum moribus, tells us, that it is questioned, whether *Bellarmin* be the true Author of the *Gemitus Columbæ* (35). This doubt seems to me very unreasonable; for This Treatise came out whilst That Cardinal was living, and was inserted in the Collection of his Works. Observe, that the *Dominican Gravina*, is one of Those who wrote against this *Gemitus*. See the Remark [B] of the Article *KELLER*.

[L] Some

* Sin verò dogmata ipsa fidei, &c. ejus in operibus censuratur, dici non potest quam stantem se immutabilemque præberet. Clarè id agnatum est in his quæ evenere circa editas opiniones de predeterminatione, de auxiliis divine gratiæ, &c. lib. 2, cap. 5.

† Recognitio operis. *Bellarmin* Ingolstadt, 1608, p. 6.

† Pag. 97.

(30) Gery's Apology, p. 177, 178.

(31) Rob. Abbotus, de suprema potestate Regia, Præf. II, Art. III.

(32) The Author of this Complaint is a Monk, against whom the Jesuit Boeza said something, lib. 4. de Jesu figurato, cap. 1, n. 32. See Theophilus Raynaud, Erotematis de malis ac bonis libris, pag. 112.

(33) Theoph. Raynaud. ibid.

(34) Id. ib.

(35) See pag. 198, of Mr Mayer's Dissertation; De *Bellarmini* fide ipsius Pontificis est dubia. See, below, Citat. (67).

because seven new Treatises were added to the first Volume, whereof the last is the Revision, and Correction, which the Author made, of all his Works [N]. It is thus, that the Writers of the *Bibliothèque* of the Jesuits have explained themselves; but This is not exact [O]. Besides this Body of Controversies, he composed many other Books, which amount to three Volumes in *Folio*, in the Edition of *Cologne*, 1617 (e). Some of his *Sermons*, and many of his *Letters*, have been published since his Death (f). His Life has been written by four, or five, Authors [P]; the last, if I am not mistaken, is *Daniel Bartoli*. The rash Judgment, *Scaliger* passed on *Bellarmin*, cannot be sufficiently condemned [Q].

Though this Jesuit had eagerly maintained the Pope's Power over the Temporalities of Kings, yet he displeased *Sixtus V.*, and had the Mortification to see his Work inserted in the *Index* of the Inquisition [R]. What he wrote on the same Sub-

ject

(47) Jacobus R. X., in Profectione Anti-Vindicta, and blaver. Dilecti de Bellarm. pag. 183.

"validæ sint, responsiones autem nimis debiles (47). — It is reported, with what Truth I cannot say, that the *Controversial Works* of Bellarmine are not permitted to be publicly sold in Italy, because his Objections are too strong, and his Answers too weak."

[N] The Revision, and Correction, which the Author made, of all his Works. I have read a curious Particular in Mr Chevallier, which I shall relate here with great Pleasure. "This Cardinal, seeing, that his Controversies were printing in divers Places, and that many Faults were left in them, thought he ought to endeavour to remedy this Evil. He made such an exact Copy of his Book, and corrected it so well, that there remained not one Error in the Manuscript; and he gave it to a Bookfeller of Venice, to have a most exact Impression of it. But it happened quite contrary to his Hopes. The Printer neglected this Edition so much, that it proved the most faulty of all. This famous Author, being vexed at it, took Pen in Hand to acquaint the Public with it, after having seen, that That Impression, being accounted an Original one, had carried the Evil into a second, and had also much infected the fair Edition of *Ingolstadt*, to which it served for a Model. He published his Book, entitled, *Recognitio Librorum omnium Roberti Bellarmini*, wherein he inserted a *Corractorum*, which shews all the Faults of That Edition of Venice, and was printed in octavo, at *Ingolstadt*, in the Year 1698. He complains, in the Preface, pag. 125, that, in above forty Places, the Printer makes him give a Negative, for an Affirmative, Answer, and an Affirmative for a Negative. And the Errata, which he made, fills Eighty eight Pages. Et quod gravissimum est (animadverti) supra quadraginta locos ita esse corruptos, additis vel detractis negativis particulis, vel alio modo immutatis, ut contra verum omnino sensum contineant, quod certe summo me dolore affecit — tamen quoniam animadverti non paucos errores editionis vix Venetæ in Editionem secundam Venetam, & in *Ingolstadensem* ex Venetâ expressam, transiisse, idcirco in *Corractorum* notavi Libros, Capitula, Paragraphos, Columnas, Literas, & Versus (48)." Note, that This *Corractorum* was, at first, printed at Rome, in the Year 1607, and that, in the Year 1596, the Author, causing his controversial Works, revised, and enlarged, to be printed at *Ingolstadt*, had acquainted the World, that he did not acknowledge the preceding Editions for his. Not that they contained any Opinions, which ought to be disapproved, but on account of the Faults of the Impression, as he told *Possessin*, in the Year 1598 (49).

[O] What the Writers of the *Bibliothèques* of the Jesuits have said of the Correction of his Works, is not exact. I find, in a Work, printed in the Year 1608 (50), that, before That Year, *Bellarmin's* Controversies had appeared, in four Volumes. The first Edition in three Volumes, in *Folio*, is of *Ingolstadt*, 1586. The following Year, they were reprinted again, at the same Place, in *Octavo*. A new Edition was made of them in the same City, in 1588, and another in the Year 1590. The first Edition, in four Volumes, is of Venice, apud *Minimam Societatem*. An Appendix of several particular Treatises was added to it (51). It must be said, then, that *Alegambus*, and his Continuator, are not exact, since they give us That of *Cologne*, 1615, for the first Edition, in four Volumes. They say also, that the first Edition of the first *Tome* came out in the Year 1581, That of the second in the Year 1583, and That of the third in the Year 1592. This is contrary to *Possessin's*

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Relation, and wants Exactness on another Account; for They should have named the Place, where these pretended first Editions were made.

[P] His Life has been written by four or five Authors. Mr *Tessier* reckons up nine of them, and ranges them in this manner; 1. *Daniel Bartoli*; 2. *Didacus Ramirez*; 3. *Jacobus Fulgatus*; 4. *Georgius Robertus Jonus*; 5. *Johannes Morinus*; 6. *Marcellinus Cervinus*; 7. *Petrus Morinus*; 8. *Sylvester Petra Sancta*; 9. *Tarquinius Gallucius* (52). But we must reduce the Number; *James Fulgatti*, *John Morin* (53), *Peter Morin* (54), and *Sylvester Petra Sancta*, ought to pass only for one Historian of *Bellarmin*; for the three last have only translated the Italian Work of *Fulgatti*; and, if *Petra Sancta*, who translated it into Latin, made some Additions to it, he ought not, therefore, to be considered as one of the Historians. If *George Robertus Jonus* wrote This Cardinal's Life, ought he not to appear, in his Place, in the Body of Mr *Tessier's* Book? But he no where appears there. We meet with only one *Georgius Robertus Jonus* there, who was Author of the Life of *Robert Rolland*, a Scotch Divine. Note, that *Tarquinius Gallucius* did not compose *Bellarmin's* History, but only his Funeral Oration. Mr *Mayer* gave a more exact List (55); he quotes the Life of *Bellarmin*, written by *James Fulgatti*, and printed at Rome, in the Year 1624, in 4to; *Daniel Bartoli* de vita *Bellarmini*, at Rome 1618 (56), in 4to; *Marcellinus Cervinus* de vita & moribus *Bellarmini*, at Sienna 1622, in 8vo; *Didacus Ramirez* in vita *Bellarmini* ex cæteris auctoribus Hispanicis; & *Nicolas Antonio* in *Bibliotheca Hispanica memorata*; And the Account de pio obitu *Bellarmini* ex literis *Eudæmoni-Johannis*, printed at *Dillingen*, in the Year 1621. He quotes also *Gallutius*, *Alegambus*, *Sebastiani Badii* accura *Roberti Cardinalis Bellarmini* (57); the *Elogies* of *Eusebius Sarrini*, a Florentin Abbot of the Order of *Cîteaux*; *Ughelli*, in the Four hundred fifth Page of the sixth Volume of the *Italia Sacra*; *Imperialis*; *Andrew du Souffai*; & *Nicolas Erythraeus*. He forgot *Edward Coffin*, an English Jesuit, who wrote a Book de morte *Cardinalis Bellarmini*, printed at *St Omer*, in the Year 1623, in 8vo: he disguised himself under these two Letters C. E. (58). Note, that *Didacus Ramirez* was a Spanish Jesuit, who died the eighth of April 1647 (59).

[Q] The rash Judgment *Scaliger* passed on *Bellarmin* cannot be sufficiently condemned. Let him say, as much as he pleases (60), that if any One would give him a *Bellarmin*, he would not accept of it, and that he would take care not to lose his Time in reading such an Author, who writes ill, quod male scripsit non legam, nec male bonas bonas colloca. But he is inexcusable in saying, that *Bellarmin* did not believe any thing of what he printed, and that he was a meer Atheist (61). It is to usurp God's Right who is the only Judge of Thoughts, and he who searches the Reins and the Hearts. It is to set a bad Example, and to authorize the fury of those, who said, that *Calvin*, *Beza*, &c. preached against their Conscience, and had no Religion.

[R] He had the Mortification to see his Work de *Pontifice Romano* inserted in the *Index* of the Inquisition. From This Fact Mr *Arnauld* draws a good Argument ad hominem against those, who preach up the Authority of the Congregations of the *Index*. We find, says he (62), that *Bellarmin's* Work de *Romano Pontifice* "was proscribed by *Sixtus V.* because he "judged, as well as those, to whom he had given "it to be examined, that it had done great Prejudice "to the Pontifical Dignity, by saying, "that the "Power, which they pretended, that J. C. gave to "his

(e) Alegambus, p. 411.

(f) Sotuel, in Biblioth. Jesuit. pag. 744.

(g) Tessier, Biblioth. in Index X, pag. 116.

(h) Fulgatti was printed at Paris, in 1615, in 8vo, according to Tessier, pag. 193.

(i) A French Translation of Fulgatti was printed at Paris, in 1628, in 8vo, according to Mayer, Diff. de fide Bellarm. pag. 165.

(j) Mayer, ibid.

(k) It is probably an Error of the Press, for Bartoli's Work of Bartoli was not printed till 1677.

(l) Sotuel, Biblioth. Societ. Jesuit. par. 724. calls him Badius, and places the printing of his Book at Genoa, in 1611, in 4to.

(m) Leti speaks very ambiguely of *Toni Badius*, a Physician of Genoa, in the fourth part of the *Italia Regnante*.

(n) Sotuel de Scriptor. Societ. Jesu. pag. 185.

(o) Id. ib. pag. 173.

(p) In *Scaligeranis*, pag. 29.

(q) Ibid.

(r) *Arnauld's* Difficulties proposed to Mr *Arnauld*.

(s) Part. pag. 58, & seq. He quotes the 2d Chapter of the 2d Book of the Life of *Bellarmin*, written, in Italian, by *Father Fulgatti*, and translated into Latin by *Sylvester Petra Sancta*, & b. 7. 4.

ject against *William Barclay* was treated still worse in *France* [S]. Among all the *Roman Catholics*, who have wrote against him, none has so fully discovered the weak Parts of his Works, as *John de Launoi* [T]. We shall mention two of *Bellarmin's* Thoughts, which shew, that he loved Peace, and that he was not pleased with the Ambition of the Cardinals [U]. The Protestants have taken notice of one thing, which he says, concerning the Merit of Works, viz. That *Because of the Uncertainty*

(63) Fullgatti, and Petra Sancta, in the Life of Bellarmine.

"his Vicar, on Earth, over the Temporalities of Kings, is not direct, but only indirect; and it was for this reason, that, these Books de Romano Pontifice, were inserted among the Prohibited. This is what these two Jesuits (63) give us to understand, somewhat obscurely, to induce us to believe, that this proceeded not so much from the Pope, as from Bellarmine's Enemies, who had persuaded him to it: *Doctrina Bellarmini auctoritatem illam minui, quam Christus Dominus Vicario suo in terris dedit Ecclesiae dignitatem firmitatemque; idque fieri in opinione ipsius circa Dominium temporarium, quod Pontifici competit item in res temporarias.* By which These Authors understand the Power, which it is believed, at Rome, the Pope has, to depose Kings; as appears by the following Page, where Bellarmine's Book against William Barclay on this Subject of deposing Kings is called: *Treatatio de Potestate Pontificis in res temporarias, adversus Gulielmum Barclaium.* So that it was not for want of having understood Bellarmine's Doctrine right on this Subject, that he received the Affront of having his Books put among the condemned Writers; but because That Pope was not satisfied with the indirect Power, which he gave him, over Kings, and would have a direct one. And this continued as long as That Pope lived. For these same Authors acknowledge, that it was not, till after his Death, that the Cardinals expunged them *ex indice probrorum scriptorum.* Pray, Sir, tell us, whether you think, that any Jesuit will own, that it would have been a mortal Sin to read Bellarmine's Books de Romano Pontifice, during the Life of Sixtus V, and that, if a Priest had done it, he would have deserved to be deprived, by a Sentence, of the Power of preaching, confessing, and directing Souls."

(64) Pag. 277, & seq.

Consult the Dissertation of the famous Mr Mayer, de fide Bellarmini ipsius Pontificis ambigua, printed at Amsterdam 1697, and you will find, there (64), a long Passage of Fullgatti, and some others. Consult also the second Tome of the *French Mercury*; it will inform you "That, towards the end of the Year 1586, when the first Book of the Controversies of Bellarmine was brought into France, of the Impression of Ingelhardt, Stephen Michel, a Bookseller of Lyons, being at Paris, joined with another Bookseller in publishing That Book; which they began to do; and, notice thereof being given to the King's Attorney-General, he caused one and twenty Sheets, already finished to be seized, and forbade them to continue the printing of it: It was on account of the third Controversy, where he treated de Summo Pontifice, and where he attributed an indirect Power to the Pope over Emperors, Kings, and Sovereign Princes, and divers other things against the temporal Sovereignty of Kings (65)." One may therefore say of the medium, which Bellarmine observed, between the Ultramontain Canonists, and the Doctors of the Sorbonne, what Herennius Pontius declared in relation to the Conduct of his Son, who saved the Lives, but not the Honour, of the Roman Soldiers. *Illa quidem sententia ea est, quae neque amicos parat, neque inimicos tollit, servare modo quos inimicis irritaveris* (66). — It is an Opinion, which neither gains you Friends, nor loses you Enemies, barely to preserve Those, whom you exasperate against you by Ignominy. This Jesuit observed a mean which displeased the Court of Rome, without pleasing the Court of France. It is the common fate of moderate Opinions; they neither procure you Friends, nor appease your Enemies, and they leave you for a mark to the two Factions, which place themselves in the opposite Extremes.

(65) French Mercury, Tom. II, pag. 32.

(66) Titus Livius, lib. 9, Decad. I.

[S] What he wrote on the same Subject against W. Barclay, was treated still worse in France.] I mean his *Treatatus de potestate parvi Pontificis in Temporalibus adversus Gulielmum Barclaium*, printed at Rome in the Year 1610. Mr Mixer observes, that King James wrote against This Treatise, and that the Se-

nate of Venice, and the Parliament of Paris, condemned it. He gives us, in Latin, the Decree of That Parliament, and refers us to the Continuator of Thouzas (67). He says also, that This Work of Bellarmine wanted but little of being burnt at Paris by the Hands of the Common Executioner: "Faces jam accendebat carniſex, ut pœnas à scripto & scriptore ſumeret, niſi Reginae animus, & iteratis & non deſinētibus Jeſuitarum deprecationibus fractus, illas extinxisset (68). — The Executioner already began to light the Fire, to punish The Work and it's Author, had not the Disposition of the Queen, influenced by the repeated and incessant Intreaties of the Jesuits, extinguished it." See the second Tome of the *French Mercury*, and you will find, there (69), the Substance of the Remonstrance of Mr Servin, the King's First Advocate, and the Decree of the Parliament (70), in these Terms: "The Court forbids all Persons, of what Quality and Condition soever, on the Penalty of High-Treason, to receive, retain, communicate, print, cause to be printed, or to expose to sale the said Book. And enjoins those, who shall have any Copies of the said Book, or know any Persons, who have, to declare it speedily to the Ordinary Judges, that diligent search may be made after them, at the Request of the Substitutes of the said Attorney-General, and that the Guilty may be proceeded against, as is requisite (71)."

[T] No One has so fully discovered the weak Parts of his Works, as John de Launoi.] Mr Mayer will inform you fully of This, in his Book. See also the Remark [T] of the Article LAUNOI (JOHN).

[U] He loved Peace, and had not learnt the Ambition of the Cardinals.] Peter de St Romuald says, that the most excellent of all Bellarmine's Works, "treating of Controversies, was proscribed at Rome, and inserted in the Index of Infamous Books. — Which he bore, adds he, with the same Patience, as he suffered the Contradictions of a certain Cardinal, in the Conclave, saying to those, who wondered at it, that an Ounce of Peace was worth more than a Pound of Victory. Being also asked (perhaps on account of that Cardinal) how it happened, that there were so few Cardinals in the Catalogue of the Saints; it is, said he, because they aspire to be Most-Holy: A smart Answer for those, who know what these Words signify in Italy; perche vogliono esser Santissimi (72)." The meaning of which is, that the Desire of being made Pope hinders the Cardinals from acquiring Holiness, though That Desire be a longing after the Title of Most Holy Father. The *Critical Miscellanies* of Mr Ancillon inform me, that Mr Godeau, "who wrote Bellarmine's Elogy, says, that one of his usual Sayings was, that the Cardinals are not Holy, because they would be Most Holy, that is to say Popes, who are called Most Holy Fathers: An Opinion, which he had from his Uncle Marcellus II, who cried out, one Day, at Table, *Non video quomodo qui locum hunc altissimum tenent salvari possint* (73). I do not see how those that are seated in St Peter's Chair can be saved (74)." The Respect, which I have for the Memory of the late Mr Ancillon, a Man of much Piety and Learning, is not inconsistent with the Liberty I am going to take. I do not find an exact Connexion between the Cardinal's Thought, and That of the Pope. Bellarmine's Intention was, not to say, that a Pope can hardly be saved, but that the Desire of being made a Pope attaches the Cardinals in such a manner to earthly Things, and unjust Intrigues, that they can make no Progress in the Way of Holiness. But Pope Marcellus II had not this Thought; he only considered the Obstacles, which a Man, who is actually Pope, meets with in the way of Salvation. So that Bellarmine's Jest does not seem to me to be part of his Uncle's Inheritance. If it be objected against me, that a Pope stands in need of as many Intrigues to perform the Part, which he acts in the World, as a Cardinal to attain to the Pontificate;

(67) Jo. Frider. Mayer, S. Reg. Majest. Succ. per Germaniam Suecic. Confiliarius in Sacris Primarius, Doct. & Prof. Theolog. & Ecclesiae Hamburgensis ad D. Jacobi Pastor. Dissert. de Bellarmini fide ipsius Pontificis eundem, pag. 130.

(68) Id. ib. pag. 133.

(69) French Mercury, pag. 33, & seq.

(70) Novemb. 26, 1610.

(71) French Mercury. ib. pag. 36.

(72) Peter de St Romuald Abridg. Chronol. ad Ann. 1621, p. 416, 417.

(73) Omphalos in Marcellus II, apud Ancillon. ibid. p. 329.

(74) Ancillon's Critic. Miscel. Tom. I, pag. 323.

certainty of our own Righteousness, and for fear of Vain-Glory, the surest way is to put our whole Trust in the alone Goodness and Mercy of God (g). Neither have they forgot what he preached at Louvain, in 1571, on the Excellency of the Bible. They make use of it to confute all, that he has said since, in his Works, against the Perfection and Sufficiency of the Scripture (b). The Book, which supplies me with these Words, contains many solid and curious Remarks concerning Bellarmin. I find in it, that This Cardinal, might, perhaps, have been Pope, if he had not been a Jesuit [X]; for Henry IV. told the French Cardinals, who went to the Conclave, after the Death of Clement VIII, that he should be very glad if Bellarmin was made Pope (i). I have read also, that the same Jesuit acquired the Esteem of Henry IV, whilst he was at his Court, whither he was sent with Cardinal Henry Cajetan (k), and that it is certain, the best of his Works

(b) Ancillon's Critical Miscellany of Literature, Part I. pag. 332.

(i) Ancillon, uti supra, p. 329.

(k) Id. ibid. pag. 333.

cate; I shall answer, that it is another Question, and that it is to exceed the Limits, which ought to be put to the Sense of the Words, which Bellarmin made use of. I go further, and maintain, that, though the same Cardinal had said, on some other Occasion; *That Popes are so far from deserving to be canonized, that they can hardly keep themselves from Hell*; it cannot be pretended, that the Italian Words, which you have seen before, are the Copy of his Uncle Pope Marcellus's Exclamation. That Exclamation puts me in mind of the Sally of a Frenchman, who heard somebody praise the Piety, and moral Severity, of Innocent XI, in the Year 1689. "The Catholic Church, said he, has no need of such a Pope; it were better for her to have a Sovereign Pontiff, who understands the Art of aggrandizing himself, and of taking hold of all Opportunities, according to the Politics of the most refined Courts. The Greatness, and Majesty, of the Catholic Church, require a Head, not endowed with the Virtues of a Priest, but with the Talents of a cunning Politician. They require a Head, who has the Courage to damn himself, for the Good and Increase of his Dominions; this is the way to perform the Office of a good Shepherd, who gives his Life for his Sheep; this is to devote one's self for the Republic, better than Codrus, and the Decii did (75). A scrupulous, and devout Pope, like good Adrian VI, is only fit to let the Temporals of the Church perish (76), which are so advantageous for the Maintenance of the Spirituals." Such was This Frenchman's Discourse.

[X] He might, perhaps, have been made Pope, if he had not been a Jesuit. He had more Votes, than any of the rest, in the first Scrutiny of the Conclave of Leo XI (77); nevertheless, they did not think of him, then, in earnest. It was in the following Conclave (78), that they looked upon him as a fit Man to be Pope, and that they endeavoured to procure him the Pontificate; but Cardinal Aldobrandini's Faction made this Design miscarry. Bellarmin's Virtue, and the too great Power of the Jesuits, were the two chief Considerations, which hindered him from succeeding Leo XI. "Aldobrandino — fuggiva. — Bellarmino come Gesuita scopolopolo, è che tal volta haveva improvato molte attioni di Clemente Zio, è di lui stesso (79). — Haveva Bellarmino grand' amici per esser egli di letteratura, è di bontà singolare, mà l'esser Gesuita, è di coscienza delicata, lo rendevano poco amabile, appreso molti, li quali mossero ogni pietra, per rovinarlo. — Fù rinnovata, è sparà per tutto la memoria del disgresso dato à Bellarmino da Sisto V, che gli fece prohibire l'opera sua de potestate Pope: furono discorse al vivo tutte le conseguenze, che potevano derivare dall' esaltatione di un Gesuita; è insomma s'adopronò in maniera, che s'acquistò affatto il tutto (80). — Aldobrandino — fled away. — Bellarmin, at a conscientious Jesuit, and who had often disapproved of many Actions of Clement, his Uncle, and of Clement himself. — Bellarmin had great Friends, on account of his Learning, and singular Goodness; but his being a Jesuit, and of a tender Conscience, rendered him disagreeable to many, who left no Stone unturned to ruin him. — The Memory of Bellarmin's Disgrace with Sixtus V, who prohibited his Book De Potestate Papæ, was revived, and spread every where: Every Consequence, which might hinder the Promotion of a Jesuit, was thoroughly discussed; and they employed their Interest in such a manner, that the whole Affair was dropped." Let us set down, here, a Passage of Mr Ancillon. "I have always heard say, that the Court of Rome

"will take care not to place a Jesuit in the Papal Chair, and that Europe ought not to desire it; because they would infallibly make themselves Masters of the Holy See; inasmuch that all the other Orders might look upon themselves as excluded from it for ever, and that by this means they would make their Power, which is already very great, almost infinite and boundless: If we believe those, who write on this Subject, it seems this Maxim is not new in the Court of Rome. They have distrustful the Jesuits a long time, and are on their guard against them, in this respect; and we read, in the Life of Bellarmin himself, that Clement VIII, speaking of That Cardinal, who had already made himself famous, said, *Dignus, sed Jesuita est* (81)." We have a Proof, here, of the rash Judgments, which are only grounded on first Appearances. If you do not examine things thoroughly, and if you consider only the first Impressions, which they make on the Mind, you will imagine, that, in order to obtain a Dignity, it is a very great Advantage to belong to a very powerful Body; but, if you take the pains to reflect, you will find almost an invincible Obstacle in This very Thing. Within these ten Years (82) we have seen two Examples of this. Nothing contributed so much to exclude the Cardinal of Furstenberg from the Archbishopric of Cologne, and the Cardinal of Bouillon from the Bishopric of Liege, as their being recommended, and protected, by the Court of France, whose Power was superior to That of other States. Refer to This what I have said in Remark [H], of the Article INNOCENT XI, and remember the Thought of Florus, *ipsa sibi obstat magnitudo*. I have already applied it, on a quite different Occasion (83). Note, That Mons. Godeau observes, "that Barcinus, having made some Overtures to Bellarmin of the Thought, that he, and some other Cardinals, had of making him Pope, he received the Proposal as an Injury, was downright angry at it, and resolutely answered, that, if the taking up of a Straw from the Ground could make him Pope, he would not stoop to take it up (84)." I wonder that Mr Ancillon has not spoken of the solemn Vow, which Bellarmin made, if the Papal Dignity, which he did not desire, should be conferred upon him. He engaged himself not to enrich his Relations. These are the Terms of his Vow: "Die 24 Septembris anno 1614. ser. 6, in domo Novitiorum S. Andreæ degens, & exercitiis spiritualibus vacans, matura præhabita de liberatione in sacrificio Missæ, cum sumptibus esset S. Dom. nostr. corpus, votum voti Domino in hæc verba: Ego Robertus, Cardinalis Bellarminus, è Societate Jesu religiosus professus, voce DEO omnipotentis in conspectu B. V. Mariæ, ac totius cœlestis curiæ, quod si forte, quod non cupio, & precor Deum, ut non accidat, ad Pontificatum assumptus fuero, neminem ex consanguineis vel affinis meis exaltabo ad Cardinalatum, vel temporalem Principatum, vel Ducatum, vel Comitatum, vel quæcunque alium titulum, neque eos citabo, sed solum adjuvabo, ut in statu suo civiliter commode vivere possint. Amen, Amen (85). — On the Twenty fourth of September, in the Year 1614, being in the House of the Novitiate, of St Andrew, and intent upon spiritual Exercises, after mature Deliberation in the Sacrifice of the Mass, and being about to receive the Body of our Lord; I made a Vow to God in the following Words: I Robert, Cardinal Bellarmin, a professed Religious of the Order of JESUS, vow to Almighty God, in the Sight of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the whole Heavenly Choir, that if, which I do not desire, and wish to God may never happen,

(81) Ancillon's Critic. Miscell. pag. 332.

(82) I wrote this in the Year 1698.

(83) In the Article ACHILLEA, G. 1. 29.

(84) Godeau, Essay of Cardinal Bellarmin, apud Ancillon, ubi supra, pag. 332.

(85) Fullertius in vita Bellarmi.

(f) Bellarmin. lib. v. de Justific. cap. 7. n. 1. tit. 1. apud Dantle. Reply to Corrob. Part III. cap. 24. pag. 303.

(75) Codrus pro patria non timidos mori. Horat. Od. 19. l. 3.

(76) See Remark [R], of the Article HADRIAN VI.

(77) Conclave di Leone XI, pag. 4.

(78) Test of Paul V.

(79) Conclave di Paolo V, pag. 512.

(80) Ibid. p. 519, 520.

(1) *Id. ibid.*
P. 373.

(m) *Quam à matre virginem carnem acceperat, quam à sacro lavacro innocentiam, Deo reddidit, si bi nullius in omni vita mendacii confectus.*
Andr. Carolus. Memorab. Ecclesiæ. p. 538.

is his Book de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis (l). I wish I had not met with these two Facts there; for they are not true (r). The Inscription, which was put under this Cardinal's Print, imports, that he had preserved his Virginity, and his Baptismal Innocency, and that he had never told a Lie (m). When he was dying, he bequeathed one half of his Soul to the Holy Virgin, and the other half to JESUS CHRIST (n). He was so patient, that he suffered Flies, and such small Insects, to be very troublesome to him (Z). He let them alone, saying, that they had no other Paradise, than the Liberty to fly, and light, where they pleased. He was a Man of a small Stature, and of a mean Outside; yet he discovered the Beauty of his Wit in his Face (o). He expressed himself with Clearness, and premeditated the Words, which were to represent his Thoughts, so exactly, that no Ratures appeared in his Writings (p). His Hebrew Grammar is pretty well esteemed; though it is thought, that he had but an indifferent Knowledge of That Language (q): some say, that he was quite a Stranger to Greek (r). I do not believe the Pope

(n) *Id. ibid.*
P. 533.

(o) Nicies Erythraeus, Fincoth. I. pag. 87.

(p) *Id. ibid.*

(q) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, lib. 3, cap. 12.

(r) See, towards the end of Remark (r).

"happen, I should ever be elected Pope, I will never raise any of my Family or Kindred to the Purple, Temporal Principality, Duchy, Earldom, or any other Title; nor will I enrich, but only assist them to live comfortably in their Civil Capacity. Amen, Amen."

[Y] Ancillon advances two Facts concerning Bellarmine, which are not true. Every one knows, that Cardinal Cajetan, Legate of Sixtus V. in France, made it his chief Business to cause Henry IV to be excluded from the Crown. It was not at the Court of That Monarch, that Bellarmine, That Legate's Chaplain, acquired the King's Esteem; for he was not there; he was at Paris, among the Leaguers, and used his utmost Endeavours for the Interest of the Rebels. This is what the Ministers have not failed to object; Read this Passage of Drelincourt; "Whence comes it, that Those of the Protestant Religion were in the King's Camp, whilst Bellarmine, Panigraula, and such Persons, were at Paris, preaching up Sedition, and the Pope sent some Legates to authorize the League, and to throw Oil into a Fire, which he ought to have extinguished with his Tears, and his own Blood (86)?"

(86) Drelincourt of the Triumph of the Church, Part II, P. 444.

As for what concerns the Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Writers, it is a good Work in it's kind; but it is far from being Bellarmine's best Book. There are several Treatises in his Volumes of Controversies, which discover his Wit, Learning, and Capacity, more nobly. Twenty small Pieces, every one as good as That, de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, would not have raised him to the Degree of Honour, which he deserved for the Form alone, in which he clothed his Body of Controversies; for see, here, the Commendation which a Learned Englishman gave him, on this Subject: "Vir erat, haud inficior, admirandæ industriæ, doctrinæ, lectionis stupendæ, Bellarminus: qui ut primus, ita solus, immanem illam molem, & immanem chaos controversiarum, stupendam ingenii dexteri felicitate, artificio singulari, excoluit, in ordinem redegit confusum prius, accuratè diligentia, & multorum annorum studio, eleganter expolivit: præcipuit ille palmam secutus omnibus, & sibi desponsatam vel destinatam cuicunque laudem abstulit. Nam ab illo, qui tractant hodiè Controversias, ut ab Homero Poëtæ, sua omnia ferè mutantur (87). - - - Bellarmine was, I confess, a Man of surprising Industry, Learning, and Reading; the first, and only Person, who, with Abilities, and Diligence, happily polished, and reduced into Form, the immense Chaos of Controversies. In this he was surpassed all that came after him, who, in treating such Subjects, borrow almost every thing from him, as the Poets do from Homer." Considerable Faults have been observed (88), in the Treatise, which Calixtus, and Mr Ancillon, pretend to be the best of all This Jesuit's Writings. See Bosius, in the second Chapter of his Introductio in Notitiam Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, with Mr Crenius's Notes. Librum, says he (89), omnium, quos Bellarmine edidit, optimum vocat D. Calixtus, tractatu de conjugio Clericorum, sectione 202. If we may believe Father Labbe, the first Edition of This Book of Bellarmine is of the Year 1617 (90). Father Sirmond took great care of it, as the Author had desired him (91). Several other Editions were made of it, which the Printers spoiled extremely; but, at last, a very correct one was published at Paris, by Cramoisi, in the Year

(87) Montacut. Præf. ad Apparatus. Author. pag. 638.

(88) Baillet's Judgment of the Learned, Part II, pag. 90, 91.

(89) J. Andr. Bosius, Schediæ de Comparanda Notitia Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, cap. 2, pag. 425. Edit. Crenian. Lugd. Bat. Ann. 1699.

(90) Father Sirmond's Preface to his Edition of the Works of Bellarmine.

(91) *Id. ibid.*

formed the Plan of a Work upon it (92), which some very good Judges take for the best he composed. I mean his *Dissertatio de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*; which was printed, at Paris, in two Volumes, in 8vo, in the Year 1660. The Authors of the *Bibliothèque de Jesuits* knew nothing of the first Edition of This Treatise of Bellarmine; one of them, viz. Alegambus, mentions none, and Sotuel mentions only That of Cologne 1622, in 8vo. A new one was made in the same City in the Year 1684, in 4to; and the Continuation, which *André de Saussai* published, in the Year 1665, was joined to it. Bellarmine's Omissions were very considerable, as appears by the Supplement of Father Oudin, which was mentioned in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, in the Month of April, 1686.

Remark a Mistake of Bosius. He says, there is no trusting to Bellarmine's Judgment about the Greek Language; and that This Ignorance, which appeared in his other Books, was most conspicuous in the Treatise of the Ecclesiastical Writers, as *Casaubon* observed. "Græcarum Litterarum profusus ἀμύμων" "fuisse sicut omnia illius scripta, sic eximie hic liber novissime ab eo profectus, Casaubono judice exercitat. 16. sect. 150. ostendit, ut probe judicium illius de Græcis scriptoribus satis tuto fidei non possit." Bosius had just before said, that the first Edition of This Work of Bellarmine is of the Year 1616 (93). How could he believe then, that *Casaubon* had spoken of it, in that manner, in a Book, which was printed in the Year 1614? But, after all, will you say it is true, that *Casaubon* spoke of This Work; for, in this Case, Bosius's Error will be very inconsiderable? I answer, there is a great probability, that he had This Treatise of Bellarmine in view. There is an Edition of Cologne 1613, set down in the Catalogue of Oxford: and I have seen one of Lyons, 1613, in 4to, Revised and Corrected by the Author. So that This Work was plainly enough hinted at, in That Passage of *Casaubon*, where it is said, that it was the last Book of Bellarmine, which appeared; we may, therefore, affirm, that Father Labbe is mistaken, in placing the first Edition of it in the Year 1617.

(92) *Id. ibid.*

(93) Father Labbe says the Year 1617. See above, Casaubon.

[Z] He suffered Flies - - - to be troublesome to him. This deserves to be set down in Fulgati's own Words. "Inter insignes Bellarmine virtutes, alii ponunt miram eum in perferendis vexationibus patientiam, quam Jacobus Fulgatus laudat sequentibus verbis: Calices, modicellas aviculas, sicut & alia parva naturæ incommoda, velut à Deo traditas ad exercitium patientiæ, vultu admodum perferbat, ut nec ipse opposita manu, nec exciente ventulum aliquo, eas conaretur abigere. Aliquando Clementi Merlino R. rotæ auditori, dum sermones familiares, ut fit post negotia decisa, fererent, retulit, se nocte ejus diei, qui est Catharinæ virginis sacer, addidit ad venas à bestiolis quibusdam nequam ac damnicis morsu suis vexatum, ut magno sensu conversus ad CHRISTI, præsentis à cruce Domini, simulacrum dixerit: ô Domine, si hoc quicquid est damni, quod certe parum est, mihi tantum affert molestiæ, equænam erunt supplicia damnatorum? si apud gebennam impios manent tormenta tam ærumnosa, ne, precor, in ea me projicias, etenim impar ero ipsam sustinendis. Cardinalis Cresscentius addit, Bellarminum ita se patientiæ velut quidam definasse, ut muscas à vultu ne depelleret."

ever sent him to *Louvain*, to put an End to the Disputes of *Michael Baius* there, or to make a Report of them at *Rome* [A A]. So many Persons have attacked him, and so many have defended him, that Catalogues have been made of both. The List of his Defenders was composed by Beraldi, an Italian (s).

(s) Baillet, Tom. I, of the Antiq., pag. 51, 52.

"ret quidem, tametsi adiectione nimium essent, sicuti Romæ in æstu solent; cunctque hoc mirarentur, qui aderant, ipse sicut, Haud æquum esse, ajebat, perturbare animantes illos, quibus non utique superesset paradisi alius, quam volitandi libertas, ac potestas, ubi maluit, commorandi (94). — Among the remarkable Virtues of Bellarmine, others place his wonderful Patience, in enduring Vexations, which James Fuligatti celebrates in the following Words: He considered Gnats, a little flying Insect, and other small Vexations, which Nature throws in our Way, as sent by God, to exercise our Patience; and he suffered them so calmly, that he neither endeavoured to drive them away with his own Hand, nor permitted any one else to do it. In a Conversation, once, as is usual after the Fatigue of Business, with *Clemens Merlinus*, Auditor of the *Rota*, he told him, that, on the Eve of the Festival of St Catherine, he was so tormented with the biting of pernicious Insects at his Reins, that, through the Acuteness of the Pain, turning to the Figure of our Saviour on the Cross, he cried out, O Lord! if This trifling Affliction gives me so much uneasiness, what must the Damned endure? If such dreadful Misery awaits the Wicked in Hell, O! never throw me into it, for I shall be unable to support it. Cardinal Crescentius adds, that Bellarmine had so devoted himself to Patience, that he would not drive the Flies from his Face, though they were extremely troublesome, as is usual at *Rome*, in hot Weather; which when the Standers by expressed their Wonder at, he mildly told them, It was unjust to di-

turb those little Creatures, whose only Paradise is the Liberty of flying, and resting, where they please." It is certain, there is a way of spinning out Consequences from the Evangelical Precepts, or Counsels, which leads almost necessarily to That Patience, which is attributed to Bellarmine; but nevertheless Reason shews us, that it is no ways likely, that JESUS CHRIST, or his Apostles, in recommending to us so expressly the Contempt of the Conveniences of Life, intended to forbid us the right of freeing ourselves from the Vexation of Bugs, and of driving away a Fly, which is troublesome to us. [A A] I do not believe the Pope ever sent him to *Louvain* to put an End to the Disputes of Baius, or to make a Report of them at *Rome*.] Mr Leydecker says, I. That Bellarmine was sent thither to inform himself of Those Disputes, and to pacify them; or, at least to give the Pope an Account of them. II. That he acquitted himself very well of This Commission, and that, after having heard Michael Baius, he returned to *Rome*, very angry for having found, that he treated, as Pelagian Doctrines, several Opinions of the Schoolmen, which were Bellarmine's own (95). I can find no trace of this Deputation in the Writers of This Jesuit's History; and I know, that he made but little Noise, when he went to *Louvain*. He acquired his first Reputation in the seven Years, that he taught Divinity in That Place (96); and, as he was an Augustinian as to the Points in dispute between Baius, and his Antagonists, it is not at all likely, he was ever angry with That Doctor, for the Reason, which Mr Leydecker mentions.

(95) Melch. Leydecker, Disput. Historico-Theologica II, de vario Jansenitismo facto. See the Preface to the Edition of the Works of Baius, 1696, and pag. 213, of Part II.

(96) Nicus Eryth. Pinacoth. I, pag. 85.

BELLEAU (REMI), a French Poet of the XVIth Century, was born at *Notre le Rotrou*. I shall not say much of him; for *Moreri* has already observed almost all that I could have collected. This Poet turned the Odes of *Anacreon* into French, and deprived them of a great part of their Beauty, if we may believe some Authors (a); but others maintain, that he equalled the Original, and that, if he had loved drinking as well as *Anacreon* did, he would have out-done him. Do not trust too much to This Encomium; for it is taken from a piece of Poetry, made by *Scævola de Sainte Marthe*, in praise of the French Translation, of which I am speaking (b). Pasquier thinks, that, in point of Gaiety, Belleau was another *Anacreon* in his Time (c) [A]. He acted one of the chief Parts in the *Cleopatra*, and the Rencontre of *Jodelle*, when they were acted before King Henry, at Paris, in the Palace of Reims — and in the College of Boncour (d). He died in 1577, and in his fiftieth Year (e). He commented on the second Part of the Amours of *Peter Ronsard*.

(a) Taffier, Addit. Tom. I, pag. 468. Edit. in 6. He quotes the et. de P. L. of C. 14, pag. 839.

(b) Cammarth Eleg. lib. 3, pag. 13, 14.

(c) Du Cloux: A Poetics of the Towns of France, pag. 2, 6.

(c) Pasquier, Recherch. lib. 7, cap. 7, pag. 622.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 612.

(e) Thuan. lib. 64, pag. 204.

[A] Belleau, according to Pasquier, was another *Anacreon* in his Time.] This was also the Opinion of *Andrew du Chêne*. "The Country of Perche," says he (1), produced This gentle and learned Poet, among others, in the Reign of Henry II, whom I look upon as another *Anacreon* of our

"Age, in Matters of Gaiety: I mean, *Remi Belleau*, whose Design was to imitate *Sannazarius* in his Works. For, as the Italian *Sannazarius* made the Shepherds of his *Arcadia* speak in Prose, in which he placed all his Tuscan Poetry; so our great Belleau has done the like in his Pastorals."

BELLFOREST (FRANCIS de), was born in the Month of November, 1530, near *Samatan*, a Town of the Country of *Cominges*, in *Guienne* (a). He was but seven, or eight, Years of Age, when his Father died: His Mother, finding herself without an Estate, did all she could to keep him some time at School. He was educated some Years in the House of the Queen of *Navarre*, Sister to *Francis I*. He studied, afterwards, at *Bordeaux*, under *Buchanan*, *Vinetus*, *Salignac*, *Gélida*, and some other learned Men; then he went to *Toulouse*, to study the Civil-Law there; but his Genius made him apply himself to quite another thing. He trifled away his time in making French Verses, to please the Ladies, and, having spent seven or eight Years among the Delights of the Nobility, and in the trifles of Gallantry, he went to *Paris*, where he attended the Professors Lectures, and contracted a strict Acquaintance with divers learned Men, and even insinuated himself into the Company of several Persons of Quality (b). He gained little, or nothing, by all This; inso-much, that, if the Bookfellers had not bought the Productions of his Pen, he had not had Bread to eat. Study was his Inheritance; and he was one of those Authors, who maintain their Families by dint of their Pens: His best Friends tell us, that, by the Blessing of God on the Labour of his Hands, he maintained

(a) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. France, pag. 83.

(b) Du Verdier Vau Privé, Biblioth. Fr. p. 366, 367.

(c) You will find a large List of them in the Bibliothèque of la Croix du Maine, and in that of du Verdier Vau-priva.

(d) Du Hailan, *Epist. Dedicat. prefixed to The History of France*, Edit. of 1584.

(1) Biblioth. Franc. pag. 367.

(2) Th. Vert's History of France, Tom. VII., pag. 207, 208. I find in 1611, in 1209.

(e) La Croix du Maine, ubi supra, pag. 91.

his Family by his Books [A]. And, therefore, it is no wonder, if he wrote such a great Number of Books (c), and undertook to write upon so many different Subjects, which were beyond the reach of his Abilities: He was obliged to follow the Direction of the Bookfellers, and to turn himself every way, according to the Taste of the Public; that is, according as certain Books, good or bad, sold well. It is said of him, *That he had Moulds, in which he cast new Books with great Expedition* (d). He died at Paris, the first Day of January, 1583, and was buried in the Franciscan Church, as he had desired in his Will (e). *Thevet*, who was not a more considerable Author, boasted publicly, that *Belleforest* made him a public Reparation, on his Death-bed [B]. They had been much embroiled together. *La Popeliniere* speaks very ill of these two Authors [C]. *Ghilini* has committed a great many Faults in a short Elogy of *Belleforest* [D]; and, if he had been as ill informed in every thing else, his Works would be of no value.

[A] His best Friends tell us ----- that he maintained his Family by his Books.] Du Verdier Vau-Privas (1) declares himself *Belleforest's* intimate Friend, and Admirer. *I received*, says he, *as much Satisfaction from our Correspondence by Letters, as I was afterwards sorry for his Death*. ----- His Name will be immortal among Men, so long as the World endures, by reason of the fine Works, which he composed. Now let me how he speaks of his Friend's Fortune. *Belleforest* was intimately acquainted with *Ronsard*, *Baif*, *Bellean*, *Vignere* ----- *Chopin*, the Ornament of the Palace of Paris, and many others; he was cherished by Princes, beloved by the Nobility, and esteemed by all the virtuous Men of this Kingdom; but his Fortune was so mean, that he lived only by his Study; and the Labour of his Hands and Mind, being blessed with, and supported by, the Divine Grace, relieved the Necessities of his Family.

[B] *Thevet* ----- boasted publicly, that *Belleforest* made him Reparation, on his Death-bed.] There is nothing more dishonest than This Man's Proceeding. He glories in the Humility, which his Adversary exprest to him, on his Death-bed; and yet he abuses him, as much as he could have done, before their Reconciliation. These are his Words: "There are some, who, having no more Learning than *Munster*, have, nevertheless, been so bold as to scrawl after him, and new-mould him; which is the second Head, on which I ground my Complaint against Those, who, not having been much farther than the Smoak of their Chimnies, their Stoves, or Cottages, dare, in the mean Time, perfwade themselves, that there is no Spot of Ground, but what they have forgotten: but it is only in Imagination. To cover their too presumptuous Undertakings, they have stolen, here and there, as much as they could; and, sometimes, they have cut off small Pieces from the Discourses, which they have caltrated: So that most of their huge Books are only composed of patched Pieces, which have to ill a Grace, that, by what I can hear, they serve only to wrap up Butter, and Sugar. If I speak to openly, it is because I am sorry *Belleforest* was so indiscreet as to patch up *Munster's* Cosmography. I question not but some will think, that what I say of it proceeds from a Spirit of Revenge, and that, having been provoked by him, I intend at present to pour out the Fury of my Anger upon him. God shall be my Witness: And, truly, if he had offended me more than he did, I would not satirize, and speak ill of, a dead Man. Besides, at the end of his Life, acknowledging the Wrong, which he knew he had done, in printing those Books, wherein, against his Conscience, he asperged the Characters of good Men, and of those, who patronized and supported them; he sent for me, and, in the Presence of two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, and of his Physician, and Bookeller *Gabriel Buon*, after having kissed my Hands, he confessed publicly, that he felt his Conscience burthened for the blame he had laid on me; for which he asked my Pardon several times. As for me, I desired him, the best I could, not to think any more of it: forasmuch as we are all Men (2)."

[C] *La Popeliniere* speaks very ill of these two Authors.] I shall set down, somewhat at length, what he has said of them, and I hope, it will not displease those, who love to see things in the original Authors, and who would find it difficult to procure the Author, whom I quote. "These two Men,

sometimes Friends, and sometimes Enemies, have deserved the worse of Learning, as they were unworthy to treat of it. Nay, they were as destitute of Wit, Judgment, Memory, and all the Qualifications of a good Genius, as they were supplied with Boldness to interpret ill, and write worse, what they never understood. And, because some hasty Travels of the one, and the Itch of Writing, which possessed the other, made their Essays acceptable to the Vulgar, who neither will, nor can, take time to examine things well; they set up for Scribblers, at such a rate, that all the Printers of Paris, preferring their mean Capacity to all Judicious Works, strove to buy up, publish, and make them appear to all the World. And, tho' they were never well instructed in their Youth, nay, without any considerable Experience of the things of this World, and, moreover, poor and destitute of all the Means, which the most knowing Men have always called the Wings of Virtue; yet these universal Wits have passed through all Professions. There is no Language, or Science, but what they have prophaned. Nay, they have scribbled Histories, Particular, and Universal, according to their foolish Fancies. How can one help it? As all Sessions are attended with certain Accidents, which bring evil to All, and good to none, the Causes whereof are unknown to us, and cannot be imputed to the Faults of Men: So there have always been, and ever will be, certain private Men, in all States, who, being only fit to confound and spoil every thing, undertake nothing, but what will prejudice others, and profit no Body. These Men are like Itching, the Forerunner of a Sickness to Those, who are troubled with it. Their Hands itched; they could not forbear writing; not for the Public Good, but for their particular Profit; which they kept up with the wretched Labour of their unruly Pens. So that I have often lamented, that, France being so well provided with good Writers, such low Genius's, who can boast of nothing but an assiduous, and useless, Labour, should find People, who will throw away their Time in reading their Nonsense, their Annals, Histories, and Universal Geographies, contrived, formed, hatched, and published in their solitary Dens. Those, who do not take the Pains to inform themselves of the Particulars of the World, and chiefly to observe the Course, and Issue, of each Man's private Actions, cannot believe, how much prejudice *Belleforest* and *Thevet* have done to Youth, and consequently to the State; explaining abundance of Passages to ill, and many times in a quite contrary Sense; corrupting, and falsifying, Matters; and taking many things for granted, which they had ridiculously fancied in their own weak Brains. Without mentioning a World of other Impertinences, wherewith they have patched up their silly Writings. Neither of the two *Cato's* would in this have excused *Belleforest*, (though he boasted to have written as much as *St Augustine*) if Poverty made him speak like a Jay, that is, like a Beast. For he has shewed himself too brutish on all accounts towards Posterity (3)."

[D] *Ghilini* has committed a great many Faults, in a short Elogy.] What he said of our *Belleforest* contains, in all, but Twenty two Lines. These are his Errors: He takes *Cominges* for a City of *Calagne*: he affirms, that *Belleforest* published several Works in Latin, and, among others, *The Annals of France* in two Volumes; *The History of nine Kings of France*, whose

(3) *Popeliniere's* History of Histories, pag. 456.

whose Names were Charles; *The Universal History*, or an *Abridgement of Cosmography*. All this is false: Their Works, and all the other Books of This Author, were written in French. *Giblin* adds, that there is a *Catalogue of the Illustrious Men*, who have made themselves famous, in Monasteries, both by their Learnings, and their Actions, and *An History of the Holy Martyrs*, in three Volumes, written by This Author. But there is no manner of likelihood, that This Catalogue was ever printed. *La Croix du Maine* never saw it; and he knew only, that *Bellesforest* mentions it in the Hundred ninety third Leaf of his Cosmography. *Du Verdier Vau-Prison*, an intimate Friend of *Bellesforest*, says nothing of This Catalogue; and no one is ignorant, that Authors refer to Works, which they have not yet made Public. The same *du Verdier* informs us, that "The Life, Passion, and Burial of St Denis, the *Apostle*, and of his Companions, who were his fellow-Martyrs, collected out of divers Authors, by the late John, Doctor of Divinity, great Prior of the Abbey of St Denis in France, and done into French

"by *Bellesforest*, is printed in the Third Volume of the History of the Lives and Deaths of the Saints (4)." This is the notable ground, on which Three Volumes of the History of the Holy Martyrs are ascribed to *Bellesforest* by *Giblin*, not as a Translation, but as an Original. He attributes also the Translation of St Cyprian's Works to him. If he had committed *Vau-Prison*, he would have said there, that This Writer translated only some Treatises of St Cyprian (5), and that all the Works of That Saint were translated by *James Tixeret*. Lastly, *Giblin* is somewhat to be blamed for not knowing the Year of *Bellesforest*'s Death, and for placing it about the Year 1655. As for the excessive Praises, with which he crowns This Author's Memory, They might be reckoned among his Faults, were it not that many other Writers might lead him into This Profusion. I shall quote but one of Them. *René de Laing*, speaking of *Bellesforest*, says, He is a Man of great Reading, who is not ignorant of any Thing, which is left confused in Antiquity, the Passages of which he clears up with great Care, and in good Language (6).

(4) Du Verdier, pag. 372.

(5) Ibid. p. 51, 52.

(6) René de Laing, the memoir of History, by M. de Zurlauben, de Histor. Chronol. & Geograph. Part II, p. 172.

BELLEY, a City of France, and Capital of the Province of Bugei, is very ancient, since the Episcopal See was established there in the Year 412 (a). Consult the Dictionary of Moreri, and add to it what follows: "The Diocese of Belley — has four Towns, six large Boroughs, and more than Two hundred Villages, being extended ten Leagues in Diameter (b). The Dignity of a Prince of the Empire is added to That of Bishop of Belley; a Title, which was given by the Emperors to the Archbishop of Bezançon, and his three Comprovincials, or Suffragans, *Basil*, *Lausanne*, and *Belley*. The Sovereignty of the City of Belley, and it's Territory, which is pretty wide, belonged to the Bishop. But he was deprived of it gradually, by a powerful and neighbouring Prince, under the Disguise and Appearance of Protection. There are still extant, in the Archives of the Church, several Excommunications issued on this Occasion, and many others of Opposition, and Resistance; but, in these Cases, Right is on the side of Power (c)." Since That Time the Revenues of the Bishopric have greatly decreased; for "it's largest Possessions consisted in the Rights, which This Rebel Lordship has usurped, and which were confined almost wholly to the City (d)." This is what I borrow from a Work of Mr Camus, Bishop of Belley, published in 1644; in which he deduces these Facts, with some Observations, in order to refute a Monk, who had spoken disrespectfully of This Bishopric [A]. I find, in *Guichenon*, that *John de Passelaigue*, Bishop of Belley, obtained of *Lewis XIII*, in 1635, a Confirmation of all the Privileges, granted to the Bishops of Belley, by the Emperor *Frederic* — excepting however the Regale, and the coining of Money (e). This *John de Passelaigue* succeeded *John Peter Camus*, who began to govern This Diocese in the Year 1609, and who found many Disorders in the Convents [B], particularly in That of St Sulpice. I shall take Occasion to remark the

(a) Guichenon's Hist. of Burgundy, & Bugei, & Artois, & Part II, p. 12.

(b) John Peter Camus, Bishop of Belley, pag. 137, of his Anti-banlieu.

(c) Ibid. p. 138.

(d) Ibid.

(e) Guichenon, ubi supra, pag. 35, 36.

[A] Some Observations, in order to confute a Monk, who had spoken disrespectfully of This Bishopric.] This Monk had written a Book, entitled *The Anti-Camus*. At the Thirty ninth Page were These Words. It is very strange, that a little neglected Bishopric behind the Alps, whose Name is scarce to be met with in the Archives of the Church, and whose Pastor, for want of Employment at home (his District is so small) goes about preaching, like a Franciscan, should pretend, not only to equal, but to exalt itself above the Pope, to abolish their Order, and reform their Regulations. The Diocese is not so small, replies Mr Camus (1), but I can name to him five Archbishoprics, and more than Twenty five Bishoprics, in France, of smaller Extent; more than twelve of which the sole Provinces of Languedoc and Provence can furnish. I will prove to him twenty Archbishoprics, and an Hundred and twenty Bishoprics, in Italy, of smaller Extent, than the Diocese of Belley. — It is not behind the Alps, if you do not consider the Alps on the Side of Italy, in like manner, as, with regard to us, the Archbishopric of Turin is hid behind the Alps. Though it were in the Alps, Would it be the less considerable? How many noble Archbishoprics, and Bishoprics, are there in this Great World of Hills? *Ambrun*, *Torantaise*, *Grenoble*, *Gavanne* (2), *Maurienne*, *Syon*, *Lausanne*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Arles*, *Jorée*: All Dioceses of Note, Churches Famous, and celebrated for their Antiquity and Extent. — I will prove to him that the Antiquity of the Diocese, which he calls so small, is more than a thousand Years, and that

"there are, in France alone, more than thirty or forty Bishoprics of later Date. — Bishoprics are not to be measured by their Revenues: otherwife a Curacy of Sicily, which I could name, and which has but One Cure, with Thirty thousand Crowns per annum, would be a large Archbishopric (3)." Here are some particulars, which will gratify the Curiosity of several Readers, though they are not necessary to the Article of Belley.

[B] John Peter Camus found many Disorders in the Convents of the Diocese of Belley.] The following is part of the Description, which he gives of these Disorders. "There was An Abbey (4) of Monks, richly founded, whose Abbot was an Huguenot Captain, a married Man, and Governor of a neighbouring Fortress, who kept the whole Country about him in Awe and Fear (5)."

He took it into his Head to keep a Stud in the Convent, and "having collected a great Number of Mares, which are very large and fine in *Bresse*, he sent for Stallions from Spain and Germany, and large Asses from *Auvergne* which are of an enormous Size, in order to produce Mules by their Mixture with the Mares, according to the Method established in This Stud. — The Church, which was as large as a Cathedral, served as a Repository for Hay, Straw, and other Forrage, necessary for the Sustainance of these Animals, during four or five Months of the Winter, that the Earth is all covered with Snow. The Monks had but just the Liberty of part of the Choir about the Altar, to sing the Service in, where they continued to do it

(3) Ibid. p. 139.

(4) It is, according to d'Ar, That of St Sulpice, of the Order of Cîteaux.

(5) Anti-banlieu, pag. 35, 36.

(1) P. 137, of the Anti-banlieu.

(2) He should have said Geneva.

the pious Fraud, which was published concerning the Foundation of This Monastery [C].

"it with Negligence enough. In the Abbot's House were several Huguenot Soldiers, with their Trulls (a Baggage inseparable from the pretended Reformation of Those of the fifth Gospel); and there they said their Prayers, sung their Psalms, and lived, in short, a merry Life, like Reapers at Harvelt, Grape-gatherers, or Conquerors, when they divide the Spoils of their Enemies. — The pretended reformed Abbot, to stop the Mouths of the Monks, and prevent their Complaints, augmented their Prebends, or Canonical Portions, and, thro' Artifice, and worldly Prudence, caressed them extremely, admitting them to his Table in the Citadel, where he entertained them like an Abbot and a Captain, supporting them in their Humours, and protecting them against all the neighbouring Nobility. The Intimacy became so great, that they styled him *Our Abbot*, and He them *My Monks*, and said *My Abbey*, when he spoke of their House.

"You are not to think, that the Monks spent their Time in catechising the Soldiers, Governors of the *Stud*, and their Companies, which might have been formed into another Stud of Rational Brutes. — This Convent became *A Church Militant*: for you might see Monks a-hunting with Soldiers, each with his Musket on his Shoulder: the Monks never stirred abroad but upon large Horses, and the better according to the Permission and Indulgence of the Abbot, always well armed, with Sword and Pistol, and often with Carbine: they were seen every Day traversing the Country in This Equipage; insomuch, that it might be said of them, as of the *Scutamate*, in the Canticles, that they were Choirs of Warriours, and Battalions of Choristers (6).

(6) Ibid, p. 333.

This fine Management continued eight or nine Years. The Bishop sometimes threatened to inform the Parliament, or the King's Governor, or Lieutenant, of it, in order to put a Stop to such scandalous Proceedings: but the Monks, on the one side, made themselves wittier by their Exemptions and Privileges, than their Habits; and, on the other, threatened him with the Power of the Abbot, who, as a formidable Scourge, kept the Nobility, Church, and People of the Country, in awe. And, as a Proof of his Violence, and Power, he went so far, as even to make an Attempt on the Person of the Governor, who had a Man slain at his Feet, after the Manner related in the French Mercury. — The King, to punish this Attempt, commanded the Citadel to be razed; and the Tyrant was turned out of it, as well as of his Abbey; and afterwards, retiring among the Huguenots of Languedoc, from whence he sprang, he was assassinated by Those of the same Party, and his nearest Relations, during the Siege of Montauban. The Abbey was put into the Hands of a Professed Abbot of the same Order, who, at least, removed the Scandal of the Stud (7).

(7) Ibid, p. 334.

At the Foot of the same Hill, is a Convent of Nuns, of the same Order: of whom the above-named Monks call themselves the Fathers; and are indeed so; for they have the Direction and Visitation of them. Here are no traies, or postlepis, of a Cleyster, nor any kind of Regulation. It is a General Landing Place to all Companies; a true Watering-Place of Africa: and surprizing Intercourses are there carried on, under the Pretence of Relation and Conianguinity. Whenever The Captain-Abbot, mentioned above, came, with the Officers of his Regiment, to fire his Stud, he went down to pay a Visit to the Monastery of the Valley, where he was received with great Respect; and we may suppose, that he made them fine Exhortations from the ninth Verse of the seventh Chapter of the First to the Corinthians. Thus there was a perpetual Intercourse of Conversations, and Familiarities. — A continual Flux, and Reflux, of Companies; the Great entered, the Small went out; The Gate was open to All, without respect to Sex, or Age. — In short, Confusion reigned there; and the Wound became so desperate, for want of Judgment and Discretion, that Licentiousness was there taken for Innocent Freedom, and Libertinism supplied the Place of Liberty (8).

(8) Ibid.

In vain did the Bishop publicly exhort, and remonstrate, again and again, against these Abuses. "At last, he gave them to understand, that he was bound in Conscience not to suffer these Irregulari-

*ties any longer; since the Council of Trent had ordered the Bishops and Ordinaries to see that the Nuns keep their Vows, whatever Privileges their Orders might lay claim to: Having apprized them of this; do but hear the Vanity and Presumption of Two Reverends, who, at different Times, had had the Conduct of this Bessed Flock; and who expressly opposed This Reformation: the first replied, that the Council of Trent had been held by Bishops, and, consequently, that they were not bound to obey it, because their Order was privileged, and exempt from the Jurisdiction of Bishops, and that the Councils of Monks were their General Chapters. The Other, more artful, alledged, that This Council having consisted but of [trente] thirty Bishops, though there had been forty or fifty, it could have no Place in the Universal Church, of which the Monks made the most illustrious Part, the most perfect and complete, as being in a State of Perfection. There was One Nun, of a fine, I know not whether of a good Wit, who, being prepossessed (not to say prompted *) by these excellent Tutors, or rather Fathers, replied, one Day, to the Remonstrances of M. D. B. My Lord, You seem to me resolved to broil us all alive, though we have not deterred it. To which He replied readily, but coldly: My Sister, you plainly shew, by your Discourte, that you are very lively, and but little dead to yourself. I mean very little mortified: for, as The Fifth, which is yet alive, leaps from the Gridiron, and tumbles among the Coals, which a dead one does not do: So those Nuns, who are not well dead to the World, and whose Passions are alive, and often vivifying, chafe rather, like Salamanders and Pirallides, to live amidst the Fire of Conversation, according to the Thought of St Bernard, who compares a Monk, conversing with the World unhurt, to the Miracle of the three Children in the Furnace, than to remain enclosed within a Grate †, crucified with JESUS CHRIST, their Spouse. So little able were M. C. the Abbot, who succeeded the Captain, and all the Superiors of the Order, either to confine, or reform, these good Ladies, of whom, out of Decency and Modesty, I shall say no more, leaving the rest to the Imagination of the Reader, who, from what has been said, may form conjectures of what is hid under the Curtain of Silence (9).*

* The Original is a Play upon Words, signifying, pour ne dire Souffrance.

† The same Word (Grate) in French, signifies both a Gridiron, and a Grate of a Manufactory.

(9) Anti-basilic, p. 335.

The Book, from whence I borrow These Fragments, has not been omitted by Mr Baillet, in his curious List of ANTI's, any more than the ANTI-HERMITE, and ANTI-MOINE, of the same Mr Camus. He says of the two latter, that they shared so in the fate of the rest of this Author's Works, that it is scarce known, that there ever were such Books. If they continue running on, with the same Precipitation, as hitherto, to Annihilation, the Memory of them will very soon be effaced; and it will be difficult to preserve even their Names in Booksellers Catalogues (10). This is equally applicable to That entitled, *The Anti-Basilic*, in answer to the Anti Camus, by Olenix of Bourg-l'Abbe. I have, therefore, reason to believe, that the long Extracts, I have given of this Work, will be more agreeable, than if I had made use of a Reference, which would have been useless to the greatest Part of my Readers.

(10) Baillet's Anti's Art. 106.

It will be proper to take notice of some Instances of Neglect in the Narrative of Mr Camus. I. He does not Name the Huguenot Abbot, nor the Citadel, of which he was Governor. I supply this Defect, and say, that he speaks of *Peter d'Esclapart*, Lord of Boisse, Baron of Pardailan, Colonel of Horse of the Regiment of Champagne, and Governor of the Citadel of Bourg in Bresse. II. He was of Guienne, and not of Languedoc. III. The Disorder, he was guilty of, shall, if you please, continue eight or nine Years, but not in Sight of Mr de Bellei, who was not consecrated Bishop, till the Year 1669. Now the Citadel of Bresse was razed in the Year 1611 (11). IV. The King, at that time, was not, as yet, out of his Minority: V. And it cannot be said, that the Governor committed all these Outrages under the Minority of Lewis XIII.

(11) See Tom. II. of the French Mercury, pag. 133.

[C] *The pious Fraud, which was published concerning the Foundation of This Monastery.* "The Ancient

"cient Manuscript Chronicle of Savoy - - - - - imports, that *Amé*, the second of the Name, First Earl of Savoy, and Lord of Bugey, made a Vow to found an Abbey in his Estates, in order to obtain Issue; after which he had a Son, called *Humbert*, who falling sick, and being in danger of dying, before the Accomplishment of the Vow, his Father built, and founded, the Abbey of St *Sulpice*, in Bugey, at the Persuasion of the Councils "of Savoy, his Wife." The Words of the Chronicle are These.

It happened one Night, that the Countess, as she lay in Bed, figured several Times; The Earl enquired the Reason of it. Sir, said she, I fear the loss of our Son Humbert. Why? replied He: Because, said the Lady, you have made a Vow to our Lord to found an Abbey, in case God grants us Issue, and you have forgotten to perform it, and seem not to care for it. Then the Earl replied; Doubt not, but I will, shortly, accomplish it, God willing. Then he sought for a proper Place; and, finding it, he built a fine Abbey on a Mountain, situated in Bugey, under the Name of the Confessor, St Sulpice; which he properly endowed, and established an Abbot, and Monks, to praise God for the Issue he had granted him. Parasin, in his History of Savoy, has exactly followed the Manuscript Chronicle of Savoy; and adds, that, when the Abbey was finished, and the Vow accomplished, the young Prince of Savoy recovered; placing the Time of this Foundation before the Year 1118 (12). Guichenon refutes all this very solidly: He says, that he found, in the Archives of St Sulpice, that, in the Year 1130, "Fifteen Monks, of the Order of Cîteaux, and one Bernard, who was their Superior, went to the Mountains of Bugey, by Permission of Hugb, Abbot of Pontigni, with a Design of doing

"Penance there, and leading an austere Life; and that *Amé*, the first Earl of Savoy, who was preparing to go to the Holy Land, in order to engage their Stay, granted them Letters, and Privileges. - - - - As to the Occasion of the Foundation, it is certain, that the Historians of Savoy are mistaken, in publishing, that it was after the Birth of the young Earl Humbert, Son of the said *Amé* - - - - for the Grants of Earl *Amé* import the direct contrary; the first of which, dated at Yenne, in the Presence of Pontius, Bishop of Belley, and Humbert, Bishop of Geneva, has these Words: *Ignitur quicumque ista legerit, & audierit, hoc donum me fecisse cognoscit, tempore quo in montanis fratribus hospitatio retinebatur, scilicet antequam de uxore mea haurissem infantem; i. e. Be it known to all, who shall read, or hear, these Presents, that I bestowed this Gift, at the time, when I entertained the Brothers in the Mountains; that is, before I had a Child by my Wife: and the second; *Noverit omnis tam extraneus, quam propinquus, hanc meam donationem fecisse, antequam de uxore mea, Matildis nomine, liberum aliquem procreassem; i. e. Be it known to All, Strangers as well as Natives, that this Grant was made before my Wife Matilda had brought me any Children (13).*"*

(13) Ibid. pag. 102.

I cannot persuade myself, that Chance, or Ignorance, produced the Falshood, which Guichenon has refuted. It is rather the Effect of the Artifice of the Ecclesiastics. They bring Water to their Mill whatever way they can; and to encourage the Great to build Monasteries, or give pious Donations, they forge Instances of Fruitfulness, or Recovery, or some other temporal Advantage, which they ascribe to a Liberal Piety.

* Book III, chap. 41.

(12) Guichenon's History of Savoy, and Bugey, Continuat. of Part II, pag. 101.

BELOY (PETER de (a), Advocate-General in the Parliament of Toulouse, had not yet this Employ, when he wrote for the Rights of the King of Navarre, against the League. If he had been a Protestant, he would have done nothing, in This, but what had been very natural, and required no extraordinary Virtue; but, as he was a Roman Catholic (b), and at Paris, when he published That Work against the League, he ought to be looked upon with some Admiration. That Work is entituled, *A Catholic Apology against the Libels, Declarations, Councils, and Consultations, made, written, and published, by the Leaguers, Disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom of France, who have taken up Arms, since the Decease of Monseigneur, the King's only Brother*; by E. D. L. I. C. It came out in the Year 1585, and was translated into Latin [A]: The Writers of the League called it an infamous Libel [B], and the Author found himself exposed to a severe Persecution [C]. He was a learned Civilian,

(a) He is G. d. d. and n. r. Peter Bellot.

(b) See The Novenary Chronology of Cayet, Tom. I, fol. 17, verso.

[A] His Catholic Apology was translated into Latin [I] have seen two Translations of it in That Language. One of them, if we believe the Title, was printed, at Paris, by James Petit Chou, 1586. In the other, we find neither the Place of the Impression, nor the Printer's Name; but the Title is longer than in the Original; and there is an Advertisement of the Translator.

[B] The Leaguers called it an infamous Libel.] See the Book, entituled, *An Answer of the true French Catholics to the Advertisement of the English Catholics for the Exclusion of the King of Navarre from the Crown of France*. The Edition, which I make use of, is of the Year 1589. On the back of the Title-page, you find a Catalogue of the Diffamatory Libels, at which That Answer is levelled: The Catholic Apology by Belloy is the Third of Those Libels. I have seen a particular Answer to the chief Heads of That Work of Belloy, which passes for a Piece of Bellarmin's. The Author calls himself *Franciscus Romulus*. He neither attacks his Adversary, about the Genealogy of the House of Bourbon, nor about the Bastardy, which was objected to Henry IV, by reason of his Mother's Marriage with the Duke of Cleves; nor about the Dispute of the Preference of the Uncle to the Nephew; but reduces all to Religion, and to the Foundation of the Bull, which declared the King of Navarre to have forfeited the Succession, and to be incapable of reigning, only on account of his Heresy. The first thing, which *Franciscus Romulus* undertakes to shew, is, that the Author of the Apology is no Catholic, as he boasts himself to be, but a meer Heretic, or perhaps an Atheist. Nos igitur, us ejus vultibus infirmamus, demonstrabimus.

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mus primum Auctorem Apologiæ falso sibi Catholici nomen assumere, cum aut hæreticus, aut fortasse etiam Atheus sit (1). This it is to be over-fond of certain particular Doctrines, which, at the bottom, are not essential to Religion. They, who are fond of these particular Doctrines, impudently maintain, that whoever opposes them is a False Brother, a Prevaricator, a Spy, a Traytor, and, to say all in a Word, an Atheist. In all Communions, there are some such opinionated Persons, without excepting the Protestants, who have quitted France. Bellarmin may serve to shew them their Illusion; for He, whom he accused of Heresy, and whom he suspected of Atheism, always professed the Catholic Religion, like a very good Man. Here is a Passage of Anthony Arnauld: "Who wrote That outrageous Answer against the Catholic Apology, but the Jesuits, who industriously published the most false and scandalous Things imaginable against the Person, and Rights, of his present Majesty (2)?"

[C] He found himself exposed to a severe Persecution.] Cayet relates, that, at the time of his writing his Book (3), they drew up a Parallel between the chief Writer of the Royalists, and the chief Writer of the Leaguers (4). He means Peter Belloy, and Lewis d'Orleans. It was said, "that both of them published their Books without their Names; He, who wrote for the League, was more eloquent, but a Calumniator; He, who wrote for the King of Navarre, was more learned, and a true Frenchman. The Writer of the League, contrary to the Royalist, was first rewarded for his Writings, and was made Advocate-General in the Sovereign Court of the Kingdom, during the Power of the League;

(1) *Franciscus Romulus*, Respondens ad præcipua capita Apologiæ, quæ falso Catholici inscribitur, pag. 5.

(2) Arnauld's Plea against the Jesuits, in 1594, pag. 23.

(3) That is, in the Year 1603.

(4) Novenary Chronology, Tom. I, fol. 20, verso.

(c) Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 657. See also Thuanus, lib. 10, pag. 628.

(d) See Remark [C].

(c) See Remark [E].

(6) Thuanus, lib. 93, pag. 251, says it was by the King's Order.

(7) Thuanus speaks of it, lib. 82, pag. 33.

(8) Luke xvi, 25.

lian, and a Man of great Reading. He had already published some other Books [D]. *Du Plessis Mornai* acknowledges him for the true Author of the *Catholic Apology* (c). I shall produce the Fragment of a Letter, which will be a good Supplement to This Article [E].

I add, to what I have already said, the true Duration of his Imprisonment. *Cayet* is satisfied with saying, that it lasted more than two Years (d); but *Beloy* relates, that it continued four Years. I shall produce his Words, which will serve as a Supplement to the List, I give, of his Works [F].

"and since he has met with much Trouble and Vexation. . . . But He, who wrote in defence of the Majesty of Kings, had Trouble and Afflictions, and was imprisoned in the beginning. In the Year 88, (5) he was clapt up in the Jail belonging to the Parliament (6). After the Death of the Duke of Guise, he was removed, and strictly kept in the Bastile for two Years; and, having found means to escape, he fled to *St Dennis*, where he found *Monf. de Vic*, Governor for the King, who received him, presented him to his Majesty; and, for a Recompence of his Troubles, he is at this Day Advocate-General in one the Parliaments of this Kingdom (7)." The Fate of these two Authors, was, therefore, an Image of what was said to the *Rich Man* (8); but it was an imperfect one; for *Lewis d'Orleans* prospered again, after having endured some Fatigues, much more inconsiderable, than what he deserved, by reason of his furious Rebellions.

[D] He had already published some other Books.] *La Croix du Maine* mentions the four following: *A Declaration of the Right of lawful Succession to the Kingdom of Portugal, belonging to the Queen-Mother of the Most Christian King, at Antwerp, and at Paris, 1582, in 8vo.* *A Panegyric or Remonstrance for the Senecal and Judges . . . of Toulouse, against the King's Notaries, and Secretaries of the said City, at Paris, 1582, in 4to.* *A Verbal Petition for the above-said Lords, and Officers of Toulouse, containing an Apology for, and Defence of, the Advertisement, published in the Name of the Doctors Regents of the University of Toulouse, at Paris, 1583, in 8vo.* *A brief Explication of this present Year 1583, according to the Gregorian Calendar, at Paris, 1583, in 8vo.* *La Croix du Maine* adds, that a Work of the same *Beloy* was printing at Paris, in 1584. viz. *A Computation of the Times since the Creation of the World, till 1582, divided into two several Columns; and that he would speak, in another Place, of the Latin Works of This Author.* The Catalogue of the Bodleian Library mentions two Books; *Petri Belii variorum Juris Civilis, liber 4. & Disputatio de successione ab intestato, &c. at Paris, 1583, and the Collation of the Edicts of Pacification with the Explication of the said Edicts, at Paris, in 1600, in 8vo.* *Beloy* is Author of a Commentary on the Edict, which ordered the uniting of the King's Patrimony to the Crown-Lands, at Toulouse, 1608, in 8vo.

[E] A Fragment of a Letter, which will be a good Supplement to this Article.] Here you have what the Author of the Notes on the Confession of *Sanci*, and on the *Catholicism*, was pleased to write to me; "I have a Book, which might have given you much Light concerning the famous Civilian, *Peter Beloy*: The Title of it is; *A Reply to the Answer, which the Leaguers have published against the Examination, which was drawn up, of their pretended Discourse concerning the Salic Law of France, 1587.* There is in it an ample and fine Genealogy of *Peter Beloy*, in honour of That Learned Man, and which proves him a Gentleman of a Family originally of *Bretagne*, and transplanted into *Languedoc*, and elsewhere; but the most singular thing, I find in it, is, that it appears, that *Peter Beloy* was already Prisoner in the 1587; and, consequently, that it was King *Henry III.* who caused him to be imprisoned, in compliance to the *Guises*, who accused him, moreover, of being a *Shuffler*, and a Heretic, and who had already caused him to be

accused, the foregoing Year, before the King, by a Bishop, — whom I suspect to be *G. Rozze*, of having wrote the Book, for which, *Thuanus* informs us, that *Francis le Breton*, who was the Author of it, was hanged, in 1586. It appears, there, also, that *Beloy* was of a Family, whereof all the Members, and particularly himself, had always been good Catholics; that, at the Age of Twenty one Years, he was named Regent of the University of *Toulouse*, by the University itself, and by the Parliament; that, afterwards, after having performed the Function of an Advocate, four or five Years, at *Toulouse*, he was made Counsellor in the President of That City, with Marks of a most honourable Distinction by the Parliament of *Paris*; and that, what had given an Advantage against him, at *Paris*, to his Enemies, the Leaguers, was, that, during this long Abode, which he was obliged to make there, as a Deputy of his Brethren, to the Court (9), his Zeal for his Prince, and his Country, had moved him to oppose several ill Designs of the League. Moreover, I must observe, that, since it is certain, that he was already a Prisoner, in 1587, there is no Reason to say, that he was not imprisoned 'till 1588. *Mr Menage* has quoted a Discourse at the opening of one of the Settings of Parliament, spoken by *Peter Beloy*, in the Year 1609 (10). The Author of this Letter has inserted part of these Facts in the second Edition of his Notes on the Confession of *Sanci* (11), and he observes one thing, which I ought not to omit; which is, that our *Beloy* was born in the City of *Montauban* (12), and that his three elder Brothers were killed in the King's Service against the Huguenots.

[F] This Remark will serve as a Supplement to the List — of his Works.] The Epistle Dedicatory (13) of his Exposition of *Daniel's Seventy Weeks* contains these Words. "Finding myself at Leisure, during the last Summer, I was pressed, and almost compelled, by my Friends, to look over again, and review, part of *The Computation of Times* (14), which I formerly drew up in the Prison of the Bastille of *Paris*, where I was confined during the four Years Tyranny of the League, in order to the Publication of This Essay." Conclude from this, that he would have published other Works of this Nature, and the more from his calling this little Dissertation on *Daniel's Weeks*, *The first Essay of his Historical Discourses*. We must, therefore, add this Dissertation to the Catalogue of *Beloy's* Works. It is entitled, *An Exposition of the Prophecy of the Angel Gabriel, touching the seventy Weeks, described by the Prophet Daniel, in the ninth Chapter of his Prophecies, by Mr Peter de Beloy, &c. at Toulouse, 1605, in 8vo.* The following have, likewise, been omitted. Of the Origin and Institution of several Orders of Knight-hood, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular, dedicated to *Monseigneur* the Dauphin of *Viennois*, Duke of *Bretagne*; at *Montauban*, for *Dennis Hautin*, 1604, in 8vo. An Arrêt of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, pronounced in Appeal as of a Grievance reprehended by *Father John Journe*, a Monk of the Order of *St Dominic*, and Provincial of the said Order in the Province of *Toulouse*, on the Proceeding against him, ordered by the Bishops of *Condom* and *d' Aure*, containing *The Pleading on this Affair*, by *Mr Peter de Beloy*, Counsellor and Advocate-General of the King in the said Parliament, at *Paris*, according to the Copy printed at *Toulouse*, in 1612, in 8vo (15).

(9) *Fr an Affair against the Notaries of Toulouse.*

(10) *Menage's Crigine of the French Tongue, at the Word Chaproux.*

(11) Page 20, 21. Edit. of 1699.

(12) I had made him a Native of Toulouse, on the Authority of *la Croix du Maine.*

(13) It is added to *Mr Brulart de Sillery*, Keeper of the Seals.

(14) See, above, in Remark [D].

(15) Taken from a Manuscript Memoir, communicated by *Mr Lancelot*, of the *Mazarine Library* at *Paris*.

B E L O T (N.), Advocate in the King's Privy-Council, under the Reign of Lewis XIII, published a Book, which gave occasion to place him, with little Honour, in the famous *Petition of the Dictionaries* [A]. He undertook to prove, that our Language ought not to be made use of in learned Works, alledging, among other Reasons, that the communicating the Secrets of Sciences to the People has produced great Evils. He promised another Work [B], wherein he was to shew the Particulars of That Proof.

[A] He published a Book, which gave Occasion to place him --- in the famous *Petition of the Dictionaries*.] Mr Pellisson makes mention of it: "At that time, if I am not mistaken, the Sieur Belot, Advocate, dedicated also a Book to the Academy, which I could not find, and which is not mentioned in the Registers, entituled, *An Apology for the Latin Tongue*; and it was That, which gave occasion to This fine Passage in the *Petition of the Dictionaries*.

"La pauvre langue Latiale
"Alloit être trouffée en male,
"Si le bel Advocat Belot, &c. (1)."

(1) Pellisson's History of the French Academy, p. 195, 196.

What Mr Pellisson means by &c. *cætera* contains eleven Verses, which are these;

Du Barreau le plus grand salot,
N'en eust pris en main la defense,
Et protégé son innocence.
En quoy, certes, & sa bonté,
Et son zele, & sa charité,
Se firent d'autant paroître,
Qu'il n'a l'honneur de la connoître;
Semblable à ces preux Chevaliers,
Ces Paladins Avanturiers,
Qui, defendant des Inconnus,
Ont porté leur nom jusqu'aux nuës.

*Thy Language, Latium, ill had fared;
But Belot, Advocate prepared,
Thy Patron stands, Thy strong Defence,
And vouches for Thy Innocence.
In truth, Belot, a generous Friend,
A Tongue, he knows not, to defend.
Like those adventurous Knights of old,
Don Quixots so renown'd and bold;
Who, fighting for a Fair unknown,
Great Prowess have in Combat shewn.*

I have That Book, which Mr Pellisson could not find; and I am going to say something of it; for it must be but little known, since, in the Year 1650 (2), it escaped the most curious Enquirers. The Title of it is: *An Apology for the Latin Tongue, against the Preface of Monsieur de la Chambre, in his Book of new Conjectures about Digestion, dedicated to Monseigneur*

Seigneur Seguer, Chevalier, Chancellor of France. It was printed, at Paris, in the Year 1637, in 8vo, and contains about eighty Pages, including the Epistle Dedicatory, the Preface, &c. The Author says (3), that he was forced to publish it, and tells the occasion of it. "You must know, that Monsieur de la Chambre --- having obliged me to give him my Opinion concerning his first Treatise, my Freedom made me find Fault with him as to the Language; and, having, nevertheless, continued to write in French, he thought himself obliged to prefix a Preface to his Book, entituled, *New Conjectures about Digestion*, in favour of our Language, against the Latin, which, being addressed to me, under the Name of Reader, I found myself obliged to answer it by this Apology, which my Friends got out of my Hands, by making use of the Authority of such Persons, as might command me to give it to the Public (4). At the end of his Book, he added the Letter, which he wrote to the Gentlemen of the French Academy.

(4) Belot, Preface, fol. A. ii.

[B] He promised another Work.] Note, that he would have Mr Seguer interest himself in This Cause for political Reasons. *The Welfare of the State*, said he, and *That of Religion* are concerned in it. According to his Account, the ancient Romans suffered by having used the vulgar Language in every thing. "Such are the Effects, which the Secrets of the Learned, unseasonably discovered to the People, have produced among the Romans, and whereof the Example would be as dangerous to our Monarchy, as it was prejudicial to That Empire. I omit the fine Considerations, which might be drawn from each Science, and which would make it more clearly appear, of what Moment it is to keep them secret, or, at least, not to declare them but to such Persons, as may be qualified for it. You will find matter of Wonder, and Astonishment, in a Treatise of Politics, which I have entituled, *France, or The perfect Monarchy*, when you come to consider, that the Knowledge of Philosophy, imparted to the People, has produced so many Busy-Bodies, and Sophisters, the Knowledge of Divinity to many Heretics, and Atheists, That of Morality to many Hypocrites, and false Virtues, and That of Physic (because 'tis professed in our Language) to many Quacks, and Murderers, who kill more Men than the Plague, and the War, both together, and who have no other way of livelihood, than That of killing so many People with Impunity (5). It is not useless to preserve the Memory of such false turns of the human Mind; They are Poisons, which may serve as Remedies.

(5) Belot's Apology, pag. 28, & sequ.

B E M B U S (P E T E R), a noble Venetian, Secretary to Leo X [A], and afterwards Cardinal, was one of the best Writers of the XVIth Century; though it must be agreed, that he made himself sometimes ridiculous, by an affected way of making use only of ancient Latin Words [B]. His History of Venice was very much censured

[A] He was Secretary to Leo X.] He wrote a great many Letters for That Pope; he was handsomely rewarded for them; and, besides, he had the Honour of being looked upon as the Author of all Those Letters; for they came out under his Name, and with Those, which he had wrote for himself. The latter are divided into six Books, and the others into sixteen. Leo X had another Secretary, who was as great a Purist as Bembus (1). He made choice of them before he came out of the Conclave, where he was promoted to the Papacy (2). Mr Gravelot, the Advocate, would have published, with some Notes, the Letters, which they wrote for That Pope, if an untimely Death had not put a stop to That Work.

(1) It was James Salotti, who was afterwards Cardinal.

(2) Bembus, Hist. rerum Venetar. in fine.

[B] Made himself sometimes ridiculous by an affected way of making use only of ancient Latin Words.] "How many Follies has the Affectation of making

use only of Cicero's Words, and of what is called pure Latinity, caused certain Italian Authors to commit? Who would not laugh to hear Bembus say, that a Pope was elected by the Favour of the Immortal Gods, *Deorum immortalium beneficium*? I take these Words from the Author of the *Art of Thinking* (3). Before him, Justus Lipsius had judiciously, and pleasantly, criticized Bembus's Latinity (4). He blames him, among other things, for having said, that the Senate of Venice wrote to the Pope; *Put your Trust in the Immortal Gods, whose Vicar you are on Earth: — ut fidas Diis immortalibus, quorum vicem geris in terris*. After this, we ought not to wonder, that he made use of the Word *Goddess*, speaking of the Holy Virgin. It is in a Letter (5), where Pope Leo X reproaches the Inhabitants of Recanati, for having given bad Timber for the Building of our Lady of

(3) Art of Thinking, Part III, chap. 19, pag. 366. Edit. of Amsterdam, 1685.

(4) Lipsius, Epist. 57, Centur. II, Miscellan. pag. 177.

(5) The 1^{re} of the 8th Book, Lett. 110.

centured by *Lipſius*, upon That Account. It has been alſo criticized by others, with reſpect to Sincerity (a). His Letters have not been more ſpared [C]. He began betimes to run the hazard of being an Author [D]; and he was very ſucceſſful in it; for his *Azolari* had an extraordinary Run (b). He was much taken notice of at the Courts of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and of the Duke of *Urbino*, which were then the moſt polite of That Country, and the Rendezvous of the fineſt Wits (c). He publickly teſtified his Gratitude for the Eſteem, with which the Duke and Ducheſs of *Urbino* honoured him, for he wrote a Book in their Praise (d). He was a good *Italian*, and *Latin*, Poet; but he was juſtly centured for having publiſhed ſome looſe and obſcene Poems [E]. He is one of Thoſe, who have been accuſed of having ſpoken

(a) See Bodin, Method. Hiſtor. cap. 4. p. 48. 93.

(b) See Remark [D].

(c) Joh. Caſa in vita Bembi.

Loretto, and commands them to furniſh better, *leſt*, ſays he, it ſhould ſeem, that you deride us, and the Goddeſs herſelf; — Ne tum nos, tum etiam *Deam* ipſam, inani lignorum inutilium donatione, luſſe videamini. The Words, which Chriſtianity has conſecrated, as, *fides*, *excommunication*, ſeem barbarous to This Writer; he chooſes rather to make uſe of *perſuaſio* for *fides*, and of *aqua & igni interdictio* for *excommunication*. *Lipſius* finds ſome other Faults in him, as ſome *Italicisms*, and alſo ſome *Solecisms*. The ſame *Lipſius*, in his Notes on the ninth Chapter of the firſt Book of his Politics, comprehends, in a few Words, what he had more amply ſhewed in the above-cited Letter. Among other things, he ſays; “Cum tam curioſe à verbis ſibi caverit, repetitio alibi, quæ non dicam *Tulliana* non ſunt, ſed *vix Latina*. — Notwithſtanding his great Care in the Choice of his Words, I meet with ſome, which are not only not *Ciceronian*, but ſcarce *Latin*.” The Phraſe *aſſerre nuove*, which he criticizes, would be more pardonable in a *Dutchman*, becauſe the ſame Word in *Dutch*, which ſignifies to bring, ſignifies alſo to carry, which creates ſometimes very pleaſant Expreſſions from *Dutchmen*, who begin to ſpeak *French*. The Hiſtory of *Venice*, which *Lipſius* criticized ſo much as to the Style, appeared, to our Mr *Balzac*, the Work of a mean Wit, and of a dry and grovelling Author (6).

(6) See his Diſſertation on a Speech, ſpoken at Rome, pag. 225. It is the 4th Diſſertation of his Miscellaneous Works.

▼ Comment. in Ep. Pauli ad Philem. cap. 18.

(7) Lanzius, Ort. contra Italiam, pag. 783.

(8) That it, from 1462, to 1485.

(a) Bembo, Epit. 6, l. 2.

(10) Joh. Caſa, in vita Bembi, pag. 143.

[C] His Letters have not been more ſpared. His Friends have been challenged to ſhew any one of them, that do not groſſly trepaſs againſt Grammar, and that is not remarkable for ſome egregious Childiſhneſs, and moreover without any Solidity. “Ut cæterum carminum ejus obſcenitatem taceam, quid ejus epistolæ ineptius, & quidem illis quas Pontificis maximi nomine & de rebus maximis ſcripſit, & ad viros maximos? Mentiar ego cum *Scipione Gentili* *, & luam gravi poena, ſi vel unam mihi in tot illis voluminibus Epistolam offendant amatores ejus, quæ non inſigni aliquo vitio Grammatico laboret, aut puerili aliqua ineptia conſpicua ſit & demonſtrabiliſ. Ne quid de rebus ipſis atque ſcientiis dicam ſipientie inaniffimis, & mire languidiſ, & (repetendum eſt enim, quod ejus proprium maxime eſt) ineptiſ (7). — To ſay nothing of the other Objections to be met with in his Verſes, what can be more trifling, than his Letters, even Thoſe, which he wrote, in the Pope's Name, on Affairs of the greateſt Importance, and to the greateſt Men? Let me paſs for a Liar with *Scipio Gentilis*, and ſuffer great Punishment, if his Fanciers can ſhew me but one Letter in ſo many Volumes, which does not ſomewhere remarkably offend againſt Grammar, or is not conſpicuous for ſome childiſh Impertinence. I ſay nothing of the Subject Matter of them, and That ſurprizing Emptineſs, and (I muſt again repeat it, as being peculiar to him) That Impertinence.”

[D] He ventured betimes to run the Hazard of being an Author. During the three Years (8) he was in Sicily, a Scholar of *Conſtantine Laſcaris*, Profeſſor of the Greek Tongue, at *Mefſina*, he compoſed a *Latin Treatiſe* de Monte *Ætna*, which was printed in 1485 (9). Being returned home to his Father, he followed him ſome Years after to the Court of *Heracles d'Ef*, Duke of *Ferrara*. He made himſelf beloved, and reſpected, there; and it was at this time, that he wrote his *Azolari*. They are Diſcourſes on Love, ſo called, becauſe it is ſuppoſed, that they were made in the Caſtle of *Azolo*. He was, then, but twenty ſix Years of Age (10). This *Italian* Book had great Succeſs, both among Men and Women; one would have paſt for a Novice in Italy, who ſhould have been a Stranger to

it. “Eos libros tanta hominum, mulierum etiam, medius fidius, approbatione, & tanquam plauiſu exceptos recentes eſſe meminimus, ut exemplo cuncta eos Italia cupidiffimè læſtitur, atque didicerit: ut non ſatis urbani aut elegantes eſſi haberentur, quibus Aſulanæ illæ diſputationes eſſent incognitæ (11).” It has been printed ſeveral Times. One *John Martin*, Secretary to Cardinal de *Lenoncourt*, made a *French* Tranſlation of it, which he publiſhed in the Year 1545.

He tranſlated it from the *Italian* Edition of the Year 1540, which had been preceded by three or four others, ſince That of the Year 1515; and he obſerves this, to prevent any Perſon from wondering at the Differences, which were between his Tranſlation, and the Original, printed by *Aldus*, in the Year 1515 (12). “If they pleaſe to conſider, ſays he (13), that *Bembo's* Work has been three or four times reprinted ſince That Time, and that the ſaid Signior *Bembo* has cut off ſome things from it, which ſeemed ſuperfluous to him, and alſo that the laſt Impreſſion (which I have followed,) is of the Year 1540, made, (as it is to be ſuppoſed) by his Authority, and Permiſſion; my Opinion is, that they will not ſay, that I have wronged the Author in any thing.” This was of ſome uſe to *Gaffarel*, who, finding himſelf centured for employing his Pen in Matters ill-becoming a Clergyman, excuſed himſelf by the Authority of divers Examples; and by name, That of the *Azolari* of Cardinal *Bembo* (14). It might have been objected to him, that That Work was compoſed by a young Gentleman, who was not yet engaged in the Eccleſiaſtical State: but he might have replied, that the Author publiſhed a new Edition of it, after his Cardinalſhip.

[E] He has been centured for having publiſhed ſome looſe and obſcene Poems. We have ſeen already (15), what *Lanzius* reproaches him with; here is a Paſſage of *Scaliger*: “*Petrus Bembo* elegiaco (carmine) eam partem corporis hominis celebravit, ſine qua nulla obſcenitas foret. Legatur ejus Elegia, cujus initium:

Ante alias omnes, meus hic quas educat hortus,
Una puellares illicet herba manus:

“quod poemâ merito vocare poſſis obſceniffimam elegantiam, aut elegantiffimam obſcenitatem. Peter & quadraginta diſtichorum eſt (16). — — — — — *Bembo* celebrated, in *Elegiac Verſe*, That Part of the Body, without which there would be no Obſcenity. Read his *Elegy*, which begins thus:

Of all the Plants, which in my Garden grow,
This moſt the Female Touch deſires to know.

“which Poem may deſervedly be called The Moſt Obſcene Elegance, or The Moſt Elegant Obſcenity. It conſiſts of Forty one Diſtichs. *Tibullus* and *Ménage*, ſhall ſerve as new Witneſſes; the former by theſe Words; “*Illius* (Bembi) multa licentioſius, ut temporum nequitia & domini cui ſerviebat mores ſerebant, ſcripta extant (17); — — — — — There are extant ſeveral looſe Compoſitions of the ſame *Bembo*, which are owing to the Vice of the Times, and the Manners of the Maſter, whom he ſerved.” And the latter by this Remark: “If it was true, that *John della Caſa* was excluded from the Cardinalſhip for his Poem, Cardinal *Bembo* was more fortunate than He; for the licentious Verſes, which he wrote in his Youth, and which are yet more licentious than Thoſe of the *Capitolo del Furno*, did not hinder him from being made a Cardinal (18).”

[F] — — — and

(11) *Id. ib.*

(12) *Tirre* in the 183d Page of the 1st Part of the Catalogue of the Library of Nicola Heinſius, Gli Agliani di Pietro Bembo. Ald. 1505. It is certain, that they were printed in That Year. See the 8th Letter of the 4th Book of Bembo.

(13) *Joh. Martin's* Advertisement to the Reader. It is to be found at the end of the Book.

(14) *Gaffarel's* Preface to the Unheard of Carities.

(15) See above, *Crit.* (7).

(16) *Scaliger*, Conſultat. Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 323.

(17) *Thuanus*, lib. 3, ſub fin. pag. 66.

(18) *Ménage*, Anti-Bailet, cap. 120.

spoken of the Word of God with great Contempt [F]. Perhaps he only found fault with the Style of it. Authors differ about the Sex of his Children [G]; but they agree, in saying they were illegitimate, and three in Number. One of his Letters informs us, that his two Grandmothers lived a hundred Years [H]. He died in the Year 1547 (e), in his Seventy-seventh Year (f). *Speron Sperone* says, he set a great Value on the Knowledge of Languages [I]. If this Article be short, it is because *Moreri* has spoken at large of Cardinal Bembo.

Upon the Death of his Mother, he wrote a very fine consolatory Letter to his Father BERNARD BEMBUS. He says in it, that she had lived Forty eight Years with her Husband, in a Concord, which no Complaint had ever interrupted [K]; and he seems to be very much afflicted for the Loss of This good Mother. He

(e) Thuan.
Hist. lib. 3.
sub. fin.

(f) And not
in his 68th
Year, as
Moreri says,
after having
observed
that he was
born, in
1470, and
that he died
in 1457.

(27) Trif.
fact. dilt.
p. Thuanus.
Tom. I. pag.
11.

(28) John
Cafa, in Vita
Bembi.

(29) Petrus
Bembus, E-
pist. vi. lib. I.
pag. 426.

(30) Id. E-
pist. i. lib. v.
pag. 559.

(31) Ibid.
pag. 562.

(32) Id. ib.
pag. 560.

[F] ----- and for having spoken of the Word of God with great Contempt.] I can go back no farther, than a German Author, whose Name is *Thomas Lanzius*, who published several Speeches, for, and against, the Nations of Europe. He says, without quoting any Body (19), that *Bembus* advised a Friend not to read St Paul's Epistles, for fear of spoiling his Style. "Advertite, auditores, inepti hominis impie-

"tatem cum pari stultitia conjunctam. Is siquidem
"Epistolae omnes Pauli palam condemnavit, easque
"deflexo in contumeliam vocabulo Epistolaeas est
"ausus appellare, cum amico autor esset ne illas attingeret, vel, si cepisset legere, de manibus ejiceret, si elegantiam scribendi & eloquentiam adamaret (20).
"----- *Observe, Gentlemen, the equal Impiety and*
"Folly of the Man. He openly condemned All St Paul's
"Epistles, and contemptuously dared to stile them Epi-
"stoles, advising a Friend not to meddle with them,
"or, if he should begin to read them, presently to
"throw them by, if he loved Elegance of Style, and
"Eloquence." Others pretend, that, having heard,
that *Sadolet* explained the Epistle to the Romans, he said to him; Let these Fooleries alone, they do not become a grave Man: *Omitte has nugas, non enim de-cent gravem virum tales ineptiae* (21). We shall see, in another place (22) a Story, which was spread abroad, which would induce one to think, that he did not believe the Immortality of the Soul.

[G] Authors differ about the Sex of his Children.] *Moreri* gives him two Sons and a Daughter; but *Imperialis* observes, that *Bembus* kept a Concubine all his Life-time, by whom he had three Daughters (23). It is certain, that *Bembus* had a Son, whose Name was *Torquato*, to whom *Manutius* dedicated his *Virgil*. I do not question but that *Imperialis* is mistaken; for *John della Cafa*, who wrote the Life of *Bembus* with great Application, says expressly, that his Mistress had two Sons by him, to wit, *Lucilio* and *Torquato*, and a Daughter, whose Name was *Helena*, who was married to *Peter Gradenigue*. He remarks also, that This Mistress was a fine Woman, and that *Peter Bembus*, a well-shaped, polite, gallant, and courteous Man, was greatly beloved in all Companies. During his Abode at Ferrara, Duke *Hercules d'Este*, and *Lucretia Borgia*, the Wife of *Alphonfus d'Este*, shewed him a particular Friendship (24).

[H] One of his Letters informs us, that his two Grandmothers lived a hundred Years.] This Letter being short, I shall set it down at length (25): It appears by it, that *Bembus* would willingly have sacrificed these two old Women to the Life of his deceased Brother. "Petrus Bembus Herculi Strotio. Avias am-bas meae effraetas, deplorataeque feminas, & jam pro-pe centum annorum mulieres, mihi fata reliquerunt: unicum fratrem meum juvenem ac florentem abstulerunt, spem & solatia mea. Quamobrem quo in mœrore sim iple facile potes existimare. Reliqua ex meis intelliges. Heu me miserum! Vale. Id. Jan. 1504. Venetiis. ----- Peter Bembo to Hercules Strozza. Fate has left me both my Grandmothers, wretched old Women, and now almost an hundred Years old: but it has robbed me of my only Brother, in the Flower of his Youth, my Hope and Consolation. You may, from hence, easily guess at my Affliction. The Rest my People will inform you of. Farewel. Venice. The Ides of January, 1504." He was much more affected with his Mother's Death. See the Remark [K].

[I] He set a great Value on the Knowledge of Languages.] So far as to prefer it before the Marquise of Mantua. "Jo fo nulla per rispetto à que gloriosi: ma quel poco che io ne fo delle lingue, non lo cangiarei al Marchesato di Mantova (26). ----- I am

"not vain of my Knowledge in any Language; but the
"little I know of them I would not exchange for the
"Marquise of Mantua." A Writer of Dialogues makes no scruple to ascribe to his Interlocutors, what they never said; and therefore I see no great reason to believe, that *Peter Bembo* was really of This Opinion, having no other Proof for it, than This Author's Dialogue. Some have quoted *Speron Sperone*, as if *Bembus* had only mentioned his Talent of writing in Latin (27); but it is certain, from the Words that I have cited, that *Bembus* spoke, in general, of the Knowledge of Tongues: And it must not be imagined, that he pretended to exclude the Greek, which he had learned in Sicily under *Lascaris*, so far as to write it very well (28).

[K] His Mother had lived Forty eight Years with her Husband, in a Concord, which no Complaint had ever interrupted.] These are his Words: "Cum duce-
"essent causae quibus maxime commoveri debui ad
"luctum, una quod me parente optima meique a-
"mantissima orbatum viderem; altera, quod te pri-
"vari lectissima prudentissimae conjuge, cum qua
"duodequingenta annos SINE ULLA QUERELA
"concordissime vixissem, tibi patri meo acerbissimum
"atque luctuosissimum putarem futurum; harum
"duarum causarum altera me abs te levavi sentie-
"bam, &c (29). ----- *Tho' I have two Reasons to*
"be afflicted; the One, The Loss of the best and
"fondest of Mothers; the Other, The extrem Con-
"cern, which must affect you, O my Father, at being
"deprived of the choicest and most prudent of Wives,
"with whom you have lived Forty eight Years, in
"the utmost Concord; yet you yourself afford me Re-
"lief from one of these Occasions of Sorrow, &c." This Letter, dated from Urbino, the Twenty second of November, 1509, is a great Elogy of the Mother, and an illustrious Testimony of her Son's Affection. It deserves to be read from the beginning to the end. *Bernard Bembo* had already some Grandsons. His Wife had lived near seventy Years. There is another Letter of *Peter Bembo*, wherein he shews his Brotherly Affection; for he gives there a lively Representation of his Sister's Unhappiness, that he might obtain some Remedy for That Lady's Misfortunes from the Patriarch of Venice. She was married to a Man, who gave himself over to all manner of Lewdness, and who bestowed that Affection, which was due to his Wife, on Prostitutes. "Mar-cellus ejus mariti meretricio amore animus turpiter
"abalienatus (30). De Marcello etiam spero fore
"ut cum se ille meretricia consuetudine plena in-
"famiae, plena calamitatis, liberatum per te solum-
"que sedato animo atque pacato cognorit, tibi gra-
"tias agat, quod illum belluarum more sine pudore,
"sine lege, sine ullo officio degentem, ad hominum
"vitam rationemque traduxeris (31). ----- As for
"Marcellus, I am in hopes, that, when he comes
"seriously to reflect, that you have freed him from the
"Infamy and Danger of a Life spent among Harlots,
"he will return you thanks for bringing him over
"from a brutal, shameless, and irregular, Conduct,
"to the Life and Reason of a Man." He abused her horribly, without being moved to pity by her Pa-tience, and Silence, and by that Modesty, whereby she endeavoured to bring him back to his Duty. "Nolo tibi commemorare quot aut quantas indig-nitates Antonia foror univerfium biennium pertu-
"lerit, dum prudens atque optima mulier, humani-
"tate, pudore, continentia, labore etiam summo fuo,
"quodque in hujusmodi rebus solat esse difficillimum,
"taciturnitate, viri improbitatem, perditissimaeque
"mores placare, ac flectere in melius, cupit (32).
"----- I forbear to recount to you the many Indig-
"nities

(19) Konig
guetes Scipio
Gentilis,
Comment.
ad Epist.
Pauli ad
Philemon,
pag. 40.

(20) Lanzi-
us, ubi supra.

(21) Gregor.
Michael,
Not. in Cu-
riofores,
Gaffarelli,
pag. 111.

(22) In Re-
mark [P], of
the Article
MALANCH-
THON.

(23) Impe-
rialis, in Mu-
seo Histor.

(24) John
della Cafa,
in the Life of
Bembus.

(25) It is the
1st of the
34 Book, pag.
436.

(26) Speron
Sperone, in
the Dialogue
Delle Lin-
gue, fol. 107,
verbo.

He was blamed for having followed the Custom of Flatterers, with whom the Merit of the living always exceeds That of the dead; for he published, that *Paul III.* was more learned, than *Leo X.* It is worth while to see how he justified himself [L]. After the Death of *Navagier*, in 1530, the Council of Ten pitched upon Him to write *The History of the Republic of Venice* (g) [M]. His Age of sixty Years would have made him decline This Trouble, had he not been more willing to incommode himself, than not to do this Service to his Country (b). I must say a Word of the Design, it is pretended he had, to refuse the Cardinalship [N]. His Historian enlarged on this Point, and did not fail to say, that his Narrative would pass for a Fable, with many Persons, who judge of their Neighbours by themselves. He has nobly expressed This Common-place [O], as will be seen below (t); and I shall examine it more at large, in the last Remark of this Article.

(g) *Bembus*
Epist. 25.
lib. 3. pag.
501.

(b) *Id. init.*
Histor. Re-
rum Venet.

(i) *Citat.*
(40).

"*nities my Sister Antonia has suffered for full two Years; whilst That prudent, and best of Women, endeavours, with Complaisance, and Modesty, with Patience, and even the greatest Pains, and (what is uncommon in such Cases) with Silence, to reform the abandoned Morals of her Husband, and bring him back to the right way.*" This is a finer Letter, than the other; it is dated from *Urbino*, the seventh of *July*, 1510, which occasions a small Difficulty; for it is supposed there, that *Bembus's* Mother was yet living: "Curandum tibi certe est ne Soror mea, ne Pater, ne Mater, ne universa nostra familia --- secure tandem ac plane libere irridcamur (33). --- *It is certainly incumbent on you to take care, that my Sister, Father, Mother, and whole Family, be not, securely, and with Impunity, made the Subject of Mockery and Derision.*" And we have seen, that he wrote a Letter of Consolation to his Father, upon his Widowhood, in the Month of *November*, 1509. It were to be wished, that so many Letters of great Men were not wrong dated (34).

(33) *Id. ib.*

(34) See Remark [B], of the Article AMMONIUS (AN-DREW).

[L] *It is worth while to see how he justified himself from the Charge of Flattery.* When, in 1535, he published the Letters, which he had written in the Name of *Leo X.* he dedicated them to *Paul III.* and declared him much more learned, than *Pope Leo X.* was. "Eas autem ad te, Paule, potissimum literas mitto; quia Pontifex maximus es, ut *Leo* decimus fuit, & in optimarum artium disciplinis multo, quam ille, habitus doctior. Vera enim fateri omnes non solum honeste possumus, sed etiam debemus. --- *I, therefore, dedicate these Letters to you, Paul, because you are Pope, as was Leo X., and esteemed more learned, than He. For we not only may, but ought, to confess the Truth.*" This Elogy was looked upon as exorbitant; *Bembus's* Character, and the Remembrance of the great Favours he had received from *Leo X.* were not to be seen in it. "Esse nonnullos, qui me in laudando *Paulo Pont. Max.* longius progressum esse putent, quam aut mei mores, aut summa in me *Leonis X.* officia, aut veritas omnino ipsa postularit (35). --- *Some there are, who think I have gone farther in commending *Pope Paul*, than my own Character, or the Favours I received from *Leo X.*, or than even Truth itself demands.*" He answered *Musini*, who gave him Notice of This Censure, That he had only given the Preference to *Paul III.* as to Literature, which the Domestic Misfortunes of *Leo X.* had hindered him from making any great Progress in; that he had taken care not to judge which of the two surpassed the other in Prudence, Firmness, Temperance, Goodness, and Liberality; that it was not difficult to know, that *Paul* had more Learning, than the other; that he had never failed to acknowledge the Favours of *Leo X.* though he was less indebted to him for his Fortune, than to *Julius II.* "Tamen si mediam plus partem earum quas habeo fortunarum omnium *Julius secundus Pont. Max.* cui nunquam interfui, contulit (36). --- *Tho' *Pope Julius II.* whom I never served, conferred on me more than half the Fortunes I possess.*"

(35) *Id. ib.*
PAG 702.

(36) *About the Year*
1485.

(37) *Bembus*, init. Histor. Perum Venetar.

[M] He was pitched upon to write the History of the Republic of Venice. They would have him to begin it, where *Sabellicus* had ended it (37), and continue it down to his own time. This Interval comprehended Forty four Years (38). He did not complete it; for he ended his Work at the Death of *Julius II.* This History is divided into twelve Books, and was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1551, and reprinted, the same Year, at *Paris*, by *Michael Vascijon*, in 4to. It was afterwards printed at *Basil*, with the other Works of *Bembus*, in three Volumes, in 8vo, in the Year 1567. Neither He, nor any one

else, could reap any Benefit from *Andrew Navagier's* Labour, who had a like Commission, and who, at his Death, had ordered all his Writings to be burnt (39). We have seen, in the Remark [B], what Judgment was passed on the History written by *Bembus*.

[N] It is pretended, he had a Design to refuse the Cardinalship. *Moreri* speaks of it at large; but he has not discovered the Beauties, with which *John della Casa*, whom he copies, has adorned That Narrative. This Historian of our *Bembus* declares, he is not ignorant, that several People will reject this Part of his Narrative; and That, since most Men judge of others by themselves, it will not be believed, that *Peter Bembus* sincerely despised a Degree of Honour, which almost every one judges to deserve the most passionate and earnest Wishes; but that, as for himself, who writes, whilst things are yet fresh in Memory, and whilst part of the Actors are yet living, he ought not to be suspected of an Imposture; but that, after all, he is not afraid of the Appearances of Falshood, which attended the Truth he was about to publish, remembering very well, that the Fault of Those, who venture to advance Untruths in History, is as great, as the Fault of Those, who dare not speak out the Truth. I do not represent the Beauties of the Original, any more than *Moreri*; and therefore I shall set down the Author's own Words for the sake of those, who understand Latin. "Non sum nescius multo fore, qui nostræ orationi hac in re parum fidei habeant: plerique enim omnes, quid de aliena voluntate credendum sit, de sua conjecturam faciunt: itaque incredibile multis visum iri intelligo, Bembum id verè atque ex animo aspernatum esse, quod omnes fere summa cupiditate expetendum atque optabile esse existimant; tamen si scribimus hæc recentii hujus facti memoria, multique, qui in agendo adfuerunt, superflitibus, quos mendacii atque impudentie nostræ conficiat ac testes habere cur velimus causa nulla est. Sed quoniam par eorum peccatum esse censemus, qui mentiri in historia audent, atque eorum, qui dicere verum reformidant; mendacii speciem, verum cum dicturi essemus, non horruimus (40)." I find myself obliged to say here, that I am none of Those, of whom *John della Casa* foresaw the Incredulity. I have seen so many Characters in *Peter Bembus's* Letters, not only of an honest Man, and a generous and assiduous Friend, but also of a learned Person, who preferred the Calmness of a retired Life, which permits an entire Consecration to the Muses, before the Vanities and Poms of a Court, that I can easily imagine, he wished in earnest not to be a Cardinal.

[O] His Historian says, that this will pass for a Fable with Those, who judge of their Neighbours by themselves; and he has nobly expressed This Common-place. It is what we have seen in his Latin Words; and, consequently, there remains only for me to prove, that there is a Common-place in them; which I shall easily do. One of the Difficulties, which attend the writing of History, is, that the Readers are apt to look upon the noblest Actions, of which they find themselves incapable, as too many Lies: This has been observed long ago. "Ac mihi quidem, said *Sal-* lust (41), ----- in primis arduum videtur, res gestas scribere; primum, quod facta dictis exæquanda sunt; dehinc, quia plerique, quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentia & invidia dicta putant, ubi de magna virtute, atque gloria bonorum mores, quæ sibi quicque facilia facta putat, æquo animo accipit, supra, veluti dicta, pro falsis ducit. ----- For my own Part, I look upon the writing of History to be the most difficult Task; first, because the Actions and Style must correspond; then, because

(40) *Tomnes Casa*, in *vita Petri Bembii*, pag. 150, Collect. *Batavia*.

(41) *Salust.* in *Proem. belli Catilinae*. pag. 6, 7.

(54) *The Franciscan Fourcentium had already publ. the same Lie, in the 13th Chap. of the 4th Book of his Theomich'a Calvinistica, p. 164.*

(55) *Scio- pius, in Scali- gero hypo- bolismo, fol. 15. ver- so.*

pested the Falsity of the History, which we read in the eighth Chapter of *St John*, is, because it is said there, that *JESUS CHRIST* remained alone with the Woman, who was accused of Adultery (54). "Talis Beza, qui in octavum caput Johannis affirmat, sibi mulieris in adulterio deprehensæ historiam sul- peclæ fidei ac veritatis esse, quod CHRISTUS dica- tur solus cum sola fœmina remansisse: sibi nempe conficius, quid solus ipse cum Candida sua sola agere confueverit: qui, sicut Spartani, quod Martiales ac bellatores essent, omnes Deorum dearumque imagi- nes atque statuas hastatas faciebant, tamquam Deos omnes virtute bellica præditos existimarent; ita ipse propter suam libidinem & impudicitiam, CHRIS- TUM quoque Sanctum Sanctorum, &c (55). ---- *Such is Beza, who, on the eighth Chapter of St John, affirms, that he suspects the Truth of the Story of the Woman taken in Adultery, because*

"CHRIST is said to have been left alone with the Woman: being conscious to himself of what was went to pass between him and his Candida, when alone together: And, as the Spartans, worshippers of Mars, and Warriors, made the Statues of all their Deities armed with Spears; so this Man, being himself libidinous and unmodest, suspects CHRIST, the Holy of Holies, &c." Never was Satire so ill grounded as This; for it is true, indeed, that the History of This Woman was suspected by Beza; but it is no ways for the reason, which Scio pius alleges: Beza gives several reasons for it; and, if he observes, that *JESUS CHRIST* was left alone with The Woman, it is not because such a Circumstance contains a Motive of some dishonest Suspicion, but because the thing itself does not agree with the Sequel of the Text, and does not seem probable (56).

(56) *See the Notes of Beza on the 8th Chap. of St John.*

BEME, Murtherer of Admiral *de Chatillon*, on *St Bartholomew's Day*, would not deserve a Place in This Dictionary, were it not, that many Persons, knowing a Man by some very enormous Crime, desire to know what became of him afterwards, and of what manner of Death he died. Now they cannot well satisfy their Curiosity, without much Trouble, when the Person in question is of mean Rank; wherefore, it must be a great Pleasure to them, when a Book is put into their Hands, whereby they are enabled to satisfy themselves immediately. Let thus much be said, once for all, in regard to such like Articles. BEME, then, a German by Nation [A], educated in the House of the Duke of *Guise*, made himself the chief Executioner of the Massacre, which was resolved upon against the Admiral (a). It was Beme, who, as soon as the Chamber Door was broke open, asked him, *Art thou the Admiral?* And, knowing by his Answer what he had asked, he run his Sword through his Body, and then gave him a great cut, with his Back-sword, over his Face. It was He, who answered the Duke of *Guise*, enquiring *If the Business was done*, that it was done, and who threw the Body, by the Duke's Order, out of the Window. He was taken in *Xaintonge*, by the Garrison of *Bouteville*, in the Year 1575. He promised a great Ranfom, and to cause *Montbrun* to be released, whom the Catholics had taken in *Dauphiné*. The Desire alone of saving *Montbrun*, kept Beme from being put to Death; wherefore he was in great fear, when he heard, that *Montbrun* was executed; He bribed a Soldier, who saved him on a good Horse, with a Pistol at his Saddle Bow. Bertanville, Governor of the Place, finding, that he was escaped, mounts on a cropt Horse alone, and overtakes Beme, and the Soldier; and, having no other Weapon but a Sword, makes at both of them; the Soldier would not wait for him; but Beme cried out to him, *Thou knowest that I am a dangerous Fellow*, and fired his Pistol; the other, answering, I will not suffer thee to be so any longer, thrust his Sword up to the Hilt into his Prisoner's Belly. Thus *d'Aubigné* relates the Fact (b). Beza says much the same (c) [B]; but we shall see below, that *Thuanus* relates the Matter with other Circumstances [C]. *Mezerai* calls This Murtherer *N. Dianovitz- Befme* (d).

(a) *Thuan. lib. 42. pag. 1075.*

(b) *D'Aubigné, Hist. Tom. II. lib. 2. cap. 16. p. 749.*

(c) *Beza, Hist. Eccles. lib. 16. pag. 479.*

(d) *Mezer. Tom. III. in fol. pag. 380. Edit. 1085.*

(1) *The Life of Admiral Coligny, pag. 129.*

(2) *He disguised himself under the Name of Erenestus Varanundus Friulius.*

(3) *In 1575.*

(4) *He should have said Xaintonge.*

[A] *He was a German by Nation.* He was born in the Country of *Wurtemberg*, and it is said, he was the Son of One, who had been intrusted with the Artillery (1). The Author of the Book, *de furoribus Gallicis* (2), observes, that it was said, that the Cardinal of *Lorraine* had married one of his Bastards to Beme. He calls him always *Benfius*: It is probably a Fault of the Printer for *Benefius*. *Cavriana*, whom I shall quote below, says, that This Person had been Page to the Duke of *Guise*, the Father.

[B] *He was slain by Bertanville* ----- Beza says much the same.] Let us relate what he says; for it contains some other Circumstances. Speaking of the Defeat of the *Reiters* (3), commanded by *Thoré*, Son of the Constable *Anne de Montmorency*, he says, that *Clermont* was taken Prisoner there; "And had it not been for the Credit of divers Lords his Relations (and because, about the same, *Bejme*, one of the chief Murtherers of the Admiral, as well for That, as for other Reasons greatly beloved by the Duke of *Guise*, had been taken by Those of the Reformed Religion near *Ponts in Poitou*) (4) he would hardly have saved his Life. ---- Some time after, he was conducted to *Paris*, and much carried about, to try if they could exchange him for *Beme*; but, though he was in very great Danger of his Life, being desired to agree to That Exchange, he generously answered, that he would never consent to be exchanged for such a detestable Murtherer; and God favoured him so much, that, having been put to ranfom ----- he was at last set at liberty, and Beme, thinking to make

his Escape from the Castle, where he was a Prisoner, was retaken, and cut in pieces, as he deserved, except that it was not done by the Hands of a Common Executioner (5)." *Cavriana*, having said, in his Discourses on *Tacitus*, that Beme shot the Admiral with a Pistol, adds that This Murtherer was killed in the same manner, some time after, as he was returning from Spain. *Fu pochi anni dopo venendo d'España con somigliante specie di morte del suo fatto premiato*. This Account is not so clear, and so particular, as it should be; but some other Writers have cleared up the Matter.

[C] *Thuanus relates the Matter with other Circumstances.* He says, that Beme, returning from Spain, whither the Duke of *Guise* had sent him to buy Horses, or, under That Pretence, to renew the Correspondence, which the late Cardinal of *Lorraine* had kept up with *Philip II.*, was taken near *Jarnac*; that he offered his good Offices to release *Montbrun*, and a very considerable Sum; but that his Proposals were not regarded, and that, on the contrary, Those, who had taken him, solicited the *Robellers* to buy him of them for a thousand Pistoles, and afterwards to punish him with the utmost Severity for the infamous Murther of the Admiral; that the *Robellers*, for fear of reprisals, and by the Counsel of *la Nouë*, rejected these Offers; that *Bretouville*, Governor of *Bouteville*, being unwilling to ranfom such a Prisoner, and fearing, that, if he should put him to Death, he would set an example, which might be attended with ill Consequences, found out an expedient; which was to suborn a Soldier to supply Beme with the

(5) *Beza, Hist. Eccles. lib. 16. pag. 479.*

(6) Thuanus lib. 60, ad Ann. 1575, p. 125, 126.
(7) Mezerai, Hist. of France, Tom. III, in Fel. p. 380.
(8) Thus be calls him, ordo, in d'Aubigné, is called Bertanville, and in Thuanus, Bretanville.
(9) Thus is, Bouteville.

the means to escape. This Soldier, and Beme, made their Escape accordingly; but they fell into the Ambuscades, which Bertanville had laid for them, and Beme was killed with several Stabs (6). Mezerai relates the Matter much in the same manner (7): He says, that the Confistory of *Rochel* would have given a thousand Crowns for That Prisoner, to have punished him publicly; but the Wife's, and Bertanville (8) *Gouverneur of the Place* (9), apprehended a Retaliation.

Peter de St Romuald says, "that the *Rochellers* desired to have Beme, at the Persuasion of *la Nouë*, who would have put him to a severe and shameful Death; and that Beme, being mortally wounded by Bertanville, and afterwards killed by the Soldiers, was, at last, sent to the Baron de *Ruffec*, at his great Solicitation, who caused him to be honourably buried at *Engolme*; and that the Soldier, who had endeavoured to favour his Escape, being grievously wounded, came off with a Ranfom, and was banished the Place (10)."

(10) St Romuald, Journal. Chronologie, at the 24th of August, p. 214.

BENCIUS (FRANCIS), an Italian Jesuit, was born at *Aquapendente*, in the Year 1542 [A]. He studied the *Belles Lettres* at *Rome*, under *Marc Antony Muretus*, and made so happy a Progress under the Lectures of this Great Rhetorician, that he became one of the most excellent Orators of That Time. He was likewise a very good *Latin Poet*. There is something very surprizing in the Manner, in which it is said he came to a Resolution of taking the Habit of a Jesuit [B]. He taught Rhetoric for many Years, at *Rome*, in the College of the Society, and died there, the sixth of *May*, 1594 (a). He had three Brothers, who were likewise Jesuits (b): His Father was yet alive in the Year 1590 (c). You will find, in *Moreri*, the Titles of some of his Works; I shall confine myself to his *Speeches* [C].

(a) Alegambus, Bibl. Societ. Jesu, pag. 115.

(b) Ibid.

(c) See the Epistle Dedicatory of the Poems of Bencius.

[A] He was born at *Aquapendente* in the Year 1542. The Elegies, extracted from *Thuanus* by Mr *Teiffier*, inform us, that *Bencius* was born in a Village of *Tuscany*, called *Aquapendente*, which was the Patrimony of his Father (1). The *Latin Words* of *Thuanus* are, *Patrimoniali Etruriae oppido, cui Aquapendenti nomen, natus* (2). The Word *oppidum* being equivocal, and signifying sometimes a Borough, sometimes a Town, it must not here be taken for a Village, but a Town. I know not whether *Thuanus* had reason to say, that the Father of *Bencius* was Lord of it. *Alegambus* says no such thing; and it is not usual with That Author to suppress what may enhance the Birth and Riches of the Writers of his Order.

(1) Teiffier's Elegies, Tom. II, p. 206, Edit. of 1696.

(2) Thuanus, Histor. lib. cix, p. 612.

I have two reasons for fixing the Birth of *Bencius* to the Year 1542; the one is, that he died in the Year 1594: This is attended with no difficulty; the other is, that we find in *Alegambus*, that he died in the Fifty second Year of his Age. *Alegambus* is a little confused in his Figures; however I was of Opinion there was no Error in This; but I am surprized, that, in making The Errata of his Work, he did not rectify the following. *Annos natus xx, in Societatem est accessit, xv Cal. Junii, anno Christi MD.LXX* (3). — *Anno Salutis MD.XCIV, migravit e vita, aetatis suae LII, postquam venit in Societatem xxvii* (4). He says, that *Bencius*, having become a Jesuit in 1570, at the Age of twenty Years, was in the Fifty second Year of his Life, and Twenty seventh of his Profession, in 1594. These Computations destroy each other. *Nicinus Erythraeus* is more consistent; for, having once said, that *Bencius* became a Jesuit at the Age of twenty Years, he allows him Fifty two Years of Life, and Thirty two of Jesuitism (5).

(3) Alegambus, Bibl. Societ. Jesu, pag. 114.

(4) Ibid. pag. 115.

(5) Nic. Erythr. Pina-coth. II, pag. 115.

[B] There is something very surprizing in the manner of his coming to a Resolution of taking the Habit of a Jesuit. They, who would read the Particulars of this Adventure, may consult *Alegambus*, and *Nicinus Erythraeus*. They will there read of nocturnal Apparitions, of a Crucifix, and many other things. I shall only observe, that *Nicinus Erythraeus* goes farther, than the other Author. The latter is satisfied with telling us, that, from the time *Bencius* first confessed himself, which was to some of the Jesuits, he took it into his Head, that he should one Day be of their Order (6): but, according to *Nicinus Erythraeus*, he thought he heard, during his Confession in the Church of the Jesuits, a Voice, which pronounced these Words; *You shall also be, one Day, of the Number of these Religious* (7): *Alegambus*, as I have already observed,

(7) Vides est vocem in hac verba audire. Et tu quae aliquando Religiosorum istam numerum augere. Nic. Erythr. Pina-coth. II, pag. 115.

does not extenuate what advances the Credit of his Society. It is probable, therefore, *Nicinus Erythraeus* has here expressed himself hyperbolically: the Fact, in passing from Mouth to Mouth, was exaggerated before it reached the Ears of This Writer.

[C] I shall confine myself to his Speeches. Some of them were printed separately; and Manuscript Copies of others were handed about. These Copies became imperfect, in proportion as they multiplied. This made the Author resolve to publish an Edition of his Speeches in 1590 (8). He dedicated it to Cardinal *Africanio Colonna*. He published likewise the same Year a Collection of *Latin Poems*, and dedicated it to Cardinal *Francis Sforza*. His Speeches, to the Number of Twenty six, are accompanied with a short Dissertation de *Stylo & Scriptura*, and contain, among other Pieces, the funeral Oration of *Muretus*, That of *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, and That of Cardinal *Alexander Farnese*. The Poems are divided into four Books. They were reprinted with the Speeches, at *Ingolstadt*, in the Year 1599; and there are added to them Two *Dramatic Poems* of the same Author (9), which had been published separately. The Edition of *Cologne*, for *John Kinchius*, in 1617, in 12mo, contains all This. It is pretty correct; but the Paper and Character are very bad. The Publisher has not added the Poem in *Hexameter Verse*, entitled, *Quinque Martyres*, or the five Martyrs, in which *Bencius* has celebrated the Martyrdom, which Five Jesuits suffered in the *Indies*, in 1583. This Work, divided into six Books, was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1591, and dedicated by *Benedictus Georgius* to Cardinal *Ottavio Acquaviva*, Nephew of *Claudius Acquaviva*, General of the Jesuits. I have the Edition of *Antwerp*, in 1602, in 12mo. The Author sets off the Simplicity of History with Poetical Fictions, of which he gives the Reader notice: *Si qua visa, & quae speciem habent miraculi, inserta sunt, factum est, ut Poeticum Artificium Historiae simplicitati mederetur*. Relations in Prose have often need of the same Advertisment.

(8) See the Epistle Dedicatory of this Edition.

(9) Entitled Ergastus, and Philothemus.

Mr *Teiffier* affirms, that *Nicinus Erythraeus* says, that This Jesuit translated *Aristotle's Rhetoric* so well, that it is difficult to find a more perfect Work of the Sort (10). I have not met with This in *Erythraeus's* Elogium of This Jesuit: I only find, that *Muretus* dedicated his *Latin Version* of *Aristotle's Rhetoric* to *Bencius*, and that the latter read Lectures on the same Work (11).

(10) Teiffier's Elogies, Tom. II, pag. 207.

(11) Nic. Erythr. Pina-coth. II, pag. 117.

BENEDICTIS (ELPIDIO de), had a good Share in the Esteem and Affairs of Cardinal *Mazarin*. He was his Secretary during his Nunciature in *France*, and afterwards his Agent at *Rome*. He acquitted himself so well of That Employ, that the Cardinal praised his Fidelity and good Conduct, in his last Will, and recommended him to the Most Christian King. This Recommendation was not fruitless; for the Abbot *Benedictis* was declared Agent of *France* at *Rome*, and loaded with Riches. He was ordered, by the Cardinal's Heirs, to cause a sumptuous Funeral Service to be performed for him in the Church of *St Vincent* and *St Anastasius*, which had been his Eminence's Parish. He performed it admirably well,

(a) *This is the Title of it; Pompa funebre nell' Effluque celebrata in Roma al Cardinal Mazarini nella Chiesa di Santi Vincenzo & Anastasio.*

(b) *Anne of Austria, Mother of Lewis XIV.*

(a) *Oderant autem universi morbosos quosdam animi angustias quibus ipse indolis laudis liberalis referebat indicia. Imperial. in Muses Histor. p. 160.*

(b) *In co gymnasio crebris iactantur sermonibus male de Beni rebus achum fore, si patrum ei aliquod fuisset celebrandum, quando vel duobus eidem in schola sua testibus contigisset egeret. Id. ib.*

(1) *Montes de December, 1690, is the Extract of the Life of Tasso, composed by the Abbot de Charnes.*

(2) *In the Preface.*

(c) *It is taken from the first Edition of Paul Beni, on the Comparison of Homer, Virgil, and Tasso, printed in 1707.*

and published a Description of This Funeral Pomp (a). He was ordered to cause a Funeral Solemnity to be performed for the Queen-Mother (b), with all manner of Pomp, in the Church of *St Lewis*, which is That of the Nation; he performed it like a Man, who perfectly understood these sort of Ceremonies. The Description of These Funerals is to be seen in a Book, which he published (c). He wrote another, which is an authentic Monument of his Zeal for the Honour of his Benefactor; for, having been informed, that a Book was handed about, which strangely defamed Cardinal Mazarin, he published a Collection of divers Memoirs in *Italian*, which he thought proper to confute That Satire. He enlarged it soon after, and added some Political Reflexions to it. He translated the Treatise of the Prince of Conii, concerning the *Duty of Great Men*, into *Italian*. I ought not to forget the *Chronological Tables*, which he published. Those who have seen the House and Garden, which he caused to be built near *Rome*, or who have read the Description, which he gave of them, under the Title of *Villa Beneditta Literaria*, must grant, that he understood Architecture, and knew how to adorn and embellish a House. He is the Author of the Decorations, which are to be seen in a Chapel, dedicated to *St Lewis*, in the Church of the same Saint, which Chapel he caused to be built almost from the Foundation (d).

(c) *Estituta, Il mondo piangente & il cielo festeggiante nel funerale Apparato dell' Efferque celebrata in Roma nella Chiesa di San Luigi de Franceschi alla gloria & memoria di Anne d'Austria Regina di Francia.*

(d) *Ex Bibliotheca Romana Prop. Mandoni Cent. 4, n. 71.*

BENI (PAUL), Professor of Eloquence, in the University of *Padua*, from the Year 1599, till his Death, which happened in the Year 1625, was one of the most copious Writers, that flourished in his Time. He was a *Greek* by Nation [A], as it has been lately said; and was not born at *Eugubio*, in the Duchy of *Urbino*, as many Persons affirm. He lived a long time among the Jesuits; but he left their Society, because they would not permit him to publish a Commentary on *Plato's Feast*: The Obscenity of the Subject obliged them to refuse him the Permission he desired. The Reputation, which his Works procured him, moved the Senate of *Venice* to choose him to succeed *Riccoboni*, in the Chair of Eloquence; but he did not answer the Hopes, which were conceived of him. He tired his Auditors with long, wordy, Discourses, void of Matter, and pronounced in a languid manner, which, together with some other Reasons (a), and the pleasing manner, in which his Colleague, *Vincent Contarini*, delivered his Learning, made his Auditors desert so fast, that, sometimes, there were not so many Persons in his School, as are required for the signing of a Contract (b). This did not discourage him from his Study, nor lessen his extraordinary Application to his Books, and his Pen. One may easily be convinced of this, by the great number of Books, which he gave the Public, wherein there is, doubtless, a great deal of Learning and Wit. He singly maintained a Quarrel against the Academy *della Crusca* [B], with such Success, as rendered him formidable to many Authors [C]. The Respect, they have, at *Padua*, for the Memory of *Livy*, did not hinder our *Paul Beni* from attacking That Historian with the utmost Vigor (c). Consult *Moreri's Dictionary*; for I only mention what he has omitted.

(c) *Taken from Paul Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 1512.*

[A] *He was a Greek by Nation.* I was surprized to find This affirmed in the *History of the Works of the Learned* (1), and, in order to know, which of the two said so, The Author of That Journal, or the Author of the Book, mentioned by Him, I consulted the Life of *Tasso*, and found these Words in it (2); "All the Learned Men in Italy ----- have followed *Paul Beni's* Opinion unanimously. That Learned *Greek*, transplanted into *Italy*, made it appear, in an elaborate Comparison of the Poems of *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Tasso*, that the modern Poet had comprehended all the Beauties of the two Ancient in his Work, without imitating their Faults." I thought it was a Mistake; for I knew, that *Tomasini*, and *Lorenzo Cressio*, affirm, that he was born at *Eugubio*; and he calls himself *Eugubinus*, in the Titles of some of his Books, and in the Inscription, which he desired might be put on his Tomb; and, therefore, I followed This Opinion in the first Edition of This Dictionary. But I have been freed from my Error by the Abbot de Charnes, and That in such a Manner, as engages me to think myself happy in having said, that I esteemed and honoured him very much. He supplied me with a Passage, which does not permit me to doubt, that our *Beni* was born in *Candia* (3). It is true, He was but a Child, when he came into *Italy*.

[B] *He singly maintained a Quarrel against the Academy della Crusca.* Every Body knows, that the *Italian Dictionary* of That famous Academy of *Florence*, is a Work of great Importance; "Which was," doubtless, the reason, why, as soon as it appeared, "it met with almost as many Critics, as Readers." Among others, *Beni* did not cease to cry down "This Work, and to declaim against the Authors of it, as so many Monopolizers of the *Italian Lan-*

guage: He undertook to make it appear, that they "had neither Ability, nor Authority, requisite to decide in such a Manner. The Book, which he published on That Account, was printed at *Padua* in the Year 1613, in *Quarto*, under the Title of *Anti-Crusca*, & vero, *Il Paragone della Lingua Italiana, nel qual si mostra chiaramente que l'antica sia inculta e rozza, & la moderna regola, &c.* (4). --- "The Gentlemen of the Academy chose to answer him with the Pen, instead of proceeding against him any other way. But, if we may believe *Tomasini*, This Method, which was, besides, the longest, and the most perplexing, did not succeed to their Honour. For it occasioned a furious Reply from *Beni*, who produced it as a Defence of the *Anti-Crusca*. He published it under the Title of *Il Cavacanti*, & vero, *la Difesa del Paragone della Lingua Italiana, &c.* (5). ----- The End of This Combat was so glorious for *Beni* (in the Opinion of *Tomasini*) that he obtained the Victory over all the Academy *della Crusca*, and was proclaimed Defender of the *Italian Tongue* (6). Let us see the Words of *Tomasini*. "Adversus Academicos Cruscantes, & Dictionarium Italicum ab iisdem editum, Anti-Cruscam condidit. Cui cum respondissent Academici, cumulate libro iisdem altero sub Cavalantis nomine satisfecit, seque à variis eorumdem jurgiis valide adeo vindicavit, ut toto orbi clarissimus acerrimusque Italicus Idiomatis Defensor fuerit acclamatus (7)." It is said, that he obtained as great a Victory over These Gentlemen some time after, in defending *Tasso* against their Censures (8).

[C] --- *which rendered him very formidable to many Authors.* He was summoned to appear at *Rome*, on the Account of the Book, he published, on the Affairs of *Auxiliis*, without knowing them. "What he suffered

(4) *Baillet, Article 162, of the Anti.*

(5) *Ibid.*

(6) *Ibid.*

(7) *Tomasini, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 351.*

(8) *Baillet, Article 162, of the Anti.*

"served from Ecclesiastical Judges, made him but a little wiser. He inveighed, ever after, against Authors of different Merit, without so much as sparing *Living*. So that he became the Terror of the

Writers of his Time; some of whom durst not publish their Compositions, for fear of exposing them to his unmerciful Censure (9)."

(9) *Ib. Ibid.*

BENNON, Bishop of *Misnia* or *Meissen*, in *Germany*, in the XIth Century, was canonized by *Hadrian VI.* The Bull of the Canonization, dated the Thirty first of *May*, 1523 [A], grounds *Bennon's* Merit, I. On his having been the only Bishop of *Germany*, who was true to the Court of *Rome*, in the Quarrels between *Gregory VII.* and the Emperor *Henry IV.* II. On the Miracles, which he had performed [B] in his Life-time, and after his Death. This Canonization had been a long time solicited at *Rome*, and perhaps had never been obtained, if *Luther* had not shaken off the Pope's Yoke, in the same Country, where the Body of *Bennon* lay: But the Court of *Rome*, thinking, that the Institution of a new Saint, would support the staggering Faith of That Country, yielded, at last, to the Instances of the Bishop of *Meissen*, who went to the Pope with powerful Recommendations from *Charles V.* the Archbishops of *Magdeburg*, and *Salzburg*, and the Marquisses of *Misnia*. *Luther* was not silent on this Occasion; but published a Treatise in *Higb-Dutch*, which he entituled, *Against the new Idol, and old Demon, of Meissen*. *Emser* wrote sharply against This Treatise of *Luther*, and boasted insultingly, that, notwithstanding the Invectives of This Enemy of the Church, a wonderful Concourse of People had assisted at the Ceremonies of This new Solemnity; and he prefaged, that it would continue for ever. His Prediction was soon convicted of Falshood [C]; That of *Bennon* was confuted at the same Time (a) [D]. *Emser* thought himself particularly obliged to write, upon this Occasion, against *Luther*; for he had published the Life of *Bennon*, in the Year 1512; wherein, among other things, he alledged divers Reasons, why the Bull of Canonization had not been yet obtained, after so much Expence, and so many Solicitations (b). There is a strange Mistake in *Moreri's* Dictionary (c).

(a) Taken out of Seckendorf's History of Lutheranism, lib. i, pag. 285.

(b) Ex eodem Seckendorf's Historio, lib. pag. 286, in Additione.

(c) See Remark [A].

[A] Dated the Thirty first of *May* 1523.] We find the same Date in *Moreri's* Dictionary. And That is not wrong. But we find there also, that Pope *Adrian IV.* dispatched This Bull; which is an unpardonable Falsity. *Adrian IV.* lived in the XIIIth Century.

[B] Grounds his Merit on some Miracles, which he performed.] The chief of them are; I. That the Keys of his Cathedral, which he had thrown into the River *Elbe*, after he had shut up That Church against the Emperor and his Embassadors, were found in the Belly of a Fish, and carried back to the Prelate. II. That he passed over the *Elbe* dry-shod. III. That he turned Water into Wine. IV. That, with a kick of his Foot, he caused a Fountain to spring up; and this is sufficient ground for the Church of *Rome* to boast, that the Fable of *Pygmalion* has had it's Accomplishment among the Christians. V. That he celebrated Mass in two places at one and the same time. VI. That, after his Death, he came, in a Dream, and add put out an Eye of *William* Marquis of *Misnia* (1). One may easily guess, that *Luther* did not spare These Miracles.

(1) Apud Seckendorf. Histor. Luther. lib. i, pag. 285.

[C] *Emser's* Prediction was soon convicted of Falshood.] The Inspectors, or Visitors, who were sent into *Misnia* in the Year 1539, having notified to the Country Priests, that they should conform themselves to the Confession of *Augsburg*, went, soon after, to exhort the Canons of the Cathedral Church of *Meissen* to do the same. Their Dean, *Julius Pfug*, ha-

ving convened the Chapter, it was resolved, to leave Matters as they stood. Whereupon, they were enjoined not to perform any Act of Religion in the Church, according to the ancient Ritual; and *Bennon's* Tomb was demolished, as an Object of *Baalitic* Idolatry (2). Behold, then, a Worship, which, instead of being eternal, as *Emser* had prognosticated, was but of fifteen Years continuance. A wise Man ought to be extremely reserved concerning future Events, even when Appearances are favourable; and I think those are to be pitied, whose Profession requires, that they should keep up the Hopes of the People; for very often they are obliged to make Almanacks against their Knowledge.

[D] The Prediction of *Bennon* was confuted at the same time.] His Life says, That he declared, when he was dying, that he had obtained, by his Prayers, that the Worship, established in his Cathedral, should never cease. *In eo tamen maxime falsum esse apparet, quod, teste Emsero, moriturus dixerit, precibus suis effectum esse, ut cultus Ecclesie Misnensis perpetuus sit futurus* (3). This Worship was singular, and was not to be seen at *Rome* itself. The Intervals of the Psalmody were so contrived, in the Cathedral of *Meissen*, that, every Hour of the Day and Night, they sung the Praises of the Cœlestial Court. *Ut nullum diei aut noctis tempus cantu & Deorum hymnis ac laudibus vacet* (4). *Bennon* died like a false Prophet, if he declared, when he was dying, that this would always continue.

(2) *Ib. Ibid.* lib. iii, pag. 221.

(3) *Ibid.* lib. i, pag. 286, littera a.

(4) *Emserus* apud Seckendorf. *ibid.*

BENSERADE (a) (*ISAAC de*), one of the finest Wits of the XVIIth Century, was of *Lions*, near *Roan* (b). He was born a Protestant, as appears by his Christian Name; but was not bred in That Religion; for he was but a Child, when his Father turned Catholic. The Reason why the Bishop, who confirmed him, did not take from him the Name of *Isaac*, is very singular [A]. It is said, that his Ancestors were very considerable [B]; but every one does not agree to This. When his

(a) Thus he spelt his Name in a Letter, which he did me the honour to write to me, the 18th of May, 1685. I found Benserade at the end of the Epistle Dedicatory of the Paraphrase on the nine Lessons of Job. The Abbot Tallemant calls him also as Benserade.

(b) *Dictionnaire de la Vie de Mr. Benserade, before his Panegyric; Edit. of Paris, 1667, and of Holland, 1698. Tallemant's the Author of That Disc.*

[A] The Reason why the Bishop ----- did not take from him the Name of *Isaac*, is very singular.] *Benserade* was but seven or eight Years of Age, when the Bishop, who confirmed him, asked him, *If he would have his Jewish Name changed for a more Christian one? With all my Heart*, answered he, *provided you will give me something to boot*. The Prelate, surprized with the Child's Wit, would not change his Name, but said, *We must leave it him; he will make it very illustrious*. This Particular has been communicated to me by a good Hand; and I think it will be found in the Life of *Benserade*,

written by the Abbot *Tallemant*, if ever it be printed.

This is what I said in the Year 1694; and my Conjecture has proved true: That Discourse of the Abbot *Tallemant* is to be found at the beginning of *Benserade's* Works, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1697, and in *Holland* 1698. The Particular, I have mentioned, is to be found in it.

[B] It is said, his Ancestors were very considerable.] It is the Custom of a Person, who is admitted into the French Academy, to make the Elogy of Him, to whom he succeeds. Mr *Pavillon*, Successor

(c) Tallemant, *ibid.*

his Father died, *he left him very young, with a very small Estate, and very much encumbered; so that he chose rather, as it is said, to give it away, than to go to Law about it* (c). He made himself known to the Court by his Verses, and his Wit, and had the good Fortune to please Cardinal de Richelieu [C], and Cardinal Mazarin [D]; so that they put him in a Condition, not only to live handsomely, but also to lay up something

lessor of Mr de Benferade, praised him with great Delicacy: See, here, in what manner he handled what related to his Extraction. "This is not a Place, where the Nobility of This illustrious Man ought to be displayed. Here the Chance of Birth makes no one to be esteemed or despised: Hence it is, that, in the Funeral Pomp of the deceased Members, the Images of their Ancestors are not carried before them; we only take care to expose their Talents, and their Works, to the public View. Let the Elogy of the Deceased be, every where else, adorned with the Name of the ancient Lords of Maline; let others reckon, among his Ancestors, Him, who, in the beginning of the last Century, was great Master of the Artillery: my Business, here, is only to speak of That, which made him admired in his Life-time, and will perpetuate his Memory after his Death (1)."

(1) See the Historical Letters of the Abbot Tallemant: "Tho' Mr de Benferade spoke but little of his Father, yet he did not forget his Ancestors, one of whom had been Chamberlain to one of our Kings, and Castellan of the Castle of Milan - - - By the Mother's Side, he was related to the Vignansours, and to the la Porter; his Mother bore the last Name, which was That of the Mother of Cardinal de Richelieu. — She would not willingly allow she was related to the Cardinal, saying, often, in her Family, she was not the la Porter, they took her for. — Admiral de Brézé looked upon Benferade as a Person belonging to him." It is affirmed, in the Epistle dedicatory of his Works (2), that he had the Honour to belong to the great Cardinal de Richelieu. I desire you to compare this with the following Passage of the *Menagiana*. By what I have heard, "Mr de Benferade was Son of an Attorney of Gisors; and I was much surprized, when the Abbot Regnier read here, the other Day, Mr Pavillon's Speech, which he made, when he was admitted into the Academy, wherein he gives Mr de Benferade a magnificent Genealogy. But I should not esteem him less, if he was of a meaner Birth. The Learned ought to value themselves for being the Sons of their own Works. Mr de Benferade had a pretty House at Gentilly, and, over the Gate of That House, he had set up a Coat of Arms, with an Earl's Coronet, which he had given himself. One of his Friends, seeing it, said, one Day, Poets may do these things (3)." Observe, that Mr Pavillon says nothing of what is mentioned by the Abbot Tallemant concerning Benferade's Ancestors; which makes me suspect, that they have followed some general Notions; for they would not have swerved so strangely from Uniformity, if they had followed Genealogical Titles, well proved. Whatever may be said of Benferade's Ancestors, his Father's Obscurity cannot be doubted. Some had heard say, that he was an Attorney of Gisors (4), and others, that he had been Justice in Eyre (5). His Son made but little mention of him, though he did not forget his Ancestors (6). Would you have a greater Proof of a mean Condition? Take notice of another thing. A great many Persons can prove their Father's Nobility, better than That of their Grand-father, and, if you would oblige them to prove That of their Great-Grand-father, they would find it more difficult still. Persius has made this Observation (7). It is quite the contrary here. We must skip over some Degrees, in going back, if we would get clear of Genealogical Darknels. Our Benferade finds nothing to please him in his Father, or his Grand-father; he finds his Nobility only in past Ages. It is certain, that Nobility of Blood is, sometimes, like Those Rivers, which fall down a Precipice, and, having run some Miles under Ground, rise again (8). Genealogical History, which is commonly preceded by fabulous Times, is often interrupted by some Periods of obscure Times. It is a Geographical Map, which has it's Desarts, and unknown Countries. See Mr Pavillon, who was

(1) See the Historical Letters of the Abbot Tallemant: "Tho' Mr de Benferade spoke but little of his Father, yet he did not forget his Ancestors, one of whom had been Chamberlain to one of our Kings, and Castellan of the Castle of Milan - - - By the Mother's Side, he was related to the Vignansours, and to the la Porter; his Mother bore the last Name, which was That of the Mother of Cardinal de Richelieu. — She would not willingly allow she was related to the Cardinal, saying, often, in her Family, she was not the la Porter, they took her for. — Admiral de Brézé looked upon Benferade as a Person belonging to him." It is affirmed, in the Epistle dedicatory of his Works (2), that he had the Honour to belong to the great Cardinal de Richelieu. I desire you to compare this with the following Passage of the *Menagiana*. By what I have heard, "Mr de Benferade was Son of an Attorney of Gisors; and I was much surprized, when the Abbot Regnier read here, the other Day, Mr Pavillon's Speech, which he made, when he was admitted into the Academy, wherein he gives Mr de Benferade a magnificent Genealogy. But I should not esteem him less, if he was of a meaner Birth. The Learned ought to value themselves for being the Sons of their own Works. Mr de Benferade had a pretty House at Gentilly, and, over the Gate of That House, he had set up a Coat of Arms, with an Earl's Coronet, which he had given himself. One of his Friends, seeing it, said, one Day, Poets may do these things (3)." Observe, that Mr Pavillon says nothing of what is mentioned by the Abbot Tallemant concerning Benferade's Ancestors; which makes me suspect, that they have followed some general Notions; for they would not have swerved so strangely from Uniformity, if they had followed Genealogical Titles, well proved. Whatever may be said of Benferade's Ancestors, his Father's Obscurity cannot be doubted. Some had heard say, that he was an Attorney of Gisors (4), and others, that he had been Justice in Eyre (5). His Son made but little mention of him, though he did not forget his Ancestors (6). Would you have a greater Proof of a mean Condition? Take notice of another thing. A great many Persons can prove their Father's Nobility, better than That of their Grand-father, and, if you would oblige them to prove That of their Great-Grand-father, they would find it more difficult still. Persius has made this Observation (7). It is quite the contrary here. We must skip over some Degrees, in going back, if we would get clear of Genealogical Darknels. Our Benferade finds nothing to please him in his Father, or his Grand-father; he finds his Nobility only in past Ages. It is certain, that Nobility of Blood is, sometimes, like Those Rivers, which fall down a Precipice, and, having run some Miles under Ground, rise again (8). Genealogical History, which is commonly preceded by fabulous Times, is often interrupted by some Periods of obscure Times. It is a Geographical Map, which has it's Desarts, and unknown Countries. See Mr Pavillon, who was

(2) Printed at Paris, by Charles de Seret, in the Year 1697.

(3) Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 53, Edit. of Holl.

(4) *Menagiana*, *ibid.*

(c) Tallemant's Discourse on the Life of Benferade, *ibid.*

(6) *Id. ibid.*

(-) See Remark [B], of the Article GENTILIS (See 1710.)

(8) Such is the Qualities in Spain.

obliged to make a Leap of One hundred and fifty Years back to unite two illustrious Ends in the Family of Benferade. I shall make hereafter (9) an Antithesis of Persius's Verses, in another Sense.

I know not what to say of one NICOLAS BENSERADE, to whom Erasmus wrote some Letters (10), and of whom he speaks, as of a very good Man, who had done him much good, and who had some Learning (11). He is called a Civilian (12). Would our Mr de Benferade have placed him among his Ancestors?

[C] He had the good Fortune to please Cardinal Richelieu. Mr Pavillon informs us, that This Cardinal took care of the Education of Benferade. "You have seen, says he (13), in This worthy Member, the Fruit of the Care, which the great Cardinal de Richelieu took of his Education; He, who gave Birth to your learned Assembly, educated him in his Youth; and, as Men are only considered by you in relation to their Wit, before you had associated him, he might have boasted, that you were Children of one and the same Father." These Words might induce one to think, that Benferade was known to This Cardinal only as a very hopeful young Man, who deserved so much the more That chief Minister's Protection, as he was the Son of a converted Huguenot; but, if we consider the Circumstances of the Time, if we consider, that the *Cleopatra* of Benferade was printed in the Year 1630 (14), we cannot doubt, but that he had actually a Share in Richelieu's Esteem, in Quality of an Author, and a fine Wit.

[D] — And Cardinal Mazarin. Give me leave to infer here a long Passage of a Book, the Title whereof is somewhat surprizing (15). Many Readers will be well pleased to see it here, without being obliged to turn to another Book: Besides, some of them may chance not to have the *Arlequiniana* in their Closets. "Your Story puts me in mind of a Thing, which made Benferade's Fortune: I have it from himself. Were you acquainted with him? Yes, said I, I conversed with him till his Death: He was the quickest Wit, and the most zealous Friend, that ever I saw; he was a good, and gallant, Man, and I will tell you, one Day, some particular things of him. You know then, replied Arlequin, that Benferade came young, agreeable, and full of merit, to Court. He applied himself to Cardinal Mazzarin, who loved him, but with such a Friendship, as produced no Advantage to him. Benferade, continuing to follow his Genius, made gallant Verses every Day, which gained him a great Reputation. The Cardinal, being one Evening with the King, related to him after what manner he had lived in the Pope's Court, where he had spent his Youth. He said, that he loved the Sciences, but that his chief Application had been to polite Learning, and especially Poetry, wherein he succeeded pretty well; and that he was, at That Pope's Court, what Benferade was at That of France. Soon after, he retired to his Apartment. Benferade happened to come in, an Hour after; and his Friends told him what the Cardinal had said; they had scarce ended, when Benferade, being filled with Joy, left them bluntly, without saying any thing. He ran to the Cardinal's Apartment, and knocked as hard as he could, to be heard. The Cardinal was just gone to Bed; Benferade was so preffing, and made so much Noise, that they were obliged to let him in. He went, and fell on his Knees by the Bolster of his Eminence's Bed, and, having begged a thousand Pardons for his Rudeness, he told him what he had heard, and thanked him, with an inexpressible Ardour, for the Honour he had done him in comparing himself to Him, as to the Reputation he had for Poetry; adding, withal, that he was so proud of it, that he could not contain his Joy, and that he should have died at his Door, if he had been hindered from coming to pay him his Acknowledgment for it. This Zeal pleased the Cardinal

(9) In Remark [B], of the Article GENTILIS (See 1710.)

(10) See the 21st and 21st Letters of the 5th Book of Erasmus. One of them is dated in the Year 1499; and the other in the Year 1498.

(11) In the Table of Erasmus's Letters.

(12) Erasmus *ibid.* See also Epist. 24, lib. 5, pag. 323.

(13) Historical Letters, of Feb. 1697, pag. 171.

(14) See Remark [D].

(15) Entitled *Arlequiniana*. I cannot see why they chose rather to say Arlequiniana, than Arlequiniana, since 1710: one says Arlequin, and not Arlequiniana.

(J) Menage-
Anti-Bail-
let, Article
14. See
also towards
the end of
Remark [D].

(c) See the
Anti-Bail-
let, *ibid.*

something for his latter Years. He had some Pensions assigned him on a *Bishopric*, and two *Abbeys* (d) [E]; so that he might be looked upon as a kind of *Ecclesiastic* (e). The Queen-Mother gave him a Pension of Three thousand Livres, when, upon the Death of Cardinal de Richelieu, he lost his Pension (f). He found means to subsist at Court, by means of the Thousand Crowns of the Queen-Mother, and by That of some rich and liberal Ladies (g). I have read somewhere, that the Court had resolved to depute him to the Queen of Sweden; but it was not put in Execution [F]. His Sonnet.

(f) See the
beginning of
Remark [E].

(g) Dis-
course con-
cerning the
Life of Mr.
de Beaupre.

(16) Ari-
quiniana,
pag. 23.
Edit. of Hol-
land.

" Cardinal very much. He assured him of his Pro-
tection, and promised him that he would not be
" useless to him; and indeed, six Days after, he sent
" him a small Pension of Two thousand Livres;
" some time after, he had other considerable Pen-
" sions on Abbeys; and he might have been a
" Bishop, if he would have been a Churchman (16)."
The Abbot Tallemant will not agree to this latter
Fact. See the following Remark.

[E] He had some Pensions assigned him on a *Bis-
hopric*, and two *Abbeys*.] He obtained one from Cardi-
nal de Richelieu, " from the Time that his first Works
" appeared: it was continued to him till That Cardi-
" nal's Death; and he would, perhaps, have found
" the same Protection with the Dukes of Aiguillon,
" if the four following Verses, which he made after
" the Cardinal's Death, had not offended her very
" much:

Cy-gift, ouy gift, par la mort-bleu,
Le Cardinal de Richelieu,
Et ce qui cause mon ennuy,
Ma pension avecque luy.

Here lies, ay here doth lie, morbleu,
The Cardinal de Richelieu,
And, what is worse, my Pension too.

" This Pension was pretty considerable, as I have
" been assured; which was a terrible Loss to him,
" and which would have very much incommoded him,
" if it had not been made up by another of Three
" thousand Livres, which the Queen-Mother gave
" him (17). Let us admire here the Power of the
" Habit of jesting. A Poet, who has a turn this way,
" will rather hazard his Fortune, than lose the Opportu-
" nity of a Jest, even the most unnatural Opportunity,
" and the most opposite to Decency; for what can be
" conceived more indecent, than to jest on the Death
" of the greatest Man that ever was in the Ministry of
" France? And if, for this reason alone, Pleasantry be
" improper, it is still more so, when the Poet, who
" jests on that Subject, had received a considerable Pen-
" sion from the deceased. I cannot blame the Dukes
" of Aiguillon for suppressing this Pension; She was less
" to be blamed for it, than Mr Benjerade. But let us
" proceed to other Favours, with which this fine Wit
" was gratified. Cardinal Mazarin procured him a
" Pension of a thousand Crowns on the Abbey of St
" Eloy — and, when he died, left him a Pension of
" Two thousand Livres on the Bishopric of Mende.
" Lastly, Benjerade had yet another Pension of Two
" thousand Livres on an Abbey of the Abbot de Fou-
" rilles, called Haut-Villiers. — Besides this, he
" had a yearly Rent of Five hundred Crowns on the
" Town-house of Lyons, and a great deal of ready
" Money (18). He would willingly " have had a
" Title; and perhaps they would not grant him this
" Favour, because he had not, at first, dedicated
" himself wholly to the Church. But, if he did not
" obtain That, which he had earnestly
" desired (19), he met with something, which
" he did not expect (20). We are told, afterwards
" in what manner he received the Three hundred Pi-
" stols, which the King sent him one Morning (21).
" That Prince gave Ten thousand Livres for the Fi-
" gures, wherewith the *Round's* of Benjerade on Ovid's
" Metamorphoses were adorned.

The Abbot Tallemant says, " It may perhaps be
" wondered at, that, being so well to pass as he was,
" he jests so much on his Poverty: But, in answer
" to this, we need only distinguish the times; it was
" at his first coming to Court." If the Dates were
" well enquired into, it would perhaps be found, that
" this Apology is not right, and that Mr Benjerade
" complained of Poverty, even when he did not feel the
" Inconveniences of it. He would not be the only

V O L. I.

Poet, who has been guilty of This Fault; and it is
" an Irregularity, which deserves more to be censured,
" than That, for which Seneca was blamed, who praised
" and recommended Poverty in the midst of an excessive
" Opulency. It is better to do this, than to complain
" of being poor, when one is in very good Circum-
" stances. However it be, our Benjerade is an example,
" which may be alleged against the Author of a pretty
" *Round*, which I mention elsewhere (22), and which
" begins thus, *Le bel Esprit au siecle de Marot*. His
" Verses helped him to attain a pretty good Fortune,
" and put him in a Condition to be able to lend the
" Ladies a Coach and Footmen. Doubtless, he de-
" served a Reward; but they should not have assigned
" him Pensions on the Revenues of the Church, *non
" bos quæstium munus in usus*. See the Remark [G]
" of the Article THOMAS. There is no question,
" but several other Wits envied him, as well on ac-
" count of his Coach, as because he had the Advantage
" of frequently dining at the best Houses in Paris. One
" of them (23) composed a Sonnet with this Conclusion:

Il frequente les bonnes tables,
Et je ne mange que chez moi:
J'en connois de plus miserables (24).

Abroad to Dinner he can roam;
But I, alas! must eat at home.

This is the taste of the ancient Parasites.

Si tristi domicænio laboras,
Turani, potes esurire mecum (25).

If there no Invitation be,
Turanius, you may fast with me.

Let us observe, that this Sonnet " was very improper
" at that Time; for sickness and weakness obliged
" Mr de Benjerade, towards the latter end of his
" Life, to dine seldom abroad, and to make few
" Visits (26)."

[F] The Court had resolved to depute him to the
" Queen of Sweden; but it was not put in Execution.]
I have read this in a Letter of Cossar to the Marchio-
" nels of Lovardin. Cossar's words deserve to be set
" down; since they inform us, that Benjerade was not
" in very good Circumstances at that time. It is an ill
" Custom among ingenious Gentlemen not to date their
" Letters. If Cossar had dated his, we should know the
" Year, wherein Benjerade was to have had This Em-
" ployment. " You have been informed, that the
" Queen sends him to Sweden, and that he will set out
" in a Week or ten Days. He has waited in vain, a
" long time, at Paris. I do not know whether *Stock-
" holm*, and the Northern Air, will be more favour-
" able to his Fortune, than That of the Court has
" been. I am sure, that all the Ice and Snow of the
" North will not be able to extinguish That noble
" Fire, which animates him, and that the Presence of
" the bravest and most ingenious of Queens will
" inspire him with things, worthy to be conceived
" under a better Heaven, and milder Climate (27)."
See, in the Collection of the fine Pieces of the French
" Poets, the Jest, which This Ambassador made on the
" Meanness of his Equipage. Scarron could not be
" silent on the Mischance of this Deputation: See how
" he dates an Epistle to the Countess de Fiejque;

L'an que le Sieur de Benjerade
N'alla point à son Ambassade (28).

The Year, in which the Sieur Benjerade did not go
upon his Embassy.

This does not inform us, in what Year it was. I
cannot tell why Mr Tallemant says, that some One
made

(22) In the
New Let-
ters against
Maimbourg,
p. 590, &c.
seq.

(23) The
Abbot Elprit.

(24) This
Sonnet was
made on 10th.
Tallemant,
vol. super.

(25) Mart.
Epigr. 80,
lib. 6. See
also Epigr.
78, 79, lib.
12.

(26) Talle-
mant's Dis-
courses on
Benjerade.

(27) Cossar,
Letter 165,
of Vol. 1,
p. 430.

(28) Tom.
V, pag. 231.
I speak of the
Collection
published by
the Author of
the Journey
into Spain.

(17) The
Abbot Tal-
lemant, ubi
supra.

(18) Talle-
mant, *ibid.*

(19) I write
this in Ca-
pital Letters,
to show the
Opposition
between the
Abbot Tal-
lemant, and
the Author
of the Ari-
quiniana,
who says,
that Benje-
rade would
have been a
Bishop, if he
had been
willing to
become a Church-
man. See
Citat. (16).

(20) Talle-
mant, *ibid.*

(21) *Ibid.*

Sonnet of *Job*, compared with That of *Urania*, raised his Fame greatly [G]; for how great an Honour was it, to be the Head of a Party against *Voiture* (b), and to have, on *Parnassus*, the Faction of the *Jobelins*, disputing the Ground with the Faction of the *Uranists*? It is certain, This Dispute divided the whole Court, and the Wits, and that some very illustrious Persons declared, against *Voiture*, for *Benferade*. The latter succeeded wonderfully in the Verses, which he made for Interludes [H]; but he miscarried in his *Rondeau*'s upon *Ovid* (i). He was admitted, somewhat late, into the *French Academy*, since it was in the Year 1674; and he was then above sixty Years of Age. He succeeded *Chapelain* in this Place, and made his Elogy, which displeased the Count de *Rabutin* (k), and which was rather an Homage paid to Custom, than an Effect of Sincerity. Some Years before his Death, he applied himself to pious Works, and translated almost all the *Psalms* (l): Another Homage paid to Custom;

(b) He was the Author of the Sonnet of *Urania*.

(i) See the *Ménagiana*, pag. 189, of Edit. 2. of Holland.

(k) See that Count's Letters, Part iv. Lett. 91.

(l) Talle-
mant's Dis-
course on
Benferade.

made these two Verses in his *Gazettes*; for *Starron's* Epistles ought not to be called by That Name.

[G] His Sonnet of *Job* ----- raised his Fame greatly.] This Sonnet, and That of *Urania*, occasioned a World of Verses, which may be seen in the Collection of choice Pieces. I believe, that, during the Course of this Contest, one of the finest and most ingenious Pieces was the *Glose à Mr Esprit* (29). *Sarrasin* composed it: he had declared for the Sonnet of *Urania*. *Balzac* wrote a severe Censure of these two Sonnets, which is to be found at the End of his *Christian Socrates*. When one examines this Censure, one cannot but say, that there are some excellent Pieces, which have great Imperfections. There are certain Beauties and Graces, which shine in such a Manner, in the midst of the Faults, which escaped the Author, that These Faults are not taken notice of. But, after all, I do not see, that these two Sonnets pass, at this time, for the best Pieces of their Authors. See what a good Critic (30) said of them; "Many Persons have concerned themselves in this Contest (31); and it is carried to such a Height, that considerable Wagers are laid in favour of the one, and of the other. But it is to be feared, that the same thing may happen to these two Pieces, that happened to Those two Sonnets, which divided *Parnassus* into two famous Factions, under the Names of the *Jobelins*, and the *Uranists*. For, being examined more narrowly, they lost a great deal of their Worth and Esteem.

The Author of the Epistle which serves as a Preface to the new Translation of *Perfius* and *Juvenal* (32), relates a curious Particular, which I cannot omit. "Thus (33) a great Prince, who knew a great deal, but who had still a better Taste, than Capacity, for good things, judged so well, in two small Verses, of the two famous Sonnets, which formerly amused the whole Court, and divided it into two Cabals of Wits, whose War was very innocent. *Voiture* had some formidable Partisans; and so had *Benferade*: but, in truth, the Decision of the Prince of *Conti*, which Nature alone dictated to him, gave the Cause to the *Jobelins*, and That without Appeal. This is the Decree.

L'un est plus grand, plus achevé;
Mais je voudrais avoir fait l'autre.

The One is more Grand, and more Perfect; but I would rather have been the Author of the Other.

"The first Verse relates to *Voiture*, and the second to *Benferade*; who, I believe, was very well satisfied with the wish of a Judge, who was so much the more incorruptible, as, in reading the terms, which he made use of, every Body perceives he judged without any partiality." The Abbot *Talle-
mant* makes no mention of these two Verses of the Prince of *Conti*: though he says, that the Prince said, he never saw a finer Sonnet than That of *Job*. "The End of it, said his Highness, is the most lucky in the World; but, though the other Verses are very gallant, yet they seem rather careless, than polished and finished." Madam de *Longueville* declared for the Sonnet of *Voiture* (34). Note, that *Benferade* made his Sonnet upon sending the Paraphrase, he had composed, on *Job*, to a Lady (35); observe this, I say, as a Proof of the prophane Licence, which amorous Poets give themselves. Ought the Patience of *Job*, That Canonical, Divine, and Sacred, Example, to serve as an Introduction, or Text, to a Declaration of

Love? Ought not a Christian Poet to have more respect for the Histories of the Bible? Ought he to have set his Patience, and his pretended Misery, above That of *Job*, under pretence that he was in love, and durst not declare it?

[H] He succeeded wonderfully in the Verses, which he made for Interludes.] These Verses were of quite a new Invention; They characterized, at the same time, the Poetical Deities, and the Persons, who represented them. The Author of the *News from the Republic of Letters*, has mentioned This Singularity by the by. "Mr de *Benferade* read (36) a Piece of his own Composition, which was wonderfully applauded. It is an abridged Picture of the forty Academists, as to their Persons, their Talents, Adventures, and Fortunes. He speaks freely of every one of them; but with That ingenious and inimitable Turn, which he made use of in his Verses for Interludes, personally proper to the Ladies and Lords of the Court, who were to appear in the Entries (37)." Mr *Perrault* explained this much better: Let us see what he says of it: "I am going to speak of another Kind of Poetry, which has been added to the Ancient; I mean the admirable Verses, which Mr de *Benferade* made for the King's Interludes. Heretofore, when they made *Stanza's*, upon *Jupiter*, for Instance, who, making his Entry, strikes the Cyclops with his Thunder-bolt, those *Stanza's* spoke only of *Jupiter*, as *Jupiter*, and not at all of the Person, who represented him. But Mr de *Benferade* turns his Verses in such a manner, that they are equally understood of both; and, as the King generally represented *Jupiter*, sometimes *Neptune*, and other times *Mars*, or the *Sun*, nothing is more admirable, than the delicate and artful Manner, in which he praises him, without addressing himself to him. The Person, who is represented, and the Actor, are both pointed at; which creates a double Delight, by giving two things to be understood at one time, which, being separately fine, become still finer, when joined together (38)." I add a third Witness to these two, because he describes the Verses in question more fully in some Respects, and because he supplies me with a Proof of two following Remarks. "We have lost, says he (39), a fine Wit, who excelled in the Art of fine and agreeable Rallery, both in his Conversation, and in his Writings; especially in the ingenious Verses for Interludes, which he made several Years for the whole Court. He was an Original in this Kind; the Ancients have not supplied him with any Model of This Sort of Rallery, and no one has hitherto succeeded in imitating it. He joined, to the Description of the Gods, and Goddesses, and other Persons, who were represented in these Interludes, some lively and natural Pictures of the Courtiers, who represented them: He often discovered their Inclinations, their Amours, and even their most private Adventures, in so fine, so pleasing, and so nice, a manner, that those, whom he pointed at, were the first, who were pleased with it, and that his jests did not affect them with Repentment, or Vexation, which is an essential Mark of their Perfection." See also the first Letter of the second Part of the Count de *Rabutin*, and the Discourse of the Abbot *Talle-
mant*. In That Discourse you will find, that *Benferade* had a Quarrel with the President de *Perigny*, and with *Moliere*, who had both made Verses for Interludes. Which shews, that he desired to be the only Person, who should be employed in this Business.

(36) The Day, when Mr Corneille the younger was admitted into the French Academy.

(37) Month of January, 1685, p. 37.

(38) Parallel of the Ancients and Moderns, Tom. II, pag. 112, Edit. Holl.

(39) Collection of witty Sayings, printed by the Widow Cramoisy, 1693, pag. 204, Edit. Holl. This Book is ascribed to Mr de Callicote, of the French Academy, and Plimpstocriary of France, at the Treaty of Ryswick.

(29) You will find it among *Sarrasin's* Poems, pag. 86, Edit. of 1658, in 12mo.

(30) Mr Salko, in the Journal of the Learned, Jan. 26, 1665, pag. 48, Edit. of Holl.

(31) It is that, which was raised on the Joconde of Mr de Bouillon, Secretary to the late Duke of Orleans, and on the Joconde of Mr de la Fontaine.

(32) Made by the Jesuit Jerom Tarterson, and printed at Paris, in 1689.

(33) That is to say, in judging by what pieces in ourselves when we read.

(34) Talle-
mant's Dis-
course on
Benferade. He relates some Particulars concerning the War of the *Uranists*, and *Jobelins*.

(35) Id. ib.

Custom; but which may also proceed from a good Principle [I]. He died in the Month of November, 1691, in his Eighty second Year (m); others say, that he died before he was eighty Years of Age (n). He had a Pension from the Duke of Orleans, and an Apartment in the Royal Palace (o). He was a very honest Man, and of an admirable Conversation; having a good Talent at Jestings [K], and telling People their Faults, without making them angry [L]. He had a bold way with him, which made him behave familiarly towards those of the first Quality; so that he might say what he would, without being contradicted; nay, he seemed to have an ascendancy over the most considerable Persons. — His Familiarity had even something imperious in it; for he was not contented with taking the Liberty of contradicting others, but would not suffer his own Compositions to be criticized, and defended them so conceitedly, that those very Persons, whom he consulted, could not speak their Thoughts without exposing themselves to his Anger (p). He was sincere, and very officious, especially to the Ladies; for his Coach, and his Servants, were always at their Service (q). He was not learned [M]; but I would not alledge, as a Proof of his Ignorance, that he could not tell, one Day, what Difference there is between the *Hamadryads* and the *Dryads* [N]. He began early to appear in Print; for it is said, that his Tragedy of *Cleopatra* was printed in the Year 1630; which made some say, that he was more than a Jubilate Author [O]. *Furciere* abused him

too

[I] It was perhaps in compliance with Custom, that he translated the *Psalms* in his old Age; which might also proceed from a good Principle. I am the more inclined to believe this proceeded from a good Principle in Mr de Benjerade, because his Submission to God was very great during his last Sickness. Let us quote the Abbot Tallemant for it. "No Man could begin his Life with more Gallantry, nor end it with more Piety, or a greater Submission to the Will of God, than Mr de Benjerade. He suffered such violent Pains, that Job, whose Patience he had celebrated, did hardly suffer sharper; they were so terrible, that one of a less lively Temper, and much less sensible than he was, could not have been able to bear them (40)."

[K] He had good Success in Jestings. A Passage, which I have just now quoted (41), shews, that he was Master of this Talent. Here is another Testimony, taken from the same Author. It is a Testimony, which may be called practical; for it consists in an Example. "A Courtier was suspected of being impotent, and would not own it; he meet Benjerade, who had often jeered him about it, and said to him, Sir, notwithstanding all your poor jesting, my Wife is lately brought to Bed, Alas! Sir, replied Benjerade, the World never doubted of your Lady (42)." You may find some of his witty Sayings in the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, and in the Discourse of the Abbot Tallemant.

[L] He told People their Faults, without making them angry. Nothing is more true, than the Saying, *Obsequium amici, veritas odium parit*, that is, Friends are made by Complaisance, and Enemies by speaking Truth. They, therefore, who know how to make Truth appear without that odious Look, which commonly attends it, must needs have a very singular Dexterity. This was the Talent, which Benjerade was praised for by his Successor. "What a wonderful Address, to make the most passionate Men bear jesting, and to praise the Modest, without offending their Modesty; to speak the Truth in the midst of a Court, without prejudicing his Fortune, and to divert those very Persons, whose faults he reproved. Amiable Censor, whose ingenious Verses, being purged from the Gall of Satire, found the admirable Art of reproving All, and offending none (43)." Mr Pavillon cannot be accused of having carried the Matter too far, though what is said in some *Fadums* (44) should be true; for there is no general Rule, but will admit of an Exception: It is the Author of the *Fadums*, who may be suspected of overtrusting things. He says (45), that Benjerade "had set up for a Gallant in the old Court, by Songs and Ballad-Verses, which had gained him a Reputation during the Reign of bad Taste, Double Meanings, and Points, which still keep their Credit with him. They have drawn upon him, continues he, some Threats, and melancholy Adventures, which have served by way of Date to certain burlesque Gazettes." At Page 28 of the third *Fadum*, he says, that "the scandalous List, which Benjerade drew up, of the Academy, and which he had the Assurance to read publicly in one of the solemn Assemblies, contained such shocking and outrageous

things, that they drew upon him the Threats of a Person of the first Quality, who was concerned in them; inasmuch that, notwithstanding his Impudence, he was obliged to suppress it out of respect to his own Shoulders (46)."

[M] He was not Learned. This was so well known, that no scruple was made of owning it, when Mr Pavillon was admitted into the French Academy, a Day favourable to Mr Benjerade, wherein they were rather disposed to give him more than his Due, than to take from him what belonged to him. See, here, how Mr Charpentier expressed himself in the Answer he made to the Discourse of the new Academist. "The Society has lost one of its Ornaments in Mr de Benjerade: He was an original Wit, and owed all his Reputation to himself alone. He equalled the Ancients, without borrowing any thing of them; NEITHER WERE THEY VERY WELL KNOWN TO HIM; and, if any of their Thoughts have appeared in his Writings, it was rather an effect of Chance, than of Imitation. He shewed, that one could still produce something new under the Sun; and this Character of Novelty was so natural to him, that, whenever he would forsake it, he was no more the same Man; and the Correspondence, which he held with the Graces, became interrupted, when he followed other Ideas, than his own." I do not wonder that this want of Erudition was not suppressed; for it afforded matter for a delicate and refined Elogy.

[N] He could not explain the Difference between the *Hamadryads*, and the *Dryads*. The Thing is This: We shall see, that he came off with a Piece of Wit. "Being one Day at the Opera, in the Box of the Duke of Orleans, the King's Brother, the Dukes of Orleans asked him, What difference there was between the *Hamadryads*, and the *Dryads*? He found himself much perplexed; but, not thinking it fit to be silent, and perceiving, that an Archbishop, and a Bishop, waited in the Passage for the Dukes's going out, being unwilling to shew their Crosses in the Box, he replied, *There was as much difference as between Bishops, and Archbishops*. This immediately raised a laugh, and the Dukes repeating it the next Day at her Toilet, some one, looking upon a Clergyman, his Friend, said, pointing to him, *Here is one your Higness may make a Dryad, and Hamadryad of, whenever you are pleased to go about it seriously* (47)." Mr Benjerade's Perplexity in this Case does not seem to me a true Sign of Ignorance; for I am sure, that the Question of the Dukes of Orleans would have put several celebrated Regent Doctors to a stand (48). These things are better known when we first leave the College, than after we have grown old in more sublime Studies.

[O] He was more than a Jubilate Author. This Expression is borrowed from a Cloyster. A Monk of fifty Years Profession, is a Jubilate Religious, who is excused from *Matins*, and the Rigors of the Rule, in some Places (49). The Convents have formed this Expression on the Duration of the Jewish Jubilee, which was of fifty Years (50). See how Mr Menage proves, that Mr Benjerade was more than a Jubi-

(m) See the Historical Mercury of Nov. 1691, pag. 537.

(n) The Abbot Tallemant, ubi supra.

(o) Historical Mercury, Nov. 1691, pag. 537.

(p) Abbot Tallemant, ibid.

(q) Ibid.

(40) Tallemant's Discourse on Benjerade.

(41) Citat. (39).

(42) Collection of witty Sayings, pag. 24, 25.

(43) Pavillon's Speech made to the French Academy. See Historical Letter, Feb. 1692, pag. 170.

(44) Furciere.

(45) Pag. 29. of *Fadum* II.

(47) Tallemant, ibid.

(48) See the Article DRYADES.

(49) See Furciere, at the Word JUBILEE.

(50) Ibid.

too much in his *Fadums* (r). *Sarrafin* had a fling at him, in the *Funeral Pomp of Voiture*: It is He, whom he calls *Rouffelin de Grenade*, in the third Chapter of *The great Chronicle of the noble Vetturius*; and he makes use of this Name, because *Benserade* was red-haired [P]; and because he used to say, in jest, and by reason of the Resemblance of Names, that he was descended from the *Abencerrages*. I found this written with a Pen, in the Margin of a Copy of *The Funeral Pomp of Voiture*, in possession of a Person, who knew the Secret History of that Time. It appears by this Chapter of *Sarrafin*, that *Benserade* had supplanted *Voiture*, in the House of *Madam de Saintot* [Q]. I was in hopes to have found many things relating to the Life of Mr de *Benserade*, in the Collection of the finest Pieces of the *French Poets* (s): The Title assured me of it; but, when I came to read the Page, referred to in the Table, I did not meet with one Line of History in it.

(r) See pag. 18, of *Fadums*, vol. II, and pag. 27, of the *Life of the Illud. Edit. of Holland.*

(s) This Collection is in five Volumes. The Author of the Memoirs, and Journey to Spain, published at Paris, in the Year 1692. It was recently re-printed at Amsterdam.

a Jubilate Author. He supposes, that the *Cleopatra* of This Author was printed in the Year 1630, and then goes on in this manner: "He died in the Year 1691, aged eighty Years: So that he wrote That Piece Sixty one Years ago; and I suppose, that he was at least twenty Years of Age when he composed it. Moreover, it is to be observed, that a Piece for the Stage was seldom printed until a Year after it had been acted the first Time (51)."

(51) Menagiana, pag. 335, Edit. 1797 of Holl.

Mr *Menage* is mistaken, in supposing, that The *Cleopatra* of our Author was printed in the Year 1630; and I am surprized, that, having so many Opportunities of coming at the Truth of this Fact, at Paris, he neglected to inform himself, or to employ, in the Enquiry, some of those young Persons, who attended his *Mercurials*. By Accident, I have met with a Copy of the first Edition of the *Cleopatra* of *Benserade* (52); and have found, by this means, that this Piece was printed for *Antony de Sommeville*, in 4to, and finished the Twenty ninth of March, 1636.

(52) It is likely the same, which Mr. Menage calls *Cleopatra*.

Let us add, to this, these Words of the Abbot *Tallemant*. "He had scarce left the College, when he produced two or three Dramatic Pieces; I have seen two of them, one of which was entitled, *Iphis and Hianthe*, and the other *Marc Antony* (53): Both of them had pretty good Suc-

cess; But, if he loved Comedy, he was no less fond of the *Astretres*; and it is said, that, with the late Marquis d' *Armentieres*, who was then an Abbot, he left the *Sorbonne*, where their Parents would have had them study, and went almost every Day to the *Hotel de Bourgogne*, where they met their *Mistresses*, who were la *Vallette*, and the *Fair Roze* (54)."

[P] *Benserade* was red haired.] The Abbot *Tallemant* believes, that *Benserade* loved the fair *Roze*, because of the likeness of their Hair: Her Hair was of a lively fair Colour; as for him, he confessed freely, that he was red haired, and called himself so, and thereupon compared himself with some of the greatest Lords of the Court, without troubling himself whether it would please them or not (55)."

(54) Tallemant's Discours on *Benserade*.

[Q] He had supplanted *Voiture*, in the House of *Madam de Saintot*.] *Sarrafin* expresses himself thus: How *Vetturius* came to the Court of *Queen Lionelle de Galle*: How he fell in Love with her, and how he was driven from thence by the Intrigues of *Hunault d'Armorique*, and of *Rouffelin de Grenade*. The Manuscript Notes of my Copy (56) inform me, that *Madam de Saintot* was denoted under the Name of *Lionelle de Galle*, because of *Gaillonet*, her Father's House. Mr de la *Hannaudaye*, who was a *Breton*, was denoted by *Hunault d'Armrique*.

(55) Ibid.

(56) See towards the end of the Text of this Article.

BERAULD (NICOLAS), in *Latin Beraldis*, ought to be reckoned among the Learned of the XVIth Century. He was Tutor to Admiral de Coligny [A]. Erasmus praises him in more than one place [B], and confesses, that, passing through Orleans, in his Way to Italy, he lodged at his House [C], and received many Favours from

[A] He was Tutor to Admiral de Coligny.] See here the Proof of it. "Natus est hic Gaspar anno m^odxvii. mensis Feb. die xvi. qui cum puer indolem virtutis atque ingenii mirificam ostenderet, mater cum patre mortuo bonis literis ab ineunte ætate imbuedum curavit: eique Nicolaum Berauldum, qui tum eruditionis laude in primis totius Galliae florebat præceptorum attribuit (1). — This Gaspar was born in the Year 1517, the sixteenth of February; who discovering, in his Youth, surprising Talents of Virtue and Wit, his Mother and deceased Father took care to train him up very early to Learning; and, for this Purpose, put him under the Tuition of Nicolas Berauld, the most famous Person for his Learning in all France." The ancient Life of This Admiral says no more; but That, which was published in the Year 1686, has more Circumstances. It informs us, that "Berauld was first of all made Tutor to the Elder, who, having abundance of Wit, made a great Progress under to good a Master (2). Afterwards he was also Gaspar's Tutor, and did not find him of a more penetrating Wit (for few such were found), but of a Spirit more disposed to Obedience, so that, in a little time, he not only taught him Latin, but also Philosophy. As Mr de Montmorency, who was but newly made Constable, loved his Sister, and her Children, he found time, notwithstanding his great Occupations, to take care of the Education of his Nephews; wherefore he ordered Berauld to come to him regularly once a Week, and to give him a true Account of all, that he should observe in them, whether good or bad. Now Berauld, being come to him, according to his Command, and having told him, that he was more satisfied with Gaspar, than with Odet; The Constable took the one for the other,

(1) Vita Gaspar. Colignii, pag. 33, 34. Edit. Ultraject. Ann. 1645.

(2) Life of Coligny de Coligny, pag. 8, 9.

and told him, he knew how to remedy it, for that he designed Gaspar for the Church; and that Odet, as the eldest, should keep up the Honour of his Family. — Berauld, being surprized at this Answer, asked him, Whether it was requisite, that an Ecclesiastic should be ignorant, and a Man of the World learned? This Discourse of Berauld made the Constable perceive, that he had mistaken the Matter; and he was very well pleased to hear, that Gaspar had so good a Disposition for Learning, and that there was reason to hope something good of him. But, Berauld having related this Conversation to his Scholar, he was so afraid of being made a Churchman, that they could no longer prevail with him to look into a Book.

[B] Erasmus praises him, in more than one place.] What he says of him, in his *Ciceronianus*, is a Mixture of good and bad; for, if on the one hand he allows him the Talent of Speaking well, he says, on the other hand, that he had not the Talent of Writing well, and represents him as very indolent. "Agnosco dictationis elaborato fluxu Pino non diffimilem: verum in hoc genere nunquam nervos intendit suos, dicendo quam scripto felicius. Quid possit, satis divino, sed est magni laboris fugatior (3). — I acknowledge, he is not unlike Pinus, in the easy flow of his Style: but he never exerts himself this way, being a bapier Speaker, than Writer. What he is capable of doing, I can easily divine; but he is of an indolent Disposition, and hates Trouble." In the following Remark, the Praises he gives him are more pure, and in greater Number. Observe, that he dedicated his Book, de *Conscribendis Epistolis*, to him, in the Year 1522.

(3) Erasmus in Ciceron. pag. 74.

[C] He lodged at his House.] Let us set down the whole Passage: it will afford us a Point of Criticism on the Modern Historian of Admiral de Coligny. "Nicolaus

from him. We learn thereby, that *Berauld* lived at *Orleans*. Some say he was born there [D]; but others affirm, he was of *Languedoc* [E]. He wrote upon *Pliny* [F]; of which Father *Hardouin* has made no mention, in his excellent Catalogue of the Commentators on That ancient Author. He expressed a just Concern, in his Preface, for the Abuses of the Press. Doubtless, the Reader will be well pleased to see his Complaint [G], and the Catalogue of some other Pieces, which he published [H]. One thing has been lately reported, whereby it appears, that he was an honest

"Nicolaus Beralus lepidè nimirum hospitalis tef-
"feræ meminit in subscriptione sua. Nam memini
"cum olim effem *Aurelia Italiam* aditus me ho-
"minis hospitio ufum, atque apud eum dies aliquot
"sanè quam benigne comiterque habitum. Etiam
"nunc audire mihi videor linguam illam explanatam
"ac volubilem, suavitèrque tinnientem & blande ca-
"noram vocem, orationem paratam ac pure fluen-
"tem: videre os illud amicum & plurimum huma-
"nitatis præ se ferens, supercilii nihil: mores ve-
"nistos, commodos, faciles minimeque molestos:
"quin & interlun sericam velut apophoretum ob-
"tulit abituro, vixque ab homine impetravi ut lice-
"ret regulare (4). — *Nicolas Berauld makes*

(4) Item,
Eist. 11,
1. b. l. p. 36.

"diverting mention of our former Acquaintance, in his
"Subscriptions. For I remember, when I was at
"Orleans, designing to go to Italy, I was entertained
"in a very friendly manner at his House for some Days.
"Even now I fancy I hear That voluble, sweet, and
"harmonious, Voice, That ready and flowing Elocu-
"tion: I have now before my Eyes That friendly,
"and humane, Aspect: Than graceful, easy, and gen-
"teel, Behaviour: And, upon my Departure, he pre-
"sented me with a silken Vesp, which I could
"scarce prevail with him to permit me to refuse." This Letter is dated the Twenty first of February, 1516: from whence it may be inferred, that *Berauld* was not young, when he made Preceptor to the Sons of the Marfhal de Châtillon. But how shall we reconcile That Volubility of Tongue, which *Eraſmus*, an Ear-Witness, ascribes to him, with the following Words? "The Admiral had two things in
"him, which seemed extremely opposite, viz. a great
"Vivacity of Wit, and a very slow Speech; so that
"one would have said, that he mused upon what
"he was going to say. The Politicians would have
"it to be a Piece of Cunning to gain time to ob-
"serve those with whom he had to do. — It
"is much more likely, that it was a Fault, which
"he had contracted by the constant Attendance up-
"on his Master, *Nicolas Berauld*, in whom the fame
"Thing was observed (5)." [D] Some say, that he was born at Orleans.] *Nicolas Beraldi AURELII* . . . dialogus. . . . The Dialogue of *Nicolas Beralus* of Orleans. Thus speaks *Gesner* (6). See also *Recolles*, Page 214 of the true History of Calvinism. I shall set down his Words in the following Remark.

[E] Others affirm, that he was of *Languedoc*.] Their Mother, *Louise de Montmorency*, assisted with the Advice of her Brother, took care of their Edu-
"cation, and gave them *Nicolas Berauld*, born in
"Languedoc, for their Tutor, but he had acquired
"Literature at Paris, whither he came very young." These Words are in the eighth Page of the new Life of the Admiral. *Gesner* might be deceived by the long Abode, which *Berauld* made at Orleans, where he was Professor of the Civil-Law, if I am not mistaken. *Recolles* speaks of it thus, at the Two hundred and fourteenth Page of the true History of Calvinism: *Nicolas Berauld*, of Orleans, A great CIVILIAN. *Gesner* mentions a Speech of *Berauld*, de *Jurisprudencia veteris ac novitiae*.

[F] He wrote upon *Pliny*.] He is the third of the Commentators on That Author, mentioned by *Eraſmus*. *Hermolaus Barbarus* is the first (7), *Budæus* the second, and *John Casareus* the fourth. "Post hunc (*Budæum*) *Nicolas Beralus*, homo su-
"pra peritiam humanarum literarum, Mathematicus
"etiam pulchre callens, quodque hic vel præcipuum
"erat sani judicii, non minore studio quam religione
"vestatus est in hoc labore. Nuper omnium po-
"tremus *Joannes Casareus*, in omni genere lite-
"rarum exercitissimus, non infelicem operam præ-
"stitit (8). . . . After *Budæus*, *Nicolas Berauld*,
"a Man skilled beyond the Knowledge of human Li-
"terature, well versed likewise in Mathematics, per-

"formed This Task, and, what demonstrated the
"Soundness of his Judgment, with no less Religion,
"than Care. Last of all, *Joannes Casareus*, a
"thorough learned Man, bestowed his Pains not un-
"successfully." *Eraſmus* speaks thus, in the Preface to *Pliny*, which was printed at *Basle*, by *Fisken*, in the Year 1525. He assures us, that he had corrected many Passages, and that *Pliny* had never appeared in a better Condition. In ceteris item ita vigilatum est, ut meo periculo non dubitem polliceri nunquam balteus exisse *Plinium fideius tractatum* (9). Nevertheless Father *Hardouin* says nothing of this Edition, and he only reckons *Casarius* (so he calls him) among those, who wrote on some Part of *Pliny*. He ascribes to him only some *Sevilla* on what relates to *Fishes*, in the ninth Book. Mr *Chevillier* goes, then, too far, in their Words of the One hundred ninety first Page of his Origin of Printing at Paris: "I wondered, when I saw, that nothing was
"said, there, of *John Casarius*, and that no men-
"tion was mention was made of his Work,
"neither in the Preface, nor in the List of the chief
"Editions of That famous Author, which was in-
"serted in the first Volume (10)." This will serve as a Note, or Appendix, to what is said concerning the Omission of *Berauld*, in the Text of the Article.

(9) Bial.
pag. 1083.

(10) That's
in Father
Hardouin's
Edition.

[G] His Complaint of the Abuses of the Press.] *James Fontaine*, Professor of the Civil-Law in the University of Paris . . . very much approves the Advice, which *Nicolas Berauld* gave to Sovereigns, to redress this Evil, and to make Edicts to remove all those from the noble Art of Printing, who, for want of Learning, should be judged incapable of exercising it. Quare prudentissimè in Præfatione operis sui *Pliniani* admonet longè eruditissimus *Nicolas Beralus*, ut aliquo publico decreto insolentissima ista ignorantum Impressorum audacia reprimatur; quibus hoc debemus studiosi, quod pro unaquaque literâ invenimus plagam, pro Syllabâ crucem, pro libro tormentum. Sed rei indignitas, quæ loqui compulsi, etiam tacere cogit. . . . The very learned *Berauld* very prudently advises, in the Preface to his Work on *Pliny*, to repress, by public Decree, the uncommon Impudence of ignorant Printers; to whom the Learned owe That Perplexity and Torment, which every Letter and Syllable of a Book affords them (11). These Words of *James Fontaine* are to be found in the Elogy, which he made upon *Bertboldus Rembolt* a famous Printer. It occurs in the *Sexte of the Decretals*, printed, by *Chevalon*, in the Year 1520 (12).

(11) Chevillier's Origin of Printing, pag. 183.

(12) Id. ib.

[H] Some other Pieces, which he published.] Here are Those, which *Gesner* mentioned; *Dialogus, quo rationes explicantur, quibus dicendi ex tempore facultate parari potest; deque ipsa dicendi ex tempore facultate; at Lyons, 1534: De Jurisprudencia veteris ac novitiae oratio, cum erudita ac antiquorum lectionem ac studium exhortatione, at Lyons, 1533: Notes on the Rusticus, and on the Nutricia, of Politian. It is true, that *Gesner* is not positive, as to this last Work. Fertur etiam in *Politian's Nutricia scriptis, si bene memini* (13). *Jodocus Badius*, dedicating the second Part of *Politian's Works* to *Lewis de Berquin*, in the Year 1512, excuses himself as well as he can, for not having yet printed the most learned, and most solid Epistle, which *Berauld* had composed against *Laurentius Valla*, and dedicated to his good Friend, *Lewis de Berquin*. *Recolles* says, that This Work of *Berauld* was entitled, *Of Recrimination, against Laurentius Valla, Anthony of Palermo, and Bartholomew Ficius* (14). The Catalogue of the Bodleian Library mentions a *Dictionarium Græco-Latinum Nicolai Beraldi*, printed at Paris, in the Year 1521, and another Book, entitled *Syderalis abyssus*, printed at the same Place, in 1514.*

(13) Gesn. ubi supra.

(14) Recolles's True History of Calvinism, pag. 224.

(a) This appears by a Letter from Budæus to Erasmus. It is the 66th of the third Book of Those of Erasmus.
(b) Colomel in Gallia Oriental. p. 17.
(c) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezae, pag. 14.
(d) Melch. Adam, in vita Stucklii.

honest Man [I]. He was very much esteemed by Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris, and afterwards Archbishop of Sens (a), a Prelate of great Authority in the Kingdom, and a Patron of Learning. His Son, FRANCIS BERAULD, was a very learned Man. He understood Greek well, and taught it at Montbeillard, in the Year 1554 (b). He taught at Lausanne, when Beza went thither in 1549 (c). He taught there also, in the Year 1557 (d). He was at Geneva in the Year 1561 (e). He was Principal of the College of Montargis, in the Year 1571 (f); from whence he went to Rochel, to exercise the like Employment (g). He was a good Greek and Latin Poet (b). It is unnecessary to observe, that he was a Protestant. He translated some Books of Appian [K].

(e) Colomel. ibid. pag. 55.
(f) Ibid. pag. 46.
(g) Ibid. pag. 38. See the Letter, which Beza wrote to him; it is the 7th of those of Beza.
(b) Colomel. ibid. pag. 22, 40.

[I] He was an honest Man.] Madam de Chatillon, and her Brother, the Comfable de Montmorency, had a Mind to make a Churchman of Gaspar de Coligny, and, knowing from him, that it was against his Inclination, he ordered Berauld to insinuate their Pleasure to him, thinking that, as he had all along governed his youthful Spirit, he knew better how to prevail with him, than any one else. They represented to him, that his Scholar might forget him in the Profession of Arms; but that, in an Ecclesiastical State, he would always stand in need of him, and load him with Benefices. They could not have taken a more cunning way to engage him to do what they desired: But Berauld, who was more honest, than interested, instead of using all the Endeavours, which they expected, only represented to his Pupil the Advantages of the Dignity of a Cardinal, and at the same time pointed out to him the Dangers of it, and ad-

vised him not to engage in it against his Inclination (15).

[K] He translated some Books of Appian.] Henry Stephens made choice of him to translate Annibal's Wars, and Those of Spain. "Sicut hocce duos Libellos 'à me ex Italia (uti dixi) allatos primus edidi, ita etiam primus latinè vertendos curavi, & quidem delecto ad id munus viro Græcæ linguæ non parum perito, Francisco Beraldo Aurelianensi (16). '----- As I was the First, who published these two Books, which, as I said, I had brought with me from Italy, so was I the First, who got them translated into Latin, having, for that Purpose, made choice of Francis Berauld of Orleans, a Man not a little skilled in the Greek Language." He shews, in his Notes, why he preferred Francis Berauld's Translation before That of Cælius Secundus Curio.

(15) The Life of Admiral de Coligny, printed in 1636, pag. 10, 11.
(16) Henricus Stephanus, in Præf. Appiani.

BERAULT (CLAUDE), Author of *The Commentary on Statius*, in usum Delphini, died at Paris, in the Month of March, 1705. He was Regius Professor of Syriac, after the Death of Mr d'Herbelot.

BERAULT (MICHAEL), Minister, and afterwards Professor of Divinity at Montauban, flourished about the end of the XVIIth Century, and beginning of the XVIIIth. He became very considerable among Those of his Party. He had been a Monk, if we may believe Scaliger, who gives him the Character of a learned and able Man (a). He was pitched upon, in 1593, to dispute against Perron, in the Conference of Mante, as I have said in another Place (b); and he published a Work against the same Perron, in the Year 1598 [A]. During the Civil Wars, he greatly favoured the Interests of the Duke de Rohan, and he published, with That View, several Pieces, which brought him into Trouble [B]. In 1605, he almost publicly made Interest, to be appointed Deputy to the General-Assemblies of the Protestants (c). He informs us of an Æra, which is very curious: I mean That, which induced many Protestant Divines of France to begin to read the Fathers (d).

(a) Scaligerana, at the Word BERAULT, pag. 29.

(b) In Remark [B], of the Article ROTAN.

(c) History of the Edit of Nantes, Join. I, pag. 425.

(d) See the Preface to his Book, entitled, A Defence of the Vocation of the Ministers.

[A] He published a Work against the same Perron, in 1598.] It was printed at Montauban, by Dennis Haulin, and dedicated to the Magistrates, and People, of the Town. It is an Octavo of Four hundred ninety-eight Pages, entituled, *A short and clear Defence of the Vocation of the Ministers of the Gospel against the Reply of M^{rs} James Davy, Bishop of Evreux, drawn up Article by Article from the same Reply.*

[B] ----- Some Pieces, which brought him into Trouble.] The King's Commissary at the National Synod of Charenton, in 1631, demanded, among other things, "That the Ministers should be prohibited from meddling with State Affairs (1). This was aimed at Berauld, Minister of Montauban, a Man of a warm Spirit, and who went fast. During the last Troubles, he had written a Book, in which, not satisfied with justifying the taking up of Arms, he undertook to maintain, that the Ministers themselves had a Call to bear them, and to shed Blood. The Commissary aggravated the Importance of This Opinion, which was dangerous in such a Man, as Berauld, who, besides the Quality of Minister, had That likewise of Professor of Divinity. He first pronounced the Condemnation of the guilty

Person, and then ordered the Synod to censure him. Before they could give any Answer in the Affair of Berauld, it was necessary to hear him (2). He owned the Book; He pretended, he had not taught in it the Doctrine he was charged with, and excused whatever was suspicious in it from the Malice of the Times. He said, there were, indeed, some ambiguous Expressions in it; and that he detested the Consequence, which was drawn from them. The Commissary would not admit of this kind of Excuse; and he convicted Berauld of having expressly written, in a Preface to his Book, the Things, of which he was accused. So that he was severely censured by the Synod, who treated the Expressions of his Book as scandalous Terms, which he had improperly made use of. This Doctrine was condemned, and the Ministers were forbid to teach it. In the mean time, Berauld was secluded the Synod; and, before his re-establishment, he incurred a fresh Censure on the Part of the Commissary."

After the Deputies of the Synod had harangued the King, Berauld was permitted to take his Seat in the Assembly (3).

(1) Ibid. pag. 519.

(3) Ibid. pag. 523.

(1) Hist. of the Edit of Nantes, Tom. II, pag. 518.

(a) Held at Sens.

BERENGARIUS (PETER), of Poitiers, Disciple of Abelard, espoused his Master's Interest very much, who was condemned by a Council (a) in 1140; and because he looked upon St Bernard as the chief Cause of his Condemnation, he wrote most vehemently against him. He published *An Apology for Abelard* (b), wherein he

(b) It is printed with the Works of Abelard at Paris, 1616.

he sets forth, that his Enemies prepared the Judgment of the Trial amidst their Cups [A], and that the accused, seeing the ill Disposition of his Judges, desired, that his Cause might be referred to the Pope [B]; that, nevertheless, they condemned him, and that St Bernard preposited the Holy Father, with so much Diligence, that *Abelard* was speedily condemned at *Rome*, without being heard [C], and even without giving him time to appear before the Tribunal, to which he had appealed. Upon this the Apologist relates the Reasons, which might be alledged in favour of St Bernard, viz. *That the Zeal of GOD's House had eaten him up; that the Leprosy, which disfigured the Body of the Church, would have spread all over it, if the Evil had not been stifled in it's Birth; and that, to save the Readers the trouble of turning over several Volumes, it had been thought fit to give a short List of Abelard's pernicious Propositions.* He, who made Those Extracts, cannot be excused; and, whether St Bernard alone was at the Trouble of doing it, or whether, besides the Propositions extracted by him, he produced Those, which others supplied him with, it is certain, that This Passage of his Life does little Honour to his Memory [D]. The List, which he produced, contained some things, which *Abelard* had never said, nor

[A] He sets forth, in his Apology for Abelard, that his Enemies prepared the Judgment of the Trial amidst their Cups. A more satirical Description cannot be seen, than That, which *Berengarius* gives of the Preliminaries of That Synodal Judgment. He says that, after the Fathers of the Council had well eat and drank, they caused *Peter Abelard's* Writings to be read to them. While it was read to them, they stamped with their Feet, they laughed, they jeered, they drank; and when they heard any thing, which was new to their Ears, they gnashed their Teeth against the Author, and demanded of each other, If they would suffer such a Monster to live? They had drank so much, that they fell asleep; so that, when their Reader met with some suspicious Passages, and asked, If they did not condemn it? They started out of their Sleep, and said, half asleep, some *dammamus*, and others only *namus*. *Berengarius's* Words have greater force, than mine; therefore give me leave to produce them. He applies the Thoughts of the ancient *Latin* Poets very prettily. "Post aliqua Pontifices infultare, pedem pedi ap- plodere, ridere, nugari conspiceres, ut facile qui- libet judicaret illos non Christo vota persolvere, sed Baccho. Inter hæc salutantur cyphi, pocula celebrantur, laudantur vina, Pontificum guttura ir- riganur. — Lethæi potio fucci Pontificum cor- da jam sepeliera. Ecce, inquit Satyricus,

- - - - inter pocula querunt
Pontifices faturi quid dia poemata narrent.

"Denique cum aliquid subtile divinumque sonabat quod auribus pontificalibus erat insolitum, audientes omnes dissecabantur cordibus suis, & stridebant dentibus in Petram, & oculos talpæ habentes in Philosophum, hoc, inquit, sineremus vivere mon- strum. — Cujus (vini) calor ita incefferat cere- bris, ut in somni letargiam oculi omnium solverentur. Inter hæc sonat lector, sterit auditor. Alius cubito innititur ut det oculis suis somnum, alius super molle cervical dormitionem palpebris suis molitur, alius super genua caput reclinans dormitat. Cum itaque lector in Petri fati aliquid reperiret spinetum, furdus exclamabat auribus Pontificum, *damnatis?* Tunc quidam vix ad extremam syllabam expergefacti, somnolenta voce, capite pendulo, *dammamus* ajebant. Alii vero damnantium tumul- tu excitati, decapitata prima syllaba, *namus* inquit. I cannot forbear inserting here this short Story. A Judge was wont to fall asleep sometimes on the Bench: "One Day the President, gathering the Votes of the Court, and coming to ask his: he answered, starting out of his Sleep, and not being quite awake, *That his Opinion was, that the Man should be beheaded. But the Business in hand is about a Meadow*, said the President: *Let it be mowed then*; replied the Judge (1). *Balzac* had perhaps read this in a burlesque Piece of *Francis Holman*, disguised under the Name of *Matago- nibus*, against *Matthæus*. "Nota omnibus, *says he*, est historia de eo qui cum dormiens præ- die excitatus & sententiam interrogatus esset, iemi- somnis dixit, suspendatur, suspendatur, credens criminem processum esse. Cui præcis, quinimo, inquit, agitur de prato; ergo defalcetur, respondit *ebrius*."

[B] Seeing the ill Disposition of his Judges, he appealed to the Pope. *Orto Frisingensis* says, that *Abelard* apprehended he should be overwhelmed by popular Tumults, and that, to avoid this Misfortune, he demanded to be referred to the Court of *Rome*. *Dum de fide sua discuteretur, seditionem populi timent, Apostolicæ sedis præsentiam appellavit* (2). He had reason to distrust a Mob, animated by the Declama- tions of his Accusers, who cried him down as a Destroyer of the most Holy Mysteries of the Gos- pel.

[C] At the Instigation of St Bernard, he was condemned without being heard. The same Injustice was done him, in the Council of *Soissons*, and this was done on a very ill Pretence; which was, That they feared the Subtlety of his Logic, and the Force of his Eloquence. *Libros quos ediderat propria manu ab Episcopis igni dare coactus est, nulla sibi respondendi facultate, eo quod disceptandi in eo peritia ab omnibus suspecta haberetur, concessa* (3). The President of *Ar- gentré*, had reason to find fault, that, upon such an account, they should transgress one of the most Sa- cred Laws of Justice; that *No Man ought to be condemned unheard; audiatur & altera pars*.

Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Æquum licet statuerit, haut æquus fuerit (4).

He, who determines any thing, without hearing the other side, though he determines right, is unjust.

Here is what He, who published *Peter Abelard's* Works, says of That Author; "Queritur eum non fuisse auditum in Concilio contra eum coacto, quod omnes quantumvis docti & subiles ejus acumen ingenii, lingue verfatilis volubilitatem, eloquentiæ flumen aureum, vel potius fulmen igneum & tri- fulcum, syllogismorum gryfos & contorta entyme- mata, reformidant (5). — He complains, that *Abelard* was not heard, in the Council, which was called against him; because All of them, learned and subtle as they were, dreaded the Acuteness of his Wit, the Volubility of his Tongue, the golden Flow, or rather Lightning, of his Eloquence, with the Sub- tility and Pointedness of his Syllogisms and Enty- mæ's

[D] — this Proceeding of St Bernard does little Honour to his Memory. Zeal and Solitude made him very choleric, and very credulous, if we may believe the same Author (6). This Observation was made by a more ancient Author, though it has not retained all the Impressions of it's Original; for see what *Orto Frisingensis* says: "Erat autem Bernardus Claraval- lensis Abbas tam ex Christianæ religionis fervore zelotypus, quam ex habituali mansuetudine quo- dammodo credulus, ut & Magistros, qui humanis rationibus seculari sapientia confisi nimium inha- rebant, abhorreret, & si quicumque ei Christianæ fidei absonum de talibus diceretur, facile aurem præberet (7). — Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, was both passionately zealous for the Christian Religion, and, thro' an habitual Mildness of Dis- position, a little too credulous; insomuch, that he abhorred those Teachers, who, depending on worldly Wisdom, stuck too much to human Reason; and, whenever they were reported to him to have ad- vanced any Doctrine contrary to the Christian Faith, — he

(2) Orto Frising. de gestis Frid. lib. 1, c. 48.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. 47.

(4) Seneca Medea, Act. II, sc. 11.

(5) Argen- tré apud Franc. Ambrosium, Pref. Apol- log. ad ope- ra Abelardii.

(6) Argen- tré, ibid.

(7) Orto Frising. de Gest. Frid. lib. 1, c. 47.

(1) Balzac, Aristipp. pag. 199.

(c) See Remark [I].

(d) Viz.

That the Soul

was created

in Heaven.

Dum digni-

tatem ani-

me jactitas,

originem ei

fiduciam flo-

re jejuni e-

loquii nun-

dinaris.

Quod si in

Petri opus-

culis huius

vecordiam

reperisses,

non est du-

bium, quin

eam inter

illa que pe-

peristi capi-

tulorum

monstra lo-

castica.

Bereng. in

Oper. Aba-

lardi, p. 315.

(8) D. Ber-

nardus cum

co simulatas

gravissimas

exercuit, ita

ut literas a-

crimonie

p'enas scrip-

serit ad va-

rios, Argen-

tre, ibid.

(9) Beren-

gar. in Oper.

Abelardi,

p. 322, 323.

(10) Ibid.

pag. 322.

(11) Ibid.

pag. 303.

nor written; and some things, which *Abelard* never understood according to the Sense, which was imputed to him (c). This is what the Apologist intended to shew, in the second Part of his Work; but he did not write it; and he had his Reasons for it [E]. In the mean time, he gave *St Bernard* to understand, in the first Part, that he should not persecute others on account of their Doctrine, since his own Writings were not free from Errors. He maintained, against him, That he had taught a Thing, which he would not have failed to infer, as a monstrous Doctrine, in his Extracts out of *Abelard*, if *Abelard* had vented it (d). This Recrimination of *Berengarius* was useless; he had to do with one of those privileged Persons, who acquire the Benefit of Impunity, by the great Services, which they pretend they have done to the Cause [F]. He had no better Success in representing to That Informer the Indulgence, which was shewn to the Errors of some Fathers of the Church. Besides This Piece of *Berengarius*, we have two Letters of his, one to the Bishop of *Mende*, the other against the *Carthusians*. They are printed with *Abelard's* Works. He supports, in all his Writings, the Character of a fiery, fowre, Spirit, which *Petrarch* gave him [G]; but he says, that his Invektive against the *Carthusians* was

"be readily believed it." Thus the Providence of God dispenses good and evil: Most of Those, who have a great Zeal, become credulous and suspicious, and easily conceive an extraordinary Animosity against Those, whom they suspect; They write Letter upon Letter against them (8); They alarm the Consciences of others, and give themselves no rest, 'till they have inspired their Prepossessions into every Body. If a Book is to be examined, God knows how difficult it is for them to understand the true Sense of the Author, and to put the most equitable Construction upon his Words. See the Remark [I].

[E] He did not write the second Part of his *Apology* for *Abelard*; and he had his Reasons for it.] Perhaps he did not give the true Reason of his Silence. This Reason was, probably, the fear of stirring up all the Monks, and the Clergy, against him, and of being exposed thereby to the People's Indignation, and a thousand Mischiefs. He knew how odious he had made himself by the first Part of his Book; but the second would have much more exasperated the People. The first contained only hard Words, and Reproaches, with some Recriminations, which could do but little Prejudice to *St Bernard*; but the second would have convicted him of Knavery, or Ignorance, and consequently of being an unjust Persecutor. The plainer the thing had been, the more angry they would have been with *Berengarius*, the Destroyer of an holy Reputation, so usefully established in the Minds of People. So that he found it more proper to be silent, and to justify his Silence by shameful Nonsense. He declared, that Time had made him wise, and that he had embraced *St Bernard's* Opinion, and refused to protect Doctrines, which founded ill, though they were not bad in the main: *Lastly*, That if he had said any thing against the Man of God, he desired it should be looked upon as said in jest, and not in earnest. *Processu temporis meum sapere crevit: & in sententiam Abbatis pedibus, ut dicitur, ivi. Nolut esse patronus capitulorum obsectorum Abelardo, quia estis sanum sapientem, non sane sonabant. - - - Si quid in personam hominis Dei dixi joco, legatur non serio* (9). And yet, a little before, he had said, that his Censure of *St Bernard* was well grounded. It is the true Sense of these Words: *Legant eruditi viri Apologeticum quem edidi, & si dominum Abbatem justum non argui, licenter me redarguant.* Is not this the Nonsense of a Man, who dares not say, that he is in the right, and who is ashamed to confess, that he is in the wrong?

[F] He had to do with one of those privileged Persons, who acquire the Benefit of Impunity by the great Services, which they pretend they have done to the Cause.] *St Bernard* had a very agreeable Stile: The whole World was over-run with the Productions of his Pen; his Books flew every where; and were in great Numbers. *Mirantur homines in te liberalium disciplinarum ignaro tantam ubertatem facundie, quia emissionis tue jam cooperuerunt universam superficiem terræ* (10). The Reputation of his Sanctity, Zeal, and Miracles, was no less spread, than That of his Pen. *Jamdudum sanctitatis tue odorem ales per orbem fama dispersit, præconisavit merita, miracula declaravit* (11). With all these Advantages, he was able to ruin any Man's Reputation; much less could

so great a Philosopher, as *Abelard*, expect to pass for Orthodox in spite of him. *Berengarius* has very happily represented the Authority of the Man of God in this manner, "Damnatur, prohi dolor! absens, inauditus, & inconvictus. Quid dicam, quidve non dicam? Bernarde,

Nil opus est bello, veniam pacemque rogamus,

Porrigimus junctas ad tua lora manus.

Jura cadent rerum, vertetur sanctio legum,

Si vis, si mandas, si sic decernis agendum,

Quem penes arbitrium est & vis & norma loquendi (12).

(12) Ibid.
pag. 307.

"He is condemned, alas! absent, unheard, and unconvicted. What shall I say, or what shall I not say? O Bernarde,

Enough of War; henceforth let Discord cease;

Vanquish'd, to Thee we humbly sue for Peace;

Right shall be Wrong, Unlawful Law shall be;

For Right and Law depend alone on Thee.

Where is the Orthodoxy, that can hold out against such Accusers? The People are so much prepossessed, that they will scarce suffer one to make a Defence; It cannot be done without charging the Promoter of the Process, and the Informer, with Calumny; but there is no enduring This. *What? shall we suffer so great a Servant of God to be defamed, as an egregious Calumniator? God forbid: the Honour of the Church is too much concerned in it.* Thus an inconsiderable private Man may say; "I shall be Orthodox, or Heterodox, according as such a one pleases; for, if he attacks my Doctrine, they neither dare, nor can, absolve me; My Justification would disgrace him, and would rejoice the Enemy too much. In vain might I accuse him, in my turn; no regard would be had to it: I have not laboured for the Good of the Church like him; I do not deserve the Immunities, which are due to his Studies, and indefatigable Vigilance. A great many People would take it ill, that I should dare to publish Apologies, and would say to me, if they durst speak their Mind, what *Caligula* said to his Brother. *What? Do'st Thou take an Antidote against Cæsar* (13)? I should seem to them worthy of a new Accusation, because I did not sink under the first." *Quintus Scaevola*, who was one of the noblest Men of his Time, was treated in the same manner; "Diem Scaevolæ dixit posteaquam compertum eum posse vivere: cum ab eo quaereretur quid tandem accusatoris esset eum, quem pro dignitate ne laudare quidem quilibet satis commodè posset, ajunt hominem (ut erat furiosus) respondisse, quod non totum telum corpore recepisset" (14). - - - - *When he found Scaevola was out of Danger, he entered an Action, against him; and, being asked, what he had to alledge against a Person, whose Merit deserved the biggest Praise, the enraged Fellow is said to have replied, Because he did not receive the whole Weapon in his Body.*

[G] He supported, in all his Writings, the Character of a fiery, and fowre, Spirit, which *Petrarch* had given him.] These are *Petrarch's* Words in his *Apology*: "Damnavit *Bernardus Claraevallensis Abbas* "Petrum

(13) Traci-
daturus fra-
trem, quæ-
metu vene-
remoniri præ-
moniri medi-
camentis
Antidotum
inquit, ad-
versus Cæ-
sarem?
Sueton. in
Calig. c. 29.

(14) Cicero,
pro Sex. Ros-
cio.

(e) Volui
recare in
eis immoder-
atam licen-
tiam lingue,
quia velut
quidam Geo-
metræ to-
tom orbem
mensura-
bant. *Ibid.*
pag. 323.

was only designed to reclaim them from their detracting Temper (e). They, who have said, that he was of a small Stature, have misunderstood the Author they quote (f). At the bottom, the Reproaches of Heterodoxy, which he made to St Bernard, are meer Cavils, and serve only to shew, that, when a Man infits too rigidly on certain Expressions, without putting on That Spirit of Equity, which looks for the Sense of an Author in the Design, and Principles, of his Works, it is easy for him to discover Erroneous Propositions. I do not pretend, that all the Errors, imputed to Abeldard, have as bad a Foundation as This [H]; but it cannot be denied, as to the greatest part of them [I]; and therefore St Bernard's Friends had now just Reason to complain, that some Errors are found in his Works, by making use of his own Method against him. It is for the Advantage of the Public, that some Men should be obliged to cry out,

(f) See Re-
mark [G].

— — — — — Eheu
Quàm temerè in nosmet legem sanximus iniquam ! (g)

(g) Horat.
Sat. iii, lib.
I, ver. 66.

— — — — — unthinking that we are,
To establish Precedents against ourselves.

The

" Petrum Abeldardum literatum quondam virum.
" Huic iratus Berengarius Pictaviensis vir, & ipse
" non infacundus ac discipulus Petri, contra Bernar-
" dum librum unum scriptis, non magni quidem
" corporis, sed ingentis acrimonie. De
" quo postmodum à multis increpatus se excusavit
" quod adolescens scripsisset, & quod sibi viri sancti-
" tas nondum penitus nota esset. ----- Bernard,
" Abbot of Clairvaux, condemned Peter Abeldard, a
" very learned Man. Enraged at This, Berengarius,
" of Poitiers, himself not ineloquent, and besides a
" Disciple of Peter, wrote one Piece against Bernard,
" not very bulky indeed, but of Great Acrimony.
" Being reprehended by many for it, he pleaded, in
" his Excuse, that he wrote it in his Youth, when
" he was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the
" Sanctity of Bernard." Francis d'Amboise, not con-
" sidering this Passage with sufficient Attention, found
" in it, that Berengarius was a little Man; " De Be-
" rengario ----- Petrarcha in Apologia ait ipsum
" fuisse facundum, non magni corporis, sed ingentis
" acrimonie (15). ----- Petrarch, in his Apology,
" says, that he was an eloquent Man, of small Sta-
" ture, but great Acrimony." This ought to teach
" Authors, and, first of all, myself, to be continually
" on their Guard against those Distractions of Mind,
" which are so often the Cause, that we apply, to one
" thing, what Thofe, whom we transcribe, have said
" of another.

(15) Pref.
Apolog. ad
Opera Abel-
dard.

[H] The Reproaches of Heterodoxy, which he made to St Bernard, are meer cavils. ----- The Errors imputed to Abeldard have not All as bad a Foundation as This.] For example, no wrong was done him, in accusing him of having too far extended the Power of Free-will, and the Necessity of Grace too little. He expressed himself so clearly upon This (16), that whoever should undertake to justify him, would imitate the Insincerity of Thofe, who, on other questions, maintain, that he was an Heretic. Neither must there be any cavilling about certain Articles, which it is difficult not to adopt, when once the Doctrine of Free-will is embraced. We may, therefore, say, that it is very true, that Abeldard had a great Indulgence for sins of Ignorance, and that he damned no body for Philosophical Sin (17). He seems also to me to have taught plainly, that JESUS CHRIST did not die to redeem us from the Tyranny of the Devil; but that the Love, which God shewed to Mankind by the Incarnation of his Son, should incline us to love him reciprocally; and to follow the Instructions, and the example, of an Incarnate God. This Doctrine is half Socinian, and, according to St Bernard, whoever maintains it deserves less to be confuted, than to be cudgelled. Annon justius eo loquens Italia fustibus tunderetur, quam rationibus refelleretur (18)? Here is another offensive Doctrine; viz. that Things, which never were, nor ever shall be, are not possible. This was, without doubt, Abeldard's Opinion (19); and I do not see, that They, who say, that God is determined by his Infinite Wisdom to do what is most worthy of himself, can consistently with themselves deny This Philosopher's Doctrine. See the Remark [M]. I omit some other Opinions, which might reasonably have been imputed to him, and which are either true, or indifferent to Religion.

(16) See his
Exposition of
the Epistle
to the Ro-
mans, pag.
652, & seq.

(17) See his
Works, pag.
472, 591,
592.

(18) Bern-
ard. Epist.
ad Innoc.
Papam.

(19) See
pag. 112,
117, of his
Works.

[I] ----- but it cannot be denied as to the greatest Part of them.] This Assertion was falsely imputed to him: " Deus pater plena est potentia, Filius quaedam
" potentia, Spiritus Sanctus nulla potentia. -----
" God the FATHER is Full Power, The Son Some
" Power, The HOLY GHOST No Power." They,
" who are most partial to St Bernard, own, that he did
" not apprehend the Author's Opinion. " Abeldardi
" mentem affecit non videntur S. Bernardus, Abbas
" S. Theodorici, & Anonymus, qui ipsi tribuunt, &c.
" (20). ----- St Bernard, Abbot of S. Theodoric, and
" an Anonymous Author, do not seem to have under-
" stood Abeldard's Meaning, when They impute to him,
" &c. Non ideo in Sabellianam aut Arianam hæ-
" resim impigit, non Trinitatem destruxit, non blas-
" phemiam dixit in Spiritum Sanctum, non Deorum
" novorum annuntiator fuit, ut maximi illi viri fer-
" vore disputationis abrepti ipsi improperarunt (21).
" ----- He was not a Sabellian, or an Arian, he did
" not destroy the Trinity, he did not blaspheme against
" the HOLY GHOST, he was not a setter forth of
" new Gods, as these Great Men, carried away by
" the Heat of Disputation, have hastily asserted." The Thing speaks of itself, when the whole Passage of Abeldard is examined. He was found a Heretic in these words: " Spiritus quamvis ejusdem substantie
" sit cum patre & filio, unde etiam Trinitas $\mu\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ -
" os, id est, unius substantie, prædicatur, minime
" tamen ex substantia patris aut filii, si proprie loqui-
" mur, esse dicendus est, quod oportet ipsum ex pa-
" tre vel filio gigni, sed magis ex ipso habet pro-
" cedere. ----- The Spirit, though he be of the same
" Substance with the FATHER and the SON, whence
" the Trinity is said to be $\mu\upsilon\sigma\omicron\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, or Consubstan-
" tial, yet he must not be said to be of the Substance
" of the FATHER and SON, properly speaking, be-
" cause he must be begotten of the FATHER or SON,
" or rather proceed from them." But, if the Laws
" of Equity had been ever so little followed, it might
" have been apprehended, that he acknowledges the
" Substance of That Doctrine, and that he has nothing
" Particular, but one of Those Abstractions of Logic,
" which will always be unavoidable by Thofe, who
" will argue about the Difference of the Three Per-
" sons. He was charged with teaching that the HOLY
" GHOST is the Soul of the World (22), and that
" there is no sin, either in Action, or in the Will, or
" in Lust, or in the Pleasure, which excites it, and
" that we should not desire to stifle these things. He
" maintains, in his Apology, that he had never said,
" nor wrote, such a Proposition (23). There is men-
" tion made of an Apology, which he published, where-
" in he partly denied the Propositions, that were ob-
" jected against him, as to the words, and altogether as
" to the Sense. Ad Cluniacense Cænobium se contulit.
" Apologeticum scribens prædictorum capitulorum, partim
" verba, ex toto autem sensum negans (24).

(20) Nata-
lis Alexan-
der, Sæc. xi,
xii, Part.
III, pag. 19.

(21) Id. ib.
pag. 21.

(22) Nothing
is worse
grounded
than This.
See Father
Alexander,
ibid. pag. 27.

(23) Oper.
Abel. pag.
333.

(24) Otho
Frisling. lib.
i, cap. 49.

(25) See the
Notes of An-
drew du
Chene, on
Abeldard's
Relation, pag.
xix, x,
xix, x.

The Mischief is, that the Event does not always prove prejudicial to the Aggressor; for we see, to this Day, the unfortunate *Abelard* covered with Shame and Ignominy [K], whilst his Adversary is invoked as a Saint. He had been condemned at *Soissons*, in a Council, where the Pope's Legate presided; which Legate understood nothing of the State of the Question [L]. *Gerfon* believed, that the famous *Berengarius*, who denied the Real Presence, was a Scholar of *Peter Abelard* (b); perhaps he took him for Him, who makes the Subject of This Article; however he is mistaken, since *Abelard* was not ten Years of Age, when the Adversary of the Real Presence died.

They, who would know more particularly, whether *Berengarius* had Reason to pretend, that *Abelard* was not an Heretic, who deserved the Persecutions, which were raised against him, will do well to consult *Mr du Pin*, who passes an equitable Judgment on This Man's Doctrine; and particularly on the fourteen Propositions extracted out of his Works, and read in the Council of *Sens*. *It cannot be denied*, says he (i), *but that his Opinions concerning the Mystery of the Trinity were Oribodox, and that he believed the three Divine Persons to be of the same Nature*. I shall set down all that he has said about this Proposition of *Abelard*; GOD cannot do but what he does [M]. It is a more important and difficult Question, than can be imagined. I shall

(b) *Gerfon*, Oper. Tom. iv. Alphabet. to 69, Lit. Q. fol. 212.

(i) *Du Pin*, Biblioth. of the Ecclesiastical Authors, Tom. IX, pag. 122. Edit. of Holl.

(26) *Bereng.* in Oper. *Abel.* p. 310.

(27) *Garafe*, in his Summary of Divinity, pag. 304. and in his Curious Doctrine, pag. 266.

(28) Quod melius Nicolaus iste meus, imo & vester, viva referret voce. *Bernard. Epist. ad Innoc. II. in Operib. Abel.* pag. 275.

(29) Hoc classico multum a spiritualia excitati sunt. Admovere facies incedunt ut dominatorem ab eo (Petrus) extirpant. *Abel.* *Pres. Abel.*

(30) *Notis* in *Bernard.* fol. 37.

"que per malitiam vel ignorantiam prolutum est." *Berengarius*, his Apologist, denied it with more restriction. "Indiculum vidimus, in quo non Petri dogmata, sed nefandi commentarii capitula legimus. — Hæc & alia indiculum tuus continet, quorum quædam, fateor, Petrus & dixit & scripsit, quædam vero neque protulit neque scripsit. Quæ autem dixerit, & quæ non dixerit, & quam Catholica mente ea quæ dixerit fensit, secundum arcepti Operis prælatum Christiana disputatione ardentur & inipigrè declarabit (26). — I have seen an Index, in which I have read, not the Tenets of Peter, but Articles impudently invented. — Your Index contains These and Others, some of which, I confess, Peter both spoke, and wrote, and some he never either produced, or wrote. What he has said, and what he has not said, and with how Catholic a Disposition he conceived what he has said, The second Treatise of the Work, complained of, will warmly and zealously declare, in a Christian Disputation." Some accuse *Abelard* of having taught, that there are as many Heavens, as Days in the Year; and they add, that he was answered, That he supposed so great a number of them, that he might secure one, which would fit him (27). But this is rather Jesting than Disputing. It was, therefore, a very great Piece of Injustice to give the Cause for the Accuser, without knowing, whether the Accused acknowledged the Work, out of which These Propositions were extracted, for his own; whether he owned, that they were faithfully extracted; whether he understood them in the Accuser's Sense, &c. &c. And the Pope, who, from the Extracts, condemned the Books to be burnt, and *Abelard* to a Cloyster, without informing himself, whether *Abelard* taught those things, was more unjust, than the Synod of *Sens*. The Accuser's Letters, and the Messenger, whom he sent to the Court of *Rome*, and who said all that was necessary to make *Abelard* odious (28), completed the Oppression. *Francis d'Amboise* has described very lively the Part, which *St Bernard* acted in This whole Process. It was That of a Trumpeter sounding the Charge, and That of an Incendiary setting Fire to the Powder (29): since he sent to the Pope all the filth he could collect, and which ill-affected Peasants had gathered either out of his Adversary's Writings, or Lectures, or out of the Papers, which were published under his Name. And, therefore, I do not wonder, that *Horsius* inveighed against *Francis d'Amboise* (30); but I cannot tell whether he censured him for a thing, which deserved it; I mean for having said, that *Peter* the Venerable wrote to *Innocent II*, that *Abelard*, oppressed by the Vexations of some Men, who treated him as an Heretic, appealed to the Holy See. *At Abelardum — gravatum vexationibus quorundam qui illi nomen hæretici quod vult abominabatur imponere volebant, Majestatem Apostolicam se appellasse*. Whoever wrote thus to the Pope, plainly laid the Blame upon *St Bernard*; but This Business was not transacted in This Manner. *Peter* the Venerable said only, that *Abelard* gave out, he was persecuted. *Quævisimus quo tenderet, gravatum se vexationibus, &c. Majestatem Apostolicam se appellasse respondit*.

[K] We see, to this Day, the unfortunate *Abelard* covered with Shame and ignominy.] Thus he is charged

to the end of the World with all the Errors, which were imputed to him in the Council of *Sens*, and with several others. *Peter of Pergamo* charges him with denying, that GOD is the Author of all Good, that he is a simple Being, that he alone is Eternal, and that every thing, which exists, is either Creator, or Creature (31). *Bernard of Luxemburg* ascribes the same Things to him, upon the Credit of the other. *Prætelus* has followed *Bernard* (32), and has been copied by the Jesuit *Gaultier* (33). *Belleforest*, and *du Haillan*, have done like *Prætelus*. The Writers of the Catalogues of Heretics, who like Sheep follow one another, *Sanderus*, *Alphonfus de Castro*, &c. have not failed to adopt these Accusations. But, on the other hand, They, who inserted him in the Catalogue of the Witnesses of the Truth (34), knew not what they did: He had indeed some particular Opinions about the Eucharistical Accidents; but it was rather in supposing the Real Presence, than in denying it.

[L] The Legate, who condemned him, understood nothing of the State of the Question.] After the Condemnation was pronounced, one of the Accusers muttered, that he had read in *Abelard's* Book, that GOD the Father is the Only Almighty (35). The Legate, having a very good Ear, heard it, and answered, that they ought not so much as to believe, that a Child was capable of falling into so great an Error, since, according to the common and public Faith, there are three Almighties. A Doctor, laughing at the Legate, could not forbear quoting these words of *St Albanasus*; *Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens. — And yet there are not Three Almighties, but One Almighty*. His Bishop censured him for it; but he was boldly answered with a Passage of *Daniel*, concerning ignorant Judges, who deserve more to be condemned than Those, whom they judge. "Sic fatui filii Israël, non judicantes neque quod verum est cognoscentes condemnastis filium Israël. Revertimini ad iudicium, & de ipso judge iudicate." He added of his own; "qui talia iudicem quasi ad instructionem fidei & correctionem erroris instituitis, qui cum iudicare deberet, ore se proprio condemnavit. — Who have set up such a Judge, as it were for Instruction in the Faith, and Correction of Error, who, when he ought to have judged, condemned himself out of his own Mouth."

[M] *Mr Du Pin's Judgment on This Proposition* of *Abelard*, GOD cannot do but what he does.] Neither does he deny, that Power, Wisdom, and Love, are Attributes common to the three Divine Persons; nay he declares the contrary in express words: "but he attributes Power to the FATHER, Wisdom to the SON, and Love to the HOLY GHOST, by way of Appropriation; in which he does not seem to recede from the Doctrine of the Fathers and Divines. But he does not think, and speak, as others do, in the Third Proposition, wherein he maintains, that GOD cannot do but what he does, and cannot do all that he does not; not but that he acknowledges, that the Power of GOD in itself can extend to other Objects; but he pretends, that, being considered as joined to the Will and Will of GOD, he cannot will, or do any thing, but what he wills, and actually does (36)." You will see this more at large in the Substance, which *Mr du*

(31) *Petr.* *Pergam.* apud *Bern.* *Luxemburg.* *Catal. Hæret.*

(32) *Prætel.* *Tabul. Hæret.*

(33) *Gault.* *Tabul. Chronol.*

(34) See the Life of *Abelard*, by *Thomasius*, printed in the first Part of the *Historia Sapientie & Stultitie*, at Hall, in Germany, in 1693.

(35) *Oper. Abel.* p. 24.

(36) *Du Pin*, Biblioth. of Ecclesiastical Authors, Tom. IX, pag. 122. Edit. Holl.

shall add to this, that the Protestants are more inclined to condemn *Abelard* [N], than many Catholics are, and I shall quote a Passage of Mr *Joly*, a Canon of *Notre Dame* at *Paris*.

(37) *Book III. of the Introduction to Divinity.*

Pis has given of one of *Abelard's* Works (37). "In the third Book, he treats particularly of the Power of God; and he maintains, that God can do but what he does, and cannot do all that he does not, because God can do but what he will: now he cannot have the Will to do any thing but what he does, because he does necessarily will all that is fit to be done; from whence it follows, that, whatever he does not, is not fit to be done; that he cannot have the Will to do it; and consequently that he cannot do it. He himself confesses, that this Opinion is peculiar to him; that scarce any body else approves of it; that it seems contrary to the Doctrine of the Saints, and to Reason, and to derogate from the greatness of God. Hereupon he raises a difficult Objection against himself: A Reprobate, says he, may be saved; but he cannot be saved except God saves him: therefore God can save him, and consequently do something, which he does not. He answers, that it may be said indeed, that this Man may be saved, as to the Possibility of human Nature, which is capable of Salvation; but that it cannot be said, that God can save him, with relation to God himself, because it is impossible, that God should do what he ought not to do: He explains this by divers Examples: A Man that speaks may hold his Tongue; but a Man that does actually speak cannot be silent: the Voice may be heard, but a deaf Man cannot hear it: a Field may be manured, though a Man cannot manure it, &c (38)."

(38) *Du Pin, ibid. Tom. IX, pag. 219, 220.*

I may perhaps examine this Doctrine in one of the Remarks on the Article *WICLIFFE*.

[N] *The Protestants are more inclined to condemn Abelard than many Catholics.* "Hornbeck, at the beginning of his *Apparatus ad controversias & dissertationes Socinianas*, observes *Abelard's* Heresies. "Perizonius in his *Specimen Apologeticum anti-Gualterianum* (39) *accusationibus Jacobi Gualterii Jesuitæ oppositum*, in his fifth Defence, *de fide implicita*, gives likewise an ample Description of *Abelard*, and of his Opinions, and shews at large, *Pontificios, & nominatim Jesuitas, in multis cum Abelardo convenire*: — that the Roman Catholics, and particularly the Jesuits, agree in many things with *Abelard*. He draws a Parallel between them, and shews, in another Place of That fifth

(39) *This is an Anti-Gualterian, omitted by Mr Baillet.*

Defence, *Quàm pulchrè Sociniani præluxerit, minime obscurum est*: — — — — that it is well known how he prepared the way to Socinianism. *Beckmannus*, in his Theological Exercitations, *Exercit. 2* says, that, *Socinus hunc errorem, Christum pro peccatis nostris non esse mortuum, è lacunis veterum hausit; quippe, anno Christi 1140, in Gallis Petrus Abailardus (quem Bernardus & Otho Frisingensis Abailardum, Platina Baillardum, vocant) idem docuit* (40). — — — — *Socinus borrowed This Error* (that Christ did not die for our Sins) from the Ancients; since, in the Year 1140, Peter *Abelard* (whom Bernard and Otho of Frisingen call *Abailard*, and Platina *Baillard*) taught the same in France. *Joly*, a Canon of *Notre Dame* at *Paris* — — — — says, in his Treatise of the Restitutions of Great Men, That *Abelard's* Enemies, being jealous of his Reputation, did so much impose upon St Bernard, who proceeded honestly in the matter, that we find, that the Book of the Sentences was condemned to be burnt under the Name of *Abelard*, as being the Author of it; though it was of *Peter Lombard*, Bishop of *Paris*: a Work, nevertheless, adds he, which is known to be canonized in the *Sorbonne*; and on which all the Scholastic Divinity is founded. He says again, That the same *Abelard* was very much abused and persecuted by the Monks of St Denis in France, and by St Gildas (41) of *Ruys*, near *Vannes*, in *Bretagne*; because he reproved their Vices (42)."

(40) *Anellon, Mélanges Critiques de littérature, Tom. I, pag. 4.*

(41) *He Joss. A. has a Just, and by those of St Gildas.*

(42) *Anellon, ubi supra, pag. 4.*

I shall observe two things, upon This Passage of Mr *Anellon*: the one is, that, in effect, *Abelard's* Opinions, about the Doctrine of Grace, are much the same with Those, which the Jesuits maintain. But Mr *du Pin* observes, that, if This Author's Doctrine "be not conformable to St *Augustin's* Doctrine — — — — neither is it Pelagian, nor Semipelagian, "since he acknowledges the Necessity of Grace for the beginning of good Actions, and maintains only, that God has given an equal Grace to all Men, whereof every one may make a good use, or reject it (43)." The second thing I have to observe, is, that I shall enquire, in another place, whether the Book of the Sentences, condemned to be burnt under the Name of *Abelard*, be That of *Peter Lombard*.

(43) *Du Pin, ubi supra, pag. 125.*

BERENICE, the Name of several Women and Cities. We shall speak of some of These Women; and, as to the Cities, we shall only observe, that *Ortelius* reckons nine of them, and that the two chief were in *Africa*, one in *Pentapolis*, and the other in the Red-Sea. The latter received This Name in honour of *Berenice*, the Mother of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* (a), and the other in honour of *Berenice*, the Wife of *Ptolomy*, the Third of That Name (b). *Berenice* is a Greek Name [A].

(a) *Plin. lib. vi, c. 29.*

(b) *Solinus, cap. 27.*

[A] *Berenice is a Greek Name.* It was formed from That of *Βερενίκη*, that is to say, *Victory-Braver*, by the Macedonians, who changed *Pb*. into *B*. See *Plutarch* (1), and *Steph. Byzantinus* (2). Hence it is,

(1) *Plutarch. in Cuest. Græcis 293, E.*

(2) *Stephan. Byzantin. voce Βερενίκη.*

that some Authors call Her *Pbernice*, whom others call *Berenice*. There are some, who, instead of *Berenice*, say, in Latin, *Beronice*.

BERENICE, Daughter, Sister, and Mother, of some Persons, who carried the Prize at the Olympian Games (a), obtained, by reason of such Singularity, leave to assist at Those Games, which had been forbidden other Women, by a public Decree [A]. Some say she obtained This Privilege, before her Son was *Victor* [B].

(a) *Un Berenice, que filia fortis, mater Olympionicarum. Plinius lib. 7, c. 21. Editio Harduini, quæ juxta MSS. omnes habet Berenice, cum libris editi habent Pterene.*

[A] *She obtained the Privilege of assisting at the Olympic Games; which had been forbidden Women by a public Decree.* This Prohibition supposes, that They did not trust to the Suggestions of Decency and natural Modesty. The Champions were stark naked; which alone ought to have banished the fair Sex from These Shows: Nevertheless, They did not rely upon This: Laws were made, and published, to forbid Women the Sight of These Exercises. Thus far there was no harm in it: They were sensible of the great Power of Curiosity: But who would not condemn the extrem and cruel Rigour of These new Legislators? They ordered, that, if any Woman was surprized in These As-

semblies, or if she passed the River during That Time, she should be thrown headlong from the Top of a Hill (1). It is no wonder, that no Woman suffered this terrible Punishment (2). The Sight of some naked Men could not be a Charm, or Allurement, strong enough to make them blind to so great Danger; and, if there was found a Woman, who did not observe this Prohibition, it was because she thought she ran no hazard; for she was disguised in Man's Apparel, and did not think, that a single Leap would betray her. She was probably overjoyed to see her Son come off Conqueror, that she threw herself a little too merrily over the Barrier: Nay, how do we know, but that her Cloaths caught in

(1) *See Pausanias, Book 7, pag. 133.*

(2) *Id. ibid*

through the Enemy's Troops, to the House, where she believed her Son's Body was hid. This we find in *Valerius Maximus* (a). There is some Probability, that This Author has confounded what relates to two different Persons. The Commentators are puzzled about it [A]. See the Remark.

(a) *Valer. Maxim. lib. ix. cap. 10. lib. fin.*

FAULTS of *Olivarius*, the Commentator on *Valerius Maximus*.

[A] *Valerius Maximus has confounded what relates to two different Persons. The Commentators are puzzled about it.* *Olivarius*, who wrote long Notes on *Valerius Maximus*, full of trivial Erudition, pretends, that the *Berenice* in question was also called *Laodice*, and that she was Sister of *Mitridates*, who waged such a long War with the *Romans*. Whereupon, he relates, that This Lady was first married to *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*; that her second Husband was *Nicomedes*, King of *Bitbynia*; and that the two Sons, which he had by *Ariarathes*, having been killed by *Mitridates*, the one immediately, and the other mediately, she armed herself, and pursued *Cæneus*, who had executed the Order of *Mitridates*, and punished him, as *Valerius Maximus* relates. I observe, against This, I. That *Valerius Maximus* was so far from intending to speak of a Woman, whose Name was *Berenice*, or *Laodice*, that he remarks, that *Laodice* caused the Son of *Berenice* to be killed. II. The first Part indeed of our Commentator's Narrative is to be found in *Justin* (1); but we do not find there, that the Sister of *Mitridates*, who was the Wife of *Ariarathes*, and of *Nicomedes*, had any other Name, than That of *Laodice*. III. We do not find there, that the second Son of *Ariarathes* and *Laodice* was killed by Order of *Mitridates*; we find, on the contrary, that he died of Sickness. *Nec multo post adelesens ex ægritudine collecta infirmitate decessit* (2). IV. The latter Part of This Narrative is manifestly contradicted by *Justin*: See in what manner he relates, that *Laodice* endeavoured to revenge herself of her Brother, after having lost her two Sons. *Nicomedes*, her second Husband, suborned a very handsome Youth, to make it believed, that there remained yet a third Son of *Ariarathes*, and sent *Laodice* to Rome with Orders to testify, that *Ariarathes* had left three Sons, whereof the last was yet living, and demanded his Father's Kingdom of the *Romans*. It is too bold to advance several Facts, with their Circumstances, without being able to cite Authorities for them. Where did *Olivarius* read, that the Sister of *Mitridates* mounted on a Chariot, and pursued *Cæneus*, the Murderer of her second Son? I shall observe, by the way, that *Freinbemi*

had no reason to accuse *Justin* of contradicting himself, or of confounding History prodigiously (3). *Justin* spoke of two *Laodices*, married to two *Ariarathes*'s. The first killed five of her Children, after the Death of her Husband, and would have killed the sixth, the only one that remained, if her Relations had not prevented it (4). The People got rid of This furious Woman. The second *Laodice* married That Son of *Ariarathes*, who was the only remaining one. This will plainly appear in another Place (5). I wish *Justin* was guilty of no other Confusions, and Contradictions.

Father *Cantel* observes, that *Olivarius* was in the wrong to ascribe the Action, which *Valerius Maximus* relates, to *Mitridates*'s Sister. He believes, that *Valerius Maximus* meant *Berenice*, and *Laodice*, Wives of *Antiochus Theus*, and both Daughters of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. It is not universally agreed, that they were Sisters: *Polyænus*, quoted by one of Father *Cantel*'s Fraternity (6), says, that *Laodice*, the Wife of *Antiochus Theus*, was her Husband's Sister, and Daughter of *Antiochus Soter*. As for *Berenice*, the other Wife of *Antiochus Theus*, it is generally agreed, that she was the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Nevertheless, Father *Cantel* is not to be condemned; he has *Appian*'s Authority for what he says (7). He has some reason to believe, that *Valerius Maximus* meant the Wives of *Antiochus Theus*; but he should have censured him for having made an Addition to the sad Fate of *Berenice*. The Valour, which That Author ascribes to his *Berenice*, and her good Success, mentioned by him, against her Son's Murderer, do not agree with the Wife of *Antiochus*; for she was so far from being able to revenge her Son's Death, that she was cruelly murdered, with him, in the Place, whither she had fled. But it is true, that it was one *Laodice*, who was the cause of This Misfortune (8). But, since Father *Cantel* believed, that the Author, whom he commented, had the History of the Wives of *Antiochus Theus* in view, he should not have marked the Six hundred sixty fourth Year of Rome in the Margin: This Chronology differs too much from That, which belongs to These two Princesses (9).

(1) See *Gregorius's Justin. pag. 548.*

(4) *Justin. lib. xxx. iii. cap. i.*

(5) In the *Act. I. CAPPADOCIA, Remar. I. n. III.*

EXAMINATION of the Opinion of Father *Cantel*, One of the Commentators on *Justin*.

(6) By Father *Barlethouin*, on *Pliny. lib. i. cap. 12. pag. 25.*

(7) *Appian. in Syria. circa finem.*

(8) See *Justin. lib. xxvii. cap. i.*

(9) *Antiochus Theus began to reign about the Year of Rome 172. See Calvinius, ad Anna. Mundi 3089.*

(b) *Ætius: μὴν ἑ-δὴν ὑπὸς αὐτὴν καί-τοι φεβύ-μενος ἦν. Πρωμαχὸς ἔ-παται. Ea quam-quam Romanos metuebat nihil tamen manu-ebat prole-mero exhibuit. Dio. lib. 33. pag. 150.*

(c) See *Remark [C].*

(a) See *Remark [C].*

BERENICE, Daughter of *Ptolomy Auletes*, King of *Egypt*, succeeded her Father before his Death. I do not find, that she excited the *Egyptians* to expel him (a); and there is some probability, that they were inclined, of themselves, to get rid of a troublesome Yoke, without being animated to it by Her: But it is certain, that, as soon as the Father was driven out, the Daughter was crowned [A]. This banished Prince implored the Assistance of the *Romans*, and obtained, at last, that *Gabinus*, Governor of *Syria*, should endeavour to restore him. *Pompey* performed it; for the People of *Rome*, relying on some Verses of the *Sybil*, would not concern themselves with This Re-establishment. On the other side, *Berenice* did her utmost Endeavours to maintain herself on the Throne; and, though she feared the *Romans*, she made no Proposals of Accommodation to her Father, nor shewed him any Civility (b). And, believing that a Husband would be of great Use to her, she invited a Prince, whose Name was *Seleucus*, descended from the Kings of *Syria*, and shared with him her Bed, and her Scepter. She was soon weary of him, not finding him a Man of any Merit; and caused him to be killed (c). Afterwards she cast her Eyes on *Archelaus*, the Son of him, who had forsaken the Party of *Mitridates*, to

join

(1) *Strabo. lib. xviii. pag. 547.*

(2) *Porphyr. apud Eusebium, in Chron. pag. 60. Edit. Scaligeri 1636.*

[A] As soon as the Father was driven out, the Daughter was crowned. *Strabo* observes, that That Prince had three Daughters, and that the eldest, who was legitimate, was placed on the Throne (1). This Narrative is not exact, if it be supposed, that *Porphyr* gave a true Account of This Revolution: for he affirms, that *Cleopatra*, or *Tryphene*, and *Berenice*, Daughters of *Ptolomy*, reigned together, the first Year of their Father's Flight, and that, *Tryphene* being dead, her Sister *Berenice* reigned two Years alone (2). This shews, that *Berenice* was not the eldest, and confirms my Opinion, that she did not plot to dethrone the King: The Suspicion rather falls on her Sister *Tryphene*. I do not pretend to deny, that it is possible Ambition might prompt them to favour the Malecon-

tents, and open a way to the Throne for themselves, by the Deposition of their Father; I pretend only, that the ancient Books do not contain this Fact. Mr *Baudet* maintains the contrary (3); but I am certain, that, if what he alleges out of *Dis Cassius*, *Porphyr*, and *Photius*, be examined, his Opinion will not be found to be confirmed thereby. His strongest Allegation is, that *Ptolomy*, stifling all fatherly Affection, caused his Daughter *Berenice* to be put to Death for what she had done. It is plain, that, without making her an Accomplice in the Revolt of the *Egyptians*, one may think she was guilty enough in her Father's Judgment, by considering only, that she accepted the Crown, and used all manner of means to maintain her Usurpation.

(3) *Baudet's Dairval's History of Ptolomy. Act. i. pag. 131. 137. &c.*

(d) Ex Dio-
ne, lib.
xxxix, pag.
130, 131.

join with *Sylla*. She offered herself to him in Marriage [B], and promised him, that he should share in her Royalty. He was, then, in *Gabinus's* Army; and he might easily have been hindered from going to *Berenice*, if *Gabinus* had not rather, for his particular Interest, given him the Liberty to marry That Princess [C]. *Archelaus* married her, and put himself at the Head of Her Army to repel the *Romans*, who pretended to restore King *Ptolomy*. He was slain in Battle; *Ptolomy* re-entered *Alexandria*, and caused his rebellious Daughter to be put to death without Mercy (d). Such was the Fate of *Berenice*. A modern Author has very well unfolded the Intrigues

(4) *Noris's*
Cenotaph.
Plan, pag.
225.

[B] She offered herself to *Archelaus* in Marriage.] I have reason to say This; but *Father Noris* had no reason to say it. "Archelaus à *Berenice* spe nuptiarum Alexandriam evocatus, eadem uxore ducta, copias contra *Gabinium* ducens, victus prælio occubuit, mense regni sexto, ex *Strabone*, lib. 12. pag. 385 (4). ----- *Archelaus*, being invited to Alexandria by *Berenice*, upon an Offer of Marriage, after having wedded her, lead an Army against *Gabinus*, and fell in Battle, in the sixth Month of his Reign, according to *Strabo*, lib. 12. pag. 385." Had I had no other Author to quote but *Strabo*, I would not have said, as *Father Noris* did, that *Berenice* gained him, by a Promise of Marriage. I do not find in *Strabo*, that That Princess had any Thought of *Archelaus*; I find only that the Egyptians, having expelled their King *Ptolomy*, fought for a Prince of the Royal Blood, to marry him to *Berenice*, and that *Archelaus*, knowing this, offered himself to them, under the supposed Quality of the Son of *Mitridates Eupator*, and was accepted, and reigned six Months. Ταύτην ζητούντων ἀνδρὶς βασιλικῆς γένους ἐνέχουσιν αὐτὴν τοῖς συμκρηάταισι, πεποινσαμένῳ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Εὐπάτορῳ υἱὸς εἶναι, καὶ παρὰ τῶνδε, ἐβασίλευσεν ἔξ ἡμῶν (5). Et cum quaeretur maritus regio sanguine natus, de diti je *Archelaus* auxiliarius fuit, simulavitque se filium esse *Mitridatis Eupatoris*, itaque receptus sex menses regno potitus est. This affords us an Example of the great Care, with which a Writer ought to relate what he finds in Authors. The least Liberty, he takes, is sufficient sometimes to injure a Person's Honour. It is not decent, or becoming the Dignity of a Queen, to offer herself in Marriage, and to enice a young Man by the Hopes of marrying her. It belongs to her Subjects to procure a suitable Match for her; which is the Account *Strabo* gives in relation to *Berenice*. The Case should not therefore have been represented as *Father Noris* has done it, or else he should have quoted other Authors, than *Strabo*. If *Dio* had been quoted, *Berenice* might have been decried as a Princess, who, after having usurped the Throne of Him, to whom she owed her Life, went in quest of an Husband, and offered herself, and her Crown, as a Price of the Protection she stood in need of. See the following Remark.

(6) Ex Dio-
ne, lib.
xxxix, pag.
131.

(-) *Dio*,
ibid.

[C] *Gabinus*, who could have hindered him from going to *Berenice*, chose to let him espouse This Princess.] *Gabinus* presently discovered *Archelaus's* Design, and secured him; which might have put an end to The Business: But, fearing he should not find Difficulty enough in the restoring *Ptolomy* to have room to demand all the Sums, which That Prince had promised, he ordered the matter so, that his Re-establishment met with some Obstacles. In this View, he found no better Expedient, than to suffer *Archelaus* to put himself at the Head of the Rebels. *Archelaus* passed for a Man of Courage, and had a great Reputation: To drive him from *Alexandria* seemed a great Exploit to *Gabinus*, for which he might honourably demand great Rewards from *Ptolomy*. Besides, *Gabinus* did not release his Prisoner, till he had extorted a great Sum from him (6): So that he took Money on all Hands, that is of both Parties. A notable Instance of the Tricks that are paid to Sovereigns. Sometimes one Campaign would end a War, if Generals, for their private Advantage, did not dexterously supply the Enemy with an After-game. Take notice, they were obliged to spread a Report, that *Archelaus* had made his Escape (7). *Gabinus*, being well paid for the leave he had given him to escape, pretended, without doubt, to be angry with Those, who kept him. A new Scene of The Comedy! But I observe, that *Strabo* knew nothing of all this Management of *Gabinus*. He says, that *Archelaus* was brought to *Berenice*, without *Gabinus's* Privacy. λαβὼν δὲ τὸν

κοιζέσαι διὰ τινὸς (οἱ τίνων) εἰς τὴν βασιλισσαν, καὶ ἀναδείκνυνται βασιλεῖς. Εὐ (Gabinio) nesciente, per amicos quosdam ad Reginam deductus, rex declaratus fuit (8). Thus he frees that Roman General from a great Reproach. *Strabo* clears *Berenice* in great Measure, and induces us to believe, that she was not guilty of her Father's Expulsion. He says plainly, that That Prince was expelled by the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, who afterwards set the Eldest of his three Daughters on the Throne, and caused one *Cybiastes* to come from *Syria*, who pretended to be descended from the Kings of *Syria*, and gave him the Queen in Marriage. She, being displeased with the Benefits she observed in him, caused him to be strangled a few Days after. It is said, that he caused *Alexander's* Body to be put into a Glass Coffin, to appropriate to himself That massy Gold, out of which he took it. I have read this Fact in a Modern Writer, who quotes *Strabo* and *Suetonius*, two Authors, who say not a word of it (9). The latter says in general, that That Prince was sorely avaricious. "Alexandri Cybiastes eum" (Vespasianum) vocare perleverant, cognomine "unius è regibus suis turpissimum fordidum (10). ----- The Inhabitants of *Alexandria* continued to "nick-name Vespasian Cybiastes, from one of their Kings, who was most sordidly covetous." Τὸν μὲν ἐν δαίγων ἡμερῶν ἀπετραγαλλισεν ἡ Βασιλισσα, ἡ φέρουσα τὸ θάνατον αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ ἀνελευθερῆναι: They are *Strabo's* Words: Hunc intra paucos dies regina strangulevit, cum ejus sordes illiberalitateque pati non posset (11).

You will tell me, that, in the foregoing Page, That Writer mentions one *Ptolomy*, who being come from *Syria*, had carried off The golden Urn, but drew no profit from This Action, being soon overthrown: But how do you know, that This is to be understood of *Berenice's* Husband? Do you not see, that *Strabo* gives only the Title of *Cybiastes* to the latter, and that he gives the Name of *Ptolomy*, and the Surname of *Coccus*, and *Parisæus*, to the other? Ἐγύλας δ' αὐτὴν ὁ Κόκκῃς καὶ Παρισαῖος ἐπικαλεῖται Πτολεμαῖος: aureum Ptolemaeus cognomento Coccus & subditius rapuit (12). Do you not know, that *Dion* calls Him, that was married to *Berenice*, *Seleucus* (13)? Can it be believed, that, if *Strabo* had pretended to speak of the same Man, in the Five hundred forty sixth, and Five hundred forty seventh Pages, he would have expressed himself as he does? There is no Word, or Phrase, in his Narrative, which insinuates, that the Syrian, who carried away the golden Tomb, is the same *Cybiastes*, whom *Berenice* put to Death. Nevertheless, read the learned Reflexions of Mr *Baudelot*, who believes, as well as the Abbot de *St Real*, that *Cybiastes*, and *Ptolomy Coccus*, are one and the same Person (14).

[D] *Archelaus* was slain in Battle.] This does not agree with the seventeenth Book of *Strabo*, where we read, that *Ptolomy*, being re-established in his Kingdom, caused his Daughter, and his Son-in-law *Archelaus*, to be put to Death. Καταχθεὶς ὑπὸ Γαβίνῳ Πτολεμαῖος, τὸν τε Ἀρχέλαον ἀναρεῖ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα. Ptolemaeus, à *Gabinio* reductus, *Archelaum* ac *Filium* interimit (15). But I had rather depend on the twelfth Book of *Strabo*, than on the seventeenth; because *Plutarch* plainly confirms, what *Strabo* relates in the twelfth Book, that *Archelaus* was slain in Battle. Τὸν μὲν ἐν ὁ Γαβίνος ἀνέλεν ἐν παραστάξει, κατὰ τὸν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. Eum *Gabinus* Ptolemaeus reducens in pugna occidit (16). *Plutarch* sets forth, that *Marc Antony* performed several courageous Actions in *Gabinus's* Army, when *Ptolomy* was re-established, and that he did likewise an Act of Humanity, which was much praised; namely, that he caused the Body of his Friend *Archelaus* to be fought for, and made a splendid Funeral for him. Is not this a Proof, that *Archelaus*

(8) *Strabo*,
lib. xvii,
pag. 548.

(9) The Abbot de *St Real*, in his *Cesarion* Entret II, pag. 78.

(10) *Suetonius* in *Vespas. cap. xix.*

(11) *Strabo*,
lib. xvii,
pag. 548.

(12) *ib. ib.*
pag. 548.

(13) *Dio*,
lib. xxxix,
pag. 130.

(14) *Baudelot* de *Dairval's* Hist. of *Ptolomy* Aulites, pag. 170.

(15) *Strabo*,
lib. xvii,
pag. 548.

(16) *Ibid.*
lib. xii. pag. 384.

trigues, which were carried on at Rome, for the Re-establishment of *Ptolomy*; but he is mistaken as to the Circumstances of *Archelaus's* Detention [E].

Archelaus was killed in Battle? Γεγονός γὰρ αὐτῷ συνίθης καὶ ξυῖοι ἀπολέμεται μὲν ἀνταγώνιστος ἑστῆ, τὸ δὲ σώμα περὶ τὸν ἔθρονον, καὶ κομμοῦσας βασιλικὰς ἐκείνου. *Nam quum familiaritas ei cum illo & jus hospitii intercessisset, bellum cum vi-vente gessit necessario, corpus interfecit requisitum regio cultu funeravit* (17). *Dio Cassius* relates the matter in such a manner, as plainly shows, that *Archelaus* was killed in the Fight, which decided the Quarrel between the Father and the Daughter, and that, after That Victory of *Gabinus*, the Egyptians were obliged to open the Gates of *Alexandria* to *Ptolomy*, who caused *Berenice* and divers others to be put to Death.

[E] *A Modern Author* — is mistaken as to the

Circumstances of *Archelaus's* Detention.] The Modern Author, whom I mean, is the Abbot *de Saint Real*. See the *Cesarion*, which he published in the Year 1685. The Mistake, which I design to take notice of, consists in his supposing, that *Archelaus* departed privately from *Gabinus* to marry the Queen of Egypt (18); and that, being taken Prisoner in a Battle, after the Romans had made themselves Masters of *Pelufum*, *Gabinus* gave him the Assistance, which was necessary for his Escape, upon paying a great Ransom (19). *Dio Cassius*, whom he quotes, says, in express Words, that *Gabinus* let *Archelaus* escape, before the Army marched towards *Pelufum*, and before there was any Battle (20).

(18) *St Real*, *Cesarion* n. pag. 80. Edit. Holl. 1685.

(19) *Ibid.* pag. 82.

(20) *Dio*, lib. xxxix, pag. 131.

BERENICE, Daughter of *Cosobarus*, and *Salome*, Sister of *Herod the Great* [A], was first married to *Aristobulus*, Son of the same *Herod*, and of *Mariamne*, and lived unhappily enough with him; for, because he had a Brother married to the Daughter of *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*, he often upbraided *Berenice* with having unmatched himself in marrying her, and that, in so doing, he had made himself much inferior to his Brother. *Berenice*, all in Tears, reported these, and other Discourses, to her Mother, and incensed her greatly: Infomuch, that *Salome*, who had a great Power over *Herod*, made him jealous of *Aristobulus*, and was the chief Cause that induced That cruel Father to make away with him (a). Though *Berenice* had five Children (b), she married again with a Brother of *Antipater's* Mother; which *Antipater* was *Herod's* Son. Having lost This second Husband, she went to Rome, and gained the Esteem of *Augustus*: But, above all, she insinuated herself into the Favour of *Antonia*, the Wife of *Drusus* [B], which, afterwards, stood her Son *Agrippa* in good stead. The first time the latter went to Rome, his Mother *Berenice* was yet living [C]; but, the second time he went thither, she was dead.

(b) *Three Sons and two Daughters: The Sons were Agrippa, the first of That Name, King of Judaea; Herod, King of Chalcis, and Aristobulus: The Daughters were Herodias, and Mariamne.* *Ibid.* c. 18.

(a) *Josephus*, de Bell. Jud. lib. i. c. 17.

(i) *Montacut*, in *Apparat. V. n. 74*, p. 191. apud *Noldium*, de vita & gestis *Herodum* pag. 297.

(a) *Corn. à Lap.* in *Act. xxv.* ver. 13. pag. 263. apud *Noldium*, *ibid.* pag. 296.

(3) *Strabo*, lib. xvii, pag. 526.

(4) *Josephus*, Antiq. lib. xvii, cap. 11.

[A] *She was Daughter of Cosobarus, and of Salome, Sister of Herod the Great.* *Josephus* says so in express Words: It is, therefore, through want of Memory, that *Dr Montague* questions, whether it was ever determined, that *Berenice* was the Daughter of *Cosobarus*, or of *Joseph*. *Quam* (*Berenice filiam Salomes*) *vel à Cosobaro vel Josepho, nam non minime pro certo traditum, genuerat* (1). *Cornelius à Lapide* believed falsely, that *Herod* was the Father of our *Berenice* (2).

[B] *She insinuated herself into the Favour of Antonia.* There is a Passage in *Strabo*, which deserves to be produced. Καίσαρ καὶ τῆς ἡς ἐτιμῆς τῷ Ἡρώδῃ καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ Σαλώμῃ, καὶ τὴν ταύτης θυγατέρα Βερενίκην: That is; *The Emperor honoured the Sons of Herod, and his Sister Salome, and Berenice, the Daughter of Salome* (3). It is probable, these two Women went together to Rome, to dispute the Kingdom of *Judea* with *Archelaus*, the Son of *Herod*; for it is known, that *Salome* went thither, at That Time, with her Family (4).

[C] *The first time Agrippa went to Rome, his Mother Berenice was yet living.* For we read, in *Josephus*, that *Agrippa* lived familiarly with *Drusus*, the Son of *Tiberius*; and that he acquired the Friendship of *Antonia*, the Wife of *Drusus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*, by reason of the Esteem, which *Antonia* had for *Berenice*, the Mother of *Agrippa* (5). That Historian adds, that *Agrippa*, out of respect to his Mother, restrained his Natural Inclination, which prompted him to be lavish of his Fortune; but that, after her Death, he was so prodigal, that he quite exhausted it. Having neither Money nor Credit left, he returned to *Judea*, from whence, after divers Adventures, he came back to Rome, and went to salute *Tiberius* in the Island of *Capree*. He was, at first, very well received by him; but he had, afterwards, good need of *Antonia's* Protection. I do not know, where *Noldius* had read, that *Berenice* died at *Antonia's* House (6).

(c) *Ibid.* lib. xviii, cap. 8.

(6) *Noldius* de Vita & Gestis *Herodum* p. 297.

BERENICE, Grand-daughter of the foregoing, and Daughter of *Agrippa*, the first of That Name, King of *Judea*, was much talked of on account of her Amours. She was betrothed to one *Marc*, the Son of *Alexander Lysimachus, Alabarche*; but he died before the Marriage was consummated. A little after, she was married to her Uncle *Herod*, who, at the Request of *Agrippa*, both his Brother, and Father-in-law, was made King of *Chalcis*, by the Emperor *Claudius* (a). She was but sixteen Years of Age, when her Father died (b). She lost her Husband in the eighth Year of the Emperor *Claudius* (c), and behaved very ill in her Widowhood; for the general Opinion was, that she committed Incest with her Brother *Agrippa*. To put a stop to These Reports, she endeavoured to marry again, and offered herself to *Polemon*, King of *Cilicia*, provided he would change his Religion (d). It will easily be believed, that she required this Condition rather out of Vanity, or Policy, than out of Zeal; but it is no uncommon thing for a zealous, and amorous, Woman to set up for a Converter. *Polemon*, having more Regard to the Riches, than the Reputation, of the Lady, who courted him, accepted her Offers, caused himself to be circumcised, and married her: And, if he did not continue all his Life-time in the Bonds of This Marriage, it was not his own Fault, but That of *Berenice*; since This lewd Woman left him, and returned whither she pleased [A]. He forsook *Judaism*

(a) *Josephus*, Antiq. lib. xix, cap. 4.

(b) *Ib.* c. 7.

(c) *Ibid.* lib. xx, cap. 3.

(d) *Ib.* c. 5.

[A] *This lewd Woman left Polemon, her Husband, and returned whither she pleased.* I shall here transcribe A Passage, which is full of Faults. *That Berenice, of whom our Xiphilinus makes mention, was the*

Daughter of Archelaus, and the Wife of Herod, after whose Death, she married Polemon King of Lycia, whom she left, propter nimietatem coitus, ut quidam dixerunt, says Josephus, lib. 20. cap. 2. This is what

she retained only the Title of the Emperor's Mistress, or Concubine. In the XVIIth Century, the French Stage resounded with the Amours of *Titus* and *Berenice* [D]. She had too beautiful a Sister for them to love each other [E]. The Holy Scripture makes mention of *Berenice* [F]. Great Mistakes have been committed in relation to This Princess.

she was in her greatest Lustre at Forty four Years of Age. This was enough to expose her to Envy. *Suetonius* observes, that the Separation was with Regret on both sides. "Nec minus libido (*suspensa erat in Titus*) propter exoletorum & spadonum greges, propterque insignem reginæ Berenices amorem, cui etiam nuptias pollicitus ferebatur. --- Berenice statim ab urbe dimisit invitum invitam (12). --- Nor was *Titus* left suspected of Lust, on account of the many Catamites and Eunuchs, as also from his remarkable Love for Berenice, to whom he is said to have promised Marriage. --- He immediately dismissed Berenice from the City, to the great Regret of both." *Titus* did himself great Violence in sending away Berenice, to put a stop to the Complaints of Slanderers. Berenice was much vexed at being sent away: no doubt she would rather have suffered the Continuance of Calumny: And, if it be true, that *Titus* had promised her Marriage, as was reported, we may very well believe, that she loudly exclaimed against the Unfaithfulness of Men. It is probable, that, to moderate her Grief, *Titus* represented to her, that it was a Sacrifice he was obliged to make to the Murmurs of the whole City; but that, after having given way to This Torrent for a while, they should meet again. It is certain, that Berenice behaved, as if she had been sent away in this manner: Some time after she returned to *Titus*; but she got nothing by it; for he would not hear of her any more. I believe, *Xiphilinus* is the only Historian, who has observed, that Berenice was sent away twice, the first time in the Reign of *Vespasian*, and the second in That of *Titus*. Ο δε δὴ Τίτος ἔδδεν ἔτε φωνῶν ὅτι ἐρωτικὸν μοναρχίῃς ἔβραζε, ἀλλὰ χρεὶς καί τινος ἐπιβουλῆς, καὶ σφῶν καί τοι καὶ τῆς Βερνίκης ἐς Ρώμην αὐτῆς ἐλθόντι, ἐγύετο (13). *Titus*, from the Time that he became sole Emperor, neither committed Slaughter, nor was a Slave to Love; but was courteous, though plotted against; and chaste, though Berenice was returned to the City. *Xiphilinus* probably is not mistaken, that *Aurelius Victor*, and the other Historians, mention but one Dismissal. "Ut subit pondus regium, Berenice nuptias suas sperantem regredi domum --- præcepit (14). --- When he had taken upon him the Royal Authority, he commanded Berenice, who was in Hopes of being married to him, to return home." These Words of *Aurelius Victor*, compared with what he had said before, convict him of extreme Negligence. He says, here, that Berenice was in hopes of marrying *Titus*, and he had said, just before, that she was his Wife. "Cœcina nam Consularem, adhibuit cœnæ, vix dum tricinio egressum, ob suspicionem stupratæ Berenices uxoris suæ, jugulari iussit. --- Cœcina, of Consular Dignity, whom he had invited to his Table, had scarce left it, when, by the Emperor's Order, he was put to Death, on Suspicion of having violated his Wife Berenice." Let us infer from hence, that Berenice lent an Ear to other Lovers, besides the Emperor. This is common enough in the Mistresses of great Princes. I cannot pass over an Error of *Noldius*. He says, in Page 408, that *Dio Cassius*, or *Xiphilinus*, are mistaken in placing Berenice's Divorce under the Reign of *Vespasian*, since *Aurelius Victor* affirms, that *Titus* did not send her away, till after he had taken Possession of the Crown. *Ut subit Pondus Regium* (15). This *Noldius* says, Page 408; but, at Page 409, he affirms, that Berenice returned to Rome, to make a new Attempt on *Titus*'s Heart, and that her Design miscarried. He quotes *Xiphilinus* for This. What! After having said, that an Author is mistaken, should we affirm what he advances? Should we prove it by his Testimony?

[D] In the XVIIth Century, the French Stage resounded with the Amours of *Titus* and *Berenice*. Two Pieces, entitled *Berenice*, were acted at the same time: One was composed by *Cornille*, and the other by *Racine*: each of them had it's Partizans: The Abbot de Villars published some Critical Observations on both. I should not have known, that he

is the Author of Those Observations, if I had not read these Words in the *Sentimens de Cleanthe* (16). "Would you have questioned it, if you had recollected the Critic on the two *Berenices*? --- For what reason should we have escaped That Critic on two excellent Poets, one of whom did not vouchsafe to answer him, and the other declared, in but two Words, why he did not answer him (17)?"

Here are some Extracts, which seem to me worthy of the Place I give them. "I am very sorry, says a Lady, writing to the Count de Rabutin, that I cannot send you the *Berenice* of *Racine*, this Day; I expect it from Paris, and I am sure it will please you; but, for that Purpose, you must have a refined Tenderness; for no Woman ever carried Love and Delicacy so far as she does. Good God! What a pretty Mistress! And what pity it is, that a single Character cannot make a good Piece: *Racine*'s Tragedy would be perfect (18)." The Count answered her: "I have just now read *Berenice*. I do not find so much Tenderness in it, as I expected. I remember, that, when I pretended to have some, I could have out-done *Berenice*: *Titus* does not seem to me to love her: so much as he says, since he uses no Endeavours, in her favour, with the Senate, and the People of Rome. He yields immediately to the Remonstrances of *Paulinus*, who, finding him shaken, brings the People, and Senate, of Rome, to engage him; whereas, if he had spoken resolutely to *Paulinus*, he would have found every one ready to submit to his Will. I would have done so myself; and, by this means, I should have joined Love and Glory together. As for *Berenice*, if I had been in her Place, I would have done as she did, that is, I would have left Rome full of Rage against *Titus*; but *Antiochus* should not have been the better for it (19)." Here is the Reply, that was made to him. "Your Heart is not so indifferent as I believed it to be, since you remember still, that you could have out-done *Berenice* in Point of Tenderness, and you must have carried it to a very high Pitch, to have surpassed her: I commend, and esteem, you for it. He, who pretends to Love, must not do it by halves (20)." From these three Passages, we learn, what Judgment was passed on Mr *Racine*'s *Berenice*, and how much the Ladies are naturally inclined to approve of Those Hearts, which have the utmost Tenderness. I do not find, that the Count de Rabutin's Criticism is well grounded; for he would have had the Poet falsify an Event, which ought to be preserved on the Stage. *Berenice*'s Dismissal is so well known in History, that they, who had not found it in the Tragedy, might justly have exclaimed against the Author. Without doubt, Mr *Racine* foresaw this; and it is probable this was the Reason, why he represented *Titus*'s Passion inferior to That of the Lady: This might displease the Fair Sex; but the Author found, that this Inconvenience did not equal the other.

[E] She had too beautiful a Sister, for them to love each other. *Josephus* observes, that *Drusilla*, the Sister of Berenice, listened to the Proposals of *Felix*, Governor of Judæa, to secure herself from her Sister's Jealousy, who could not endure, that she (*Drusilla*) should be so beautiful. *Drusilla* was courted by *Felix*, whilst she was married to *Azizus*, King of *Emesenes*. She yielded, and married *Felix*, and the even seems to have abjured the Jewish Religion (21). The Hatred of Brothers is great; and some Maxims might be quoted upon this Subject; but, if I am not mistaken, the Hatred of Sisters exceeds it. We may touch upon this in some other Place (22).

[F] The Holy Scripture makes mention of Berenice. We find, in the Twenty fifth Chapter of the Acts, that *Agrippa* and *Berenice* came to *Cæsarea*, to salute *Festus*, and that, having been told of St *Paul*, who was then in Prison, they had a mind to hear him; and that, for this Purpose, they went to the Place of Audience, with great Pomp (23), and heard St *Paul*.

(16) It is the fictitious Name of him, who criticised the Conversations of Father Bouhours. The Abbe de Villars, whom he points at here, had published the *Traité de la Delicatesse*, for Father Bouhours, against Cleanthe.

(17) *Sentimens de Cleanthe*, Part II, p. 2. 1672.

(18) The 1734 Letter of Count de Buffi Rabutin's Letters, Part III, pag. 246. Edit. Holl. This Letter is dated from Dijon, July 25, 1671.

(19) Ibid. Lett. 148, Part III, pag. 268.

(20) Ibid. Lett. 152, p. 279, 280.

(21) *Josephus*. Antiq. lib. xx. cap. 5. pag. 693.

(22) In Remarques [B], of the Article DRUSILLA.

(23) *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences*, cum multa observatione AB. r. Apoll. cap. xxv. ver. 23.

(12) *Suetonius*. in *Titus*, cap. vii.

(13) *Xiphilinus*. in *Titus*, lib. init.

(14) *Aurelius Victor*. in *Epitome*.

(15) *Noldius*. de *Vitiis & gestis*. Herodotum.

Princes [G]. I could not take notice of all the Queens, who have born this Name. I shall remark some Errors of Moreri [H], Hofman, Charles Stephens, &c. [I].

[G] Great Mistakes have been committed in relation to This Princess.] Sabellicus believed, that she was the Wife of Aristobulus, and afterwards of Antipater (24). This is to confound two Berenices, viz. the Grand-mother, and the Grand-daughter, together: The former was married, the first time, to Aristobulus, and, the second time, to an Uncle of Antipater, and not to Antipater himself. This is, then, a second Mistake of Sabellicus. As for the Berenice, whom he speaks of (the Mistress of Titus) she had neither of These two Husbands. I shall set down a Passage of Juvenal, which is, doubtless, to be understood of the latter Berenice, who was beloved by Titus, and who was suspected of Incest with her Brother Agrippa;

Grandia tolluntur crystallina; maxima rursus
Myrrhina, deinde adamas notissimus, & Berenices
In digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim
Barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa forori,
Et versutus ubi festa mero pede sabbata Reges,
Et venter indulget senibus clementia porcis (25).

(25) Juven.
Satir. vi. ver.
254.

*Rich Chrystals of the Rock she takes up there,
Huge Agat Vases, and old China Ware:
Then Berenice's Ring her Finger proves,
More precious made by her incestuous Loves;
And insamously dear: A Brother's Bribe;
E'en God's Anointed, and of Judah's Tribe;
Where barefoot they approach the sacred Shrines,
And think it only Sin to feed on Swine.*

DRYDEN.

The Scholiast of Juvenal understands, here, by Berenice, a Sister of Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and, by Agrippa, a Son of Julia, Daughter of Augustus; That Son of Julia, and of Agrippa, whom Tiberius put to Death, after the Decease of Augustus (26). To say no worse, it is prodigious Carelessness in This Scholiast; for it appears plainly, upon a little attention, that Juvenal speaks of an Agrippa, who lived in Judæa, which can no ways agree with the Son of Julia. Besides that, according to Noldius's Observation (27), no one ever said, that Agrippa, and his unchaste Sister Julia, were ever accused of Incest. It is not easy to reprove the Scholiast on the other Point, because the repeating of the Word *dedit* made some learned Men believe, that the Poet supposes here two Persons, who gave each a Diamond of great Value to his Sister; I. A King of Egypt. II. An Agrippa. This Explication is not good. The whole must relate to Agrippa, King of the Jews, and to his Sister Berenice: And we learn a Particular here, which Josephus did not touch upon; namely, that Berenice received a Diamond of great Value from her Brother, and that she wore it, which caused their incestuous Love to make the greater Noise. Baronius thought, that Juvenal alluded to a precious Stone, mentioned by Pliny, which Ptolemy, King of Egypt, gave to his Wife, who was also his Mother, as Baronius pretends. *Alludere videtur pretioso lapidi, quem prius dedit Ptolemæus Egypti Rex uxori suæ & matri. Verum Plinius tradit fuisse topazium* (28). A modern Author, whom I have already quoted several times (29), finds many Faults in This Opinion of the Annalist. I. Juvenal speaks of a Diamond, enchased, or set in a Ring; but the precious Stone, mentioned by Pliny, was a rough Topaz, which was afterwards made into a Statue. II. It was not Ptolemy, who gave This Topaz to his Mother; but it was Polemon, Governor of the Island, where the Topaz was found, who gave it to Berenice, Mother of the King, that succeeded Him, who then reigned. III. Pliny does not say, that Ptolemy Philadelphus made a Present of This Stone to his Wife Arsinoë, who was also his Sister; he says only, that they made a Statue of Arsinoë, the Wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus, of That Stone, and that This Statue was four Cubits high, and that it was consecrated in a Temple, which was called *The Golden Temple*. We may add a fourth Censure; which is, That we do not find, that any King of Egypt married his own Mother, and that This agrees less with

(26) He had been confined by Augustus, to the Island Planasia, Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 3. and not in Sicily, as the Scholiast says.

(27) De Vita & geit. Herodotum, pag. 412.

(28) Baron. Annal. ad Ann. c. 8. n. 164. He quotes Pliny, lib. 37. c. 8.

(29) Noldius ubi supra, p. 412.

the Father of Ptolemy Philadelphus, than with any other. It is of his Wife, that Pliny speaks, when he says, that the Topaz in question was brought to Queen Berenice. I am much less surprized at these Faults of Baronius, than to find Father Hardouin of Opinion, that Juvenal's Words are to be understood of the Diamond of the same Berenice, mentioned by Pliny, the Wife of Ptolemy Lagus, and Mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus (30). The Juvenal Variorum contains many Mistakes in relation to Berenice. There is in it a Note, which says, that the Berenice, mentioned by That Poet, was Queen of Judæa, and Herod's Wife: that, according to others, he meant Berenice, Herod's Wife, and, after her Husband's Death, Mistress to her Brother-in-law, that is, to Agrippa, her Husband's Brother. This is all wrong; for, in the first Place, here are two different Herodi, which they have not taken care to distinguish by any Mark whatever. One of them must be He, who slew the Children of Bethlehem; the other must be the King of Chalcis, Brother of Agrippa, the first of That Name. Now, the first of the two Herodi had no Wife, whose Name was Berenice; and there was no Berenice, Queen of Judæa. Neither was there any Berenice in Judæa, whose Incest consisted in the Love of her Brother-in-law. The Incest, mentioned by Josephus, and Juvenal, consists in the Amours of Agrippa, the second of That Name, with his own Sister Berenice. That, which deceived the Author of the Annotation, is, that Berenice was the Widow of Herod, King of Chalcis, and Brother of an Agrippa, when her Love for Agrippa was spoken of: But the Agrippa, of whose Brother she was Widow, was not He, with whom she committed Incest. She was Daughter of That other Agrippa, and Sister to This. There is another Remark in the Juvenal Variorum, the Author of which calls himself Lubin. This Lubin makes use of a pleasant manner of arguing. After having said, that Herod Agrippa was Berenice's Brother, he proves, that the Love of That Agrippa for Berenice was Incest, because she had been married to her Uncle Herod. Herod, Agrippa dedit incestæ suæ forori Berenice, cum qua incestum commiserat, ut pote quæ ante nupta erat patruo suo Herodi. Noldius, who observed two Faults in This Variorum, and who placed them to the Account of Schrevelius, the Compiler of That Commentary (31), took no notice of This.

[H] I shall remark some Errors of Moreri.] The first Berenice, of whom he speaks, is the Mother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt. What he says of her is not to be found in the Author, whom he quotes (32). The second is the Daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Wife of Ptolemy Evergetes: He quotes *Ælian*, and *Justin*, who do not say what he relates. He should have quoted *Hyginus* (33) who mentions what relates to this Queen's Head of Hair. As for the Temple of Berenice the Guardian, I confess, I cannot discover the Source of it, and, therefore, I dare not affirm, that Moreri has advanced a Falshood. I have many suspicions about it. He should have remembered, that he had said, in the Article of ARSINOË the Daughter of Antiochus Soter, that Berenice, the Wife of Ptolemy Evergetes, was the Daughter of Magus King of Cyrene (34), and Brother of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and, consequently, Uncle of Ptolemy Evergetes. At that time, Berenice, the Wife of Ptolemy Evergetes, was but his first Cousin; at present, she is his own Sister. Every one sees how much such Variations confound the Readers, and are sufficient to make them weary of the Study of a Dictionary. Such a Chaos should be cleared, by observing, who They are, that relate things one way, and who Those, that relate them another way. The third Berenice, according to Moreri, is Sister to the second, and Wife of Antiochus Soter, King of Syria. He should have said Antiochus Theus, and not Antiochus Soter; the former was the Son of the latter, and was married to a Daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphus, whose Name was Berenice (35). The fourth is the Daughter of Ptolemy Auletes. I have made an Article about her; see the Remarks of it. The fifth is Berenice the Sister of Agrippa II of That Name. What Moreri says, that This Princess was with her Brother Agrippa in the Year 55, when St Paul pleaded his Cause in their Presence, and in That of the Proconfuls, Felix and Pontius (36) Festus, supposes

(30) Hardouin in Plin. lib. xxxvii. cap. 8. pag. 392. Tom. V.

FAULTS in the Edition of Juvenal Variorum.

(31) Noldius de vit. & geit. Herodotum, pag. 411, 412.

(32) Hecates Aprian; he repeats a story better to have quoted Pausanias, lib. i. pag. 6.

(33) Astron. lib. ii. cap. 24.

(34) He should have said Magas; He was King of Cyrene; and it is true, that, according to Justin, lib. xxvi. cap. 3, he married his only Daughter Berenice to his Brother's Son; I mean, to Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes. This Magas was the Son of a Macedonian, of mean Condition, and of Berenice, who was afterwards Wife of Ptolemy Ligon. Pausanias, lib. i. pag. 6.

(35) See Justin, lib. xxvii. cap. 1.

(36) It should be Porcius.

(37) *Acta*
xxiv. 28.

supposes that Those two *Proconfuls* commanded in *Judea* at the same time, which is false (37). He ought not to have quoted *Strabo*; for what He says relates to another *Berenice*, whom *Moreri* forget, viz. the Grandmother of *Titus's* Mistress.

(38) *He who*
slew the Child-
ren of Be-
thlehem.

[I] ----- Of *Hofman*, *Charles Stephens*, &c.] *I. Hofman's* first Mistake consists in affirming, that the *Berenice*, mentioned by *Juvenal*, was the Daughter of *Herod the Ascalonite* (38), and Wife of her Brother *Agrippa*. This is, at least, a double, or tripple, Mistake; for That *Herod* had no Daughter, whose Name was *Berenice*, nor a Son, whose Name was *Agrippa*: She, whom *Juvenal* speaks of, was Daughter of the first *Agrippa*, and was never married to her Brother *Agrippa*, the second of That Name; it was only believed, that she had an incestuous Commerce with him. *St Chrysostom* was mistaken, or spoke figuratively, when he called her the Wife of *Agrippa* (39). II. It is a second Mistake to say, that the *Berenice*, whom *Titus* loved, is different from Her, whom *Juvenal* mentions. *Hofman* makes them different, since he treats of Her, who was *Titus's* Mistress, in an Article apart. III. It is not true, that the *Berenice* of *Juvenal* made a Journey to *Jerusalem* with her Head shaved and bare-footed. *Hofman* should have said, that, in order to accomplish a Vow, she went to *Jerusalem*, where she observed the Ceremonies required in such Cases; which were, that, before any Sacrifices were offered, they put up Prayers for thirty Days, had their Heads shaved, and abstained from Wine. This is all that *Josephus* tells us concerning This Journey of *Berenice* (40). It is true, he observes, that she went bare-footed to the Governor's Audience; but this cannot be said to be a Journey to *Jerusalem*. IV. What signifies it to quote the Twenty fifth Chapter of the *Acts*, and the sixteenth Book of *Strabo*, immediately after having said, that *Berenice* went to *Jerusalem*, with her Head shaved, and bare-footed? Is This mentioned in the Book of the *Acts*? And does not *Strabo* speak of a *Berenice*, who was the Grand-mother of This: *LLOYD* has committed the first and third Fault of *Hofman*; and it is from

Him, that the latter trascribed them. *CHARLES STEPHENS* falsifies *Pliny's* Testimony; He makes him say, That *Plutolmy Philadelphus* built a fine Town on the Red-Sea, and called it *Berenice*, after his Mother's Name. *Pliny* says only, that That Town bore the Name of *Plutolmy Philadelphus's* Mother. *Berenice, Oppidum matris Philadelphi nomine* (41). This puts me in mind of a Fault of *Hofman*, which I had omitted: He makes *Pliny* say, that That *Berenice* gave her Name to a City, which she caused to be built. Thus much concerning the first Fault of *Charles Stephens*. The second is his having said, that there was a *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Herod the Ascalonite*, who married her Brother *Agrippa*. We have already found This Fault in *Lloyd*, and *Hofman's* *Lloyd* took it from *Charles Stephens*. Some one will tell me perhaps; "you misunderstand these Words; *Berenice, Herodis Ascalonitæ filia, quæ nupsit etiam Agrippæ fratri* (42). You explain them, as "if the Meaning of them were, that *Berenice* married her own Brother; but they must be understood in this Sense; that she was married to *Agrippa's* Brother, which is the Sense of *Lloyd* and *Hofman's* Words. *Berenice Herodis Ascalonitæ filia, Agrippæ fratris uxor.*" I answer, That I explain the Latin Words of these three Authors in the most natural Sense; and that, since the two latter confirm the Words alledged; by the Authority of *Juvenal*, they meant, without doubt, that *Agrippa* was the Husband, and not the Husband's Brother. I can, at least, convict them of a Fallacy: They suppose, that *Berenice*, the Wife of *Agrippa's* Brother, was the Daughter of *Herod the Ascalonite*: This is false; she was the Daughter of *Agrippa*, the first of That Name, who married her to his Brother *Herod*, King of *Chalcis*. The third Fault is, his quoting *Strabo* for the pretended Daughter of *Herod the Ascalonite*; whereby it appears, that *Charles Stephens* knew not, that *Strabo* speaks only of the Daughter of *Salome*. That Daughter makes a separate Article in his Dictionary: which shews, that he did not take the one for the other, but that he fancied to himself two distinct Persons; which might pass for a fourth Mistake.

(41) *Plin.*
lib. vi. cap.
29. p. 732.

(42) *Tod*
are in
Charles Stephens

(39) *Agrippa*
Cornel. à
Lapide in
Act. xxv.
ver. 3, cited
by *Noldius*,
p. 404.

(40) *De bello*
Judaico.
lib. ii. c. 26.

BERGAMO (*JAMES PHILIP de*), an *Augustin* Monk, was born at *Bergamo*, in the Year 1434. He composed, in *Latin*, a *Chronicle* from the Creation of the World, down to the Year 1503 [A]; and a Treatise of *Illustrious Women*. He was of a very considerable Family [B], and became a Monk in the Year 1451 [C]. He had a particular Devotion for *Nicolas Tollenin*, by whose Intercession he believed himself to have been cured of the Plague, in 1474 (a). He died at *Bergamo*, in the Year 1518, in the Monastery of his Order, of which he had been Prior, and had repaired it at a very great Expence (b). Consult *Moreri's* Dictionary, under the Word *FORESTA*. What you meet with faulty, there, may be corrected by comparing it with This Article.

(a) See his
Chronicle,
at the Year
1446, fol.
290.

(b) Taken
from *Phil.*
Elfius in
Encomiast.
Augustin.
p. 314, 315.

[A] He composed, in *Latin*, *A Chronicle from the Creation of the World down to the Year 1503*. *Vossius* observes, that the first Edition is of *Brescia*, and that it ends at the Year 1485, and not 1436, as *Possévin* affirms (1). *Bellarmin* has committed the same Mistake (2). The second Edition is of *Venice*, and comes down to the Year 1503. *Vossius* says, that the Author remarks, at the end of the Book, that he was then Sixty nine Years of Age. This Work was re-printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1535, with a Continuation down to That Time. It was translated into *Italian*, and published, at *Venice*, in the Year 1540, in *Folio*. This Edition contains Additions to the Work of the first Compiler, down to the Year 1539. The Author of these Additions was One *Bernardino Bindoni*, of *Milan*. I am of Opinion, that *Philip of Bergamo* continued the Work after the Year 1503, and that Part of what follows was His; but This *Italian* Version does not distinguish the Additions, which came from another Hand. I have not found, at the end of the Year 1503, that the Author gives us the Account of his Age, as related by *Vossius*.

(1) *Voss. de*
Hist. de
lib. iii. cap.
11. p. 662.

(2) *Bellarmin.*
de Script.
Eccles. pag.
411.

This Chronicle is tolerably good, especially as to the Times, near which the Author lived. He has taken care to distinguish the Famous Men, who lived in each Century, and he gives us some Particulars relating to the Moderns, which are curious enough. *Gesner*, in 1544, knew no Edition of This Book (3).

(3) *Gesner.*
Bibl. fol.
360. verso.

[B] He was of a very considerable Family. It was That of the *Foresti*. *Matthew de Bergamo*, who was of this noble Family, and a very learned Civilian, obtained, of the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, very great

Privileges, both for himself, and his Posterity. He was created a Count *Palatin*, with the Right of instituting Notaries, Doctors, Knights, and Judges, in every part of *Italy*, and of legitimating Bastards, &c. A List of all these Privileges is to be met with in Our Author's Chronicle (4). They have been confirmed by all the Lords, who have been in Possession of *Bergamo*. The Letters Patents of this Grant of *Lewis* of *Bavaria* were dated at *Trent*, the twentieth of *January*, 1330 (5).

[C] He became a Monk, in the Year 1451. He affirms, somewhere in his Chronicle, according to *Vossius*, that *John Roebus* admitted him into his Convent, with some other young Persons, in the Year 1451; but I find, in the *Italian* Version of This Chronicle, that it was *John of Novara*, Superior of the *Augustins* of *Bergamo*, who associated him to his Order, the first of *May*, 1451. He had been speaking of *John Roebus*, Reformer of the *Augustins*, and their General, who died at *Mantua*, in the Year 1461, aged seventy Years. Immediately after, he speaks of *John of Novara*, who had strongly seconded *John Roebus* in the Work of Reforming the Order, and who succeeded him in the Dignity of Prior of the Convent of *Crema*, in consequence of which he was promoted to the same Office in the Convent of *Bergamo*. They, who have the *Latin* Edition, which *Vossius* made use of, may examine whether he is mistaken. The *Italian*, which I consult, was made from the Edition of *Paris*, corrected from many Errors.

(4) *Phil.*
Bergom.
Chronica.
fol. 249. ad
Ann. 1330.

(5) *Id. libid.*

BERGIER (NICOLAS), was born at *Reims*, in the Year 1557. He studied there in the new University, which the Cardinal of *Lorraine* had lately established, and was also a Teacher in it for some Years. From the College he went to the Count de *Saint Souplet*, Great Bailiff of the Province, to be Tutor to his Children, and, afterwards, embraced the Profession of an Advocate, in which he had very good Success. The Inhabitants of the City of *Reims*, who knew his Merit and Capacity, made him their Syndic, and deputed him often to *Paris*, upon the Affairs of the City. This brought him acquainted with several learned Men, and, amongst others, with Mess. *Peiresc*, and *Du Puy*, to whom he communicated the Design of his Book of the *Higb-Ways of the Roman Empire*, and who encouraged him greatly to put it in Execution. For this End, Mr *Peiresc* communicated to him the Map of *Peuting* (a). But of all the Friends, and Patrons, which his good Qualities procured him, the chief, and most famous, was *Nicolas de Bellievre*, President a *Mortier*, in the Parliament of *Paris*; who procured him a Brief of the Crown, constituting him Historiographer, with a Pension of Two hundred Crowns, and entertained him at his House, where he spent the Remainder of his Life. He died the fifteenth of September, 1623, in the Castle of *Grignon*, belonging to Monf. de *Bellievre*. The Epitaph, which That illustrious President made to the Memory of his Friend, is to be found at the beginning of *The History of Reims*, printed in 1629 (b). I shall speak, below, of *Bergier's Works* [A]. See also, at the end of this Dictionary, the Dissertation on the Day, Remark [B].

(a) See *Galfendus*, in the *Life of Peiresc*.

(b) A *Memoir*, communicated by Mr. *Oudinot*, Keeper of the Cabinet of Medals of Lewis XIV. I give it as I received it.

(2) Consult my Dissertation on the Day, at the end of the *last Volume*, and chiefly in Remark [B].

(a) See the Preface to his *Circulus Pisanus*, in lib. 8. *Physicor. Aristot.*

[A] I shall speak of *Bergier's Works*. Besides the *History of the Higb-ways of the Roman Empire*, he composed also *le bouquet Royal*, which is a Relation of the Coronation of *Lewis XIII.*, printed at *Reims*, in the Year 1637; A Treatise of *Day-break*, printed at *Reims*, in the Year 1629, and which had been printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1617, under the Title of *Archemeron* (1); *Le dessein de l'Histoire de Reims*, printed in 1637. He wrote the Life of St

Albert, with the History of the Translation of his Body from *Reims* to *Brussels*, in the Year 1612, at the Request of the Archduke *Albert*. He received a Chain of Gold as a Reward, sent him by that Prince; but the Work was not printed; and the Manuscript is in the Hands of the Author's Heirs, with some other Papers, written with his own Hand, concerning the Excellency of Learning; and the Antiquity and Excellency of Poetry, and Speculative Music (2).

(2) Taken from a *Memoir*, communicated by Mr. *Oudinot*.

BERIGARDUS (CLAUDIUS), one of the most subtle Philosophers of the XVIIth Century, was of *Moulins*. He acquired such a Reputation in the University of *Paris*, that the Great Duke of *Florence* drew him to That of *Pisa* (a). He taught Philosophy, there, twelve Years (b); after which, he was invited to *Padua*, for the same Profession. He was discharging it honourably, when, in 1643, he published a Book at *Udina*, which greatly displeased several Divines [A], though it was approved by the Holy Office. He had published another at *Florence*, in the Year 1632 (c). His Cut, prefixed to the Book, printed in the Year 1643, makes him Fifty one Years of Age; but the Year of the Century is not marked.

(b) See his first Epistle dedicatory.

(c) Entitled, *Dubitaciones, Gulae Galilei. Lyncei.*

[A] He published a Book — which greatly displeased several Divines. The Title of it is *Circulus Pisanus*. See, here, the Judgment, which an Archdeacon of *Canterbury* passed on it. "Hunc (Cæsalpinum) eadem impietatis viâ & ratione non modò fecutus est, sed superavit, Claudius Berigardus Moliensis, qui unâ cum impiâ Aristotelis disciplinâ obsoletam istam quoque veterum Iconicorum (quem admodum de iis ipse tenuit ac alii plerique censuerunt) revocavit; cum enim disputationes suas dialogorum consuetudine perscripsit, sermonem in duas personas Charilaum & Aristæum distribuit, quorum alter Aristotelem, qui præter materiam, quandam primum motorem, providentiæ tamen expertem, posuit, alter antiquos istos defendit, quos omnia corporea esse velle, nullumque primum motorem ab universo corporeo distinxisse putavit. Atque adeo uno eodémque opere diversas cum Epicuræ tum Peripateticæ impietatis rationes adornavit, quamquam Aristotelis disciplinam fusiis & ardentius excoluit, atque eam potissimum quam libro 'Physicorum octavo, librisque de Cælo & rerum Generatione, tradidit, quibus universam mundi fabricam sine Providentiæ architectrice extruxisse se putat Philosophus. Neque nefaria sua dogmata dispersè uno aut altero capite (ut Cæsalpinus) insinnavit, sed apertè omnem Peripateticæ impietatis rationem secutus est, neque numinis providentiam ut ille de rerum naturâ tollere satis habuit, nisi & falsè dictis (qualia vir non admodum facetus potuit) increparet (1). — Hunc autem sicut & Cæsalpinum, quamquam multò uterius rem tractavit, & quidem integrum peripateticæ impietatis systema descripsit, hoc loco redarguere operæ pretium non existimo, quòd in uno Aristotele vincantur qui ab eo steterunt omnes (2). — He (Cæsalpinus) was not only followed but surpassed, in this Way and Method of 'Impiety, by Claudius Berigardus of Moulins; who,

together with the blasphemous Doctrine of Aristotle, revived That of the ancient Ionians, obsolete both in his own, and the Opinion of Others: for, writing his Disputations in the Way of Dialogue, he divides the Discourse between two Persons, Charilaus and Aristippus; of whom the One defends Aristotle, who, besides Matter, supposed a certain First Mover, but denied a Providence, the Other vindicates those ancient Philosophers, who, he supposed, would have every thing to be corporeal, and to have made no distinction between the first Mover, and the corporeal Universe. And thus, in one and the same Work, has he displayed the different Arguments both of the Aristotelean and Peripatetic Impiety, though he more largely and zealously cultivated the Doctrines of Aristotle, That in particular, which he has delivered in the Eighth Book of his Physics, and his Book, de Cælo & Rerum Generatione, in which the Philosopher pretends to have raised the Fabric of the Universe without an Architectural Providence. Nor has he insinuated his wicked Tenets in One or Two Chapters (as Cæsalpinus has done) but has openly espoused the whole Peripatetic Impiety; nor was he satisfied, like him, with destroying a Providence, but (which requires no very great Degree of Wit) must ridicule and laugh at the Nation. — But it is not worth my while, at present, to confute this Author, any more than Cæsalpinus, though he has handled the Subject much more copiously, and indeed delineated a complete System of Peripatetic Impiety, because, in Aristotle alone, All his Followers stand condemned." Mr de Villenandy, a French Minister (3), passes the same Judgment; for he looks upon Berigardus as a great Favourer of Pyrrhonism, and a Propagator of Impiety: "Vestigiis ejus (Pomponatii) institit Berigardus in Circuli Pisanis sub sæculi hujus initium. Quanta ab his, nonnullisque aliis ejusdem ordinis doctoribus, malorum seges in scientiis,

(1) Samuelis Parker, Disput. de Deo. &c. pag. 67.

(2) Ib. ibid. pag. 63.

(3) He was Professor of Philosophy at Saumur, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and has been since Rector of the Walloon College at Leyden.

(4) Petrus de Villemandy, in Septuaginta de bello, pag. 11.

"scientiis, societate civili, & religione luxuriant, non runt erudit." — Berigardus in his Circuli Pisani *ni* trad in his (Pomponatus) Steps, about the beginning of this Century. The Learned know what a plentiful Crop of Evils has sprung up, by means of these and the like Teachers, in The Sciences, in Civil Society, and in Religion." He explains himself more fully in another place. "Ipsorum quidem dubitationes, contentendique pruritus, eo usque non evagantur, ut vel Divinam Providentiam, vel etiam Existentiam, aperte summoveant; ita tamen procedunt eorum nonnulli, ut summovere velle videantur: utcumque sit, suspecta est admodum eorum religio ac fides. Cum, ex g. Claudius Berigardus, in Circulis suis Pisani, res omnes Physicas, imo & Divinas perasque, ex principis Aristotelis ita declarat & astruit, ut eadem illas ex oppositis Anaximandri hypothesibus, purum atheismum redolentibus, continuo impugnet ac subvertat; an quicquam in rebus Physicis stabile & immotum relinquit? Nonne contra perpetua sua ille liberatione cunctas suspendit? Deinde quod tendit assumpta hanc Anaximandri hypothesi, quam Berigardus Aristotelicæ longe præfert, nisi eo ut in Supremi Numinis ejusque Providentiæ locum infinitam quandam materiam, infinitis corporibus diffimilariis, ex seipsis mobilibus, constam, hoc est, in Veri Dei locum Cæcæ Naturæ substituat (5)? — Their Septicism, and Itch of Disputation, do not run such lengths, as openly to set aside the Providence, or Existence, of God; yet some of them proceed so far, that they seem inclined to deny both: be it as it will, there is great reason to suspect their Religion and their Faith. For instance, when Claudius Berigardus, in his Circuli Pisani, so lays down and establishes all Physical Effects, and even many Divine, upon Aristotle's Principles, as immediately to attack, and overthrow, them by the Opposite Hypotheses of Anaximander, which favour of downright

Atheism, can be said to have left any thing certain, and that may be depended upon, in Natural Philosophy? On the contrary, does he not bring every thing into doubt by his continual Wavering? Lastly, whether tends this Hypothesis of Anaximander, which Berigardus has assumed, and prefers to That of Aristotle, but to justify an infinite Matter, composed of infinite dissimilar, self-moving, Corpuscles, in the Room of a Supream Deity, and his Providences; that is, Blind Nature in the Room of the True God? He quotes him, page 100, as having said a Thing, which is full of Libertinism; but it is worth remarking, that the Words, which he ascribes to him, and which are printed in *Italica*, are not to be found in his Work. These are his Words. "Ex iis ducl quidem notionem Virtutis ejusdam, quæ omnia disolverit, ac sapientissime regat, sed hanc nihil aliud esse, quam Universi totius corporis vigorem, ab ipso sola ratione distinctum: cuius Universi singulæ partes, divinitatis participes, se ipsis misceantur ad omnia componenda, nullo alio Intellectu ordinante, quam sua ipsarum energia, perinde ad finem optimum tendente ac si ab aliqua mente dirigerentur (6). — Hence we deduce the Notion of a certain Virtue, which dispels, and most wisely governs, all things; but that This Virtue is nothing else but the Energy of the whole corporeal Universe, and is distinct from it only in the Order of our Ideas; that All things are formed by the Intermixture of the several Parts of This Universe, each partaking of Divinity, and ranged in order by no other Intellect, than their own Energy, tending as surely to the best end, as if directed by any Mind whatever." Mr de Villemandy should, therefore, have told his Readers, that he did not quote the Text of Berigardus, but the Paraphrase of his Thought. I have quoted That Author, in the Article RUFINUS, Remark [C].

(6) Villemandy, ubi supra, pag. 100. He quotes Berigardus, Circulor. Pisonior. Part. II. Circulo 19.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 23, 25.

BERYTUS, a maritime Town of *Pœnicia*, near Mount *Libanus*, was also called *Beroë* [A]. It was said, that *Saturn* built it (a). It had a good Harbour, the Description whereof is to be found in the Itinerary of *John Ptoleas* (b). *Strabo* says, that it was ruined by *Trypho*, and rebuilt by the *Romans* (c). It was *Augustus*, who rebuilt it (d), and made a Colony of it, which was called *Julia Felix* (e), and enjoyed the *Jus Italicum* (f). *Agrippa* led two Legions thither (g). It was one of the three Cities, in which the Civil-Law was publicly taught [B]; The other two were *Rome*, and *Constantinople*. There is some reason to believe, that there were more Professors in *Berytus*, than in either of the other two [C]. The Conflagrations, Inundations, and Earthquakes, which ruined it several Times, did not hinder the Law-Schools from

(a) *Strabo*, lib. xvi. pag. 520. (b) *Euseb.* in Chron. n. 2203. (c) *Plinius*, lib. v. cap. 20. p. 574. (d) *Ulpianus* de Censibus apud *Scalig.* Animadv. in *Eusebium*, n. 1003, pag. 171. (e) *Strabo*, ubi supra.

(a) *Stephanus*, Byzant. in voce Βερύτιος.

(b) See *Berkeley*, in *Steph.* Byzant. voce Βερύτιος.

(c) *Nam*, & *Beroë* ap. *pellatam esse* auctor est *Eusebius* in *Chron.* Haradin. in *Plin.* lib. v. cap. 20. pag. 574.

(d) *Guill.* *Grotius* de *vitis* *Justif.* conf. lib. ii. cap. 6. pag. 744. (e) *Scalig.* *Animadv.* in *Euseb.* n. 1713. pag. 730.

(f) *Mena-* *gius*, *Jur.* *Civil.* *Amoenit.* cap. xxiv. pag. 730.

(g) It is in the first Title of the fourth Book.

(6) *Bertrand* de *vitis* *Jurific.* p. 4. (7) *Mr Menage*, and *Will.* *Grotius*, as cited abo e, confute him.

(8) *Justinian*, *Presfat.* in *Digesta* de *juris* *deendi* *rati-* *one*.

(9) That is, *Rome*, and *Constanti-* *nople*.

[A] It was also called *Beroë*. Neither the Testimony of *Eusebius*, alleged by *Father Hardouin* (1), nor That of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, alleged by *William Grotius* (2), serve me for a Proof; for I have not found, that *Eusebius*, or *Stephanus Byzantinus*, say so. My Proofs are Thole, which *Scaliger* found in the Epigrams of *John Barbutaltes*, on the burning of *Berytus*, and in the Forty first Book of the *Dionysia* of *Nonnus* (3), and Thole, which *Mr Menage* discovered in the third Book of the same *Dionysia* (4), and in an Epigram of the *Antologia* (5), where *Bertrand* (6) would, without Reason, have changed the Word *Beroë* into That of *Βερύτιος* (7).

[B] It was one of the three Cities, in which the Civil-Law was publicly taught. In all the Roman Empire, there were but these three Cities, which were permitted to have Schools of Law. This is surprising, when we consider the Extent of That Empire; and more surprising still, when we think of the many Universities, which are at present in Europe. What a Change of Customs? The seven United Provinces, which are but a Point in the Map, in comparison of the Roman Monarchy, have twice or thrice as many Schools of Civil-Law, as there were in That vast State. Let us prove what ought to be proved: "Hæc autem tria volumina (they are Justinian's Words) (8) à nobis composita tradi eis tam in regibus urbibus (9), quam in Berytensium pulcherrima civitate (quam & legum nutrimentum bene quis appellet) tantummodo volumus: quod jam & à retro principibus constitutum est, & non in aliis locis, quæ à Majoribus tale non meruerunt privilegium. — We will, that these Three Volumes, composed by us, be

delivered only to Those of the Royal Cities (Rome and Constantinople) and the flourishing City of Berytus, which may deservedly be called The Nursery of The Law: it having been so constituted and appointed by Our Predecessors, and no other Places having deserved to enjoy such a Privilege." These Words inform us, that the Predecessors of Justinian fixed the number of the Schools of Civil-Law to Three; but it is not known, at what time This was done. The first, who, in *Mr Menage's* Opinion (10), has mentioned the School of *Berytus*, is *Gregory Thaumaturgus* (11), who lived under *Alexander Severus*. The Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius* makes mention of a young Martyr, who suffered death under the Reign of *Maximian*, and who had studied at *Berytus* (12). That School was, then, very flourishing (13). It was no less so, when *Zachary of Mytilene* wrote against *Ammonius*: He calls *Berytus* *πύργος τῶν νόμων, parentem legum*. He flourished in the VIth Century. His Treatise is in the eleventh Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in the Edition of *Paris*, 1644.

[C] There were more Professors in *Berytus*, than in either of the other two. The Title de *studii liberalibus urbis Romæ & Constantinopolitane*, in the Theodosian Code, and in That of Justinian, informs us, that there were but two Professors of Law at *Rome*, and two at *Constantinople*. Now, as Justinian addresses the Constitution, de *juris decendi ratione*, to eight Professors of Law, we must conclude, that there were four of them in the School of *Berytus*. See *Mr Menage* (14).

(10) *Menag.* *Amenit.* *Jurif.* p. 133.

(11) In *Oratione* *Pat.* *negrycis*, ad *Originem*.

(12) *Eusebius* de *Martyrib.* *Palam.* *stine*, cap. 4. p. 853.

(13) See *Bertrand* in *Vitis* *Jurif.* pag. 5, ubi quærit lib. 1, C. qui et. se excus.

(14) *Menag.* *ubi supra*.

from being set up there again [D]. The Metropolitan Dignity, which Theodosius the Younger granted to the Bishops of Berytus, was only titular [E].

[D] *The Conflagrations, &c. did not hinder the Law Schools from being set up there again.* For proof of this, I will give you the following Words of Francis Banduin. "Berytum Syriæ urbem fuisse nutricem legum Ro. ait nolter. Just. ut & Jurisprudentiæ Eunapius vocat, & ante utrumque Nonnus multo magis. Quid igitur? Tempore Constantii terræ motu convulsam fuisse ait Cedrenus. Sed fuisse restitutam & tempore Justiniani nostri floruisse constat. Cum vero Justinianus jam illi suos juris civilis libros explicandos tradidisset, ecce horribiliori terræ motu cum auditoribus & doctores absorpta est. Testis est Agathias. Sed idem testis est eo casu minime deterritum Justinianum fuisse quominus illam instauraret. Ergo rursus instaurata esse quo magis semper extaret sedes jurisprudentiæ. Mirum vero, ecce paulo post inundatione & incendio iterum vastatam esse lego. Nam id testatur vetus liber Græcorum Epigrammatum. Necdum tamen cesserunt talibus tempestatibus qui afflicte jurisprudentiæ opem ferre debuerunt (15). — Berytus, a City of Syria, was called, by Justinian, the Nursery of the Roman Law; by Eunapius, the Mother of the Civil-Law; and by Nonnus, before them both, much more. What then? Cedrenus tells us, it was thrown down by an Earthquake in the Time of Constantius. But we know, that it was rebuilt, and that it was in a flourishing Condition in the Reign of our Justinian. But no sooner had Justinian delivered to it his Books of Civil-Law, to be explained, but it was swallowed up, together with it's Auditors and Doctors, by a more dreadful Earthquake. Agathias testifies this. But the same Author informs us, that Justinian was not in the least deterred by this Accident from rebuilding it. It was therefore restored, that it might for ever be The Seat of Law. Yet, strange to relate! I read, that it was, very soon after, destroyed by an Inundation, and Conflagration. This

(15) Francis Banduinus, ad L. si pact. C. de part. sub fin.

is testified by an old Book of Greek Epigrams. Yet these great Calamities did not prevent These, whose Duty it was, from succouring the Distressed Law.

[E] *The Metropolitan Dignity — of it's Bishop was only titular.* Theodosius the Younger, being imposed upon by Eustathius, Bishop of Berytus, made this Decree (16). "Propter multas justitiae causas Metropolitanum nomine & dignitate civitatem Berytum decernimus exornandam, jam suis virtutibus coronatam. Igitur hæc quoque Metropolitanam habeat dignitatem, Tyro nihil de suo jure derogetur. Sit illa mater Provinciæ majorum nostrorum beneficio; hæc nostræ. — Many and just Reasons moving us thereto, we decree, that the City of Berytus, already crowned with it's Virtues, be adorned with the Metropolitan Title and Dignity, saving to Tyre it's full Rights and Privileges. Be she the Mother of the Province, by the Favour of our Predecessors; This by Our Own." The Emperor declares, that he will not lessen the Rights of the Metropolis of Tyre in any manner whatever: He did not pretend, then, that the Bishop of Berytus struck at any of Those Rights. Nevertheless, Eustathius, spurred by Ambition, usurped Authority over many Churches, which depended on the Metropolis of Tyre. Complaints were made of it to the Council of Chalcedon, who restrained him within his Bounds; and the Privilege, which Theodosius had granted him, was like That, which Marcian afterwards granted to the City of Chalcedon. "Chalcedonensem civitatem, in qua sanctæ fidei concilium gestum est, Metropolis privilegia habere sancimus, nomine tantum, salva videlicet Nicomedienfium civitati propria dignitate. — We decree, that Chalcedon, where was held a Council of the Holy Faith, shall enjoy the Privileges of a Metropolis, in Name only, that is saving the just Dignity of the City of Nicomedia." Consult Father Norris (17).

(16) It is in the 11th Book of the Code of Justinian. Tit. xxx.

(17) Norris de anno & epocha Synodo Mace'donum Dilect. 4. cap. 3. p. 400, 401. Edit. Lips. 1696.

ST BERNARD, Abbot of Clairvaux, flourished in the XIIth Century. He acquired so great an Esteem, that the whole Weight of the Church seemed to lie on his Shoulders, and that Kings and Princes made choice of him for the general Arbitrator of their Differences [A]. It is certain, that he had very great Talents, and a great deal of Zeal; but some pretend, that his Zeal made him too jealous of Those, who acquired a great Name by the Study of Human Learning; and they add, that his mild and easy Temper rendered him too credulous, when he heard any ill Report of Those learned Persons. They believe, that, by reason of these Principles, he suffered himself to be too much prejudiced against Abelard [B]. It is difficult to imagine, that he was free from human Passions, when he made it his whole Business to procure Anathemas against all Those, who appeared to him to be Heterodox: But it is very easy to conceive, that his great Reputation, and the Ardour, with which he solicited the Condemnation of his Adversaries, imposed upon the Judges, and made the accused Persons sink under the Weight of Those irregular Proceedings. However it be, he verified the Interpretation

[A] *He acquired so great an Esteem, that Princes made choice of him for the general Arbitrator of their Differences.* It will not be improper, upon this Occasion, to hear Francis d'Amboise: thus he expresses himself. "Plus favoris in humilitate adeptus, quam Salomon in omni gloria sua, ita omnes in sui admirationem — ad famam sui nominis, ad sui amorem & observantiam, rapuit, ut ad eum totius Orbis Vota concurrerent, ut ab ejus monitis & exemplis tota res monastica & ecclesiastica pendere visa sit, ut ab ejus oraculis Præfules, Principes, Populi, consilium expeterent, eumque induciarum ac pacis arbitrum agnoscerent, & se ejus orationibus omnes Ordines cupiverint esse commendatos (1). — Having gained more Favour in his Humility, than Solomon in all his Glory, he was so generally admired and beloved, that he had the good Wishes of the whole World, that Monastic and Ecclesiastical Affairs seemed wholly to depend on his Precepts and Example; that he was consulted as an Oracle by high and low, and acknowledged as the Arbitrator both of Truces and of Peace, and that all Orders of Men desired to be recommended to his Prayers.

(1) Fr. Ambrosius Praefat. Operibus Abelardi præfixa.

[B] *His Zeal made him jealous — and his easy Temper made him credulous — with regard to learned Men, and particularly Abelard.* I have quoted a long Passage of Francis d'Amboise, in the preceding Remark: here is another still longer. "Pace igitur Sancti Abbatis licet dicere quod de eo ausus est Annalibus mandare ejus discipulus, Claræ vallis quondam Monachus, demum Abbas Morimontanus, Otho, Episcopus, Frisingensis, Leopoldi Pii Marchionis Austriæ filius, Frederici I. Aenobarbi, cujus vitam scripsit, patruus, qui quavis Abbate suum in magna habuerit veneratione, tamen scribit eum ex Religionis Christianæ fervore zelotypum, & ex habituali (sic enim loquitur) mansuetudine quodammodo credulum, ut Magistrum qui humanis rationibus & seculari sapientie confiderent nimium inhærebant abhorreret, & de talibus finistrum quid recitanti facile aurem præberet, juxta illud Festi, τὰ πολλὰ γράμμα'τα εἰς μάραν πρὸς ἐξήντη. C. fieri potuit ut sibi in animum induxerit quædam esse dicta aut scripta ab Abelardo quæ non essent, aut quæ in peiorum partem accipi non deberent (2). — Let me, therefore, by the Holy Abbot's Leave, repeat what

(2) Ibid.

(b) Vita Bern. lib. i, cap. 3. apud Lyserum, Tract. de Polygam. pag. 130.

(c) In Sect. xi, Supplementorum, Tom. I. pag. 565.

came off with saying, that the Sins of Those, who had taken up the Cross, had prevented the Effect of his Prophecies [F]. There is no Impostor, but may shelter himself behind such an Intrenchment. St Bernard was canonized: He is one of the greatest Saints in the Romish Communion; and it is pretended, that he wrought a world of Miracles, both in his Life-time, and after his Death. Observe, that he once went up to his Neck into the Water, to free himself from the Temptation, into which the Sight of a Woman had led him (b). The best Edition that we have of his Works, is That of 1690. It is the second, which the learned Father Mabillon took care to procure. The Journalists of *Leipsic* have spoken very exactly of it (c): It is accompanied with several learned Prefaces. It is acknowledged, in one of them, that St Bernard taught, that the Souls of the Blessed are received into Heaven, and into the Society of the Angels, as soon as they are separated from their Bodies, but that they enjoy only the Sight of the Humanity of JESUS CHRIST, and not the Sight of God.

Pope, were the fittest in the World to prejudice, and exasperate, them against *Abelard*; they mentioned nothing but Sacrileges, Lyons, and Dragons. "Legite, si placet, librum, quem dicit, Theologiae, legite & alium, quem dicunt, sententiarum, nec non & illum qui inscribitur, Scito te ipsum, & animadvertite quantae ibi silvecant fegetes sacri- legiorum & errorum. --- Leonem evasimus, sed incidimus in Draconem (12). --- Read, I beseech you, his Book (as he calls it) of Divinity; Read another (as it is called) of his Sentences, and That entitled, Know thy self; and observe how plentifully Sacrilege and Error springs up in them. --- We have escaped a Lion, but are fallen in to the Claws of a Dragon." He was not contented to write in his own Name, but dictated some Letters for the Archbishop of Reims, and three of his Suffragans, in which they demanded the Thunders of the Court of Rome; and, when they had obtained the Condemnation of the Propositions, they had sent to the Pope, they published it abroad as a complete Victory; though, at the bottom, the Pope had pronounced nothing against *Abelard's* Perlon. Their Flourishes, and the great Stir they made, prevented every where the Cause of the Accused from being heard. They prepossessed the Minds of every one. These are the common Artifices of Caballers; I do not say, that others never make use of them. "At accusatores potentissimi, tanquam albis equis trium-

(12) Ambrosius, ubi supra.

phantes, laetum praena cantarunt, victoriamque suam toto orbe disseminarunt; ita ut miser ille inauditus apud probos quamplurimos male audiret, & ejus exemplaria, quae Galliam Italiamque splendore collustrant, tanquam horrendi criminis carmina vel voracibus rogis cremanda traderentur, vel in situ, squalore, & cinere veterum bibliothecarum laticantia putrescerent (13). --- But his most powerful Accusers, triumphing as it were on white Horses, sang a joyful Paean, and spread their Victory over all the World; inasmuch, that the poor Wretch was condemned, unheard, by many good Men, and his Works, which were the Ornament of France and Italy, like blasphemous, or obscene, Poems, were either thrown into the Fire, or rotted in old dusty Libraries."

(13) Id. ib.

[F] When he was reproached with the ill Success of his *Crusade*, he came off with saying, that the Sins of the Croisades have prevented the Effects of his Prophecies. This is, in truth, the whole Center of his Manifesto (14); for, if he alleges the Example of Moses, to shelter himself under the inviolable Authority of so great a Name, it is because he pretended, that the Members of the *Crusade* were no less polluted with Crimes, than the Children of Israel, and that therefore both had diverted the Effects of the Promises. See what a modern Philosopher (15) thought upon This.

(14) Read the History of the Crusades, by Father Mabillon, lib. iv, pag. 39, & seq. of Part II, E. d. t. Holl.

(15) The Author of Several Thoughts on Comets, p. 779, 780.

(a) Co'omes. Gall. Orient. pag. 45.

BEROALDUS (MATTHEW) [A], born at *Paris*, taught the *Hebrew* Tongue at *Orleans*, in 1565. Those of *Rochel* offered him an Employ in their College, in the Year 1571 (a). I believe he did not accept of it. He was in *Sancerre*, when the *Marshall de la Châtre* besieged it, a little after the Massacre of *Paris* (b); and He did the Inhabitants great Services by his wife and courageous Counsels [B]. At his leaving *Sancerre*, he retired to *Sedan*, where he read Historical Lectures. Some were offended at the manner, in which it is pretended, that he spoke of *Francis I.* in his Lectures [C]. I cannot tell at what time he was Minister of *Geneva* [D]; but

(b) See the History of Sancerre, pag. 199.

(1) Theoph. Rayn. de bonis & malis Libris, pag. 166, & in Theol. Nat. pag. 66.

(2) Thomasius de Plagio Literar. pag. 189.

(3) Tom. i. lib. i. ch. 9. pag. 578. ad Ann. 1572.

(4) Ibid. ch. 12, pag. 609, 610.

[A] He was called MATTHEW. Theophilus Raynaud, by Mistake, calls him Michael (1). Thomasius, I find, doubts, whether This be a Mistake (2): He should not have doubted of it.

[B] And did the Inhabitants of *Sancerre* great Services by his wife and courageous Counsels. D'Aubignat observes this in two Places. "The *Sancerrois*, says he (3), composed also a Council, in which they found themselves particularly happy in Beroaldus, formerly *Hebrew* Reader at *Orleans*. He accompanied his Counsels with Courage. --- The Besieged, being very much astonished at this News, wanted to be supported by their Pastors; but chiefly stood in need of the wife and courageous Counsels of Beroaldus; according to which, they resolved to endure all the Miseries of a Siege, and that they, who would not consent to it, should be thrown over the Walls (4)."

[C] Some were offended at the manner, in which it is pretended, that he spoke of *Francis I.* in his Lectures. A Minister, who was then at *Sedan*, and who abjured his Religion afterwards, published what follows. "It is to be noted, that Matthew Beroaldus, a learned Man among them, and one of their Professors, being retired from *Sancerre* to *Sedan*, was defired, by the President *la Louette*, and some others, to read some Lectures; which he did in the same Place, where they preach, and delivered a System of Chronology, which he said he had

made. Now, being come to the Reign of King Francis I., a Prince of Glorious Memory, and whom we may justly call the Father of Learning, and Restorer of Sciences, in This Kingdom of France; Advantages, which cannot be sufficiently valued, and which all Europe felt afterwards: Being, I say, come to the Reign of This Great and Virtuous Prince, he spoke so impudently, and irreverently, of him, and of his most illustrious, and most Christian, Posterity, that I know not one Man, breathing the Air of France, but would have been scandalized at it. The President, the Baylis, and other Magistrates, and all the Ministers, residing then at *Sedan*, were present; who, if they had had a Christian, and French, Heart, and not ungrateful for the Benefits arising from Learning, which That Good Prince revived, would certainly have been offended at it as well as myself, and would not have tolerated such a Person. At least, the President, and others, who had Authority in the City, should have given Notice of it to the Lord of the Place, who, being well affected to the Good of the Crown, and the King's Service, would, I am sure, have punished him according to his Deserts. But is was smothered. I spoke of it myself to the President, shewing him some other Faults, which the said Beroaldus had committed in Chronology; and I exhorted him, by the Obedience, which we all owe to our Prince; and

for

it cannot be questioned, that he was so; and, since he taught Philosophy there, in the Year 1576 (c), there is some reason to believe, that he exercised the Ministry, there, at that time. He published a Book of Chronology, in the Year 1575, in which there is, doubtless, much Learning, but little Solidity. In striving to do Honour to the Scripture, he loses himself in a Labyrinth, which he cannot get out of. He pretends, that no other Guide is to be followed, in the Doctrine of Times, but the Writings inspired by God [E]. Scaliger has plainly shewed the Insufficiency of this Hypothesis; but he has inveighed too much against The Author. Moreri goes too far, when he affirms, that, besides the *Latin Chronology*, there appeared many other Works of Beroaldus, and that he died about the Year 1575, or 76. La Croix du Maine, whom he quotes, does not say so; but only, that Beroaldus was no longer living in the Year 1584, and that it was probable, his other Compositions would be published by the Care of his Son, the Sieur de Verville.

(c) See Remark [D].

"for the Honour of our Nation, to perform his Duty in it; who answered me somewhat coldly, that he could have wished it had not been said, and that it was, in truth, a Piece of Imprudence. Yet he made his Report of my Remonstrance; which incensed them the more against me; tho' without any outward Appearance of it, except a few cross Looks: but they waited for an Opportunity (5)." I am willing this Discourse should be as much suspected of Falshood, as any one pleases; and, if it be false, so much the better for this Dictionary; which ought principally to contain the Errors of other Books. Let this be said with respect to a great many other Passages, which shall be quoted.

[D] I cannot tell, at what time he was Minister of Geneva. Beza does not determine it. He only gives Beroaldus the Quality of his Colleague in the Church, which imports, as Colomes (6) well observes, that Beroaldus exercised the Ministry at Geneva. He also taught Philosophy there, as the same Colomes observes (7), and as may be proved by the Epistle Dedicatory, which Lambert Daneaus prefixed to the Treatise of Heresies: It is said there, that, in 1576, Matthew Beroaldus taught Philosophy at Geneva. Here are Beza's own Words: *Aliam igitur rursus rationem inii-*

vir beatæ memoriæ, & meus superioribus annis in hac Ecclesia collega, Beroaldus (8). I believe Beroaldus went to be Professor at Geneva, after he had been so at Sedan. Scaliger says, that he read with great Applause, and was admired at Sedan, and at Geneva, where there were some great Men (9).

[E] He would have no other Guide — than the Writings inspired by God. In consequence of this Maxim, he struck Cambyfes, and Darius, the Son of Hyaspes, out of the Catalogue of the Kings of Persia: for, says he, *These Names appear no where in the Scripture; — quæ nomina, quia nunquam extant in Scriptura, à nobis sunt prætermissa* (10). Vossius pretends, that he is mistaken as to the Fact; and that, if he was right in that Respect, he would, nevertheless, be much to blame in denying the Existence of Those Kings, under pretence that the Scripture makes no mention of them. Scaliger calls this manner of explaining the Times Fanatical and Prophetical (taking the last Word in an odious Sense) and maintains, that, if the prophane Authors had not supplied us with some Light, the Chronology of the Scripture could never have been disentangled. *Aliam erat de Chronologia sacra, abique exoticis monumentis foret* (11). He calls Pareus Hierophantam Beroaldinum.

(8) Beza in Acta Apostol. cap. xiii. vers. 20, where he treats of the 450 Years, that passed from Joshua to Samuel.

(9) In Scaligeranis.

(10) Beroald, lib. iii. Chron. c. 8. apud Vossium de Scient. Mathem. pag. 233.

(11) In e-lencoChronol. prophetice, pag. 5, apud Vossium, ibid.

BEROALDUS (FRANCIS), Sieur de Verville, Son of the foregoing, was born at Paris [A], the Twenty eighth of April, 1558 (a). He was a Man of Learning and Parts; but he did not make choice of proper Materials to perfect his natural Gifts. He took the pains to translate Polyphitus's Dream (b), and afterwards to compose a Piece of the same Stamp; it was entitled, *The Travels of Fortunate Princes*; which he called *Steganographical*. He wrote several Books of Chymistry, and several Tomes of Romances (c) [B], which are very tedious, and little better, than the Writings of Nerveze, and the Sieur des Escuteaux. Perhaps he would have done better to have continued exercising himself on the same Subjects, by which he appeared first in public. Being but Twenty two Years of Age, he published some *Commentaries on the Mechanics* of James Besson (d). He had scarce tried his Fortune this way, but he ran after the Philosopher's Stone. In the Year 1583, were published *His Spiritual Apprehensions, Poems, and other Philosophical Works, with some Enquiries after the Philosopher's Stone* (e). The Year after, he published a Poem, entitled, *The Idea of a Republic* (f).

[A] He was born at Paris. Mr de Marolles ought, then, to strike him out of the List, which he has given, of the Illustrious Tourangeaux (1).

[B] He wrote several kinds of tedious Romances. He was Author of *The Adventures* of Florida, *Minerva's Closet*, *The Maid of Orleans*, *The History* of Herodias, "and some other Works, wherein he introduces some Lords and Ladies, whose Conversa-

tions are not very ingenious; but, what is to be esteemed therein, is, the Sentiments of Honour and Virtue, which are the finest in the World, with many Secrets of Nature and Art, by means whereof many extraordinary things are performed; whereas the ancient Romans referred every thing to Magic, for want of Invention and Learning (2)."

(d) Printed at Lyons, in 1580, and 1581, at La Croix du Maine, pag. 91.

(e) La Croix du Maine, pag. 92.

(f) Idem. pag. 480.

(2) Sorel Bibl. Franç. pag. 177.

(4) In the Discourse concerning the Church, at the end of the Life of Henry IV.

(5) The Night following, which was the Eve of St Martin, the Corn was blighted all over France, which caused a Famine, and Plague, in divers Places. Beza Hist. Eccles. lib. i. pag. 3.

BERQUIN (LEWIS de,) a Gentleman of the Country of Artois, was burnt for the Protestant Religion, at Paris, the Twenty second of April, 1529 [A]. He

[A] He was burnt, at Paris, the Twenty second of April 1529. We have a Proof of this Chronology in a Letter of Erasmus, dated the first of July 1529 (1). It contains an ample Relation of the Life and Death of Lewis de Berquin. It is expressly noted there, that he was burnt decimo Calend. Majas. This Proof would fix the Day of his Death, were it not for another Letter of Erasmus (2), in which the Execution of Berquin is placed on the seventeenth of April, XV Calend. Majas (3). This Letter is dated the ninth of May 1529. All, that Erasmus can do,

is to fix us to the Month of April 1529; we must look on all the other Varieties as Mistakes. Mezerai is mistaken in the Year, and perhaps also in the Day: He affirms, that Berquin was burnt on the Twenty first of April, of the Year 1528 (4). John Crepin, in the Acts of the Martyrs, places the Death of This Person in the Month of May, in general, 1529. Beza places it on the Tenth of November, in the same Year (5), both in his Ecclesiastical History, and in another Work. *Fragibus nocte post interitum illius proxima (qui fuit undecimus dies Novembris anno Domini*

(c) Defence of Matthew de Launoy, and Henry Penetier, lately Ministers, &c. pag. 32. This Book was printed at Paris, in 1577.

(6) Colomesii Gallia Oriental. p. 46.

(7) Ibid. pag. 45.

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 430.

(b) Sorel Biblioth. Franç. pag. 173.

(c) Ib. pag. 177, 156.

(1) Memoirs, pag. 255.

(1) The 4th of the 24th Book, pag. 127.

(2) The 2nd of the 15th Lib. 1.

(3) Bala, Decem. man. lib. cap. 10. pag. 475.

(a) Erasmus, Epist. iv. lib. 24. pag. 1278.

(b) Id. Epist. 44. lib. 30. pag. 1931.

(d) Ibid. pag. 1279.

(e) Hoc agebant in eo crimen esse gravissimum, quod ingenue pre se ferebat odium in morales quodam theologos ac monachos non minus feroces, quam stolidos. In hoc palam debachabatur, nec stomachum suum dissimulare poterat. Ib.

was Lord of a Village, of which he bore the Name (a), and was very much esteemed in the Court of France, and honoured with the Title of the King's Counsellor (b). He lived a good Life, and regularly observed the Precepts of the Church. He was a Layman, and unmarried; yet he was never censured, in relation to his Chastity. Erasmus, who had learned these Particulars from some Persons, whom he could depend upon, adds, that they had also informed him, that Berquin abhorred Lutheranism (d), and that the great Crime, which was found in him, was, that he openly professed to hate morose and peevish Divines, and Monks, who were no less fierce, than ignorant (e). He spoke very ill of them publicly. This paved the way to a bloody War, that began with a Quarrel, which he had with one of the most violent Inquisitors of That Time (f) [B]. It was not long before they accused him as an Heretic: Certain Propositions were extracted from a Book, which he had published; whereupon he was Imprisoned; but the Judges, finding no Crime in him, acquitted him [C]. The Accusers pretended, that he had escaped Punishment by the Royal Authority; as for him, he said he was not beholden to any thing but the Justice of his Cause; and he behaved as formerly. He translated some of Erasmus's Books into French [D], and added something of his own to them. Immediately, Noel Beda, and his emissaries, began a new War; They extracted several Things out of Those Books, and, having informed against them, as pernicious Errors, they occasioned the Author's second Imprisonment. The Cause being judged, some Monks went to tell him the definitive Sentence, which was passed upon him: Which was, that his Books should be burnt; that he should retract his Errors, and submit to such Satisfaction, as should be prescribed to him; and that

(f) Guilhelmus Queranus, or a Quercu.

(6) Id. in Iconibus.

(7) Spontaneus Annal. ad Ann. 1529. n. 14.

(8) Beza, in Iconibus.

(9) Recolles True Hist. of Calvinism, pag. 217.

(10) In Remark [H].

mini 1329.) in tota Gallia frigore perustis, & gravissima tum fame tum etiam peste conflagrata (6). Spontaneus plainly shews, that Beza is in an Error, by the fourth Letter of the Twenty fourth Book of Erasmus, which, being dated the first of July 1529, mentions Berquin's Execution; but he is afterwards mistaken, when he gives the Reason, why he thinks, that Beza falsified That Date (7). He says, It was done to make what was to be said on the Judgments of God more probable. Beza says, that Heaven declared for Berquin, and reversed the Sentence of the Judges, because, the following Night, the Frost spoiled all the Corn in the Kingdom; from whence a great Famine, and Mortality, ensued. *Judicium Sententia veluti celsitus rescissa triumphavit, frugibus nostris, &c.* (8). Nothing was more easy than to criticize Beza with Justice on this Point: For first, it is to dispose of the particular Providence of God a little too rashly, to say, that the Plagues, which desolate a whole Kingdom, are a Vengeance for the unjust Death of one Man. In the second place, Frost can do but little damage to Corn, the tenth, or eleventh, of November. They sow at that time, almost all the Kingdom over: and it is at least very certain, that the greatest Part of what is sowed is out of danger at that time. So that, if Beza had, with a premeditated Design, falsified the Date, he would have taken care not to pitch upon the Eve, or the Day, of St Martin. The right Time, noted by Erasmus, was much properer for his Reflexion; for Cold may hurt the Fruits of the Earth towards the end of April. Thus you see how Spontaneus might have confuted the moral Reflexion of Beza. If he had criticized him from my first Consideration, he would have disarmed himself; for he is as much accustomed, as any one, to say, that such or such Evils happen as Punishments for This or That. One of Those, who wrote against Maimbourg's History of Calvinism (9), observes, that Berquin was executed, the Twenty second of March, on the Eve of St Martin, the Pope, in the Place Maubert. What he adds of Dr Merlin, and which I shall relate below (10), persuades me, that he copied Beza; only he took notice, that the Month of November not being a Time, wherein Corn can receive any damage by the Cold, he sought another St Martin's Eve.

Let it not be wondered at, that the Day of such a Martyrdom was not well known to the Protestant Writers, and that they have variously reported the Date of it. The Battle of Cerisoles, the Death of Antony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, the Barricades of Paris, in the Time of Henry III, were not better dated by great Authors. See the Extract, which Mr Bernard gave, of a Book of Father du Lodel, in his *News from the Republic of Letters*, page 224, of the Month of February, 1699.

[B] He had a Quarrel with one of the most violent Inquisitors. Berquin was no Coward; he must have had a great Courage, since he feared neither an A Quercu, nor a Noel Beda. He durst, not only defend

himself against them, but even attack them: Beza praises him for it. "Adfuit autem animi tanta generositas, ut maxime omnium tunc metuendis crabrones in ipsis eorum cavis, Bedam videlicet & a Quercu (de quibus scripserat, procul illos confignis, Erasmus, Lutetiae Betam sapere & Quercum concionari) Matælogorum ejus seculi principes, in ipso eorum sterquilinio sit ausus non modò utcumque laceflere, sed impietatis etiam accusatos non unius anni certamine tum voce tum scripsi strenuè exercere (11). — He was a Man of such Courage, that he ventured, not only to attack, upon their own Dung-hill, but vigorously to pursue, with an Action of Impiety, during a Contest of more than one Year, both in Speech and Writing, Those most formidable Hornets, Beda and a Quercu, of whom Erasmus, talking them at a Distance, wrote, that, at Paris, a Birch-Tree pretended to Learning, and an Oak to Oratory." See, here, what Erasmus says, concerning the Process, wherein Berquin was the Aggressor. "Non enim solum promittebat sibi abolitionem nem, verumetiam victoriam esse in manibus, sed malle seriùs aliquanto finire causam, quo magnificentius triumpharet. Jamque mutatis vicibus, ipsam facultatem sacratissimam, monachos & Beddicos reos peragebat impietatis. Nam quædam arcana deprehenderat in illorum actis (12). — For he not only promised himself an honourable acquittal, but even that he had the Victory in his Hands; but was willing that the Determination of the Cause should be protracted, that he might triumph the more splendidly. And now, changing Hands, he brought an Action of Impiety against the most sacred Order, The Monks, and Beddicks: for he had discovered some secret Transactions of theirs." See the Remark [A], of the Article B E D A, Citation (7).

[C] He was accused as an Heretic — but the Judges — acquitted him.] He was accused of condemning the Custom, which Preachers have, of invoking the Holy Virgin, instead of invoking the HOLY GHOST. It is said, that he did not approve, that the Holy Virgin should be called the Fountain of Grace, and that, in the Evening Hymn, she should be called our Hope and our Life. He said, that This was more applicable to JESUS CHRIST, and that the Scripture does not favour the Modern Usage. These are the Trifles, for which he was imprisoned, and in danger of being treated as an Heretic. *Ob hujusmodi nœmias ductus est in carcerem, reus hæreseos periclitatus est. At Judices, ubi viderunt causam esse nullius momenti, absolverunt hominem* (13). I do not wonder so much, that Erasmus called them Trifles, as that Berquin was acquitted upon such Opinions.

[D] He translated some of Erasmus's Books into French.] Among others, *The Panegyric on Marriage* (14), *The Manual of the Christian Soldier* (15), and *The Complaint of Peace*. See the Remark [K].

(11) Beza, in Iconibus.

(12) Erasmus, Epist. iv. lib. 24. pag. 1280.

(13) Id. ib.

(14) Idem. Epist. xci. lib. 19. pag. 923.

(15) Idem. Epist. iv. lib. 24.

that, if he refused, He should himself be burnt. Being a Man of an inflexible and intrepid Spirit, he would not submit to any thing; and he would probably have been burnt, if some Judges, perceiving the excessive Animosity of the Accusers, had not contrived the Matter so, that the Business was examined again. Many are of Opinion, that this was done at the Recommendation of the Lady Regent, Mother of Francis I, to save *Berquin*. During these Transactions, *Francis I* returned from Spain; and, hearing of the Danger his Counsellor was in, from the Faction of *Beda*, he wrote to the Parliament to take great care of what should be done, and that he would hear *Lewis de Berquin's* Cause himself. Some time after, The Prisoner was set at Liberty: This raised his Courage in such a manner, that he was so bold, as to accuse his Accusers (g): He brought an Action of Irreligion against them, and flattered himself with obtaining a compleat Victory (h). If he had followed the judicious Advice of *Erasmus*, he would have looked upon it as a great Triumph, not to be oppressed by these Men [E], instead of hoping to bring them to Reason. But if, on the one Side, he came off the worse for having had the Boldness to resist, to their Face, Those, with whom *Erasmus*, for very good Reasons, advised him to have nothing to do [F]; it was, on the other side, a great Advantage to him; because, by falling a Victim to their Hatred, he procured to himself the Crown of Martyrdom. He was imprisoned the third time; the Sentence pronounced against him, condemned him to make the *Amende Honorable* for his Errors (i), and to suffer perpetual Imprisonment [G]. He refused to submit to This Sentence: He would have acknowledged, thereby, that his Opinions were erroneous; so that he was condemned, as an obstinate Heretic, to be strangled in the *Greve* (k), and afterwards burnt (l). He suffered Death with an extraordinary Constancy. He was about forty Years of Age. It is said, that the Monk, who attended him on the Scaffold, declared, that he observed in him some Signs of Abjuration [H]. But see what *Eras-*

(g) See Remarks [B], and [E].

(h) Taken for the fourth Letter of the 24th Book of *Erasmus*. See a more exact Relation of this Trial in one of *Berquin's* Letters to *Erasmus*, dated from Paris, April 17, 1526, and published by John Fechtius, in *Historie Ecclesiastica*, Supplemento, pag. 874.

(i) See the *Acta Martyrum*, collected by John Crepin, pag. 213, Edit. of 1556.

(k) Beza, Hist. Eccles. pag. 7, says, by Mistake, in the Place Maubert.

(l) Id. ibid. & full apud *Erasmus*, ubi supra, pag. 1278.

[E] If he had followed the Advice of *Erasmus*, he would have looked upon it as a great Triumph not to be oppressed by Those Men.] Few Persons of Sense, and who are used to reflect on what they see, or read, will think on *Berquin's* Conduct, without applying to him the Fable of the Wolf and the Crane. He was not satisfied with having escaped out of the Hands of his Accusers, but he would also have the Prize and Honour of the Victory, as a Reward of his Constancy: Is not This to imitate the Crane, who required a Reward, after having got her Neck, whole and safe, from out of a very dangerous Passage?

(16) Phædr. Fab 8, l. i.

Ingrata es, inquit, ore quæ nostro caput
Incolume abstuleris, & mercedem postulas (16).

You are ungrateful, after drawing your Neck, safe,
out of my Mouth, to demand a Reward.

These Verses of *Horace* may be very well applied to *Berquin*:

Cervi luporum præda rapacium
Sectamur ultro, quos opimus
Fallere, & effugere est triumphus (17).

(17) *Horace*,
Oli. iv. l. iv.

We, like the Stag, the brinded Wolf provoke;
And, when Retreat is Victory,
Rush on, though sure to die.

CREECH.

[F] -- With whom *Erasmus*, for very good Reasons, advised him to have nothing to do.] He had received Letters from *Berquin*, but had never seen him; and, fearing to be involved in the Prosecutions against Innovators, he was not very well satisfied to find his own Thoughts, with Those of *Berquin* (18), in one and the same Book; and he exhorted the latter to be quiet, or, at least, not to expose him to Danger. "Your Adversaries, said he to him, will never own the Crime, of which you accuse them; think that *Beda* is an Hydra with several Heads; you have to do with an immortal Enemy; a Faculty, a Society, never dies; and do not trust to the Protection of the Prince. The Favour of Kings is changeable; an Informer prejudices them; the Fear they have of Churchmen, and their Desire of being no more fatigued with their importunate Solicitations, force them to grant them what they demand." Here are his Latin Words. "Crebris epistolis hortatus sum, ut vel arte quamvis femet extricaret a causa, puta carente amici, ut prætextu regis legationis longius proficisceretur: for-

(18) *Berquin* translated some of *Erasmus's* Words into French, and added to them something of his own.

tas Theologos passuros ut causa tempore evanesceret, nunquam passuros ut impietatis crimen, quod illis objiciebat, agnoscerent. Etiam atque etiam cogitaret qualis excetra esset *Beda*, quotque capitibus afflaret venenum: Tum expenderet sibi cum immortalis adversario rem esse; facultas enim non moritur: simul illud cogitaret, qui cum tribus monarchis belligeratur, eum cum multis phalanges habere rem, non solum opulentis ac potentibus, verum etiam improbiis, & in omni marum artium genere instructis. Illos non conquieturos, donec ei procurassent exitum, etiam si causam haberet meliorem quam habuit *CHRISTUS*, neque plus satis fideret Regis presidio. Principum enim favores esse temporarios, ac delatore artibus facile in diversum trahi illorum affectus. Postremo, ut nihil horum accidat, magnos etiam Principes vel delassari talium improbitate, vel metu nonnunquam cogi ut cedant (19)."

[G] The Sentence, pronounced against him, condemned him to make the *Amende Honorable*, and to suffer perpetual Imprisonment.] I have followed the *Acta Martyrum* of John Crepin; but I shall observe, wherein the Relations differ. *Beza* makes no mention of an *Amende Honorable*; and he says, that *Berquin's* Books were to be burnt in the Preface of the Author, which *Crepin* does not remark. *Erasmus* mentions four Heads of Punishment; the Books were to be burnt; the Author was to recant; his Tongue was to be bored through, and himself to suffer perpetual Imprisonment (20). *Beza*, and *Crepin*, have not forgot this latter Head. *Erasmus* adds, that the Cause was judged by twelve Commissaries; that *Budaus*, who was one of them, exhorted *Berquin*, before his Condemnation, to retract (21); that *Berquin*, having heard the Sentence, appealed to the King, and to the Pope, and that the Judges, full of Indignation on that Account, condemned him to be burnt the next Day. *Erasmus* relates all this on Hear-say (22). See the Remark [K].

[H] The Monk, who attended him on the Scaffold, declared, That he had observed in him some Signs of Abjuration.] A Person (23), whom *Erasmus* thought worthy of Credit, wrote to him, that he asked This Monk, If *Berquin* had not acknowledged his Errors, at his last Breath? And that the Monk answered him, He had; and seemed to have no manner of doubt, but that *Berquin's* Soul was in the Abode of the Blessed. *Erasmus's* Friend was near the Place of Execution, and gave him a faithful Account of it. He informed him, that no one could hear the Speech, which *Berquin* made to the People, the Archers making a great Noise on purpose to drown it

(19) *Erasmi*, Epist. iv. lib. 24, pag. 1280.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Rocolles, True History of Calvinism, pag. 216, says, that *Budaus*, a great Friend of *Berquin's*, used his utmost Endeavours to save him.

(22) *Erasmi*, Epist. iv. lib. xxiv. pag. 1280, and Epist. xvii. lib. xxvii. pag. 1522. Epist. xlviii. lib. xxx. pag. 1937.

(23) His Name was Montius.

(m) Id. Beza
in Iconibus.

mus said upon This [I]. Beza believed (m), that Berquin would have been, in France, what Luther was in Germany, if Francis I had done for him, what the Duke of Saxony did for Luther. It is certain, that he was a Man of great Parts, and of great Courage. Nicholas Berauld was one of his best Friends, as Badius Ascensius affirms, in dedicating the Works of Politian to them.

Since the first Impression of this Article, a Book has been published, wherein the different Proceedings against Lewis de Berquin are well cleared up. I shall give the Substance of them in the last Remark of This Article.

(24) Ex E-
raismo, ubi
supra, pag.
1277, 1278.

(25) Hist.
Eccles. lib.
i, pag. 8.

it: No one cried JESUS, when the Sufferer was strangled, though it be commonly practised towards sacrilegious Men, and Parricides (24). If what Beza relates were true, we should certainly find it in Erasmus's Relation: His Friend would not have kept it secret. Beza says, "that Dr Merlin, at that Time Penitentiary of Paris, who went with him to the Place of Execution, could not forbear saying aloud to the People, after his Death, to the great Regret of his Accusers, and Judges, that, perhaps, for above an hundred Years past, no one had died a better Christian, than Berquin (25)." It is probable, Beza, afterwards, discovered the Falshood of This; for, if he had believed the Thing to be true, why should he not have placed it in his *Icones*? It is certain, that many pious Frauds are handed about in such Cases, which an Historian ought to distrust.

[I] See what Erasmus says upon this.] He freely declares, that he believed the *Franciscan*, who attended Berquin on the Scaffold, told a Lie: He adds, that "it is always their Custom in such Cases. These pious Frauds serve to maintain them in the Honour of having vindicated Religion, and to justify to the People Those, who have accused and condemned Heretics." At ego *Franciscani dictis nihil habeo fidei, præsertim quum hoc sit istis solenne, post extinctum hominem spargere rumores, quod in incendio cecinerit palinodiam, quo simul & vindicata religionis laudem auferant, & multitudinis invidiam calumnique suspicionem effugiant* (26). He knew, from the first Hand, some of these Frauds, which had been practised at *Brussels*; and he relates them in few Words. If People were reasonable, they would make such Accusers and Judges stand in awe of them; for, in short, can any thing be conceived more shocking, when it is examined without Prejudice, than to represent to one's self a Man condemned to the Flames, because he will not violate the Faith, which he has sworn to the True God? But the Authors of these Executions were so far from fearing any thing on that Account, that they became more insolent for it; for they were in hopes to render themselves more formidable. This was one of the Inconveniences, which Erasmus found in the Execution of poor Berquin. *Periculum est, ne Bædis sua sponte plus satis insensitibus nimium accedat animorum* (27).

(27) Ibid.
pag. 1282.

[K] There has appeared a Work, in which the Proceedings against Berquin are well cleared up.] It is *A Treatise of the Origin of Printing* at Paris, by Mr Chevallier. Thus he gives an Account of These Proceedings. The thirteenth of May, in the Year 1523, the Parliament caused Lewis de Berquin's Books to be seized, and ordered, that they should be communicated to the Faculty of Theology to have their Opinion concerning them. They found upon him the Book *De Abroganda Missâ*, with some others of Luther and Melancthon; and seven or eight Treatises, whereof he was the Author, some entitled, *Speculum Theologistorum*. De *Ufu & Officio Missæ*, &c. *Rationes Lutheri*, quibus omnes Christianos esse Sacerdotes molitur suadere; The Debate of Piety and Superstition. They found also some Books, which he had translated into French, as, The Reasons why Luther caused the Decretals, and all the Books of the Canon Law, to be publicly burnt: La Triade Romaine; and others. The Faculty, having examined these Books, judged, that they plainly contained Luther's Heresies and Blasphemies. Their Opinion is dated Friday the Twenty sixth of July, 1523, and addressed to the Court of Parliament. After having censured each Book in particular, they concluded, that all of them ought to be burnt; that Berquin, having made himself a Defender of the Lutheran Heresies, ought to be obliged to make a public Abjuration, and to be forbidden to compose any Book, for the future, or make any Translation prejudicial to the Faith (28). "The Parliament ordered, that this Opinion should be signified to him.

(28) Che-
vallier's O-
pinion of
Printing at
Paris, pag.
174.

"He answered, in Writing, and verbally, to it, in the Presence of the Judges. Upon his Answer, he was made Prisoner, the first Day of August, and, four Days after, his Sentence was read to him, which sent him back to the Tribunal of the Bishop of Paris, to be judged by him, on the Cases resulting from the Process. The eighth of August, the King caused him to be taken out of the Prisons of the Episcopal Court, by Captain *Fredéric*, and brought the Cause before his Council, where he was judged by the Chancellor, and condemned to abjure some heretical Propositions; which he did. These are the Terms of the Registers of the Parliament. He was no sooner delivered from this Danger, but he began again to utter Heresies in his Books, and in his Discourse; and, to be less observed, he retired into the Diocese of Amiens, where he offended the People, and the Clergy, in such a manner, that the Bishop was obliged to come to Paris, and make his Complaint to the Parliament, who caused him to be taken up; and he was declared a Relapsed Heretic, by the Sentence of two Counsellors of the Court, chosen to take Cognizance of the Fact of Heresy, and invested with the Authority of the Holy See, by a Brief of Pope Clement VII, dated the twentieth of May, 1525, registered in the Court, which the Queen Regent had obtained from Rome, in the King her Son's Absence. These Ecclesiastical Judges gave him up to the Parliament, as to the Secular Power. His Process had been committed to a Counsellor. The Morning when it was to be reported, the Parliament received a Letter from the King, who was returned from Spain, dated the first of April, 1526, whereby he ordered the Proceedings to be stopped: And, at last, after many Letters written, he sent a Lieutenant of his Guards, with the Provost of Paris, who took him out of Jail, kept him some time in the *Louvre*, and gave him his Liberty (29)." The Faculty of Divinity having censured Erasmus's Colloquies, the University prohibited the reading and teaching them in the Colleges. "Then Berquin wrote to Erasmus, that the matter ought not to be delayed any longer; that he ought to join with him; that now was the time to ruin all the Authority of the Doctors in the Church, and to cry them quite down, the Occasion being favourable. Nunc tempus esse, ut Theologis omnis in posterum detraberetur auctoritas. His Cause remained in suspense. It consisted in a Sentence, pronounced against him by two Counsellors, Judges delegated by the Pope (which Erasmus ascribes to the Prior of the *Carthusians*, to That of the *Celestins*, and to a Third, whom he does not name). It consisted also in a Reproach, which he had made to the Faculty of Theology, for having approved the impious Doctrine, as he falsely called it, of Doctor Bæda. --- Puffed up with the Protection, which he had received from the Court, flattering himself with the vain Hopes of destroying the Faculty, and uttering Errors continually, he would pursue his Abolition, contrary to Erasmus's Counsels, who advised him, very wisely, to desist from this Enterprize, and to leave the Kingdom. --- Twelve Commissaries were deputed to judge him; who, having found him convicted of Heresy, caused him to be arrested. They had agreed together, that his Books should be burnt, that his Tongue should be bored, and that he should be only condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment, provided he would abjure his Heresy. The Learned William Budeus, who was one of his Judges, did his utmost, for three Days, to persuade him to save his Life, by recanting his Errors: But, not being able to conquer his Obstinacy, Sentence was pronounced against him, and he was burnt at the *Grève*, in the Month of April, 1529 (30)." (29) Ibid. pag. 177. (30) Ibid. pag. 177, 178.

BERSALA [A] (ANNE), Daughter, and chief Heiress, of *Wolfard de Bor-selle* (a), and of *Charlotte de Bourbon-Montpensier* (b), who were married the seventeenth of June, 1468, was the Wife of *Philip of Burgundy*, Son of *Antony of Burgundy*, Lord of *Beuvres*, one of the Natural Sons of *Philip The Good*, Duke of *Burgundy* (c). She brought him, for her Dowry, the Lordship of *Vere* [B], and that of *Flushing*, and some others; and had one Son, and two Daughters by him. Her own Father, and her Husband's Father, made a very great Figure [C]. This Lady's Merit, and some Passages concerning her Conduct, and her Misfortunes, shall be the Subject of our last Remark [D]. We shall, there, see, among other things, that *Erasmus* greatly esteemed her.

[A] BERSALA.] Thus *Erasmus* latinizes the vulgar Name BORSELLE.

[B] She brought her Husband the Lordship of Vere.] It is in Zealand, in the Island of *Walcheren*, and has been since erected into a Marquisate. It is vulgarly called *Teer-Vere*.

[C] Her own Father, and her Husband's Father, made a very great Figure.] For it is said (1), that *Wolfard de Bor-selle*'s first Wife was *Mary*, the Daughter of *James I*, King of Scotland, who brought him the Country of *Boncam* (2); and that he was a Marshal of France (3). It is more certain he was made a Knight of the Golden Fleece (4). *Lewis Gollut* places him in the List, and calls him Count of *Grand-Pré*. Mr *Fabert* does the like; but I can scarce believe, that they are in the right; for I find, that *Antony of Burgundy*, Natural Son of *Philip The Good*, was made Earl of *Grand-Pré*, and of *Chateau-thierry*, by *Lewis XI*, in the Year 1478 (5), which is about the time that *Wolfard de Bor-selle* received the Collar of the Order. If we had no other Proof of the Rank he held, than his Marriage with a Daughter of *Lewis of Bourbon*, Earl of *Montpensier*, and Dauphin of *Auvergne*, third Son of *John I*, Duke of *Bourbon*, we could not doubt, but that he made a great Figure in the World. Let us just concerning the Father of *Anne de Bor-selle*. Let us say a Word of her Father-in-law, and of her Husband. *Antony of Burgundy*, surnamed the *Great Bastard*, was made Knight of the Golden Fleece in the Year 1456 (6). He obliged the *Moors* to raise the Siege of *Ceuta*; he led the Vanguard at the Battle of *Grandson* (7), and remained Prisoner in that of *Nancy*. He entered, afterwards, into the Service of *Lewis XI*, who gave him very fine Lands, as I have already said (8). *Charles VIII* granted him Letters of Legitimation in the Year 1485, and made him Knight of the Order of *St Michael*. From the Marriage of this *Bastard of Burgundy* with *Mary de la Vieville*, contracted in the Year 1459, proceeded *Philip of Burgundy*, Lord of *Beuvres*, who was made Admiral and Governour of *Artois*, and Knight of the Fleece, at *Bruges*, in the Year 1478. He was also provided with the Government of the Earldom of *Flanders*; and he married *Anne de Bor-selle* (9).

[D] This Lady's Merit, and some Passages concerning her Conduct. . . . shall be the Subject of our last Remark.] If we believe *Erasmus*, she was extremely obliging and generous. "Vivi pervenimus, says he, in a Letter dated in the Month of February, 1497, ad *Annam Principem Verianam*. "Quid ego tibi de hujus mulieris comitate, benig-nitate, liberalitate memorem? Scio rhetorum am-plicationes suspectas haberi solere, præsertim iis qui ejus artificii rudes non sunt. At hic me nihil allevare, imo re vinci artem nostram, mihi credas velim. Nihil unquam produxit rerum natura aut prudentius, aut candidius, aut benignius (10). — "I have lived to see *Anne*, Princess of Vere. Need I tell you of this Lady's Courtesy, Good-Nature, and Liberty? I know, Rhetoricians are usually suspected of Amplification, especially by those, who are not unacquainted with the Art. But, here, believe me, I exaggerate nothing; the Subject is even too great for me. Nature never produced so much Modesty, Prudence, Candor, and Humanity." He had but lately received a thousand Marks of her Kindness and Liberty. "Tam illa in nos bene-fica fuit . . . tantis illa me officiis cumulavit, nul-lis a me studis provocata (11). . . . She was so beneficent to me, she beaped so many Favours on me, unasked." The Year following, he wrote a Letter to his good Friend *James Battus*, who was Tutor to This Lady's only Son: See, here, in what Terms he praised her: "O te beatum, ô superis charum, si tu itos scopolos cnavigâris: si

"felicitate tuâ, quæ mihi quidem summa videtur, sine invidia frui possis. Quod ut fore confidam, dominæ virtus facit, cui supersus omnes profitos, benèque volentes esse, non dubito. Evenit mihi, mi Battus, in ista, quod in te sæpenumero solet, ut tum ardentius amare, mirarique incipiam, quum absum. Bone Deus, qui candor, quæ comitas in amplissima fortuna, quæ animi lenitas in tantis injuriis, quæ hilaritas in tantis curis; tum quæ animi constantia, quæ vitæ innocentia, quod in literatos studium, quæ in omnes affabilitas (12). — "O happy Thou, and Favourite of Heaven, if you can sail clear of these Rocks, and enjoy That Happiness, which appears to me the greatest possible, without provoking the Envy of others. That this will be your happy Lot, I cannot doubt, when I reflect on the Goodness of the Lady you serve, on whom Heaven, I am sure, will always smile. It happens to me, dear Battus, in regard to This Lady, as it is wont with respect to yourself; I begin to love, and admire, her with the greatest Ardor, when I am absent from her. Good God! What Candor, what Courtesy, amidst the amplest Fortune! What Lenity of Mind, amidst such great Injuries! What Cheerfulness amidst so many Cares! Then, what Constancy of Soul! What Innocence of Life! What Liberality to Men of Learning! What Affability to All!"

I would not mention the Letter he wrote to this same Friend, in the Year 1500, if it did not testify This Lady's Liberty to the Clergy. He wished she would make choice of him for an Object of her Bounty, since the Productions of the Pen were more lasting, than the Voice of Preachers: He adds (13), that he would go into Italy to take his Doctor's Degree, which could not be done without such Expence, as he found himself unable to support, if he did not open her Purse for his Assistance. "Ostendens quanto amplius ego sum meis literis decus dominæ altaturus, quam alii, quos alit, Theologi. Nam illi vulgaria concionantur, ego scribo quæ semper sint victura. Illi indoctè nugantes, uno aut altero in templo audiuntur: mei libri à Latinis, à Græcis, ab omni gente toto orbe legentur. Ejusmodi indoctorum Theologorum permagnam ubique esse copiam, me similem vix multis seculis inveniri; nisi forte adeò superstitiosus es, ut religio tibi sit in amici negotio mendaciolis aliquot abuti. Deinde ostendens nihilo illam pauperiorem futuram, si ut Hieronymus jam depravatus, si ut vera Theologia instauraretur, aliquot aureis adjuverit, cum tanta ex illius opibus turpissimè pereant (14). — You will shew this Lady, how much greater Honour it will be to her to be celebrated in my Writings, than in those of some other Divines, whom she supports. They preach vulgar Things; I write what will live for ever. They, illiterate Triflers, are listened to in one or two Churches at most; My Works are read by Latins, by Greeks, by every Nation in the whole World. You will tell her, that there is every where great Plenty of such illiterate Divines, but that many Ages scarce produce a single *Erasmus*; unless, perhaps, you make a Conscience of being a little to serve your Friend. Lastly you will shew her, that she will not be the poorer, if she contributes a little of That Gold, she is so lavish of on the most unworthy Objects, towards restoring St Jerom, now greatly corrupted, and True Divinity." She found herself embarrassed in the Year 1498, and even under a kind of Confinement. "Apud dominam Vericenis oppidi res hoc erant loco, ut nec colloqui sine summo periculo poterim, nec abire sine gravi suspitione. Noli causam Præpositi, qui ut nunc in vinculis est, ita domina in tutela (15). — The Affairs of the Princess of Vere were in such a State, that I could nei-

(b) Anselm. Hist. of the Royal Family, pag. 272.

(c) Pontus Heu'erus, Rerum Bor-pundic. lib. vi. pag. 7.

(12) Id. E-pist. xiv. lib. iv. pag. 293.

(13) See the 47th Letter of the 8th Book.

(14) Id. E-pist. xvii. lib. viii. pag. 449.

(15) Id. E-pist. xxiii. lib. ix. pag. 482. It is dated from Paris, 1498. See also the 25th Letter of the same Book.

(a) Fabert. Hist. of the Dukes of Burgundy, Part I. pag. 162.

(1) Fabert. Hist. of the Dukes of Burgundy, Ton. I. pag. 162.

(2) Id. ibi. it ought to be Buchan.

(3) Anselm, Hist. of Great Officers, pag. 152.

(4) Gollut, Memoirs of Burgundy, pag. 744.

(5) Anselm, General. of the Royal Family, pag. 221.

(6) Ibid. pag. 220.

(7) The Year 1476.

(8) Above, Citat. (5).

(9) Taken out of Father Anselm, p. 220, 221.

(10) Erasmus. Epist. xiv. lib. iv. pag. 265.

(11) Id. ibi.

"*ther converse with her without the greatest Danger, nor depart without being greatly suspected. You know the Cause of the Provost, who as he is now in Bonds, so the Lady is in Custody.*" Matters did not go better the following Year. "Veriana duris Fatis premitur, ut fulevanda potius, quam oneranda, videatur (16). — *The Princess of Vere is greatly distressed, and seems herself to stand in need of Assistance, rather than to be farther burdened.*" But the Steadiness of her Courage against ill Fortune was a fine Subject of Praise. See the Letter, which Erasmus wrote to her in the Year 1500. I shall borrow but one Passage from it: It will inform us, that she was married very young; and that, being a Widow, after an uncomfortable Marriage, she would not marry again, though many Suitors offered themselves, with great Solicitations. "Nam te quidem non tam in viduis, quam in virginibus, pono: *scilicet quod olim puella admodum nuptiis, id quidem partim parentum auctoritati, partim generi propagando datum: & ejusmodi fuit conjugium, ut non tam fit imputanda voluptas, quam patientia spectata. Quod autem nunc ista adhuc ætate videntur, & penè puellari, nulla procorum instantia possis à continentie proposito divelli, quod in fortuna tam affluentia tam nihil indulges tibi, id ego non viduitatem, sed virginitatem existimo: in quo si, ut confido, perseverabis, ego te, mihi crede, audacter, non in adolescentularum choro, quarum, ut ait Scriptura, non est numerus, non in octoginta Solomonis concubinis, sed in quinquaginta Reginis, & Hieronymo quidem, ut spero, approbante, annumeravero (17).* — *For I reckon you, not among the Widows, but the Virgins; since you married very young, and that, partly in obedience*

(16) Id. Epist. xx. lib. ix., pag. 478. It is dated in 1499.

(17) Id. Epist. ult. lib. ix. pag. 503, 504.

(a) That of (EROME) BOLSEC.

(b) See Remark [D].

(c) In the History of Calvin, published in 1577.

(1) The Title of it is A Defence of Calvin, and it was printed in 1667, in 8vo.

"*to the Commands of your Parents, and partly for the Sake of Posterity: and since your Marriage was such, as must be considered rather as the Trial of your Patience, than the Gratification of your Desire. Now, since, in the Flower of your Youth, no Solicitation of Suitors can divert you from a determined State of Continency; since, amidst such an Affluence of Fortune, you so little indulge yourself: I esteem you rather as a Virgin, than a Widow; which State if you persist in, as I trust you will, believe me, I shall reckon you, not in the Company of young Maids, of which, the Scripture says, there is no number; not among the fourscore Concubines of Solomon; but among the fifty Queens, with the Consent, I hope, of St Jerom himself.*" I must lay something of her only Son *Adolphus of Burgundy*. He was Admiral of Flanders, and made Knight of the Golden-Fleece, at Brussels, in the Year 1516. Erasmus praised him for his good Qualities, and dedicated his Book of *Virtue* to him. He died at his Castle of Beves in Flanders, the seventh of December, 1540 (18). He left a Son, and two Daughters; the latter left some Posterity (19); but the Son had no Children by his Wife *Louisa de Croÿ*, who was Daughter of *Philip de Croÿ*, Duke of *Archebat* (20). He was made Marquis of *Teer-Vere* by *Charles V* (21); and, in the Year 1546, he received the Collar of the Order of the *Golden Fleece* (22). He died in the Year 1558 (23). The sixteenth Letter of the tenth Book of Erasmus is written to *Adolphus of Burgundy; Principi Veriano*. It is dated from London, 1512. The same Year he wrote to him, from Paris, a very excellent Letter, which is, in some Editions, at the End of the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*.

(18) *Foster Anselme, General of the Royal Family, pag. 221, 222.*

(19) See *Foster Anselme, ibid.*

(20) Id. ib.

(21) *Pontus Heuterus, Rerum Belgic. lib. vi. pag. 8.*

(22) *Anselme, ibid.*

(23) *Lud. Guicciard, Descript. Belgii. pag. 322.*

BERTELIER (PHILIBERT), Register of the inferior Court of Justice at Geneva, where he was born, should not have had a place in this Dictionary, had not his Article been proper to be the Supplement of another (a); and to shorten That of Calvin, which, probably, will be very long. This Bertelier lived in the middle of the XVIth Century. He distinguished himself only by his vile Actions; but, as he committed one, which pleased the Controversists much, since it supplied them with ample Matter to defame Calvin's Memory, this gave occasion to his being quoted as a Person of Consequence; and gave him a Figure in some considerable Writings (b). He pretended, that the Republic of Geneva had sent him to Noyon, with orders to make an exact Enquiry, there, into Calvin's Life and Conversation; and that, having performed his Commission, he found, that John Calvin had been convicted of Sodomy; and that, at the Bishop's Request, the Punishment of Fire was commuted into That of being branded with the *Flower-de-luce*. He boasted to have an Act, signed by a Notary, which certified the Truth of the Process and Condemnation. Bolsec affirms (c), that He, and many Others, had seen That Act; and This is the Ground of That horrid Accusation, so much spoken of, and which has been inserted in many Books. The matter of Fact, whether Calvin was branded with a hot Iron, for the Crime of Pederasty, is only grounded on the Authority of Bolsec, who affirms, that he saw the Act, which Bertelier brought from Noyon. We shall see, in the Article BOLSEC, that his Testimony is of no weight in Things, which are laid to Calvin's Charge. That of Bertelier cannot be better; for he was an ill Liver, and against whom Sentence of Death had been pronounced [A]; and who,

[A] He was a Person of an ill Life, and against whom Sentence of Death had been pronounced. Mr Drelincourt, Minister of Paris, will supply me with a Proof of this Fact, which the boldest Sophisters cannot deny. He has inserted the Extract of a Letter, which he received from Mr Lullin, Counsellor, and ancient Syndic of Geneva, in a Book, printed at Geneva, and licensed by the Republic (1): There are the Contents of That Extract.

"In the mean time, I shall not refuse, for your particular Satisfaction, to acquaint you with what I have learned, and what I can assure you I have just now read, in the ancient Records of our Council; wherein I find, that Philip Bertelier was a Native of This City, and had the Office of Secretary (which is elsewhere called Register) of the inferior Court of Justice; which Post is much below That of Secretary of State, which he is said to have had; and that, being accused of Sedition and Conspiracy against This State, and Church, he ran away, and, not appearing to answer for himself, was condemned, as being attainted, and convicted, of Those Crimes, to lose his

Head, by a Sentence pronounced against him, the sixth of August, 1555. About two Years after, he went to Law with a private Person of this City, in a foreign Court of Justice, whither he had fled; and, it being requisite, for the Honour and Interest of our Republic, and of That private Person, to make This perfidious Man known, an Attestation was granted of the Judgment, given against him, in the Terms, which you shall see in the following Copy, dated the fifth of February, 1557. This is the true Character of Bertelier, whose Testimony is so much extolled in the Book of the late Cardinal de Richelieu. As for what concerns his being sent, or deputed, to Noyon, to make a Report of Calvin's Life, it is a Fact not only falsely supposed, and whereof no kind of Mention is made in our Records; but it is also contrary to all probability. For, besides that no Envoy, or Deputy, was ever sent from our City, upon public Business, who was not in a higher Station, than That of Bertelier; and that such Employs are only given to Counsellors of the little Council; it is notorious, as you know, that we had some considerable

who, besides, had no Party against him, in Geneva, more inexorable than Calvin [B]. It is no ways necessary, in order to confute this Accusation, to make use of the just Exceptions, which invalidate the Testimony of these two Persons (d). There is, in the Act itself, an infallible Mark of Reprobation [C]; and nothing surprizes me more, than to see so great a Person, as Cardinal de Richelieu, depend on this piece of Bertelier [D], and alledge, as his principal Reason, that the Republic

(d) See Rivet Cathol. Orthodox. Oper. Tom. III. pag. 8. & seq. and in Jellia Vapulaute, cap. II. pag. 495. & seq. euid. Tom. autere be flectu: Lef- fure, that, by his own Rules, Bertelier and Bollee can be no Evidence against Cal- vin.

"derable Persons of Noyon in our City, who retired hither, with Calvin, soon after him: And, among others, a Canon, whose Name was Mr Collement, and Mr de Normandie, Lieutenant-Civil of the City of Noyon, whose Family is still One of the most considerable among us, and from which I am descended by the Mother's Side; by whose means, it was very easy to receive all the Information, which could have been desired, without going farther. Add to this, that it is certain, This Bertelier was always Calvin's Enemy; because he had often reprimanded, and censured him for his vicious and scandalous Life; and that he had strenuously opposed his wicked and pernicious Designs. This appears by Calvin's Letters to Viretus, and to Bullinger, in the Months of September, and November, 1553; in which he cries him down as a vicious and audacious Man: Beza represents, likewise, the wicked Qualities of Bertelier, in Calvin's Life (2)."

Here follows the Copy of the Attestation of the Republic of Geneva, against Philibert Bertelier (3).

"We, the Syndics and Council of Geneva, to All Those, to whom these Presents shall come, do certify, that, on the sixth of August, of the Year 1555, was publicly given, and pronounced, by Sound of Trumpet, a criminal Sentence against Philibert Bertelier, and his Accomplices, named in the said Sentence; by which, for the horrid and detestable Crimes of Conspiracy against the Holy Institution, and Christian Reformation, and against this City, and the public Good and Tranquillity thereof, the said Philibert Bertelier, as one of the Authors of the Conspiracy, and an Enemy to this City, and to the Peace, Union, and Tranquillity thereof, has been condemned to be bound, and brought to the Place of Champel; there to have his Head cut off; his Body to be quartered, and his Members to be set up in the four most eminent Places round about this City, for an Example to others, who shall commit such Crimes: This we attest and certify. And, therefore, we have ordered, and commanded, these Presents to be given under our usual Seal, and signed by our Secretary. Given at Geneva, the fifth of February, 1577."

[B] He had no Party against him - - - more inexorable than Calvin.] Bertelier, having been excommunicated, in the Year 1552, by the Consistory of Geneva (4), made his Complaint to the Senate. The Ministers were sent for, to give their Reasons for it; and both Parties being heard, the Senate confirmed the Excommunication. Eighteen Months after, Bertelier had recourse again to the Senate, who, after having heard Calvin's Opposition, pronounced, that Bertelier should be admitted to the Holy Sacrament. As soon as Calvin heard this News, he desired the Syndics to assemble the Senate; and, when they were met, he represented his Reasons, and concluded, with an Oath, that he would rather lose his Life, than give his Consent, that such a Man should receive the Lord's Supper (5). This is what Calvin wrote himself. His Historian will tell us more of it (6). The Clamour, which was raised against the Ministers, as if, in some respects, they had invaded the Rights of the Sovereignty, was the Reason, why the Council of Two hundred ordered, that the final Judgment of Causes of Excommunication should belong to the Senate; and that the Senate might absolve the excommunicated, as they should think fit. By virtue of this Decree, the Senate granted Letters of Absolution to Bertelier, which were sealed with the Seal of the Republic. The Sacrament was to be administered within two Days, when Calvin came to hear of what had pass; he soon resolved what to do, and preached against the Contempt of the Sacrament; he raised his Voice, lifted up his Hands, and said, that he would imitate St Chrysostom; that he would not oppose Force to Force, but that he would rather suffer himself to be massacred, than that his Hands should present the Holy Mysteries to Those, who had been

judged unworthy of them: This was a Thunder-bolt, which confounded Bertelier's Faction; so that it was not thought fit, that he should present himself to the Communion. The next Day after the Sacrament, Calvin, accompanied by his Consistory, desired leave of the Senate, and of the Council of Two hundred, to speak to the People about this Matter, for as much as it concerned the Abrogation of a Law, made by the People. This made so great an Impression on the People's Minds, that it was resolved the Swiss Cantons should be consulted about it; and that the Decree of the Two hundred should be suspended; but that none should say, that the ancient Regulations had been in the least infringed. In eam sententiam animis non mediocriter immutatis itum est, ut suspensio illo Diaconorum decreto statueretur petendum esse a quatuor civitatibus Helveticis judicium, nec interea prejudicium ullum fieri receptis legibus oportere (7). By this means the Consistory obtained a complete Victory, and, in a manner, made the Senate, and the Council of Two hundred, buckle to. What would they not have done in a Democratical Country? Is it possible to rule over Men, who tell the People, from the Pulpit, that they had rather suffer themselves to be killed, than consent, that Holy Things should be profaned? St Chrysostom's Example, properly alledged, is an artful way of threatening the Government with an Insurrection.

[C] There is, in the Act itself, an infallible Sign of Reprobation.] No one knows when it was drawn up, or by whom, or the Names of the Witnesses, or, in general, any of the Circumstances, which are never forgotten, except when People fear to supply Those with Arms, whose Interest it is to deny a Thing. What I am going to say, carries a much greater Force with it. If Bertelier's Act had not been supposititious, there would have been, at Noyon, authentic and public Testimonies of the Trial, and Punishment, in question; and, therefore, They would have been published, as soon as the Catholic Religion began to suffer by Calvin's Means. Unless we suppose a continual, and more unheard of Miracle, than was ever yet known, All the Inhabitants of Noyon would not have kept the Secret, and spared the Reputation of a Countryman of theirs, who was so odious to them (8). I carry this Thought farther in another place (9), and therefore leave it here as it is. I add, that, if what Bertelier said was true, he would have had his Paper, when he fled from Geneva; I mean, that his pretended Commission would have preceded the Matter, for which he was condemned to death in the Year 1555; for it is plain, that he had not the Commission, he boasted of, after That time. But can any one believe, that, before the Year 1555, when Those, who were called Heretics, durst not shew themselves, for fear of being burnt, a Deputy from Geneva should go boldly to Noyon, to inform himself of Calvin's Life? Who will believe, that, if Bertelier had had an authentic Act of Calvin's Infamy in the Year 1554, he would have kept it so close, that the Public should have no knowledge of it before the Year 1577? Was it not a Piece, which the Clergy of France would have bought for it's weight in Gold? But why do I lose time in confuting such a ridiculous Romance, as This is?

[D] It is surprizing to see Cardinal de Richelieu depend on This Piece of Bertelier.] "That, says be (10), which ought to pass for an undeniable Conviction of the Crimes, imputed to Calvin, is, that ever since he was charged with This Accusation, the Church of Geneva has neither proved the contrary, nor even denied the Report, which Bertelier, sent by Those of That City, made at Noyon. This Report was signed by the most eminent Persons of the City of Noyon, and made with all usual Forms of Justice: And by the same Report it appears, that That Arch-Heretic, having been convicted of an abominable Sin, punishable only by Fire, the Punishment, which he had deserved,

(7) Beza, ib.

(8) In 1555, Public Prayer and Processions were made at Noyon, on a false Report of Calvin's Death, so thank God for it. Non dubito quin jam audieris me patrie esse superitum. Ita urbem mortuum lugere cogit (Calvin said this on the fire of the City, which destroyed that City in the Year 1522,) qua superiore anno obitum mortis meae rumorem solennes habuit supplicationes, ut de Christo triumpharet. Calvin, Epist. 140, dated Decemb. 5, 1552.

(9) In Remark [K], of the Article BOLSEC, and more amply in Remark [U], of the Article BEZA.

(10) A Method to convert Those, who have separated themselves from the Church, &c. il. cap. 10, pag. 319.

(2) Drelincourt's Defence of Calvin. pag. 148.

(3) It is in Mr. Drelincourt's Book, pag. 151.

(4) It is of him, that these Words of Calvin's Letter to Bullinger, (which is the 162d,) must be understood. Quidam ob effrenes suas libidines & multa flagitia, concessu privatus donec resipisceret.

A VICTORY obtained by the Consistory of Geneva, against the Magistrates.

(5) Ex Epistola Calvini ad Viretum. It is the 154th, and is dated Septem. 4, 1553.

(6) Beza, in Vita Calvini ad Ann. 1553.

public of *Geneva* did not undertake to shew the Falshood of This Piece [E]. This is not a Place to examine, whether they had reason to make light of This Lie [F]. There is no Article of a Dictionary more useful to a Reader, than This [G].

"was, by the Intercession of his Bishop, commuted into That of the *Flower-de-luce*. And the Church of *Geneva*, which does not deny This Report concerning *Calvin's* Life, would not have failed to have done it, if they had believed, that it could have been done without offending against Truth." Is it not strange, that a chief Minister of State, whose Credit was not inferior to That of the King, should depend on a blind A&T, which an inconsiderable Physician of *Lyons* had pretended to have seen in the Hands of a mean Person? An inconsiderable private Man must, then, have had more credit, than Cardinal de *Richelieu*, to find out the old Records of *Noyon*? The Truth is, This Cardinal made all imaginable Enquiry into the pretended Proceedings against *John Calvin*, at *Noyon*, and that he discovered nothing (11); and yet he maintained the Affirmative on the Credit of *Jerome Bolsec*. Can such a strange Conduct be excused? Mr *Drelincourt* cannot believe, that That great Man was guilty of it, and lays all the Blame on Those, who published the Book, entitled, *Metode pour convertir*, &c (12).

(11) See the Defence of *Calvin*, by Mr *Drelincourt*, p. 9.

(12) Ib. pag. 71. See also pag. 140, &c.

THAT the Silence of an accused Person concludes nothing in certain Cases. Some curious Examples of This.

[E] --- And alledge, as his chief Reason, That the Republic of *Geneva* did not undertake to shew the Falshood of this Piece.] In the foregoing Remark, we have set down Cardinal *Richelieu's* own Words: They shew, that he lays his Strefs on the Silence of the Republic of *Geneva*. Mr *Drelincourt* shews him, by some plain Instances, that there is nothing more false, nor more absurd, than to pretend, that They, who suffer an Accusation to be spread abroad against themselves, give occasion to believe, that They are convinced it is well-grounded. The first of these Examples is Cardinal *Richelieu* himself; "That Those, who could not bear his Elevation, and his Power, said strange things of him; and that some of Those Things have been published, and some Books have been filled with them. Because no Juridical Information has been made to justify the contrary, must we therefore believe, that the Relations of That Illustrious Cardinal, and Those, who honour his Memory, look upon Those Things as certain Truths (13)?" *Rivetus*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, made use of the like Reasoning, in answer to an Objection of *Leffius*, taken from the Silence of *Calvin's* good Friends. "Itane? Ergo quotiescunque liberit infami alicui agyrtæ crimina consingere in viros bonos, necessariūne erit libellos illos famulos discutere, ut homines isti, si tamen homines, qui famam accipiuntur ex adversariorum nomine, applaudant sibi, quod tandem repererint qui se cum illis voluerint componere, & existimarent talia esse responſione digna, quæ contemptu potius erant diluenda (14). — What! Shall it be necessary, as often as an infamous Fellow invents an Accusation against Good Men, to refute his libellous Books; and thus give such Men, if they deserve the Name of Men, who build their own Fame on the Reputation of their Adversaries, an Opportunity of triumphing, in that they have found Persons, who will enter the Lists with Them, and think Those Things worthy of an Answer, which deserve to be refuted rather with Contempt?" Here is a Jesuit, who agrees perfectly with These Ministers. How long is it, since it is not allowable to be silent, without being looked upon as convicted of the Crimes, which are imputed to us? It does not appear, that This is the Opinion of the Wifeit, and of Those, whose Example may serve as a Rule to others. Who is ignorant, how many foolish things the Enemies of *France* are used to publish against it, in their Gazettes, and Libels? Who does not know how many infamous and abominable Reports Mr *Jurieu* has spread against the Popes, and against the Church of *Rome*, in his *Parallel*, in his *Prejugez*, and in so many other Books, with which he fills the World? So that, if the King does not keep Persons on purpose to confute These Foreign Gazettes, in every Particular; and if none are to be found among the *Calumniators*, who will lose their Time in confuting, actually, these idle Fancies of Mr *Jurieu*, that

(13) *Drelincourt*, ibid. pag. 84.

(14) *Rivet*. Oper. Tom. iii. pag. 99 & 490.

"the Popes have pretended to Universal Monarchy; that, in order to it, they have occasioned a Schism between the *Greeks* and the *Latins*; that, afterwards, to end the Quarrel, they have --- &c." I say, unless the King, or the Pope, take care to have these Fooleries, and Slanders, refuted, will not the Gazetteer of *Holland*, and Mr *Jurieu*, have reason to say, *They dare not answer; there is therefore reason to believe, they cannot do it*? Would the Author of the *Morale Pratique* have condemned them upon such an Account? I am willing to believe, he would be ashamed to own it. Why, then, might not the Jesuits neglect to answer Libels, which are, in their Opinion, no less fabulous, nor less delpicable, than the Gazettes of *Amsterdam*, and the Historical or Prophetical Systems of Mr *Jurieu*? Ought they to be more nice in Point of Reputation, than Those, whom God has placed over us? Ought they not, or at least may they not, after These great Examples, despise what concerns only their particular Honour (15)?"

[F] This is not a Place to examine, whether They had reason to make Light of This Lie.] Mr *Drelincourt*, and Father *le Tellier's*, Maxim is in general very good and true; but there are some particular Cases, wherein it is better not to make use of it. I shall not decide whether the Republic of *Geneva* had done better to make a public Declaration against *Bolsec*, in relation to the pretended Deputation of *Bertellier*. It seems at first fight, that the Advantage, which the Catholic Controversists have pretended to draw from the Silence of That Republic, shews, that they were in the wrong to be silent, I mean, not to make it appear, by a public Act, that These Persons were impudent Liars: But They, who consider, that nothing can stop the Pens of a Sort of Men, and that, if you silence them in one Point, they will turn to something else, will easily perceive, that an Act of the Republic of *Geneva* would not have ended This Dispute. I agree to the Maxim, that, sometimes, the best way to be revenged of an impudent Calumniator, is to return him no Answer (16). However I believe, that *Beza* did not well apply this Maxim, when he made use of it in relation to *Bolsec*. An Answer would have puffed him up with Vanity; and he would have concluded from it, that his Slanders had touched the Protestants to the quick, which would have filled him with Joy. I grant it: But it had been better to have let him enjoy This Pleasure, attended with the infamous Character of a public Calumniator, with which a good Answer would have branded him, than to give him, and others, a Pretence to boast, that the Republic could not deny the Matter in question. *Qui tacet consentire videtur*. Those Truths, which are called Maxims, no less clash with each other, than Errors, and Truths.

(15) Father le Tellier's Defence of the New Christians. Part I. pag. 25, 26.

(16) *Genes* ultionis est eripere ei qui fecit contumelias voluptatem. Solent dicere, misericordiam meam, puto non intellexisse! Ad hoc fructus contumelie in sensu & indignatione patientis est, ut optime Seneca cap. 17, de Cons. Sapientis. Hinc fructum querat *Leffius*, quoniam ei aditit *ut vultu sapientia*. *Rivet* Oper. Tom. III. pag. 496.

[G] There is no Article of a Dictionary more useful to a Reader, than This.] One of the greatest Uses, which may be drawn from Reading, is, to learn the Weaknesses of the Heart of Man, and the ill Effects of Prejudices in Point of Religion. Can there be a more remarkable Instance of it, than This? What must not a Man naturally be, or what will he not become, by a blind and furious Zeal for Religion, since a Monk, who turned a Protestant Physician, and afterwards a Popish Physician, and who was expelled two or three times, with a Brand of Infamy, from the Places where he was settled, no sooner produces an Accusation on the Credit of a Fugitive, condemned to death, upon refusing to appear before his Judges, an Accusation, than which none was ever worse contrived, and worse proved, but it is adopted, and conveyed from Book to Book; a thousand Consequences are drawn from it; and Authors of the first Rank, the great Cardinal *Richelieu* himself, propose it to the Heretics as a powerful Motive of Conversion: And all this *propter majorem Dei gloriam*? O QUANTUM EST IN REBUS INANE (17)!

(17) *Perrus*, Sat. i. ver. 1.

BERTRAM (CORNELIUS BONAVENTURA), born at *Thouars*, in *Poitou*, was a considerable Man, in the XVIth Century, for his Knowledge in the Oriental Languages. He studied *Hebrew* at *Paris*, under *Angelus Caminus*, and, afterwards, at *Cabors*, with the Civilian *Francis Roaldus*. He had much ado to avoid being massacred, at *Cabors*, in the Year 1572; but, at last, he made his escape, and fled to *Geneva*; where, at the end of two Years, he was made *Hebrew* Professor, in the room of *Rodolphe Cevalier*. He wrote several considerable Books, during his abode at *Geneva* [A], and continued to apply himself to his Studies, when he went to *Frankenthal*, in the *Palatinate*. He published a Book, there, in the Year 1586, entituled, *Lucubrationes Frankenthalenses*. He left That Post to go to *Lausanne*, where the Magistrates of *Bern* offered him a Professorship, which he exercised 'till his Death, which happened in the Year 1594. He was in his climacterical Year, when he died (a), by which we may judge, that he was born in the Year 1531. It must not be forgot, that he was a Minister, and that he exercised That Office in *Geneva* (b); where he married *Genevieve Denoffe*, Niece of *Beza's* first Wife, in whose House she had been educated from her Youth. She was very tenderly beloved by her Aunt (c). *Bertram* was a good Critic, as *Beza*, *Casaubon*, and several other learned Persons, have publickly acknowledged (d).

(a) *T. 1. Ten*
Thuanus
n. at the
End of Book
109.

(b) *See Be-*
za's Preface
to Mercerus
in Jobum,
printed 10
1573.

(c) *Ant.*
Fayus, de
vita & obitu
Th. Beza,
pag. 48.

(d) *See Co-*
lomeffii Gall.
Oriental.
Pag. 73.

[A] He wrote several considerable Books during his abode at *Geneva*. He published the *Thysaurus* of *Sanctus Pagninus*, with Additions, part whereof he took out of the Writings of *Mercerus* and *Cevalier*, and the rest he supplied out of his own Stock. He published, also, a *Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ & Aramicæ*, and a *Treatise de Politia Judaica*. *Thuanus* knew no more of them: He places this last Treatise above the other Books, composed by This Author. *Qui ex omnibus ejus operibus maxime commendatur* (1). He might have added, that *Bertram* contributed, as much as any one, to the Edition of the Commentary of *Mercerus* on the Book of *Job*. This is acknowledged in the Preface; "Cæterum ne sua quidem laude fraudandus *Cornelius* noster videtur, ejusdem *Merceri* quondam discipulus & nunc meus in hac Ecclesia Collega. Huic siquidem non parva ex parte debetur istius libri editio, cum vix alius reperiri potuisset videretur, qui hæc à *Mercero* minutissimis characteribus ac fugientibus penes literis in adversariis descripta nec consequeretur (2). — Nor must we deny due Praise to our *Cornelius Bertram*, formerly a Disciple of *Mercerus*, and at present my Colleague in This Church; to whom we are not a little indebted for the Publication of This Book; there being scarce any other Person capable of deciphering the exceedingly small, and almost invisible, Characters of *Mercerus* in his Adversaria." Mr *Simon* mentions another Work of *Bertram*; he says, that This Professor, assisted by *Beza*, *la Faye*, *Rotan*, *Jaquemot*, and *Goulart*, revised the French Translation of the Bible in the Year 1588, and that, being more learned in the

Hebrew Tongue, than all those, who had preceded him, he took a great deal more Liberty in the Reformation, which he made, both in the Translation, and in the Notes (3). What Mr *Simon* says farther concerning This Revision, is not only to be found in his Critical History, but also in the Supplement to *Moreri's* Dictionary. I observe, that, according to *Thuanus*, the Work, entituled *Lucubrationes Frankenthalenses* (4), was published in the Year 1586, and entituled so, because the Author lived at *Frankenthal*. How then, may it be said to me, could he have a hand in the Revision, which was made at *Geneva*, in the Year 1581. This is no difficulty at all. When Mr *Simon* says, that another Reformation of the Translation of *Geneva* was made in the Year 1588, he intends only to mark the Date of the Impression, and does not pretend, that the whole Work was done in the Year 1588. It is well known, that such Revisions commonly take up several Years. So that *Bertram* might have been the chief Director of This, though it was not printed 'till a long time after he was gone from *Geneva*. I add, that he was, particularly, the Author of the Figures of This Bible, and of their Explication (5). These Words of the Preface, prefixed to This Bible, must therefore be understood of Him. "We have also added some Figures, but at the end, and out of the Body of this Work, which may serve for the understanding of several Passages, wherein a learned Person of our Society, who is very well versed in the *Hebrew* Tongue, and in the reading of the Old Testament, has been particularly concerned." Mr *Colomies* has applied them to our *Bertram* (6).

(1) *Critical*
Hist. of the
Old Testa-
ment, lib. ii.
chap. 24.
pag. 347.

(4) *To give*
the whole Ti-
tle, we must
add here, seu
Specimen
expositio-
nis in diffi-
ciliiora utri-
usque Testa-
menti loca.
In Mr Si-
mon's Criti-
cal Histo-
ry, and in
the Supple-
ment to Mo-
re's Dicti-
onary, it is
Frankella-
teses, in-
stead of
Franken-
thalenses.

(5) *Tessier,*
Elog. de Ma-
de de Thou,
Tom. II.
pag. 202.

(6) *In Gal-*
lia Orienta-
li, pag. 73.

BERULLE (PETER de), Cardinal, and Founder of the Fathers of the Oratory in France, was born the 4th of Febr. 1575, and died the 2d of October, 1629 (a). You will find many Particulars concerning him in *Moreri's Dictionary*, and in Mr *Perreault's Illustrious Men*; but you will not find, in either of them, that he was exposed to the Lash of the Carmelites [A], who industriously decried him as a very dishonest Man; nor that he opposed the Design, which Cardinal *Richelieu* had formed, of humbling

(a) *Per-*
reault's Illu-
strious Men,
Part I, pag.
30, 34.

[A] He was exposed to the Lash of the Carmelites. This is what I have read in a Book of the Bishop of *Bellei* (1). "Mr de *Berulle*, being Superior of the Oratory — was made Superior, by Delegation and Commission from the Pope, of certain Nuns of great Piety and Edification (2), whom he had brought from Spain, and introduced into France. The Monks of the same Order, who wanted to have the Direction of Them, clamoured loudly both at Rome, and in France. But, failing of Success (because, at the Court of Rome, The Direction of Nuns by Monks is held in Abhorrence, for Reasons, which Experience sufficiently evinces) they set themselves to libel him; they called him Anti-Pope, concealed Huguenot, impious Wretch, Libertine; in short, they threw the most scandalous Reflexions upon him. They accused his Morals, censured his Doctrine, and blackened his Reputation every way; at last, These Contradictions, by a wonderful Providence of God, who can bring Good out of Evil, and

"Light out of Darkness, gave birth to those excellent Works of the State and Glories of *JESUS*, "and That of his Life; which dazzled the Eyes "of his Adversaries, and struck them dumb." Some of them arrived to such a Pitch of Rashness and Presumption as to maintain, that the Pope could not give the Direction of Nuns to any but Monks of the same Order (3).

There is, among the Works of Cardinal *Berulle*, a Narrative of the Quarrel, which The Carmelites had with him. Their Pretence was a certain Memorial, which he had drawn up, by way of Formula for a new kind of Vow (4). It was a Vow of Servitude to *JESUS CHRIST*, and the *Virgin Mary*. This Author did not answer their Writings; but he composed a Discourse Of the State and Glories of *JESUS*, as an Apology for his Memorial. "Instead of Answer, and Reply, says he (5), "after ten Years of Patience and Silence, after three "Years of Storms and Tempests, raised in France and "Italy, by Spirits fit for this Employ, after many

(3) *Ibid.*
pag. 202.

(4) *This Me-*
morial is in
the Works of
Cardinal Be-
rule, pag.
278, &c.
Edit. of Pa-
ris, in 1657,
in Folio.

(5) *Part III*
of his Works,
"Calumnies,

(1) *Thuan.*
lib. 109, fol.
50.

(2) *Beza in*
Præfat. illius
Ant. Ca-
menarii.

(1) *The An-*
ti-Berulle, in
answer to the
Anti-Ca-
menarii, p. 141.

(2) *That is,*
Carmelite
Nuns.

humbling the House of *Austria* [B]; nor that it was pretended, that he died by Poison [C]. What I shall say of the Edition of his Works will rectify an Oversight of *Moreri* [D]. I shall refute, likewise, an Error of Mr *Perrault* [E]. Cardinal *Berulle* had a Brother, a Counsellor of State, one of whose Grand-sons was Master of the Requests, Intendant at *Lyons*, and afterwards First President of the Parliament of *Grenoble* (b). The Brother of this latter was called The Abbot de *Berulle*, and was Master of the Requests, and Prior of *St Romain du Puy*, near *Lyons*, and died about the End of the Month of *June*, 1704 (c).

(b) *Mercur Gallant*, of *July*, 1704, pag. 99.

(c) *Ibid.* pag. 100.

"Calumnies, and six injurious and diffamatory Libels, industriously spread, even in foreign Countries; I produce This Discourse in Evidence, and produce it, not to speak of their Persons, their Designs, their Conduct; but, to speak of *JESUS*."

[B] He opposed the Design - - - of humbling the House of *Austria*. He was seconded by *Marillac*, Keeper of the Seals, and by some other Members of the Privy-Council of Mary de Medicis (6). The Reasons, which They alledged, against succouring the Duke of *Mantua*, are to be found in Mr *Le Vassor* (7), who adds; "Berulle, a Man, whose Politics are of a Religious Turn, displayed them in a Council of the Queen-Mother, and supported them by the false Arguments, which his mystical Divinity, and his Imagination, naturally lively and fertile, suggested to him in Abundance. The Keeper of the Seals listened to him, as to a Prophet inspired from Heaven. *Berulle* spoke to him after his own Heart. - - - Certain *Carmelite* Nuns of the *Fauxbourg St Jacques*, great Visionaries, whom *Berulle*, their Director, the Keeper of the Seals, and the Queen-Mother, consulted as Oracles, greatly applauded the Project (8). God had revealed to them, in their Prayers, and their Extasies, that such was his Will (9)." We shall see, in the following Remark, how This Historian excuses his Wishing, that the House of *Austria* might not be humbled.

The Political Will of Cardinal de *Richelieu* shews us the Partiality of Cardinal *Berulle* for Spain. I shall cite This Passage. "Your Majesty (it is Cardinal *Richelieu*, who addresses himself to *Lewis*

(10) might, by this means, have for ever freed the *Grifons* from the Tyranny of the House of *Austria*, if *Fargis*, your Embassador in Spain, had not, at the Solicitation of Cardinal *Berulle*, without your Knowledge, and contrary to the express Orders of your Majesty (as he has since confessed), made a very disadvantageous Treaty, to which you at last adhered, to please the Pope, who pretended to have some Interest in This Affair (10)." The Abbot *Richard* cites these Words, in his History of Father *Joseph*, after having said, that "The Treaty, made by the Lord du *Fargis*, - - - was disclaimed, because he had not followed the Instructions of Father *Joseph* (11)." He adds, that it was resolved in the King's Council, to take no notice of this Fault of du *Fargis*; but that, "instead of ratifying what he had done, another Project should be sent him, agreeable to which he might rectify the first; which The Embassador accordingly executed (12)."

[C] It was pretended, that he died by Poison

"He died suddenly, as he was saying Mass - - - This Accident made it suspected, by several, that *Richelieu* had poisoned him. The Duke of Orleans infatuates This in a Letter to the King. Cardinal *Berulle*, my Cousin, says *Gossin*, did me very great Service, in my Reconciliation with the Queen my Mother. But it proved fatal to him, since his Death followed so soon after". Is not This to carry the Malignity too far? *Berulle* was "in a languishing Condition more than a Year. The noble Paris, in him, were found injured, and corrupted. Perhaps the Censorious might look upon it as the Effect of a slow Poison, sent him by *Richelieu*, who was chagrined at his Rise. However it be, *Berulle* was universally acknowledged to be a perfectly good Man. If he was out in his Politics, it was owing to the Tenderness of his Conscience, and to a false Zeal for Religion, which made him sincerely think, that his Opinion was more advantageous to the Good of the State, and the Re-establishment of the *Remp* Worship in France, and other Countries (13)." Observe, that *Le Vassor* neither rejects, nor adopts, the Calumny of the Cardinal's Enemies. It is a Sign he did not think it very probable.

[D] What I shall say of the Edition of his Works will rectify an Oversight of Mr *Moreri* Part of the Works of Cardinal *Berulle* had been printed at different Times during his Life; the other Part was found among his Manuscripts (14). *Francis Bourgoin*, at the Request of the Fathers of the Oratory, whose General he was, caused them to be collected into one Body (15). Father *Gibieux*, who knew more of them than any other, ranged them in order, and enriched them with Arguments and Summaries (16). They were printed at Paris, in the Year 1644, in Folio; and a second Edition was published at the same Place, in 1657, in Folio. Father *Bourgoin* (17) dedicated them to the Queen-Regent, Anne of Austria; and added a Preface, which is not, as Mr *Moreri* pretends, an Abridgement of the Life of *Berulle*, but rather an Eulogy on his Piety, and a general Idea of his Works.

[E] I shall refute an Error of Mr *Perrault*. He affirms, that Cardinal *Berulle*, having conducted the Princess *Henrietta Maria* into England, gained there the Love and Veneration of every one (18). Yet we read, as follows, in a Letter, which This Cardinal wrote to That Princess, the Twenty sixth of October, 1625. "The Duke of Buckingham is pleased to make great Complaint to the King, by his Confident Mr *Gerbieres*, who arrived ten or twelve Days after me, that I had conspired, and attempted, in England, against his Life and Fortune (19)."

* Letter of the Duke of Orleans, to the King, in 1631.

(13) Hist. of Louis XIII, Tom VI, p. 204, 205.

(14) *Francis Bourgoin*, Preface to the Works of Cardinal *Berulle*.

(15) *Ibid.*

(16) *Ibid.*

(17) *Moreri* calls this *Bourgoin's* Preface; but it is an Abridgement of the Life of *Berulle*.

(18) *Perrault's* Illustrations Men, Tom. I, pag. 34.

(19) Works of *Berulle*, pag. 861, Edit. Paris, 1657.

BEVERNINGK (JEROM), was one of the ablest Men, of the XVIIth Century, for Embassies, and important Negotiations. He was originally descended from a noble Family of *Prussia* [A]; but he was born at *Tergou*, in *Holland*, the Twenty fifth of April, 1614. That Town, which boasts, with reason, of having produced so great a Man, saw him in the Number of it's Counsellors, in the Year 1645; and in the Number of it's Burgomasters, in the Year 1668. He was deputed by it, in the Year 1646, to the States of the Province, where he gave such good Proofs of his Capacity, that, not long after, they employed him in Affairs of Consequence.

In

[A] He was originally descended from a noble Family of *Prussia*. His Grandfather, John Van BEVERNINGK, a Gentleman of *Prussia*, came into *Holland* in the Year 1575, with the Count de *Hohenlo*. The States gave him a Company of Foot. He was made afterwards Lieutenant-General of the Artillery. He married the Daughter of *Dirck Long*, Burgomaster of the City of *Tergou*, and Treasurer General of the Province of *Holland*. From This Marriage proceeded *Melchior Van BEVERNINGK*, Cap-

tain of Foot in the Service of the States General, and Commander of the Castles of *Argenteau* and *Dalem*. He married *Sibylla Standert*, Daughter of *Leonard Standert*, Esq; Captain of Foot, and Governor of *Knodjburgh*, over against *Nimegen*, and of *Catherine Hauffart*, Daughter of *Francis Hauffart*, Chamberlain to the Queen of *Hungary*. Our Mr *Van Beverningk* proceeded from the Marriage of *Melchior Van Beverningk*, and *Sibylla Standert*.

[B] The

In the Year 1650, the States of *Holland* deputed him, with Mr *Van Brederode*, to the States of *Utrecht*, to desire them to be at the Extraordinary Assembly of the United Provinces, which was to be held at the *Hague*. In 1651, the same States of *Holland* deputed him to assist at That Great Assembly of the United Provinces. In the Year 1653, the City of *Tergou* deputed him to the Assembly of the States General. The same Year, he was sent to the Protector, and the Republic, of *England*, in the Quality of Deputy Extraordinary: The Year following, This Character was changed into That of Embassador Extraordinary. He concluded the Peace between *Holland* and *England*, the Twenty eighth of *April*, 1654. During the Course of this Embassy, he had the Office of Treasurer General of the United Provinces conferred upon him. He possessed it 'till the Year 1665; and it was his own Fault that he held it no longer; for the States General desired him to continue in That Office, and did not consent to the laying down his Commission; 'till they saw, that neither their Reasons, nor their Intreaties, could prevail upon him. He received a very advantageous Testimony, that they were perfectly satisfied with his Conduct; and they gave him, in particular, some Marks of the Esteem they had for his Person (a). In the Year 1659, he had the good Fortune to contribute, with other Deputies, to the composing the Differences, which were raised in the Province of *Groningen*. It may be said, that he was born for this kind of good Fortune; which appears by the many Treaties of Peace, or Alliance, which he concluded [B]. He was twice sent to *Cleves*, in the Year 1666. The first Time, he concluded a very strict Alliance with his Electoral Highness of *Brandenburg* (b); the second time, he concluded a Peace with the Bishop of *Munster* (c). The Year following, being invested with the Character of Embassador, he concluded the Treaty of Peace with *England*, at *Breda* (d). In 1668, he was sent in the Quality of Embassador Extraordinary to *Aix la Chapelle*, for the Treaty of Peace between *France* and *Spain*; which Treaty was concluded the second of *May*. In the same Year 1668, he was nominated to go, with Prince *Maurice of Nassau*, in the Quality of Embassador Extraordinary to the Emperor; but the States General changed their Mind as to That Embassy. The States of *Holland* gave Mr *Van Beverningk* some Marks of their Regard for his important Services (e). In the Year 1671, he went to the Court of *Spain*, in the Quality of Embassador Extraordinary, to dispose his Catholic Majesty to a Negotiation about his Differences with *France*, and he succeeded in it to the Satisfaction of his Masters. In the Year 1672, he followed the Prince of *Orange* to the Army, as Deputy of the States. After this he had a Mind to live a quiet Life, and thought he ought to be satisfied with the Glory he had acquired, and that he had performed all that a good Subject owes to his Country; but his Country wanted him too much to let him enjoy a retired Life. The redoubled Instances of the States, and of the Prince of *Orange*, obliged him, in the Year 1673, to engage himself in one of the most important Negotiations, that had yet occurred. I mean the Conferences at *Cologne*. At first, the City of *Aix la Chapelle* had been chosen, to negotiate the Peace between the Princes, who were then at War; but it was found more proper to go to *Cologne*. Mr *Van Beverningk* appeared there with the Character of Embassador Extraordinary. The carrying off of the Prince of *Furstenberg* produced the Effect, which was expected from That bold Attempt, viz. the breaking off of the Conferences in relation to *France*. Nevertheless, the Negotiation was continued with the Allies of that Crown; and it was done with all manner of Success; for Mr *Van Beverningk* brought the Elector of *Cologne*, and the Bishop of *Munster*, back again into the Alliance of the States General (f). He was made Curator of the University of *Leyden*, in the Year 1673. It is an Office, which is not commonly given but to Those, who have served their Country in great Employments. When he expected to enjoy the Repose, which he had so long wished for, he found himself engaged in a most difficult Negotiation: He was so earnestly solicited to go to *Nimegen*, in the Quality of Embassador Plenipotentiary from the Republic, for the General Peace, that, after having excused himself several times, he could not refuse That important and laborious Commission. The Obstacles, which he was to overcome, cannot be expressed:

(a) The Character of Deputy Extraordinary was changed into that of Embassador Extraordinary.

(b) Feb. 16, 1666.

(c) April 17, 1666.

(d) July 31, 1666.

(e) They made him a Present of a fine Set of Sil. or Drives and Plates.

(f) The Treaty of Peace with the Bish. of Munster was signed April 22, 1674; and That with the Elector of Cologne, the 11th of May following.

[B] The many Treaties of Peace, or Alliance, which he concluded. Here is a Passage, which, in a long Parenthesis, will serve as a Commentary upon these Words. "Monfieur *Pattius* (1) being Embassador in *Spain*, and having, by his great Capacity, preserved, and increased, in the Queen of *Spain*, and her Council, the good Impressions, which Monfieur *Van Beverningk* (a Man born to make Peace in the World, having given it, in *Cromwel's* Time, and afterwards at *Breda*, to the *English*, and *Dutch*, at *Cleves* to the Bishop of *Munster*, at *Aix la Chapelle* to the French and *Spaniards*, and, lately, at *Cologne*, to the Archbishop of *Cologne*, and to the Bishop of *Munster*, and having not a little contributed to the Peace, lately made with *England*, and who, for that reason, might well be called the Peace-Maker) had made

"upon them, to oppose early, by just and effectual Means, the Ambition of the French; *Stoupe* does not know any other way of revenging himself upon him, but by Calumny, and falsely accusing him of being an *Arminian*. He is also foolishly afraid, that, if Mr *Pattius* should go through *Switzerland*, he would not come off very cheap. I am sure, that, if he should happen to pass by that Country, the *Swiss*, as well the Protestant, as the Catholic, Cantons, would receive him with their usual Civility, and with the Respect due to his Character, and to his great Merit, and that they would give him public Thanks for having so much contributed to the Preservation of Religion, and the Liberty of Europe." This is to be found in an Answer, which was made to Mr *Stoupe's* Letter about the Religion of the *Dutch* (2).

(1) It should be *Pattius*. It is the name of a marginal Note of the *Art. de SAINT-CEPES*. Remark [F].

[C] The 1675, in 1200.

(2) Page 224, 225. The Title of the Answer is, The true Religion of the *Dutch*. It was printed at Amsterdam, 1675, in 1200.

(g) He arrived there May 30, 1678.

(b) The Name of it is, Oud-Teylingen.

(i) That of Leyden.

(k) She was born at Amsterdam, May 11, 1655: Her Name is Joan le Gillon, She is originally of a noble Family of Picardy.

(3) All this is inserted in the 2d Part of the 2d Vol. of The Acts and Memoirs of the Negotiations of the Peace of Nimègue, pag. 407, Edit. Amst. 1680.

pressed: A less consummate Industry and Experience, than His, could never have compassed it; for, except the *French* Embassadors, almost all the rest made it much more their Business to retard the Treaty of Peace, than to advance it. Nevertheless, after the taking of *Ghent*, it seemed, that the Peace was become, at last, a necessary Evil for *Holland*; and People were so sensible of the fatal Consequences, which the taking of That Place might have, that they ardently desired an end of the War. Mr *Van Beverningk* had Orders to go to the King of *France*, at his Camp of *Wetteren* (g); and, after the Reception he met with [C], it was no longer doubted, but that a Peace would be concluded. It was signed, between *France* and *Holland*, the tenth of *August*, 1678; after which, Mr *Van Beverningk* served effectually, as a Mediator, to conclude That between *France* and *Spain*, the eleventh of *September*, in the same Year. He also concluded a Treaty of Peace, and of Commerce, between *Sweden*, and the States General, the twelfth of *October*, 1679. After so many honourable, and happy, Negotiations, he enjoyed, at last, That quiet Life, which he had so long wished for. He retired to a fine Lordship (b), which he had, a small League from *Leyden*, where he chiefly employed himself in the Culture of all sorts of Plants, which he sent for from all Parts of the World. But this pleasant and innocent Occupation, so like That, which some great Princes have betaken themselves to, after their Triumphs, and the Government of the State, did not hinder him from regarding the Common-Wealth of Learning. He exercised his Function of Curator of the University, with great Vigilance. He felt the beginning of his last Sickness, a little after having spent one Morning in perusing the Manuscripts of the famous Library of *Isaac Vossius*, which had lately been bought for the University of *Holland* (i). As soon as he was got into his Coach again, he began to shudder. This was the beginning of a Fever, which encreased daily, and of which he died, the thirtieth of *October*, 1690, at the Age of Seventy six Years. His Wife survived him (k); but he had no Children by her; so that as he was an only Son, no Person remains to bear his Name, in this Country. He was buried at *Tergou*, in a Marble Chapel, which he had built. His Relations caused his Epitaph to be engraved on a Touchstone. It is a fine Inscription, which may be seen entire in the Remark [D]. It contains an Abridgment of a Life, which might fill

[C] The Reception he met with from the King of France.] See the Answer, which the King of *France* gave to the Letter of the States General, and the Memorial, which he ordered to be delivered to Mr *Van Beverningk*, with the same Answer. There is nothing in it, but what tends to facilitate the Advancement of the Peace; the Style is mild and civil; and many Advances are made in it. Every Body may be convinced of it (3). There was a particular Circumstance in This Embassy, which is not known, but deserves to be so. It shews, on one side, the Distinction, with which the King of *France* regarded the Person, who had been sent to him, and, on the other side, with what Principles of Honour, and Disinterestedness, Mr *Van Beverningk* behaved himself. When he came away from *Wetteren*, the King would make him a Present of two of his Pictures, enriched with Jewels, each of which were worth about Eight hundred Livres. It is not usual to give two Pictures, but one only. He answered the Person, who offered him This Present from the King, that he thanked His Majesty for the Honour; but that he did not think proper to accept of it. Nevertheless, he made a Present to the Bearer of the two Pictures, as if he had accepted of Them. The King's Letter to the States contains, among other things, that the *Sieur Van Beverningk's Person and Conduct* had been very acceptable to him.

[D] His Epitaph may be seen entire in the Remarks.] Here it is; The Lines are placed here, as they are in the Original:

Perillustris. ac generosus. vir
HIERONYMUS. VAN. BEVERNINGK,
Theilingæ. Toparcha.
Senator. Judex. Consul. Goudanus.
In. confessu. præpot: ord: gen: Assessor
Idem. aliquoties. extra. ordin:
Communi. Belgicæ. Fœd: ærario. Præfectus
Lycei. Batavorum. Curator
In Hispan: & Fœd: Belg: finibus. regundis
Adjutor.
Legatus Wilhelmo. III. in exercitu. datus.
Westmonasterium. Cliviam. II. Bredam
Aquisgranum. Bruxellas. Madritum
Coloniam. Agripp: Noviomagum:

Ad. Gall: item. Regem.

Wetteræ. Morinorum. castra habentem.

Cum potestate. res. componendi. missus.

Ad. Cæsarem. vero. designatus. Orator.

Re. nisi. perfecta. nunquam. reversus.

De. maximi. præterea. momenti. rebus. domi

De. amicitis. parandis

Et. fœderibus. pangendis. foris,

A. Patriæ. Patribus. passim

Feliciter. consultus. & adhibitus.

Natus. Goudæ. xxv. April. MDCXIV.

Mortuus. Theilingæ. xxx. Octob. MDCXC

Satur. honorum

Hoc. monumento. conditur

Cum

Optima. vitæ. fortunarum. que. focia

Joanna. Le Gillon

Nata. Amst. xi. Maji. MDCXXXV

Mortua.

ΘΑΝΑΤΩ. ΠΑΝΤΕΣ. ΟΦΕΙΛΟΜΕΘΑ.

The very Illustrious and Noble

JEROM VAN BEVERNINGK;

Lord of Teilingen;

Senator, Judge, and Counsellor, of Tergou;

Deputy in the General Assembly of the States;

Sometimes Deputy Extraordinary;

Treasurer General of the United Provinces;

Curator of the University of Leyden;

Assistant in settling the Boundaries of Spain, and the United Provinces.

Deputy of the States in the Army of William III.

Sent Plenipotentiary to

Westminster, To Cleves twice, To Breda,

To Aix la Chapelle, To Brussels, To Madrid,

To Cologne, To the French King,

Encamped at Wetteren.

Appointed Ambassador to the Emperor,

He returned not, 'till he had finished his Negotiation.

Consulted, with success,

fill a whole Volume ; and, if Mr *Van Beverningk* had taken the pains to compose some Memoirs concerning his Embassies, it would be the most instructive, and most curious Book, that could be seen. He always succeeded in his Negotiations ; which is an Honour, whereof we find but few Examples among those, who have had the Management of so many public Affairs. He was laborious and industrious, and never discouraged at any thing (1). The *French* and *Dutch* Writers equally praise him. I could alledge many Proofs of it ; but shall be satisfied with producing what Mr *de Wicquefort* [E], and Mr *de Saint Didier* [F], have said of him. As for Sir *William Temple*, he seems to be a little vexed at the signing of the Treaty of *Nimègen* ; but, notwithstanding, he owns, that Mr *Van Beverningk* put a Stop to the Complaints of his Enemies (m). He might have said, that the Magistrates of *Amsterdam* wrote a very obliging Letter to him, in which they thanked him for the Conclusion of the Peace (n). They assured him, that they had taken much Pains with the Members of the States of *Holland*, that he might be employed in That Negotiation. They knew very well, that they stood in need of such a Man, as He, to make it succeed. The Town, where he was born, shewed him, upon that Occasion, how much they esteemed him. The City of *Tergou* made him a Present of two Silver Handirons, in the Year 1679, in Consideration of the last Treaty of Peace, and for other important Services, done to the State and the City.

(1) Taken from some Memoirs, which came from the H. of the Hague, 1692.

(m) Memoirs, p. 417. Edit. of the Hague, 1692.

(n) Dated August 14, 1678.

In Domestic Affairs of the greatest Consequence, And in public Treaties abroad,

By the Fathers of his Country.

He was born at Tergou, April 25, 1614 ;

Died at Teilingen, Octob. 30, 1690 ;

Full of Honours ;

And lies buried, in This Monument,

With

The best Companion of his Life and Fortunes,

JOANNA LE GILLON ;

Born at Amsterdam, May 11, 1635.

Died.

DEATH IS A DEBT WE ALL MUST PAY.

[E] What Mr *Wicquefort* ——— said of him.] “ *Jerom Beverningk* is, doubtless, one of the ablest “ Men of the United Provinces for Negotiations. “ The City of *Tergou*, which otherwise does not “ want able Men, deputed him several times to the “ Assemblies of the States of the Province of *Holland*, and to the Colleges of the Generality, and he “ always perfectly answered what might be expected “ from his great Ability. It was He, who, in the “ Year 1654, made the Treaty with *Oliver Cromwell*, which gave Peace to the United Provinces ; “ but it had like to have involved them in a Civil “ War, because the Interests of the Prince of *Orange*, “ according to some, had not been well managed in “ it. The Province of *Holland* was so well satisfied “ with the Service he did them at That Juncture, “ that They procured him the Office of Treasurer “ General, that is to say, of first Minister of the “ United Provinces. There is no Affair, though “ ever so difficult, but what he can clear up, when “ he will apply himself to it. If any one desires “ proofs of it, he need only look into the Treaty, “ which he concluded at *Cleves*, with the Bishop of “ *Munster*, in the Year 1666. Nor was He less “ successful in his Negotiations at *Madrid*, concern-

ing the important Interests of the Provinces of the “ *Netherlands*. If he did not succeed at *Cologne*, it “ must be imputed to the Ill-disposition of the Parties “ concerned, and to the unlucky Juncture of Affairs, “ rather than to his Way of managing Things. Hence “ it is, that he was intrusted with the whole Nego- “ tiation at *Nimègen*; and the States made choice of “ him to go, and conclude it with the most Christian “ King near *Ghent*. He is weary of so many Em- “ ployments; so that, whereas others strive for them, “ he avoids them; choosing rather to enjoy himself “ in his Country Retirement, than to be troubled “ with the Cares, which Business brings upon him, “ and which are often no less troublesome to him, “ than to Those, who negotiate with him. A bet- “ ter Pen, than mine, is requisite to draw up Mr *Van “ Beverningk*’s Character, because, if all the Parts of “ it be well examined, it will be found, that, abating “ his uneven Temper, there is nothing in him, but “ what is Excellent (1).”

[F] ——— and Mr *de Saint Didier*.] Of all the “ Places, where this Author speaks of Mr *Van Bever- “ ningk*, I shall select but these three. “ Mr *Van Be- “ verningk*’s quick Return, occasioned by this News “ (5), which made him set out from his House, to “ repair to *Nimègen*, with all speed, confirmed the “ Conjecture of a private Agreement between *Hol- “ land* and *France*. This Ambassador appeared to be “ so zealous for the true Interest of his Country, that, “ if any private Negotiation was to be expected, it “ could not be by any other means (6). — He is a “ Man of a quick Wit, who knows what is best, and “ attains to it the shortest way. He is Vigilant and “ Laborious. He has been employed by the States “ in several Embassies, and in all the Treaties, which “ have been made since 1650; but he loves a retired “ Life, and it was with some kind of uneasiness, that “ he left his Country House near *Luyen*, to go to “ *Nimègen* (7). — Mr *Van Beverningk* is a Man “ of no less Ability, than Dispatch (8).”

(1) *Wicquefort*’s Treatise of Embassadors, Tom. II, pag. 443.

(2) He mentions That of the Battle of Cambray.

(3) History of the Negotiations of *Nimègen*, Tom. I, pag. 64, ad Ann. 1677.

(4) Ibid. pag. 187.

(5) Ibid. Tom. II, pag. 29.

BEZANITES, or BEZANIANS, an imaginary Sect, which never existed but in the Heads of some Makers of Catalogues of Heretics. There would be reason to wonder, that such absurd Writings, as Those Catalogues are, have not been suppressed in their Birth, by Persons of Authority ; I say, there would be reason to wonder at it, if it were not known, that Those Persons of Authority are very often the least knowing, and the most persuaded of this wrong Maxim, that one may use indifferently Fraud or Force against one’s Enemy ; — *dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat* (a) ? These Persons did not perceive, that those Catalogues, being full of impertinent and notorious Falsities, were only proper to inspire the Heretics with a very great Contempt for the Writers of the prevailing Party. They only considered the Advantage, which would accrue from the Heretics being thought to be divided into a thousand Sects. However it be, if *Prateolus* may be believed (b), there arose a Sect under the Reign of *Charles V*, and under the Pontificate of *Ju- lius III*, about the Year 1550 (c), which was called the *Bezanites*, or the *Bezanians*, from *Theodorus Beza*. The only Proof, that he could bring for it, would be, that he had read such a Thing in a Book of *Lindanus* ; for it is very true, that *Lindanus* says so (d) ; but without quoting any Body. That which is very certain, is, that

(a) *Virgil*. Æn. lib. II, ver. 320.

(b) In *Elencho Hereticorum*, voce *Bezanites*, pag. 93.

(c) At that time *Beza* was not a Minister, he was only Professor of the Greek Language.

(d) *Dubitantii Dialogo* II, pag. 152.

one might boldly lay any Wager, though never so great, to be paid to Those, who could prove, that some People, in the XVIth Century, made a separate Sect, in the Quality of *Beza's* Disciples. The same may be said in relation to a great many other Sects, which fill up the Alphabet of *Prateolus*. Perhaps the chief Reason, which induced him to mention the pretended Sect of the *Bezanites*, was the Desire of adorning his Work with the Calumnies, which were published against *Beza* [A]. If, instead of rewarding *Lindanus*, they had punished him for his Lies [B], he would not have been transcribed by so many Persons, among whom a *Carthusian* of Germany is, doubtless, the most ridiculous [C].

[A] *Prateolus would not, perhaps, have mentioned the Bezanians, but for the desire of adorning his Work with the Calumnies which were published against Beza.* My Conjecture will appear very probable to Those, who shall consider, that, *Prateolus* having but five or six Lines to bestow upon his pretended *Bezanites*, has filled seven or eight Pages with the most disgraceful Things, he could find, against That famous Minister, in the Writings of *Lindanus*, *Claudius de Saintes*, and *John le Viel*. Besides, he misrepresents and relates unfaithfully what he takes from them. I am going to give an Example of it. *Lindanus* had quoted *Peter Viretus*, who said, that some School-masters took delight in repeating, a thousand times, to their Scholars, that a Man is happy, when he can trample upon the Fear of Death, and infernal Torments. It is a Passage of *Virgil*. *Testatur P. Viretus lib. 2. de Ministr. Verbi esse quosdam ludimagistros ex illo Epicuri grege porcos, qui in scholis soleant suis sepe scholasticis occinere illum vere beatum qui, uti est apud Virgilium,*

— metus omnes, & inexorabile fatum

Subjicit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari (1).

(1) *Lindanus, Dubitantii, Dial. ii. pag. 246.*

Lindanus adds, that *Beza* had rendered himself suspected of the like Epicureism, as his Brethren of *Paris* and *Orleans* witness. What does *Prateolus*? He maintains, that *Lindanus* had said, that, when *Beza* was Schoolmaster, he often repeated This Passage of *Virgil* to his Scholars (2). Is not This to falsify an Author? Afterwards, *Lindanus*, who had quoted, hitherto, no Authority against *Beza*, quotes one *Fabricius* (3), who accuses That Minister of having sold his Benefices, and of loving the Fair Sex to excess. *Beneficia ecclesiastica — publice venderet, & alienas uxores permoleret tam familiariter, ut publicus matronarum haberetur maritus.* This is soon said; but where are the Proofs?

(2) *Prateolus in Elencho Hæretic. pag. 94.*

(3) *Michael Fabricius pro Fran. Belduino.*

[B] *Instead of rewarding Lindanus, they should have punished him for his Lies.* It is certain, that *Prateolus* has ranged a great many Sects in an Alphabetical Order, which never existed, and that he had no other Authority for it, than *Lindanus*. *Father Gaultier*, a Jesuit, gives us a List of these same Sects, in his Chronographical Table, on *Prateolus's* Testimony. If he is not his only Author, he is at least his chief Authority. An hundred Authors have spoken, and do still speak, of these Sects on the Credit of That Jesuit. Observe the prodigious and horrible Propagation of the Fault of a single Writer, I mean *Lindanus*. When one considers, that This Author, having been preferred to a small Bishopric, was afterwards promoted to a greater, and received great Honours at *Rome* (4), and that none of all the Superiors, to whom he was to give an account of his Conduct, censured him for the Boldness, with which he had created so many Sects (5); it can be no longer wondered at, that there should be so many Liars, among Those, who engage in Controversies. If *Lindanus's* Superiors had required him to prove, that certain Disciples of *Beza*, distinct from Those of *Calvin*, and from Those of the other Reformers, had formed a great, or small, Body, separate from the other Se-

(4) *Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 323, 324.*

(5) *He made them out of nothing, ex nihilo sui & ex nihilo fabricatus; thus is called C. 11. 10.*

ctaries; and if, for want of good Proofs, they had condemned him to the Punishment of public Imposts, and declared him unqualified for meddling with holy Things, they had established a Precedent, which would have reclaimed all credulous, or deceitful, Writers, who report so many Falsities. But, instead of bringing him into trouble for it, they looked upon him as a valiant Champion of the Catholic Cause, and raised him more and more. Who would therefore scruple to calumniate Heretics? One might apply these Words of *Horace* to That Author:

Ulla si Juris tibi pejerati
Poena, Barine, nocuisset unquam;
Dente si nigro fieres, vel uno
Turpius ungue;
Crediderem. Sed tu simul obligasti
Perfidum votis caput, enitefca
Fulchrior multo, juvenumque prodis
Publica cura.
Expediit matris cineres opertos
Fallere, & toto taciturna noctis
Signa cum cœlo, gelidaque divos
Morte carentes (6).

(6) *Horat. Od. viii. lib. ii.*

*Barine, did Revenge o'retake,
And blast as oft as you deceive;
Were but one Nail, or Tooth, more black,
Thy Vow I would at last believe:
But still more fair, more bright thy Face,
More Crowds of Lovers flock to view,
As each false Oath procured a Grace,
And tempted Thee to prove untrue.
It profits thee to be forsworn
By All that other Mortals fear,
Th' Eternal Gods, thy Mother's Urn,
By whirling Heav'n, and ev'ry Star.*

CREECH.

There is another Reflexion, which would well deserve to be weighed. If the Question had been to defend the Taylors, or some other Tradesmen of an Imperial City, *Lindanus*, I believe, would not have affirmed any thing publicly, without being certain of the Fact; but, because Religion, and the Glory of God, was concerned in it, he published all that came into his Head, without any Examination, or Remorse. So that, if we consider the matter well, the Zeal of Controversists, instead of increasing their Virtue, raises the Knowledge, and all the Scruples, which might keep them in the way of Probity, in Things purely Human: QUOD NOTANDUM (7).

[C] *Lindanus's Lies have been most ridiculously transcribed by a Carthusian of Germany.* His Name is *Theodorus Petreus* — his *Catalogus Hæreticorum* was printed in the Year 1628. See what *Hoornbeek* said of it in his *Summa Controversi.* pag. 321.

(7) See Remark [O], of the Article CAYET.

BEZA (THEODORUS), one of the chief Pillars of the Reformed Church, was of *Vezelai*, in *Burgundy*. He was nobly born, both by his Father's and Mother's Side [A], the Twenty fourth of June, 1519. He was hardly weaned, when his

Uncle,

[A] *He was born Noble, both on his Father's and Mother's Side.* His Father, who was Bailiff of *Vezelai*, was called *Peter de Beza*, his Mother's Name was *Mary Bourdelot*. "P. à Beza ejus oppidi præfeto, & Maria Bourdelotia, utroque Dei gratia " genere nobili (utinam verò potius veri Dei cogni-

tionem imbuto) & integræ famæ parente natus. — " Born of Peter Beza, Bailiff of That Town, and " Mary Bourdelot, both, by God's Grace, of noble " Birth, and unblemished Fame; I wish I could rather " say, instructed in the Knowledge of the True God." *Beza*, who speaks in this manner, in an Epistle Dedicatoratory

Uncle, *Nicolas Beza*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, would have him at his House, where he was very affectionately educated, 'till the beginning of *December*, 1528 (a), when he was sent to *Melchior Wolmar*, at *Orleans*, who had a wonderful Skill in instructing Youth. He lodged seven Years at *Wolmar's* House, who improved him wonderfully in Classical Learning, and instructed him in Religion, out of the Word of God (b); that is, he educated him in the Protestant Religion. *Wolmar* had been sent for to *Bourges*, by the Queen of *Navarre*, to teach the Greek Tongue there. He left That Employment, and returned into *Germany*, his Country, in the Year 1535. Then *Beza* was sent to study the Law at *Orleans*. This Study pleased him but little: He spent the best of his Time in reading good Greek and Latin Authors, and composing Verses. He made such good ones, that he distinguished himself by them, in a particular manner; inasmuch that he was taken notice of and beloved by the most learned Men in the University of *Orleans*. He took his Licentiate's Degree, there, in the Year 1539 (c), and went to *Paris*, where some good Preferments were provided for him [B], which combated for some time the Resolution he had taken to return to *Wolmar*, and make public Profession of the Reformation. The Pleasures of *Paris*, the Honours, which were offered him, and a great many other Snares of *Satan*, he says, did not choak the good Seed; he never forsook the Resolution of renouncing Popery, though the Temptations of the World made him Irresolute [C]. He had provided against Those of the Flesh by a Marriage of Conscience (d); that is to say, by a Promise, which he made to a Woman, to marry her publicly, as soon as the Obstacles, which hindered him at That Time, should be removed, and, in the mean time, not to engage himself in the Ecclesiastical State. He faithfully performed These two Promises; but a dangerous Sickness was necessary to extricate him from the Snares, which entangled him in the Mire. The frightful Image of approaching Death made him renew to earnestly the Vow, he had formerly made, to profess the Reformed Religion, that, as soon as he had recovered sufficient Health to travel, he fled to *Geneva*, with This Woman. He arrived there the Twenty fourth of *October*, 1548; and, before he resolved upon what Course of Life he should take, he went to see *Melchior Wolmar*, at *Tubingen*. The Year following, he accepted the Professorship of the Greek Tongue at *Lausanne*;

(a) Antony la Faye, de vita & obitu Th. Beze, pag. 6, antea patet dies tres, and is misprinted, he says, that Beza was sent, at five Years of Age, to be educated by Wolmar, at Orleans. Mr Testlier, Addit. to the English, Tom. II, pag. 375, says the same thing.

(b) Vnde placita cognitione ex Dei verbo tamquam simplicissimo fonte petiti tum me imbuunt, &c. Beza, Ep. A. ad M. Wolmarum, See below, Citations (c).

(c) Anno Domini 1539. Cal. II. Aug. ii. quinquaginta annorum aetatis vicissimum eilem ingrederis. Id. ibid. He risks every; he was already in his 20th Year.

(d) See Remarks [C] and [T].

(1) It is That of his Confession of Faith, which he published in Latin, in 1560. See Citat. (e), of this Article.

(2) Beza ad Claudium de Xantines, Apologia Altera, sub. fin.

(3) Verheiden, p. 209, who says he was still living, is mistaken.

(4) Beza Epist. ad Melch. Wolmarum.

(5) Ibid.

dicatory to *Wolmar* (1), tells us 'elsewhere, that his Ancestors had been rich for several Generations, and great Benefactors to the Church. "Sum enim ego (ne nescias) Dei gratia, non ex Monachis, non ex adulterio, vel stupro, sed honestis avis & avas prognatus; & ne ad allegorias tuas confugas, scito Bezorum familiam, si forte quæcunque ante ducentos & amplius annos in Monachos superstitione largita est recipere, tam fore locupletem quam ægre hodie sese in sua inopia tueretur (2). — You are to know, that I am not the Offspring of Monks, that I was not begotten in Adultery or Whoredom, but am sprung from honest Parents, and reputable Ancestors; and, that you may not fly to your Allegories, know, that the Family of the Bezæ's, if it could recover what it has superstitiously bestowed on Monks for Two hundred Years, and more, would be as wealthy, as it is now scarce able to support itself in its Poverty."

[B] He went to *Paris*, where some good Preferments were provided for him.] His Uncle, the Counsellor, had been dead seven Years (3); but another Uncle, Abbot of *Froidmont*, had no less kindness for This Nephew. He designed to have resigned to him his Abbey, worth Fifteen thousand Livres yearly Rent; which, with two other good Benefices, which *Beza* was already provided with, and which had been procured him without his Knowledge, would have put him in a very good way. "Huc accedebat quod duobus pinguis & optimis Beneficiis me aliquot macrum adolecentem, & præterea, quod vere testor, istarum rerum proflus ignarum & absentem, onerarent, quorum vestigalia auro coronatos annuos plus minus septingentos æquabant (4)." Besides, his elder Brother was very ill, and could not live long: the Succession to his Benefices was an approaching Hope. He died soon after; and This Death increased *Beza's* Income considerably. Ex Fratrî morte auctiores mihi redditus essent facti (5). It is easy to judge, that a young Man, so well settled already, and who had such great Talents, many Friends and Relations, and an uncommon Reputation, built on the Success of his Latin Verses, which the Public had seen, might promise to himself all sorts of Preferments. "Quum quæ mihi præter illa impedimenta, quæ antè commemoravi, triplicem laqueum Satanas circumdedit, nempe voluptatum illecebras quæ sunt in ea civitate maximæ; gloriæ dulcedinem, quam

"ego non parvam, ex meorum præsertim Epigrammatum editione, ipsius quoque M. Antonii Flaminii doctissimi poetæ, & quidem Itali, judicio eram consequutus; ipsem denique maximorum honorum mihi propositam, ad quos ex ipsis aulicis proceribus aliquot me vocabant, incitabant amici, pater & patruus hortari non desinebant; voluit Deus Opt. Max. ut ----- tandem ex his quoque periculis evaderem (6). ----- And though, besides the Obstacles, already mentioned, Satan laid a triple Snare for me; to wit, the Allurements of Pleasure, which are very great in That City; the Sweetness of Fame, which I had acquired no small Degree of, particularly by the Publication of my Epigrams, and in the Opinion even of the very learned Italian Poet M. Antony Flaminus; lastly, the Hope given me of the greatest Honours, to which some of the Courtiers themselves invited me, my Friends prompted, and my Father and Uncle perpetually exhorted me, to accept of; yet it pleased God ----- to extricate me even out of these Dangers."

(6) Ibid.

[C] The Temptations of the World made him irresolute.] This ought to be no wonder to us. At such an Age, a witty and handsome Man, who wants nothing to divert himself, has much ado to resist Temptation. In vain did the Woman, to whom *Beza* had promised Marriage, put him in mind of marrying her; the Revenue of the Benefices, which he must have renounced, confused all her Instances: One may easily believe what *Beza* says upon it. But the Force, with which He, at last, broke these Bonds, is so much the more admirable. "Quum mihi & juveni & a meis otio, pecunia, rebus denique omnibus potius quam consilio, abundanti, Satanas omnia illa impedimenta derepente objecisset, fateor me inani illarum rerum splendore & vanis blanditiis ita fuisse pellectum, ut me totum huc & illuc abripi facile paterer — Uxorem mihi despondi, fed clam, id tamen fateor & uno tantum & altero ex piis amicis consilio, partim ne cæteros offenderem, partim quod adhuc non satis possem à scelerata illa pecunia quam ex sacerdotiis, de quibus ante dixi, perciperiam, ut impurus canis ab uncto coram, abstergeri. — Ego tum interea semper in luto hærerem, instantibus meis ut tandem certum aliquod vitæ genus amplecterer, & patruo mihi omnia deferente, adeo ut quum una ex parte me premeret conscientia, & conjux de promisso appellaret; ex altera vero personatus

"Satan

(6) Taken out of the Epistle Dedicatory of Beza to Melchior Wolmar, before his Confession of Faith, which is at the end of his Works in Folio. Edit. of Geneva, 1582.

Lausanne; and, after having exercised it about nine or ten Years, he returned to *Geneva* [D], where he was admitted a Minister (e). During these nine Years, he did not confine himself to *Greek* Lectures; he read some also, in *French*, on the *New Testament* [E], which were for the Instruction, and Consolation, of several Refugees of both Sexes, who lived at *Lausanne*. He published several Books during his Abode in that City [F]; and, before he quitted the Professorship, which he exercised

(7) Ibid.

"Satan mihi placidissimo vultu blandiretur, & ex fratrīs morte auctiores mihi reditus essent facti, quasi omnis consilii inops inter istas animi curas jacerem (7). — I confess, I suffered myself to be easily carried away with the empty Show, and Allurements, of Those Temptations, which Satan suddenly threw in my way, when I was young, idle, and fuller of Money, than Discretion. — I entered into a Contract of Marriage, but secretly; yet with the Privacy, I must confess, of one or two of my pious Friends, partly that I might not offend the rest, and partly because I still bankered after the wicked Profits of those Benefices, I before spoke of. — In the mean time I continued plunged in the Mire, notwithstanding the Instances of my Friends, that I would, at length, embrace some settled way of Life, and the ready Compliance of my Uncle in every thing; inasmuch that, on the one side, Conscience pressing me, and the Lady calling me to the Performance of my Promise; and, on the other side, allured by worldly Temptations, and an Encrease of my Income by the Death of my Brother, I remained utterly Irresolute and Indetermined."

(8) Beza, Apologia Altera, pag. 359.

(9) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezae, pag. 18.

(10) Beza, Epist. Dedicat. ad Melch. Wolmarum.

(11) Fayus, in vita Bezae, pag. 18.

(12) See Remark [F], of the Article CALVIN.

(13) Beza, ubi supra. A hint to Thuanus, Tom. II, pag. 373.

(14) Mr. Constant de Rebecque:

[D] After having exercised the *Greek* Professorship about nine or ten Years at *Lausanne*, he returned to *Geneva*.] This is what he says himself, in his Answer to *Claudius de Saintes*. *Novem circiter annos Græcæ literas docuisse* (8). *Antony la Faye* has made use of an even Number, viz. ten Years complete; "Inciderunt postea tempora, quæ Bezam ad migrandum *Lausannā*, ubi *decem* annos integros hæserat *Græcæ* docendi munere defungens, induxerunt (9). — Beza was, afterwards, induced to go to *Lausanne*, where he taught *Greek* *ten whole Years*." Beza, in another Place of his Books, says, that from *Lausanne* he returned to *Geneva*, after ten Years stay there. "Inde vero tandem, id est post annum decimum — in hanc urbem iterum tanquam in placidissimum portum rediit (10)." Neither He, nor *la Faye*, have judged it proper to explain all the Reasons of his leaving *Lausanne*: What they say of it does not hinder us from suspecting, that there was I know not what in it, which would be fit for secret Memoirs. "Inciderunt Tempora, quæ Bezam ad migrandum *Lausannā* induxerunt. — Beza was induced to go to *Lausanne* (11). — Inde — partim quod meipsum cuperem Theologiæ totum consecrare, partim alias ob causas quas nihil hic attinet commemorare — in hanc urbem — rediit (12). — I returned from thence to this City, partly that I might dedicate myself wholly to Divinity, and partly for Reasons, which it signifies nothing to repeat here." His Enemies, who made Mountains of Mole-hills, published, that he had been expelled. That City. See *Lindanus*, at the Hundred fifty second Page of the second Dialogue of of his *Dubitantius*; and *Baudouin*, in his third Answer, fol. 146. verso, where he says, *Docuit Lausannæ multis annis* — — — *illinc rursus atque ignominiose pulsus* — — — He taught many Years at *Lausanne*, from whence he was expelled with Ignominy. This is false; but there was something, I know not, which gave occasion to this Lie. Mr. *Tessier* misbook one thing for another, when he said, that *Beza* exercised the Professorship of Philosophy, for ten Years, at *Lausanne* (13).

One of my Friends (14), a famous Professor at *Lausanne*, having read what goes before, used all his Endeavours to help me to some Explanations; but his Endeavours proved vain: However, I here give you an Abstract of his Letter, which is of some Moment. "I thought I could have given you some Light into *Beza's* Life, and particularly as to his leaving This University to go to *Geneva*. You intimate, that there is something concealed in this matter. I know it has been reported, and even an Author, whose Name I have forgot, says, that it was because he had got his Maid with Child;

But, if it had been so, it would have been known at *Geneva*, as well as here; and he would not have gone away honourably, *Bona cum venia Amplissimi Magistratus Bernensis*, as he says in his Letter to his Preceptor *Wolmar*: And, to conclude, he would not have come every Year, as he did, to *Lausanne*, and have been so well received. They shewed him so much Respect, that the Council used to go out, and meet him, as our Memoirs testify." I am uncertain whether the Author, meant here, be not *Reboul* (15), That satirical Writer, who was beheaded at *Rome* for his *Paquinades* (16).

[E] He read Lectures, in French, on the *New Testament*.] He made choice, at first, of the Epistle to the *Romans*, and afterwards of Those of *St Peter*. They were, as it were, the Seeds of That great Work, which he published some time after; I mean his *Latin Translation* of the *New Testament* with Notes. He revised it several Times, and made many Corrections in it. None but Those, who are ignorant of the Difficulty of such a Work, will think it strange, that he should make some Alterations in each Edition. *Illas tamen aliquoties emendatas ab ipso mirabitur nemo, qui operis difficultatem cum dignitate conjunctam, ad decet, perpenderit* (17). It is true, This created some Trouble to Those, who had made use of the first Editions; They were always in Fear, that a new one would come out, which would overthrow what they had looked upon as certain; but, to be uneasy at This, is to be angry with Nature, which will have our Knowledge to be very limited, and to increase by Degrees. Cruel Reproaches were made against *Beza* on this Account. "Nisi quis septies tuas *Novi Testamenti* editiones emat, neciet quid ajas aut quid neges. Memini typographum eruditum Hieronymum Commelinum hoc mihi ante decennium dixisse, quod crebra mutatione consilii hoc tantum adeptus es ut plurimum nihili faciant *Novum Testamentum* litera læsum atque sensu flexilorum. Et olim quidam Doctor Cantabrigiensis mihi retulit, quod Cantabrigiæ plures averfati sunt religionem ducti per te ad credendum quod *Novum Testamentum* depravatum est, sicut per *Edwardum Livilejum* quod Vetus ulceratum (18). — One must purchase your seven Editions of the *New Testament*, to know what you affirm or deny. I remember a learned Printer, Jerom Commelinus, told me, ten Years ago, that, by frequently altering your Mind, you had gained This, that many Persons had no Dependence on Your *New Testament*. And, not long ago, a certain Cambridge Doctor informed me, that many at Cambridge disregarded Religion, being induced, by you, to believe, that the *New Testament* is corrupt, as they had been, by *Edward Livilejus*, that the old one is very much so."

Note, that the first Edition of the Work of *Beza* is of the Year 1566. He published a second, ten Years after, and dedicated it to the Queen of England. The fifth Edition came out in the Year 1598. He dedicated it again to the same Queen, by a new Epistle, and suppressed the first: He should not have suppressed it; for it explains, at large, the Method, and Design, of the Author.

[F] He published several Books during his Abode at *Lausanne*.] The first was a *French Tragi-Comedy*, entitled *Abram's Sacrifice*. *Jacomot* translated it into *Latin*, in the Year 1598. Almost at the same time *James Brunon* translated it into the same Language, at *Amsterdam*. It has passed through several Impressions. Let us see what *Paquier* says of it. About the same time, *Theodorus Beza* lived, a fine Latin and French Poet. He composed, in French *Verſe*, *Abraham's Sacrifice* so much to the Life, that, in reading it formerly, it drew Tears from my Eyes (19). *Beza* went frequently to *Geneva*, during the Vacations, to visit *Calvin*, who exhorted him to dedicate his Talents to the Service of the Church, and who advised him, particularly,

(15) See the Satire which he wrote, Adversus the Universal Synod of the Holy Reformation, pag. 93.

(16) See the Remarks on The Confession of Sancti, pag. 436. Edit. 1699.

(17) Ant. Fayus in vita Bezae, pag. 15.

(18) Joh. Druſius in Epistola ad Theod. Bezae M.S. apud Coloniensem in Icone Presbyterianorum, p. ult. But *Colonicus* is mistaken in ascribing this Letter to Druſius. See a Letter of Sixtinus Amama, before Druſius's Book, de Nativitate Iſrahel of it in the Article BROUGHTON, Citat. (11).

(19) Recherches de la France, lib. 7, cap. 70, p. 615.

exercised there, he made a Journey into *Germany*, with the Character of a Deputy [G]. He had, then, the Pleasure of conferring with *Melancthon*. Having settled at *Geneva*, in the Year 1559, he attached himself to *Calvin* in a particular manner, and, in a little time, was made his Colleague in the Church, and University. He was sent to *Nerac*, at the Instigation of some Great Persons of the Kingdom, to convert the King of *Navarre*, and to confer with him about Matters of Consequence (f). This happened when the *Guises* had invaded the King's Authority, under the Reign of *Francis II.*, to the Prejudice of the Princes of the Blood. The King of *Navarre* having signified, both by Letters, and by Deputies, that he desired *Beza* should assist at the Conference of *Poissi*, the Senate of *Geneva* readily consented to it. No better Choice could have been made for the Good of the Cause. *Beza* spoke

(f) Cumque eo de rebus gravissimis communicaret, sed potissimum ut illiusani no, si Deus aspiceret dignaretur, verze religionis gustum aliquem infillaret. Ant. Fayus de vita & obitu Tb. Beza, pag. 21.

Nor won'd be e'er, by his Advice,
Temp future Times to Comardice.

CREECH.

I do not mention the other Reasons, which may confute this Doctrine: I dwell only on That of Expediency, alledged by the Writer of *Beza's* Life. This Expediency is but a Trifle in comparison of the Evil, which the Book of *Puniendis Hæreticis* produces daily; for, whenever the Protestants complain of the Persecutions, which they suffer, the Right, which *Calvin* and *Beza* have acknowledged in the Magistrates, is alledged against Them: Hitherto we have seen no one, who has not come off wretchedly, as to This Objection *ad hominem*. But let us proceed to other Books, published by *Beza*, before he left *Lausanne*. He published a short Explanation of Christianity, *ex Doctrina de æterna Dei Prædestinatione*; an Answer to *Joachim Westphalus*, concerning the Lord's Supper; two Dialogues on the same Subject, against *Tillemannus Hesbustus* (25); (26) *The one entitled, Κρησιφαια, the other, "Ὅτις οὐκ ἀποκρίσκει"* "postea quædam libere calamo quam rei qua de agebatur majestati conveniebat scripta mutavit, ut & in nonnullis aliis scriptis, è quibus jocos aliquot (ut erat ingenio lepidò & faceto dum ætate adhuc vigente esset) postquam maturior factus est, & *Schætzers pœtridas* in consilium adhibuisset, e-rahit (26)."

I express myself thus, as a Translator of the Words of *Antony la Faye*; for, if I would follow the Judgment of some *Lutheran* Authors, I should be obliged to make use of Terms, which exceed Raillery. *Conrad Schlusfeldburgius* pretends, that there are such scurrilous and lewd Revilings in *Beza's* Works, that they become Those only, who have had no other School, than the Stews. What he has said upon This, has been carefully gathered up by the Author of the *Calvino-Turcismus*. I can only cite Him, not having the Book of That famous *Lutheran*. "Omif-
" sis aliis, Theodorum Bezam exempli gratia pro-
" ponit, ex cujus scriptis, non modo contra Papiſtas,
" sed etiam Lutheranos, hoc (inquit) abundè poteſt
" demonstrari. Et hæc adeo sunt vera, ut ipsos Sa-
" cramentarios pigit & pudat ſatilitatem & blaſ-
" phemiarum, quas Beza ſine metu divine majeſta-
" tis comunit, ſicut ipſe Lavaterus ſateri cogitur,
" & aliquot nobiliores Calviniſtæ apud ipſum Bezam
" conqueſti ſunt. Et quamquam Beza excuſet omnia,
" vocans ſanctam urbanitatem: hæc tamen urbanitas
" (inquit iſte Patriarcha) non Theologos in pietatis
" ſchola verſantes, ſed lenones effrontes, & ſcarras
" ſpurciloquos in ludò meretricio à Thæide vel
" Candida proſuga eruditò decet. Unde baud
" dubiè noſter illè Beza ſcjuſculus ſuarum elegantia-
" rum decerpiſt. Mox fortius urgens atque probans
" hoc de Beza maledico & elumbi in diſputationibus
" & ſcriptionibus charactere. Si quis (inquit) de
" hac re ambigere velit, illò duos ſamoſſiſſimos dialo-
" gos Beza contra D. Heſbuſum legat, qui ceritè
" non ab hominè, ſed ab ipſo incarnato Beſezebub,
" exarati eſſe videntur. Horret animus blaſphemias
" obſcenæ, & diabolico atramento tinctas, reſerre,
" quas ipſe impudens convitiator & Atreus in dialogis
" illis, in articulo graviffimo, blaſphemè impiè & ſcur-
" riliter eruſtavit. Certè adeo ſunt fœdæ, ut ipſe
" Beza paulò poſt, quo ſpectioſius priorem editionem
" ſupprimeret, ſecundam procurarit, in qua ſeptem
" folia

to finiſh what *Marot* had begun. *Beza* followed this Advice, and tranſlated, into French Verſe, the Hundred *Pſalms*, which remained to be tranſlated. They were printed, with the King's Privilege, in 1561. *The Tranſlation of the Remainder of the Pſalms of David ſhows what he could do, though he has not ſo happily ſucceeded as Clement Marot in his fifty* (20). After he had recovered from the Plague, he made an Ode to return thanks to *God* for it. It is pretended, that *Jodelle* made this Te-traſtick at that Time.

Beze fut lors de la peſte accueilli
Qu'il retouchoit cette harpe immortelle;
Mais pourquoy fut Beze d'elle aſſailli?
Beze aſſailloit la peſte à tous mortelle (21).

Beza was ſeized with the Plague, when he was re-touching This Immortal Lyre. But why was Beza attacked by It? Beza attacked That General Mortality, The Plague.

(20) Ibid.

(21) We ſhall ex-amine, in the Article JO-DELLE, whether it was he, who com-poſed This Tetraſtick.

A REFLEX-ION on the Book of Puniendis Hæreticis.

(22) Servetus was burnt at Geneva, in 1553.

(23) Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 15. Note, that by utriuſque beneamus Læ-tius Socinus & Caſſialio.

One of the moſt remarkable Works, published by *Beza*, during his Abode at *Lausanne*, was the Treatiſe de *Hæreticis à Magiſtratu puniendis*. He publiſhed it in anſwer to the Book, which *Caſſialio*, diſguiſed under the Name of *Martinus Bellius*, had compoſed on That important Subject, a little after the Execution of *Servetus* (22). *Caſſialio* treated the general Theſis of Toleration; *Beza* maintained, againſt him, that the Magiſtrates ought to puniſh Hæretics, The Author of his Life maintains, that This Work was publiſhed very reaſonably to ſettle fluctuating Minds; *Scriptum utriuſque Beza tum reſutavit, tempore in ſpeciem opportuno, ſed re ipſa opportuniſſimo ad cobibendos levium hominum in Religione fluctuantium vagos & incertos æſus* (23). It cannot be denied, that the Fear of Capital Punishment is of great Force, towards ſilencing Thoſe, who may have any Doubts to propoſe againſt the prevailing Religion, and to maintain the Unity of External Communion: But it is with the Doctrine, which authoriſes This Practice, as it is with the Invention of Bombs and Carcaſſes, and of all kinds of Machines of War, They, who make uſe of them firſt, draw great Advantages from them, and, whiſt they are the ſtrongeſt, Things go very well with them: But, when they are the weakeſt, They are deſtroyed by their own Inventions. If *Beza's* Party had been the ſtrongeſt all the World over, and if it could have maintained it's Superiority, the Doctrine, de *Puniendis Hæreticis*, would have done great Service: It would have reſſeſſed the Zeal, or the ſhuffling Humour, of Innovators; but, becauſe, within a quarter of a League of *Geneva*, They were expoſed to the Caprices of the ſtrongeſt, and did not know whether *God* would permit the Seſt of *Socinus* to prevail, It was very imprudent to maintain, that the Magiſtrates ought to inflict the Punishment of Death on Hæretics: A preſent Advantage ought not to blind our Eyes ſo much, as to hinder us from reflecting on the Conſequences: On ſuch an Occaſion, the Maxim of *Regulus* is to be made uſe of:

Hoc caverat mens provida Reguli,
Diffentientis Conditionibus
Fœdis, & exemplo trahenti
Perniciem veniens in ævum (24).

(24) Horat. Od. v. l. iii.

Wiſe *Regulus* did This prevent;
He ſcorn'd baſe Terms, which Carthage ſent,
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spoke well; he knew the World; he had a ready Wit, and much Learning. His Speech was heard with attention, till he touched upon the Real Presence. An Expression, which he made use of, caused a murmuring [H]. In the remaining part of this Conference, he behaved like a Man of great Capacity, and never suffered himself to be surprized by the Artifices of the Cardinal of Lorrain. He did not return to Geneva, when the Conference was ended; for, being a Frenchman, Catherine de Medicis would have him stay in his own Country. He preached often at the Queen of Navarre's, at the Prince of Condé's, and in the Suburbs of Paris. After the Massacre at Vassy (g), he was deputed to the King, to complain of That Action.

The

(g) March
1, 1562.

"*folia integra omisit, & loca plurima expunxit quæ erant in editione priori. Quanquam ille bonus & gravis Superintendens, hac qualicunque castigatione non contentus, optat ut non modò isti dialogi in universum, sed simul alia ejus omnia impia & blasphemata scripta, quæ sunt plurima, abolerentur, ne à teneris, piis, & castis hominibus viderentur in æternum. Sic ille (27). --- Omitting others, he proposes Theodore Beza as an Instance; from whose Writings, not only against the Papists, but even the Lutherans, This (he says) may be abundantly demonstrated. And These Things are so true, that the Sacramentarians themselves are tired, and ashamed, of the Follies and Blasphemies, which Beza, without Fear of the Divine Majesty, has given vent to; as Lavaterus himself is forced to acknowledge, and some of the more noble Calvinists have complained to Beza himself. And, though Beza excuses it all, by calling it Pious Raillery; yet This Raillery (says the Patriarch) is more becoming of the Stews, than Divines, brought up in the School of Piety. And, indeed, Beza seems to have gathered the Flowers of his Elegances in the former. Afterwards, as a farther and stronger Proof of This slanderous Character of Beza in his Disputations, and Writings; If any one (says he) is not satisfied of the Truth of This, let him read the two infamous Dialogues of Beza against Hesbustus, which certainly appear to be the Work, not of a Man, but of Beelzebub himself incarnate. I tremble to repeat the obscene and diabolical Blasphemies, which This filthy Slanderer, and Atheistical Writer, has impiously and scurrilously poured forth, in these Dialogues, on the most important Article. Indeed They are so foul, that Beza himself, that he might have the better Colour for suppressing the first Edition, procured a second, in which he omitted seven entire Leaves, and expunged several Passages, which were in the former Edition. Though This good Supervisor, not satisfied with this Correction, wishes, that These Dialogues, as also all his other wicked and blasphemous Writings, which are many in number, were entirely abolished, that they might never more be seen by conscientious, pious, and chaste Men. Thus far He." Remember, that this Conrad is a very passionate Writer.*

[G] He made a Journey into Germany, with the Character of a Deputy. This was the Reason of his Journey. An Assembly of Those of the Reformed Religion was detected, at Paris, in the Year 1557. It consisted of Four hundred Persons, whereof seven were burnt, and the rest imprisoned (28). The Churches had Recourse to some Princes of Germany, to endeavour to obtain the Lives of Those poor Prisoners from Henry II. Farel, Beza, and John Budeus, Son of the great William Budeus, were the three Deputies, who went to the Court of the Elector Palatine, to That of the Landgrave of Hesse, and to That of the Duke of Wirtemberg, in the Year 1558. These three Princes earnestly recommended the Cause of Those Prisoners; but the Court of France paid little Regard to These Recommendations. Beza, as he passed through Frankfort, had the Pleasure of speaking with Melancthon (29). This is what Antony la Faye says; but, according to Beza, the Motive to This Journey was, to desire the Intercession of Those Princes for the Vallies of Piedmont, which were, then, in Possession of the King of France, that is, in the Year 1557 (30). He acknowledges, nevertheless, in the Life of Calvin, that That Intercession was desired for the Prisoners at Paris, and that it was not made in vain. "Par-

tim intervenientium Germanorum Principum legatione, quam summa celeritate Calvinus procuravit, tempestas illa nonnihil conquievit (31). --- (31) Beza in vita Calvinii.

[H] An Expression, which he made use of at the Conference of Poissy, caused a murmuring.] The Expression was This: "We say, that the Body of JESUS CHRIST is as far from the Bread and Wine, as the highest Heaven is remote from the Earth (32)." Let us see, now, what the Effect of it was; and let us make use of Beza's own Words. "This single Expression (though many others, as contrary and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, had been said by him) was the Cause, that the Prelates began to stir, and to murmur, some saying blasphemavit; others arose to be gone, not being able to do any thing worse, because of the King's Presence: Among others, Cardinal de Tournon, Dean of the Cardinals, who was seated in the chief Place, required of the King, and the Queen, that Silence might be imposed on Beza, or that He, and his whole Company, might be permitted to retire. Neither the King, nor any of Princes, stirred; and audience was given to proceed. Silence being made, Beza said; I desire you, Sirs, to hear the Conclusion, which will satisfy you: And then he returned to his Discourse, which he continued to the end (33)." (33) Ibid.

Catherine de Medicis said, in her Letter to Mr de Rennes, Ambassador of France at the Emperor's Court, "That Beza, speaking of the Sacrament, forgot himself, in a Comparison, so absurd and offensive to the Ears of all the Assistants, that she was near silencing him, and sending all the Ministers away, without suffering them to proceed any farther; but that he obtained from it, least People should go away imbued with his Doctrine, without having heard what should be answered him (34)." Observe the Parenthesis, which the Historian made use of (35). Nothing

will better discover the Weakness of Mens Minds. An old Cardinal, and many Bishops are scandalized, are going away, and cry out Blasphemy: for what? Because they heard a Minister say, that JESUS CHRIST is not corporally present in the Symbols of the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist; for it is what That Expression, so offensive to the Ears of all the Assistants, amounts to: Can there be a worse grounded, or more childish, Cause of Offence? When People teach, that the Body of JESUS CHRIST is present but in one Place at one Time, and that it is always seated in Paradise at the Right-Hand of God, They plainly maintain, that it is as remote from the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as Paradise is from the Earth. Now the Prelates of the Conference of Poissy could not be ignorant, that the Ministers teach, that the Humanity of JESUS CHRIST is always in Heaven, at the Right-Hand of God; and that it can be present but in one Place at one Time; and They could not expect, that Beza would not explain the Doctrine of his Party; They should not, therefore, have been offended at This Expression; (for once again, it adds nothing to the Doctrine of the Ministers); or else They went to the Assembly with This Persuasion, that the Ministers would betray their Opinions, and only endeavour to deceive the King. I see but one Thing, which can excuse the Irritation of the Prelates. It may be said, that some Expressions offend us, though they import no more, than some Expressions, at which we are not

(32) Beza Hist. Ecclesiast. lib. iv. pag. 516.

(33) Ibid. pag. 521.

(34) Apud Maimbourg. Hist. de Calvinism. pag. 223, 224. Le Laboureur, Addit. to Castelnau, Tom. I. pag. 763, produces the Queen's Letter.

(35) (The many others, as contrary and repugnant to the Doctrine of the Church of Rome, had been said by him.) Beza Hist. Ecclesiast. pag. 521.

A REPLETION on the Offence, which the Prelates took, at the Conference of Poissy.

(27) Gulielmus Reginaldus, in Calvinio Turcimo, lib. iii. cap. 19, p. 671, 672. He quotes Conrad Schlusfeld, in Theol. Calvinist. lib. i. fol. 92. In Preslat. lib. iii. fol. 34, 35, & lib. ii. fol. 77, 78, 127.

(28) According to Beza, in vita Calvinii, about 80 were taken, and the rest fled.

(29) Favus, in vita Bezae, pag. 17.

(30) Beza ad Cl. de Xaintes, Apolog. i. Oper. Tom. II. pag. 295.

The Civil-War followed soon after; during which the Prince of Condé kept him with Him. *Beza* was at the Battle of *Dreux*, as a Minister [I]. During the Imprisonment of the Prince, he always kept with Admiral de Coligni, and did not return to *Geneva*, 'till after the Peace of 1563. He did not see *France* again 'till 1568, and That was in order to go to *Vezelay*, where his Presence was necessary [K]. He had written several Books after his Return to *Geneva*; and he published others after his Return from *Vezelay* [L]. He returned into *France* again, in the Year 1571, to assist at the National Synod of *Rochel*, of which he was elected Moderator. The following Year he assisted at That of *Nîmes*, and opposed the Faction of *John Morel*, who designed to introduce a new Discipline. The Prince of Condé sent for him to *Straßburg*, in the Year 1574, in order to send him to Prince *John Casimir*, Administrator of the *Palatinate*; which shews, that it was well known, that he understood other Things, besides Lectures, and Books. The Conference of *Mombelliar*,
in

offended. For Example, the Parts, which Modesty does not permit to name, may be denoted by modest Words; and yet These Words signify the same thing, as Those, which are called obscene. If the latter are offensive, it is not because of the Thing itself, which They signify, but because we think, that He, who uses them, against Custom, does not pay us That Respect, which Decency requires (36). Upon This Footing, The Bishops of *Poissy* might be more offended at the Minister's Doctrine, represented by a Comparison, than at the same Doctrine nakedly and plainly represented: But then, their Scandal was not grounded on a Zeal for Religion: For the Comparison, which *Beza* alledged, is not more contrary to God, or to the Christian Faith, than the plainest Exposition of the Doctrine of the Protestants. It was not, then, for the Interest of God, that they were scandalized; but only because they supposed, that the Minister did not pay sufficient Respect to his Auditors, when he made use of such Expressions. They, who would make such an Apology for These Prelates, would ascribe to them a most criminal Vanity. What shall we say then? Is it better to say, that They acted like Children; that They were not offended at the Things, but at the Words? This would not be for their Honour. I am surprized, that such a grave Historian, as *Mezerai*, durst say, that This Proposition of *Beza* was passionate, and offensive; that *Beza* was ashamed of it himself; and that it strangely offended the Ears of the Catholics; and that the Prelates trembled with Horror at it (37). It is plain, *Mezerai* thinks These great Tremblings reasonable; and he makes himself ridiculous by it; for it is the same thing, to say, *The Body of Jesus Christ is not present in the Holy Sacrament*; and to say, *It is at an infinite Distance from it*.

[J] He was at the Battle of *Dreux*, as a Minister. I add This Clause, least any of my Readers should suspect, that he assisted there, to fight, and handle the Sword. *Claudius de Xaintes* reproaches him for it. This is *Beza's* Answer. "Interfui sane prælio, & inchoanti & desinenti (quidni enim hoc facerem eo rite vocatus?) & quidem quod magis mireris palliatus, non armatus: nec mihi quicquam vere vel cædem cuiusquam vel fugam objecerit (38).
----- I was indeed present at the Battle;
(and why should I not, being properly called?) and, which you will more wonder at, in the Habit of my Order, not armed: nor can any one justly charge me with the Slaughter of one Man, or with Flight.

[K] He went to *Vezelay*, where his Presence was necessary. *Nicolas de Beze*, Bailiff of *Vezelay*, fled to *Geneva* for Religion, where he died, a little while after, of the Plague, at the House of *Theodorus*, his Brother by the Father's Side. The latter, having a Mind to order the Affairs of the Family of the deceased, and to endeavour at the same time to save Part of his Estate, took a Journey to *Vezelay*. *Hæc sunt occasio Beze Vezelus suos revivendi, partim ut fratris defuncti liberis proficeret, partim ut nonnullas Patrimonii sui Reliquias dispersas colligeret, quod & fecit quantum locus, tempus, & res permiserunt* (39). He endeavoured to persuade a Sister, which he had in a Nunnery, to forsake the Church of *Rome*. She was an old Nun, very obstinate in her Religion, who would not listen to her Brother's Remonstrances (40).
[L] He had written several Books after his Return to *Geneva*; and he published others after his Return from *Vezelay*.] Soon after his Settlement in the Church of *Geneva*, he drew up a *Confession of Faith* in *Latin*, which he had formerly written in *French*,

to justify himself to his Father, and to endeavour The good old Man's Conversion. He published This Confession in *Latin*, dedicated to his good Master *Melchior Wolmar*, in the Year 1560. His Pen was quiet, whilst he followed, in the Armies, either the Prince of Condé, or Admiral de Coligni; but, as soon as he returned to *Geneva*, he wrote two Answers, the one to *Castilio* (41), and the other to *Francis Bandouin*. Afterwards, he attacked *Brentius*, and *James Andreas*, upon their Doctrine of Ubiquity; and then wrote his Book de *Divortiiis & Repudiis*, against *Bernardin Obbi-nus*, who had written in Favour of Polygamy. He attacked also the Errors of *Flacius Illyricus*. He answered *Claudius de Xaintes*, *Selneccerus*, *James Andreas*, and *Pappus*, &c. and turned *David's Psalms* into all sorts of *Latin Verses*. He published a Treatise of the Sacrament, and a Book against *Hyfmannus*; some Sermons on the Passion of Jesus Christ, and on the Canticle of Canticles; a Translation of That Canticle into *Lyric Verse*; and an Answer to *Genebrard*, to whom That Translation had given new Occasion to repeat his Slanders. In 1590, he published his Treatise de *Excommunicatione & Presbyterio*, against *Thomas Erasmus*. Some time after, he examined the Book of *Saravia*, de *Ministorum Evangelii gradibus*. I omit the Titles of some other Books; They may be seen in the Lists, which *Antony la Faye* has placed at the end of his Work, de *vita & obitu Theodori Beze*, from whence I have borrowed what I have just now said. I have not met with, there, all the Productions of *Beza's* Pen. The *Icones* of the Illustrious Persons, who set their Hand to the Work of the Reformation (42), is not mentioned there, nor the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches. This last Work is very curious; It extends from the Year 1521, to the Peace of the thirteenth of March 1563. I do not wonder, that They have not inserted in This List the ingenious, but too burlesque, Letter of *Benedictus Passavantius* to the President *Lizet* (43). *La Faye* makes no mention of it; but, as for some other satirical or burlesque Pieces, which some attribute to *Beza*, he maintains, that they are mistaken. "Diſtictis plenis libros composuit, Harangam ad Cardinalem Lotharingum, de furoribus Gallicis, vitam Catharinæ Medicæ, & similis notæ chartas. Atqui tam verum est libros illos fuisse compositos & Beza, quàm verum est (quod isti ignoranter & temerè deblaterant) ab Amiralii ministro scriptum fuisse librum, cui nomen est Matagonis de Matagonibus (44). — He wrote Books, full of satirical or evil-sweet, The Speech to the Cardinal of Lorraine, concerning the Madnys of the French Nation, The Life of Catharine of Medicis, and the like. And it is as true, that these Pieces were written by *Beza*, as it is true (which these Persons ignorantly and rashly blab out) that the Book, entitled Matagonis de Matagonibus, was written by The Admiral's Minister."

Garasse maintains, that *Beza*, "gives himself, jestingly, the Name of FRANTOPIN, in writing against Dr de Xaintes, in That little Macaronic Book, which begins with These Words: Tu facis bene de sufficiente, Domine Magister noster, post habere bibi-tum quatuor bonas fides de vestro vino Sorbonnico, in dejunando Theologaliter, &c (45)." He attributes also a Book to him, entitled, A Parallel of Henry II with Pilate (46). Observe, that there is a great Fault in the List of *Antony la Faye*: It does not mention the Date of the first Editions, nor when, and how many times, the Books of *Beza* were reprinted.

(41) He had criticized on *Beza's* Translation of the *New Testament*.

(42) Printed at *Geneva*, in 1580, in 4^{to}.

(43) See the New Letters against *Maimbourg's* History of *Calvinism*, pag. 144.

(44) *Ant. Fayus*, in vita *Beza*, pag. 70, 71.

(45) *Garasse*, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 1022.

(46) *Id. ib.* pag. 1012.

(36) See the Art of Thinking, Part I, chap. 34.

(37) *Mezerai*, Abridg. Chron. ad Ann. 1561.

(38) *Beza*, ad *Claud. de Xaintes*, Apolog. Advers. Opera. Tom. II. pag. 362.

(39) *Ant. Fayus*, in vita *Beza*, pag. 48.

(40) *Id. ib.*

(b) De no-
fira ad tribu-
nal Dei ju-
stificatione
per fidem,
tanquam in-
strumentum
quo Christus
justitia no-
stra appre-
henditur,
profectus est
se penitus
afficiat,
quum antea
& scripto &
verbo docu-
isse iustiti-
am nostram
apud Deum
esse qualita-
tem quan-
dam patibi-
lem in nobis
inheren-
tem. *Fayus*,
in vita *Be-
za*, pag. 55.

(47) *Fayus*,
pag. 55.

(43) *Ibid.*

(4c) *Abrah.*
Sci Itetus,
*N erat. Apo-
loge.* pag.
26.

in 1586, engaged him against *James Andreas*, a Divine of *Tubingen*. *Beza* would have had the Dispute managed syllogistically; but he was obliged to yield to the Desires of his Adversary, who would not be confined to the Rules of Syllogisms. The Success of This Dispute was as usual [M]; each Party boasted to have gained the Victory, and published an Account accordingly. *Beza* lost his Wife, in the Year 1588; but this Domestic Affliction, great as it was, did not hinder him from going to the Synod, which Thofe of *Bern* had assembled. The Doctrine of *Samuel Huberus*, concerning our Justification before God, which, he said, consisted in an inherent Quality (b), was there condemned. *Beza* married again, the same Year, to a Widow, who survived him [N]. The Inconveniencies of old Age began to come upon him, in the Year 1597, and obliged him to speak but seldom in public; and, at last, he desisted altogether from it, in the beginning of the Year 1600. His poetical Vein was not so dried up, in the Year 1597, but that he wrote some Verses, full of Fire, against the Jesuits, occasioned by the Report, which was spread of his Death

[M] *The Success of the Dispute of Mombeliard was as usual.* *Antony la Faye* asserts this: "Utrunque placide discessum est sine lite, aut amarulentia; sed nullo fructu, ut fere semper in talibus palæstris publicis contingere solet (47). — *Both Parties retreated peaceably, without Strife, or Bitterness; but with no Advantage gained on either side, as is usual in such Kind of Public Disputes.*" Some Gentlemen, who had left France for their Religion, and had fled to *Mombeliard*, gave occasion to This Dispute. The Count of *Mombeliard* desired the Canton of *Berne* to name Deputies, to confer with the Divines of *Wirttemberg*; he desired also the Republic of *Geneva* to send *Beza* to the Conference; This he did in compliance with the Desire of the Refugees. *Abraham Musculus*, Minister of *Bern*, and *Peter Huberus*, Professor of the Greek Language in the same City, were the Swiss Deputies: *Beza*, and *Antony la Faye*, were the Deputies of *Geneva*. *James Andreas*, and *Luke Ofsander*, were the chief Deputies of *Wirttemberg*. Most of them heard only *Beza* and *James Andreas*, and saw but little Light in This Dispute of several Days, because it was not managed Syllogistically; for, when two Persons answer each other, by long Discourses, it is almost impossible to perceive, whether they remove the Difficulties. "Jacobus Andreas perpetua & declamatoria oratione utebatur. Quare illius vestigiis insisteret *Beza* coactus est. Unde non tam facilis, expedita, aut perspicua fuit tota illa dierum aliquot disceptatio (48). — James Andreas used a long and declamatory Way of Speaking. *Beza* was, therefore, obliged to do the same. Hence it was, that This Dispute, which lasted so many Days, was not at all cleared up." A Man is scarce ever worried upon these occasions, if he knows but how to prattle. The Parties agreed not to publish the Relation of This Conference; but, when it was known, that Letters were dispersed all over Germany, which were read in the Courts of Princes, and in private Conversations, and that These Letters proclaimed the Victory of *James Andreas*, and that, at last, the Divines of *Wirttemberg* had published the Conference with Marginal Notes; *Beza* was obliged to publish a Counter-Relation.

I have lately read, in a Work of *Abraham Scultetus*, that The Political Reasons, as well on the Part of the French Refugees, as on that of the Count of *Mombeliard*, contributed much more to the appointing this Conference, than the Theological Reasons. The Refugees sent for *Beza*, because they thought, that, if he conferred amicably with *Dr Andreas*, about the Controverted Matters, They should live more easy in the County of *Mombeliard*, and that, perhaps, the Duke of *Wirttemberg* might come over to their Side. As for the Count, he had been a *Urgonist* in his Youth; but, having heard *Beza's* Sermons and Lectures, he declared freely, that he had seen many things at *Geneva*, and in *Switzerland*, of which *James Andreas* had never spoken a word to him, and that he had scarce seen any thing there, of what the same Doctor had often told him. *Geneva, & in Helvetia, vidi multa, de quibus nihil, pauca eorum, de quibus sepe audivi ex D. Jacobo (49).* This was to declare, that That Person had not drawn the Picture of the Calvinists very faithfully. From that time, the Count was more kind to the Reformed, and afforded a Retreat to Thofe, who fled from France for their Religion. But, when it was represented to him, that the Duke of *Wirttemberg* had no Son, and that the House of *Austria* would not suffer a Favourer of the

Huguenots to inherit That Duke's Succession; I say, when it was represented to him, that he had made himself suspected, both by his Journey to *Geneva*, and by his Kindness to the French Refugees, he consented to the Dispute between *Dr Andreas* and *Beza*; but his Aim was not so much to promote the Truth, as to clear himself from the Suspicion of Calvinism. *Non tam ut veritati consulere, quam ut se de Calvinismo purgaret (50).* This is what *Daniel Tossan* replied to *Christopher Pezelius*, who had asked him the Reason of the Conference of *Mombeliard*. *Scultetus*, who relates it (51), was at Dinner, where This was said (52). If we had a Collection of such like Table-talk, as large as That, which is found in *Plutarch's* Works, we might learn a great many curious Things from it.

[N] He married again, the same Year, to a Widow, who survived him.] The Name of his first Wife was *Claudine Denoff*: See below the Remark [Y]. Their Marriage continued forty Years: The Name of his second Wife was *Catherine de la Plane*, who took great Care of him as long as he lived. *Catharina Plania, Affensis, Francisca Taruffi Januensis Vidua, quæ ei usque ad ultimum Spiritum magno subsidio fuit (53).* *Patin* is mistaken, when he says, that *Stephen Pasquier* wrote some Verses on the three Marriages of *Beza*.

Uxores ego tres vario sum tempore nactus,

Cum juvenis, tum vir, factus & inde senex.

Propter opus prima est validis mihi juncta bus annis,

Altera propter opes, tertia propter opem (54).

The Meaning of These Verses is; I married three Wives, at several times; in my Youth, in my Manhood, and in my Old-Age. I married the first Wife for the Delights of Love; the second, because she was Rich; the third, that she might nurse me in my Infirmities. But This could not agree with *Beza*, since he had not had three Wives. Some say, that *Pasquier* made these Verses on himself (55). He, who observes This, is, nevertheless, in the Error of *Gay Patin* concerning *Beza's* three Wives. He married again, for the third time, at seventy Years of Age, and had sent word of it to his intimate Friend *Junius*, a Dutisman (56), in these Words: If it be a Folly to marry again at seventy Years of Age, I have lately committed it. He was an old Cock, which could not break off from *Venus's* Cbariot, to which he had been barnassed from his Youth (57). These are the Words of a credulous Monk, who is but seldom well-informed of what he says. If He, and *Patin*, had consulted the nineteenth Book of *Stephen Pasquier's* Letters, They would have spoken with more exactness. *Pasquier* relates, that, having heard it said, that *Theodora Beza* was married again, he wrote This Tetragitch in Favour of the Person, who should marry three Wives (58).

Beza's second Wife was wonderfully careful of him; He left her Heiress of all his Estate in *Geneva*. "Eorum quæ *Genevæ* habebat hæredem ex æsse instituit Catharinam Planiam conjugem suam; quia senectutem pñus sustentante, & gloriam ex officiis assiduam erga ipsum, annorum septendecim spatio, quærente, vivebat (59). — He left *Catharine de la Plane*, his Wife, who supported his old Age, and placed all her Glory in taking the greatest Care of him, for seventeen Years, sole Heiress of his Estate at *Geneva*." *Beza* never had any Children (60).

[O] He

(50) *Id. ib.*

(51) *Scultetus. Ibid. pag. 25, & seq.*

(52) *Tossan, Professor at Heidelberg, had invited Christopher Pezelius, a Divine of Bremen, to dine with him, in 1597.*

(53) *Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 55.*

(54) *Patin, Letter vol. Tom. III. pag. 490. It is the 176th Letter of the first Edit.*

(55) *St Romain's Chronological Abridgement, ad Ann. 1615.*

(56) *He was no Dutchman, nor in Holland, when *Beza* married again.*

(57) *St Romain's Chronol. p. 392. ad Ann. 1605.*

(58) *Pasquier's Letters, Tom. II, p. 486.*

(59) *Fayus, in vita Beza, pag. 74.*

(60) *Id. ib.*

Death, and that, before he expired, he had made Profession of the *Romish Faith* [O]. The last Verses, which he composed, were a *Votiva Gratulatio*, to Henry IV, after he had been kindly received by him, near Geneva, in the Month of December, 1600 (i) [P]. He lived 'till the thirteenth of October, 1605, and preserved his Good Sense to the last [Q], and expressed great Sentiments of Piety with his last Breath. He was Man of an extraordinary Merit, and who did his Party very great Services [R]. He

(i) La Faye, pag. 61, 72, 111, 119, but is mistaken.

Was

[O] He wrote Verses — on occasion of the Report that was spread of his Death — and that he had made Profession of the *Romish Faith*.] They, who invented, and spread, this Story, were but little acquainted with the True Interest of Their Church. These kind of Frauds may be spread, to some advantage, against a Sect, which has neither Authors, nor Printers; but They must needs be prejudicial, when they are boldly employed against a Church, which has a thousand Presses, and Pens, in her Bosom, which let nothing fall to the Ground, and take the Ball at the first rebound. Was it not great Folly to imagine, that the Protestants would lose such a fair Opportunity of exclaiming against Monkish Impostures and Cheats, and to draw many thundering Conclusions from their Assurance in reporting a Falshood, which was so easy to be confuted? The Ministers of Geneva were not silent on This Occasion. They published two Pieces, attended with all the Authenticity necessary to refute This foolish Lie: One of These Pieces was in Latin, and the other in French. *Editio nomine suo publicis duabus scriptis, altero Latine (cui Beza redidit nomen fecerunt) altero Gallice* (61). Beza, in a Letter to William Stuckius, confuted the same Story (62); and the Jesuit Clement du Puy, who was looked upon as the Inventor of This Fable, drew a shower of satirical Verses on himself in particular, and on his own Order in general, which Beza's Muses, old as they were, made very formidable (63). It was easy to force This: so that They were but slighted Persons, as to their own Interests, who invented such a Romance. There are rash Persons in all Communions. See the Article BELLARMIN, Remark [E].

I must not omit, that the Jesuits asserted, that this Story was invented by the Protestants, to be imputed to them. See the *Scaligerana*, under the Word *Velserus*, and the Notes on the Book, entitled, *La Confession de Sanci*, wherein you will find an Abstract of the Letter, which they published, in 1593, under the Name of a *Savoyard Gentleman*, in which they maintained, that The pretended Letter, which was attributed to Them, about the Death, and Conversion, of Theodorus Beza, was a mere Imposture of Beza himself, and the Bezzans at Geneva. The Author of the Notes observes, that Stephen Pasquier had no regard to This, and that the Jesuit Ribcrome gave out, as certain, the Story of This Minister's Conversion, in a Book, reprinted in the Year 1599 (64).

Observe, that, in 1591, there was a Report, that Beza was dead. This false News was written by a Minister to Mr du Plestis Mornai, who answered him in these Terms: *Tu have made me sorrowful by the Death of Beza, quam nondum certo accepi, quam jam olim animo præcepi. We have lost three or four Stars; I see nothing but thick Clouds over us.* This we find in the Ninty fourth, and Ninty fifth Pages of the second Volume of his Memoirs.

[P] He was kindly received — by Henry IV.] Dr Spon reports the Speech, which Beza made to That Prince, and the King's Answer (65). Mr de Perseux thought, falsely, that Henry IV entered into Geneva, and that he was harangued there by This Minister (66). He received the Deputies of Geneva at Lully (67), a Quarter of a League from St Catherine's Fort, which Fort was two Leagues from Geneva. Thuanus says, that the King made Beza a Present of Five hundred Crowns (68).

[Q] He was sensible to the last.] His Historian makes no mention of what Thuanus observes concerning This Venerable Old Man's Memory. "Præsentium memoriam debilitata quippe mente evanidam amiserat, præteritorum dum ingenio valebat impressam ferverat. Itaque et totos Psalmos Hebraice, et quodcumque caput ex B. Pauli Epistolis proposuisset, integrum Græce recitabat, nec in iis quæ olim dicerat judicio carebat, sed quæ dixerat statim obliviscatur (69)." The Meaning of this is, that, in divers Respects, Beza's Memory was very

good, and very bad; very good, as to Things which he had learned during the Vigor of his Mind; (for he could repeat all the *Psalms* in Hebrew, and all St Paul's Epistles in Greek, by heart), and very bad, as to Things present; for, a little after having said any thing, he forgot, that he had said it. He continued in This Condition almost two Years, if we may believe Thuanus, who seems to have been furnished with very good Memoirs on this Head. And, indeed, Casaubon affirms, that, in Point of Erudition, Beza shewed himself, in the latter Years of his Life, such as he had appeared Twenty Years before. He discoursed so clearly upon ancient History, that one would have thought he had just been reading Plutarch, and the like Authors. He spoke Latin, and sometimes Greek, as before: But, after having amply discoursed on the Subject of the new King of England, he would, often, ask, in the same Conversation, Whether it was true, that Queen Elizabeth was dead? "Venerandus senex Theodorus Beza cum per longinquitatem ætatis factus sit obliviosus, adeo ut post frequentes de novo Regis Angliæ sermones subinde me rogaret de Regina, an verum esset quod fama jactaret, illam satis concessisse. Idem tamen in literis visus nobis esse quem ante annos viginti noveramus. Loquitur Latine, interdum & Græce, ut antea: audivimus de historia veteri differentem & re nata luculentissime, ut videtur recens esse à lectione Plutarchi & id genus auctorum (70)." Thuanus was misinformed of the Circumstances of Beza's Death; He says, that This Minister, as he was going out to Church, was seized with a sudden Convulsion, of which he died. The Truth is, that, for some Weeks, his Strength declined visibly, and that there was nothing sudden, or unexpected, in his Death. See la Faye, pag. 65, 66.

[R] He did his Party great Services.] Leti relates, that Sixtus V. caused two Conferences to be held, at which he was present, to deliberate about the means of depriving the Protestant Party of the great Support they had in the Person of Theodorus Beza (71). What could be said more to the Honour of This Minister, than the representing him as a Man, who made the Pope, and Cardinals, uneasy, as to Affairs of State; for there was no Controversy in the Case? Leti pretends, that, in the Year 1587, the Deputy of the King of Navarre, to the Cantons, made use of Beza's good Offices, to obtain some Levies in their Country; That Beza went from Town to Town, over all the Protestant Cantons, and that he animated the Swiss in such a manner, that they furnished Prince Casimir with great Sums; that the Catholic Cantons, seeing this, informed the Court of Rome of the great Prejudice this Person did to the Catholic Cause; that, upon This, Sixtus V. caused two Conferences to be held, the Result whereof was, that all manner of means should be employed, to oblige this Minister to leave Geneva; after which, nothing would be more easy than the Conversion of That City; and that the Conversion of Geneva would be the total Ruin of Herey, both in Switzerland, and France; that Mr de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, being at That Time at Rome, was desired to declare, in the Pope's Presence, by what means he thought they might dislodge This old Minister from his Post; that he declared, the only means was, to supply the Duke of Savoy with necessary Forces for the Conquest of Geneva; that Beza, not doubting, that there was a Design upon his Life, would take such care of himself, that they must not expect any enterprize against his Person would succeed; that, after This Discourse of Mr de Sales, the Design was laid aside of getting rid of This Minister by Assassination, or by Poison; forasmuch as they were informed, that his Highness of Savoy had tried all Expedients for This Purpose in vain.

I have three things to observe upon this Narrative. I. Antony la Faye does not say, that Beza made

BEZA, is it said, was the Subject of some Consultations at Rome.

ATTEMPT to against his Person.

(71) Leti, vita di Sisto V. Part II. lib. iii. pag. 261, & seq. Edit. 1686.

(61) Faye, pag. 59.

(62) See also the Preface of his New Testament, Edit. 1598.

(63) Ant. la Faye has these Verses of Beza, pag. 60, 61.

(64) Taken from the Notes on The Confession of Sanci, pag. 121, &c. Edit. 1699.

(65) Spon. Hist. of Geneva, l. iii. pag. 310. Edit. of Utrecht, 1685.

(66) Perseux, Life of Henry IV.

(67) Matthieu, Hist. of the Peace, lib. iv. pag. 661. La Faye calls this Place Elucatum; Thuanus, lib. 152, Lucifellum.

(68) Thuan. lib. 125. pag. 229.

(69) Id. lib. 134. pag. 1082.

was exposed to a great Number of Slanders and Calumnies: But he made both *Catholics*, and *Lutherans*, see, that he knew how to defend himself, and that he had both Teeth and Claws. He had a great share in *Scaliger's Esteem* [S]. I criticize *Moreri* only in five Things [T]. *Mezerai* treats This Minister very ill; he adopts the Story for Truth, which had been spread, of an Accusation of Sodomy, entered against *Beza*, before the Parliament of *Paris*; and another Story of his running away with *Candida*, a Taylor's Wife. This appears unworthy of a judicious Historian [U].
The

a Journey to *Switzerland*, in the Year 1587; and yet he seldom forgets these sort of things. An Expedition like This, the Effects of which were, it is said, so great, and of such general Influence for the Good of the Cause, could not have been unknown to, or suppressed by, him. II. *Francis de Sales* was not Bishop of *Geneva*, under *Sixtus V.*: *Clement VIII* made him Coadjutor of That Bishopric. III. The Discourse, which is ascribed here to This Prelate, does not agree with These Words of *Moreri*: *Beza*, with whom *Francis de Sales* had some Conferences at *Geneva*, confessed to him, that the Catholic Religion was the only true Religion (72). Upon such a Confession, the Prelate would have advised The Pope to offer all manner of Dignities to This Minister. The Description of the Care, which it was said, at *Rome*, that *Beza* took of his Life, is hyperbolic. "Non faceva passo, senza un cumulo grande di precautioni, e senza pigliar cento & mille misure, non costumando di praticar nissuno, senza esser sicuro d'un inveterata conoscenza, ne voleva domesticci in sua Casa, della di cui fede non ne fosse sicuro altro che quei suo perversi Settarii lo custodivano come suoi Demoni tutelari, nè usciva mai di Casa senza haverne cinque o sei à lato, e quel che importa, che per maggior sicurezza non metteva mai li piedi fuori della Citta (73)." The Meaning of This is; "that he never stirred without the utmost Precaution; that he conversed with none but his most intimate Acquaintance; that his very Domesticcs were only Those of his Sect; that he never went abroad without five or six of them about him; and that, for the greater Security, he never set foot out of the City." But it is true, that he made use of Precaution. See one of his Pieces against *Claudius de Xaintes*. You will find, there, that They upbraided him with not daring to go out of *Geneva*, for fear of being killed, like another *Cain*, by the first, who should meet him. *Geneva pedem non aude effere, ne te quisquis invenerit ut alterum Cain occidat*. He answered, that, if God called him to it, he would go any where without Fear; though he was not ignorant of the Ambushes, which were laid for him, and which he would avoid as prudently as he could. "Esti mihi appositus à tuis illis & veneficis & sicarios non ignoro (hæ sunt enim artes Romanæ) quorum etiam unus jam hic deprehensus pœnas dedit . . . Interea me sane libens domi contineo, & vestras infidias quam prudentissimè possum evito (74)."

(72) In the Article SALES (FRANCIS de).

(73) Leti, ibid. pag. 264.

(74) *Beza*, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 362. A FALSE Prediction of *Scaliger*.

(75) *Thuanus*, lib. 134. pag. 1082.

(76) I write this in May, 1699.

[8] He had a great Share in *Scaliger's Esteem*. This appears by his *Epicidium* on *Beza's* Death. He inserted an ill Prefage in it, which proved false. *Addito etiam de fato urbis in qua decessit omine, quod tamen hactenus eventu caruit* (75). It is ninety Years, more or less, since *Thuanus* made This Observation, and it has not hitherto (76) appeared, that *Scaliger's* Prefage has been confirmed in the least. It was not one of Those Poetical Predictions, which are of no greater Consequence, than Those of a Fatal Commentator on *St John's* Revelation. Nor do I believe, that the Desire of comparing *Beza* to *St Augustin*, which might have engaged an hundred other Poets to hazard This Prediction, made *Scaliger* speak in This manner. It is very probable, that, considering the State of Things, He feared for the City of *Geneva* the Fate of That of *Hippo*, which was taken by the *Vandals*, a little after the Death of it's Bishop. So that it was rather a Political Conjecture, than a Poetical Rapture. The Event has proved it to be so; which shews, that the surest way is not to judge at all of Things to come. *Scaliger's* ill Prefage is This;

Utque Dei famulo non Hippo superlute capta est,
Cum quateret Lybicas Vandalus Hostis opes,
Indulsi tibi sic præsentia numinis, isto
Cernere ne posses ulteriora malo.

Atque utinam celeres rapiant procul omina venti,
Et potius mendax finxerit ista metus.
Sed te felicem, &c.

And, as, secure 'till holy Austin died,
Hippo, untaken, stem'd the Vandal Tide;
So Heav'n withhold, in Kindness, from Thy Eyes
Approaching Ills, and greater Miseries.
Far may the Winds the luckless Omen bear:
May it be nothing but the Child of Fears
Yet Happy Thou, &c.

There are certain Things in the *Scaligerana*, to the Disadvantage of *Beza*; but do we cease to esteem a Man, when, for Example, we make no Difficulty to confess, that the many Affairs, he was concerned in, and the Multitude of Books, he composed, hindered him from acquiring much Learning?

[T] I criticize *Moreri* only in five Things. I. *Beza* was not yet past Childhood, when he was brought to *Paris*: His Mother carried him thither, as soon as he was weaned. *Mater — mariti imperio obsecuta Lutetiam usque me RECENS ABLACTATUM perduxit*. *Beza* writes This to *Wolmar*. II. We shall see below (77), whether we ought to believe, that a scandalous Epigram drew the Repentment of Justice on *Beza* — and that he was accused of a more horrible Crime, than Fornication, and that his Debaucheries brought a Disease upon him. III. It is not true, that *Calvin* often procured important Commissions for *Beza*, that he might assist at some Conferences against the Lutherans. I do not think there were any Conferences, during *Calvin's* Life, at which *Beza* was present; for the Dispute of the Year 1557 must not be reckoned; Chance brought it about (78): It was but a trifling Business; They went into *Germany* upon another Design. IV. It is not true, that *Beza* is the Author of the Confession of Faith of the Reformed Churches. The Confession of Faith, which he composed first in *French*, and afterwards in *Latin*, is a different Piece from the Confession of the Churches. V. *Beza* did not preside in the Synod of *Nîmes*, in the Year 1572. The following Faults are to be imputed to *Moreri's* Printers: They have placed *Beza's* Birth in the Year 1619, instead of 1519. They have quoted *Antony Pale De vita & obitu Theod. Beze*: It should be *Antony la Faye*, and *Beza*.

(77) In Remark [U].

(78) *Beza*, Apol. ad Cl. de Xaintes, pag. 295.

[U] What *Mezerai* says, appears unworthy of a judicious Historian. If he had been contented to say, that we read, in many printed Pieces, that *Beza* was accused of This abominable Crime, it would be no strange Thing; for he would have said nothing but what is very true. Perhaps Two hundred Authors might be quoted, who, transcribing one another, have spoken of This Process. *Mezerai* goes much farther; He maintains the Thing? he warrants it; and can produce no Proof for it; This may be called the Conduct of a rash Historian. Let us set down his Words. "He may, without prejudice to any Religion, very well be called a very wicked Man, and a Soul wholly corrupted; who, like a filthy Harpy, spoiled the most Holy Things with his malicious Raileries; and whose Heart brooded nothing but bloody, and altogether execrable, Designs. Neither was there any manner of Villany, wherewith he did not defile his Youth; the Poems, whereof he designed to cover the Lewdness with the Title of *Juvenilia*, make sufficient mention of it: But, besides, it is certain, that he fled to *Geneva*, to avoid the Punishment, he deserved, for the Sodomy, whereof he was accused before the Parliament of *Paris*; and that he carried his *Candida* away with him, who was a Taylor's Wife, and who was yet living in the beginning of This Century, after he had sold certain Benefices, which he had of his Uncle, and, among others, the Priory

MEZERAI criticized.

" of

The Poems, entituled *Juvenilia*, have raised great Clamours [X]. It cannot be denied, that they contained Verses too licentious, and little becoming the Chastity of Christian Muses; but, if the Author's Enemies had been reasonable, they would rather have praised him for the Grief he expressed for them (k), than have pun

(k) See Rem. a [X].

(79) Mezerai, Hist. of France, Vol. III. pag. 64.

(80) Maimb. Hist. of Calvinism, pag. 217.

"of Longjumeau: beginning, in this manner, the Reformation of his Life, with Simony and Adultery (79)." Mr Maimbourg gives only a Paraphrase of These Words of Mezerai, when he drew an horrible Picture of Beza (80); but, instead of following the Example of Mezerai, who quotes no body, he quotes Bolice, Spondanus, Florimond de Remond, Claudius de Xaintes, &c. Had he had better Witnesses, he would, doubtless, have produced them; so that it is unquestionable, that Mezerai had no other Authorities, than Those, which Maimbourg quotes. Once again, This is most shameful in so famous and illustrious an Historiographer. Truly, an Historian would write very pretty Stories, should he mention all the abusive Language, which Controversialists give each other, of what Religion soever they be. They are not to be believed in personal Facts, with which they reproach their Adversaries, unless they support them with authentic Acts; so that Mezerai, having only followed Claudius de Xaintes, and Florimond de Remond, who brought no Proofs for Their Slanders, has injured himself greatly with Persons of judgment.

THE WAY to know whether an Accusation be false.

Suffer me to make an Observation here, which may be of use in the Discussion of personal Facts. Several Authors have maintained, I. That Beza left France, to avoid the Consequences of a Process of Sodomy, which, they say, was entered against him, in the Parliament of Paris. II. That he carried a certain Taylor's Wife away with him. Beza has publicly maintained, that they were two enormous Calumnies; that he had lived an unblameable Life at Paris; and that he left it, neither out of Fear, nor for Debt, but for his Religion; and that he had never attempted his Neighbour's Wife, any more than the Kingdom of the Indies. *Lutetia inculpatæ & bona integraq; existimatione — vivisse. Inde non fuga, non clam, non vi, non metu, non are alieno oppressum (quæ tu mihi falsissime & mendacissime impingis) sed unius religionis studio — ad veram Ecclesiam iustis itineribus ultro concessisse. — Coram Deo juratus testari possum non magis unquam mihi contigisse ut cujusquam uxoris pudicitiam attentarem, quam ut Indorum regnum invaderem (81).* Thus far, no Man of any Religion whatsoever is obliged to believe, that Beza was either innocent, or guilty; no one is obliged to believe, either that his Minister would not deny an infamous Crime, if he was not innocent of it; or that his Priest would advance a heinous Accusation, if it were not true. The Reader, therefore, must suspend his Judgment, till the Accusation be proved: But, on the other side, he must give it for the accused Person, when he sees, that the Accusation remains without Proof, and chiefly in the Circumstances, which I am going to mention. If the Fact in question be of such a nature, that it may be proved authentically; and, if the Accusers want neither Good-will, nor Industry, it must be concluded, that, if they do not prove it, They are Calumniators. This is sufficient to convict Beza's Accusers of Calumny. A Process, entered against a Prior of Longjumeau, before the Parliament of Paris, is a Thing, which may be easily verified. The Accusers, Their Attorney, Their Petition, The Commission of Information, The Verbal Process of the Commissioners, are settled Persons, or Pieces, which are preserved by public Authority; and it can never be thought, that a wretched Fellow, who flies away as fast as he can, has Credit enough to abolish the Proceedings, and to silence the Complaints of the Party against him. The Taylor, whose Wife was said to have been debauched, lived as long as the pretended Seducer; so that it was easy for him to bring his legal Deposition. How comes it then, that such a one as Claudius de Xaintes, and so many Ecclesiastics, who publicly accused Beza, could never produce any Vouchers, nor a formal Deposition of This Taylor? Perhaps Beza's obliging Language disarmed them: On the contrary, he treated Them like Dogs; his Jest, and his ill Language, pierced them through and through; and all their Writings breathe the most violent Hatred. So that They had, on the one side, all imaginable means of coming at

Proofs; and, on the other, a most passionate Desire of finding Them; and yet they have not produced Them. From whence any equitable Person ought to conclude, that They are meer Calumniators.

This is the Sublance of my whole Argument. The Thing is of such a Nature, that, if it were true, legal, and authentic, Proofs would not be wanting. The Accusers have all the Skill, and all the Address, necessary for finding these Proofs: They have the greatest Interest in the World in finding Them: They have not found them: It must, therefore, be concluded, that it is, because there were none. There were none; it must, then, be again concluded, that the Thing in question was false and chimerical.

I have enlarged on This Thought, because it may serve to clear up the Uncertainties, occasioned by so many rash Writers, who transcribe the most heinous Accusations from one another, without attempting to prove them; whilst, on the other Hand, the Accused, and their Friends, do not cease to cry out against the Calumny.

[X] The Poems, entituled *Juvenilia*, raised great Clamours.] They were printed at Paris, in the Year 1548, in the Printing-House of Jodocus Badius Ascensius, by Conrad Badius, for himself, and Robert Stephens, with a Licence of the Parliament for Three Years. The Author's Effigies is in the second Page; wherein he is said to have been, then, Twenty nine Years of Age. He dedicated This Work to his Professor Melchior Wolmar. These Poems consist of *Silvæ, Elegies, Epitaphs, Pictures, Icones, and Epigrams*. It is in vain to tell the Controversialists, that Beza produced these lewd Poems before he was a Protestant; for he himself contradicts Those, who make such an Apology for him. He acknowledges, that, from sixteen Years of Age, he had imbibed the Knowledge of the pure Gospel; and that, when he abjured Popery outwardly, he had long before made a Vow of that Abjuration (82). The first thing he returns God thanks for, in his Testament, is, *quod anno ætatis suæ 16 veræ Christianæ Religionis cognitione ac luce donatus sit (83).* Note, that Morton, having confessed, in the first Edition of his *Catholic Apology*, that Beza, while he was a Papist, was such as he is represented; *erat, erat, sed dum in volutabro vestro miser hæserat — dum Papista birrus fuit, &c (84)*, has corrected This in the second Edition, and maintained that Beza always had the Character of an honest Man. *Berleius* took the Advantage of the first Edition (85). It is in vain, likewise, to have recourse to Recrimination; for neither *Muretus*, nor *John della Casa*, nor an hundred other Poets, who had no Reformation, nor any new Church to set up, were obliged to distinguish themselves by a singular Virtue and Piety. The shortest way is, to place These Poems of Beza among the Sins of his Youth, for which he asked Pardon both of God and the Public (86). It is certain, that he endeavoured to suppress them (87), as much as his Enemies endeavoured to revive them; and, if he consented, at the Age of Seventy eight Years, to a new Edition of his *Latin Verses*, he did not design Those should be inserted, which gave offence. I wonder the contrary was believed (88); for not only the Authors, who are quoted, do not say, that Beza gave ALL his Verses, to be printed with the fairest Characters, that were to be found at the Stephens's; but it is certain also, that the Edition, which then was made, does not contain the licentious Verses of the *Juvenilia*. Consider well These Words of *la Faye*. "Accidit ut de Beza poematis ageretur, & generos. D. Zafirzelli pateret à Beza sibi donari illa carmina, quæ cum ipse, tum Paludius, vita digna judicaret. Id quum imperfasset, Beza concedente, curavit ille in unum colligi Sylvas, Elegias, Epitaphia, Epigrammata, Icones, Emblemata, Catonem Censorium, & ut elegantissimis typographi Stephaniani formis excuderetur effectit anno 1597 (89). — The Discourse happened to turn upon Beza's Poems; and D. Zafirzelli desired Beza to give him those Pieces, which both He, and Paludius (he was Zafirzelli's Tutor) should think worthy of being preserved. Beza consenting, He took care, that his Sylvæ, Elegies, Epitaphs,

(82) Epist. Dedicat. Confessionis Fidei ad Wolmarum.

(83) Fagius, in vita Bezae, pag. 73.

(84) Morton. Apol. Cathol. Part I. lib. ii. cap. xxi.

(85) Berleii Apol. Protest. p. 550.

(86) See the Preface to his Poems, addressed to Andrew Dodi-thius, dated May 14, 1560; his Notes on Matth. i. 19; his Answer to Claudius de Xaintes, &c.

(87) Ant. Fagius, in vita Bezae, pag. 9, 10.

(88) Jugem-sur les Poëtes, Num. 1336.

(89) Ant. Fagius, p. 59.

(81) Beza, Apolog. altera ad Claud. de Xaintes, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 359.

an ill Construction upon the Epigram on *Candida* and *Audebert* [X]: They accused him of having a Hand in the Murder of the Duke of *Guise*; This we may examine in the Article *POLTROT*. They have said, that he wished to return into the Bosom of the Catholic Church [Z]. It is not true, that a *Dominican* confounded him in a Dispute [AA]. We shall see, in another Place (I), whether *Bolséc* may be credited.

(I) In the
Article
BOLSEC.
Remark [L].

After having committed the Fault of publishing his *Juvenilia*, I think there was no other way left for him to avoid suffering for it, but to live a very obscure Life, or very remote from Theological Disputes; for, under what Figure soever he had appeared, his Enemies would have taken Advantage of This Blot, to lessen his Reputation. He had This chiefly to fear in whatever Party he should signalize himself in point of Controversy. And it is not to be questioned, but that, if the same Arms, he made use of against the Papists, had been employed, by him, against the Protestants,

some

"Epitaphs, Epigrams, Icones, Emblems, and Cato
"Censorius, should be collected together, and bad
"them printed, with the most beautiful Types, which
"the Stephens's Printing-House could furnish, in the
"Year 1597." Mr Baillet has shewed his Civility,
and his Equity (90).

(90) *Enfance*
celebre,
Art. 56.

You will find a good Justification of *Beza* in the Critical Miscellanies of Mr *Ancillon* (91): He relates a fine Passage of Mr *Dailly* (92), whereby we learn, that the Infidels reproached the Primitive Church, that they gave their best Employments to Those, whom the Scandal of their Ill Lives had rendered odious and infamous among the Pagans. Mr *Ancillon* refers us to his Apology for *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, and *Beza* (93).

(91) In Vol.
I. pag. 386.
& seq.

(92) Taken
from the six
Sermon on
1 Tim. iii.

(93) In Pag.
398.

[X] An ill Construction was put upon the Epigram on *Candida* and *Audebert*.] There is nothing so ill grounded, as the enormous Accusation built on This Epigram. See the Article *AUDEBERT*. They who pretend, that the *Candida* of *Beza* was his Wife, are mistaken; for *Beza*'s Wife was never with Child; and there are some Verses on *Candida*'s Pregnancy in the *Juvenilia* of This Author. *Quanam illa fuit Candida? uxor mea sibi, quam in meis versificulis prægnantem superis commendo, quum uxor mea nunquam etiam conceperis* (94). I have not been able to discover any Thing concerning *Beza*'s Wife, except that she was of no high Birth; and that their Correspondence began four Years before they left the Kingdom, and before they married in the Face of the Church. Her Husband gives a good Character of her. "Uxorem mihi ea quam illa tempora ferebant ratione — quatuor circiter annos ante voluntarium meum exilium despondi, genere equidem imparem, sed ea virtute præditum mulierem cujus me penitere ab eo tempore minime oportuerit (95). *Scaliger* says, that she was the Daughter of an Advocate, and barren; and afterwards cries out, *What a foolish Woman* (96)! The Historian of the Husband speaks otherwise of Her; He praises her for several good Qualities, and chiefly for her conjugal Affection; but it is the common Style of Those, who write the Life of a Learned Person; His Wife, if ever he had any, is always a Woman of great Merit, and of a peaceable Temper. The Funeral Orations of Professors never omit This Topic, though The Makers of them have but too often a *Socrates* to praise. However it be, let us see the Elogy of *Beza*'s first Wife.

(94) *Apolo-*
gus. Altera
ad Claud. de
Xaintes.
Oper. Tom.
II. pag. 359,
360. See
also his E-
pistle dedica-
tory to his
Poems.

(95) Epit.
Dedicator.
Poëmatum.
See also the
second An-
swer to *Cla-*
udius de
Xaintes,
pag. 360.

(96) In *Scal-*
igeriana, at
the Word *Be-*
za.

(97) Ant.
Fayus, in vi-
ta *Bezae*,
pag. 54.

(98) See the
Description
Maimbourg
gives of him;
History of
Calvinism,
pag. 217.
It appears,
by the *Scal-*
igeriana, that
Beza had the
Favour of a
Prince.
Fuit valde
pulcher fe-
nex — fuit
valde præ-
stanti for-
ma, ut judi-
cator ali-
que prin-
ceps.

Anno 1588. mense Aprilis e vivis excessit *Claudia* "Denossa *Bezae* conjux, cum qua conjunctissime & honestissime vixerat annos quadraginta. Fuit illi casus hic gravissimus: erat enim femina multum laudata, sedula, frugi, & viri sui in primis studio-fa (97). — In the Month of April, 1588, died *Claudia* Denossa, the Wife of *Beza*, with whom he lived forty Years lovingly and honourably. This was a very great Misfortune to him; for she was a Lady of great Merit, Diligent, Thrifty, and particularly careful of her Husband." Not a word of her Family: This makes me question, what *Scaliger* says, that she was the Daughter of an Advocate: And besides, would *Beza* have confessed so freely, that he had married beneath himself, if his Wife had been the Daughter of an Advocate of *Paris*? This Under-matching has something in it, which I cannot unravel, and which leaves room for Suspicion. *Beza*, as handsome as an *Adonis* (98), Polite, Learned, Witty, wanting no Money, under-matches himself! One of Those, who have answered *Maimbourg*'s History of *Calvinism*, denies, that the *Candida* of

Beza is one *Dame Claudia*, a *Taylor's Wife*; and, among other Reasons, He makes use of this; When *Beza* speaks of the Clasp, he complains, that coërcet globulos duos rubentes, intra cæca jubet manere claustra; These Expressions, says he, of a Woman's Breast, do not suit a *Taylor's Wife* (99). Who told him, that a *Taylor's Wife* of *Paris* might not wear a Clasp in Those Days, to hide her Breasts? This Apologist makes some minute Observations, which he would have done better to have suppressed.

(99) See the
Book, en-
dow-
led, The
true History
of *Calvi-*
nism, pag.
171.

I cannot give credit to what I have read in one of Mr *Ancillon*'s Works, which is, that *Beza*'s first Wife was *Frances de St Marcel d'Avignon*, Sister of a Bishop of *Grenoble*, and the Widow of *Nicolas Odeuoud*, Brother of *John IV*, First Consul of the same City of *Grenoble*, her first Husband, and of *Philip de Poy*, Lord of *Fiance*, her second Husband (100). Such an eminent Nobility cannot agree with the Under-matching, which the pretended Third Husband confesses so ingenuously. Besides, Mr *Ancillon* had not well informed himself of what concerns *Beza*'s Marriages; He admits three of Them, and applies to them *Pasquier*'s Epigram (101), which I have set down in the Remark [N].

(100) *An-*
cillon, Mé-
lange Cri-
tique, Tom.
I. pag. 379.

(101) Id. ibi.
pag. 405.

[Z] He is charged with wishing to return into the Bosom of the Catholic Church.] See in the Remark [O], the Report, that was spread, of his dying a good Catholic, in the Year 1597. I have an Author to quote here, whose Name and Temper agree very well (102). "Did he not lately most humbly supplicate our most Christian King to obtain for him the Absolution of our Holy Father? The same Prince told it, two several times, to a Prelate; and I am sure he would not revoke it for all the Huguenotism in the World. Cry out, and murmur at it, as much as you will. The *Sieur Corneille*, a late Minister, told me, that the same *Beza*, advising him to forsake all their Errors, and return to the Faith of the Catholic Church, protested to him, that he would do the same, if he could easily get out of Geneva. If you have a Mind to know more of it, he will tell you the Day, the Place, and his Discourse, with so many Particulars, that you cannot doubt of it, &c." Thus the *François Fœderatus* speaks of *Beza*. One is amazed to see him quote *Henry IV*, with so much Confidence; as for the *Ex-Minister*, *Corneille*, his Quotation signifies nothing. Compare This with the Remark [R], towards the End.

(102) *Fœ-*
deratus. En-
tre-mê-
lées mini-
strales, Book
III. chap. 24.
pag. 377.

[AA] It is not true, that a *Dominican* confounded him in a Dispute.] *Alfonso Fernandez* relates, in his Annals of the *Dominicans*, printed at *Salamanca*, in the Year 1617, that Father *Sebastian Michael*, a Religious of the Order of *St Dominic*, mortified the Pride of the Huguenots in *Montpellier*, and chiefly That of *Beza*, who travelled often from *Geneva* to *Montpellier*. *Rivet* says, upon This, that, at the Time of This pretended Triumph, *Beza* was in his Eighty first Year; and that he was not in a Condition to undertake long Journeys; and that it is certain, that, neither in that Year, nor after, did he set Foot out of the Territories of *Geneva*. "Cum tamen certum sit Bezam, tum octagesimum primum annum agentem, illo anno nec potuisse, si voluisset, Montem pessimum adventare, nec ab illo tempore Geneva excessisse, aut saltem fines Genevensium (103)." I do not believe, that, in any time of his Life, This Minister made frequent Journeys from *Geneva* to *Montpellier*. We have seen (104), that They reproached him for not daring to go out of *Geneva*.

(103) *Riv-*
etus in *Jesui-*
ta rapulante,
Oper. Tom.
III. p. 429.
In this *Tra-*
ctate of *Riv-*
etus are di-
vers An-
swers to *Be-*
za's *Discours*.

(104) At
the end of Re-
mark [R].

some Reformed Writers would have thrown in his Teeth his *Audebert*, and his *Candida* [BB]. Among the Roman Catholics, He, who treated him with the greatest Moderation, is more easy to be pointed out, than He, who treated him with the greatest Anger. They, who have shewn some Moderation and Equity towards him, are but a few in Number; They, who have discharged the Fury of their Animosities against him, are numberless: But I do not believe, there are many, whose Passion is so extravagant, as That of the Author of the *Doctrines Curieuses*. I shall mention one of his Calumnies [CC]: It is so strange, that one can hardly believe one's own Eyes in a Thing of this Nature. He was publicly censured for it by a Catholic

Rivetus did not know, that, in the Year 1601, *Beza* went to *Lausanne* (105); he took, then, his final leave of That City.

[BB] *Some Reformed Writers would have twitted him with his Audebert and his Candida.* We should presume too much upon the Privileges of Orthodoxy, and belie Experience, if we should believe, that all Those, who write in the Defence of Truth, resist the Impressions of Repentment in such a Manner, as to see only, in the Writings of their Adversaries, what Justice requires they should find in Them. *Beza's* Epigram on *Audebert* is, at the bottom, but a witty Conceit; It is free from the Abominations, which the Missionaries pretend to discover in it; but, to see this Parity in it, one must either be the Author's Friend, or have no Partiality for, or against, him; for, when once a Man is very angry, and would be revenged for the Injuries he has received from an Author, He gives a criminal Turn to his Words. The Protestants of the Confession of *Geneva* do not doubt, but that Those of the Confession of *Augsburg* are Part of That True Church, which leads to Heaven: Nevertheless, some of the *Lutherans* were so offended, because *Beza* had written against their Party, that they adopted the Slanders of the *Roman Catholics*, as to his *Juvenilia*. See here a long Passage of the *Calvino-Turcismus*, in which we see the Sentiments of a famous *Lutheran Divine*. "Et quamquam Theodorus

"*Beza* aliter de vita moribusque *Calvini* scribat, tamen contra Theodorum *Bezam* isti argumentum hæc esse verissimum, nec unquam luculentum & solidum à *Calvinistis* refutatum. Nam quod ad *Bezae* testimonium attinet, quum Theodorus *Beza* (iniquum) * eadem hæresi, & eodem ferme peccato nobilitatus sit, ut historia de *Candida* meretricula (& *Audeberto*) testatur; nemo ipsi hac in parte fidem habere potest. Nihil certe apud hominem moderatum & æquum valere potest ejus quæcunque vehementissimum licet contestatio, si verum est quod juxta istos †, Certe constat Theodorum *Bezam* à pueritia imbibisse vatium impudiciam, & impudentiam, totamque ætatem explendis suis libidinibus & cupiditatibus, ac describendis suis amoribus, & ulciscendis suis rivalibus exercuisse, atque in meretricem lenam, & cynedum transformatum esse. De quo item constat & hoc ‡, quod obsecrissimos versus scripsit ad Germanum *Audebertum* Aureliæ, & eundem tanquam *Adonidem* à Theodoro *Beza* factum esse (106). — And, though *Beza* gives a different

"Account of the Life and Character of *Calvin*, yet They contend, against *Theodore Beza*, that these things are most true, and that they were never clearly and solidly refuted by the *Calvinists*. For, as to the Testimony of *Beza*, since *Theodore Beza* (*Jay* They) was remarkable for the same Herey, and almost the same Crime, as appears from the Story of the Harlot *Candida* (and *Audebert*); no one can believe him upon this Head. And, indeed, his strongest Attestation can have no weight with a Man of Moderation and Equity, if what They say be true; viz. It is notorious, that *Beza*, from his Infancy, had imbibed the Immodesty and Impudence of the Poets, and had spent his whole Life, in gratifying his lustful Inclinations, in describing his Amours, and revenging himself on his Rivals, and that he was metamorphosed both into a Bawd, and a Catamite. Of whom it is likewise true, that he wrote the most obscene Verses to *Germanus Audebert*, who is described by *Theodore Beza* as another *Adonis*. The same Blindness, which engaged *Schlossbergius* to write such things, would have appeared in some Reformed Authors, if *Beza* had fol-

lowed the Footsteps of *Claudius de Xaintes*, or of *Ronsard* (107); if he had been Chaplain to the Duke of *Guise* at the Battle of *Dreux*; if he had harangued against The Protestants at the Conference of *Poissy*; in a word, if he had persecuted them by his Books, Intrigues, Sermons, Journeys, &c. Let us say, then, that the Glory, he acquired, in maintaining the Cause of the Reformed, with great Zeal, caused his Poems to be taken notice of, which, without That, had never been exclaimed against: And, if it were permitted to compare Small Faults with Great Ones (108), One might remember, here, what shall be said in another Place of *John de la Cassa*. His *Capitolo del Forno* would have remained unknown, with so many other more infamous Poems, if he had not been raised to the Function of an Inquisitor. To conclude, I add, that, if *Beza* had been a great Persecutor of the *Huguenots*, and exposed to their Libels for his *Juvenilia*, the Writers of the other Party would have maintained, that there was no harm in the Epigram upon *Audebert* and *Candida*, and that a Man must be given over to a Spirit of Slander, a perpetual Character of Herey, to, &c.

[CC] I shall mention one of *Garasse's* Calumnies against *Beza*. "The Fourth, who was guilty of a great Piece of Folly in relation to the Sacrament, was *Beza*; for This Man, who had Wit enough to make a lascivious Epigram, though he committed childish Faults in the Quantity of his Latin Verses, never spoke of any Thing relating to Divinity, without exposing himself to the Derision of the Learned. *George Fabricius* tells us, In response ad *Apologiam Bezae*, that the said Arch-Heretic, being at the Conference of *Poissy*, made a long Discourse, in the Form of a Paraphrase, on the Words of the Consecration, in which he equally shewed his Malice, and his Folly. For, said he, Sirs, I must inform you, that there is an essential Error crept into the New Testament, in the Words of the Consecration; for, whereas we read, Hoc est corpus meum; Hic est calix meus, it should certainly be read in the Negative; Hoc non est corpus meum; Hic non est calix meus †, and that CHRIST pronounced so in express Terms; but that the Evangelists, and St Paul, who were our LORD JESUS CHRIST'S Secretaries, have, unfortunately, or through too much Precipitation, forgotten the Negative, as it appears often, continues he, in the Pandects of Florence, and the Civilians observe, that Those, who transcribed them, have often forgot the Negative, and, by that means, made some Laws quite contrary to the Intention of the Founder: Thus, said *Beza*, the Evangelists, having forgotten the non, are the cause, that we debate, at this Day, a most clear Truth: For, what probability is there, that the Body of CHRIST should be contained in a little roundish Wafer? I say, Sirs, that Non plus est in COENA, quam in COENO; He is as much in the Mire, as in the Sacrament. At this Discourse, the Doctors, and particularly *Episcopus*, and *Claudius de Xaintes*, were in a manner stupified with Astonishment, seeing the Impudence and Folly of the Man: And *Claudius de Xaintes* to confound him having produced the Confession of *Augsburg*, which the *Calvinists* of France had embraced, which has these Words in express Terms: CHRISTI corpus in Eucharistia ADESSE: *Beza* answered, that it ought to be corrected; that the same Fault was in it, as in the Evangelists; and that, by changing one Letter, it might be read ADESSE; viz. that the Body of JESUS CHRIST was absent from the Eucharist (109). We shall see how This absurd

(105) Rivetus, in vita Bezae, pag. 19.

(106) Schloßbergius, in vita Bezae, pag. 170.

* This is my Body; This is my Blood.

† This is not my Body; This is not my Blood.

(109) Garasse, Doctrines Curieuses, pag. 283, 284.

(105) Ant. Fayus, in vita Bezae, pag. 19.

* Conrad. Schlusfeld. Calvinist. Theo. 93. l. ii. fol. 72.

† Idem. lib. i. fol. 92.

‡ Fol. 93.

(106) Goliardus Regius, in Calvinismo, lib. ii. cap. 11, p. 274.

Catholic Writer [DD]: But he was not ashamed of it, and chose rather to make use

Discourse of Father Garasse was confuted by a Person of his own Communion.

[DD] He was publicly censured for it by a Catholic Writer.] I mean, by the same Mr Ogier, who wrote in favour of Balzac, some time after, and who was a very good Preacher. He did not put his Name to the Book, which he entituled, *Jugement & Censure du Livre de la doctrine curieuse de François Garasse*, and which he published at Paris, in the Year 1623. However, it is certainly known, that he was the Author of it. Never was Writer so bore down, or crushed by his Adversary, as Garasse was by Mr Ogier, in relation to This silly Story. The Censurer did two things: First, he shewed, by three Reasons, that nothing is more absurd, than to suppose, that Beza spoke in this Manner; and, afterwards, he proved, that the Witness, quoted by Garasse, did not say what was imputed to him.

Let us see his three Reasons. "Is it likely, that Beza, one of the chief Ministers of the Conference of Poissy, held such a Discourse, as Garasse fathers upon him, and said that we must read, *Hoc non est corpus meum*; since That cursed Corruption does not only ruin the Catholic Belief concerning the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist; but also That of the Heretics, and of Beza, and his own Party. Certainly, if our Lord had said, *This is not my Body*; as the Catholics could not conclude the Reality of the Body from That Expression; so the Zuinglians could not draw Their Signification of Body from it; and much less the Calvinists their Flowings, Irradiations, Participations, of the Body of CHRIST, which They add to the Signification; since he would absolutely have said, *This is not my Body*. Add to this Consideration, that one must be, not only a Beast, as Garasse says, but worse than a Beast, more insensible than a Log, more stupid than a Lump of Lead, to entertain such a Thought, that our Lord JESUS CHRIST said, *Hoc non est*, &c. For *cui bono*? Wherefore should he tell his Disciples, that the Bread was not his Body, rather than any other Meat, that was on the Table; nay, rather than the Table itself? Besides, What Coherence, what Consequence, what Reasoning is there in These Words; *This is not my Body, which is given for you*; *This is not my Blood, &c.* without adding any explanatory Words, to denote which was That Body, and That Blood, which was to be given, and shed, for the Salvation of Mankind? As for myself, I own, that, though I consider these Words never so attentively, I cannot conceive any Reason, or Consequence, in Them; and I firmly believe, that one must be a Fool, and a Mad-Man, to be able to find any. Finally, Who will believe, that Beza made, at the Conference of Poissy, that fine Speech, which Garasse ascribes to him, who presented This Form of Confession concerning the Eucharist to the Bishops with his own Hands? *Confitemur CHRISTUM JESUM in sua sancta Cæna nobis offerre, dare, & exhibere veram substantiam corporis & sanguinis per operationem Spiritus Sancti*; --- *We confess, that CHRIST JESUS, in the Eucharist, offers, gives, and exhibits to us the true Substance of Flesh and Blood, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit.* And what follows; as may be read in the Answer of Claude de Xaintes to Beza's Apology. And, though These fine Words, so Orthodox in Appearance, vanish into airy Notions, and Figures; yet in what manner soever they be taken, they are inconsistent with That pretended Negative (110)."

(110) Jugement & Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse. chap. viii. pag. 89, 90.

(111) And not George, as Garasse had said, for which the Prior Ogier censures him.

He tells us, afterwards, of the Comparison he made between Garasse's Narrative, and That of the Civilian, Gabriel (111) Fabricius, whom Garasse had quoted for the Voucher of his Story. He relates, "That Francis Baudouin, alias Balduin, having deferted the Sect of the Calvinists, was, a long time, exposed to their Calumnies, and Curles. Besides, --- he composed very learned Treatises against Calvin's Doctrine, and, among others, a Preface to an Edition, which he published, of Optatus

Milevitanus, with this Supercription *Joanne Lucano* (112)." He adds (113); "If the Ministers hated This Civilian much, They feared him no less, because of his Ability, and profound Learning; infomuch that all the Works of the Catholic Doctors, wherein any Point of their Doctrine was solidly confuted, were ascribed by Them to Balduin. It happening, then, that Dr de Xaintes, afterwards Bishop of Evreux, having composed a Book entituled, *Examen doctrine Calvinianæ & Bezanæ de Cæna Domini* (114); Beza wrote an Apology by way of Answer to it, wherein he furiously inveighs against Balduin, as the chief Author of the *Examen*. De Xaintes answered by a Reply, entituled, *Responsio ad Apologiam Theod. Bezae*, &c. And, on the other side, Gabriel Fabricius undertook to defend his Master Balduin's Cause, and composed a Libel, entituled, *Gab. Fabricii Responsio ad Bezanæ Vexillum Ecclesiam* (115), which, to speak properly, is a Menippæan Satire, wherein he displays Beza in all his Colours, never calling him by any other than a Feminine Name, treating him, as the most lascivious and profligate Woman in the World, and using the keenest Strokes, that Satire can invent against an Enemy. It is out of This little Book, that Garasse --- took That Speech of Beza, at the Conference of Poissy, which might be tolerated, if Fabricius had made him harangue in the same manner, that Rapin makes Cardinal de Peltes discourse, in the *Catholicon*. But it is so far from being so, that there is nothing that looks like a Speech in all the Book. Fabricius says only, that Beza, without racking his Brain with so many Forms of Confession, Commentaries, and Explanations of this Passage, *Hoc est corpus meum*, should have said, with the utmost Boldness, that it is an Error of the Transcribers, who, instead of *Hoc non est*, as the Evangelists wrote it, have carelessly left out the Negative, and wrote *Hoc est*, &c. Here are Fabricius's own Words, in the seventeenth Page of my Copy. *Et fortasse ut tandem te expedias, & tot commentariorum plaustra facessere jubear, recurras ad talem emendationem: Quia nostri correctores dicunt in ipsis etiam Pandedis Florentinis, sepe deesse negationem, tu tali artificio statim te liberares, & adversariis os obstruas, præstitem cum alios multos Evangeliorum locos similiter scilicet emendaris, partim ex conjectura, partim ex manuscriptis, ut ais, exemplaribus.* From which Words it is as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, that Fabricius means This; *Eum qui semel verecundia fines transferit, naviter oportere esse impudentem*. --- That He, who has once transgressed the Bounds of Modesty, may persevere in Impudence: That, since Beza had the Assurance to corrupt the Scriptures in several Passages of less moment, He might carry his Impudence farther, and corrupt This Passage, *Hoc est corpus meum*, substituting, in the room of it, *Hoc non est*, &c. The following Imposture of Garasse is of the same Stamp, when he says, That Claudius de Xaintes, hearing Beza speak in This Manner, produced the Confession of Augsburg, to confound him, which has these Words, *Christi corpus in Eucharistia adesse*; and that Beza answered, that it ought to be read *abesse*. Garasse wonders at Beza's Folly; and I admire at Garasse's Stupidity, who hopes to make his Readers believe, that Beza, who would never subscribe to the Confession of Augsburg, notwithstanding all the Entreaties of the Cardinal de Lorraine, nor give his Opinion about That Confession, made This foolish and impertinent Reply to Dr de Xaintes. --- The Truth is, Fabricius derides Beza according to his usual Custom: *Ubi id eviceris, says he, facile deinde efficias, quod præterea suscipis, ut persuadeas, tam fuisse bastenus temulentos omnes Protestantæ, &c.* --- When you shall have proved This, you will then induce us to believe, what you farther suspect, that the Protestants have been hitherto, in general, so besotted, &c. And a little after; *Ingenus profecto & ingenio*

(112) Jugement & Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse. p. 91.

(113) Ibid. p. 89, 92. & seq.

(114) Printed at Paris, in 1567.

(115) Printed at Paris, 1567, in 8vo.

use of a pitiful Shift, than to confess the Truth [EE]. I have read, somewhere, in his Works, that *Sturmius* affirmed, that *Beza* might truly say, *I believe but one thing, which is, That I believe nothing (m)*. What *Calumny* is this! *Prateolus* must be reckoned among the Authors, who have been the most diligent Transcribers of the

(m) Note, that Beza, Apol. i. ad Claudium de Xaintes, Oper. Tom. II. pag. 224. said this of Francis Baudouin. Vix sane nullius fidei, ut tanquam alter Socrates verè polit illud usurpare, Hoc unum credo quod nihil crederet.

"*fuerit illa tua emendatio, ut ubi in eorum de corna confessione scriptum est corpus adeste, scribatur abesse. Facilem enim lapsum ebrui scriptoris fuisse, in tanta affinitate unius literarum.* Certainly, it would be an ingenious Correction, if instead of *adeste*, as the Confession of *Augsburg* has it, you should read *abesse*; and, if you should say, that it is an Error, easily crept into the Text, through the Carelessness of some drunken German, by reason of the Affinity and Resemblance between the two Letters, *d* and *b* (116)." You may be sure, This Censurer did not forget to insult *Garasse* for his Boldness in mentioning This Circumstance, that *the Doctors, and particularly Bispenceus, and Claudius de Xaintes, were struck with Amazement.* He ends with a very good Reflexion. "This way of proceeding, says *be* (117), is greatly prejudicial to the Conversion of Erring Souls, and particularly of Those, which *Garasse* pretends to bring over to the Church by means of his Book. For, pray tell me, what Heretic, what Atheist, would trust him, after he has been surprized in so manifest a Falshood? Who will not presume, that a thousand Absurdities, which he relates of several Heretical Authors, are of the same Stamp, and that he quotes the Ancients with as little Sincerity as the Moderns? - - - I have it from good Hands, that the chief Reason, which retained the great *Cassaubon* in the Errors, wherein he was brought up, was his having perceived the like Tricks in some modern Divines, which made him conceive a very bad Opinion of Those, who would triumph over their Enemies with false Colours."

(116) Ibid. pag. 95.

(117) Ibid. pag. 96, 97.

ERRORS of Mr Ogier.

Let us observe some small Mistakes in This Judicial Censurer. The Reason, why the Protestants calumniated *Baudouin*, was not because he had forsaken Their Religion, and composed learned Works to confute Them. See the Remark [H] of his Article; where you will find, that he drew their Indignation upon him for having concerned himself with some Intrigues, wherein they thought there was a Design of destroying them, under Pretence of reconciling both Religions. You will find there, that they took him for the Author of a small Piece, which *Cassander* had written, and which was not a Book of Controversy, but rather an Explication of the Duty of a good Man in the Condition the Church was then in. In short, you will find there, that The Slanders preceded the Preface to *Optatus Milevitanus*. To these Faults of the Prior *Ogier* may be added these others. The Protestants imputed only the Anonymous Book of *George Cassander* to *Baudouin*. It is false, that *Beza* looked upon him as the chief Author of the *Examen Doctrinae Calvinianæ*, written by *Claude de Xaintes*; He was contented to say, that *Baudouin* had supplied This Doctor with some Things, which consisted much more of Matters of Fact, than Arguments.

[EE] He chose rather to make use of a pitiful Shift, than to confess the Truth. First of all, he supposes, that the Question is only, Whether *Fabricius* spoke those Words seriously, or by way of Irony (118)? He confesses afterwards, that his Adversary builds on the seventeenth Page of *Fabricius's* Book; and then he expresses himself thus: "Not to multiply Words in vain, I answer, that, not having *Fabricius's* Book at present in my Possession, I can't verify the Passage, and not being able to procure it, what Diligence soever I could use, I must refer myself to the Truth of my Extracts, which I made very punctually above twelve Years ago; by which I perceive, that Monsieur *Ogier* did, out of Simplicity or Cunning, what the Ministers do maliciously in the Books of the ancient Fathers; for he took one Part of the Passage, which was favourable to him, and dropped the other. - - - To prove, then, that *Fabricius* did not speak ironically, and that he did not falsely accuse *Beza* of having substituted a Negative in

(118) *Garasse*, Apologie de la Doctrine Curieuse, chap. xxvii. pag. 349.

"the sacred Words of the Evangelists, he shews evidently, in the Sequel of his Discourse, that *Beza's* Belief was such, and that he had certainly corrupted the Passages of the Gospel. These are his Words, which deserve to be seriously considered. Ipse Illyricus de illa explicatione & inventione *Bezana* loquens, vocat phantasticam inventionem, qualis est amantium in Pictura & Poësi, ut ibi suos amores esse somniet, ubi non sunt. Illam absens absentem auditque videtque; & ita, inquit *Illyricus*, se cum *CHRISTO* in Eucharistia *Beza* gessit, ut *Phædrus* cum *Thaide* apud *Tarentum*, cum ait; Volo ut cum milite illo præsens absens fies & mecum tota sis; Ita *Beza* sua illa phantastica & imaginosa inventione vult ut *CHRISTUS* in Eucharistia præsens & absens fies, & ita sit ut non esse dicatur. - - - The Illyrian himself, speaking of This Explication and INVENTION of *Beza*, calls it a fantastical Invention, like That of Lovers, in Painting or Poetry, who fancy the beloved Object to be, where it is not. Thus, said *be*, *Beza* dealt with *CHRIST* in the Eucharist, as *Phædrus*, in Terence, does with *Thais*, when she says; Though in Company with This Soldier, I would have you be absent, and only present with me. Thus *Beza*, in That fantastical and imaginary Discovery, would have *CHRIST* to be present in Absence, and so to exist, as to be said not to exist. Monsieur *Ogier* may plainly see by these Words, that *Fabricius*, whom he represents to us as a Buffoon, purposely to lessen his Authority, did not speak jestingly, as he supposes, but with all the Seriousness, which such Matters deserve (119)." The Insincerity, which reigns in these Words of Father *Garasse*, cannot be sufficiently represented. An indigent Layman, living in a Place remote from great Cities, might make use of This Excuse, I could not procure such a Book; I could not verify such a Passage; but, if he lived at *Paris*, and if his Honour engaged him to justify a Quotation, there would be reason to laugh at This Excuse, and to call it a Cheat. But *Garasse* was, then, at *Paris*; so that he might easily have found *Fabricius's* Book; and no Author was ever more obliged to purge himself from Calumny. It was therefore prodigious Confidence, and invincible Obstinacy, to say, I could not find This Book, what Diligence soever I used. What! Shall a Jesuit, who can be supplied by the Libraries of his Order, in the furthestmost Part of a Province, with any Book he stands in need of, tell us, that he could not find, at *Paris*, the Work he quoted? His Adversary could meet with it there, and does not say, that he used any Diligence to find it. Why had he not Recourse to That Copy, if all other Helps failed him? Mr *Ogier* durst not have refused him; His Refusal would have been a Proof of *Garasse's* Innocence. There is something worse still; This Jesuit took a Passage of *Fabricius* out of his Collections, and gave it as the Sequel of That, which his Adversary had mentioned; I say, as a Sequel artificially suppressed by his Adversary. But it appears plainly, that Mr *Ogier* suppresses nothing, and that *Fabricius's* Words, which *Francis Garasse* quoted, relate to another Thing. What would have become of him, if the Reply, which Mr *Ogier* was going to make, had not been stopped by the Reconciliation between them? Would he have found new means to have dispensed with himself from fairly acknowledging his Calumny, Rashness, Imposture, and Impudence?

(119) Ibid. pag. 350.

I shall say it often; I shall not be weary of repeating it; It is very useful to collect Examples of the Insincerity of Authors, and the Pieces, which it has occasioned. It were to be wished, that such Men, as *Langius* and *Gruterus*, had spent Part of the Time they bestowed upon *Polyanthea's*, in making such Compilations. *Garasse* would have often appeared in them; He was a Satirical, Hot-headed, Scurrilous, and Rash Man, who told a Lie boldly, and denied it afterwards. It was his Interest, that the

Doctrine

(n) See his Elenchus Alphabeticus Hereticorum, and his History of the State and Success of the Church, in the form of a Chronicle, Edit. Paris, 1583, 2 Vol. in Folio.

the abusive Language against This Minister. He omitted nothing of what *Surius*, and such like Writers, had collected (n). Cardinal *Richelieu* made use, in his *Method*, of some of Their Rhapsodies. I shall remark against him [FF]. Let us not forget, that *Beza* was buried in *St Peter's Cloyster*, and not in the *Burying-place* of Plain-palaix, because the *Savoyards* had boasted, that they would take him up, and send him to Rome (o). *La Faye* says, that This was done for some Reasons, which it was not necessary to mention. The *Feuillant Peter de St Romuald* brings a ridiculous Charge against him, when he accuses him of Rebellion, in having filed *Queen Elizabeth Queen of France* [GG].

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(o) Spent's History of Geneva. pag. 357.

(120) See Numb. 44 of the Theologia antiqua de vera Martyrii notionem, at pag. 163, 164, of the Apopompeus of Theophilus Raynaud.

(121) See his Article, Rem. [E].

• It was an Epigram, addressed to a Woman, whose Name was Candida.

† In 1554, being 55 Years of Age.

(122) The Cardinal quotes, in the Margins, some Verses of the Epigram de Auderech & Candida.

† Gallie probrum, Simonius, Sodomita, omnibus vitiis co-operatus.

(123) Martel, Answer to the Method of Cardinal Richelieu, Book iii. chap. 10. p. 186, 187.

(124) It is certainly an Error of the Press for 35, for, in the following Note, Beza's Birth is placed in the Month of June, 1519.

(125) Peter de St Romuald, Abbeys du Theol. Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 394.

Doctrine of Those, who hold, that a Man, who dies in the Service of People infected with the Plague, is a Martyr, should be true. See *Theophilus Raynaud*, in the *Treatise de Martyrio per Pestem*. He says, that *Father Garasse* was persuaded, by the reading That Book, that the Crown of Martyrdom was to be obtained by that means, and was induced thereby to expose himself to the Danger of the Plague (120). He died in That Manner; and had published so many Calumnies, and discovered so much Knavery, that scarce any Thing but a true Martyrdom could expiate such Crimes. Observe, that some Persons will rather sacrifice their Lives, than a false Point of Honour; *Garasse* would not own his Calumnies upon any Account, and made no Difficulty to shut himself up with Those, who had the Plague (121).

[FF] A Remark against Cardinal Richelieu. Let us first set down his Words. "Beza, being an Ecclesiastic, and in Possession of some Benefices, forsook the Church of Rome, at the time when the Parliament summoned him to appear before them, about an extremely wanton and scandalous Poem * he had composed; but, knowing himself to be guilty of such great Excesses, he answered that August Senate only by his Flight, and retired to Geneva †. To learn what he was, we need no other Witness than himself, having discovered, by the Verses, which he made in Imitation of *Catullus* and *Ovid*, that he had given himself up to an enormous and monstrous Lewdness (122), for which reason, his own Fraternity call him The Shame of France, a *Simonist*, a Man guilty of all Vices, and even of That, which drew Fire from Heaven ‡."

This is what The Cardinal says, in the tenth Chapter of the second Book of his *Method*, pages 321, 322, of the Edition of Paris, 1663. Mr *Martel*, Professor of Divinity at *Montauban*, and at *Puy-laurens*, before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, and, since That Revocation, at *Bern*, opposes the Testimony of *Stephen Pasquier* against These Words of the Cardinal, and adds, That it is not a Frenchman, who called *Beza* a *Simonist*, and a *Sodomite*. It is *Costerus*, a Flemish Writer and a Jesuit. I cannot tell by what Rhetorical Figure they pretend to rank him among the Fraternity of our Ministers (123). As for what he says of *Costerus*, he refers us to the Twenty first Chapter of the second Book of the first Part of *Morton's Catholic Apology*; where, it is certain, the Latin Words, quoted by the Cardinal, *Gallie probrum*, &c. are to be found, as taken from the first Chapter of the third Book of One of *Costerus's* Works. This Cardinal, or Those, who published his *Method*, cannot be excused for This false Quotation: They found it necessary, that the Name of a Reformed Writer should appear next to the *Gallie probrum*, &c. For, though it should be proved, that *Costerus's* Words are to be seen in the Writings of the *Lutheran Schlusfeldburgius*, it would not justify them; since it is very evident, that That *Lutheran* cannot pass for one of *Beza's* Fraternity. As for what remains, it must be confessed, that a Flemish Jesuit was not the First, who charged *Beza* with such Abominations. *Costerus* did but transcribe several Frenchmen, and by name, *Claudius de Saintes*. A Chronological Mistake of the Cardinal might be taken notice of: He says, in a Marginal Note, that *Beza* retired to *Geneva*, in the Year 1554, aged Fifty five Years (124). He should have said, in the Year 1548, being Twenty nine Years of Age.

[GG] Peter de St Romuald ridiculously accuses him of Rebellion, in styling *Queen Elizabeth Queen of France*. "This same Year, 1581, says he (125), *Theodore Beza*, Minister of *Geneva*, published his Book, entitled, *Icones Virorum illustrium pietate & doctrina*, which he dedicated to *Elizabeth*, Queen

of *England*, styling her *Queen of France*. Certainly, a Frenchman cannot use such Terms, without declaring himself a bad Subject; for it is saying, that the King, his Master, is an Usurper, and that the Crown does not belong to him, but to another. Can This be done in a printed Book, without Felony and Treason? But what better can we expect from an Heretic?" He has repeated the same Charge, Word for Word, in another Book (126); which proves, that he was thoroughly satisfied with This Remark: which, however, is childish, nonsensical, and superstitious. I excuse him Errors of Fact; such as, that the *Icones* of *Beza* came out in 1581, and that they were dedicated to the *Queen of England*. It was to *James*, King of *Scotland*, that the Author dedicated Them, the first of *March* 1580; and it is the Year 1580, which I find marked in my Copy: But if our *Feuillant* is to be pardoned for such Mistakes, as These, he cannot be excused the Error of Right, into which he is fallen. I confess, that *Beza*, in dedicating his Remarks on the New Testament to *Queen Elizabeth*, gives her the Title of *Angliae, Franciae, Hiberniae, & circumjacentium Insularum Regina*: but it is absurd to pretend, that This is felonious and treasonable, and that the King of *France* is thereby determined to be an Usurper. For *I. Beza* ought not to be considered, at That Time, as a Subject of the King of *France*: he had renounced his Country for the Sake of his Religion, and had taken Shelter in foreign Lands: he was become a Citizen of *Geneva*, and actually exercised, there, the Office of Professor, and Minister. II. A Private Person, who, in a Letter, gives Princes the Titles, which they usually assume, does not set himself up as a Judge of their Pretensions; he does but follow the Usage, which he finds established; and, when he complies with the Formulary of Subscriptions, he does not engage himself to examine, whether such or such Titles are justly assumed, or no. I go further, and say, III. that, even when we doubt whether a Prince has a Right to a Kingdom, we yet observe the Usage of Subscriptions, in an Epistle Dedicatory, or other Letter. *Beza*, for example, fully persuaded, that *Charles IX.*, and *Henry III.*, lawfully possessed *France*, yet gives *Elizabeth* the Titles, which the assumed in *England*. It is, therefore, the utmost impertinence, to conclude, that he treated the King of *France* as an Usurper. In the IV, and last, place, I say, that Usage, or Custom, authorizes Those, who give the same Titles to Possessors, and Pretenders, and that the Latter, 'till they have renounced their Titles, and Pretensions, are called Kings, or Lords, of such a Country, at the same time that the actual Possessors are acknowledged as Kings, or Lords, of the same Country. We have, among other Examples, the Conduct, which *France* observed towards *Uladislas* King of *Poland*, and *Gustavus Adolphus* King of *Sweden*. We were in strict Alliance with the One, and even as King of *Sweden*; yet we did not scruple to give the other the Title of King of *Sweden*. Mr *le Laboureur* has inserted, in his Account of *Poland* (127), a Letter, which was written by the King of *France* to King *Uladislas*, the Twenty fourth of November 1645, at the time when there was such strict Friendship between *Queen Christina*, and *France*. The Subscription of the Letter is; *To the most High, most Excellent, and most Mighty Prince, our dear and well-beloved Cousin, The King of Poland and Sweden*. A Spanish Author, who, in dedicating a Book to the most Christian King, tiled him *King of France and Navarre*, would not, I believe, be called to an Account for it, in a Time of Amity. Nor do I think, the Grand Signior would be such a Turk, as to punish a Greek Bishop, who, in writing to the Duke

(126) In his Journal Chronol. under Jan. 15, (1580) the Birth day of Theod. Beza, as he pretends, but he is mistaken, and should have said Jun. 24.

(127) Part I, pag. 14.

I am surprized, that *Balzac* quarrels with certain anonymous Persons on the same Account [HH].

Duke of Savoy, should call him *King* of Cyprus, or, in writing to the King of Spain, should stile him *King* of Jerusalem; and who, in case of an Accusation, should reply, that he had innocently followed the Usage of Inscriptions, without intending to derogate, in the least, from the Fidelity, which he owed his Highness. Is there any Prince in *Christendom*, who does not acknowledge Two Kings of *Navarre*; One in *France*, and the Other in *Spain*; the One only titular, the other in actual Possession? Does This give occasion for Complaints, or Threats? Would an *Englishman* be prosecuted, who, in an Epistle Dedicatory to *Lewis XIV.* should stile him King of *France*, or *King* of the French, which is the same Thing? Are not the Kings of *France* so stiled, in *England*, not only in common Conversation, but even in Histories, and Public Acts?

[HH] I am surprized, that *Balzac* quarrels with some anonymous Persons, on the same Account. I shall produce his Words, without refuting them; since That is sufficiently done in the preceding Remark. "Let Those, who have lost Countries, flatter themselves with Those, which they retain. It may serve by way Amusement, or Play-Thing, formed by the Imagination, after the loss of essential Things. It would be cruelly to refuse their Grief this light Consolation. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* may stile herself Queen of *France*, and the *English* may speak the Language of their

"Mistress. Let them, if They please. But I cannot allow *Frenchmen* to talk thus. It was well said by a *Frenchman*, speaking of King *James*, Successor of *Elizabeth*: He has certainly too much of a Name, or too little of a Kingdom; and, if the King of *France* be at London, whom will he send *Embassadors* to at Paris? However, as it is every where the Custom to speak improperly, and as every Thing in the World is a Farce, This may be allowed among the rest. But it must be plaid in *England*, and not in *France*, or Places under the Protection of *France*. A *Frenchman* cannot use such Terms, without forgetting, that he is a *Frenchman*, without declaring himself a bad Subject, without saying, that the King his Master is an Usurper. Publicly to degrade his Prince, to give his Crown to another Prince by a solemn and printed Acknowledgment, can This be done without the Crime of Felony? I think not, Sir! and, for fear of putting myself farther into a Passion, let us change the Discourse (128)." I fancy he glances at *Theodore Beza*, and that *Peter de St Romuald* has only transcribed him.

It will not, perhaps, be improper to remark, that *Noel Beda* had before had the same Quarrel with *Erasmus*, on account of the Dedication of One of his Books to the King of *England*. See the Remark [B] of the Article *BEDA*, Citation (11).

(128) *Balzac*, *Entree*, xii. pag. 324, 325.

BIBLIANDER (*THEODORUS*), Professor of Divinity at *Zurich*, in the XVIth Century, was born at *Bischoffzell* (a), near *St Gal*, in *Switzerland*. He was an universal Scholar (b); but he excelled chiefly in the Exposition of the Scripture. He was Professor of Divinity at *Zurich*, from the Year 1532, to 1560, and died of the Plague in the same City, the Twenty fourth of September 1564 (c). If any one asks, Why his Professorship ended before his Life? I answer, That it was, because he stirred certain Questions, which caused some Disturbances [A], in which he departed too much from the common Doctrine of the Protestants, about Predestination. To prevent the Schism, which might have arisen from too long a Contest upon Those Points, it was thought proper to declare *Bibliander Emeritus*; I mean, to treat him as a *Veteran*, and to give him to understand, that his Age, and his long Services, required, that, as a Reward, They should grant him a quiet Life, and an honourable Dismission. I cannot tell whether he apprehended the true meaning of this Compliment, or whether it vexed him; but I know, that he left off teaching. As he understood the *Oriental Languages*, he set about a new Edition of the *Koran*, the Text of which he corrected according to the Rules of Criticism, by comparing the *Arabic* and *Latin* Copies together. He added to it the Life of *Mabomet*, and his Successors, and an Apologetical Preface, which raised a great Outcry [B]. He published several other

(a) In *Latin* Episcopice-la, or Episcopice-la.

(b) Vir fecundissimi ingenii, & Theologicæ exæcticæ communis in Helvetia patens Hottinger, in Biblioth. Tigurina, pag. 72.

(c) Id. Hottinger, ibid. Thuanus, Bucholker, Melchior Adam, &c. place his Death on the 25th of November.

[A] He stirred certain Questions, which caused some Disturbance. Pantaleon has not specified These Questions; he says only, They were little agreeable to the common Opinion, and that *Bibliander* lost Part of his Authority upon That Account. Pantaleon scribit ante obitum motas ab ipso fuisse questiones quasdam novas & insolentes unde auctoritati aliquid decesserit, sed quales illæ fuerint questiones, non addit (1). But *Henry Alting* has not expressed himself in general Terms; He says, that *Bibliander* had embraced *Erasmus's* Errors concerning Predestination, and that, for this Reason, Those of *Zurich* discharged him from the Functions of his Office, under Pretence, that his Old-age made him unfit for it, and put *Peter Martyr* in his Place (2). This latter Fact is not to be contested, under Pretence, that *Peter Martyr* was called to *Zurich* in the Year 1556, to succeed *Pelican*. He might have been Professor at *Zurich* for some Years, and yet succeed *Bibliander*; for all Professors of Divinity have not the same Functions assigned them. See, below, the Remark [E], at the end.

[B] He added, to the Version of the *Koran*, an Apologetical Preface, which raised a great Outcry.]

The Title of it is, *Apologia ad reverendissimos patres ac dominos, episcopos & doctores Ecclesiæ Christianæ, in qua rationes redduntur editionis voluminis quod continet Alcoranum & ejus consutationes, & vitas Mahumetis atque successorum ipsius*. This Work was printed by *Oporin*, in the Year 1543, in Folio (3). *Bibliander* corrected the Text of the *Koran*, by comparing the *Latin* and *Arabic* Manuscripts together, and made some Marginal Notes, which shew, or refute, the Absurdities of That Book. This did not hinder the *Spanish* Inquisitors from condemning This Edition of the *Koran*; They condemned not only the Prefaces, but the *Koran* itself (4). This is as clear as the Day; and yet some Authors say, that They only condemned the impious Prefaces, and the pernicious Notes, which are in *Bibliander's* Edition. Father *Theophilus Raynaud* maintains, that the *Koran* itself deserves to be proscribed, and shews, that *Starellus*, who says, that the *Index* forbids the reading of it, only because of the Pieces, which *Bibliander* added to it, argued but weakly (5). I set down That Jesuit's Remark somewhat at length, that the Reader may have a more particular Notion of *Bibliander's* Design. We shall see, that This Minister did

(3) Note, that the Preface of *Bibliander* was printed by himself, in the Year 1638, by the Care of John Fabricius of Dantzie.

(4) See the Index librorum prohibitorum, pag. 765, Edit. 1667.

(5) Theophil. Raynaudus, Ereticæ de malis & bonis libris, n. 341, pag. 200.

(1) Melchior Adam in vit. Theol. pag. 403.

(2) Altingii, Theol. Hist. Loc. iv. apud Telfier, Addit. to Thuan. Tom. I. pag. 255.

(d) Hottin-
ger in Bibli-
oth. Tiguri-
na, pag.
74, 73.

other Books [C], and composed a great many, which were never printed, the Manuscripts whereof are kept in the Library of Zurich (d). He had a hand in a Translation of the Scripture (e). I have endeavoured in vain to find out what Age he was old when he died: I give no Credit to Melchior Adam; and I wonder he was not sensible of his Error [D]. Moreri relates very ill what he takes from Thuanus, concerning Bibliander [E].

(e) See Re-
mark [E].

I am

did not think it proper, that the Books of Adversaries should be destroyed. "Tractans hoc punctum Antonius Sanctarellus Traët. de hæresi, c. 14. dub. unico, propositione 7. ait, Alcoranum per se non prohiberi, sed ratione scholiorum impiorum, notarumque ac præstationum Lutheri ac Melanchtonis, quibus Basiliensis editio Alcorani, per Theodorum Bibliandrum damnatæ memoriæ scriptorum adornata, contaminatur. Hoc verè & rectè autor ille. Et addere æquè poterat, ipsius Bibliandri Apologiam, qua Alcorano patrocinatus est, dignissimam fuisse quæ confingeretur. Omnium quippe librorum prohibitorum indemnitate studet meribulbus ille, usque adeò, ut non erubuerit contra Theodosii & Valentiniani Imperatorum legem de comburendis Nestorii libris grunnire. Hæc igitur concedo Sanctarellus. Sed addit quæ everti videantur quæ sic sunt constituta; addit enim rationem, cur Alcoranus prohibeatur, esse, quia in eo agitur de Religione nationis, hoc tempore maximè potentis, & ad corporum voluptates patentissimum ostium apertius; quæ sunt valida corruptelæ illeclamenta. Hæc, inquam, ratio monstrare videtur, Alcoranum non vetari tantum ratione impiarum Bibliandri annotationum, vel ratione Præstationum Lutheri ac Melanchtonis, sed per se ac ratione contentis ipsiusmet Alcorani, quo Apostasie hami, quos diximus, apponuntur (6). - - - Antonius Sanctarellus, handling This Point, in his Treatise of Heresy, chap. 14. Prop. 7. says, that the Koran is not prohibited on it's own Account, but by reason of the impious Scholia, Notes, and Prefaces, of Luther and Melanchthon, which deserve the Basil Edition of the Koran, by Theodore Bibliander of accursed Memory. This is justly and truly observed by This Author. And he might, with equal Justice, have added, that the Apology of Bibliander himself, in which he patronizes the Koran, was most worthy of Censure. For This Sat pleads for the Indemnity of all prohibited Books, so far as impudently to arraign the Edit of the Emperors Theodosius and Valentinian for the burning of Nestorius's Books. Thus far, then, Sanctarellus is right. But he adds, what seems to overthrow This Determination. For he adds, that the Reason, why the Koran is prohibited, is, because it treats of the Religion of a Country, at This Time very powerful, and which opens a wide Door to corporeal Pleasures, the Source of all Corruption. This Reason, I say, seems to prove, that the Koran is not only forbidden on account of the impious Annotations of Bibliander, or the Prefaces of Luther and Melanchthon, but on it's own Account, on Account of the very Text of the Koran, on which The Hooks of Apostasy, which I have spoken of, hang."

[C] He published several other Books. Here are the Titles of some of Them: Evangelica Historia, quam scripsit B. Marcus, &c. una cum vita Johannis Marci Evangelistæ collecta ex probatoribus auctoribus, at Basil, 1551. He added to it the Protevangeli-um Jacobi, for which he was censured. Expeditio vaticinii de restitutione Israël, de instauranda urbe Jerusalem & Templi, terræque dividenda rursus in tribus, quod ultimis octo capitibus Ezechielis legitur. This Work was inserted in the Commentaries of Pelican on the Scripture. Purgatio scriptorum Joannis Occolampadii, & Ulrici Zuinglii, qua & acta eorum obiter defenduntur contra calumniatores. This Piece was printed before Zuinglius's Works. De satis Monarchia Romanæ summum Vaticanum Esæ Prophetæ explicatum non conjectatione privata, sed demonstratione Theologica, Historica & Mathematica. At Julius III Papam & ceteros Ecclesiæ Romanæ præfides consideratis de Judeorum & Christianorum defectione à Christo, & Ecclesiæ & fide Catholica: itemque de Judeorum & Christianorum conversione

ad Christum Jesum, & Ecclesiam Dei sanctam & fidem Catholicam, at Basil 1553. De summa Trinitate & fide Catholica, at Basil 1555. De mysteriis salutiferæ passionis, & mortis Jesu Messie: expositionis historice, libri tres, in the same Place, 1555.

[D] I wonder Melchior Adam was not sensible of his Error. He affirms, that Bibliander was born in the Year 1514 (7), and that, at last, he died very old, in the Year 1564, valde senex. Can this be said of a Man of fifty Years of Age? He adds, that his poring too much on Books had so weakened his Sight, that, coming one Morning into his Stove, in his declining Age, and seeing his Cat playing on a Table, he took her to be his Maid, and bid her good-morrow. "Ex nimis studiis ætate declivi-
αυλαυτορίας contraxit. Accidit ergo ut aliquando, cum diluculo surrexisset, hypocautum ingressus, feli in mensa gesticulanti, ancillam suam esse ratus, faustum fuerit diem precatus, quem felis, ut potuit, resalutavit. A fine Circumstance, and most worthy to be transmitted to future Ages?

[E] Moreri relates very ill what he borrows from Thuanus. I. It is not true, that Thuanus places Bibliander's Death on the Twenty ninth of November: He makes use of this Expression; VI Kalend. Decembris; which signifies the Twenty sixth of November. II. It is true, that he speaks of Leo the Jew. He made use of these Words, Leo Juda, which must be translated Leo Juda, or Leo of Juda. But it is very true, that Bibliander was One of Those, who put the last Hand to the Bible of Leo Juda, to That Bible, which is called the Zurich Bible, and which was printed in That City in the Year 1543. Leo Juda had advanced very far in the Latin Translation of the Scripture when he died; and he made his Colleagues promise, that they would finish This Work. Quem Leo Juda inchoaverat, & moriens ut opus persequeretur Collegis in fidem religiose additis transcripserat (8). Bibliander translated the last eight Chapters of Ezekiel, Daniel, Job, Ecclesiastes, the Songs of Songs, and the Forty eight Psalms, which remained to be translated. Peter Cholin made the Translation of the Greek Books, which the Protestants call Apocrypha (9). It is of Cholin only, that Thuanus says, he understood the Greek Tongue very well. Bibliander Chunredi Pellicani & Petri Cholini Tugienfis Græcæ linguæ peritissimi opera adjutus. Moreri does not translate This well by These Words; Bibliander, assisted by Conrad Pelican, and by Peter Cholin, two learned Men in the Greek Tongue. This is his third Fault. The fourth is much more considerable. A long time after, says he, the Spanish Divines caused This Bible of Zurich to be reprinted at Lyons, having been revised by William Roville (10). Here are Thuanus's Latin Words; Hispani Theologi diu post recognitam per Gulielmum Rovillum denno Lugduni excudendam curaverunt. William Roville is the Printer of Lyons, whom Those Divines employed; but it was not He, who revised the Translation, but the Spanish Divines themselves. Father Simon makes no mention of This Edition of Lyons; He says, that the Divines of Salamanca caused This Bible to be reprinted in fair Characters at Salamanca, and made very small Alterations in it (11). It is no wonder, that honest Mr du Rier, of the French Academy, has ill translated Cicero, Seneca, and Livy, since he has committed so many Faults in translating Thuanus. For Moreri does but transcribe du Rier's Translation in This Place. As for what Thuanus says, that John Stuckius was put in Bibliander's Place, This neither agrees with Alting, who says, that Peter Martyr succeeded Bibliander; nor with Hottin-ger, who says, that Josias Simler succeeded him for a time (12); and that Stuckius, having been some time the Substitute of James Ammien, Professor of Rhetoric, and Logic, was ordinary Professor of Divinity, from the Year 1571, to the Year 1607 (13). It is cer-
tain,

(7) If this were so, it would have been extraordinary, that he had been made Professor of Divinity in the Year 1532; but no one observes it.

(8) Thuanus lib. xxxii, pag. 726.

(9) Simon, Hist. Critique du Vieux Test. pag. 324.

(10) In the El gives published by Mr Teiffier, there is Raville.

(11) Simon, ubi supra, pag. 323.

(12) Rude donatus, lampadem vicariam tradidit D. Josie Simlero. Hottin-ger in Biblioth. Tigur. pag. 72.

(13) Id. ib. pag. 109.

(6) Id. ibid. n. 342, pag. 201.

I am just informed (*f*), that it is found, in the Profopography of *Pantaleon*, that he lived sixty Years [*F*], being born in 1504, and dying in 1564.

(*f*) By Mr. Bretler.

(14) Melch. Adam. in vitiis Theol. pag. 767.
tain, that, when *Bibliander* resigned his Professorship, *Stuckius*, a young Man of eighteen Years of Age, was, then, in *France* (14). He was at *Paris* the Year following, where he received a Commission to join with *Peter Martyr* in the Conference of *Poissi*. He continued a long time in *France*; afterwards he went into *Italy*; and he did not begin to have any Academical Offices at *Zurich*, before the Year 1568. Nevertheless, it is affirmed, in his Life, that he succeeded *Bibliander* in the Office of Professor of the *Old Testament* (15). This was in the Month of *February*, 1571. *Bibliander* had been dead a long Time. No matter for That;

his Office continued vacant many Years: There are many Examples of This. *Tuanus* is not so exact in This Point, as he should have been; for all his Readers will believe, that *Stuckius* was made Professor of Divinity in the Year 1564. He should have told us, what Year *Stuckius* had This Professorship conferred upon him.

[*F*] That he lived Sixty Years.] This we find in the *German* Edition of the *Profopographia* (16), not in the *Latin* Edition (17) where we see on the contrary, that he died in the Year 1560, being about fifty Years old. *Pantaleon* discovered this Error, and corrected it in the *German* Edition.

(16) Printed at Basil, for Leonard Otfen, 1578, in Folio.

(17) Printed at Basil, for Nicolas Brylinger, 1566, in Folio.

The End of the First VOLUME.

